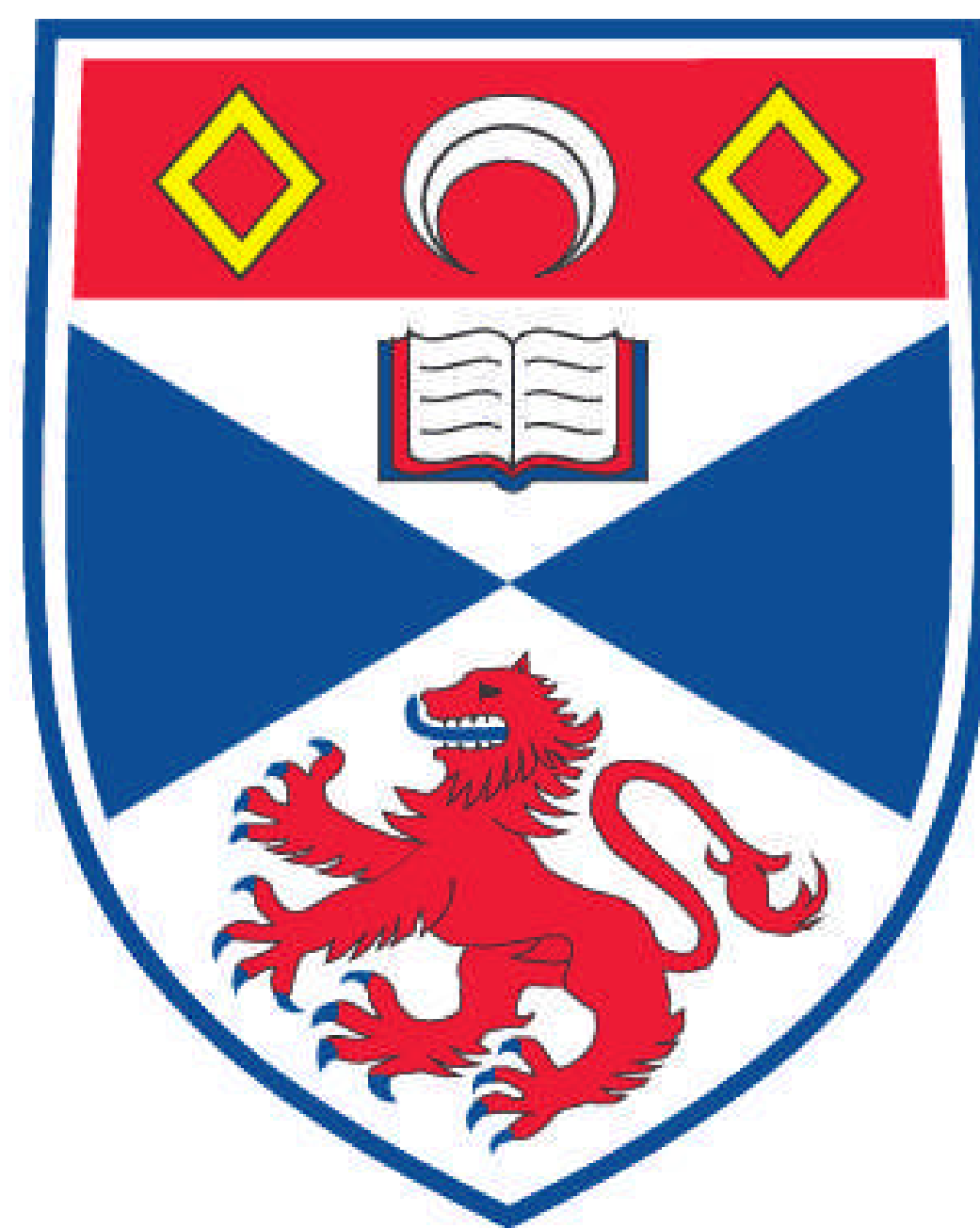


**THE FORFEITED ESTATES PAPERS, 1745: A STUDY OF THE
WORK OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE FORFEITED
ANNEXED ESTATES, 1755-1784, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT
OF COMMUNICATIONS IN SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY**

Annette M. Smith

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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The Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745 -

A Study of the work of the Commissioners for the Forfeited Annoyed Estates, 1755 - 1784, with particular reference to their contribution to the development of communications in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the University of St. Andrews.



ii.

I hereby declare that the following thesis has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a Higher Degree.

Annette M. Smith

The research work for this thesis has been carried out in the Department of History, University of St. Andrews, under the supervision of Mr. R.G. Cant. I first registered as a research student in October, 1947, under Ordinance No. LXXIX (St. Andrews No. 16) and continued with the research until the end of the academic year 1949 - 1950. I resumed work in 1972 and completed the thesis during the current academic year, 1973 - 1974.

I certify that Annette MacFarlane Smith has been engaged upon research work under my supervision, that she has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. LXXIX (St. Andrews No. 16) and that she is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

R. G. Cant

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PREFACE

The Scottish Record Office collection of the Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745, is voluminous, including the documents of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland concerning all those estates forfeited in 1747 as well as those relating to forfeited estates that were annexed to the Crown in 1752 and managed by the Board of Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates. This thesis is primarily a study of the work of the Board.

A question of nomenclature needs to be clarified. The Board's official title was that given above but contemporaries addressed it variously as the Board for the Forfeited Estates, the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates or the Board for the Annexed Estates. Posterity has almost universally referred to the Board of Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates and the use of this title, admittedly the correct one in strict usage, has led to confusion of two kinds. First, it has sometimes been assumed that there was some connection between the commissioners who managed the annexed estates from 1755 to 1784 and those with the same title who were appointed to deal with the business arising from the forfeitures after 1715. There is in fact none whatsoever. Secondly, it is not always realised, even by historians, that not all the estates forfeited in 1747 were annexed in 1752 and that the second Board for the Forfeited Estates dealt only with those estates affected by the Annexing Act of 1752. To avoid any such ambiguity, throughout this thesis the Board is entitled the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates or the Board for the Annexed Estates but never, after the recognition of the official title here, as the Board of Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates.

In comparison with the amount of material that is available in the collection a study of the work of the commissioners can be described as a restricted field, yet even within it, it became very quickly apparent that at thesis level within the length of text permitted adequate coverage of all the commissioners' activities would be difficult if not impossible. It was therefore decided after consultation with my supervisor to choose one particular field in which the Board operated for particular study.

One topic eliminated itself. The assistance given to schools for practical education had already been studied in some detail by Miss I.F.M. Dean in her book Scottish Spinning Schools (London, 1930) and by Mr. John Mason in his volume A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education (London, 1935). In addition, when my work began, Mr. Mason was already occupied in research on the commissioners' work in developing academic education on the estates. Therefore it was logical to consider educational topics in only very general terms. Unfortunately Mr. Mason died before he could complete his research but his unfinished typescript is deposited in the Scottish Record Office and I have used this in Chapter II. 1. The actual business of estate management was of prime importance and this has been treated fully but without particular attention being given to any one estate, an alternative approach that would repay any economic historian.

The aspect of the commissioners' work eventually decided on for the most detailed study was that of the assistance given from the income arising from the estates to developing all forms of communication. This led inevitably to an expansion of the main theme, the work of the commissioners; to the application of the capital sums repaid to the government in 1784 by the proprietors to whom the estates were then returned. In 1752,

the government had provided funds to clear all the debts on the estates annexed and repayment of the large sums involved was a condition of the return of the estates on disannexation. The capital accruing was devoted to various purposes but most of it was directed to canal and harbour building and hence is relevant to my main topic. The other activities of the Board in encouraging industry, fishing, and the building of new towns among other more esoteric pursuits such as searching for minerals, have not been ignored but good communications and transport were essential to the full success of any of these and it is to the steps taken to satisfy this primary need that this thesis devotes most attention.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first debt owed by most research workers in Scottish history is to the unfailing courtesy and helpfulness of the staffs of the Scottish Record Office and the National Library of Scotland and I should like to record my gratitude for all the assistance I have received from them. Indeed, so uniform is their readiness to help and advise that I should hesitate to single out any individual for particular thanks, had not Dr. T.I. Rae, of the National Library Manuscripts Department, so often brought to my notice material that otherwise I should certainly have missed. Noteworthy too is the speed with which books and manuscripts appear on one's desk in both these institutions.

In the libraries of Dundee and St. Andrews Universities I have also received all the help I could have wished for. The Royal Scottish Geographical Society allowed me access to early maps many years ago, and members of the Geography Department in the University of Dundee have given me technical help and advice in preparing maps for this thesis. I must also thank Mr. Maurice Taylor for showing me his prize-winning essay, Stone Bridges in Scotland, and Dr. Alastair Durie who gave me part of his unfinished thesis on the records of the Board of Trustees that was relevant to my work. Professor D.F. Macdonald read several sections and his comments were of great value. Mr. W. Murray Jack helped me with architectural terms. Mrs. Helen Mulvey's labour in typing a somewhat bulky volume has been considerable and is much appreciated, as was her advice on producing the various copies. Her skill speaks for itself.

My husband's forbearance has been considerable but the person to whom I owe most is Mr. Ronald Cant. He first suggested the subject to me, a subject that has never lost its interest for me since I began work on it; he has supervised my research from beginning to end, keeping it on the right lines and also suggesting new avenues of approach, and throughout he has been a constant source of encouragement and wisdom.

SPELLING, REFERENCES, ABBREVIATIONS

The spelling adopted in the Scottish Record Office Inventory for the Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745 is accepted where estates annexed, persons forfeited and factors of the estates are concerned. This occasionally leads to anomalies such as the use of Cromarty in the Earl of Cromarty where Cromartie is more common. Where individuals, tenants or others concerned, or farms are mentioned the spelling of the original document is used. Otherwise Ordnance Survey usage is followed.

REFERENCES

There was a considerable, unavoidable delay between the initiation of the research for this thesis and its completion. During this period, the collection of Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745 was rearranged - indeed one should say properly arranged for the first time - in its present order under the serial numbers E (Exchequer) 700 - 788. As a result, all my former references were useless. Every effort has been made to place them in the new system but despite the full and excellent inventory now available many proved elusive. Where references seemed particularly necessary but impossible to identify without unlimited research time, the old number has perforce been used, prefaced by F.R. (Former Reference).

ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.S.	Acts of the Parliament of Scotland
C.H.R.B.	Parliamentary Commission for making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland

The Reports of the C.H.R.B.

C.H.R.B. 1.	1803-4 (108) v. 715	First Report
C.H.R.B. 2	1805 (176) iii. 271	Second Report
C.H.R.B. 3	1807 (100) iii. 231	Third Report
C.H.R.B. 4	1809 (167) iv. 1	Fourth Report
C.H.R.B. 5	1810-11 (112) iv. 393	Fifth Report

Spelling, References, AbbreviationsABBREVIATIONS

C.H.R.B. 6	1812-13 (110) v.1.	Sixth Report
C.H.R.B. 7	1814-15 (205) iii. 427	Seventh Report
C.H.R.B. 8	1817 (110) ix. 1	Eighth Report
C.H.R.B. 9	1821 (432) x. 37	Ninth Report
C.H.R.B. 10	1824 (167) ix. 257	Tenth Report
C.H.R.B. 11	1825 (150) xv. 29	Eleventh Report
E	Exchequer - Prefaces all references to the current cataloguing of the Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745	
F.E.P.	Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745	
F.R.	Former Reference (see above, under References)	
G.M.	General Management	
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland	
(Adv. Ms.)	Manuscripts from the Advocates' Library, obtainable in the N.L.S.)	
N.S.A.	New Statistical Account of Scotland	
D.S.A.	First Statistical Account of Scotland	
P.L.A.	Perthshire Local Authority Records - Perth County Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply Records	
R.H.P.	Register House Plans (obtainable in the Scottish Record Office)	
R.S.G.S.	Royal Scottish Geographical Society	
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review	
S.H.S.	Scottish History Society	
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office	
S.S.P.C.K.	Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge	

Chapter I.

THE ANNEXATION

1. INTRODUCTION

It was not surprising that government circles in the years following 1745 were alarmed by the manifestation of support for Stewart claims to the throne. Three rebellions or risings - as one prefers - in thirty years, gaining considerable support from northern parts of the country and one strong enough to reach Derby, were enough to make the least perceptive of rulers give some thought to possible causes and even to preventive and remedial action. Politicians and officials, both Scottish and English, were determined that the northern inhabitants should be led to appreciate, as the greater part of the British Isles apparently did, that life under the Hanoverians was infinitely preferable to what had been experienced under the Stewarts, and furthermore, to ensure that whether this fact was appreciated or not, it would be impossible in the future to take up arms to express any opposite conviction.

After the Fifteen, various steps had been taken towards this end. A few eminent Jacobites who had fought on the losing side were executed, the Highlands were ostensibly disarmed, the estates of rebels in both Scotland and England were forfeited to the crown. That these steps had not been fully successful the rising in 1745 seemed to show, despite the fact that even the presence of Prince Charles Edward had roused only a small proportion of supporters to military action, many of these reluctantly. Now it was felt that more stringent and effective action must be taken to preserve Hanoverian peace from Stewart disturbance. 'Public opinion was in full accord with the Duke of Cumberland's intention to root out once for all, any danger to the stability of the government.'¹

1. A. Cunningham. *The Loyal Clans* (Cambridge, 1932) p. 504.

For the second time in thirty years, heads were lost, some noble, some humble. Of the nobles captured, Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat were executed. About eighty others were executed at various places, but in June, 1747, an Act of Indemnity was passed.¹ Other measures, similar to but sterner than those put into effect after 1715, were expected to be more successful. The Disarming Act, passed in 1746², stipulated heavier penalties and more certain methods of achieving the aims of the Act. The Highlands were defined in the act as 'Dumbarton, such parts as lie upon the east, west and north side of Lochleven, to the northward of that part where the water of Leven runs from Lochleven, Stirling, north of the Forth, Perth, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Inverness, Nairn, Cromarty, Argyll, Forfar, Banff, Sutherland, Caithness, Elgin and Ross. The use of Highland dress was forbidden, the Heritable Jurisdictions were abolished³ though the pressures exerted by the chiefs on their clans in 1745 were weighted by far less tangible assets than these legal powers. Keppoch, for instance, and others, had no heritable jurisdiction. In 1747, Wardholding as a system of tenure was abolished.⁴ This very ancient method of land-holding was one of the last remnants of the feudal system in Scotland. Lands were held under this on condition that the vassal rendered military services to the superior. Henceforth, a fixed sum, a feu-duty, was to be paid to the superior, and if the Crown was the feudal superior, only blench was due, i.e. only a nominal sum.

Finally, the heaviest penalty apart from loss of life that can be laid on those who challenge the established order was imposed. The estates of many of the attainted were forfeited to the Crown. This too had been tried in 1715 with indifferent results. The Crown had certainly

1. 20 George II c.52.
3. 20 George II c.53.

2. 19 George II c.39.
4. 20 George II c.50.

made little profit out of the deal with the York Building Company and it is doubtful if any of the company's shareholders felt they had benefited, while the 1719 and 1745 affairs gave lie to the belief that the threat of forfeiture totally restrained the disaffected.

Despite any doubts about the efficacy of the measure, however, in 1747 it was decreed by Parliament that 'all and every Lands, Heretages, Debts or Sums of Money, Goods or Chattels whatsoever' and generally the 'Estates, Goods and Effects Heretable and Moveable, Real and Personal, descendible to Heirs or Executors, Jurisdictions, Life-Rent Rights' belonging to any persons attainted between the twenty-fourth of June, 1745 and the same date in 1746 were to be 'discovered, known, described and ascertained, and that Rents, Issues and Profits be brought for the Use of His Majesty'.¹ The administration of any estates so forfeited was made the responsibility of the Lord Chief Baron and the other Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland. Various legal points, including in some cases the wording of the Act of Attainder, ensured that some of those named in the Vesting Act were found not to be legally attainted so that their estates not forfeitable² but the estates finally included in the forfeiture were widespread throughout Scotland from Roxburgh to Cromarty, and ranged in value from the wide acres of the titular Duke of Perth to the pitiful possessions of Patrick Lindsay, a farmer at Wester Deanhouse. At the time the latter was executed he owed £25.3.11 arrears of rent and owned £23.10.3 of household good, mostly 'much wore and tore', broken or very old and including his deceased wife's old clothes.³

The Barons' original duties which are not germane to this thesis

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1. 20 George II c.41, hereafter the Vesting Act.
 2. See Appendix A.
 3. E766/3.

involved managing the estates until debtors and creditors were satisfied or at least settled, and then they had to sell them. After 1784 they handled the financial business involved in the return of the estates annexed in 1752 to the heirs of the attainted and this aspect of the annexation will be dealt with in Chapter VI.

In the early 1750's, despite the government's repressive and reforming activity, the Highlands though no longer in a state of active rebellion, were hardly pacified. Garrisons were still necessary at Fort Augustus and Fort William and information sent to the Duke of Newcastle in 1750 declared that 'Highlanders seem more inclined to rebellion than ever'.¹ The Appin murder in May, 1752 was only one other sign of the underlying unrest. In addition many conscientious men of affairs believed like Duncan Forbes of Culloden, that one of the first duties of a Scottish statesman should be the destruction of the distinctive or what many Lowlanders and Englishmen would have preferred to describe as deplorable features of Highland society.²

The general uncriticised aim of 'civilising' Highlanders, in other words making them more like Lowlanders, and of turning them into loyal Hanoverian citizens who would no longer at regular intervals disturb the peace of the law-abiding gave rise to what we would now describe as an experiment in regional development and nationalisation. It was decided to make some of the estates already forfeited into permanent crown land. Managed by government officials, it was expected that these estates would be models to the surrounding country and the profits that were expected to accrue from properly organised property (i.e. properly according to lowland standards) without proprietorial expenses would be devoted to general schemes of improvement. The resultant legislation was the act of 1752, for 'annoxing certain Forfeited Estates in Scotland to the

1. N.L.S. Ms 98

2. G.W.T. Omond, Lord Advocates of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1883), I. p. 342. Hereafter, Omond Advocates.

Crown, unalienably, and for making satisfaction to the lawful creditors thereupon; and to establish a Method of managing the same; and applying the Rents and Profits thereof, for the better civilising and improving the Highlands of Scotland; and preventing Disorders there for the future'.¹ After specifying which particular estates were to be annexed out of those forfeited in 1747,² the Annexing Act went on to direct that the clear rents and produce of lands so annexed to the crown and held in trust as earlier directed in the act, should be applicable 'to the purpose of civilising the Inhabitants upon the said estates, and other Parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the promoting amongst them the Protestant Religion, good Government, Industry and Manufactures and the Principles of Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, his heirs and Successors and to no other Use and Purpose whatsoever'.

It was not a new idea for the government or crown to attempt to control wild areas of the country by granting land to known and trustworthy supporters. The Ulster Plantation and the Fife Adventurers of the early seventeenth century show the touching belief that it was possible to graft loyalty and obedience on to rebellious shoots. What was novel in this act was the conception that the proceeds of these annexed estates should be devoted solely to benefiting and improving the area where they lay and not to filling the pockets of either the Privy Purse or of those loyal supporters brave or foolish enough to risk their money and often their lives in the venture. Of course, it was hoped to achieve 'civilisation' by these measures which it was assumed, would lead to the establishment of law and order and hence be an advantage to the

1. 25 George II c.41. Hereafter, the Annexing Act. For full text, see Appendix B.
2. The Vesting Act.

government. But the act shows unmistakable traces of a philanthropy and an embryonic sense of the importance of different regions of the United Kingdom which has expressed itself in various guises from the foundation of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries in 1727 until in 1965 it reached its apotheosis in the Highlands and Islands Development Board. Also in an improving age, it must have seemed a heaven-sent opportunity to be able to take over such a large area of Scotland and to reorganise it in such a way that it must be obvious to the meanest and most conservative intelligence that a better way of life was possible and preferable.

An unsigned manuscript in the Advocates' Library expresses the general aims of the annexation.¹ Entitled "Hints towards the settlement of the Forfeited Estates in the Highlands", this shows some prescience in one respect when the writer remarks that 'the chiefs in general being fond of travelling and entering into military service, will continually want to raise money, either for extravagance or in order to push their fortunes abroad; which will lead them into a quick sale of their estates, whereby new persons without power or authority to lead clans into any insurrection will become landlords'. He forecast much initial expense but considered that in time the considerable augmentation of the rents, new houses, industry and manufactures, would 'demonstrate the Lenity and Compassion of the present Government ... and the new Improvements and Happiness of these Inhabitants will be received with Universal Applause and with deep conviction of the Goodness of the present Royal Family under whom, notwithstanding all the Provocation received, so much generosity has been extended to the Highlands'.²

1. Adv. Ms. 19.1.35, ff. 22-24. Hereafter Hints. See Appendix C for full transcript.
2. Hints, art. 13.

This was dated 13th December, 1752, twelve days before the Annexing Act was passed. The treatment meted out after the 1745 may have appeared generous to the government - it is unlikely that any Highlander could have been persuaded so to regard it.

The Barons of the Exchequer had originally surveyed fifty-three estates but twelve of these the Court of Session declared not to be legally forfeited for one reason or another, and of the forty-one left, only thirteen were actually annexed in 1752.¹ These were Arnprior, Ardsheal, Barrisdale, Callart, Cluny, Cromarty, Kinlochmoidart, Lochgarry, Lochiel, Lovat, Monaltry, Perth and Struan and they covered a very large part of Scotland.² Perth, Arnprior, Struan, Lochgarry, Cluny and Lovat formed a chain from six miles north of Stirling almost to Inverness, interrupted only by Breadalbane's lands and cutting a swathe between thirty and forty miles broad through central Scotland. A short distance north of Inverness, the Earl of Cromarty's estates spread right across country from coast to coast. To the west of the chain were Ardsheal, Barrisdale, Kinlochmoidart and Lochiel, and on the east, quite disjointed and so small it can only have been included to provide a foothold in a strong Jacobite area, the estate of Francis Farquharson, Monaltry, in the parish of Crathie.³

In fact, five of these estates in toto, and two in part, did not come under the aegis of the commissioners appointed under the Annexing Act until 1770. Ardsheal, Callart, Cluny, Lochgarry and Lochiel, the largest in the west, were held of subject superiors, as were parts of Arnprior and Kinlochmoidart. The Lochgarry superior was the Duke of

1. SRO., F.E.P. 1745. Inventory, Introduction.
2. See Appendix L for proprietors.
3. N.L.S. Minto E.F.P. 35.

Atholl, Arnprior's was John Erskine of Carnock. Kinlochmoidart, Ardsheal and part of Lochiel held of the Duke of Argyll, while the rest of Lochiel and all the other estates not in clear possession of the attainted held of the Duke of Gordon.

As it was undesirable that there should be any legal let or hindrance to the Crown's complete control over the estates, James West and Nicholas Hardinge, Joint Secretaries to the Treasury, were appointed in 1755 to compound with the subject superiors who claimed the property.¹ Permission to buy lands so situated had been granted in the Annexing Act.² But it was fifteen years later before the Crown did in fact buy the superiorities. The areas involved were not the most prosperous and perhaps not much suited to the development of industry or the introduction of lowland agricultural methods, but fifteen years longer under the management of the Barons or the Exchequer who were responsible only for day-to-day business, rent collection and payment of debts can have done little or nothing to forward the aims of the annexation. Apart from the effect on the individual estates, the resources of the Board for the Annexed Estates³ were reduced as they had no access to the rent of these estates, which amounted to over £1,200, until 1770.

This delay may seem merely unfortunate; another that is inexplicable is that though the Annexing Act was passed in 1752, government activity - activity that produced positive results at least - ceased. The act was not implemented until 1755 when commissioners were at last

1. Scots Magazine 17, p.212.
2. Appendix B.
3. See Preface on the Board's title.

appointed under the Privy Seal.¹ As to why there should have been this delay, it is possible only to hazard a guess. The principle of annexation had not been universally approved; there had been a fair amount of opposition in Parliament to its passage², so perhaps influential circles had been working behind the scenes to counteract the proposals or even to have the act repealed. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Cumberland had secretly encouraged the Opposition to resist the annexation as strenuously as they could. The Duke of Bedford thought that if mild measures were applied to Scotland, 'rebellion would become a national malady'³, but Duncan Forbes and Pelham felt that amelioration of the people's condition was the best method of preventing disaffection.⁴ Then the uncertainty as to who was in fact responsible for the management of Scottish affairs after the abolition of the Secretaryship of State for Scotland, may have contributed to the time gap between the passing of the Annexation Act and its implementation.

On the other hand, the explanation may be quite simply that the government in London was more interested in European politics and after 1754, on the death of Pelham, in the appointment of a leader in the House of Commons, than in any reforms in the remote north of Scotland. What is certain is that it was not until 23 June 1755 that a statutorily constituted commission met in Edinburgh, three years after the passing of the Annexing Act and almost ten years after Prince Charles Edward's landing in Moidart.⁵

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1. E722/1.
 2. Parliamentary History of England xiv, 1235 - 1271.
 3. Omond, Advocates ii, 49.
 4. Omond, Advocates ii. 41.
 5. E721/1, p.1.

Before dealing with the work of the commissioners, it is perhaps worth commenting on one legal point that arose from the Annexing Act. This concerned the position of creditors of the attainted. The Vesting Act of 1747 enacted that the property of those found to be legally attainted were to be sold once debts had been proved and creditors had first claim on the proceeds. The Annexing Act expressly saved the rights of creditors - the preamble included the words 'for making satisfaction to the lawful creditors thereupon' - but further wording that the proceeds of the estates were to be used for 'civilising ... promoting amongst them the Protestant religion ... and to no other Use or Purpose whatsoever' caused eventual agreement among lawyers that settlement of debts out of rents was no longer possible.¹ The realisation must slowly have dawned too that had this not been the case, there would have been little or no surplus left to carry out the purposes of the Annexing Act. As a result, Parliament had to make special provision for satisfying creditors, and this took the business of dealing with claims out of the hands of the Annexed Estates Commissioners.² The substantial sums required gave some strength to Clerk of Penicuik's statement that the only thing certain about the rebels was that most of them were bankrupt.³

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1. NLS Minto, EFP. 35 Memo on debts - note on margin.
 2. e.g. 32 George II c.36 included in Supply £69,910.15.9¼ towards paying debts on the estate of Perth.
10 George III c.52 provided £72,000 to pay debts on various estates, to provide an annuity for the widow of Coll MacDonald or Barrisdale and towards the purchase of the superiorities of Ardsheal, Cluny, Kinlochmoidart, Lochgarry and Lochiel.
 3. J. Gray Clerk of Penicuik's Memoirs, S.H.S. (Edinburgh 1892), p.220 Hereafter Gray, Clerk.

2. ADMINISTRATION OF THE ANNEXED ESTATES

One aspect of annexation merits attention almost equally with the actual policies planned and attempted, that is the efficiency or otherwise of the administrative methods involved. Any results from government policy carried out by an organisation such as the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates were bound to be affected not only by the policy itself but by the system of execution. In many ways this Board was an embryonic form of the contemporary public corporation for it consisted of members appointed by the central government and it was expected to follow government policy as laid down in the Annexing Act and in the instructions given by the central government. These instructions, like the policy guidelines to the public corporation, reached Edinburgh in only very general terms initially and the commissioners were expected to formulate detailed schemes of economic, social and religious development within these broad outlines. The great difference between the responsibility of today's public corporation and that of the eighteenth century Board was that the Treasury then intended maintaining much stricter supervision over day-to-day management than does today's central bureaucracy. Had these intentions been realised, or alternatively, had more independence been granted to the managing board, better administration and possibly as a result better results might have been achieved on the estates, but the long delay between the enactment of the annexing legislation and the appointment of the commissioners was only a foretaste of what was to follow.

The elements of centralisation and bureaucratic control that have tended to appear in any form of state management are strikingly present

in the administrative records of the Board. The central government controlled the Board in Edinburgh through the Treasury which had to approve all expenditure and appointments¹ and through the Crown. The commissioners were required to submit regular, usually annual reports on past achievements to the King and Treasury, at the same time suggesting future policy. Without Royal approval they were unable to initiate major economic or social plans.² Yet the composition of the Board once it was appointed hardly indicated a body of men who would need strict supervision.³ The first appointments included such Scottish peers as Archibald, Duke of Argyll - a 'name on the Board' apparently, for he did not appear at even the first meeting - John, Marquis of Tweeddale, James, Earl of Findlater, who were well known for their agricultural improvements and for their interest in industry as well, being members of the Board of Trustees.⁴ The Lord President of the Court of Session, the Lord Chief Baron, The Lord Justice Clerk and the Commander-in-Chief of H.M. Forces in Scotland were all ex officio members; there were several Commissioners of Customs and a great preponderance of lawyers. On the first list, there were twenty-eight names, most of them eminent, able and energetic, at least in their own pursuits and interests.⁵ And apart from their official careers, these interests it will be found were in the type of activities which the proceeds of the annexed estates were

1. E725/1-5.

2. E721/1

3. See Appendix D.

4. The inclusion of the Earl of Findlater strikes an odd note as in 1753 he presented a petition to the King detailing his faithful services and suggesting that he might be given the forfeited estates of Lord John Drummond as a reward. This was the highest rental of all the estates annexed in 1752. A & H Talyer. Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in The Forty-Five. (Aberdeen, 1928) pp. 92-93.

5. E722/1 pp. 4 and 5.

expected to encourage - manufactures and industry, fishing, the establishment of new settlements, agricultural improvements. It was a promising collection, however tardily got together.

Once appointed and met, the Board had some necessary immediate administrative preparations to make. Factors had to be appointed and some who had worked for the Barons of the Exchequer were retained, at least in an interim capacity.¹ They had to find an office, suitable both for meetings and for storing records; they needed administrative and clerical assistance. A secretary was ready at hand. At the first meeting, a letter was awaiting the commissioners from the Duke of Newcastle, recommending a Mr. Stamp Brooksbank as a 'fit person to be the secretary' and suggesting a salary of £500 p.a.² No fewer than four members of the Board were directed to 'assist the Lord President in preparing an answer' to this letter; a very high-powered four, the Lord Advocate, the Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Milton and Lord Deskford. A secretary was obviously essential if the commissioners were to have time for anything else but writing letters in five-part harmony!³

The strength of this committee is explained by the doubts of the Board that anyone unknown to them should be appointed even on such authority as the Duke's and their certainty that £500 was too large a salary. A tactful reply was necessary, but the Duke having assured the Board that he had made full enquiry into Mr. Brooksbank's character, was quite happy, as was his nominee, to consider a salary of £300, though he declared he 'never thought of the salary in any other light than as an inducement to a gentleman of Rank, Character and Ability to give up his whole time' to the position.⁴ Mr. Brooksbank was duly appointed at the

1. E723/1 p. 24. See Appendix E.
3. E721/1 p.12.

2. E725/1 p.1.
4. E727/4/1(2)

lower salary on 14 July 1755¹ and remained with the Board until 1762 when he resigned on receiving another post and was succeeded by Mr. Henry Barclay of Collernie. His son, William Barclay, was clerk for fifteen years becoming conjunct secretary with his father in December, 1771, when the former's age and health interrupted the 'necessary attendance to the Execution of the duties of his office.'² William Barclay succeeded as sole secretary until his death in 1783, when John Clerk became the last secretary of the Board.³ A fortnight after the secretary's appointment a clerk joined the establishment at £70 per annum and provision was made for another to be appointed at £40.⁴

A further necessary expense was that of agents' appointments in both Edinburgh and London. The first Edinburgh lawyer was William Alston and he served the commissioners until 1771 when Allen Macdougall succeeded him.⁵ Alston was paid £70 annually until 1762 when this retainer was increased to £100 because of the increase in business, as was the first clerk's salary.⁶ In London, Milward Rowe served as agent at £20⁷ per annum until 1782, when William Mitford succeeded him.⁸ The duties of the London agent were obviously much lighter than those of the Edinburgh officers.

Before a permanent office was decided on, the Board met in the hall of the Trustees for the Funds of Widows and Children of the Church of Scotland, but they reasonably soon found a solution to their accommodation problem. Various people with accommodation to let or sell had approached them or been approached, but all the negotiations fell

1. E721/1 p.16
3. E725/3/12
5. E725/3/9
7. E725/3/1

2. E725/3/8
4. E721/1 p.21
6. E721/6 p.246
8. E725/3/11

through.¹ Then it was realised that a house belonging to the Lovat estate and hence now under the Board's management was 'very conveniently situated', near the Tron Kirk. In November, 1755, Mr. John Adam, the architect was instructed to inspect the office with a view to its being used as an office, and three months later, the Adam Brothers sent in a report and plan of the house with their proposals for altering it.² They were less than enthusiastic. The plan showed a six-roomed flat on one floor and their letter ended: 'The House is in very indifferent condition, so that to put it in proper order and to make the alterations necessary for converting it from its present shape into an office would require at least £300. At the same time we beg leave to observe that the accommodation would be very much confined and indeed less than such an office ought to have'.

Nevertheless, the Board decided to go ahead and by 1757, the house had been fitted up by Charles Howison Wright, for £340. 2. $3\frac{2}{12}$.³ This was reduced to £330. 19. $3\frac{2}{12}$ as six mahogany chairs, a chimney piece, 'pocker', tongs and fender were returned.⁴ In 1774, when Major-General Simon Fraser, as he had become, had his patrimonial estates restored to him for services rendered to the Hanoverians, he invited the commissioners to continue using his house and consider it 'as much at their service as before H.M's grant'.⁵ (However, that did not stop his agent, James Fraser, making a sharp demand for overdue rent after the disannexation of all the estates!). This 'house' or flat was one of the usual High Street tenements with a china shop below, presumably on the ground floor⁶ and other accommodation above, part of which was rented by at least one doorkeeper employed by the Board.⁷

1. E727/3

3. E721/2 p.5

5. E721/11 p.138

7. See below

2. E727/3/5(1)

4. E732/1/4

6. E728/5

The office was fairly lavishly furnished. A quantity of the Scotch carpet 'of the best kind' cost £4.12.6. curtains for the directors' room £1.10.0, and saxon green watered stuff for other curtains, 17/4.¹ The rooms were all papered, some in pink diamond pattern, some blue-flowered, some stucco-painted paper.² Pewter inkstands were provided and the somewhat extraordinary number of seven and a half dozen purple Dutch pigs.³ Twelve elm and twelve beech leather-seated chairs cost £7.4.0 and £5.2.0 respectively while decoration was not forgotten, with a bust of Shakespeare's head at 10/6.⁴, £10 for a clock with a 4/6 pedestal⁵ and £2.5.6 for dove-coloured marble in the chimney.⁶

Once this office was in use, the commissioners had to employ a doorkeeper and at first he had accommodation in the same tenement. When he had to move for reasons unspecified, he pointed out to the Board that he had to keep a servant to maintain his own house as a result, 'a great charge upon him in these times of scarcity!'⁷. So he was allowed an extra £2 making his wages £30 per annum. A few years later, he complained that because of the lack of room in the office for him, and the distance of his own house from the office he had had to hire a house in the same stair at a 'high yearly rent'. This he reckoned necessary to keep adequate charge of the house, including lighting and extinguishing fires. This was apparently considered quite reasonable for he was awarded another £10 yearly.⁸ This man was not slow in seeing where he could add to his wages. When Princess Caroline died in 1758, he sent in asking for mourning clothes⁹, and in 1760 for another £5 on the death of George II,

1. E732/1/6

3. E732/1/10

5. E732/1/5

7. E721/2 p.107

9. E721/4 p.42

2. E732/1/6, 10

4. E732/1/4

6. E732/1/10

8. E721/6 p.292

'as is given in all other public offices'¹. He also received regular payments for copying for the Board.²

As well as dealing with the necessary minutiae of administrative organisation, the Board almost immediately applied themselves to the wider issues involved in their commission, making all sorts of plans, and as a first step, arranging as was statutorily necessary that the estates should all be accurately surveyed. One of the Board, Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson, was eminently suited to the task of overseeing this project as it had been he who suggested to the Duke of Cumberland that there was great need for a proper survey of the Highlands and William Roy had first worked on his staff.³ Within a week he had produced detailed instructions for surveyors and had them approved by the commissioners. The first item recommended as necessary was that the surveyor 'reconnoiter the whole estate' and this alone when one considers the extent of the annexed estates would have accounted for the length of time and the expense that these surveys involved.⁴ As well as the boundaries of each farm, attention had to be paid to the type of arable, meadow and wood lands; whether bogs could be easily drained, the nature of the woods, whether ground was improvable or not. Fords, ferries, bridges, villages, farms even dothouses within the estates were to be particularly surveyed, boundaries of the parishes, and the distance of the most remote parts of the parish from the church. This last was essential if the commissioners were to carry out their statutory duty of forming new parishes where such distances were unreasonable.⁵

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1. E721/5 p.32
 2. E732/1/6 et alia
 3. Inglis, H.R.G. The Early Maps of Scotland, R.S.G.S. (Edinburgh, 1936) pp. 12, 98. Hereafter Inglis, Early Maps.
 4. e.g. E723/1 £62.5.0 paid to May, the balance for 1757-58; p.57, £20 to John Leslie, £19.7.0 to Adam; p.74 £167.7.6 for surveying; p.85 £50 in 1760.
 5. See Appendix B.

These surveys were undoubtedly necessary, as well as the judicial rentals taken by officials¹, when we see how the Board eventually ran the estates. They produced very detailed pictures of the estates as we can see from the photocopy of William Morison's description of part of Lochiel, but this is available only through the courtesy of Colonel D.H. Cameron of Lochiel who allowed the Scottish Record Office to copy this, for most of these surveys and resulting plans were given to the returning proprietors in 1784.² The surveys were also extraordinarily expensive. The type of country, the weather (much bemoaned as 'inclement' and blamed by the surveyors for the length of time they needed to produce results)³ lack of cooperation from the inhabitants, and sometimes active opposition which required the company of troops⁴, all combined to make this exercise a heavy drain on the rents. Surveyors were employed throughout the annexation as, of course, on any large estate whenever any divisions or amalgamations of holdings were under consideration, or during negotiations with neighbours over boundaries and excambions.

Apart from achieving adequate surveys of the estates, however, the commissioners immediately ran into difficulties in putting any of their plans into operation. Their problem was the central government. Despite the Duke of Newcastle's promptitude in finding a place for a protege and giving 'the strongest assurance of my utmost assistance'⁵ his interest did not cause any action otherwise. There was nothing so positive as active obstruction that could have been attacked; just

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1. Catalogued under particular estates.
 2. SR0.RH 2/8-26.
 3. Adv. Ms.28.1.6 vol.1, f.428. David Bruce also told the Barons of the Exchequer it took him nine hours on one occasion to travel eleven miles.
 4. E777/84/2.
 5. E727/4/1(3).

massive indifference. The delay in appointing commissioners may have been one sample of this lack of interest. An equally serious example is that from its inception the Board send statutory biannual reports faithfully to their agent in London, Milward Rowe, to forward to the Duke of Newcastle and succeeding First Lords of the Treasury, to be handed to the King. But the Treasury paid very little attention to these¹ despite the Duke's earlier assurances, and the Crown ignored them completely in the five years after 1755. There are no records of royal approval or disapproval in these years and this is not because they have been lost in the various moves that have been the lot of this collection of papers in the last two centuries. There were no replies to lose. The report of 1758 repeats that the commissioners are anxiously waiting comment on the 1757 report, pointing out that their 'progress had been somewhat retarded'.² The lack of formal approval meant that the Board and hence the annexed estates were in a state of suspended animation for no major policy, economic, religious, social or educational, could be initiated without royal approval. Such large schemes as turning Tarbat House into a linen station like the establishments set up by the Board of Trustees at Lochbroom and Lochcarron never got past the blueprint stage.³ That this was a blessing in disguise as this plan would probably have used up the whole surplus of the estates and have been as unsuccessful as these other incredibly situated factories is beside the point to be noted here which is that it was not even mentioned, when eventually a response came from London. It might have been a scheme which would have revolutionised

1. The Treasury warrants of approbation in E725/1-5 refer solely to the appointment of officials and salaries.

2. E723/1, p.68.

3. E723/1, pp. 58, 64.

the Highland economy but the Board awaited comment and approval in vain.

Eventually in their first report of 1760, the Board pointed out that no plan or method of distribution of the rents could be put into execution until approved by a 'writing under Your Majesty's Sign Manual' and so far H.M. pleasure had not been made known to them, so they thought themselves bound in duty to stop further proceedings.¹ They had not been completely idle, of course, in these five years, and on the accession of George III, they took heart and sent in a long description of all they had in fact achieved and what they had so far proposed.² The result was the appointment of a new Board, not noticeably different from the old one, with a few more eminent 'Improvers' - improvers in every field but also lawyers again, such as Lord Kames and Lord Gardenstone and the Sheriff Deputes of Perth and Forfarshire.³ Throughout the life of the Board, as need arose, or as suitable people became available, new appointments were made, one very interesting one in 1771 being Archibald Menzies, after his resignation from the post of the Board's General Inspector to become a Commissioner of Customs. The second-last appointment was that of Henry Dundas, in 1783.⁴ Thereafter, there was usually some sort of reaction to correspondence and reports but all through the period of annexation there were delays because of tardy answers from the Crown and Treasury.

No pattern or logic is obvious in what were presumably civil service dealings with annexed estates business; probably eighteenth century administrative methods generally and specifically a certain disinterest in North Britain combined to ensure that random selection operated. Some suggestions were speedily approved, others sat apparently ignored for

1. E723/1, p.79.

2. E723/1, p.89

3. E722/1 pp. 16, 17.

4. E722/1, p.38

years, pigeonholed somewhere in Whitehall. But it must have been extremely frustrating for any of the commissioners who were actively interested in what must have seemed at least at the outset, an exciting, challenging and promising project. Central control of expenditure was also erratically strict and sometimes took the commissioners by surprise. They undoubtedly believed after 1760 that they would have more freedom of movement than in fact turned out to be the case. In 1762, Lord Milton had been sure that if the sum allocated to Dr. Cullen for his research on cashube ashes was inadequate, the King would allow a further grant.¹ Possibly this was so but when the Board did in fact lend money to several manufacturers without prior permission to avoid delay, the Treasury's 'dead hand' fell flat and clammy and they were instructed to regain the £2,100 paid out.² This particular episode illustrates not only the occasional emphasis placed by the central government on absolute control of the disposition of finance but is another example of the tardiness of reactions in London. Consider the dates. The Board reported the grant of money in March 1764³; the minutes of January 1765 record the reception of royal disapproval,⁴ a time lag of a year. Without independent action by the commissioners, some small undertakings set up only because of guaranteed state support, might have collapsed, losing not only the advantages hoped for but the grant already spent. One sturdy entrepreneur, James Welch, a tanner in Inverness threatened to give up, so disgusted was he at delay in receiving promised capital.⁵

This brush with the Treasury made them more cautious in future. Previously they had overcome red tape in smaller matters by making requests in their reports for permission to use a specific amount for very general

1. E721/6, p.198.
3. E723/2, p.69.
5. E723/2, p.107.

2. E723/2, p.75.
4. E721/8, p.72.

purposes. In 1758, £200 per annum had been suggested for indenturing and supporting apprentices,¹ though this did not of course, become operative until after 1760. In 1767, £900 a year for three years was proposed for the encouragement of the linen industry, and this was approved.² This gave them a little more independence, and they did not even try to spend £900 in one year as in fact such a sum was not available in hard cash. But each year, in such cases, they added the annual allowance, said what had been spent, and gave the capital remaining. This ensured that if any large expense arose they had money ready, in theory at least. For example, in 1773, £77.4.10 had been spent on linen manufacturing from the fund of £1,804,4,7 $\frac{6}{12}$ leaving £1,726,19.9 $\frac{6}{12}$ from the original capital of £2,700, in itself the aforementioned sum of £900 a year for three years.³

Two points are worth noting about these types of grants. First the sums were largely theoretical and there was not necessarily the amount of money in hand that was mentioned. Secondly, detailed accounts were apparently not demanded by the Treasury and as a result the commissioners exercised a certain amount of discretion. Thus £50 allowed for 'encouraging artificers in Crieff and Callendar' in 1763 had been used for two years to support a mill in Crieff for making coarse paper.⁴ It was easy to rationalise this expenditure but the original idea had undoubtedly been that individual craftsmen should be set up with a decent house and garden and some tools. Then when the apprenticeship scheme was abandoned or at least cut down in some disgust, the Board did not apply to have the £200 yearly allowance available for some other purpose. The entries in their Journal read 'To Henry Barclay (the secretary) for apprentices and incidents'. That could cover a multiplicity of

1. E723/1, p.70.
3. E723/2, p.212.

2. E721/10, p.104
4. E723/2, p.137.

expenditure.¹

We can see then, that the central government's supervisory powers over the commissioners were exercised spasmodically, sometimes tardily - most often tardily, one might go that far! - sometimes over cautiously, sometimes with supreme lack of interest. The commissioners' own organisation in Edinburgh must be examined. Grounds for criticism are easily found, and I cannot subscribe to A.H. Millar's description of their administration as 'brilliant'.² It would be wrong to judge their filing system by the disorderly state the collection of papers was in before being recatalogued in the early 1960's by the Scottish Record Office for there had been moves from one repository to another and a fire in the Exchequer where they were kept after the disannexation in 1784.³ Against this apologia, we must face the fact that in 1768, one of the clerks, James Morison, was recommended by Lord Ellick for a bonus and commended for the extra work he had had in 'sorting the great confusion' in the office accounts.⁴ Secondly, even after Morison's work, confusion must still have reigned in some areas, for the following January, the Barons of the Exchequer were threatening to take the Annexed Estates Board to court for omitting to send them due records of the money arising from the estates.⁵ Now several members of the latter Board were also Barons, so I think we can fairly assume that the Exchequer was not over-reacting to the first occasion on which something of the kind had happened. In fact, much earlier, in the Minto papers, there is a very irritated, undated (but mentioning the 1757 report), unsigned sheet of complaints that the Board had sent to the government no plans, no surveys, no reports or even

1. E732/7, 8, 9.

2. A.H. Millar, A Selection of Forfeited Estates Papers, 1715: 1745 S.H.S. (Edinburgh, 1909) xlvii. Hereafter Millar, F.E.P.

3. S.R.O. FEP1745 Inventory, Introduction.

4. E721/10, p.197.

5. E721/11, p.23.

abstracts of reports by factors or anyone else on the suggestions made in this report; nothing in fact on which any decisions could be taken.¹ Carelessness and delay were not the prerogative of the central government. Perhaps, of course, it was merely that the Adam brothers had been right and the accommodation was in fact quite unsuitable!

However, other factors point to a degree of inefficiency, and while it would probably be maligning the commissioners to say that they resembled their London master in showing indifference, the management of the annexed estates had certainly not first call on their energies. One can hardly be surprised at this, for they were all busy eminent men with professions or estates, or both, of their own to attend to, and their duties on the Board brought no material rewards. The lack of any sense of urgency can be seen in considering the attendance at Board meetings. The first meeting in 1755 attracted a large turn-out, twenty of the twenty-eight appointed,² but Board meetings were not infrequently postponed through lack of a quorum, which was only five, and on more than one occasion because no commissioners at all appeared. In the first five years, there were only monthly meetings which cannot have expedited business. The clerk wrote to one of the factors on one occasion in May, 1757: 'I find that the whole business of the Board on Monday was transacted in one line - Adjourned to Monday 20th June', That meant two months between meetings. He went on: 'Yesterday, the standing committee consisted of Lord Milton and he adjourned himself to the first day of the session in June'.³ The standing committee had been appointed in 1757, it should be noted to allow for a certain amount of specialisation and speedier transaction of business.⁴ On 18th December, 1758, only Lord George Beauclerk and Lord Somerville attended so the meeting was adjourned until January 8th 1759

1. N.L.S. Minto Papers, EFP 35.

3. S.R.O. GD87/1/77.

2. E721/1

4. E721/2, p.14.

when no members at all appeared, as on January 15th and eventually a quorum was achieved on January 22nd.¹ In March 1760, there was another adjournment until June, but at least the first clerk John Robertson was instructed 'in anything of an emergency' to apply for directions to 'any of the commissioners who might be about town'.²

The new Board commissioned by George III tried to overcome the difficulty of collecting a quorum by deciding to hold meetings at a fixed hour, on a fixed day each week.³ They were perhaps driven to this by their record in the first few months of their corporate existence when they met twice in August and then not until November. At least, with a definite unchanging day and hour, members could hardly plead previous engagements. Failure on this scale to attend meetings can surely be taken as indicating something less than intense interest in their commission. Small committees were appointed to look into individual matters such as leases, schools, bridges⁴, minutes of their meetings being intermingled with those of the full Board.

Another somewhat surprising aspect of the Board's administration is that they definitely did not consider regular visits to the estates as a necessary ineluctable part of their duties. There seem to be no records of official visitations by commissioners to these extensive areas under their control. From the beginning, they conceived of the whole administration being carried out on their part by letters and verbal instruction to their staff, their views having been formed solely from consideration of surveys, maps, plans and reports from various officers. The end results can hardly be acclaimed, though to give the commissioners their due, they

1. E721/4, pp. 158, 159, 160.
3. E721/6, pp. 17, 30.

2. E721/4, p.267.
4. E721/6, p.13.

were aware of the deficiencies of this approach. They could hardly be otherwise, for landowners as many of them were, it is difficult to believe that they managed their own estates with such remote control. This may be slightly harsh criticism to make in an eighteenth-century context for even Grant of Monymusk did not apparently visit his estates every year, if we are to judge from the letter from his gardener, John Middleton, regretting his absence 'this season' as his presence had far more effect than 'twenty precepts'.¹ An obituary on James Ogilvy, Earl of Findlater and Seafield, considered it worth noting that he had 'for many years past resided almost constantly on his own estates'.² But to abdicate almost entirely from the necessity of personal supervision seems irresponsible.

To help overcome the disadvantages of absentee landlordism, the Board decided to appoint a Riding Officer or General Inspector as their substitute. Even here, central delays had their effect for in 1758, they decided to delay his circuit because of having had no word of the King's pleasure with regard to the last report.³ But their consciousness of the limitations of their methods is clearly revealed in a paragraph in one draft of instructions to this officer, which even more significantly, was ordered to be struck out and not even minuted. 'You are also to keep in mind that you are appointed for this reason chiefly that the Trustees themselves consist of a number of Lords and Gentlemen who have other Employments, Business or Avocations and can but seldom have opportunity to see with their own eyes what is fit to be done or going forward in several parts in prosecution of the purposes of the said law'. (i.e. the Annexing Act).⁴ The General Inspector went out on a tour in the summer, first with a salary of £100 and 10/6 per day travelling expenses, then when Menzies was appointed, £150 and one guinea a day.⁵ This

1. Henry Hamilton, ed. Monymusk Papers, S.H.5 (Edinburgh, 1945) p.98. Hereafter Hamilton, Monymusk.

2. Scots Magazine, 32. 630.

3. E721/4, p.115.

4. E726/1, p.49.

5. E722/2 17-2-1765.

officer had to make reports on the general conditions of the estates and on individual projects which were sometimes mentioned in his instructions.¹

This was not a continuous appointment and even at an early date there was some discussion among the commissioners as to whether it was necessary.² Francis Grant, the first appointed, died in 1762 and Archibald Menzies was appointed to replace him in 1764.³ When he resigned to become a Commissioner of Customs, he offered to continue his duties gratis and no further official appointment was made until after his death in 1780. Then Adam Drummond was appointed on 20th November, 1780,⁴ but has left no records of any activity. William Frend became an inspector and supervisor of the estate of Perth and in 1781 there is a receipt for his term of inspection.⁵ Menzies' reports ceased however, and this is unfortunate for they were revealing and Menzies did not mince words in criticism of the management by the commissioners or anyone else.

Another means used by the commissioners to compensate for their absence from the estates was to demand the factors' attendance at the Edinburgh office, fairly frequently and expensively. The Struan accounts for example have regular entries of £25 for the factor's travelling expenses to Edinburgh.⁶ The other side of this coin was their apparent distrust of factors who were on the defensive throughout their tenure of office. This partly arose from one of the aims of the annexation which is perhaps best described in the words of the manuscript previously mentioned; that of 'infusing (the inhabitants) with a deep conviction of the Goodness of the present Royal Family'.⁷ Translated into administrative terms this

1. E729/8.

3. E725/3

5. E732/22; E721/11, p.211.

7. Hints.

2. NLS Minto EFP 35.

4. E722/2.

6. E783/102-106.

clashed vigorously with efficiency and undermined the position of the Board's representatives, especially the factors, vis-a-vis the tenants. In the mysterious way that such information gets about, the tenants of the annexed estates got wind of this and boasted that now they were the king's tenants, they would be much better off than anyone else. There was even a rumour that rents were all to be reduced by one-fifth, or even a quarter.¹

Rumour was not too far from the truth. There was general attention to tenants' welfare, such as buying meal in times of scarcity, and in 1757, the Struan factor was instructed to buy meal and in addition: 'As for the poor in general, you are to join with the neighbouring heritors and be as forward as any of them for their relief'.² In 1765, when the Perth estate was divided for administrative reasons into Highland and Lowland divisions, William Lawson, clerk to the dismissed factor, John Campbell of Barcaldine, was directed to take up the very large arrears of rent 'without hurting the tenant'.³ How this was to be reconciled with earlier strict instructions from the king that for the future 'factors be upon no consideration or pretence whatsoever excused from settling' is uncertain.⁴ The 'pretence' referred to was the 'alleged (my italics) scarcity of money in the Highlands arising from the bad sale of cattle', an attitude that seems to denote a certain ignorance of the Highland economy with its fluctuations and uncertainties.

A further result of this attitude to tenants may have been intensified by having so many lawyers on the Board. A complaint from a tenant about any of the officers' actions immediately set off a series of enquiries, charges and counter-charges, expensive correspondence and visits to Edinburgh, the complainants often inspired by what the factors considered

1. E783/84/1, p.13; E729/1, pp. 30, 31.

2. E726/1, pp. 82-83.

3. E721/10, p.72.

4. E724/1, p.14.

sheer contrariness. Archibald Menzies had a fairly good idea of the difficulties the factors faced and he gives a very sympathetic description of what they had to contend with in his reports for 1767-68.¹ He says: 'The factors upon these estates have been at great pains to divide the farms ... and have tried to carry out a number of other articles for improving the police of the estates but they have been very much discouraged from pushing those articles by the licentious dispositions of the tenants'. Apparently, whenever any decision was taken not entirely to the liking of the tenants, they got an agent to draw up a long paper of complaints and grievances to lay before the Board. Thereupon the factor was ordered to report, 'things are suspended until factors are further examined and after all, tho the tenant is found in the wrong no further notice is taken. Things are come to such a pass upon these estates that no order of the Board if in the least disagreeable to the tenants can be executed without going through all the different courts'. Note that the factors were 'further examined', not the tenants.

He directed the Board's attention to their accounts to consider the great expense they had been put to to have their 'orders executed and ended by the ruin of the litigating tenants' and he tried to convince the commissioners of the necessity of supporting their authority in the persons of their factors. No tenant he thought on being ordered to remove ever looked out for another possession, nor if an exchange was ordered, was a removal thought of until the tenant had tried all the courts. They knew that if their case was proved unjustified they would still get the first farm ordered. Menzies was on a similar tack when he wrote to the secretary from New Tarbat asking him to get the Board to defer action on complaints

1. E787/24.

until he returned from his tour, 'so preventing the disagreeable situation we have been in for some time past of doing one day and undoing another'.¹ He added that his only motive was to save the tenants from a 'parcel of Agents who squeeze the very life out of them'.

The factors' duties were heavy and responsible, as we can see from the Struan factor's list of only some of the things he had to do, in 1759.² 'Attend meetings of the Quarter Session and of neighbouring Gentlemen and J.P's to concert measures for the Police of the Country, the personal attendance to every new Work, carrying on in the estate by order of the Board' and here perhaps a touch of bitterness - 'even to reparation of a tenant's house, expense of sending money to the Receiver General³ and other things of that nature'. He added that the estate of Struan was so situated that it required 'constant attendance and application to keep the inhabitants in a due respect and obedience to the laws' and this made frequent visits to the different corners of the estate necessary to become personally acquainted with them to hear their complaints and grievances and to procure 'assistance and redress', all of which incurred expense apart from 'personal trouble'. Other duties included assisting in recruiting men in 1756 and 1757 for the forces.⁴ Factors had to be resident on the estate they factored for the greater part of the year, a reasonable condition, and they had also to refuse gifts of any sort from tenants, to preclude bribery.⁵ John Campbell of Barcaldine eventually lost his factory of the Perth estate in 1765, one of the accusations being just this, that he had accepted 'presents' but he had also been very lax in

1. E787/11/3.

2. E721/4, p.223.

3. All surplus from the estates had to be paid to this official.

4. E721/4, p.6.

5. E726/1, p.5.

sending in accounts, 1761 not being cleared until 1764,¹ and when an inquiry was made considerable discrepancy was found between his lists and that of the Inspector General who was eventually sent off with one of the clerks from the Edinburgh office to investigate.²

Despite the somewhat doubtful reliability of Barcaldine, it is worth quoting his letter to Lord Milton, regarding a breach in the banks of the River Earn. It does illuminate the difficulties the factors worked under. 'If I was acting for a single person I would go on with the work and expect his thanks, but I do not know that I might be found fault with if I exceed my order'.³ The factors had little confidence that their masters would support them and even after Menzies' comments, Thomas Keir on the Lowland division of Perth was not prepared to press a warning against a tenant in Auchinglen, who had cut down a 'good thriving ash tree', had not brought rent due when he said he would and had been very insolent.⁴ He needed definite orders. On another occasion, Barcaldine sent in asking for instructions and advice, very legitimately, and he got very little positive assistance. He wondered if he was at liberty to accept the 5/- and 10/- notes from the banks of Perth, Dundee, Auchtermuchty and Kirkliston, etc., as this was the only money he was able to collect. The commissioners' first reaction astoundingly was that they refused to give directions as to what notes the factor should take. Then one of those present, Mr. Drummond produced the information that the Bank of Edinburgh had agreed to give their notes for those of the Bank of Ayr and the three banks of Glasgow, the Old, the New and the Thistle. So the Board relented but only so far as to direct the secretary to write to the factor accordingly.⁵

1. E777/321, 322.
3. E777/84/101.
5. E721/8, p.82.

2. E721/9, p.140.
4. E777/87/29.

The factors had not only to defend themselves against tenants and Board. In 1765, the Lovat factor was faced with a court case, as a complaint had been laid against him for acting as a Commissioner of Supply in the County of Cromarty. He was liable to be fined £20 for every time he had attended if it was proved his attendance - as the Board's representative - was not legal. He had been advised to 'offer a reclaiming petition' and hoped the Board would 'join their appearance in this case'. All that is noted in the minutes is 'Read', cold comfort for someone whose annual salary would have paid only five of these fines.¹

The pay too was uncertain for it was calculated as 5% of the rents² and these varied annually according to the increase and decrease of the price of meal and barley of which the greater part of the rents consisted at least at the beginning of the annexation.³ In 1770, three of the longest-serving factors were given a considerable bonus, £100 per annum extra to Captain Forbes of New 'for his great Zeal and activity in civilising the Highlands',⁴ the same to James Small and £80 to Henry Butter.⁵ This mark of appreciation must have been the more welcome by comparison with the attitude revealed in 1766 when it was thought that the factories were too extensive and that the factors with the smaller salaries were more diligent. Further there was even a suggestion that allowances for houses, clerks, postage, and visits to Edinburgh were not warranted by law.⁶ Of course this was reaction to the realisation of Barcaldine's sins of both omission and commission, and the same paper recommended the division of the larger estates. This administrative arrangement was made and James Small was made factor on Struan and the Highland division of the estate of Perth and Thomas Keir on the Lowland division of Perth, the highest rented estate, at the end of 1766.⁷

1. E721/9, p.4.
3. E731/9/1; 1757, 58.
5. E721/11, p.42.
7. E725/3/6.

2. E731/9/1.
4. E721/11, p.40.
6. E731/9/2.

Certainly also, the factors were not all blameless. We have noted Barcaldine's dismissal; Ninian Jeffrey's cautioners withdrew their surety as they had heard rumours, correct as it turned out, that he had fallen into considerable arrears with the Coigach rent.¹ A.H. Millar quotes one depute factor who held all the mills on an estate and three farms considered the best in the country.² But the overall impression is of hard-working, honest and conscientious men who did their best under difficult conditions. When Small died in 1777, a list of the orders he had not carried out included two questions of disputed marches, one in 1774 and one in 1776, neglecting to purchase a drill and hoe for a labourer, in 1776 and failure to prosecute three tenants for keeping goats. The list is somewhat longer in 1777 when presumably his last illness hindered his working.³ It is not a bad record and merits the remark of Leslie, the surveyor, on 'Mr. Small's well-known complaisance'. Indeed when one considers the behaviour of the Edinburgh board, it may be thought surprising that Small had done so well for dilatoriness at the centre can have an infectious reaction at all levels.

In an effort to overcome delay on one occasion, Keir was driven to deviousness. He wrote to the secretary that a process commenced against tenants had been sent to the Board about two years previously and no answer or order had been received. He suggested that the secretary should examine the minutes and if there were no orders and nothing had been done, they should simply renew the process ... 'without giving the Board any further trouble about it or waiting for this copy to be laid before them.'⁴ A few years later he wrote that he was 'much surprised' that the Board had not come to a resolution about the rent of Muthil⁵ but one cannot avoid the suspicion that the expression of surprise was mere courtesy. By 1773, when this letter was written the picture that has emerged is one of

1. E746/99/1(2); 2(2).
3. E777/276/1, 2.
5. E777/87/50.

2. Millar, F.E.P., p.78.
4. E777/87/25.

flabbiness in the administration, too much centralisation combined with insufficient attention both in Edinburgh and in London, delay and procrastination.

These organisational and administrative mishaps and misjudgments, however, were to emerge in the course of the years of annexation and were certainly not anticipated in 1755. At that date the commissioners, once appointed, began their work in an atmosphere of enthusiasm, goodwill and optimism.

Chapter II.

GENERAL POLICY

1. THE ANNEXING ACT

There was a large attendance of Board members on 23rd June, 1755, who set to work to realise the general aims of the annexation and to carry out the more elaborate instructions facing them, forwarded by the Treasury.¹ The legal steps required to clear the debts on the estates need not concern us here for the commissioners were not involved in the settlement of these; this was the work of the Barons of the Exchequer. But arrangements about them, with recapitulation in the preamble of much of the legislation already passed in the post-1745 period to remove further opportunities for rebellion, were made in the Annexing Act. The commissioners or trustees were mentioned after the expression of the aims of the annexation, which were to be achieved by the application of the rents of the annexed estates to 'civilising the inhabitants upon the said estates, and other parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the promoting amongst them the Protestant religion, good Government, Industry and Manufactures, and the principles of Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and to no other use and purpose whatsoever'.

The general goal having been defined, however, the proposed methods of achieving it as expressed in the act are worth some study. First of all, the commissioners, appointed under the Privy Seal of Scotland, served in an honorary capacity, without even an allowance for expenses as one might expect today. Freedom of action for the central government was

1. E721/1, p.1, ff.

preserved by the clause relating to rents which directed that profits from the estates should be applicable 'in the Manner herein after mentioned, or in such other Manner as His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors shall from time to time by Warrants under His or Their Sign Manual, be pleased to direct', but it was presumably the priorities of the government which stand revealed by the order in which various duties, mandatory or permissive, are enacted.

Landholding and the power that ownership of land gave were already recognised as basic problems that had to be resolved before Highland society could be altered to achieve the consummation devoutly wished for by the government. The removal of the tenure of ward-holding mentioned in the preamble to the Annexing Act was only one indication of this and that the first power given to the commissioners was the ability to grant leases is a continuation of that recognition. Reforming agriculturalists considered, with some reason, that security of tenure was the first essential step towards improvement of agricultural methods, though as we shall see that one step alone was insufficient. Probably more important in the context of annexation, those who wished to transform the north saw the establishment of secure land-holding, independent of chiefs, as an essential move towards undermining the powers of chief and tacksmen, to which were attributed the unprogressive economic conditions, the lawlessness, the Roman Catholicism, or sometimes the paganism of the inhabitants of the north and west.¹

Both these views can be illustrated in terms of the Annexing Act which forbade subtenancy and gave specific encouragement in the shape of

1. E729/1, pp.26-27. The factor talks of the wadsetters and lesser gentlemen who wanted to keep the people in ignorance and slavery.

extremely long leases of forty-one years to tenants who would improve their holdings by spending five years rent in seven years from the granting of the lease. Oaths of loyalty were insisted upon before leases were allowed and a maximum rent of £20 was permitted for all holdings except for mines and fishing. The latter two conditions aimed at the avoidance of the emergence of a future type of tacksman who could rent large areas of land and as a result exert an influence that the government might not always consider beneficent. The regulations governing the appointment and behaviour of factors can also be seen as attempting to counteract possible subversive influence for presents and services from the tenants were strictly forbidden.

In the general permission to make arrangements for appointing clerks and other officials, the order to have all the estates surveyed and proposed improvements reported on at least once a year to Parliament, strikes a somewhat incongruous note, but a thorough knowledge of conditions on the estates and of their exact extent was profoundly necessary for efficient management and in fact was one of the first orders made by the board.

The attachment of many of the Highland areas to the Roman Catholic faith, especially when combined with the Catholicism of the family pretending to the throne, had been a constant source of worry to the Protestant establishment, and the inability of the Church of Scotland to attain complete conversion despite the activities of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge gave rise to further clauses in the act. The commissioners were to be permitted to divide parishes that were too large for satisfactory pastorship by one man and to provide stipends for the new charges if the whole parish was contained within one estate. No such parishes existed but provision was also made for similar

a view to dividing parishes¹, as was that for Ardnamurchan by its largely Roman Catholic population.² In Lochbroom, lists were even made of tenants and catechisable persons³ to assist the division³ and a committee of the Board thought that the Moderator of Glenelg Presbytery should be told that the Board would erect a new parish in Knoydart but had no funds available at the time.⁴

The fact that the commissioners could report to the king in 1766 that they felt there was no reason to fear the increase of Popery on the estates may have damped any sense of urgency on the part of the central government but in any case, the Board felt that only one parish could be erected per year, as the expense was so great.⁵ The General Assembly twice approached the Board⁶ but by 1781, when Principal Robertson was the emissary, they got cold comfort for by that time it was becoming clear that the estates would be returned to the original families and the Board wrote that they could not undertake any action that would tie the hands of future proprietors. It cannot be claimed, however, that even before this date they had pursued this section of Annexing Act's terms with vigour and their early belief that Roman Catholicism was no longer a danger no doubt affected their approach.

The proper share of the various estates in bearing the usual burdens of church maintenance, paying stipends and sometimes building new churches or manses was not neglected.⁷ In 1771 for example arrangements were made with the other heritors in Callander to build a new church there costing £500.⁸ The factor's accounts at Martinmas, 1772 show £153 for the steeple, £8.17.2 to Elias Scott, 'plummer' in Edinburgh for iron 'spier'

1. Scots Magazine, 22.363; E721/6, p.301.

2. E723/2, p.38

3. F.R. Cromarty 27.

4. E721/10, p.148

5. E723/2, p.105.

6. E727/43.

7. E721/6, p.150.

8. F.R. Perth, 22.

and cock for the steeple as well as £6.6.0 for a gown for the minister¹, so probably the larger proportion came out of the Perth rental, quite properly as the largest valuation in the parish was that of the Perth estate.² The commissioners also allowed £10 to pay an assistant at Comrie when the minister, Robert Menzies, became old and infirm³ but such subsidies were not extraordinary activities for the larger landowners in any area. The Catholic Drummond family of course might not have been very sympathetic.

Following religion, we next find the Annexing Act making provision for the Crown, in the persons of the commissioners, to improve the educational standards in the Highlands by building public schools, not only for the conventional purpose of teaching reading and writing English but for what in the eighteenth century must have seemed a revolutionary proposal. Schools could be built to give instruction in agriculture and manufactures and furthermore, the commissioners were to be enabled to set up residential establishments where they could maintain 'young Persons', not merely young male persons, it should be noted, while they learned suitable and desirable skills which might further the aims of the annexation. The school for agriculture was only talked about⁴ and never materialised; the only full-blown scheme for a school for manufactures was planned between 1755 and 1760 but it was first ignored by the Crown, despite the demand in the first set of instructions to the Board that plans should be drawn up for such purposes.⁵ Then it was overtaken by the withdrawal from all Highland areas of financial support by the Board of Trustees and Manufactures. But the encouragement of manufacturing arts and skills

1. F.R. Perth, 22; E777/327.

2. F.R. Perth, 20; E721/4, p.173 - 'A pretty considerable part' of the augmented stipend had fallen on the Perth tenants.

3. E777/327, 1775-76.

4. E728/9.

5. E721/1, p.7.

by paying teachers of spinning and knitting, by helping spinning schools and by subsidising apprentices and craftsmen, was a definite part, if not a very large part in financial terms, of the Board's activities¹, especially in the earlier years of the annexation.

The teaching of English was a different matter and one to which the government of Scotland had periodically turned its attention since the Reformation. The resistance of the largely Roman Catholic, Gaelic-speaking Highlander, to assimilation into the Protestant and Presbyterian, non-Gaelic culture of the southern parts of Scotland - resistance expressed sometimes passively by simply ignoring the central government but often in active revolt as in the Hebridean reaction to the Fife Adventurers - has been consistently deplored by the Lowland rulers whose aim has been peace and quiet and conformity throughout the whole realm. Equally consistently, this cultural resistance has been attributed in large measure to the retention of the Gaelic tongue. At the same time, the greater speed with which economic growth, law and order as understood in the south, and the accepted Protestant established church have been welcomed south of the Highland line, has made it possible for those apparently benefiting by and making material progress on account of such phenomena, to equate society developing on different lines as backward and uncivilised. The use of Gaelic, the people speaking the language, their preferred religion and the culture expressed in Gaelic have thus come to be condemned as barbaric and from 1609 when the Statutes of Iona were signed, the elimination of Gaelic has been a cardinal part of the aims of those influential in government and church who wished to 'civilise' the Highlands. The church recognised earlier than the state, however, that a non-Gaelic speaking minister in a Gaelic-speaking area was not much use as a pastor.²

1. See Chapter IV.

2. See following paragraph.

The law-makers were fairly explicit in the definition of their views and ambitions. The Statutes of Iona merely provided for the education of the sons of chiefs - or the eldest daughter if there were no sons - in the schools in the Lowlands where they could learn to 'speik, reid and wryte Inglische',¹ but the Privy Council by 1616 went further expressing the King's wish that the 'Irishe language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit'.² The General Assembly in 1688 could include 'erecting of English schools and rooting out the Irish language' among 'other pious uses'³ though almost eighty years later, a presentee of the Crown to Kirkhill was disqualified because he did not know Gaelic.⁴ The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge initially forbade the use of Gaelic even for instruction in English, a self-destructive ordinance one would have thought, where companions and parents still spoke 'Irish'. This order was rescinded in 1767⁵ but like the Bourbons, the educational establishment were slow learners and after 1872, until 1918, even five-year-olds were expected to learn their letters and numbers in what was to them a foreign language, previously rarely heard.⁶

To find that the annexation of 1752 maintained this tradition of the previous century and a half can hardly come as a surprise. The events of 1745-46 had seemed a particularly frightening example of Highland recalcitrance in face of southern forbearance after 1715 and 1719. Once again Gaelic is described as distinctly divisive and retrogressive, not indeed in the legislation, which merely mentioned instruction

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1. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh, 1970) p.174. Hereafter Donaldson, Documents.
 2. Donaldson, Documents, p.178.
 3. MacKinnon, Kenneth M. 'Education and Social Control; The Case of a Gaelic Scotland', in Scottish Educational Studies, 4, No. 2, p.128. Hereafter MacKinnon in S.E.S.
 4. Hew Scott, editor, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae (Edinburgh 1926) vi, pp. 473, 474.
 5. MacKinnon in S.E.S., p.129.
 6. MacKinnon in S.E.S., p.130, 131.

in reading and writing English but in the general approach of the commissioners and their servants, especially the factors.

As well as ordering the statutory surveys the commissioners wanted a more personal view of the estates and the factors were sent a list of questions aimed at obtaining a picture of social conditions.¹ It may be accidental but the commissioners were apparently more concerned with law and order, or at least with the means of maintaining it than with education and religion. While the Annexing Act had admittedly been described as aimed at 'preventing Disorders there (the Highlands of Scotland) for the future', the power granted to the commissioners to build prisons was very far down the list of priorities while in this questionnaire to the factors, the Board asked first about the distance from Sheffif-Substitutes, the presence of Justices of the Peace and the nearness of prisons before mentioning churches, schools, whether the minister preached in English, and the progress made by English.

The factors' replies included the desire to replace one criticised form of paternalism, by the wadsetters and the lesser gentlemen, whom the factor on Lovat and Cromarty accused of wishing to keep the people in 'ignorance and slavery', by another. He suggested refusal of all tenancies to those who did not speak English and a clause in tacks insisting that children attended school, with financial assistance to indigent parents to enable them to keep their children at school until they could speak English.² He obviously considered the introduction of schools with the concomitant use and knowledge of English as necessary to ensure what he saw as the 'freedom' of the tenants. The Struan factor commented that schools were particularly useful in 'learning the young ones English as the masters discharge scholars to speak the Irish'.³

1. E726/1, p.7.

2. E729/1, p.27.

3. E783/84/1, p.3.

Despite the fervent belief in education, however, the information provided did not always show that schools were the only or even the best places for learning English. Campbell of Barcaldine on Perth admitted to surprise at the progress the language was making in Strathgartney, despite the lack of a school,¹ while in the barony of Strathpeffer, on the estate of Cromarty, the presence of a society school seemed to be making little impact in this respect.² Certainly the salary there was only £5 per annum and the teacher elderly, but it is likely that the idleness and poverty of the parents which the factor later deplures as leading to the neglect of 'vast numbers of both sexes' on the barony were even weightier elements,³ likewise contact with the Lowlands and commercial dealings which demanded some knowledge of the southern language. In two farms in Strathyre, of the tenants who would have to do any dealing with drovers, for example, all but two could speak English, but many of the wives and children had not yet acquired this skill.⁴ In the parish of Boleskine and Abertarff, the only school was a charity school at Fort Augustus and the only area showing any increase in the knowledge of English was round the garrison, which was as likely to be effective in spreading the language as academic instruction.⁵

The provision of schools on the estates that came under the management of the commissioners in 1755 was as good as could be expected at the time. There were no parochial schools in Fodderty, Lochbroom, Kilmorack, Dores, Boleskine and Abertarff, but each could boast one charity school and Dores indeed had two.⁶ The whole of Knoydart had neither parochial nor charity school and this was typical of remote areas.⁷ The nearest

1. E777/244, p.21.

3. E729/1, p.8.

5. E729/1, p.23.

7. E729/1, p.67.

2. E729/1, p.5.

4. E738/58/1, p.3.

6. E729/1, pp.5, 14, 22, 23, 40.

school to the estate of Monaltry in the parish of Crathie was the parochial school in Braemar.¹ Perthshire was well endowed with schools though in Dunblane the parochial school did the tenants on the Perth estate little good as it was too far away from them.² On the other hand many of the larger parishes could boast charity schools as well; the estate of Struan boasted four schools, very poorly paid at £4 and £1.10.0 so that it was not surprising that one master had left and another who was paid £2.10.0 and had only thirty pupils to provide fees was considering stopping teaching.³ The S.S.P.C.K. had supported a school on the estate until the year before the factor made his report but both school and salary had been redirected to the estate of Lochgarry.⁴

Teaching conditions apart from the salaries were hardly ideal. In Callander, the church was used as there was no school house, and this caused many complaints because of the 'abuses' to the seats by the pupils.⁵ In Crieff, there was a schoolhouse but it was in such poor condition that the master had to hire another for teaching purposes.⁶ It was to be expected therefore that the commissioners should want to improve both the numbers of schools and the physical condition of the buildings. And it might also have been assumed that full approval of any expenditure they proposed in this part of their work would have been easily obtained. But in fact, this was not to be so. There was no problem about authorisation for the first £200 per year proposed for educational expenses but within a year, the Board realised that such a sum was hardly sufficient if the aims of the Annexing Act were to be adequately and efficiently carried out so it was decided to request permission to use a further £200 each year.⁷

1. E729/1, p.72.
3. E783/84/1, p.3.
5. E777/244, p.62.
7. E721/6, p.12.

2. E777/244, p.41.
4. E783/84/1, pp. 2, 3.
6. E777/244, p.58.

There was no response from the Treasury at all, neither a direct negative nor even a suggestion that perhaps the sum should be reconsidered. It may be that the Board received an unrecorded hint from the central government that no further sums would be made available for education but with the lack of written evidence of such one must assume that none of the members of the Board was sufficiently interested to press the matter. Then, as the years went by, the Highlands showed no signs of further eruption and the restriction of the income from the estates was felt, the provision of schools for the inhabitants may have seemed of less vital importance than it did to the legislators in 1752, and certainly of less importance to economic development than many of the other activities of the Board. Admittedly the S.S.P.C.K. was operating on educational lines in the Highlands and Islands, similar to those of the Board, but the Society, like the Board of Trustees, seized on the excuse of the existence of the Board for the Annexed Estates to husband its own scanty resources and 'resolved to discontinue their appointments to schoolmasters settled upon or in the neighbourhood' of the estates,¹ though this decision does not seem to have been strictly adhered to.²

The Board also proceeded to do their duty as heritors, undertaking their share of the public burden of building new schools or paying masters in parishes where others were involved³ as well as endeavouring to achieve the wider objectives within the financial limits imposed. By 1765, the factor on the most remote estates could claim to have built schools at Inveruie, Kinlochmoidart and Locharkaig.⁴ He had pointed out that the need in Barrisdale, Lochiel, Kinlochmoidart and Ardsheal was greater than anywhere else, as his factorship was in the 'most recluse and least civilised' part of the Highlands.⁵

1. E729/8, p.134.

2. John Mason, A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education (London 1935) p.75. Hereafter, Mason, Rural Education.

3. E721/8, p.55; F.R. Lochiel, 1774.

4. E786/37/5.

5. E786/33/1.

Financial stringency was soon felt, however; Glenartney tenants had to be told that the school fund was exhausted and they could not be given immediate help in 1768 with the salary for the school built earlier by the Board.¹ New Tarbat tenants could afford only £6 for their schoolmaster so that despite the accessibility of the school, the children got little good of it as they found it impossible to keep a well-qualified master. They had had seven changes in as many years and would have liked a grant of £20 to £25 which was quite beyond the Board. The most they could offer was £10 with three acres of ground if the factor approved.² The S.S.P.C.K. expected proprietors to give a house, a cow's grass, a kail yard and a schoolhouse when they gave a salary and as landlords of extensive estates, the Board used part of this very positive step towards the financing of education, which did not cost them much. They gave masters the use of a few acres to supplement his pay by enabling him to grow his own food, reserving their rights to such areas in leases³ and on occasion undertaking the enclosure of such crofts.⁴ They further attempted some insurance for the future by arranging in tacks that augmentations of both ministers' stipends and schoolmasters' salaries should be paid by the tenants even where sometimes no public burdens had been borne before.⁵ They built and fitted out schools (with desks, for example)⁶ and the factors kept them aware of the need for repairs, an important feature of providing education at the time which was illustrated by the later comments of the S.S.P.C.K.⁷ Towards the end of the annexation, however, the greater part of the expenditure on education was devoted to salaries. For the years 1777-78, £322.3.10 out of £479.18.10 $\frac{6}{12}$ had

1. E721/10, p.172.; E721/8, p.33.

2. E721/8, p.55.

3. E721/10, p.119 F.R. Perth 22.

4. F.R. Perth 35.

5. E737/19/2; E737/1/5.

6. E721/4, p.224; E721/7, p.74; E.721/8, pp.33, 144; E777/326/6; E786/37/5.

7. E786/37/11; Irene F.M. Dean, Scottish Spinning Schools (London, 1930) p.132, Hereafter Dean, Spinning Schools.

been spent as follows:-

£97.10.0 on Struan, £75.19.10 on the Highland and £33.4.0 on the Lowland parts of the Perth estate, £8 on Lochgary, £12.10 on Coigach, £30 in Fortrose, £21.13.4. on one school on Lochiel, £11.13.4 on Cluny and Barrisdale, and £10 in Ardsheal and Fort William.¹ Clearly it was not a fat basic living that was provided except perhaps on Lochiel, but this was not out of line with contemporary arrangements. Mr. Swinton had suggested that £10 was a sufficient salary where there was no parochial school with a few acres.² And as Mr. Mason showed, the masters on the estates were able to eke out salaries by acting as others did, as Session or Presbytery clerk.³ The master at Muthil could count on £33.4.7.⁴

The payment of teachers, however, was regarded as a basic duty, so much so that the Struan factor was instructed to pay salaries to teachers without submitting any application to the Board for permission.⁵ Indeed, the factors' attitude to the dominies emerges as one of the admirable features of the annexation. In a memorial to the Barons of the Exchequer in 1791, the S.S.P.C.K. noted that the teachers were well treated by the factors on the estates and hence by everyone else. Since the disannexation houses had fallen into disrepair and the general position of schools and schoolmasters had deteriorated.⁶ It was not to be wondered at that private proprietors were unwilling to spend the same proportion of their income as the commissioners could on educating their own and their neighbours' tenants. About one tenth of the Struan rents, for example, was spent on schooling.⁷ What does astonish one is the complete lack of

1. E723/3, p.9.

2. E721/6, p.20.

3. John Mason, Schools on the Forfeited Estates. (Typescript, SR0. 216.08), p.151.

4. FR. Perth 35.

5. E721/7, p.181.

6. Dean, Spinning Schools, p.132.

7. E783/104 passim.

provision in the Disannexing Act for compensation to masters and for upkeep of schools that had been largely dependent on the funds from the annexed estates.¹ This must have been an oversight but it is strangely at odds with the emphasis placed on education in the Annexing Act.

With parochial resources stretched as far as the heritors would allow, the dismissed masters and mistresses could have recourse to only one haven, the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge usually known as the S.S.P.C.K. The Society's spirit was willing but its funds were exceedingly weak. Eventually, in 1786, the government took steps to provide £2,000 out of the money paid by the returning heirs² and with this the S.S.P.C.K. undertook to maintain sixteen masters whose salaries amounted to £138.14.0 and eight spinning mistresses at £48. Six of the spinning schools were in the area of the Perth estates, one at Kinloch Rannoch and one on Cluny. The ordinary schools were widespread from Strelitz, the original soldiers' settlement in Cargill parish in the east to South Uist in the west.³ By 1790 none of this money had reached the Society though they retained the teachers, because of delay in the proprietors' repayment⁴ but it seems to have materialised eventually⁵ unlike the £20,000 promised from the estates forfeited in 1715.⁶

What Mr. Mason correctly calls an early attempt at practical or vocational education⁷ will be considered in a later chapter where the

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1. See Appendix K, The Disannexing Act.
 2. 26 George III c.27.
 3. Schools mentioned were at Strelitz, Craigneich, Glenartney, Lochearnside on the estate of Perth, at Strathyre in Arnprior, on Lochgarry, at Kinloch Rannoch, Finart, Glenerochty and Camaghouran and Carie alternately on Struan, at Kinlocharkaig, Strathlochie and Mamore on Lochiel, on Cluny, in Coigach on the Cromarty estate and on South Uist.
 4. Dean, Spinning Schools, p.131.
 5. Dean, Spinning Schools, p.135; B.P.P. 1806 (221) ii 307.
 6. 4 George I, c.8.
 7. Mason, Rural Education, pp. 56, 63.

Board's attempts to introduce industry and improve craftsmanship will be looked at. It may be noted here, though, that these schools were not only for teaching English, for at Callander, there were a few pupils learning French and Latin. The girls, however, seemed to be restricted to English and the alphabet.¹

To return to the Annexing Act - the clause following that on education was realised only in that the provision that free charters could be granted to the proposed holders of land up to ten acres enabled the commissioners the more easily to set up King's Cottagers. (see below, Chapters III and IV). The connection between the actual beneficiaries, the small pendiclers, and the envisaged builders of houses, outhouses and gardens seems attenuated. The aim was no doubt to facilitate the settlement of a number of substantial loyal citizens at regular intervals throughout the Highlands, for anyone who could hold ten acres merely for domestic use and take a lease elsewhere was very surely not poverty-stricken, but this came to nothing and indeed, does not seem to have been seriously and practically considered at any time. The nearest approach to this idea, with a slight stretch of one's notions of just what this was meant to achieve, is perhaps the order to build new and enlarge existing towns and villages, included in the first set of instructions sent to the commissioners.² Men of substance dotted over the area would be a further deterrent to disorder for they could possibly be depended on to report on any signs of rebellion.

The 'prevention of disorders for the future', so clamant a need to those in power, was inextricably mixed in their minds with the existence of prisons and towns. The lack of prisons was next mentioned in

1. FR. Perth 35.

2. E721/1, p.11.

the Annexing Act as having been found a 'great Obstruction to the Course of Justice', though the Heritable Jurisdictions were probably as great an obstruction, and power was given to the commissioners to build gaols and appoint gaolers. Then in their instructions the reasons for building towns was included the statement that thereby the 'inhabitants could help each other and secure their property against theft, rapine, that malefactors may be more easily detached and apprehended'.¹ Similarly it had been suggested by the author of the manuscript 'Hints on Managing the Forfeited Estates' that the building of what today's planners would call 'nucleate settlements' would make it easier to protect newcomers and well-behaved tenants and to suppress evil-doers, as ministers and officers would be constantly present.² A further benefit he mentioned was the possibility for mutual defence of the inhabitants and in 'any future rebellion of the clans' the troops would find good entertainment and refreshment in these towns, instead of the miserable fare obtained in the existing wretched 'cabbins'. This may be thought over-optimistic so far as Scottish inns were considered but it does illuminate one of the ideas behind the annexation, the attainment and maintenance of peace and quiet in the Highlands.

The commissioners' adventures in planting new towns were hardly felicitous as we shall see below;³ they did build a few prisons, e.g. at Dunblane,⁴ for £77, at Stonehaven⁵ and a court house as well as a gaol at Cromarty, the last costing £350.⁶ And repairs were carried out to others, such as the Crieff tolbooth.⁷ It was logical also, in the quest

1. E721/1, p.11.

3. See below, II. 2.

5. E728/36

7. F.R. Perth 7, £170.10.0 reported spent in 1765.

2. Hints, See Appendix C.

4. E723/2, p.250.

6. E723/2, p.224.

for order, to grant the quasi-proprietors the right to appoint baron bailies who administered what remained of local justice after the abolition of the Heritable Jurisdictions, and the commissioners duly carried out their duties in this respect, throughout their administration.¹

The final clauses in the Annexing Act provided for the Receiver General for Scotland to reserve the rents for carrying out the Board's orders in line with the powers granted in the act and according to the warrants and orders from the Crown, and enabled the Treasury to use the rents in ordinary management of the estates and in any litigation that might arise over the claims of creditors.

These provisions seem comprehensive enough but there were two important potential sources of economic development not specifically mentioned in the Act, to which the commissioners turned their attention. The first of these was the fishing industry which will be considered in section 3 of this chapter. The other was the possibility of finding and working minerals. Not the wildest eighteenth century dreams could have imagined the twentieth century North Sea oil and gas bonanza but in the earlier period there was what Professor Smout calls gently 'a good deal of excitement' similar to what had prevailed two hundred years before in the sixteenth century.² Exploitation of wealth at hand under their estates came as naturally to improving landlords as industrial and agricultural development above ground and it was not uncommon for landowners to open mines at some expense, work them for a limited period and then leave them.³ General searches were encouraged by at least one Duke of

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1. E722/2 includes commissions to various officials including baron bailies.
 2. T.C. Smout, 'Lead Mining in Scotland, 1650-1850', in Studies in Scottish Business History, ed. P. Payne (London 1967) p.105, Hereafter Smout, 'Lead Mining'.
 3. Baron F. Duckham, A History of the Scottish Coal Industry, (Newton Abbot, 1970), i.p.14. Hereafter, Duckham, Coal.

Argyll and a Marquis of Breadalbane but unfortunately the particular prospector they favoured was of doubtful integrity. He was Rudolf Raspe, the Swiss Geologist who created Baron Munchausen and he was accused of first planting the specimens he then 'discovered'.¹

Now the commissioners were the last men to be left out of any such contemporary excitement and on request, they were authorised by the Treasury to spend £700 on coal-prospecting particularly.² They did not apparently envisage operating mines themselves or even employing miners as their agents, but only saw themselves as 'providing opportunities for adventurers', as George Clerk Maxwell described their role.³ Dr. Walker of Moffat carried out various surveys for them⁴ as did John Williams, the mining engineer and surveyor who was also at one time the tacksman of the Brora coal mine. Among the places he was sent to search for coal and minerals of any kind was the barony of Stobhall in Cargill parish in eastern Perthshire - he found only lime and marl.⁵ The hunt was still on in 1780 when Mr. Sandeman, the bleacher, was paid £20 as remuneration for Andrew Moir who had been surveying under his auspices in Luncarty.⁶

Eastern Perthshire could only be on the edge of the major coalfields of central Scotland⁷ but the funds of the estates were also directed to examination and assistance to a mine and adjoining salt pans that were already in operation, at Brora in Sutherland. Salt pans burned the dross that would otherwise have been waste and the combination of the two activities when mines were near the sea was commonplace. In 1771, £220 was granted as an aid to the salt mines there, after a couple of years'

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1. Ian Lindsay and M. Cosh, Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll, (Edinburgh 1973) p.221. Hereafter, Lindsay, Inveraray.
 2. E724/1, p.20
 3. E777/86/23(5).
 4. E723/2, p.238 - £105 to Dr. Walker; E727/45.
 5. E721/7, p.119; E727/46.
 6. E732/9, 28-2-1780.
 7. Duckham, Coal, pp.11, 12.

delay when the sum had been diverted to what seemed to the commissioners more immediate needs¹ and John Williams was paid £80 subsistence particularly for his work in connection with the mine there.² The Brora mines were worked in the sixteenth century to provide fuel for the salt pans³ and have been worked sporadically ever since but the contribution from the annexed estates rents seems to have been of little avail, for in 1781, Andrew Wight reported that 'At Brora, it grieved me to observe that the coal and salt pans are given up'. At that point in the mine's history, only the upper seam had been worked and it was too full of sulphur, taking fire when wet.⁴

Though lead-mining was a longstanding and widespread part of the Scottish economy, lead having been worked in almost every part of Scotland and referred to from the thirteenth century, it had never been of major importance.⁵ The high prices in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries however, plus technical improvements in mining generally, opened up possibilities of further exploitation of any veins that were either known or newly discovered and the Board employed John McDonald to drive six fathoms north east in an 'amino' vein in Dripan Glen, near Loch Venachar, at 10/- to £3 per fathom, the miner furnishing powder and candles and being responsible for clearing away rubble.⁶ (The Board were ready to compensate farmers, however, for damage done to their land.⁷) There must have been a fair amount of activity, Small writing that 'they are everywhere underground'⁸ but the search was stopped by October, 1774⁹ and the miner was not prepared to commit himself about the possibilities

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1. E732/9, 13-5-1769, 5-3-1771.
 2. E732/9, 4-8-1777.
 3. J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (London 1932), i.p.52.
 4. Andrew Wight, Present State of Husbandry in Scotland (Edinburgh 1778-1784) iv. part ii, p.302. Hereafter Wight, 'Husbandry'.
 5. Smout, Lead Mining, pp. 103, 104.
 6. E777/86/23(3).
 7. F.R. G.M. 117, 1774-5, £1.7/- to a farmer in Corriechrombie for damage done to his land.
 8. E777/86/23(1).
 9. E777/86/24(1).

of the site without further trials.¹ At the end of the year, John Williams was to have a look at the work done, when he was in the area.² Nothing came of the venture, however, and it has to be admitted that apart from the present growing market in semi-precious stones in making jewelry and the occasional silver and lead-working³ the Highlands have not yet divulged an eldorado.

Another type of search, this time on the surface, was also sponsored by the Board; this was a botanical one, which it was hoped would give the key to types of vegetation and soils. James Robertson was the student of botany employed and his journals are in the National Library of Scotland.⁴

The significance of these searches lies not in the results, which can hardly be described as positive, but in the illumination they cast on the type of men to whom administration of the estates was entrusted. They were lively, curious and inquisitive about the world and about their country and were prepared to experiment. They were, in fact, very much men of their age, an age which saw intellectual activity in Scotland to a degree never experienced before and probably never since, and their whole approach to the management of the annexed estates can be seen as an illustration of the contemporary frame of mind.

One of the most significant and influential elements in the Board's attitude to their commission, however, is their conception of their duty

1. E777/86/25(2).

2. E777/86/27.

3. Smout, Lead Mining, p.104.

Greta Michie and Bruce Lenman, 'The Mines of Glenesk', in the Scots Magazine, 98, pp.104-113.

4. E727/47; NLS. Mss. 2507, 2508.

to the king's tenants. Among the earliest instructions to the factors was the reminder that their responsibility was to promote not just the civilising but the happiness of the inhabitants.¹ It was unimaginable that the Board of Commissioners for the Forfeited Annexed Estates would tell their factors, as did the Barons of the Exchequer, that any tenants who 'behaved in a way not agreeable' to the factor should be turned out when their leases expired.² We have seen that this practice of Board/tenant/factor relationship had its unfortunate results administratively speaking but socially, if the aim was to assist in the reconciliation of the northern inhabitants of Britain to the Hanoverians, it can surely have had only good effects.

Needless to say the vision of the good landlord as seen by an eighteenth century board, predominantly composed of Edinburgh lawyers and landowners, was essentially paternalistic but in its contemporary context, it was not contemptible. For example, adhering to the belief that the 'deil finds wark for idle hands', happiness and leisure were not equated. The factors while remembering that the happiness of the inhabitants was a worthwhile achievement were also to 'use all due means and incitement to keep the people from being idle especially in the winter nights from close of evening to bedtime.'³ General health in the estates was attended to in that tenants were inoculated against smallpox;⁴ sufferers from the cevennes - venereal disease - were sought out and given treatment. In this last category, prospective patients were not always willing to admit to the complaint⁵ but treatment was dealt out in various districts.⁶

1. E726/1, p.5.

2. E701/2, p.125.

3. FR. General Management II, Schemes of Improvement, 4.

4. E777/144/8; E788/11.

5. E741/38/2. No-one in Barrisdale would initially admit to having the cevennes but not long afterwards the factor showed £5.3.8² spent on treatment; E741/52. 12

6. E721/8, p.145 - £30 to Alexander McDonald the Fort William surgeon for curing the cevennes in Lochaber.

The Board also did their duty as heritors, in respect of other relief; they paid their proportion to the collector in Callander, Robert Buchanan.¹ There are also examples of private charity. Patrick Drummond in Dalchrune was allowed £2 travelling expenses to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary to have his leg amputated in 1772² and two years later was given 10/- towards buying a cow, 'he being a very poor man and had his leg cut off in Edinburgh Royal Infirmary'.³ No doubt the quite considerable allowance of £10 to £12 a year to a widow to maintain her children until they were old enough to benefit by the Board's apprenticeship scheme (see chap. IV, 3) was largely inspired by the desire to save her and the children from popish principles; her sole known source of support was a brother, a Jesuit priest who had already sent one of the boys to Douai. This son returned home, though the several members of the Dingwall Presbytery who wrote to the Board about him used the more emotive word 'escaped', and the factor thought he had prevailed upon him to attend the established church and take up an apprenticeship to a ship's carpenter.⁴

The factors were perhaps less likely to have felt so charitable as they struggled in close proximity, day by day, with apathetic, reluctant improvers, recalcitrant soldiers and uncomprehending peasantry. John Forbes and James Small had both been in the army and Small particularly who was a competent hard-working conscientious man was in favour of keeping the Highlands 'in proper subjection'. He felt that the Highlanders had too recently been under 'very despotic government' for it to be safe to let them have similar freedom to the rest of the country. 'If they are

1. E777/321 - 1775-1776.

2. E777/321 - 1772.

3. E777/321 - 1775-76.

4. E721/7, pp.183, 189; E721/8, p.98.

not brought by proper degrees to absolute freedom, that freedom may turn into a licentiousness that may give more trouble than people unacquainted with their dispositions may think of'.¹ Quite a disciplinarian, even near the end of his life, Small was prepared to recruit thieves and evildoers forcibly for General Fraser's regiment, but not surprisingly the Board would not give approval to this suggestion.² On the other hand, there is no doubt of the factor's compassion in face of the famines, in 1783 particularly.³

The commissioners persisted in their attitude throughout that tenants must always be well-treated and be seen to be so, whatever the inconveniences thereby inflicted on their servants. It is difficult to criticise them for the philosophy behind this, but simple to show that their benevolence sometimes outweighed commonsense and efficiency and thus minimised the benefits of some of the steps they wished to take.

The next two sections of this chapter will consider the methods of the Board in carrying out the Annexing Act in relation to town building and to a small degree connected with that, through their desire to increase the incoming population, the encouragement they gave the fishing industry.

1. F.R. Struan No. 8.

2. E721/27, p.38.

3. Henry Butter's letters in 1772 and 1783 especially show horror at the situation and he tried to impress on the Board the need for speedy action. He was not alone in this. E766/33/20; E787/9/138, 147, 151.

2. TOWN PLANNING

While the foundation of new towns was by no means a novel pastime for landowners,¹ it was certainly one of the passions of the improvers of the eighteenth century, and one from which the commissioners could hardly be expected to be immune since there were express directions in the Annexing Act and in the first instructions sent to the newly appointed board in 1755.² Individual landowners who embarked on town building were usually indulging to a certain extent in self-glorification, as we can see from some of the names of the new towns - Colinsburgh, Archiestown - though some, no doubt, had sound economic reasons or foresight behind the decision for particular sites. There was a fairly confident assumption that manufacturing industry would prosper better in a town than in open country, for the town would provide both a labour supply and a market for agricultural produce in the vicinity as well as for the manufactured goods. Estate rentals were also expected to rise, both from the increase of population and the greater potential value of land. These expectations were not always fully or even partly realised, and many of the builders of towns, like Alexander Dirom, the frunder of Bridekirk, can be criticised as J.D. Wood comments because they never asked themselves or indeed thought of asking themselves 'What were the threshold requirements of the functions essential to the prosperity of a sizeable central place

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1. T.C. Smout, 'The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland', in Scotland in the Age of Improvement, ed. N. Phillipson and R. Mitchison (Edinburgh 1970) pp. 72-74.
 2. E721/1, p.11.

in a predominantly agricultural setting?'¹ Statistics and 'the dismal science' had not at that time become the controlling geni of planners.

The public aims, however, were envisaged as even wider. Just how radical a change the annexation was hoped to make can be gathered from some of the suggestions in the manuscript already mentioned giving 'Hints' on managing the estates.² In the third section of this document, it is suggested that the Trustees should 'fix proper passes', build bridges there, then churches, workhouses, i.e. factories, schoolhouses and prisons, and store houses, with glass windows. Into these new settlements, all (my italics) the present inhabitants were to be gradually received and allotted new houses in which they could see to work during the winter - on account of the glass windows - whereupon their 'present dark smoky cabbins indisposed for industry and work' were all (again my italics) to be destroyed. When one remembers that the last inhabited black house has only recently been evacuated, the grandeur of this vision becomes awe-inspiring.

A truly authoritarian society was described by this author, in which the 'junction of the people together' would enable stewards, factors and masters of crafts with convenient opportunities to propagate the mechanical arts and even more important, a spirit of industry amongst them, especially as they would be 'easily overlooked and deprived of their usual recesses for sauntering and slothfulness'. The document had, however, the considerable merit of being realistic about finance, for the writer suggested that £10,000 should be advanced for this purpose, from the Treasury,

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1. J.D. Wood, 'Regulating the Settler and Establishing Industry in Planning Intentions for a Nineteenth Scottish Estate Village', Scottish Studies, 15, part 1, p.50.
 2. See Appendix C.

interest to be paid out of the profits of the estates.

Having explicit instructions to erect new settlements, the commissioners appointed a sub-committee of four to take particular charge of the 'enlargement or new erection' of towns and villages and in 1757, were able to put four suggestions forward - New Tarbat, Callander of Menteith, Kinloch Rannoch and Beaulie.¹ Prisons and schools were to be erected at each place. Only two of these, strictly speaking, would have been new foundations; Callander had been the creation of James Drummond, former owner of the Perth estate, about 1730, and 'Beaulie' is stated in Origines Parochiales as having been in existence in 1562, though the present settlement is not necessarily on the precise site of the first.² Kinloch Rannoch had only eight tenants and the proposed site for New Tarbat was part of the policies of the house of the former Earl of Cromarty. Some time later Ullapool was proposed as preferable to New Tarbat³ but in 1761, when the first signs of royal approval for these particular plans were shown, New Tarbat was the favoured spot - probably because someone in London had been looking at old reports, not at minute-books.⁴

Only general approval was elicited for the 'ends and purposes' these settlements were calculated to promote; to enable the government to make 'distinct and precise' judgements about the probable benefits of these and any future proposals, in relation to their situation, expense, type of manufactures proposed, populousness, the commissioners were asked to send more information, such as plans of the estates, taken upon actual surveys, copies of properly authenticated rentals, abstracts of the factors' reports - the factors had been asked to comment on suitable sites for villages and

1. E723/1, p.46.

2. Cosmo Innes, Origines Parochiales, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh 1851) ii. Part 2, p. 5-7.

3. E721/2, p.19.

4. E725/2, p.9.

and towns¹ - and the clear residue of the estates, after public burthens and the cost of managment had been deducted. Further, the commissioners were to show how much money had in fact been put into the Receiver General's hand.²

Of the original five sites suggested by the commissioners, four can be placed in the first three categories of the four into which J.M. Houston classifies planned villages in the eighteenth century. These are:-

- (a) Villages associated with agricultural and estate interests.
- (b) Manufacturing villages.
- (c) Fishing and other villages engaged in coastal trade.
- (d) Inland spas, tourist and residential centres.³

Even Kinloch Rannoch could perhaps be squeezed into a mixture of (a) and (d) if one makes allowance for the plans and anticipation of the board. Unfortunately, before anything positive could be done, there had been a change in the British international position and as a result, the commissioners tried to add another element to their basic town-planning aims. This was the provision of holdings for disbanded members of the army and navy.

Even before the end of the Seven Years War, the problem of disabled soldiers had been brought up by Campbell of Barcaldine, the factor on the estate of Perth, when he wrote to the commissioners early in 1760 that several Perthshire men who had served in America with the Highland regiments had lately returned home wounded and unfit for further service. They had applied to him for small holdings for themselves and their families and he thought they were quite able to manage a small farm. A

1. E726/1, pp. 7, 8.

2. E721/6, p.10-11.

3. J.M. Houston, 'Village Planning in Scotland' in Advancement of Science, v.18. 1948-9, p.130.

further advantage in his eyes was that their pensions would enable them to pay their rents punctually! The board approved and he was ordered to divide the farm of Morell to take several soldiers.¹ Barcaldine had been 'pretty positive' that the soldiers would set an example of industry to their neighbours,² but his notion was never proved. In January, 1763, he had to report that though he tried to divide a farm, (Drumlaken, not Morell, in the event for a variety of reasons) among the Chelsea Pensioners, when they foregathered for this purpose and found one without an arm, the other without a leg, and no doubt some with other handicaps, they 'took such an aversion to being brought together', he had to give up the scheme.³

The commissioners did not read the omens correctly, however, and the factor's idea took a firm hold of the board. It is likely that the country as a whole may have been concerned at the prospect of demobilisation and one act enabling officers, mariners and soldiers to exercise their trades anywhere in Great Britain or Ireland⁴ was probably an attempt to allow flexibility in dispersing and settling disbanded regiments. The board's onslaught on the problem began in 1763, when, in their report to the King, they proposed spending £3,000 to provide houses, each costing £5 and 'necessaries' estimated at £3 for three hundred married soldiers and a cash bounty of £3 for two hundred unmarried. Each of the soldiers was to be allotted three acres of ground for spade cultivation, the ground adjoining the houses was to be enclosed and laid down in grass for pasture for cows, allowing two acres for a cow.⁵ Houses were to be rent-free for life, the farms for three years and thereafter only 5/- an acre was to

1. E721/4, p.260.

2. E777/84/66.

3. F.R. Perth 18A. This should be presently in E777/84 Folder 4 but I was unable to find it.

4. 3 George III, c.8.

5. E723/2, p.46.

be asked, while unmarried men were to be paid £1 per annum for three years. It was also proposed that £5 should be lent to deserving and indigent soldiers to maintain them for the first year, and to help them stock their holdings. It may be noted that the policy of giving land to craftsmen (and to fishermen) soon aroused criticism. It was considered by some that only a kailyard and potato croft were necessary and that any more land would drive men from their proper business, making for inefficiency in both agriculture and trade.¹

By this scheme, it was expected that the population would be increased and that there would be introduced upon the annexed estates a number of good workmen for the various types of improvements envisaged, who would 'by raising the spirit of emulation among the present inhabitants', promote industry, 'hitherto at its lowest ebb'. The commissioners were in for a rude awakening. One dissentient voice was that of James Small, factor on Struan, who significantly had been an ensign in the army before becoming factor. He reported in 1763 that he had no land for them in the current year and he was obviously well pleased that he could say this. He forecast with uncanny accuracy that five-sixth of the soldiers would be the greatest blackguards in no way amenable to civil discipline, 'only the rod having kept them under control'. Further, he anticipated that they would sell their whole possessions and squander their money on drink. His prophesy was largely borne out in the next few years, and he was able to tell the commissioners that already, on the strength of the 'great things to be done for them', returning warriors were borrowing

1. E721/7, p.138; E746/75/22.

money in every public house on the road - to Struan - for twelve to fifteen miles.¹ Captain Forbes also disapproved. He wrote in November 1763, 'I do not much admire the grand plan of sailors and sogers being persuaded - it will not easily execute'.²

However, in 1763, there was little likelihood that these Cassandra-like voices would be heard and the 'colonies' as they were called were begun. It was unfortunate that with the benefit of hindsight, the Board could not have read the words of wisdom of James Wilson that 'It is probably much more difficult to plant people than potatoes'³ but even allowing for initial optimism, a great many of their actions in connection with this plan were unnecessarily precipitate. The first step taken was to insert advertisements in the Edinburgh newspapers and in the London Gazette, in March 1763, intimating that such provision was to be made for demobilised soldiers.⁴ Any interested were asked to apply to the secretary in the Edinburgh office, or to any of the factors, and within a few days, by March 30, several had appeared at the office.⁵ But no definite plans had been made for their reception, no inquiries had been sent to commanding officers of regiments about to be 'broke' as to the likely response from those being disbanded and all that could be done was to ask the agent, Mr. Alston, to make plans for their immediate settlement on the estates. Previous to this, all that had been done was to give removal notices to tenants whose farms were wanted for the proposed settlements.

This roused protests not merely from the tenants, and in May, the

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1. F.R. Struan, 8.
 2. Quoted by William MacGill, Old Ross-shire and Scotland (Inverness 1909) pp. 214, 215.
 3. James Wilson, A Voyage round the Coasts of Scotland (Edinburgh 1842) i. p.311. Hereafter Wilson, Voyage.
 4. Scots Magazine, 15, p.176.
 5. E721/7, p.77.

factor on Lovat pointed out that it was impossible to find holdings for soldiers without distressing the present inhabitants.¹ He also suggested that the improveable muirs should be used as the present farms were so small that taking off a few acres would make them no farm at all. On the tiny estate of Monaltry most of the tenants refused to give up any part of their ground.² In November, four months later, the factor had still to report that he could not get land for the soldiers, as the tenants were holding on to their possessions, and he had only six houses built though there were far more soldiers on the estate.³

At the beginning of 1764, the Monaltry factor had to defend himself against complaints from the soldiers that they had had no wages, and that their houses had no doors or windows. He was able to clear himself on both counts; the wright responsible for the houses had fallen sick and no wages had been paid because the men were absent from work. Also some had taken payment in meal. After it had been shown that the whole estate of Monaltry was only sixteen oxgates and that some poor people held only one quarter of an oxgate which with any land taken off to accommodate soldiers would be quite insufficient,⁴ the board began somewhat belatedly to realise that 'there seems to be a difficulty in providing for all the soldiers settled upon Monaltry' and told the factor to give them the opportunity to remove to other estates.⁵ In character with their general behaviour, none of them would move.⁶ By May, 1765, however, some of them had disappeared but they had disposed of their furniture and locked up their houses behind them so that they could be used for nothing else. The factor was instructed to apply for a sheriff's warrant to break down

1. E721/ , p.76.
3. E721/14, p.38.
5. E721/14, p.77.

2. E721/7, p.106.
4. E721/14, p.52.
6. E721/14, p.88.

the doors of the locked houses.¹ The following year saw another voluntary clearance from Monaltry when the board ordered that no more money was to be given to the soldiers as loans; they were to be paid just as other workmen were when employed in public works. This drove a number of them south to solicit the board in person.² On the larger estates, a similar picture emerges.

In the meantime, in Edinburgh, Henry Barclay, the secretary, was bearing the brunt of the onslaught of the demobilised. In the special minute-book kept for business referring to the colonies, there is a copy of his long report on his activities during the board's adjournment in 1763.³ He had dispatched 242 married and 78 unmarried, a total of 320 to the various estates, and the applications were increasing daily. What he describes delicately as the 'general importunity for being received' showed there would be no difficulty in finding sufficient candidates. One qualification was that the best recommended soldiers should be accepted, but Barclay and such commissioners who looked in at the office - 'casually attended' was Barclay's phrase - soon realised that they could not operate on a first come first served basis as this might exclude some regiments that had distinguished themselves in the war but had not yet been disbanded. So they inserted a further advertisement that only old-established corps would be received in the meantime.

The next difficulty arose from the factors' correspondence which plainly showed that they were facing very considerable problems in getting suitable accommodation for such numbers of settlers, as they had not been allowed time to build houses. John Forbes wrote in 1764 telling how soldiers and sailors with their wives and children came every day 'in

1. E721/8, p.194.

2. F.R. Monaltry 6.

3. E721/14, pp.6ff.

shoals', to his house, sometimes late at night, starving, when he had to lodge them and feed them, at least for one night.¹ It was decided therefore that to relieve the factors there must be some delay in accepting any more prospective settlers. Despite yet another advertisement in the newspapers and a letter sent to the commanding officer, when Keith's Battalion was dismissed, numbers came crowding to the office and no doubt, because of their 'importunity' the beleaguered secretary judged it expedient to satisfy them by giving them seventy-six billets, most of this regiment expressing a preference for Cromarty. Again the newspapers were to be used to let them know when they could apply to the factor, when places were available. Many of them were unfit for work; others had travelled a considerable distance and had exhausted their allowance for travelling home. As it was the hope of the bounty that had attracted them it was thought only reasonable to give some a few shillings to help 'carry them home to their friends' and to recommend others to the infirmary.

Another mistake in the original concept was discovered when the cheapest estimate for houses on the Perth estate appeared to be £16 each, and on Lovat and Cromarty £12-£15, while the commissioners had calculated on £5 each house. The secretary had to report further that on the Struan estate some soldiers had already proved disorderly and two dishonest while the Crieff surgeon's services had had to be called on for the sick on the Perth estate. He felt that the board should give pecuniary encouragement until houses could be provided, which of course, was a further expense not expected in the original estimates. The one bright spot in this lugubrious tale was that at Whiteley a farm on the barony of Stobhall, the eastmost part of the Perth estates, in the parish of Cargill, George Young of Coupar Angus who had been employed to oversee the

1.F.R. Lovat and Cromarty 6.

settlement proposed there, had arranged for houses to start being built, had got contracts and as there was a stone quarry near, it was likely to keep costs down.

Ever-optimistic at this point in the history of the annexation, however, the report to the King in 1764, boldly declared that the scheme for settling the soldiers had succeeded.¹ 276 houses had been built, and 249 married and unmarried men had been provided for. The main worry of the board was that £2,214.0.9 $\frac{5}{12}$ more than was originally authorised had been found necessary. The original estimate had been £3,000 but actual expenses were as follows:-

Travelling and subsistence charges	£1,042.	4.	1 $\frac{11}{12}$
Expence of building 276 houses	£2,619.	16.	7 $\frac{6}{12}$
Bounty monies	£1,552.	0.	0
TOTAL	£5,214,	0.	9 $\frac{5}{12}$

The next year's report was less sanguine.² The success in settling soldiers, it admitted, had not been so great as was expected and the report went on to explain this about-face from 1764. Bounties had been planned for stocking smallholdings but instead had been used by the settlers to buy necessary furniture and subsistence. There was no work available so there was no money to buy seeds, and in any case, many were unable to work as they were 'valetudinary'. As a result, the board had had to employ them in enclosing heath or moorish ground for plantations on the annexed estates and in making fences for their settlements, and in other 'New Deal' activities. Forbes, the Lovat factor, was at his wit's ends to know what to do with soldiers in the winter.³ Invalids were given enough to keep them alive but not 'sufficient to indulge them in idleness'.⁴

1. E723/2, p.53.
3. E721/7, p.145.

2. E723/2, p.74.
4. E723/2, p.74.

The colonists had had to have additional money advanced to buy cows or the tools of their trades. The sole benefits the board could enumerate in this report were that they expected the rents of the houses to correspond in a few years to the interest on the sums laid out - they must have forgotten that they proposed initially that the soldiers would live rent-free - and that the population was increased. The soldiers had been encouraged to marry and there were 368 children 'who in all probability would have been lost to the kingdom' without these colonies. However, to prevent further expense, they had decided to bring in no more soldiers, but they asked for permission to spend £500 more to complete what was already begun.¹

Though the commissioners may have been satisfied with the progress made in settling soldiers in 1764² it is doubtful if the factors were ever happy about the conditions of the colonies and colonists, or if the majority of the beneficiaries were ever particularly appreciative. Nor was this unreasonable. It must be clear from the preceding pages and especially from the quotations from the secretary's reports that the central handling of the scheme was not well thought out, if indeed it was thought out at all to its logical conclusion, and it was inefficient from its initiation; soldiers and factors, and as we shall see below (section 3) sailors too, had all legitimate grounds for complaint.

One of the worst features of the arrangements made was the type of ground allocated to the new settlers. It was realised that all would need some ground for subsistence, but even experienced agriculturalists would have had difficulty in dealing successfully with what faced them at

1. E723/2, p.75.
2. E723/2, p.53.

Benniobeg, for example. In 1756, Barcaldine had described this farm as a 'small piece of bad meadow ground'. At £13 rent, brought down over the years from £20, the possessors still found themselves losers and gave it up.¹ The soil was hard and gravelly and was eventually valued at £10.² Other sites were not more promising. Kinloch Rannoch the Struan factor thought too small but he suggested two hundred acres of 'muir ground very improveable', belonging to another proprietor on the south side of the loch.³ Borelandbog Park on the Perth estate was proposed as suitable because it would dispossess no-one, but though it had good soil, it was so interspersed with large stones that the factor thought they would have to be taken into account when the holdings were being measured.⁴ The Lovat factor had been given explicit instructions that he should settle soldiers without distressing the present inhabitants and he too suggested 'improveable muirs where the soil is good and may be turned to good account by ditching and trenching'.⁵ Later, in the history of the settlements, Menzies, the General Inspector, reported that those on the outskirts of Callander, who were local tenants' sons, had had trouble. He thought they were sober and industrious but because they 'had not been importunate and troubled the board with petitions' - unlike all the other colonists, it should be noted - they had been overlooked and their land was 'very difficult to improve'.⁶

The siting of the New Tarbat settlement was perhaps not so bad, though the farmer who was given notice to make room for soldiers and sailors had used it for only pasture,⁷ but the soldiers on Strathpeffer sent in a heart-rending petition to Lord Kames, describing their bad lots, stony and watery ground, telling him they had been obliged to 'strip our backs to feed our bellies or els die for want, your lordships

1. E777/84/15.

3. E721/7, p.59.

5. E721/14, p.25.

7. E721/14, p.34.

2. E777/84/16.

4. E721/7, p.31.

6. E729/8, p.58

instructed the factor to set about designing and building a village.¹ The results are not surprising. Borelandbog houses were in the 'upper part very ill-disposed running crooked and close ... access to the houses very inconvenient not having space to make a sufficient broad road. Soldiers cannot let a chicken out of their houses but on their own or neighbours corn'.² Some of the houses on the Perth estates had their slates set without sarking, the wood between the rafters and the slates, so that they would be uninhabitable in winter.³

The last essential element in the settlements was the human one and it was no more satisfactory than the others. The only group of settlers who received any official or other commendation were those in Callander and they may merely have shone by comparison with the original inhabitants whose reputation was that though they were usually at variance with one another, yet joined in distressing any stranger settled amongst them.⁴ Previous knowledge of this trait of the Callander people may have been the reason for sending only locally born there in the first place and of the first fourteen none remained as there were no houses built when they arrived. For the rest, there is almost universal condemnation, borne out it should be said by detailed descriptions of their conduct. In Strelitz, in 1765, George Young wrote that some had left and carried away their tools, officially government property, but they were 'troublesome, idle people'. He did add in some mitigation of their conduct, that they also had the worst lots, but though he had promised them lime, they had lost patience and gone off to Dundee.⁵ The following year he reported that he had sold looms that he had

1. E721/7, p.218.
3. E721/14, p.74.
5. E721/8, p.190.

2. E729/8, p.38.
4. E729/8, p.55; E721/9, p.92.

recovered from some runaways,¹ but at least, these had remained for a couple of years. On Cromarty, by July, 1763, two had deserted and in 1764, in the sixty-nine houses built, only six sailors remained, while twenty left after receiving the bounty.² The Monaltry factor described them as a 'thankless pack' while Barcaldine who had explained his delay in sending his intromissions for the forfeited estate of Gask to the Barons of the Exchequer in 1763 by saying the 'ever since these plaguy soldiers came upon me, I could not get half an hour at a time free of some one or other of them',³ wrote even more feelingly in 1768, that he would not go through the same experience again for triple the sum, and he was surprised the board would grudge an allowance for his trouble about those soldiers' settlements. He thought he was poorly paid for the effort it had caused him.⁴ It is a welcome relief to hear of £20 being given to George Sinclair, 'an industrious soldier', a dyer at Ullapool, for a .aulkmill,⁵ though he was cheated by those he employed,⁶ and of another who on his own initiative opened a small store in Benniebeg.⁷ In 1766, the last year the soldiers were to be free of land-rent those in Coigach had exhausted the money given them, had run into debt with the country people and would be unable to sow their acres if the board did not assist them but the factor added that 'such idle fellows are not worth countenancing'.⁸

By the spring of 1766, one can appreciate the commissioners' thorough disgust with the whole project. It had cost more than they had calculated, the wildest optimist could hardly have prophesied success by this time, and the board was faced with asking once again for allowances to be made for their having spent more than had been authorised; £500

1. E777/119.

3. Adv. Ms. 28.1.6 vol.2, p.58.

4. E777/84/238.

6. E746/75/11(1).

8. E746/75/18.

2. F.R. Cromarty 27.

5. E721/14, p.56.

7. E721/14, p.45.

extra on this occasion. They decided to combine the plans for settling soldiers with that for establishing craftsmen and labourers and to call all soldiers in future merely King's Cottagers, using the fund appropriated for the latter type of tenant.¹

They were not so easily free of trouble from soldiers, however, and complaints and petitions carry on throughout the annexation and beyond. Even in the nineteenth century, the remaining inhabitants of Strelitz expressed dissatisfaction with the accommodation provided specially for them in the loft of Cargill church.² There was never enough grown on their lots to keep them. James Small had given warning of the dangers of over-small holdings, saying it was better that tenants should be employed on the roads rather than starve on their farms,³ but this had made no impression on the commissioners. Work had to be found for them and this involved the factors in laying out quite large sums, for wages mounted up at 4d. per day.⁴ One at least went off to work in the Ayrshire mines, leaving his wife in possession, and was killed.⁵ Millers complained that they could not obtain their thirlage from the settlements;⁶ in 1776, the inhabitants of Benniebeg were still applying for assistance in buying seed,⁷ while the villagers of Black Park were to be warned to remove in 1781 as they would neither pay additional rent nor work for it, observed none of the regulations of the barony and most went 'abegging through the country'.⁸ Also they refused to do their statutory labour.

This 'Utopian' scheme of the commissioners, as Pennant sneeringly

1. E721/9, p.118.

2. E702/4; E777/32/8, 14.

3. E783/58/23(1).

4. E721/8, p.156 e.g. £204 in 1763 on Lovat and Cromarty from May to December.

5. E721/14, p.86.

6. E721/24, p.8.

7. E721/25, p.116.

8. E721/27, p.62.

described it, achieved very little in either the short or the long term. There were four planned villages on the Perth estate, Strelitz, Borelandbog Park, Benniebeg and Callander. When William Frend the Inspector visited the estate, he had to report that the soldiers' houses and land at Borelandbog were in general in very bad order.¹ At Strelitz, a great number of the houses were ill-kept the ditches were neglected and the park land was flooded.² There was much the same sort of comment on the soldiers' houses and ground at Callander with the additional disapproval of the dung being still kept before the doors of the houses.³ At Benniebeg, a rather odd situation had arisen for James Glass, a linen manufacturer from Crieff had by 1773 obtained the let of seven lots.⁴ Quite early on in the history of the village, one couple who had left had returned to find their house broken open, by order, of course, their goods roused, and Glass's looms installed instead.⁵ When Frend reported he found that seven houses under the factor were reasonably kept but Glass had begun to let or rather to sublet the houses he had and they were very poor, with no thatch.⁶ The reason for this was discovered in 1783. Glass was charging a very heavy rent and would not allow the tenants to use the pasture.⁷ Such a situation was hardly envisaged in the original plans.

Benniebeg, once all the inhabitants were dead or removed, was flooded over by a Lady Perth, who could no longer presumably bear the sight of what must have been an unattractive lot of hovels on the avenue to Drummond Castle,⁸ for when Pennant travelled that way in 1772, many of the houses were already empty.⁹ Now the Pool of Drummond covers the site. Callander

1. E777/305/1, p.67.

3. E777/305/1, p.85.

5. E777/128.

7. E777/252.

9. T. Pennant, Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772 (London, 1776) ii. p.91. Hereafter Pennant, Tour.

2. E777/305/1, p.78.

4. E723/2, insert between pp. 46-47.

6. E777/305/1, pp. 4-5

8. N.S.A. x.314

may be counted a reasonably profitable town in Highland terms but the site was not chosen by the commissioners but by the titular Duke of Perth about 1730.¹ The Board added to it, the factor reporting in 1764 that he had marked out 45 acres 2 roods and 3 falls² on Murdieston and Ballanton on the north west of the existing village.³ In 1800, Callander was described as having a 'neat, cheerful appearance', the writer pointing out the sudden change to the Gaelic tongue and Highland garb, but worse, the bad and extravagant inn.⁴ The village of Boreland was occupied almost entirely by weavers by the time of the first Statistical Account.⁵ As the original settlers left all the settlements, the factors were ordered to let their houses to the country people.

Strelitz lasted longest. By the time Wight visited the colony, some of the inhabitants were unable to work, not surprisingly considering they had been there since 1763 and had been in the army before that. Others, he thought were unwilling and as a result they all had to hire labour, which kept their work behind as they had to wait until the labourers' own work was done.⁶ On the other hand, he gave a reasonably favourable description of the state of the village, especially of the nursery garden, which both Friend and he thought well-kept.⁷ On the restoration of the estates, however, Burrelton, a nearby village, grew and Whiteley eventually resumed its name⁸ though in the 1863 Ordnance Survey it still figures as Strelitz.

According to Thomas Hunter, the soldiers here were notorious smugglers and he also tells that they instituted an annual march to remind them of old campaigns 'marching through the parish to the strains of martial music, the

1. BHP. 3477.
2. Fall = measure of six ells square, a perch.
3. E721/8, p.16.
4. NLS. Ms. 213. George Douglas, Advocate, Tour to the Hebrides, in his autograph.
5. OSA. iv. p.43. 6. Wight, Husbandry, i. p.17.
7. E777/252; Wight, Husbandry, i. p.118.
8. NSA. x. p.1171; William Marshall, Historic Scenes in Perthshire, (Edinburgh, 1880) p.245.

demonstrations generally ending in not a few bloody Fontenoys on a small scale'.¹ This promenade gradually changed into a ploughman's festival and then merged into Burrelton Market and finally Burrelton Games. Unfortunately one's faith in this colourful story is somewhat lessened by his making the statement that the country people would not take the holdings the soldiers left, for Young seems to have had no difficulty in letting the houses and Wight explicitly says there were country people there in 1778.² In 1810, soldiers were being moved off their holdings on the Perth estate and there was a certain amount of legal business, deciding whether the government could interfere between tenant and proprietor, or whether the soldiers did in fact have a right of tenure during their lifetime.³ Tenacious as ever, some were still in possession in 1816. Eventually even Strelitz was almost wholly covered by plantations, the largest in the barony of Stobhall.

On Struan, there were three settlements, at Kinloch Rannoch, Georgetown, and Black Park. It will be remembered that Small, the Struan factor, refused to agree that he could find any land in 1763, but in 1764, he reported that the village was being built as well as the bridge at Kinloch Rannoch.⁴ Additional delay had arisen from the need to harvest the departing tenants' corn first. Of the three, only Kinloch Rannoch remains as a recognisable village. Black Park still showed on the burn Allt na Moire Buidhe, as a few houses in the 1862 Ordnance Survey, but Georgetown was by then only shown as Rannoch barracks. And Kinloch Rannoch is hardly a busy economic centre.

The areas chosen for colonies on the Cromarty estates were never given names. They never figured as anything but 'stations' on the baronies of the estate. Like Benniebeg on Drummond Castle grounds, the houses built on the

1. T. Hunter, Woods, Forests and Estates of Perthshire (Perth 1883), p.351.
2. Wight, Husbandry, 1.114.
3. E777/32.
4. E721/8, p.22.

policies of New Tarbat house, offended the eyes of the reinstated proprietors, and he seems to have begun to remove tenants from these, immediately on his entrance into his family estates.¹ At New Tarbat in 1764, there had been thirty-two houses, and twelve spread around on Tullich and Kilmuir, the inhabitants including four weavers, two shoemakers and one tailor.² On Strathpeffer, there were twenty-six King's Cottagers, four unmarried.³ These included two masons, one flax-dresser, three tailors, four weavers and two shoemakers. On the estate of Lovat, the factor could report that fifty-one soldiers and King's Cottagers had been provided for, on various farms, twenty on Barnyards, ten on the Morass of Conon, the largest groups, with only two on Castle Downie, and one on Crochell, who happened to be a surveyor. None of these groups were apparently meant to develop into villages. In fact, fifty-eight houses had been built but two on Crochell were used as the school and schoolhouse, and two others had been given to a flax-dresser and a spinning mistress as the factor considered these necessary.⁴ The Lovat factor met with a difficulty with settlers regarding their houses. These had been well enough built but as the colonists thought the commissioners were to keep the houses in order, they were making no attempt to do so and some were even 'inclined to hurt them'.⁵ They had to be informed that the board would spend no more on them.

While the trades practised by the soldiers make it obvious that the scheme had been effective to a degree in helping, initially at least, after the end of the Seven Years War, to bring craftsmen into the areas, the origins of these men give rise to the suspicion that many might have found their way back in any case. The majority came from the northern counties of Scotland. On Lovat, two hailed from Fermanagh and one from Inniskillen;⁶

1. Sir William Fraser, The Earls of Cromartie (Edinburgh, 1876), l.cclviii, Hereafter, Fraser Cromartie.
2. E787/28/5.
3. E787/28/4.
4. E787/28/1.
5. E721/14, p.81.
6. E787/28/1.

on Cromarty, there were a few 'foreigners', one from Armagh,¹ one from Devon,² another from Renfrew,³ but the greater number gave the place of their birth as Ross, Sutherland, Caithness and Inverness-shire.

Eventually it was to be hoped that increased prosperity, the general growth that would be generated by a village, would also benefit the whole estate, but initially there was a drop in rental. The Struan rentals show a decrease of £16. 14. 11 $\frac{8}{12}$ in Kinloch Rannoch until 1767, because the cottagers did not pay rent until Martinmas that year. The old rent was £19. 14. 8 $\frac{8}{12}$.⁴ In 1775, Georgetown had only eight cottagers, paying a total of £6 while in Wester Finart, in 1767 considered part of Georgetown, there were six tenants paying £20. By 1775 too there were eleven crofters in Kinloch Rannoch assessed at £24. 18. 0; rents were raised that year for improvements.

In its inception, the idea of providing for disbanded soldiers and sailors, increasing the population of the Highlands and Islands, importing necessary trades and building houses of a higher standard than was usual, all in one step, was a splendid one. In its implementation, little can be said in its favour. Haste was perhaps necessary at the end of the Seven Years War, but haste without accompanying caution and care led to the situation described. This was yet another occasion when the commissioners paid far too little attention to the full implications of their brain waves and certainly too little to the practical details of management. Equally, the Treasury could perhaps have exercised more control more profitably, but no doubt to the government it must have seemed the ideal answer to the problem of what to do with the demobilised forces, trained in many cases only for fighting.

1. E787/28/4.
3. E787/28/4.

2. E787/28/3.
4. E783/42, 43.

Though the commissioners gave up the idea fairly quickly of forming completely new towns, they continued the encouragement of settlement in towns that were already established, in Crieff and Callander particularly. When the Callander minister, Mr. Robertson, wrote about Perthshire agriculture, he remarked that several people could at that time, 1794, remember the town when it contained four families.¹ The attainted Earl of Perth had begun to enlarge the town and the commissioners continued his work, both by helping to establish small factories in the town, by obtaining an allowance of £200 to place craftsmen in Callander and Crieff and as we have seen, by placing soldiers there. This last step is in some quarters given the credit for starting Callander's prosperity.²

Crieff was even more important in the commissioners' eyes and industry and craftsmen as well as the hotel trade were all assisted. In 1762, the inhabitants complained of loss of the droving trade and of the assistance the late owner of the Perth estate had been wont to give them³ but the town was so well placed in an eighteenth century context that it was bound to and indeed did begin to thrive again. In 1768, Mr. Swinton studied the feus granted by the Earl of Findlater and decided that the Board could use the same formula for feuing the land they owned in Crieff; many people were reputed to come into Crieff for the education of their children.⁴ In 1771, the factor wrote that the increase in the size of Callander had increased the rents by £30 yearly in rent and feuduties, which no doubt pleased the Board, but the local heritors in Crieff viewed increased number of feus there with mixed feelings.⁵ By 1775 the factor wrote that the number of poor in the parish had multiplied by so much that an assessment had had to be made, something that most parishes considered a step that had to be avoided.⁶

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1. James Robertson, General View of the Agriculture of the Southern Districts of the County of Perth (London, 1794), p.65. Hereafter, Robertson, Southern Perthshire.
 2. Francis Groome, Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1882) i. p.222. Hereafter, Groome, Gazetteer.
 3. E721/6, p.175.
 4. E721/11, p.23; E729/8, p.84.
 5. E777/301.
 6. E777/87/86(1).

The tax was not large, at 5/6 in £100 rent, but in 1776, it was pointed out that as the Board for the Annexed Estates had been responsible for bringing in such large numbers into Crieff, it was to be hoped that they would help care for the poor. The new houses built were so much better than most Highland dwellings that in almost all of them rooms were let, one to a whole family. Many came from the Highlands to look for work which was not always available, so that they became dependent on poor relief from the parish.¹

Despite the help that the Board could bring to each of these towns, neither could claim the quick success of Grantown-on-Spey, where building began in 1765, and by 1780 it was said to be in a 'very thriving condition'.² Certainly Grantown could alone attract much of the local business of Badenoch, Rothiemurchus, Strathaven and Glenlivet, in a way neither Crieff nor Callander could perhaps manage, but also, Grantown was the brainchild of one proprietor and the lack of a resident landlord in the former towns may have been a disadvantage.

Moved as ever by contemporary developments, towards the end of the annexation, but too late for any positive steps to be taken under their creaking administration, the commissioners glanced at the possibility of a spa. The mineral well at Strathpeffer had attracted favourable attention as the doctor at New Tarbat, Dr. Alex. McKenzie, had reported to the Royal Society that it was equal to that at 'Harrowgate'. According to him, it created an appetite and helped the digestion.³ John Baxter the architect was sent to have a look at it,⁴ but despite the factor's suggestion that some of the Board members should come up to experience its benefits themselves and the further pleasure of good hunting,⁵ nothing more came of the suggestion under the commissioners' aegis.

1. E777/87/87(1, 2).
3. E746/110/6.
5. E746/110/6.

2. S.R.O. G.D. 248/25/2/8.
4. E746/106.

3. FISHERIES

Concurrently with their plans to settle soldiers, the commissioners had decided to cope with three national problems at one blow, in a similar fashion. Fishermen who had been pressed into the navy had been greatly missed first by their landlords who had shared in their catch, secondly by the neighbouring inhabitants who missed the addition of fish to their diet, and thirdly, not least, by the public 'in preventing the exportation of a considerable quantity of wet and dried cod', over and above the home consumption.¹ It was declared, on no apparent concrete statistical grounds, that 1,000 men were required to replace them and it was proposed that £6,610² should be laid out to encourage discharged sailors to settle as fishermen on the annexed estates and as there were no houses ready on these estates, to give temporary bounties to five hundred who would settle on any estates where there were houses available. The board would pay their rent of £1 per annum for house and garden provided by other landlords while the boat crews were to keep house, boat and garden in order, and furnish sails, mast, oars and fishing tackle. The landlords in return would receive one fifth of the fish caught or the value in money as rent or 'boat-dale'.³ For the annexed estates, slightly more elaborate plans were made. It was proposed to erect fishing villages on the estate of Cromarty, near the mouth of the Cromarty firth, on Barrisdale and on the side of Lochbroom, providing thereby for 500 men.

The expense was reckoned as follows:-

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1. E723/p.39.
 2. It should be noted that the board's annual surplus was £4,500.
 3. E723/2, p.43.

To the Bounty of £3 to each of 500 on other estates	£1,500	
To 62 boats at £15 per boat	930	
To rent of 375 houses at £1 each ¹	<u>375</u>	£2,805
To bounty of £2 on the Forfeited Estates	£1,000	
To 62 boats at £15 per boat	930	
To building 375 houses at £5 per house	<u>£1,875</u>	<u>£3,805</u>
Total Expense		£6,610

Originally there seemed to be some idea that the landlords outside the annexed estates would provide the boat too² but the commissioners certainly gave the above figures in their estimates to the king. At the end of three years the crews were to own the boats and to settle wherever they wished,³ while settlers on the annexed estates were to live in rent-free houses as long as they remained there. Difficulties immediately appeared in the spring of 1763 when the Lovat factor found that he could not procure boats for the sailors and he was instructed to apply to the Banff boat-builders for such boats as were used on the Moray Firth or about Mr. Garden of Troup's.⁴

The commissioners then went off on their usual summer adjournment leaving the secretary to face what must have been in many respects for him a nightmare summer. Like the soldiers, the sailors appeared in considerable numbers at the Edinburgh office, where Mr. Barclay had to do something about them. The first group who applied were easy to deal with. Eleven Orcadians, fishermen bred, claimed the bounty, wanting to go home first, and then to settle near New Tarbat. There were neither houses, boats nor land ready, so Barclay gave them each £1 to travel home and then to New Tarbat by next Lammas.⁵ In fact, these men do not seem to have used the bounty in the way it was meant as no natives of Orkney appear in the factor's lists.⁶ Some other Orcadians

1. Allowance was made for some unmarried sailors who would not immediately be provided with houses.

2. E721/14, p.2.

3. E721/14, p.3.

4. E721/14, p.24.

5. E721/14, p.13.

6. E787/20/4, 5.

also applied, but as they meant to live in Orkney they merely had their names recorded and were given instructions to apply for the bounty when they had settled.¹ In an attempt to speed things up and at the same time to provide profitably for the sailors, he sent twenty-six more to New Tarbat, where of course, there had been no time to prepare for them, telling the factor to mark out the ground and then to set the sailors themselves to collecting material to build their houses and also to throw up ditches round their portions of ground.² They were to be paid the usual country rates, were to start collecting fuel for the winter and whenever the houses were ready, the factor was to buy boats.

Fortunately it was realised that the idea of the Lochbroom settlement needed some further inquiries and Peter May, the surveyor, was sent there to make a proper survey,³ but with an astonishing degree of insouciance, 117 sailors were sent off with a 'viaticum' and letter of introduction to some noblemen and gentlemen considered likely to welcome them, and to the magistrates of some seaside burghs, Campbeltown, Fort William, Aberdeen, Peterhead, Stonehaven and Montrose, and of the northern counties, Caithness, Orkney, Shetland and Cromarty. Two snags arose from this procedure. It was first soon found that many of the sailors had never gone to the places assigned to them so the secretary stopped handing out travelling expenses at the office. If the wandering mariners arrived, the letters they carried, told the addressee - factor, heritor or magistrates - how much to give them, promising repayment by the commissioners.⁴ Secondly, the secretary reported in what would seem a slight understatement that it had been found inconvenient to send off sailors, without the heritors having made any previous application for them, so he advertised for offers from landowners in the 'disarmed counties'. Some sailors who were already settled had applied, with certificates from

1. E721/14, p.13.
3. E721/14, p.14.

2. E721/14, p.13.
4. E721/14, p.14.

'Reputable persons' who asked the Board to forward the bounty.¹

The question of recommendations was one that also gave the secretary some worry. Sailors, unlike soldiers, did not get official discharges and none brought any references so he obviously felt the best thing was to get rid of them at once; but several never set off and others who did reach their destination refused to become fishermen.² Another complication arose in Campbeltown where the boats went out only twice a year, in the spring for cod and in September for herring, so that the sailors had missed their opportunity there for immediate employment. Some of the group who arrived there must have been genuinely seeking work for they travelled back to Edinburgh specially to report this and those willing were sent to Lewis where Dr. John McKenzie had given houses and tackle for three boats. Because of his generosity the same bounty was allowed as on the annexed estates.³ Unfortunately, these patterns of virtue did not maintain such commendable behaviour, for in January, 1765, Dr. McKenzie wrote asking for money to replace one of the boats which he had originally provided. The crew had deserted in the summer before, taking the boat with them.⁴

Earlier reports varied in their attitude, a Mr. Silver being tolerably satisfied with the seven sailors and a marine whom he had settled at Johnshaven and provided with hired boats, clothing and lodgings.⁵ Lord Fyfe on the other hand wrote in some disgruntlement that he had given three sailors a guinea each to bring their families to settle but only one returned. Having built boats in expectation of being supplied by men from the Board, he was left with one ~~one~~ possible crew member. He had to be repaid by the Lovat factor.⁶

All this does not paint a picture of shining efficiency and by 1764, the commissioners had to admit, contrary to their views on the soldiers' settlements, that the scheme was not a success. In their report they showed that of 205 who accepted the bounty, 154 deserted.⁷ Travelling charges amounted.

1. E721/14, p.17.

3. E721/7, p.137.

5. E721/14, p.29.

7. E723/2, p.52.

2. E721/14.

4. E721/8, p.89; E721/14, p.82.

6. E721/14, p.35.

to £124. 14.2, house and boat-building to £429. 19. $7\frac{3}{12}$, with the bounty, a total of £758. 13. $9\frac{3}{12}$. Many sailors had applied, not realising that they must confine themselves to being fishermen and withdrew their applications when the conditions were explained to them.¹

However the Board persisted with the scheme in outline. In 1764, they had expressed a hope that they might still establish fisheries for either discharged sailors or natives of the annexed estates, at Lochbroom, near the Cromarty estates, or at Inverie on the estate of Barrisdale, and had suggested that £1,000 might be allocated for this purpose.² In 1765, they paid out bounty money to eighty-eight sailors settled on the coasts of the Highlands and paid their house rents for a year. They also paid £27 in bounty money on Barrisdale, built houses there and provided three boats and tackle worth £60. 10. 0, a total for the year of £624. 10. 0.³ Originally, tackle had been intended to be the crew's responsibility, but by August, 1763, the factor on Lovat, Captain Forbes, had written that the sailors demanded nets before they could make a living. A week later, the Board accepted this, allowing £5 - £6 for nets, similar to those used in the Moray Firth, and for bladders and ropes.⁴

Assistance to the fishing industry did not end with the failure of the original plans for settling sailors. Optimism and enterprise similar to that looking for economic answers underground considered the underdevelopment of the fishing industry by those living in or near the coasts in the north and west as most reprehensible. Further, such neglect was totally incomprehensible, for the potential food supply should have been an irresistible attraction to a population existing at subsistence level. It was beyond the understanding of writers and travellers like James Wilson that the people in most parts of Scotland would fish 'only on compulsion' whereas by regular exploitation of

1. E721/14, p.18.

3. E723/2, p.86.

2. E732/2, p.53.

4. E721/14, p.36.

the sea's harvest, they could 'add most materially to the comfort of their family'.¹ What Wilson and many of his contemporaries did not see on a superficial survey of the situation, but what modern historians have illustrated only too well was that the capital outlay on efficient equipment was beyond the means of most aspiring fishermen, while loans made from whatever source gave rise to interest charges that absorbed any financial gains.² This was especially so where the landlord was the lender and had also a legal right to a sizeable share of the proceeds.³ A further element that received no sympathy at all and was not wholly understood was the innate distrust of the sea displayed by the landsman, added to prevalent inefficiency in the skills needed for successful fishing.

The sin of lack of comprehension cannot of course be laid at all doors and can certainly not be attributed to the factors on the coastal estates. The writer of The Highlands in 1750 pointed out that the country people had neither the ability nor the skill to fit out proper vessels to catch the plentiful herring in Loch Broom, while the gentlemen did not concern themselves with the trade.⁴ It is interesting to note in light of their energy in road-building activities which we shall look at in Chapter V, that the gentlemen of Argyllshire were among the few who had made quite a profit out of fishing in the year he was writing.⁵ This was a harbinger of things to come when several of the landed gentry in the Highlands asked for assistance from the funds of the annexed estates to forward their fishery schemes.⁶ Pennant too saw the wealth of cod and ling available near Canna but also saw that the inhabitants were too poor to be able to fish.⁷

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1. Wilson, Voyage, i. pp. 198, 199.
 2. M. Gray, 'Crofting and Fishing in the North-West Highlands, 1890-1914', in Northern Scotland, i. No. 1, pp. 89-114.
 3. Caledonian Mercury, 25 August, 1784. Land in Shetland was let on condition that fish be delivered to the proprietor in exchange for goods at set prices.
 4. A. Lang, The Highlands of Scotland in 1750 (Edinburgh and London, 1898) p.34. Hereafter, Lang, Highlands.
 5. Lang, Highlands, p.45.
 6. E721/14, p.36; E727/60/1; E728/13/2. Petitions from Stewart of Fasnacloich, Campbell of Shawfield, Campbell of Mingarry.
 7. Pennant, Tour, i. p.313.

As regards the factors, Ninian Jeffrey on Coigach when asked to put forward a plan for organising the fishing industry on that part of the Cromarty estates, emphasised that experienced fishermen were essential for any success as the natives were not used to fishing.¹ In 1766, when there was some activity, he noted that ships subsidised by the bounty caught herring when the local boats did not. His enquiries elicited the answer that this was because of the inferior type of nets and the shortage of ropes on each net used by the latter. Again poverty prevented self-improvement so he suggested that the Board attempted to remedy this by providing better nets.² A few years later in 1772, the fishing had been as good as any of recent years, but none had been north of Gairloch so that the Coigach people had not been able to take any advantage of it. He had to admit that fishing in Coigach must always be 'a precarious rent' when it depended on so many poor people unable to afford the better and in the long run more profitable gear.³

Jeffrey and Henry Butter, factor on Barrisdale, both realised the need for capital expenditure.⁴ Jeffrey proposed that a storehouse should be provided and a cooper's business subsidised at the cost of about £500.⁵ Butter, concerned at the lack of benefit accruing to the tenants on Barrisdale from the variety of fish in the area, also suggested the need for a cooper but his proposal was to employ one to save carriage.⁶ He too pointed to the poverty of the inhabitants as preventing their taking part in the fishing industry. Credit must also be given to him for the idea of a colony of fishermen at Inverie⁷ and for the very practical proposal as it seemed at the time, of buying salt and casks to be deposited at suitable centres along the coasts and sold to the fishermen at cost price. It was hoped that cheap barrels and preservatives would encourage both cod and ling fishing.⁸

1. E746/75/4.

2. E746/75/20(1).

3. F.R. Coigach 4.

4. E741/38/2. Tenants on Barrisdale in 1762 could not afford proper boats, nets, salt and other materials.

5. E746/75/4.

6. E721/7, p.27; E786/33/2.

7. E721/7, p.27.

8. E723/2, p.79.

The Board claimed that their desire to spend £500 on such a scheme was as the result of applications from 'gentlemen on the west coast and isles of Scotland' who wanted to exploit the rich banks of fish hitherto of little advantage. They mentioned Dr. Walker's view that the only impediment to success in the business was the difficulty in providing salt and casks for curing and packing, but Butter had proposed spending £700 and £1,000 on similar purchases in Barrisdale alone.¹

Unfortunately, as the herring with their usual fickleness did not appear with such profusion for a few years after 1765, Butter came to rue his earlier enthusiasm. In February, 1767, the minutes record his report that the herring fishery had disappointed everyone concerned and that the salt and casks would have to wait until the following year to be used.² He had been provided with £648. 11. 8 of supplies and in his accounts for 1768 showed he had sold only £104. 18. 1 worth.³ He had also discovered that managing debenture salt at a distance was no sinecure and said quite bluntly that had he realised all the inconveniences he would not have been very willing to engage in the business.⁴ One of his suppliers who had sold him casks had to write to the Board for payment of over £300, a year after the goods had been provided. As he said it was 'a great hardship for a person in trade to lye out of his money'. The remaining casks were to be sold by public roup to retain some of the capital.⁵ As a result the first £500 allowed was also the last.

Various proposals thereafter reached the commissioners from would-be entrepreneurs such as John Woodhouse, a Liverpool merchant who wanted to smoke herring 'in the Yarmouth way' on Island Martin.⁶ Colin Mackenzie, the kelp merchant in Lochbroom asked for a lease of a Coigach farm where he could follow not only the fishing but the kelp, rope and net-making industries.⁷

1. E721/9, p.145.

3. E786/51.

5. E721/17, pp. 2, 6.

7. E746/127.

2. E721/10, p.33. 2-2-67.

4. F.R. Barrisdale, 9.

6. F.R. Cromarty 14.

However, there were only two more large grants towards the fishing. One was to Daniel Campbell of Shawfield who wanted to build a boat and quays in Islay where the ignorance of the people, the rapidity of the tides and inadequate vessels prevented any advantage being taken of the rich banks of fish near the island.¹ The other was the sum of £250 towards the exotic cairban fishing.

The cairban is the sailfish or the basking shark, which was hunted only for its liver oil. About six to eight barrels of a pure sweet oil could be extracted from each one caught and this was bought by the tanners for up to £3 a barrel.² Inspector Menzies described the oil as being reckoned superior to any other for 'currying leather'; it was also approved of by clothiers and he thought something might be made of this type of catch. Many of this somewhat sluggish fish were to be seen between June and October, sometimes in pairs, sometimes in shoals and he thought their speed ensured that they could be easily harpooned.³ The adventurer who eventually benefited from the Board's largesse was Donald M'Leod, a tacksman on Canna, whose name was brought before them by Dr. Walker.⁴ M'Leod was too young to be able to afford a boat large enough to stand up to the strength of the cairban or to follow it out far enough (a wherry of fifteen to twenty tons was needed) so permission was asked to spend £250 on this project. There is a letter from the tacksman saying 'I tryd the kerban this season'⁵ but the only remaining mention seems to be instructions to the inspector to go to Lewis to see if M'Leod is indeed employing the boat properly as the Board had a bond of bottomry on it.⁶ What M'Leod did in fact do is not recorded in the Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745 to my knowledge, but Pennant reported that the 'person they confided in most shamefully abused their goodness' so that when he visited the area, only

1. E727/60/1; E723/2, 1777; the boat was to cost £200.

2. J. Knox, A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides Islands in 1786, (London 1787), p. 36-38.

3. E729/9.

4. E721/8, p.74.

5. E727/16.

6. E721/17, p.1; E728/13/4.

private adventurers were attempting this particular type of fishing.¹ Whether cairban fishing is in fact practical seems doubtful. The most recent commercial attempt at it was the late Gavin Maxwell's, an unsuccessful one which he described in Harpoon at a Venture (London 1964).

All things considered it may be plausibly argued that the greatest contribution made by the commissioners to the fishing industry in the west was their appointment of Justiciary Bailies to maintain order in the fishing season. The fishing fleet was not the most peaceful of groups and the need for some sort of policing was perennial. In 1755, orders were sent to Lord Beauclerk the Commander-in-chief in Scotland to send a party to Lochbroom and Coigach to prevent 'the usual abuses committed by the herring fishers'.² The mutual misunderstanding of the crofter and the fisherman are illustrated by the description of the inconveniences suffered by the farmers of Lee and Skiarree the only safe harbour in Loch Hourn,³ where the herring fishermen cured and salted their fish on the verge of the grassland and also walked over the fields in bodies, thus spoiling the grass for the cattle. They also cut wood indiscriminately but they were not alone in that.⁴ In 1756, the Baron Bailie of Coigach was appointed a sheriff substitute to try to control the 'many disorders' resulting from the numbers of boats and people in Lochbroom during the season and this was an annual problem the inhabitants had to face.⁵ In 1773, Archibald MacDonnell asked for powers to supervise the area between Loch Broom and Mull as this area was rather far from the nearest official in Stornoway and Lewis.⁶ He claimed that the greatest herring fishery was in this area and in 1779, his son Coll joined him as a justiciary bailie.⁷

One final point may be made that not everyone was enthusiastic about

1. Pennant, Tour. ii. 194.

3. E729/1, p.70.

5. E746/93/2(1).

7. E727/19.

2. NLS. Ms. 305/130.

4. E721/17, p.12; F.R. GM. II, Nos 8, 9.

6. E728/14/1(1, 2).

the results of a thriving fishing industry. One can understand the hostility roused among farmers by the sort of behaviour they faced in Skiarree; those who thought the hope of the Highlands was the introduction of manufacturing industry found much to complain about in the seasonal attractions of the fishing. The minister of Lochbroom wrote to Captain Forbes protesting that industry would never thrive as long as a man and maidservant could be released from service to go to the fishing, 'he to fish and she to gut'. No servants could be got to work for any hire, 'no not a herd or little girl', because of this practice. He foretold the impoverishment of the tenants and the loss of cattle through lack of labour. Worse in his eyes, perhaps, when the fishing ended, the potential servant had become accustomed to drinking and idleness and when the herring forsook the loch, they became beggars.¹ Robertson, however, was swimming against a tide which was to flow strongly until the early twentieth century and one which, it may be, brought more capital and comfort to the west than any of the abortive industrial schemes dreamed up by the eighteenth century entrepreneurs.

It is unlikely that the members of the Board, any more than later land-owners who transported their tenants to the coasts, had any idea of the magnitude of the financial and educational programme that would have been needed to produce from a race imbued with attachment to the land a community that was prepared to settle for a house and garden in a fishing town. Coming events cast their shadows before, however, in Jeffrey's plans for cod, ling and herring fisheries at Coigach; he proposed that families with too small farms, whom he castigated as 'just a nuisance upon every Highland estate' because they could not keep their families, should be employed by the Board at 5/- to 20/- a year, provided with boat and tackle free and lodged in a fishing town.² This was the classic clearance programme, one the Board

1. F.R. Cromarty, 14.1756.
2. E746/75/4.

could not adopt, not on any moral or emotional grounds, but because of financial stringency. They would probably have considered the financial benefits expected to accrue to the tenants apology enough and consistent with the philosophy of the annexation. But even had they been inclined to follow such a plan in its entirety, it is unlikely that government consent would have been won, so soon after the fiasco of their recent foray into a similar field, the settlements for discharged soldiers and sailors.

Chapter III

ESTATE MANAGEMENT

1. GENERAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Among the varied activities of the Board for the Annexed Estates, management of the estates as agricultural units was perhaps the most time-consuming, and rightly deserved to be so. Society in the area covered by the estates was agriculturally based in 1752 and over two hundred years later, despite the Dounreay complex, hydro-electricity, tourism and the current developments in the exploitation of oil, agriculture is still an important part of the Highland economy in one form or another. If the direct effect on individuals is considered, agricultural change was the most important and far-reaching of all that the commissioners attempted. Some few industrial entrepreneurs were to benefit directly from the Board's largesse; roads, bridges, schools, all contributed to the quality of life in the area; but land was still the vital element, and on it, all were dependent in the last resort, for the income available to the commissioners came from the land in money rent, services and casualties. Their management was clearly of vital importance.

Sensible of this fact, and also aware of their basic ignorance of conditions on the estates, the commissioners' first task was to discover to the best of their ability, the true state of affairs, technically and socially. Surveyors were appointed, not merely to obtain full information of rentals and to take valuations of the estates, as these serving the Barons of the Exchequer had done,¹ but to make a scientific survey, using trigonometry,²

1. E701/1, p.2.

2. E726/1, p.1, clause 2.

which would give a geographical picture of the whole. In addition, they had to look at every farm, determine accurate boundaries, and the extent of arable, meadow, wood, bogs and marshes. Colonel Watson,¹ who drew up their detailed instructions, also asked the surveyors to note whether ground had potential for improvement.² Then they were to mark villages, farms and cothouses.³ On the social side, the distance of the church from the most remote parts of the parish was to be measured and if it was not within the boundary of the map, note was to be taken of the nearest part of the surveyed estate from the church.⁴ John Leslie and Peter May were the two main surveyors employed,⁵ though the services of Francis Grant, who had also been employed by the Barons of the Exchequer,⁶ and David Aitkin were also used.⁷

For additional social information, however, the factors were required to answer a long list of questions put to them by the commissioners; this list included enquiries about every aspect of life on the estates, and they were also asked what they would recommend in the way of improvements.⁸ In this chapter, the social aspect will take a less important place, though it must always be borne in mind that it is almost impossible to separate agricultural and social organisation in the Highlands, at that time. This is amply demonstrated in the factors' reports,⁹ which refer only to the estates that were under the commissioners' management from 1755, and not to those held of subject superiors. The factors employed at the time who returned reports were John Campbell of Barcaldine for the Perth estate, by far the largest, William Monteath on the parts of Arnprior not held of a subject superior, James Small for Struan, Captain John Forbes of New for both Lovat and Cromarty, Mungo Campbell for Barrisdale and Kinlochmoidart and James

1. See Appendix D.

3. E726/1, p.2. clause 8.

5. E726/3.

7. E746/78.

2. E726/1, p.1. clause 5.

4. E726/1, p.2. clause 8.

6. E701/1, p.2.

8. E726/1, pp. 7, 8.

9. These reports have been published in full by H.M.S.O. (Edinburgh, 1973) - ed., Virginia Wills, 'Reports on the Annexed Estates, 1755-1769', Hereafter, Wills, Reports.

Mackdonald (sic) of Rineton for Monaltry, the smallest estate, only about "two miles in circumference".

The questions put to the factors regarding agricultural practices give some indication of the type of policy the commissioners were likely to follow.¹ The first query concerned the types of leases on the estates, and any sub-letting connected with the lessees, the next the number of wadsetters, and the effect on the people of having 'these lesser gentlemen' living among them. Thereafter, each barony had to be described by size, situation, fertility, the grain it cultivated to be noted and the pasture. The factors were also to find out if lime was burnt for manure, or if indeed, any limestone had been found; had flax and potato raising made any progress; was grass sown or hay made; if there were any enclosures, how large were they and how were they made. On animal stocking information about the type and value of the cattle kept was requested, and following this, what use was made of milk and dairy produce. Mills and woods had also to be looked at from the point of view of convenience and value, and the penultimate query was what carriages of bark and other services should be reserved in leases.

Allowing for local differences in soil and climate, as well as in the character of the inhabitants, the factors' reports showed remarkable similarity in some aspects of husbandry. Potatoes, for example, were universally grown, even in Barrisdale,² the most inaccessible of the estates annexed, and there, the dung was put on the potato ground.³ Small claimed that it was only through his initiative in the last two years that Struan tenants had been persuaded to plant both potatoes and lint, lintseed having been obtained through the Barons of the Exchequer at prime cost,⁴ while very few were grown in Monaltry.⁵ Near Dunblane, on the other hand, enough potatoes were produced to

1. E726/1, pp. 7-8.

3. E741/40, p.4.

5. E729/1, p.106.

2. E729/1, p.68.

4. E703/84/1, p.7.

have a surplus for sale.¹ Another common factor was that no grass seeds were sown and little hay made, even where the greatest dependence of the tenants was on their supplies of black cattle and the milk yield, as in Coigach, where the tenants made butter and cheese for sale in Tain, Dingwall and Contin,² and in the Barony of Stratherrick, lying largely on the south side of Loch Ness.³ Black cattle of average quality, even if small,⁴ seemed to fetch much the same price all over the estates, namely thirty to forty shillings, except in places like Auchterarder where they were not fit for marketing, hardly producing enough milk for the owner's family,⁵ or in Glenartney, where the quality was high and the price might reach forty-five shillings.⁶

Bear and oats were produced in varying quantities and quality, almost everywhere from Callander to Coigach, the results depending on the soil, the climate and the tenants' energy. In Lix, in Killin parish, no matter that they bought in good seed, there were poor returns, for the barony was high, north-facing over Loch Dochart and only a hot, dry season saw the crops there ripen. If less than three bolls of oats gave one boll of meal, that was reckoned a good return. And these tenants limed their grounds, using the plentiful peat to burn the equally easily obtainable limestone.⁷ Of course, the use of lime was conditioned by the availability of fuel and in Strathyre, an eighteen mile carry for coal effectively restricted the tenants' use of that particular form of improvement.⁸ In the far west estate of Barrisdale, the little arable land there was provided the inhabitants with grey oats to keep them in bread all winter and spring,⁹ through spade culture and the use of sea-ware for manure. In the summer, they made enough money

1. E777/244, p.42.
3. E729/1, p.24.
5. E777/244, p.46.
7. E777/244, p.3.
9. E729/1, p.68.

2. E729/1, p.68.
4. E738/58/1, p.5.
6. E777/244, p.28.
8. E738/58/1, p.5.

from butter and cheese sold to Sleat, to buy oatmeal.¹ But the factor, Mungo Campbell, considered that the arable land would not respond to any treatment and the only improvement he recommended was dividing the farms.²

What one might term the outline of landholding was also fairly similar from south to north. By this I mean the size of holdings and the intermingling of one proprietor's lands with another's. Barcaldine says little about runrig or the size of holdings, but in Strathyre, the farms which were leased for nineteen years and not subset³ had so many tenants on each that there was not much milk.⁴ On the estate of Lovat, too, Captain Forbes had to write that the holdings were far too small and in runrig, so that only division and enlargement would make the farms economic.⁵

In general, it can be said fairly that the farther north the estate, the more backward by 'improving' standards were the agricultural methods used, and the less interested the inhabitants, though there were of course exceptions. Throughout the annexation, the tenants of Muthil, for example, in the heart of the estate of Perth near Castle Drummond got few good words from anyone. In 1755, the only agricultural industry they showed was in watering their ground; they used none of the stone marle that was in good supply around for manure, they burned no lime, their cattle were poor though some cheese and butter was sold in the Highland part of the barony. They made a little hay, but even the stone dikes round some enclosures in the vicinity of Drummond Castle were poor.⁶ Neighbouring baronies could show very different attitudes, for while Dunblane and Muthil had similar soils and could be expected to respond to similar methods of improvements, the tenants were very different, those in Dunblane being 'frugal and industrious'.⁷ In the barony of Stratherrick, on the Lovat estate, good soil and good pasture made some of the tenants self-sufficient in grain despite the poor climate, and ensured good supplies of butter and cheese,⁸ but Forbes' view of the tenants was so

1. E729/1, p.69.

3. E738/58/1, p.3.

5. E729/1, p.8.

7. E777/244, p.42.

2. E729/1, p.73.

4. E738/58/1, p.5.

6. E777/244, pp.35 ff.

8. E729/1, p.24.

low that to counteract the effect of oversmall holdings which led to the wives and children having to beg, he could only suggest introducing strangers from other parts of the country, as death or removal left vacant possessions.¹

This advice was apparently taken, and seems to have been effective, as the General Inspector was able to report in 1766 that the new tenants were in fact improvers.² He attributed this mainly to their being separate from their own clan and needing the Board's support which only their industry would gain.³

James Drummond, the former owner of the estate of Perth, had been an interested improving landlord, before he became involved in the 1745, and as a result, leases and enclosures were not unknown on the estate.⁴ The greater part of the barony of Callander was under tack, the leases having six to eight years still to run,⁵ though Balquhiddar, slightly farther north, had none.⁶ Most of Stratherrick (part of Lovat) was set to tacksmen and wadsetters, but the category did not count in Lowland eyes as improving leases.⁷ And enclosures were more conspicuous by their absence, or as in Monaltry, by their being allowed to go to ruin in the last few years.⁸

The most striking visual difference between the areas most likely to have felt Lowland influences and those in the north and west must have been in the appearance of the houses. All over the Perth estate, Barcaldine mentions good or tolerably good stone houses and when Menzies is travelling over the estate, he talks of all the Highlanders in Perthshire being good builders of dry-stone dikes, as they were used to building and repairing their own houses.⁹ The other reports hardly mentioned houses, but in Barrisdale, 'the whole houses of the country are made up of twigs and manufactured by way of creels called watling and covered with turff'.¹⁰ In 1767, Menzies stated

1. E729/1, p.30.
3. E729/8, p.109.
5. E777/244, p.12.
7. E729/1, p.23.
9. E729/8, p.24.

2. E729/8, p.108.
4. E777/244 passim.
6. E777/244, p.8.
8. E729/1, p.107.
10. E729/1, p.71.

that in all the Highland estates, there were only creel houses, and one of his greatest objections to these was that the frame was made of only young pliant plants, mostly young trees.¹

One other local element which conditioned the use of lime was the availability or lack of fuel. It was not surprising to discover only one man burning limestone in the Barony of Stobhall when peat had to be carried five or six miles and coal from still farther away, from Perth, even though it was obtainable at any time of the year.² Farm implements and presumably tools for all trades were also affected. In Lix, the lack of wood was explicitly given as one of the reasons for the poor tools;³ the tenants could only provide themselves with these from a distance - where exactly was unspecified - and clearly the time and effort involved would inhibit their being over-particular.

The factors' reports served as a basis on which to plan how best the aims of the annexation could be achieved on the estates themselves. 'Ever so very contemporary'⁴ the commissioners shared what Malcolm Gray calls 'the singularly unanimous abhorrence which the articulate thinkers of the eighteenth century held for anything but individual and permanent tenure of land'.⁵ Unable fully to understand the Highlander's concept of landholding and disliking and mistrusting what they did see and comprehend, this panel of mainly Lowland improvers and lawyers had little doubt about their first agricultural priority, and of course, neither had their masters in Parliament. If the Highlands were to be 'improved', 'civilised' and brought into the mainstream of British life, it was essential that the inhabitants should become more independent of their chiefs and of the tacksmen and the one certain way of ensuring this state of affairs, there was no doubt in Lowland eyes at least, was to provide them with security of tenure of the land they

1. E878/24, p.13.

2. E777/244, p.49.

3. E777/244, p.4.

4. M. Flanders and D. Swann, 'Design for Living'. Song, 1957.

5. Malcolm Gray, 'The Highland Economy', (Edinburgh and London, 1957), p.66. Hereafter, Gray, 'Highland Economy'.

cultivated. In the Lowlands as well, the system of landholding was considered one of the worst evils of the unimproved agricultural system by all the active improvers of the eighteenth century. Leaseless, undivided land held in runrig, in tenements of any size, large or small, farm, croft or pendicle, provided no incentive to tenants to increase the yield by good husbandry of any kind, by weeding, manuring, or sowing better seed, when there was no certainty that the improver would reap the benefit of his expenditure in time or money. As a result, it was thought that one of the first objects of those managing the annexed estates should be to grant leases to tenants, directly from the Crown, and especially to cut out subtenancies, with their dependence on the favour of a middleman.

The Annexing Act showed the importance attached to this, for the first positive step towards change that was mentioned was the desirability of granting leases and the qualifications that lessees must have. The term of the lease was to be a maximum of twenty-one years, or forty-one if the lessee was prepared to lay out not less than five years rent on the holding, either on buildings or other improvements, within seven years of the date of the leases. To prevent over-large farms, only mines or fishing could be let at more than £20 per annum. Then the leases could be made void, if the tenants sublet even part of their holding; if they were non-resident; or if they were found to have 'paid anything other than the rent' expressed in the lease, in consideration of having obtained it.¹ This delicate method of saying 'No bribery' was emphasised when the factors were given instructions by the commissioners that they must under no circumstances accept 'presents',² and John Campbell of Barcaldine's breach of this rule was an important consideration in his losing his post on the Perth estate.³ In addition, leases were to be 'absolutely void' unless the lessee had taken the oaths required for qualifying persons to execute offices of public trust in Scotland. These had to be sworn before the Quarter Sessions or before the Sheriff Depute or

1. See Appendix D.

3. E777/72, 341.

2. E726/1, pp. 5, 6.

his Substitute. This step may seem like the proverbial sledgehammer and the nut, but the Barons of the Exchequer who could statutorily give only three year leases or longer leases with three year breach, had instructed factors that farms being roused for letting because of uncertainty over the rental, were to be set only to those prepared to go voluntarily to the Justices of the Peace to take the oath of allegiance.¹ The government was determined to be sure of the inhabitants' loyalty, before they could have security of tenure.

Later a change in the value of holdings allowed had to be made. In 1774, the upper limit of £20 was increased on account of the rise in the value of horned cattle and in recognition of the rise in the general value of land, through 'inclosure improvements'.² It was unfortunate that the price of grain dropped quite considerably, soon after in 1777 and 1778, so that the total produce of the estates fell instead of rising as anticipated.

Ensuring that the estates were accurately surveyed was a statutory duty placed on the commissioners, one that was necessary in the narrower context if landholding was to be made more precise, and desirable in the wider, with the mapping of the Highlands still imperfect. With surveys fairly complete as they thought and factors' reports before them, by 1757, the Board informed the King and Treasury that they had begun to grant leases.³ In accordance with the aims and terms of the Annexing Act, tenants had to be chosen with care and as the Protestant religion had to be forwarded by all possible means, there are examples of Roman Catholics being turned off on account of their faith.⁴ Early in 1758, one lease at least was held up until the would-be lessee's religion was ascertained, as this seemed dubious from the factor's comments.⁵ As loyalty to the reigning monarch was also a sine qua non for security of tenure, tenants were evicted on suspicion of having sheltered rebels.⁶ The notion too, first expressed by Captain Forbes in his report

1. E701/2, p.28.

2. 14 George III c.55,

3. E723/1, p.43.

4. E721/2, p.127.

5. E721/4, p.67.

6. E721/1, p.64.

on Lovat and Cromarty, of mixing 'some strangers with the old inhabitants' persisted, the hope being that the former would set an example in hard work and perseverance, the lack of industry on the part of the tenants being regularly deplored by commissioners and factors.¹ During his tenure of office, Inspector Menzies commented that there was little hope of improvement in the estates with the present 'ignorant, awkward, lazy inhabitants'.²

As the factors' reports showed, leases were not unknown on the estates, though the number varied from one district to another. Struan could boast only two and one of these was for fir woods,³ but in Ardsheal, in the part claimed by the subject superior, there were leases of eighteen, nineteen and twenty-nine years duration, granted from 1735 onwards.⁴ But by 1761, the Board felt able to report to His Majesty that they had been 'particularly attentive' to their instructions regarding leases, granted for a limited time in place of the 'dependant precarious possessions which formerly prevailed'.⁵ They duly attached schedules showing the conditions of the leases and the rules and articles for managing corn farms.⁶

In 1760, Charles Dundas, who was considered a skilled agriculturalist, had been appointed as Director for agricultural improvements and he was sent to examine farms on the Perth estate.⁷ He had also been employed to examine tenants who might be 'proper persons' to hold leases from the commissioners and to decide what methods of cultivation should be used.⁸ Their reaction to his suggestions was sensible and humane, for recognising the poverty and ignorance of the larger part of the Highland population, they aimed at leases that would not load tenants with too many restraints and obligations and yet would gradually teach them the value, on corn farms initially, of fallowing, enclosing and sowing grass. They also proposed the use of estate funds to carry out improvements which would be interest free for the first

1. E721/6, p.215.

3. Adv. MS. 17.1.7.

5. E723/2, p.9.

7. E721/5, p.7.

2. E729/8, p.17.

4. E738/40/1.

6. E723/2, pp. 18-25.

8. E723/2, p.9.

three years.¹ However, perhaps too much was expected from tenants, even with this principle in mind, for in 1770, James Small, factor on Struan where improvements had been considerable, felt it necessary to point out that the tenants were 'like overgrown lads, first sent to school', who could not carry out some of the tasks their contemporaries were skilled at. He suggested that very gradual steps should be taken to push them into the improving methods, perhaps just enclosing for seven years, with prizes for industry, another step in the next seven years, and then in the next seven, one could reasonably expect more general competence.²

Certainly these leases, though the Board claimed their aims were gradual, embodied all the steps necessary in the eyes of the improver. No subletting was allowed, thirlage was to be equitably commuted, marches were to be straightened, through excambion³ if essential, and gates and fences were to be kept up by the tenants. On corn farms, sheep were only to be kept if they were in enclosures with sufficient stone walls, and all beasts were to be herded in winter as well as summer, and housed at night. Rules were made about regular fallowing, at least five acres annually per plough. Red clover was insisted on and two fifths of the arable land was to be in grass seed, this proportion to be ready for incoming tenants, and to have been in pasture for at least three preceding years. Dung had to be left, but the outgoing tenants could use the steading for threshing their last crop and for keeping their horses at the time. Assistance would be given for building houses, only if the roofs were of thatch, fern or heather. This was to discourage the wasteful habit of ruining the best grass lands by using turf or divots to roof houses.⁴ Carriage of bark, peat and coal 'from the usual distance and the accustomed places' was still reserved in the leases, but this was only realistic before good roads and transport were common and had been

1. E723/2, p.10.

2. E777/249/6.

3. Excambion - Scots Law - Exchange of Land.

4. E723/2, p.25.

decided on in 1755.¹ All the factors had advised this too in their reports. The vagueness in a legal document of the expression 'the accustomed place' must have led to more than one argument of the type that arose when tenants on Perth declared they had been used to carry only forty stone of the eighty proposed in their lease and forty more only if the family needed it in the spring.²

These early leases were for seven, eight or nine years, but had a covenant to extend them to twenty-one years if the tenants proved satisfactory.³ Later, some small tenants asked for leases of crofts and after favourable reports from the factors, they were admitted as King's Cottagers, a category of holding aimed at giving security of tenure to even the least important of the king's tenants, and subsistence to craftsmen who could not be expected to look after a large farm and practise their trade as well.⁴

In 1763, the government's response to the Board's report emphasised the desire of the central government to facilitate the granting of leases. If the initial duration was less than twenty-one years, the tenants should be 'absolutely intitled' to a prolongation, as long as he had kept the terms of the original. The aim of lessening the dependence on chiefs and tacksmen was re-emphasised 'It being as we have already signified to you a principal object of our attention to render these possessions as little precarious as possible and to accustom the tenants to consider themselves as depending upon nothing but the exertion of their own industry and the performance of their engagements for the secure continuance of their tenure...'.⁵ The commissioners took this duty seriously and within a year of the estates held of a subject superior coming under the management of the Board, leases were being granted.⁶ In Arnprior, for example, they carried the usual provision that

1. E721/1, p.10.

3. E723/2, p.10; E721/4, p.203; E730/32/2.

4. E721/6, p.274

2. F.R. Perth, 17.

5. E725/1, p.11.

6. E768/76.

Text cut off in original

five years rent should be spent on improvements in seven years.¹ Usually, these were for twenty-one years, but as late as 1784, the year when the estates were returned to heirs or to pardoned proprietors, some forty-one year leases were being granted.

Earlier, various factors other than doubts about tenants' abilities and qualifications had delayed the granting of leases. George II's death was one such, then in August 1761 the commissioners decided not to extend any leases already in operation on the Perth estate until all the debts for that estate were paid.² 1765 saw another when it reported to the king that farms already leased had not been fairly rented, so until the factors and the General Inspector had compared and reported on this, there was to be a moratorium.³

In 1769, one of the commissioners' attempts to kill two birds with one stone was implemented in the provision that anyone beginning or just carrying on any useful branch of manufactures on the annexed estates was to be given preference in obtaining a lease.⁴ An attempt was also made to control improvements by stipulating that enclosing and improving should be carried out as the commissioners or their factors directed,⁵ but later investigators found that this condition was not always adhered to.⁶ The granting of long leases is generally held by later commentators to have been one of the main contributory causes of the agricultural improvements that swept over Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the immediate benefits were not so obvious to the commissioners' servants. In 1769, Small noted that once tenants on Struan were granted leases, they promptly gave up any thoughts of further improvements and he considered that it was vain to imagine that binding them to carry on, in their tacks, would have any effect.⁷ Later, William Frend, Inspector on the Perth estate from 1780 to 1784, remarked that tenants had built the dikes insisted on by the

1. E738/60/14.

2. E721/6, p.12.

3. E723/2, p.73.

4. E721/11, p.24; E721/8, pp. 67.68. The Misses Campbell of Tomperran had been granted a lease of Garrichrew dependent on their industry and perseverance in carrying on the manufacture of linen thread.

5. E783/85.

6. E777/305(1) p.101.

7. E.P. Perth 20

terms of their leases but 'in a superficial manner' and were not all careful about maintaining them. They adhered to the letter, not the spirit of the leases and were thus enabled to retain the additional rents. He suggested that the Board should not pay for such improvements until after inspection and approval, and this somewhat obvious step Lord Stonefield and Mr. Oliphant, who were making comments on his report, could only recommend.¹ Other tenants were mentioned who, it was claimed, did not care what became of the ground, as long as they got the advanced rents.²

This lack of cooperation cannot simply be ascribed to dislike of state management. Other proprietors had met with a similar response, the Earl of Perth among them, when he had tried to introduce more modern methods on his estates before 1745.³ Campbell of Shawfield had let on long leases on the island of Islay in 1720, but by 1764, the only improvement was the introduction of flax and that had been due to a compulsory clause.⁴ Another landowner Sir James Macdonald, eighth baronet of Sleat, proposed introducing shorter leases on his lands, on the grounds, in 1763, that the length of those formerly granted served only to 'lay the tenants asleep'.⁵

Nor did all tenants rush to obtain leases. One reason for lack of enthusiasm was that once leases were granted, tenants sometimes found themselves bound to action they disliked. In 1778, an attempt to divide farms and tidy up the marches was foiled by eleven families on Meuzie farm. A 'contentious, disobedient set', they had no leases and refused to agree to any suggestion of exchange while their neighbours, who had tacks, were constrained to accept the alterations however contentious they may have felt.⁶

Long leases then were probably not the cure-for-all they are sometimes believed to be unless the tenants were either prepared to obey instructions,

1. E777/280/3.

2. E777/305(1) p:101.

3. E777/244, p.39.

4. Duke of Argyll, Scotland As it Was and As it Is, (Edinburgh 1887)p.425.

5. N.L.S. Ms. 1309, f.228.

6. E777/251/1.

or were inclined towards making improvements themselves, but the Board aimed at encouraging industrious farmers. In 1764, they set out the type of improvements they wanted, pointing out that anyone carrying out some or any of these would recommend himself for being given a long lease. Listed were divisions of runrig, uneven marches being straightened, draining, winter herding, and on arable farms they demanded summer fallow, grass to be sown on outfield as well as infield, turnips, potatoes and green crops to be sown. On Highland farms with only a little arable land, small areas in the glens were to be dug over with the spade to raise corn, hay and green crops to increase the winter fodder.¹ Would be lessees on the other hand promised such improvements as sowing Lucerne grass to help persuade the commissioners to favour their case.²

Despite all the activity and the undoubtedly large number of leases that were discussed, a report on the annexed estates balances, after the disannexation, stated that the great proportion of the farms on the minutes of the Board, had no formal leases drawn up, and it would be very difficult to ascertain the terms.³ Whose was the greater responsibility for this might be difficult to decide, weighing the leisurely business methods of the Board⁴ against the dubious temper of the tenants. In 1774, the commissioners reported that many leases had been sent to tenants and not returned,⁵ but on the other hand, in 1782, some Perth estate tenants sent in a petition claiming that they had been waiting some years to have their leases written out, as the Board had ordered.⁶

Intermingled with the question of granting leases was the subject of the innumerable subtenants who comprised a large proportion of the inhabitants, but do not appear on rent-rolls. To would-be improvers, social and economic, there were two main criticisms that could be made of the system of subletting,

1. E783/103/18. This was wrapped round the Struan factor's vouchers.
2. E721/7, p.235. 3. F.R. G.M.III
4. Cf. Chaptor I. 2. 5. E723/2, p.227.
6. F.R. Perth 17.

first the power given to the main tenants over the subtenants, and secondly the inefficiency. In 1756, several complaints had already been received by the commissioners, that heritors had been accustomed to let large pieces of land to one tenant, who sublet to others at a much higher rent than he himself paid, and then 'grievously oppresses' these subtenants.¹ Such oppression required redress when it existed, but as long as both sides making the arrangements were prepared to be reasonable, there was a fair amount of satisfaction and the system would not have lasted as long as it did without satisfaction, even allowing for the Highlander's reverence for old customs.

The possibility of such satisfaction was not recognised, however, in any improver's manual. To the power implicit in the tenants' and tacksmen's hold over the subtenant because of the latter's lack of any legal standing, were attributed by the Lowland improver the late Rising and the whole social fabric of the Highlands - which of course, they deplored. This power was equally assumed to lead to inefficiency, not just in the Highlands, as subtenants would have to work for the tenant at a time not necessarily convenient to himself. If all crops were ripe, the tenant would have prior claim on the subtenant's labour for the harvest, and to the lack of security of tenure could be attributed the delay in accepting modernisation and progress. The deficiency in complete understanding of the Highlander and Lowlander of the social organisation of each is well illustrated by the methods used by the commissioners in tackling the problem.

It is fair to say that they cannot have been over-enlightened by reports like that of John Campbell of Barcaldine, the Perth factor, which declared that this Highlander was 'at a loss' in making such a report.² To start with the term, so he said, was understood differently in different countries, and in the Highlands the only person looked on as a subtenant

1. E723/1, p.24.

2. E777/258. See Appendix F for full text.

proper was he who had a proportion of a farm set to him which he managed in grass or corn with his own stock, independent of the principal tacksman. The only difference between him and the tenant was that he paid the tacksman instead of the proprietor or his factor. The subtenant could stock and manage a farm on his own, unlike the steelbollmen^{w?}, for example, whom Barcaldine describes as merely servants of a more substantial kind; they were provided by the tacksman with stock and crops and had to leave these as they found them. Without such capital assistance, they would in fact have been servants. Barcaldine also mentions pendiclers, crofters, cottars, some of whom had some grazing and some who had only what was called a dry-house, that is only a house and kailyard, another of the type to whom the Annexed Estates Commissioners gave security as King's Cottagers. Most of the classes mentioned in the report could be held of either the tacksman or the proprietor and many pendiclers were main tenants, but usually, the smaller holdings were occupied by subtenants. Wadsetters had the legal right to subset so their subtenants were in a different category.

The siting of subtenants' holdings was sometimes a disadvantage and a nuisance when they were mixed up with the tenants'. Peter May had been ordered in his survey of Coigach to measure these separately, but found this almost impossible as they were so interwoven with one another and in runrig on many farms with the tenants' land that little could be done exactly.¹ Not everyone was so provident as General Skene, the Inspector of Roads, who had his cottars on Dalchonzie fixed on the outskirts of his ground so that they had no communication with his enclosure.² More often the cottar was likely to have to cross the tenant's or proprietor's land to gain access to arable land or grazing land for his cattle. A smallholding in the middle of a farm could completely upset a good plan of improvement.³ One estate

1. E746/78/2.

2. E777/305(1), p.46 - 'a very pretty improved place'.

3. E777/251/1.

that did not have to cope with the problem of subtenants was Barrisdale. According to Henry Butter, when he was factor, few had to pay a rent of more than £4 so that there was no subsetting. Cottars and workmen assisted the tenant in tillage and had a small portion of arable ground and the grazing of a few cattle in recompense for labour.¹ This sounds remarkably like some of Barcaldine's categories of subtenants, bearing out his contention that the term had different connotations in different parts of the country.

Some indication of the lack of viability in the size of the farms is given by Small, the Struan factor in 1763, for he knew of no subtenants who had been removed whose holdings could be set as separate farms.² He maintained that their holdings were too small and described them as 'starving on over small farms'³ but in the social conditions prevailing in Rannoch he did not recommend turning them out of their farms as their poverty and 'habits of idleness' might lead them into outlawry. Instead he proposed employing small tenants at £2.10/- per annum and two pecks of oatmeal a week on any public works the Board might undertake.⁴

Unfortunately for many of the subtenants, it soon became known that the commissioners meant to eradicate this type of holding, and as a result, from 1756, the chief tenants began to try to rid themselves of subtenants. The delay caused by the central government's lack of response to the Board's communications had repercussions that speedier action could have prevented. It was 1762 before the factors were asked to give a formal report on subtenancy in general,⁵ and by then, while some of the subtenants may have been kept on as hired servants if their status had been lowly enough, others had been thrust out into beggary, emigration, or near starvation. In 1762, the Lovat factor was ordered to try to provide for deserving cases among evicted subtenants, but it was already too late for many.⁶ Earlier in 1762,

1. E741/38/2.

3. E783/58/23(1).

5. E721/6, p.249.

2. E721/7, p.198.

4. E783/84/1, pp.15-16.

6. E721/6, p.341.

Barcaldine had written complaining that had the Board's orders to the factors to employ legal methods for keeping subtenants in possession been received by the previous terms, it might have benefited many who were dispossessed then. He also pointed out what had been happening during the past years, as the tenants rid themselves of subtenants in self-protection.¹ The order he refers to can be found in the minutes of 11th February, 1762, and states that expressly to prevent tenants who got tacks from dispersing the artificers and day-labourers residing on their farms at the time, the houses and yards of these should be specifically excepted in the tacks. These men were not to pay rent but should be obliged to uphold their houses, and to give them some independence, the Board wanted to reserve in leases one-eighth of each farm for houses and byres for artificers and day-labourers.² Some subtenants had been lucky. On one farm, Garrichrew, the main tenants had been dispossessed as they were Roman Catholics and the subtenants took over.³

Initially, the commissioners saw only the disadvantages, the uneconomic aspects, and the oppression possible in the system of subletting, but its advantages soon became obvious when the subtenants were removed. Misfortune overtook many of them while the ambiguity of their situation remained unresolved until the Treasury communicated with the Board and then the Board with the factors, and in addition, by 1762, there were complaints that the tenants could not manage their farms, for they had lost the mainstay of their labour force in the subtenants. Smaller tenants too had been in the habit of coming into the larger farms to help out, but in 1765, Archibald Menzies, the General Inspector, wrote that in an area where labour was scarce and becoming scarcer on account of emigration abroad and to the Lowlands, the tenants were deprived by the loss of subtenants of much needed labour. The crofters on the other hand might have become independent but they could not now plough

1. E777/84/96.
3. E721/2, p.127.

2. E721/6, p.127.

their land; one of the returns they received for services rendered was that the richer tenant or master ploughed for them. Now the former masters would not do this and the crofters who had neither the implements or the money to buy them were thus reduced to poverty.¹

Hence, the tenant lost his labour force and the smaller man the use of utensils only his more highly capitalised neighbour could provide. Admittedly, the labour had been only moderately efficient, the crofter sometimes dragged away from his own land at an inconvenient time, and the ploughing possibly done only when it suited the tenant, but at least the labour had been there and the ploughing done. The other side of the coin of oppression also appeared on occasion; the power of the tacksman had included some necessary discipline. In Coigach, for example, where the subtenants were made independent of the principal tacksmen, the result was, temporarily at least, some disintegration of what improvements had begun, for the new smaller tenants generally disregarded the rules of herding and stopped maintaining any enclosures they had made.²

Another benefit to the tenant and subtenant was that when specie was scarce and goods to buy hardly plentiful, payment of rent and payment for labour in services and in kind were often much more convenient than the straight money bargain. When tenants had to pay money wages, it was discovered that they could not really afford them.³ To the economist this may illustrate the economic inefficiency of the system but rapid change was not practical in eighteenth century conditions, in a society to which economic growth meant nothing.

The Board did in fact, quickly accept that the labour question was a serious one and tried to solve it by the institution of the new class of tenant, mentioned earlier, that of King's Cottager. Each of these small

1. E729/8, p.64.
3. E721/6, p.42.

2. E746/75/21.

tenants was to have a small, commodious house with a cow byre and a few acres for garden stuff. This proposal was approved by the King and Treasury, £500 being allowed initially towards building houses and enclosing ground,¹ and in 1766, another £500 for the same purpose.² By enclosing the holdings, the expense of leases was avoided.

The commissioners then had begun the destruction of subtenure from their earliest days in 1755 and other landlords generally made this a 'central theme of their policy' from the 1770's.³ However, Dr. Walker may be expressing a not uncommon if extreme view of the matter in that he thought the proprietor cut himself off from all other methods of improving by clearing an estate of subtenants and cottagers. He thought that in place of a labour force the proprietor might well find himself burdened with an adventurer insufficiently well-stocked.⁴ He eventually decided that the best solution would be the occupation of a large part of the land by smaller farmers holding leases, while larger farms were managed with the help of regular hired servants.⁵ The difficulty of course in the Highlands during the transition from the old to the new social and economic system was to find the servants. It would seem therefore that in the Highland economy, whatever the situation in the Lowlands, subtenancy had some merits both for the tacksman in providing a stable labour force and for the subtenant who found himself slightly higher on the social scale and materially better off than he would have been as a hired labourer.

As the whole economy moved gradually from subsistence and barter to the modern concept of cash exchange both for goods, rents and services, the subtenant in his older form was bound to become an anachronism, but wholesale abolition of the position was too drastic a step in the middle of the eighteenth century, with results such as have been described. This the

1. E724/1, p.12.

2. E724/1, p.20.

3. Gray, Highland Economy, p.74 note.

4. John Walker, An Economical History of the Hebrides and the Highlands of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1808) i. p.34. Hereafter, Walker, Economical History.

5. Walker, Economical History, i. p.55.

commissioners soon had to recognise and their compromise was the provision of the holdings for the tenants they called King's Cottagers, at the same time as they maintained their policy of ridding the estates of unofficial subtenants by forbidding subletting in leases and at least warning refractory tacksmen who continued the practice, to desist.¹

There are other aspects of landholding producing problems for the Board; among them were rents and the size of holding. The Board and their officers were greatly concerned over the correct size that farms should be, for they had to balance the need to produce viable economic units with the social aims of the annexation. In The Highlands in 1750, it was suggested that no-one should have a farm larger than he could cultivate with his domestic servants, thus lessening the tenants' and chiefs' influence over the people² and the clause in the Annexing Act forbidding rents over £20 as well as multiple holdings also had that end in view. On the economic side, however, there was an argument for larger holdings and one of the most noted improvers of the eighteenth century, Grant of Monymusk, was adamant that 'A large farm is the only way of making an estate by husbandry', pointing out that on a small one the charges and the family's subsistence ate all the produce.³ This was the landowner's point of view, but James Small's picture of the Struan economy gives that of the small tenant with much the same implications. Farms there were so small that the dairy produce was for home consumption only and it was not as good as it would have been, if farms were larger, with resulting increase in milk supplies and more frequent churning done. In summer, too, there was a meal shortage, but this was less important as the poor people then lived on milk and needed less food since they were idle.⁴ Despite this, Small did not put

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1. F.R. Perth 20. In 1780, James Clephan, tacksman of Tomaknock, was believed to be subsetting as men from an adjoining farm were seenⁿ entering the farm buildings of Tomaknock. Clephan was to receive a warning.
 2. Lang, Highlands, p.147.
 3. Hamilton, Monymusk, p.148.
 4. E783/84/1, p.8.

forward a case for very large holdings; he suggested only that the farms when properly enlarged would be enough to keep the tenants 'as happy as it is necessary they should be', and on the contrary, pointed out that farms that were too lucrative would not be good examples - presumably because they would be uncharacteristic.¹

By the mid-1760's, as Jacobitism faded, Charles Edward not recognised as King even by the Vatican on his father's death, so did the paranoiac fear of the power of the Highland landowner and large landholder, and the Board became more prepared to give more weighting to purely economic arguments. One strong reason for increasing the size of farms was that the expense of the animals needed for a plough was too great for any holding that had under five bolls' sowing, and the Inspector General had written in his report for 1767-68 of the bad effects of keeping a plough on too small a farm. The tenants had to borrow and ended with the costs of a large farm and not even the profits of a small one.² It was suggested that as tenants died, their possessions should be amalgamated to bring about a gradual increase in size and in 1771, Lord Kames went so far as to say that he thought men of substance should get large farms, but he proposed that in future, special regard should be paid to the nature and extent of a farm, avoiding division if one plough was sufficient to work the ground. If a farm would support the use of two ploughs, then it should be divided so that industrious tenants would increase in numbers.³

The statutory veto in the Annexing Act on rents of over £20 and on multiple holdings had the effect that while smaller holdings were amalgamated over the period of annexation, initially others had to be separated. For example, on the Perth estate, in 1755, Alexander Buchanan of Duilater held

1. E783/84/1, p.13. 'would take away their being exapliary'.
2. E787/24, p.5.
3. E721/11, p.71.

two farms, Nether and Upper Bochastle at £4.10.8 rent, and Offrans, Coshambie, Duncraggan and Portneallan were in the hands of one man, Mr. Stewart of Annat. Their rentals were £16.15.3 $\frac{4}{12}$, £5.7.5 $\frac{8}{12}$, £5.14.6 $\frac{8}{12}$ and £8.15.5.¹ Offrans at least, had a subtenant.² By 1767, Upper Bochastle had four tenants and one King's Cottager, while Nether Bochastle had a single tenant with the mill attached.³ In 1773, Upper Bochastle was divided into two larger and two smaller holdings, but in 1775, there was one main holding with cottagers,⁴ for by that time legislation had been passed enabling the Commissioners to charge larger rents.⁵ From 1775, all the rent rolls have columns for the additional rents imposed thereafter. It was to be hoped this was an improvement, for in 1774, Wight had described Bochastle (Bohastle he spelled it) as the worst managed he had ever seen.⁶

Mr. Stewart had to give up his multiple holding and in 1767 Coshambie was held jointly by two brothers, or at least by two men with the same patronymic, and Portneallan was also a joint holding.⁷ By 1770, Portneallan was clearly two holdings, one with two names. In 1767, Duncraggan had two tenants and two King's Cottagers, with another cottager added by 1770 when the schoolmaster was provided with a croft on the main farm. 1770 saw a change, however, for then there was only one tenant, besides the three crofts, including one for the schoolmaster and one for a smith.⁸ Runrig was attacked too and by 1764 the Board could report that Kinbuck and Auchterarder were divided.⁹

Over the whole of the Perth estate, during the annexation, there is a slow kaleidoscopic movement of tenants and boundaries, not consistently in the direction of larger sized-holdings. In the part of Muthil parish

1. E777/71.

3. E777/75.

5. 14 George III c.55.

7. E777/75.

9. E723/2, p.51.

2. E777/244, p.22.

4. E777/76.

6. Wight, Husbandry 1. p.153.

8. E777/76.

in the part of the estate included in the Highland Division after the estate was allotted to two factors, many farms had a completely different organisation of tenants in 1784, compared to what existed in 1767.¹ Some were very similar, of course, like Glenlichorn which had five tenants in 1767 but in 1784 was divided into Easter, Wester and Middle, three farms but still five tenants. However there are examples of amalgamation in plenty. Blenror or Blainroar had five tenants in 1784 compared to nine in 1767, while Culloch with three tenants in 1767, one holding half the farm, the other two a quarter each, had only one main tenant in 1784 but five cottagers. Straid had four equal parts to it in 1767, but only one tenant in 1784, but the farm of Cornoch which had one tenant in 1767 had five in 1784, including one widow and one smith.

The greatest single consistent change in this area is in the disappearance of the many pendicles and small possessions that existed in 1755, in Auchterarder and Muthil, but on the other hand, the commissioners were not averse to dividing up what they thought suitable areas, like the Parks of Drummond, to provide smallholdings.² Clearly the Board, surveyors and factors used their discretion, within their legal limits in the estate of Perth, at least, to form holdings of a sensible size suited in many cases to the individual tenant, while not leaving too much power in one man's hands. Their flexibility can perhaps be further illustrated by the treatment of two farms in the same area, Lendrick and Drippen. In 1755, each of these had two tenants,³ but by 1767 Lendrick was in one man's name, while Drippen had three tenants, two with quarter holdings, one with half the farm.⁴

As Wight pointed out, however, while in the Perth estate it was

1. E777/75, 77.
3. E777/71.

2. E777/77.
4. E777/75.

possible to dispossess small tenants in the knowledge that they would find employment in industry and as day labourers, in the north dispossession would have led to depopulation.¹ He did not add, what was probably the case, that depopulation would have been preceded by beggary, and to reduce the people in the estate to further misery was as emphatically not the policy of annexation, as emigration either to the Lowlands or abroad was not then considered an answer to the 'Highland Problem'. On the Lovat estate, the tenants in 1766 seemed to be little affected by the Board, for in that year, Menzies had little to say about the farming on the estate except that no original tenants had carried out improvements, that the low lying farms were still small and were being made smaller by the possessors dividing them to provide for their children.² A few years later, in 1774, the estate returned to the Fraser family and so passed from the aegis of the Board; there had hardly been time for extensive changes. On the Cromarty estate, the changes in the numbers of tenants holding any particular farm are minimal, between 1755³ and 1764.⁴ By 1773, however, the introduction of the soldiers' settlements has in fact increased the number of tenants and may have decreased some holdings by the granting of crofts to soldiers. Ardwall had eight tenants in 1755 and in 1773, with the same number of tenants, had also four soldiers' lots extracted. Auchterneed with eight tenants in 1755 had nine in 1773 and in addition three soldiers' crofts. In the Barony of New Tarbat, several farms were affected in this way for Tullich had sixteen soldiers and two tenants in 1773 but three tenants in 1755; Polnicel had still only one tenant at the later date but had added the doubtful blessing of eight soldiers and Kilmuir had seven.

On the Mains of New Tarbat which in 1755 had been held with Castlehill and

1. Wight, Husbandry, iv.pt.1, p.140.

2. E729/8, p.108.

3. E746/72/1.

4. E746/72/3.

included a pendicle for the doctor who also rented part of New Tarbat House, there were three tenants and thirteen soldiers and the doctor was still there at the later date.¹

It has to be remembered of course that some of the soldiers' settlements were aimed at bringing uncultivated land into use, so that it is possible that their existence did not make much difference to the tenants' holdings, while the proprietors' rents were increased. The fact too that the grass was most valuable in that estate would perhaps indicate that additional tenants on a holding, who were supposed to be increasing arable land, would make little difference to the original tenants, but there are few signs on the estate of Cromarty of enlargement of individual holdings.

The method of paying rents was another part of the management of the annexed estates that the commissioners would have liked to bring into line with contemporary improving practices. Ideally, they hoped eventually to have all rents paid in cash but such a transformation was not likely to be attained speedily where specie was short and old customs died hard. The realism that allowed services of carriage of bark and fuel to be continued accepted adjustment and gradualism here too and in 1774, payment in kind was still being stipulated.² Some steps towards the achievement of a cash economy had been taken before 1745 on the Perth estate, where James Drummond, Earl of Perth, had tried to convert all rents to money payment at the same time as he had started the process of raising rents on his lands.³ On the Cromarty estate, on the other hand, a high proportion of tenants paid no money rents at all. In 1755, the parts of the estate in Kilmuir Easter parish paid £4.16.5 $\frac{8}{12}$ in cash, but over 290 bolls of bare, 267 bolls of meal and 30 of malt brought the total to a value estimated at £249.18.3 $\frac{7}{12}$ with services in addition.⁴ In the barony of New Tarbat in Logie Easter, the money rent was 7/6 and the total £29.10.10.⁵

1. E746/72/1, E746/72/9. These figures are included with the rent rolls for other years, in the Folder E746/72/1-12.
2. E723/2, p.227. 3. E777/3, 5-2-1747.
4. E746/72/2. 5. E746/72/9.

The practice made for practical difficulties for the factor. In 1759 and 1760, he had faced the problem of storing rents, for he found that the tenants made a habit of paying only if farm victual was taken off their hands when they offered it.¹ He suggested repairing a few rooms in New Tarbat house for the purpose, though this can hardly have been the ideal solution and in August 1760, he sent an estimate, which was approved, for a granary at Beauly.² Eventually in 1765, a granary was built at Portleich, estimated at £180, but costing over £300.³

Even without the added complication of storing rents, their collection was a continuous problem for the factors. In 1758 Barcaldine wrote that in good years accounting was easy, and all the money was paid between January and March, with not a penny the rest of the time. In bad years, however, every little market had to be watched.⁴ Barcaldine's book-keeping was hardly impeccable and his penchant for accepting 'presents' combined with his reluctance to clear his accounts led to his eventual dismissal,⁵ but this was probably a fair assessment of the situation. In 1766, Forbes declared that the bulk of the rents paid in victual were usually bought by the tenants themselves, which seems odd when he had made such a fuss about the storage problem.⁶ In 1769 he wrote to the Board that there were no rents for Cromarty for 1768 and very few from Lovat, so that he would have difficulty in paying the public burdens, schoolmasters' salaries, etc.,⁷ and in 1771 he complained to the ground officers that the most positive orders he had had from the Board to clear his account for the 1770 crop by July 1771 would be impossible to obey if the tenants did not deliver their victual payment in kind and pay their rents at Whitsunday. The most substantial tenants, particularly those with leases, had not paid anything.⁸

Later, John Campbell of Lochend, factor on the Highland division of

1. E721/4, p.234.

3. E723/2, p.81.

5. E777/72, 341.

7. E787/9/138.

2. E721/5, p.22.

4. E777/84/57.

6. E787/9/121.

8. E787/9/145(1).

the Perth estate, declared with some justification that collection of rents was the least important part of the factor's duties on the estate he was concerned with.¹ Factors certainly had a multitude of duties, but the problem of obtaining prompt payment of rents was one that was always with them, and one that the Board, responsible after all for public money, checked fairly carefully. Accounts were examined each year and explanations sought for discrepancies. In 1773, for example, Lord Stonefield examined the accounts of Thomas Keir for the Lowland part of the Perth estate, and found £787 in arrears.² By this time, the Board were beginning to realise that all such situations were not necessarily to be attributed to the factors' misdemeanours, and it was recommended that tenants without leases should be warned about their arrears, but those with tacks should have the most effectual legal steps taken against them. But factors must have been wryly amused by the instructions from the central government in 1764, that 'tenants were not to be allowed to run into arrears for the future.'³ After the disannexation, the Barons of the Exchequer were still dealing with factors' accounts, and the question of arrears, until the early years of the nineteenth century.⁴ The tenants' belief too that if they paid within a year and a day after the rents were due they were in no danger of being removed, cannot have helped the factors.⁵ Any attempt to convert rents to a purely cash transaction had also to take into consideration the tenants' resistance to such a change. Menzies provides an interesting sidelight on this viewpoint, for he suggested that the rent on Lovat should be converted to labour. He declared that the people were not fond of work but preferred giving £5 in work to paying £2 in money.⁶

By the 1770's, wherever possible, farm rents were calculated with the addition of an allowance for the amount of meal due, on the Perth estate, for example, at the market price of 8/10 per boll in 1776, 13/4 in 1777 and down

1. F.R. Perth, 20.
3. E725/1, p.18.
5. E787/9/121.

2. E777/340/9.
4. E788/8.
6. E729/8, p.89.

to 10/- in 1779.¹ On the Lovat and Cromarty estates this process was combined with the process of raising rents to a more economic height, according to the surveyors' valuation, and in 1768 the General Inspector wrote that he and the factor on those estates had begun to prepare the tenants for the proposed increases. Half the victual rent was to be converted at eight marks to the boll, which Menzies described as 'a bait that took'. The rents were still going to be higher as additional rent was to be charged to make the estate conform to Peter May's evaluation, but the chance of an apparent bargain was tempting the tenants. Another piece of encouragement was that tenants who had begun to enclose had their rents reduced.²

Whatever tenants felt about it, however, the practice of paying rents in cash instead of in kind had been growing throughout the seventeenth century, largely for the proprietor's convenience,³ and as a modern innovation had become accepted as approved improving. It was gradually to spread throughout the whole of Scotland, and had already affected the annexed estate of Perth. The commissioners were almost inevitably bound to start the process on the estates under their management and the two differences between them^m and other proprietors was, first, in the very large area over which they could introduce this change and, secondly, that the proceeds would be spent on the Highland area and primarily on the estates annexed, instead of on proprietorial living expenses, riotous or otherwise, in other parts of the kingdom.

The commissioners met some opposition in their desire to make all the rents payable in cash, partly because of the short supply of cash and partly because payment by labour, food and services such as carriage of fuel was in many ways a far more convenient method of exchange between landlord and

1. E777/76, 77.

2. E729/10/1.

3. J.A. Symon, Scottish Farming Past and Present (Edinburgh, London, 1959) p.91. Hereafter Symon, Farming.

tenants at the time. This as we have seen the Board speedily discovered in their attempts to eradicate subtenancy. Services and victual added to the apparent value of an estate, for the Barrisdale rent in money in 1755 was detailed at £79.3.4 sterling but by the time the bishop's teinds, the kitchen cow, the May present - quite large at £3.15.10. - 21 stoness of butter, 42 of cheese, 43½ sheep, plus 372 hours of service at 6d. per day had been added, the total gross rent amounted to £133.11.3.¹ This was deceptive, however, for according to Francis Grant's report to the Barons of the Exchequer in 1749, when services were not performed, the tenants were not expected to pay any conversion, while those who did have to cut and carry peats, a great time-waster in the commissioners' opinion,² were given an allowance of meal and money for doing this.³ This picture is far removed from that of the tyrannous landlord demanding his due regardless of the needs of the tenants, which was the model the improvers carried in their minds. When the factor on Barrisdale tried to exact cash payment for services not rendered at 6d. per day, not surprisingly the tenants refused to pay, and the Board accepted that compulsion was impossible, though they resolved at the same time that leases granted in the future on the estate should reserve services as on all the other annexed estates.⁴

Clearly for the convenience of the factors, the commissioners would have had to try to make some other type of arrangement for collecting rent. The troubles of the Lovat and Cromarty factor in storing grain we have already seen. Jean, Dowager of Perth, on her life-rented estate received money rent of £1502.6.8 Scots but the total rent was £3,991,19.0 Scots and she can have had little need to provide much food for herself and her household when her tenants had to supply 38 capons, 5 wedders, 5 lambs, 256½ poultry, 70 chickens and 384 eggs as well as over 400 bolls of meal,

1. E741/19, Crop 1755.

2. E723/2, p.16.

3. E703/3, p.4.

4. E721/6, p.86.

bear and oats.¹ This was wealth to her but would have been something of an inconvenience to factors to collect and dispose of.

The factors found out the inconveniences of being without the carriage service, for to avoid extortion on their part, they had to have the Board's orders to tenants to carry for them. Coal was quite a difficulty and Small pointed out that without being granted this carriage he had no other method of being supplied.² Ten years later, he had to send in a memorial to the effect that he had had no coal carried for three years, and he did not think it would be a hardship to the tenants, nor that they would object, as the carriage had been reserved in the leases and the rents as a result made less.³ This was read in December 1775 and then again in July 1776 so it is to be hoped he did not suffer overmuch from cold in the meantime. But as he pointed out, the carriages had been reserved. Recognising necessity, the early leases required the tenants to lead loads of bark, peat and coal, or to pay for each undelivered load, at the rate of 1d. each stone of coal and 2d. sterling for each undelivered load of peats.⁴

One service, however, was almost universally resented and condemned and that was thirlage, the servitude that bound tenants on certain lands to have their corn ground at one particular mill and to help with the repairs of that mill. The grasping miller of fairy-tale and folklore is so common and cosmopolitan a character that one feels there must be some grounds for the belief that all were untrustworthy and most were rogues. When weights were not uniform, nor subjected to independent scrutiny, so that both farmer and miller had only their eyes to depend on, it is easy to understand, especially in a subsistence economy, that the bag of flour or meal produced from the hopper usually seemed less than it should have been. And that the portion claimed by the miller who took no risk in producing the corn was more than he deserved. Further, the miller considered himself the master, not the

1. E777/3, pp. 27 ff.
3. F.R. Porth 20.

2. E721/8, p.28.
4. E777/298/1(26).

servant of his customers and let 'his humour rather than a sense of his duty' regulate his conduct. He knew that 'the yoke is wroathed so hard about their necks that they dare not pass his door'.¹ The commissioners saw thirlage as the most burdensome of services and they were determined from the start of their period of duties to 'relieve' the tenants. In 1762, they reported to the King in Schedule No. 2 that they were anxious to free the tenants on the annexed estates from thirlage² and in the minutes, they had recorded their intentions to abolish it whenever a proper scheme was agreed on. As a result, they decided to let mills for only one year at a time.³

There were plenty of complaints about millers and thirlage, like that of the tenant thirled to a Cromarty mill where John, Earl of Cromarty, had in 1714 extended the thirlage to include not only the corn grown within the sucken, the district thirled to a mill, but also to all corn imported, bought or stored within it. The petitioner also complained that his lands were a long way from the mill but that he only wished to show how oppressive thirlage could be made.⁴ He lived in a bad area from the tenants' point of view, however, as Symon tells us that the thirlage in Ross-shire was sometimes one-eighth.⁵ Millers were tenants too, of course, and had to have their interests defended. The inclusion of the repair of the mill and the lead to it in thirlage made abolition far from simple. Surprisingly too, not all tenants were as enthusiastic for the removal of this 'burden' as one might have expected them to be. The tenants on Monaltry when faced with the choice of paying more rent for conversion of thirlage or of remaining under thirlage, preferred remaining astricted to the mill and this concession they were allowed.⁶ Similarly, the tenants on the Perth estate in 1765 were said to be 'of very various and variable minds' on the subject,⁷ and

1. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, p.120.

2. E723/2, p.22.

4. E721/4, p.125.

6. E721/8, p.92.

3. E721/6, p.295.

5. Symon, Farming, p.45.

7. E721/8, p.97.

in 1782, when the Crieff inhabitants wanted to be freed of thirlage, the factor thought it would be better to leave things as they were as he reckoned it would be impossible to satisfy them all.¹ One estate, Barrisdale, did not have to make any adjustments on this service for the inhabitants used querns and there had never been a cornmill on the estate.²

However, so important did the commissioners consider the question of abolition that it was one of the first items dealt with in the rules and articles registered with the Court of Session in connection with leases for the improvement of Highland farms.³ Tenants were to remain thirled and to pay the same multures and perform the same services as before, by use and wont, but whenever new leases were granted to mills without astricted multures, tenants had to pay a proportion of rent to make up the diminution of the mill's profits and they had still to perform the repair services.⁴ This was another recognition of reality, the lack of workmen. This having been agreed, tenants could then grind at the same mill or pay at another if it was more convenient, as they and the miller arranged.⁵ Thirlage however, was still in operation at the end of the annexation.

Changing patterns of farming were in evidence as early as 1757 and affected millers perhaps more than any other tenants.⁶ For example, where grass was grown in place of corn, the miller's earnings were greatly reduced.⁷ Changes in the communications system could also affect a mill's intake as at the mill of Tonbea, which gradually became redundant once the new bridge built at Callander made that at Gartchonzie more convenient.⁸ But by 1780, the miller at Gartchonzie had his own complaint. Tenants formerly thirled to his mill were now at liberty to carry their corn to any they cared, but other proprietors not quite so disinterested as the annexed

1. E721/25, p.314.

2. E721/7, p.27.

3. Court of Session Register of Deeds, 1774. Durie 233 f.473 clause 10. Hereafter Durie 233.

4. E738/60/1.

5. Adv. Ms.31.1.2, p.49; E721/6, p.311.

6. E721/2, p.153.

7. E721/4, p.256.

8. E721/9, p.92.

estates commissioners would not allow their tenants to bring their custom to him.¹ It must have been a novel experience for the miller to find himself in such a situation and the more annoying as his fellows on the other estates were carrying on as before. The response of both tenants and other proprietors to the proposal to abolish thirlage is another illustration of the strength of custom in rural communities and illuminated the magnitude of the task facing the improver. That the commissioners once again could only initiate and introduce the idea of change is not surprising.

The hands of the commissioners were always tied in their search for improved agricultural practice and efficiency by their need to aim at the contentment of the tenants. Commutation of victual and service led to an apparent rise in rent, and was not likely to be popular, for as we have seen, services and cash were not always equated by the Highland tenants. In their defence, it has to be remembered that making arrangements to sell their meal to obtain cash was likely to weigh on the smaller tenant perhaps even more heavily than finding cash to pay wages did on the larger. To the general rise in rents, partly real, partly due to commutation of services and rents and hence not a true increase, was generally attributed much of the 'fever of emigration' affecting the Highlands in the second half of the eighteenth century. We have Dr. Johnson's word for this, when he spoke to one of his hosts, in Anach, in Glenmoriston.² The same attitude is expressed by one of the surveyors employed by the Board. William Morison described Barrisdale in 1772 as 'very disjoined' with shealings at a great, inconvenient distance from the farms, and though he was supposed to be looking at the estate with the aim of preparing an

1. E777/305(1) 24-9-1780.

2. Dr. Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles in 'A Tour to the Hebrides', ed. R.W. Chapman, 1944, pp. 52-3.

increased rental, he spoke against too high an addition, as he thought this would make the inhabitants desperate, or like their neighbours, emigrate to America. As he rightly assumed, this was the opposite of the Board's intentions.¹ He gave an estimate of £160.7.8, a rise from £138.19.4, which the Board reduced by £9.8.6 but then added £29.4.2, presumably for improvements.²

At the beginning of their term of office, the Board faced a complicated picture of rents, for initially it was not clear whether the Barons of the Exchequer could collect rents from 1752 until the appointment of the commissioners. In fact, they had continued doing so and had also used the money to pay off creditors, and it was eventually decided that they had been within their legal rights to do so,³ but the uncertainty encouraged tenants to try for abatements, for one reason or another. The question was an even more vexed one on the Perth estate, because of the unfortunate coincidence of the rents having been raised just before the turmoil of the Rebellion.⁴ As a result of the confusion then some of the tenants had never in fact paid the augmented rents. Some kept the money until 1748 when the factors appointed by the Barons under the act forfeiting estates took control; others felt optimistically they would never have to pay the extra amount and spent their money. The factor making his report in 1755, John Campbell of Barcaldine, was very critical of Drummond's scheme, saying there had been no regular plan of improvement and no encouragement to the tenants.⁵ Rents in Callander had been so far raised that the tenants were not in very good circumstances,⁶ and many petitions appeared in the Board's office asking for relief, especially in 1757, when there was a scarcity of meal. Even a miller on one holding needed help then, and the holders of Dalclathick who had their rent raised from £9.13.4 to £20 said they had only

1. S.R.O. R/11 28, p.13.

3. N.L.S. Minto, E.F.P.35.

5. E777/244, p.61.

2. E741/20/7.

4. E777/3.

6. E721/3, p.16; E777/3, 1747-8 (Feb).

kept on the farm because the factor persuaded them to. They succeeded in having their case considered.¹

The tenants no doubt seized on the general atmosphere at the time of the annexation to try to have their rents reduced. The Board must have been convinced that there were some grounds for complaint, for in 1763, the Perth factor was told to make up a list of farms that he considered too highly rented, with the reductions he thought possible, but he also had to say which he thought could be raised, so that the rental could be kept up.²

This last sentence points the dilemma which the commissioners had to try to resolve over rentals in their management of the estates. On the income from rents depended all their activities aimed at achieving the 'civilisation' of the Highlands, good government, the Protestant religion, and the multitude of other benefits set out in the Annexing Act. They could not afford to be over-generous in cutting rents, however much that might contribute to the happiness and to ensuring the loyalty of individual tenants, also an aim of the annexation. Rents did rise throughout the period of the annexation,³ as a result of rising values generally, reflected in the surveyors' reports, and as a result of the interest charged by the Board on money lent for improvements,⁴ but the opinion of many neighbouring proprietors and tenants was that 'kindness' to tenants had outweighed the desire for efficiency and increased revenue.

The effect lasted of course, for tenants with leases could hold their farms at the original rental even after the return of the estates to the heirs of the attainted and writers in the Old Statistical Account reported on

1. E721/2, p.158.

2. E721/7, p.24.

3. E714/18/w. In 1753, the gross rent of the estate of Struan was £504.8.3. From 1759-1765 it remained £522.0.1 and was then raised to £552.18.7, to £585.17.7 in 1767 and reached £662.19.5 in 1775. The drop in prices shows in the reduction to £543.5.3 in 1777 but recovery began in 1778 when £587.9.10 is recorded, £630.16.3 in 1779 and an eventual maximum of £682.5.9 in 1782-83.

4. E746/72/11.

the fact that the farms on the Perth estate, for example, were 'allowed by all to be low rented'¹ and certainly so when compared with the rest of the county. The minister of Cargill was extremely critical for his view was that when the baronies of Stobhall and Cargill were under the direction of the commissioners the lands were so low in rent that they were 'no spur to industry or excitement to exertion'. According to him, if the farmer could pay his rent and 'live like his neighbours' without changing his methods, it was only seldom he would do any more. Rents had been raised considerably in the few years since the disannexation, one farm from £33 to £200 and another from £23 to £90, thus calling for activity and skill on the part of the farmer. He implied that it was only since the disannexation that 'a spirit of industry was diffusing itself over the whole parish'.² As we shall see, it was not only in Cargill that farmers on the annexed estates seemed to lack enterprise and ability, even as late as 1784.

1. O.S.A. xi. p.183.

2. O.S.A. xiii. p.539.

2. FARM MANAGEMENT

The factors' reports in 1755 helped to bring out the aspects of farm management, the practices of husbandry, on the estates that required amelioration. Almost indivisible in practice, for consideration here and for convenience, it is possible to divide the Board's policies into four categories:-

- a. Dividing and enclosing lands and straightening marches.
- b. Improvements in the management of animal stock.
- c. Increase in the quantity and quality of the yield of crops of various kinds.
- d. Improvement in farm buildings and implements.

Of these the first was the most important, for doubt about boundaries could have a deleterious effect on relationships between tenants and neighbouring proprietors in a society where co-operation was more beneficial than controversy. Equally division and enclosure of lands gave the individual the benefits of his industry while protecting crops from roving stock and stock from being harrassed by herds or dogs.

Enclosing farms and fields was perhaps the most continuous of all the Board's activities. Each year, large amounts of money were spent on fencing, diking and ditching. This was the first of the commissioners' many activities that was of fundamental importance and their interest in it never failed. Their annual reports to the King and Treasury list the amounts spent. In 1768, £624.18.10 was laid out on the Perth estate, £9.10.0 on Cromarty and £39.15.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ on Struan.¹ In 1771, the expenditure on Perth had

1. E723/2, p.165.

gone up to £845.15.10⁹/₁₂, Coigach had absorbed £28.13.7 and £35.12.4 had been spent on Struan and Cromarty, all of this earning 5% interest on the capital spent, as additional rent.¹ Thereafter the sums tended to decrease.

In an account of all the money spent on the Lowland division of the Perth² estate, under what is termed 5% improvements, from sums varying from nothing between February 1780 to June 1782 and in the last year of the annexation to £584.15.5 in 1767-8. The last figure included inclosing and planting muirs, which was entered separately from the next year but a large proportion is spent on diking. This was not always within farms or between proprietors; in 1771, £58.18.0 was laid out on a dike on the King's road. In 1769-71 accounts, £80 was paid to a man who had built dikes on each side of the King's road from Lagg to Bridgend of Crieff, and £18.9.3 was used to build a dike built round the acres taken off Fintalich farm for some of the inhabitants of Muthil. Damage done when quarrying was carried out was also indented under 5% improvements as was diking. 6/- per rood was the price in 1775-76 at least.

Among the practical difficulties that had to be overcome in diking, there was the problem of carriage. When Barcaldine was having a dike built at Drummond he wrote suggesting that it would be cheapest to buy two horses and a cart as the country people would not bargain to do the job. Their horses were so weak, they could pull only small loads in single horse carts, and he thought hiring by the day would turn out to be very expensive. However, for his pains, he was told that the Board did not approve of this suggestion and he was to build dikes as best as he could,³ a singularly unhelpful comment.

Considering the area over which the Board was supposed to exercise control and the amount of money paid out on this very necessary aspect of

1. E723/2, p.187.
3. E721/6, p.217.

2. E777/326.

improvement, it was almost inevitable that the dikes and ditches did indeed 'gradually change the face of the land'.¹ That the dikes were neither efficiently built, nor particularly well placed for efficient farm management either within the annexed estates, nor between them and the neighbouring proprietors, seems clear from the comments of later observers. Andrew Wight and William Frend were none too complimentary about the work done, on their travels round the estates,² The commissioners had no doubt that the additional rents obtained from enclosing would greatly enhance the value of the estates and probably this would have been the effect in time, but perhaps not under a Crown Commission whose actions were restricted and whose supervision of improvements was not all it might have been.³

The response of tenants was varied, of course, in different parts of the country. Some tenants were keen to improve, even in the northern parts of the estates, for while still under the management of the Barons of the Exchequer, some Cluny tenants had complained of the lack of head-dikes and the resultant danger to their crops from wandering stock. They were prepared to build head-dikes at their own expense if they were given the security of seven years' possession.⁴ In 1780, Wight remarked on the annexed estate of Cluny, 'improvements make a figure', with neat commodious houses on each farm, sufficient stone walls, good pasture for good stock of well-looking cattle. In addition, he felt that the people were aware that the Board had no intention of rack-renting them, so they were prepared to make the most of their possessions.⁵ Wight seems inclined to give the Board the benefit for such a welcome sight but the tenants' earlier actions indicate that the credit should perhaps go to them, for Cluny had been held of a subject superior, the Duke of Gordon, and had been managed by the Board

1. Wills, Reports, Introduction p.xii.

2. Wight, Husbandry; Frend's Journals, E777/252 and 305(1), all passim.

3. Cf. Chapter I, 2. 4. E700/3, p.197.

5. Wight, Husbandry, iv. part 1, p.151.

only since 1770. William Tennoch surveyed the estate for the commissioners in 1771¹ and leases were granted from 1774 onwards;² nine years of the Board's management were not likely to have transformed the estates in any great degree, and the records do not show any great amount of activity.³ The tenants should for once be given some credit for industry and enthusiasm.

Further south, in Auchtermuthil, on the Perth estate, we find tenants of a very different kidney. According to Frend, they built dikes just well enough to entitle them to the additional rent and then took no trouble in keeping them up.⁴ Very little enclosing had been done in the area, for most of the land is described as entirely open; Drumdowie, 100 acres, had no enclosures.⁵ The need for supervision was clear and it is a little disconcerting to find Frend, in 1780, suggesting as a new idea what Archibald Menzies had told the commissioners was necessary on his first visit to the estate in August 1765. Frend thought that the money paid out for work on dikes should be withheld until they had been inspected, and after his report the two commissioners commenting on his proposals could only agree.⁶ But Menzies had already, without effect it would appear, realised this and had thought the byrlawmen could have carried out the necessary inspection.⁷ Frend, in addition, did not altogether approve of dikes, for he thought that not only were ditches a cheaper method of dividing land, but with one process, drainage was also provided; without which he said the farmer would get little profit from dung or manure.⁸

However, not all tenants were totally resistant to change. Mungo Campbell, farming at Auchleskine, had spent £50 on building a farm house and necessary out-buildings, and as he wanted to continue his improvements, he asked for a division of the infield which was in runrig between him and his

1. E745/59.

3. E745/42-62.

5. E777/305(1), p.20.

7. E729/8, p.25.

2. E745/57.

4. E777/305(1) passim.

6. E777/280/3.

8. E777/252; E777/305(1), p.58, March 1781.

neighbours.¹ What the neighbours wanted, however, is not on record in the minutes. It was necessary too to make changes when the mood of tenants was propitious. Two years earlier, Barcaldine had suggested that the opportunity should be taken to make a proper division of land held in runrig at Auchterarder with the Duke of Montrose, as all at that time were so well disposed to change.² The inclination of tenants was a vital element in successful improvements and it was not always present. The lack of uniformity both in tenants' responses and in the results attainable can be seen in the difference between Cluny and the parts of the Perth estate mentioned, while not all that far from Auchtermuthil, the village of Comrie is described in the O.S.A. as being partly enclosed, especially that part belonging to Mr. Drummond of Perth, who had entered into possession of the estate after the disannexation.³ Certainly the commissioners maintained expenditure on enclosures all through the annexation, and however well or badly this was done, it would not be without effect.⁴

Runrig and open land were not the only problems of the organisation of the use of farm land that had to be dealt with. Many farms were not properly proportioned for efficient management, some with too much hill pasture, some with too little, for example,⁵ and surveyors and other officers had to take thought about this type of division too, sometimes arranging for small holdings to go to inefficient tenants who were not successful on their original land, and adjusting the rents accordingly.⁶

Then there was the intermingling of the land of various proprietors, something that was not uncommon all over the Highlands. It is clearly simpler to build a dike round one large piece of ground rather than round several small bits, dikes being rather less flexible than the modern wire-netting, and a burn was a splendid boundary, when it divided two properties

1. E721/8, p.19.
3. O.S.A. xi. p.183.
5. E786/37/2, 5, 11.

2. E777/84/90(1).
4. E723/1-4.
6. E777/263/3, 12.

instead of meandering from one to the other. Many attempts were made to rationalise marches, both between farms on the estates and also between the annexed estates and those of neighbouring proprietors; excambions were made whereby boundaries became straighter and new channels were cut for streams to ensure that all the land of one proprietor lay on one side of the water.¹

In this matter, as in other aspects of the management of the estates, the length of time between the forfeiture, the annexation and the appointment of commissioners had unfortunate effects. March lines were at any time only vaguely known, especially on the higher ground; for example, in Barrisdale, the boundaries were stated to be known only by custom and tradition.² The delays of the initial years were an invitation to even greater uncertainty and to the encroachments by neighbours, either innocently or by design. Fraser of Struy tried to absorb some of Lovat's land.³ The Duke of Atholl and the Struan factor had 'a trifling difference' about marches.⁴ This latter dispute seems to have been resolved amicably enough for in 1765 the General Inspector was instructed to visit the Duke to thank him for concurring so readily in adjusting the marches.⁵

Then the veto on any participation in the management of the estates by members of the families who had previously owned them almost certainly ensured the ignorance of officers as to what had traditionally been considered the correct march lines. In the neighbourhood of the estate of Lovat there were many small proprietors ready to make their own boundaries, and a court case was needed to settle the extent of the mosses of the Barony of Beaully.⁶ Menzies discovered another complication arising from this lack of certainty in 1766, when he found what can be only called squatters,

1. E777/263/8(1).
3. E721/1, p.30.
5. E729/8, No. 15.

2. E729/1, p.69.
4. E783/58/28(1); E783/84/14.
6. E721/6, p.251; E769/110.

settled on the boundaries of the estates. These people informed the neighbouring proprietors that they were the King's tenants and the factors on the annexed estates that they were tenants on the neighbouring estates and hence paid rents to neither.¹ Of course, until there were enclosures and sheep farms the exact lines of estates' boundaries had been less important, and it was only as the hill grazings became more valuable that much detailed attention was paid to them, but this illustrates just how vague boundaries were.

Some disputes were hangovers from longstanding battles with the original owners, like Sir Robert Menzies' claim to exclusive rights to the fishing of Loch Rannoch and the privilege of drying his nets on the Struan side of the loch. This affected the Board as he threatened to prevent the boats and timber from being carried to the sawmill at Carie, on the grounds that they hurt his fishing. Like the internal enclosing, the question of settling marches went on throughout the annexation and even in the last few years, there were quarrels with neighbours involving surveys and plans and eventually in some cases the due course of the law.² Despite the realisation of the need, however, both of recognition and of the rationalisation of boundaries, the Board's intentions were more admirable than their execution of these or their officers' performances, and Archibald Menzies criticised the fact that the marches had not been cleared with neighbours before some enclosing was carried out.³ Apparently his words of wisdom were not heeded or no corrections were made, for Frennd in the 1780's had equal strictures to make, pointing out that a more determined effort should have been made to achieve more sensible boundaries. He thought much of the money would have been wasted because of the irregular lines between properties.⁴

1. E729/8, p.113.

3. E729/8, p.45.

2. E746/160; E769/108; E783/82.

4. E777/305(1).

Various excambions were proposed, both by the Board and by neighbours, and some were effected.¹ One quite extensive one was the exchange of the barony of Fernan, part of Struan, valued at £3979.13.9 and Lix, part of the Perth estate, valued at £1054.17.3 $\frac{4}{12}$ for the lands of Pitkellony, part of the estate of the Earl of Breadalbane. The Crown had to pay the difference of £5354.0.3 and thereafter, the rents were included in the Perth rental, but on disannexation, Pitkellony was granted to the proprietor of the Perth estate, on payment of £3979.13.9 to Colonel Robertson the owner of the Struan estate after 1784.²

Later comments on the divisions made are an implicit criticism of the surveyors who had been employed extensively by the Board, not only to find and measure boundaries, but to suggest improvements. Several men were employed regularly. Initially William Cockburn and Francis Grant, before the latter was made the first Riding Master and General Inspector,³ did many of the surveys, but later John Leslie declared that he found so many omissions in the survey of the estate of Perth that he was rather cautious in using it.⁴ Peter May and William Morison were also kept busy. They did not always have an easy time, for apart from the difficulties arising from the weather⁵ and tenants, they had sometimes a long time to wait for their due emoluments. Leslie had three years to put in before he received his expenses for 1767⁶ and was paid fully only in 1774 for about three years' work.⁷ As the sum involved in the latter case was over £400, the man was considerably out of pocket.

Then reports and recommendations were not always equably received even by the factors. In 1770, John Forbes complained that Peter May had rented many farms at too high a rent and had augmented rents where tenants

1. E777/111, 112, 179-82.

3. E726/1, p.2.

5. E777/94/20.

7. E777/94/24.

2. E777/308; E732/2, p.109 ff.

4. E777/94/17.

6. E777/94/18.

had carried out their own improvements, when the Board had decreed that such tenants were to be free of any increases.¹ Leslie had to deal with the tenants round Callander, known for their fractiousness despite their attachment to the factor James Small,² and others ploughed over the lines he made one year, a straightforward method of non-cooperation. They claimed that they thought he had finished and that there would be nothing further done.³ Others again, he thought, prevented any real improvements for fear of the additional rent they might have to pay.⁴ Leslie, like the factors on occasion, was reduced to the plaint that he wished he had been working for any of the Board as private proprietors, when he might have had more encouragement. But at least, he was able to say he had divided all the Struan farms on the south side of Loch Rannoch by 1774, and here there had been a good start, for by 1766, Menzies had reported on a considerable amount of division and enclosure on the Struan estate.⁵ The factor was somewhat handicapped however as Leslie left him no plans,⁶ and the tenants had left only a few of Leslie's marker cairns standing.⁷

The expense of surveying was necessary wherever new divisions of farms or decisions on boundaries had to be made, but it was a fairly costly essential, as Leslie's accounts show. Some surveying costs were not purely for agricultural purposes, however, and in the accounts of all improvements in the Lowland Division of the Perth estate, in 1771-72, the £60 for surveying costs includes £20 to George Young for surveying a canal between Coupar and Perth, while the land surveyor was paid £40. 1772-74 surveying costs were £167.3.0 and 1774-5 included ten guineas to the library at Innerpefferay for books on husbandry, out of a total of £29.10.0, an odd entry in surveying.⁸

The next category of husbandry on the estates, animal husbandry, despite its fundamental importance to the whole Highland economy, was not marked by its skill on the annexed estates. The factors' description of the manage-

1. E769/95/4.
3. E777/94/9(1).
5. E729/8, p.94.
7. E788/13/3.

2. E721/9, p.92.
4. E777/94/20.
6. E777/86/21.
8. E777/324, 325.

ment of stock is similar to that prevalent all over the north of Scotland. Stocking, until the mid-eighteenth century, meant almost exclusively black cattle. Pigs were uncommon, though it would seem that some were kept as the Perth rental for 1747-8 has a space for them and a conversion rate of £6 Scots.¹ The factors list one on Monaltry and nine on Lovat, but this was negligible compared to the forty-four goats on Monaltry and the 4,332 sheep on Lovat.² The Highlander at the time had a loathing for pig-meat, quite inexplicable by him or anyone else, so that little use was made of this invaluable food-supplier; a change gradually took place, so that by the time James Robertson was writing in 1799, he could claim that the dislike had greatly worn off.³

Goats were numerous and did particularly well in Rannoch, though the ground was too wet for sheep,⁴ but they were not popular with improving landlords because of their depredations on woods and plantations. In 1762, tenants of Dalclathick on the Perth estate, in the neighbourhood of Glenartney Forest, had always been in the habit of keeping a considerable number of goats pastured on the ground 'comprehended under the name of the forest'. Not surprisingly, when the forest was let, the lessee, Colonel Graeme, had the goats driven away or poinded, much to the annoyance of the tenants, and to their distress they claimed on the grounds that a considerable part of the support of their families and payment of rents depended on the profit from the goats. The factor was set to finding whether this use of the forest ground was by right or merely toleration of the former possessors of the forest.⁵

However, when faced with a choice over goats, there was no ambiguity in the commissioners' reactions. In leases for Highland farms, laid out

1. E777/3. 2. E729/3, unnumbered folios.
3. J. Robertson, General View of the Agriculture in the County of Perth,
(Perth, 1799) p.326. Hereafter, Robertson, Perth.
4. E783/84/1. 5. E721/6, p.319.

in 1774, no goats and no sheep were to be allowed upon parts enclosed with hedges or where enclosures were ready for young woods, and indeed, where there were woods of any kind, goats were expressly forbidden.¹ Tenants who persisted in keeping goats were to be evicted,² though they were given an opportunity to vindicate themselves.

It was unfortunate that the inhabitants of the estates were such poor controllers of their bestial. Where goats were kept, there seemed to be a much better supply of milk and cheese than could be obtained from the poor cattle.³ But by 1794, in southern Perthshire at least, that is from the Forth to the Braes of Lednock, south to north, and from Fife in the east to Dunbartonshire in the west, the goat had almost entirely disappeared.⁴ The Board for the Annexed Estates would not be alone responsible for their elimination there, for there were plenty of other improvers active in the area.

Cows, however, were the money-spinners, paying the rents when sold, together with the women's thrift,⁵ not only in the annexed estates, and in some areas, the only source of hard cash.⁶ And yet they were ill-managed. There was no attempt at selective breeding and little at effective herding. The best and worst fed together, ate their respective owners' scanty crops together as well as his neighbours', whenever a breach was found in the head dike and there was no herd to chase them off.

The basic problem was that of overstocking, and this the Board recognised, trying to regulate the numbers of cattle, and of course, of all other livestock, kept by their tenants. Theoretically pasture lands were soumed and roused and thus the optimum or at least, the maximum stocking that each piece of ground could sustain was decided by estate officers. Tenants were supposed to abide by the agreed stocking; allowed to understock,

1. Durie, 233, f.473 Clause 10.

2. E721/22, p.3.

3. E783/84/1, p.8.

4. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, p.69.

5. Adv. Ms. 31.1.2. p.53.

6. Adv. Ms. 17.1.6 passim

they were not supposed to overstock. Tempted by the profusion of fodder in summertime, it was a common and universal fault all over the Highlands to keep a larger herd than the winter scarcity of grass merited. 'The Honourable Board might know that the value of all highland farms depends on the accommodation of grass belonging to them in summer and winter and more depends on the winter grass than on the summer', wrote General Fraser's factor when he was negotiating for a lease for the best winter farm on the estate of Lovat, Meikle Portclair,¹ but this lesson was apparently never learned by many of the smaller tenants, despite their almost annual experience of dearth and death. It may have been a perverted form of optimism that made them stock each year as many and more cattle than the winter grazings would feed, knowing full well that during the winter they and their animals would go hungry. In 1755, one of the main points towards agricultural improvements made by the factor on Lovat was that when leases were granted, no overstocking should be allowed.² This, too, was in an area that he considered much better suited to cattle than to arable farming.³

Captain Forbes' suggestion, made in 1755, was undoubtedly correct and fifteen years later, in 1770-71, a new souming of all the larger annexed estates was carried out. Even where conditions of animal husbandry were much more admirable than on the estates, this would probably have been necessary as a result of the various changes in boundaries and land allotment that the Board had carried out. There was a drastic reduction in the official number of animals as a result of this and the new souming of Slisgarrow in Struan, on the south side of Loch Rannoch was 1,267, as opposed to the previous 1,613.⁴ The qualitative distinctions remained the same, however, one cow counting as one soum, a horse two, while six sheep equalled one.⁵ Also, each number was calculated as including the 'followers' of the original soum - animals that were of their own rearing, and only

1. E769/106.

3. E729/1, p.10.

5. E783/97.

2. E729/1, p.30.

4. E783/97.

one calf between every two cows; but male animals were not to be included in the souming. By 1779, this calculation had to be reconsidered; if the tenants kept to it, it had turned out to be too low. If the tenants kept to it! Judging by the factor's lists in 1778, this was not the case.¹

The gradual infiltration of better methods and management did begin to have some effect on tenants' attitudes, however. In 1783, William Frend was able to report that the tenants of Strathgartney thought their souming was too high and they had found it beneficial to reduce their souming of cattle by one fifth.² Such a sign of initiative was encouraging, if rather late in the annexation. Quality and quantity of cattle varied of course, depending not only on the methods of care used by the tenants, but on the type of farmland. In 1755, James Small reported that in Struan the chief dependence of the country was on cattle and grass and the tenants desired no more corn than would keep their cattle from starving in the winter.³ They had good pasture among the woods near Loch Rannoch and on the hills where there were woods, but most of the grass was long spiral grass growing from the moss, good for the cattle in the spring when it was tender. Then the cattle pulled it out and ate the roots. He decided later that far more and better cattle still could be kept if this young grass was used more. In 1755, however, despite reasonable conditions, he had to say that the cattle were generally small as they remained out on the hills most of the winter and were poorly fed then. The price they obtained was £2 with a calf in springtime or if sold after harvest.⁴ On the Perth estate, the black cattle were small in Lix and indifferent in Auchterarder,⁵ but few and very good in the Barony of Kinbuck, near Dunblane.⁶ Muthill, twelve miles further north, had generally bad cattle, but Muthill people generally seemed to be bad farmers.⁷ William Frend had little good to say

1. F.R. Struan 7.

3. E783/84/1, p.6.

5. Adv. MS. 17.1.6, pp. 5, 51.

6. Adv. MS. 17.1.6, p.48.

2. E777/252.

4. E783/84/1, p.7.

7. Adv. MS. 17.1.6, p.40.

about them and their lack of energy and their improvements conspicuous by their absence, towards the end of the annexation.¹

Apart from the numbers involved, other elements in the management and care of animals were treatment of pasture land and protection of the arable from wandering flocks. In his report of 1767-8, the Inspector General Menzies had made it clear that he thought little of the tenants' management of their grass lands² and he also criticised their lack of provision of proper herds. Conditions in leases were inserted in an attempt to remedy such defects. In the model lease for Highland farms, set out in 1774, clause 12 directed that all grasings should be divided and separated as much as possible, between tenants, and where division was for any reason impossible, then the land should be soumed and rounded. Clause 13 demanded herding in winter as well as summer and Clause 15 that all tenants paid a proportion of public herds.³ In Rannoch, each farm-town was to have its 'hill and straith poindler' to round up stray beasts and see that tenants did not exceed their souming.⁴

Herding had not been unknown in the estates before, and it had been differently, it might be said indifferently, organised in various parts. In one area in Lovat it had been the practice for the cows to go in with the laird's or larger tenants' young cattle and each of the cottars' wives herded or kept them day about. 'But, though they saved a herd, they paid dearly for it, because the whole grass was overrun at times, and after all they are but ill-served and ill-pleased.'⁵ In other areas tenants merely chased the beasts off their own crops. The unsettling effect on the animals of being harried by tenants and dogs was another evil of the prevailing practices that the majority of the population in the north could not be

1. E777/305(1), pp.1-37.

3. E730/5.

5. F.R. Lovat 15.

2. E787/24, p.7.

4. F.R. Struan, 7.

brought to appreciate.

The Board tried to improve the stock that was there by encouraging better winter feeding, through having grass sown and turnips cultivated, and by offering prizes for the best animals.¹ Ninian Jeffrey claimed in Coigach, that by feeding his black cattle better in winter, he had increased their size considerably since he had come north.² Whether he had thereby convinced neighbouring tenants of the benefits of his methods, he did not say. The improvement of a breed of cattle is a slow business even in skilled willing hands. On the annexed estates there were none skilled and few willing, so that it is not surprising to find that in Frend's reports on the Perth estate, 1781-84, there are few encomiums on the quality of beasts. Some of the hill farms such as Easter and Wester Glentarken received praise as good for grazing; they cost little in terms of running expenses and thus were of greater value than low farms.³ But for most of the animals he saw the usual description was 'middling'.⁴ Unfortunately he was employed only on the estate of Perth, so we do not have any comments from him on Struan where before 1770 better bulls were being imported from Skye,⁵ and Andrew Wight of course was employed to consider only corn farms in detail. The rise in the rents to take into account the increased prices from horned cattle was parallel to a general increase over the country, not particularly the result of the Board's policies.

That the possibilities of sheep farming were at least considered, we can see from their Particular Instructions to Archibald Menzies, the Inspector General, in March, 1765, to report on the suitability of any highland farms for sheep.⁶ His report, read in July 1767, told of the Perth tenants' deplorable habit of tathing, that is bringing in the flock at the beginning of harvest time from the outlying parts of farms. They

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1. E777/287; E777/326/1. £12 awarded for the best stallion, £6 for the second best.
 2. E746/75/11(1).
 3. E777/305(1), p.41.
 4. E777/252 passim.
 5. E729/8, p.94.
 6. E729/8, p.4.

thus wasted good grass available at the shealings, and ate the grass round the house which should have properly been left for winter feeding.¹ But on the general potential of the area for sheep farming he voiced the opinion of south country shepherds, that in Perthshire, no farm was too high for sheep and only mismanagement prevented their thriving. They gave little wool and they were housed all winter, only allowed out to grass for a few hours daily, so that in the spring they died of hunger.² William Boutcher who was sent with Charles Dundas, the director of improvements on the Perth estate, to measure out a proposed garden at the Park of Drummond reported, among other things, that the tenants of two farms particularly, Corsecaple and Cambuschinnie, kept sheep but they got little good from them as so many died in winter.³

Charles Dundas had in fact suggested that sheep should not be allowed in the 'Low Countries', or 'there will be no such thing as rearing of hedges'⁴ and the Barony of Kinbuck became forbidden territory for sheep.⁵ The commissioners tried to improve the existing management of sheep by laying down regulations about keeping them in enclosures, housing them at night and herding all the year round. It must be admitted however that the herding and night housing was aimed as much at preserving hedges and woods as at improving sheep farming, though until 'vermin' (eagles and foxes) were exterminated, night housing was essential protection.

One difficulty any attempt to improve sheep farming met with was the contempt with which the average Highlander viewed the animal. Any queries met with a typical response that the tenant did not know anything about them. 'My wife has sheep with leave!'⁶ And yet, even at that early date, sheep did well in Lovat and Cromarty despite bad management.⁷ There were too quite a number of sheep on the estates; 648 sheep to 127 cattle on

1. E729/8, p.21.
3. E777/255/5.
5. F.R. Perth 15.
7. E787/24, p.8.

2. E729/8, p.26.
4. E777/255/3.
6. E787/24, p.10.

on Monaltry, 161 sheep and 142 cattle on Kinlochmoidart, 4332 sheep and 3852 black cattle on Lovat, 4997 sheep to 2,000 cattle on Struan, despite the contention that it was too wet on Struan for sheep. In Struan too, there were 1,515 goats and 62 swine.¹

Ninian Jeffrey, having come from the Borders, was very much aware of the possibilities of sheep-farming. He thought that nobody in the Highlands understood sheep farming and consequently could never make as much out of it as a proper sheep-farmer could. He suggested that it would be a service to the Barony and to the Highlands in general if a sheep farmer could be encouraged to settle in Coigach by being given the forest of Coigach rent-free for some years. He proposed himself too as a tenant of Tanera, one of the Summer Isles, as a sheep farmer, for two reasons. The first was that such a policy would mean the importation of a hardy breed of sheep from the south, but he offered as his second reason the additional inducement that more sheep would mean less black cattle which would then be better maintained during the winter, would be brought to a better size, and would mature earlier, being able to take the bull at two or three years old instead of at five or six. When we look at the gay abandon with which tenants ignored the official souming, this can only have been a pious hope.²

The commissioners failed to give Jeffrey any practical encouragement, however, and in 1771 he was still writing asking for a suitable farm for sheep.³ His suggestion that the Forest of Coigach should be let to a sheep farmer was approved, but on easy terms, not rent-free.⁴ Over-encouragement of sheep-farming with consequent evictions and displacement of large numbers of tenants would in fact have been inconsistent with the main aims of the annexation which included ensuring a happy tenantry and did not demand a much increased rent roll as a mark of efficient management. Improvement of the existing stock and hence of the material prosperity and happiness of

1. E729/3.

3. E746/75/51, 52.

2. F.R. Coigach 10.

4. E721/8, p.227.

the tenants was enough. Individual tenants were reported as having reasonably large sheep flocks,¹ but the Board should have had no intention of throwing the estates into sheep runs and dispossessing large numbers of inhabitants. This would have contravened the aims of the Annexing Act. They did disjoin shealings from the farms below and made separate tenements from them, as the factor on the Breadalbane estates informed his master, when he was trying to persuade him to do likewise, adding that even the commissioners did this who 'upon all occasions showed more lenity to the tenants under their charge than any others' (other proprietors).²

By the 1770's the pros and cons of sheep farming were being widely discussed. The Scots Magazine had several articles in 1774 on the subject; one in October, by 'Agricola', advocated this as one method of improving the Highlands.³ This writer thought that no industry was likely to succeed in what he called a thinly populated district, unless it worked up the native product of the country, something that the commissioners were also beginning to realise, and he also advised sheep as more suitable than cattle, decrying many misleading beliefs on sheep-rearing, such as that only rich pastures gave good wool. He also carried on to give advice on how to deal properly with sheep - feeding them all the year round, providing dry fodder in snow, etc. By the time sheep-rearing and sheep-runs were becoming more usual policy in the Highlands, however, the Board was no more. Rent-rolls do not show signs of formation of huge sheep farms, with resultant disappearance of small tenants, in later years, when the introduction of sheep on a large scale might have been expected, even in Coigach. One tenant who did try sheep farming in Coigach found it turned to no account despite his long lease and low rent as a tenant of the Annexed Estates Board.⁴ During the

1. F.R. Perth 18A, 1768.

2. Breadalbane Papers. Letter from the factor at Achmore, 27.1.1791. I am indebted to Mr. Malcolm Gray for this reference, but as the collection is due to be recatalogued I have left this as a temporary reference.

3. Scots Magazine, 36, p.523 ff.

4. Sir G.S. Mackenzie, General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Ross and Cromarty (London 1813) p.130. Hereafter, Mackenzie. Ross.

annexation, general improvement in the type of animal and its care were all that would be looked for. Other proprietors were introducing sheep farmers in Perthshire, but drastic alteration in the Board's policy and statutory duties would have been necessary before 'Clearances' on any large scale could have taken place.

Horses and oxen were also kept on many farms, mostly uneconomically, but this habit, where pride and interest in the particular animals are involved, is one which was still prevalent in 1924. Miss Grant described a twenty-acre holder maintaining a pair or horses for ploughing when one and a half pairs could cope with 60 acres.¹ The Inspector General as we have seen, had pointed out that tenants who kept ploughs on insufficient resources of land and income had all the expense of a large farm but only the profits of a small one. They had to borrow as they had insufficient fodder for their working animals, so that 'unless he thiggs from his neighbours he must starve'.² Probably as a result of this the Board ordered that no-one with less than five bolls' sowing should keep an ox, as Menzies had said that an eight-oxen plough could manage 40 bolls' sowing.³

Changes in the management of animal feeding led to changes in arable farming, apart from any intrinsic improvements in that aspect of husbandry, and it is arable farming we must now consider. Despite the dependence on the harvest of grain crops for subsistence for both man and beast, the system practised all over Scotland until about the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the Highlands for much longer, seemed calculated to achieve the least possible return from the ground.⁴ The division of farm land into infield and outfield with the resultant overcropping of the former and the neglect of the latter, insufficient feeding of the soil, fallowing that was

1. I.F. Grant, Everyday Life on an Old Highland Farm (London, 1924)p.114.
2. See page 117. 3. E787/24, p.6.
4. Gray, Highland Economy. Symon, Farming. Handley, Agriculture. and Handley, Agricultural Revolution in Scotland. Such a picture is presented in all these volumes as well as by earlier writers.

merely leaving nature to take over, usually with weeds as no grass was sown, lack of root and green crops, a primitive rotation of oats, oats, barley, combined with the retention of the poorest grain as seed for the next year's crop because of the overpowering immediate demand for food; all those bad habits could be found in the annexed estates and they were compounded in the Highland area by adverse weather conditions and the conservatism of the people. Sowing, for example, was late, the date often fixed by custom as much as by climate, so that often the harvest was later than it need have been.

Garden vegetables, despite their potential as a food supply, aroused little interest. Lochiel was reported to have had a garden in 1734 as well as a somewhat surprising watermill,¹ but in 1755 the factor in his report on Barrisdale found that the tenants had never seen green kail, cabbage or anything peculiar to garden growth.² Peter May, when surveying Coigach in 1756, thought the tenants should have small yards near their houses for cabbage and turnips, something that was unheard of.³

While the grain crop for the whole Highland area might not have been of much financial importance to the tenants in general who depended on their animals for cash, it was of no little importance to the commissioners. Apart from any missionary zeal for improving yields, it was very much in the interests of the final intentions of the annexation that crops should be improved, as rents were paid in kind and any famine would have to be relieved at the expense of the proceeds of the estates, as happened on a large scale in 1783 when £1,750 was spent on grain for the relief of the starving tenants.⁴ In 1773, the Board was explaining to the Treasury the variations in the gross rents for the Lovat estate between 1764 and 1770.

1. Lang, Highlands, xxxvii.
3. E746/78.

2. E729/1, p.69.
4. E723/3, p.60.

The difference was entirely due to the change in prices when rents were paid in bear and oatmeal and fluctuated from a minimum of £2087.15.1 in 1768 when a Scots boll made only ten shillings, to £2449.12.1 in 1770.¹ Teind duty too was paid in grain.²

To increase the yield and improve the quality of crops, the commissioners tried several methods of encouraging tenants to help themselves. In 1762, for example, they arranged the purchase of 1,000 lbs of red clover and 1,500 lbs of white clover seed to be distributed at half price to the tenants on the Perth estate.³ Three years later, in the Board's report, they pointed out that there was great ignorance of sown grasses and considerable difficulty in obtaining these by ordinary tenants, because of the great distance from markets. They therefore suggested buying and providing grass seed at cost price, a low price or free, depending on the state of the area they were dealing with.⁴ Three years later again, in 1768, they were allowed to give £26 in rewards to tenants for sowing clover and other grass seeds as well as for signs of improvements in breeds of cattle and also for turning moor ground into viable arable land.⁵ In 1774, £386.6.7 was approved for meal and seed corn for the tenants on Lovat and Cromarty, to be sold to them at prime cost.⁶ In leases, as we have seen, the sowing of clover was insisted on, as was a rotation including flax, barley, oats, clover and grass.⁷ They were prepared to countenance experiments such as the new method of growing potatoes by cutting out the eyes, using the rest for food, then laying the eyes on dunghills in February. Once these had sprouted two or three inches, they were to be planted on previously prepared ground. The benefit of this was that it was supposed to bring on potatoes a month earlier than usual.⁸

1. E723/2, p.217.

3. E721/6, p.147.

5. E724/1, p.25.

7. E730/5.

8. F.R. Perth 38. Letter to all factors. 15.1.1783.

2. E721/4, p.123.

4. E723/2, p.81.

6. E724/1, p.46.

The value of natural grass was recognised by almost all the inhabitants of the Highlands. Barrisdale tenants were described as 'botanists', so careful and knowledgeable were they in their treatment of grass,¹ and in Rannoch and Glen Lyon, though no grass seed was sown, the inhabitants were described as paying more attention to their grass than anything else.² This was of course because of the vital importance to their animals of a good stock of grass, though their haymaking was cursory and perfunctory.³

The inclusion of flax in schemes of rotation was not purely an agricultural matter. The growth of flax was encouraged⁴ to save national expenditure in importing it, again by selling the seed cheaply. The manufacturers involved in the spinning industry handled a great deal of the seed, giving it out to tenants and buying the crops.⁵ Even though the leases signed in 1774 included flax in the rotation,⁶ by the time Wight was carrying out his survey, there were doubts about the effect of this crop on the soil, and in 1794 James Robertson was quite firm in remarking that it 'impoverishes the soil to a great degree'.⁷ So flax-growing may have been of little benefit to the already maltreated soil of the Highland area, even though raising it and spinning yarn paid all the rents in Perthshire at least.⁸

In insisting on proper rotation of crops, the commissioners showed that they knew what was needed, as did the factors. Writing these into leases was one way of trying to make tenants conform, but this was not wholly successful. In 1794, Robertson complained that though for fifteen years, leases had had conditions insisting on better regulation of arable

1. E741/40, p.6.

2. NLS. Ms. 2508, f.142.

3. Factors' reports 1755, Passim.

4. E732/9, 26-1-68.

5. E727/25-27; E730/17.

6. E730/5.

7. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, p.38.

8. Captain John Henderson, General View of the Agriculture in the County of Sutherland (London, 1812) p.207. Hereafter, Henderson, Sutherland.

land, these had not been enforced for various reasons.¹ One of these he thought was inefficient legal competence in the writing of the leases, but even more important he thought was the landlord's absence. Rotation of crops was not everywhere equally efficient. Most good farmers had similar rotations but others could be said to have no fixed rotation at all.² Worse from the point of view of obtaining a favourable assessment of the work of the Board of the Annexed Estates, round Drummond Castle, the heart of the Perth estate, on which most time and thought was lavished by the Board, where if anywhere, their work should have shown very positive results, the rotation still included two years of oats which as Robertson said no good farmer should follow and no tenants should have been allowed to.³

There was also room for improvement in preparing the ground for crops. Apart from any thoughts on the type of implements to use, the tenants' methods were also faulty, and in 1780-81, Frennd wrote in his journal that he had never seen such bad ploughing as in Mr. Keir's part of the estate of Perth. The seeds were not even covered after they were sowed.⁴ It was also necessary to treat the land more kindly, to give it some care to help it return to its natural wealth, so dressing and manuring were to be encouraged. The use of manure was not unknown in the Highlands but its use was neither thorough nor systematic nor sufficient. Tathing was the chief method and house and farm dung were used, as well as discarded turf roofs, but the difficulty of transporting any type of manure in large quantities to a farm that might lie many miles from a military or a reasonable country road and be inaccessible by boat was an almost insurmountable one. In fact, it was not unheard of for the factor to deny a tenant's claim regarding the quantity of lime he had used, on account of the distance it had to be carried. All manure used in Barrisdale, for example, had to be carried there on men's

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1. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, p.24.
 2. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, p.45.
 3. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, pp. 47, 48.
 4. E777/305(1), p.48.

backs, and this puts obvious limits on the amount that can be profitably be used.¹

The commissioners used one of their usual methods to increase the use of approved manures - they awarded prizes for the largest quantity of dung or lime laid, the greatest quantity of shell manure used, the most marl.² In addition to these three, there was some use of water-flooding, but it was least important. It had disadvantages, and though Menzies declared in 1767 that it had gained ground in Perthshire,³ it had fallen into abeyance by the 1780's. The possibility of obtaining marl aroused some ambitious projects for draining lochs. Mr. Adam Drummond of Megginch proposed taking a lease of the loch of Balloch to drain it as the other tenants could not bear the expense.⁴ Small was somewhat cynical about this, as he thought it was not feasible to drain the loch and the only marl he knew of was on the bottom, which he could not see. £10, £6 and £3 were also offered for the greatest quantities of shell manure used.⁵

The greatest efforts were made with regard to lime. Here the difficulties in ensuring adequate use were twofold; in the existing state of communications, the transport problem was almost insuperable in dealing with large quantities of lime, and where a limestone quarry might be at hand, even when the quality of the lime was suitable, there was often insufficient fuel nearby to burn it for use. When both lime and fuel were available there was no problem. The reports to the King and the minutes mention the various proposals made to encourage and increase the use of lime by building kilns,⁶ opening quarries, and giving financial aid to tenants who might offer to open quarries on their own responsibility. Mr. Stewart the minister at Callander, was allowed the limestone quarry at Tarndownan rent-free for nine years to compensate for his trouble in opening

1. E729/1, p.68.
3. E729/8, p.26.
5. E721/18, p.18.

2. E721/10, p.133; E721/24, p.11.
4. E777/157/12; E777/162/7.
6. E723/2, p.11 - £100 proposed.

it up.¹ At the beginning of that year, the Perth factor had been ordered to carry out experiments in burning and caking lime in such parts of the estate as seemed suitable.² When a new vein of lime was found, as was reported in 1767, prizes were instituted for the tenants who laid down the greatest amount; £6 for the largest and £4 for the second largest amount was substantial encouragement, when the whole rent could not exceed £20.³ Measuring efficiency in laying manure by the quantity was not invariably completely successful and over-enthusiasm was sometimes criticised. Keir, for example, the factor on the Lowland Division of the Perth estate, had his rank corn attributed by Frennd to over-marling.⁴ At the time, however, this was perhaps a better habit than a common one described by the Inspector General in 1766; the old thatch was thrown off the roofs, used for dung, and then the best pasture was destroyed by the cutting of divots for the new roof.⁵

Prizes maintained favour with the Board, however, and in 1774, £10 was paid to Lt. Kenneth Sutherland on the Mains of New Tarbat for laying the greatest quantity of sea-shell manure on lee ground, with dung, at the rate of over 300 bolls to the acre.⁶ Another method of encouragement, which used private enterprise, was to give a subsidy to any entrepreneur who would sell lime cheaper. Charles Freebairn was offered 6d. on every boll up to 2,000 per year for three years if he would sell lime on the Perth estate 30% cheaper than he normally would have done. The Inspector was supposed to enquire into how this scheme was working, by finding out what price the tenants paid compared to that where no premiums were allowed.⁷ However, Menzies, who was a very efficient conscientious official, for once seems to have committed the sin of omission and the report he produced after his tour in 1765 makes no mention of Freebairn.⁸

1. E721/7, p.58.
3. E721/10, p.133.
5. E721/9, p.85.
7. E729/8, p.8.

2. E721/7, p.6.
4. E777/305(1).
6. F.R. G.M. 117.
8. E729/8, pp. 15-100.

Recognising the practical difficulties of access to many quarries, financial help in building roads was granted to remove that hindrance from use. Monaltry improvements in 1777 include £10 towards a road to a limestone quarry;¹ an undated report mentions the benefit to Callander from a quarry since a road was made and in 1783, £10 was a continuing payment on Struan.²

One unusual experiment was made in an attempt to overcome the difficulty caused by the lack of fuel. It was proposed that £50 should be expended in making a machine to pound limestone down to the required minuteness, using water power instead of the usual method of burning it.³ This suggestion was eventually approved,⁴ and became a perpetual if fairly small drain on the Board's resources until it was carried off in a flood about 1778. Erected in Rannoch, it cost almost three times its estimated cost to build, £141.1.10,⁵ and in the Struan accounts, every year had an entry for its upkeep and repairs, from £3.0.6. to £92.5.0.⁶ Neither James Robertson nor William Marshall is particularly enthusiastic about the machine. Robertson says it had not been there long enough for its effects to be known (ten years) and in any case, the water power was insufficient, despite the ultimate fate of the device.⁷ Marshall found that the inhabitants of the area gave a most disparaging description of it but added revealingly, 'but it was a new thing'.⁸ In the circumstances, it can only be described as an interesting anticipation of twentieth century use and practice in liming and a further example of the Board's readiness to experiment. It seems likely that they were not overly impressed, however, for after the machine's disappearance in the 1778 flood no attempt was made to erect another similar.

1. E773/68. 2. E783/104 passim. See also E777/259.
3. E723/2, p.41. 4. E724/1, p.15.
5. E723/2, p.150; E783/93.
6. E783/104 passim to 1778. 7. Robertson, Perth, p.33.
8. W.Marshall, General View of the Agriculture in the Central Highlands of Scotland, (London, 1794), p.37. Hereafter, Marshall, Central.

Other manures used included potash¹ and near the coast the use of seaware was always advocated before kelp-burning became so profitable. The tenants on Coigach, for example, were well aware of its value, and strenuously resisted any attempt to wrest this privilege from them.² Ninian Jeffrey would have liked a lease of the kelp himself.³ Another petitioner for a lease of the shore was told that the tenants had the right of the seaware and he must bargain with them.⁴ But the factor was to encourage them to use shells.⁵ Apparently the Earl of Cromarty had left the tenants their share of the ware as manure, even when he had kelp made, and the minister of Lochbroom reckoned that without this they would certainly have starved.⁶ Gradually, however, the financial rewards to be gained from other uses of kelp persuaded the Board to reserve kelp as well as woods, in Ardsheal,⁷ and by 1779, the shores were being let in Coigach for kelp-burning, though the tack required that tenants be left a proper quantity for manure.⁸ The shores of Corpach were also let on similar conditions.⁹

While the estate of Kinlochmoidart was still under the Barons of the Exchequer, the factor there, Henry Butter, had been making representations to them about what he considered a waste of the estate's resources. The tenants did not pay anything for their yearly cutting of wrack and he thought that the farms were so cheap that it would be no hardship for them to be asked to give some token for it. He added somewhat onimously that if they would not, others could be found.¹⁰ In their resistance to kelp burning the tenants were for once wiser than the improvers for kelp left only the tangle for manure, neither so suitable nor so effective as the fresh weed. It has also been claimed that the burning process and the general

1. E783/104/2 - £42.0.9½d. in 1764.

2. E746/113, 1st folder.

4. E721/8, pp. 200, 201.

6. F.R. Coigach, 11.

8. F.R. Coigach 4.

10. E741/23, 10.2.68.

3. E746/75/6.

5. E721/10, p.6.

7. E737/27.

9. F.R. Barrisdale 7.

disturbance on the shores drove away the fish.¹

By the end of the period of annexation, there is no doubt that there was some improvement in some of the tenants' approach to arable farming. Some were industrious in trying new crops and applying manure; others were not.² In 1781, Frennd found that rape was sown and the tenants of Stobhall were becoming 'fond of clover', but Robertson's description of the rotations of crops in general use in Perthshire shows that improved arable farming was only in its initial stages even in the areas that received most attention from the Board and the Inspector.³ Of course, as Walker remarked in 1808, any alterations for the better had only occurred in the last fifty years.⁴ The degree of improvement attained on the annexed estates can only be judged by comparison with that on similar neighbouring estates. Conditions varied, but no-one said about the farms on the estates as Wight did about Forfarshire, that it would be too tedious to describe all the farms that were improving.⁵

One further step was needed to improve cultivation and this was to provide better farm implements. The factors had not been asked in 1755 to specify in detail what types of tools were used and though it could be argued that such a specification should have automatically been included by them when they were describing methods of husbandry, none in fact did so. The only mention of tools in Barcaldin's report was that the lack of woods in the Barony of Lix involved the tenants in long journeys to obtain their labouring implements and any tools for husbandry.⁶ Barrisdale was noted for having only one plough, but there was no comment on its quality.⁷ It was unlikely, however, that the practising farmers on the Board were unaware

1. W.R. Scott, Report to the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, on Home Industries, p.9.

2. Wight, Husbandry. passim; Frennd's Journals, E777/305 & 252; Reports to Board of Agriculture (1794).

3. Robertson, Southern Perthshire, pp.46 ff.

4. Walker, Economic History, i.p.3.

5. Wight, Husbandry i.p.272.

6. E777/244, p.4.

7. E729/1, p.68.

of the problem and they took several steps to try to improve implements. One method used was to indent apprentices¹ and to employ properly trained men to make proper ploughs and harrows on the estates. Charles Dundas, employed to oversee improvements on the estate of Perth, like Barcaldine in his report in 1755, suggested that tradesmen should be settled at Crieff and James Duncanson was employed to teach ploughwrights and smiths, being allowed one guinea a week by the Board. The Inspector was told to look at this man's work, in 1765, and also to see if the tenants who were given free ploughs were making proper use of them.² When he was reporting on this, Menzies seemed to suggest that in one part of the estates at least, none of the tenants had got any ploughs from the Board, though this scheme had been in operation from 1762, and some who had used them found they were adequate only where the ground was not stony.³ Another ploughwright, Magnus Morris, who made similar ploughs had distributed fifteen, which were also described as not answering in stony ground. Menzies did not think much of the workmanship and they were to cost the Board about a guinea each.⁴

Tenants in Kinbuck, on being granted leases, had been presented with ploughs of an approved design and also with harrows with iron teeth.⁵ They had to undertake to use these or similar implements throughout their tenancy and to leave them in good condition at the end of their tack. Any tenant who could prove that he was using improving modern farming techniques such as turnip-growing, flax cultivation, or a newer model plough, i.e. one with more iron in its construction and using one or two horses instead of several oxen or who would promise to herd his animals was well in the running for being given a lease.⁶ Menzies suggested too that instead of giving money in particular districts, it might have a salutary effect to give out improved farm implements as rewards for industry.⁷ Perhaps it was as well that this advice was not taken in the prevailing economic climate

1. Cf. Chapter IV. 3.
3. E729/8, pp.47, 48.
5. E721/6, p.286.
7. E729/8, p.20.

2. E729/8, p.9.
4. E729/8, p.36.
6. E721/27, p.15.

when tenants were so slow in recognising the benefits that might arise from improved methods but knew hard cash when they saw it.

Indiscriminate use of the plough was not advised, however, for the Board took heed of the known and accepted fact that in many parts of the Highlands there were mountainous and boggy areas where spade and hoe cultivation produced much more plentiful corn than the plough.¹ In Barrisdale, the factor had shown that the ruggedness of the ground as well as the bogs prevented the use of horses over most of the estate.² Cottars who were given holdings on outfield could be ordered not to use ploughs, as was the former subtenant who was to hold a piece of the farm of Straid rent-free for seven years, provided he used spade cultivation.³ Walker, publishing his comments half a century later, was to make the point that it was sometimes not so uneconomic or so inefficient to make do with primitive instruments. The situation of the country, the lack of materials both for making and for forging tools, and the lack of communications whereby these could be easily imported outweighed the benefits from the expense and effort needed to improve them.⁴ He thought the caschrome produced better crops than the plough, certainly better than those from any plough seen in the Highlands when he was writing.⁵ The commissioners seem to have been prepared to accept this thesis too.

The various steps taken, the employment of the smith in the Perth estate to train apprentices, the ploughwright in Auchterarder, the free gifts of decent ploughs, must all have helped marginally to improve the situation, but in 1774, Wight was still complaining of bad ploughs and harrows, though it must be said that his worst strictures were for the conditions on Stobhall, life rented until a couple of years before, where

1. E730/47.

2. E729/1, p.68.

3. E721/6, p.332.

4. Walker, Economic History, i.p.121.

5. Walker, Economic History, i. p.124.

the instruments were 'as bad as could be devised'.¹ There were not enormous strides forward in the use of better implements and Sir John Sinclair could describe the implements of the tenants in general as 'miserable imitations of approved utensils', in the northern counties, which did include the annexed estate of Cromarty.² Drastic, speedy change at this period in the history of agrarian change was not to be expected; the commissioners probably did all they could within the limit of their resources to give their tenants a gentle nudge in the right direction. It was not an easy task and even in Struan, where Menzies reported great improvement, the quality of implements lagged behind.³

One other physical improvement that the commissioners wished to see on the estates was better housing, both for human and animal inhabitants. With the animals and their dung under the same roof, the houses were hardly satisfactory by human standards of hygiene, and tenants could not be brought to understand that by keeping their stock in such conditions they perhaps got more manure but lost pounds of stock. It was a habit that lasted in the Hebrides until the early years of the present century when there was sometimes not even a wall between the byre and the living quarters.⁴ Peter May wrote from Coigach in 1756 that the houses were so full of vermin in the summer there was no sleeping in them.⁵

These houses were also an offence to the eye and mind of the would-be improvers on account of the methods used in construction. The Board tried to eradicate the practice of using good turf for roofing by ordering that those who persisted in this would be turned out, but whether the order was carried out is uncertain.⁶ It would certainly have been a marathon task and

1. Wight, Husbandry. 1, pp. 3, 67.

2. Sir John Sinclair, General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland (London, 1795) p. 22. Hereafter, Sinclair, Northern Counties.

3. E729/8, p.95.

4. J.P. Day, Public Administration of the Highlands and Islands (London, 1918), pp. 304 ff. Hereafter, Day, Administration.

5. E746/78.

6. E721/9, p.85.

turf roofs can be seen on outbuildings in Shetland today. Then the creel houses lasted only a few years and only the most pliant plants were used for the frame, usually young trees. This spelled spoliation of plantations and was bound to be unpopular.¹ In leases, the Board included building improvements among others that would entail the tenants spending five years' rent in seven years and they gave loans, quite large loans in some cases, towards new houses or to rebuilding. John Porteous, the tenant on Mains of Strageath, proposed building a house 42' x 19', 14' high with a slate roof, the cost being estimated at £50 exclusive of timber, and he was awarded £50, with 5% interest added to his rent.² But a John MacLeish was advanced only £15 to rebuild his house in 1777.³ On Lochiel, Butter had tried to encourage the tenants to build stone houses, but his success must have been limited for William Morison's survey in 1772 comments on the fact that most of the houses were creel huts, though there were plenty stones available.⁴

Menzies also complained of 'slovenly biggings' which consumed a great deal of wood, because of the short life and need for repairs⁵ and the Board encouraged tenants to build better barns and byres, giving them a proportion of the money spent, but scaling such grants to the size of the holdings.⁶ £20 was lent to one tenant on Arnprior for his barn and byre.⁷ Not only did the commissioners want better houses, they wanted to see them more conveniently placed on farms in the interest of efficiency and time-saving.⁸ Some steadings were not even on their respective farms and in 1780, George Nicolson, the gardener and surveyor mentioned the expense of moving steadings to more convenient places on the farm.⁹ Removal of even the more primitive type was likely to be expensive and on at least one occasion, the official

1. E787/24, p.13.

3. E777/76.

5. E787/24, p.13.

7. E721/16, p.14.

9. F.R. Perth 31C, 2-3-1780.

2. E721/8, p.23.

4. E741/46, p.4.

6. E777/324, 325.

8. E721/8, p.24; E729/8, p.30.

surveyor's suggestion was dismissed by George Clerk Maxwell on the grounds that the factor's plan obviated the removal of the steading.¹

The effectiveness of the Board's housing policy can be judged not merely by the money advanced out of rents, for this gives no idea of the lasting quality of the buildings, but we must also consider the comments made towards the end of the annexation and afterwards. The verdict must be favourable when these later reports are studied. In 1783, William Frend could move round the estate of Perth remarking that the houses in the main were in good order. The crops and the cattle might range from the middling to the tolerably good, but the comfort of better housing seemed to have had its own impetus.² It should be remembered of course, that the tenants on this estate had a head start, being largely housed in stone buildings in 1755.³ It was the only one of the annexed estates about which this could be said. Reading the reports made to the Board of Agriculture from 1794 onwards, it would appear that the further north and west, the worse the houses, though Sir John Sinclair thought there had been some slight improvement where timber was easily got as landlords had 'recently' begun to make allowances for improvements.⁴ His survey included Ross and Cromarty. Even in 1808, in Inverness-shire, the gentlemen and wealthier tenants had well-built houses but those of the poorer were 'mean beyond description'.⁵

Apart from Wight's few words of praise of Cluny estate, where he does not specify what houses are made of but is hardly likely to have voiced an enthusiastic few words about creel houses,⁶ the estates managed by the Board do not seem to have been conspicuous for good housing. It must have been much simpler to encourage better building where there was already a tradition

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1. E738/64/1.
 2. E777/252 passim
 3. E777/244.
 4. Sinclair, Northern Counties, p.50.
 5. James Robertson, General View of the Agriculture in the County of Inverness, (London, 1808), p.56. Hereafter Robertson, Inverness.
 6. Wight, Husbandry iv. Part 1, p.151.

of stone masonry as in Perthshire¹; more attention to the more remote estates in the north and west might have been immediately less rewarding and certainly more difficult, but more truly an attempt to carry out the aims of the annexation. The change that took place in this respect on Struan showed what was possible. By 1765, Menzies was very enthusiastic about all the improvements going on there, and declared that all the tenants were now in neat stone houses, while five years ago, on his last visit to the area, there were mostly creel houses.² Unfortunately, the energy and enthusiasm of the factor and overseer, that had a great deal to do with the speed of improvement, were not equally effective on all the estates.

However, as Robert Heron remarks, the commissioners were not idle³ and they explored every avenue of improvement imaginable in agriculture, and in the terms of the Annexing Act, not only on the annexed estates. In 1764, the King's approval was asked for £1,000 in 'premiums' for those showing a 'spirit of improvement in agriculture' in the counties of Argyllshire, Bute and Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Orkney and Shetland, as well as in Inverness where so many of the estates lay.⁴ Nothing came of this, as the King's approval was never expressed but it illustrated the Board's comprehensive conception of their duties - a Highland and Island Development Board in embryo. Prizes to encourage many forms of industrial activity were common, of course, in the eighteenth century; the Board of Trustees, the various improving societies all made a habit of offering premiums, and it was not surprising that the Board for the Annexed Estates who were no strangers to the other companies of improvers followed that custom too.

1 E729/8, p.24.

2. E729/8, pp. 94-95.

3. R. Heron, General View of the Hebrides, (Edinburgh, 1794), p.10. Hereafter, Heron, Hebrides. For full title see bibliography.

4. E723/2, p.58.

The idleness of the Highlanders that was such a source of worry to factors, inspectors and commissioners needed to be remedied if possible and several methods were applied to this. One suggestion was that in place of being given money to have the interest repaid in additional rent, the tenants should be obliged to perform additional work.¹ That proposal must have made the factors shudder. Then it was thought that if 'strangers' were given farms among the native inhabitants, the newcomers would set an example of industry.² This apparently was the case, but unfortunately, the example was not followed by the older established tenants.³ One such import was a protégé of Lord Findlater who brought him up from Norfolk to introduce the Norfolk plough and turnip cultivation into Banff. Once he had done this to Findlater's satisfaction, the Earl was prepared to pay his fare back south, but the man, Philip Girling, wanted to stay in Scotland. Unfortunately, he had 'lived like an Englishman, though sober', so he had saved little money. With such a recommendation, Girling was to be given a holding on the estate of Perth.⁴

On the other hand, inefficient tenants and unruly members of the community were liable to be removed. Evictions were carried out for various reasons, including being bad neighbours, refusing to divide runrig, becoming bankrupt, getting into arrears of rent - though this was a perpetual state of affairs - or stealing wood. All such types of behaviour were likely to advert against good husbandry and improvements and hence met with disapprobation.

The commissioners also included apprenticing men to farmers in their general scheme for raising the standard of workmanship in the areas under their management. It was suggested that it would be desirable and praiseworthy to train some of the young men, especially the sons of chief tenants

1. E721/9, p.85.
3. E729/8, p.108.

2. E721/6, p.215.
4. E721/11, p.27.

and better-off farmers, in the rudiments of farming as practised in the Lowlands. In the report to the King in 1761, apprenticeship in farming was put forward among the other crafts.¹ Once the scheme was approved, surprisingly quickly,² the Board also moved at high speed for once and by November 1761, they were able to report that the necessary steps had been taken to bind apprentices to farmers in the Low Countries.³ Tenants who wished their sons to be trained were asked to write in⁴ and those who were accepted were sent off at a fairly high cost of £25 per annum.⁵ This apprenticeship was not confined to the sons of tenants for one of the sergeants who had been employed in enclosing in Kinbuck, asked for assistance. As he was prepared to go to England, he spent two years in the south on an allowance of £20 a year. He had to send in quarterly reports and when he did ask for a farm, he was allowed yet another year's training and promised the tenancy of the first proper farm vacant on the estate of Perth.⁶ Ninian Jeffrey once again on the track of improving sheep-rearing, suggested in 1765, that some of the Coigach tenants might well benefit by being sent to other sheep-rearing areas so that they could learn how to use the extensive, dry hill-grazings in the barony. He thought they should also be given a general training in agriculture, but this idea was not taken up.⁷

The idea of training farmers in improving methods was good enough, but does not seem to have borne much fruit. A few of the trainees, like James Robertson, are mentioned as being employed later on Struan, but £25 was a large proportion of the annual sum of £200 allocated to the apprenticeship scheme to be spent on one individual, and when the commissioners formally abandoned the idea in 1775, there was no mention of farmers having returned

1. E723/2, p.21.

3. E723/2, p.2.

5. E721/10, pp. 201, 202; E723/2, p.91 - £40 for Robert Menzies.

6. E721/7, p.68.

2. E721/6, p.9.

4. E777/269/1.

7. F.R. Coigach 8.

to the estates in a greater proportion than other apprentices. Those who did return must surely have been affected by their lowland training, but in the inspector's later reports, there is no recognition of better farmers having been apprentices - nor of the worst!¹ Despite the cost however, it seems a pity that it was not pursued with greater vigour, as the money for apprentices was rarely exhausted.²

The apprenticing of farmers was aimed at counteracting the ignorance of good farming practice in the estates and a further onslaught on ignorance was made by purchasing instructive texts on agriculture. Some were sent to the factors for lending to the tenants; some were given direct to tenants, and Young's writings, Dickson's Treatise of Husbandry and also Wight's Husbandry were among such volumes.³

One very dramatic improvement was envisaged, similar to Lord Kames' draining of Flanders Moss. This was the draining of what was called the Moor of Rannoch, but after a few years, the factor was inclined to be cautious about laying out too much money on this.⁴ It had been suggested that the moss between Rannoch and Glenorchy was not one large plain but about 10,000 little mosses, each one of which would need two or three drains. Little seemed to have come of the experiment, however.⁵

As behoved aspiring model landowners, the commissioners should have been and in fact were very interested in the encouragement and full exploitation of existing woodland, accompanied by planting for the future. They did not initiate afforestation; that example had been set already in Scotland by proprietors like Lauderdale in the seventeenth century⁶ and Grant of Monymusk earlier in the eighteenth.⁷ They needed no prodding into

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1. E777/252, 305(1).
 2. See Chapter IV, 3; Journal E732/9 and Reports E723/2, 3.
 3. E721/11, p.38; E730/9. 4. E721/7, p.10; E783/84/9.
 5. N.S.A. x. p.534.
 6. Rosalind K. Marshall, The Days of Duchess Anne (London, 1973) p.57.
 7. Hamilton, Monymusk, passim.

activity however for while planting and caring for woodland were expensive pursuits, they were also a worthwhile investment. Not only were plantations expected to increase the income from estates through the sale of timber and bark, their aesthetic value was considered and while the Board did not neglect this latter aspect, neither did their senior servants. One contract for cutting the woods near Castle Drummond reserved sixty old oaks growing together there and Archibald Menzies on his own initiative directed the tacksman of the woods to leave others of about the same age and size that were scattered around singly. He said he was 'perswaded the Board never meant (them) to be cut, as they are a great ornament to the country'.¹ Some years later, a surveyor proposed a mixture of oak, ash and elm on one part of Strathpeffer, adding that even firs alone would be an ornament as they would cover an ugly ridge of black hills to the south.²

The factors' detailed descriptions of the woods on the estates, particularly on Perth and Struan in 1755, show that Dr. Johnson's strictures on the treelessness of Scotland contained a considerable amount of exaggeration.³ The woods on the estate of Perth were described as valuable, with reason, for those near Drummond and Balloch had been sold at their last cutting for £2,000 and would be ready for the next sale in about seven years.⁴ Where transport was a problem however, which meant over most of the Highlands, the bark was more valuable than the timber in commercial terms as it could be carried more easily, bark carriage being one of the services that the factors advised should be retained, as a result.⁵

Much of the woodland area had suffered maltreatment after the Forty-Five according to the factors,⁶ on Lovat and Cromarty especially, though Stobhall in Cargill parish was also mentioned in this respect, but the woods

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1. E729/8, pp. 152-153.
 2. F.R. Cromarty 14, 25-6-1779.
 3. Wills, Reports. If one consults the index, one finds that trees and woods are mentioned throughout.
 4. E777/244, p.37.
 5. E777/244, pp. 22, 29, 37; E738/58, p.8.
 6. E729/1, pp. 10, 15, 24; E777/244, p.52.

demanded continuous attention to preserve them from the depredations of tenants and their stock. Tenants were so convinced of their rights to various perquisites from the woods, such as brushwood for firing and timber for their houses¹ that Barcaldine was moved to the suggestion that only sealing off the Stobhall woods would save them.² The proprietors were not blameless for one at least of the previous proprietors of the annexed estates, Robertson of Struan, was said to have taken 'a very fatherless care' of his valuable fir wood, the Black Wood of Rannoch,³ supposed to be over 2,000 acres.⁴ He not only cut more than he needed himself but allowed his tenants to cut indiscriminately, but then John Williams, the mineral surveyor in 1771, thought that woods were neglected all over the Highlands.⁵ Indeed, successful forestry calls for as much specialised skill and care - in planting, weeding, thinning and appropriate felling - as any other use of land and this the commissioners set out to supply, like any other improver of the time.

The first essential was to discipline the tenants in their use of woods or perhaps one should say their abuse, and another priority was to ensure that tacksmen kept to their contracts. Thomas Campbell was appointed baron bailie on the Perth estate in November 1755 at £5 per annum but concurrently his work as overseer of wood grieves and woods was much more highly rated at £15. For this he was expected to see that the underkeepers were diligent, which would involve watching the tenants' behaviour, and ensuring that purchasers of the woods kept to their contracts.⁶ The supervision of contract work was no empty gesture for several lessees lost their contracts, for they had not cut at the prescribed time⁷ and complaints were made about too high or too much cutting.⁸ The commissioners were also prepared

1. E729/1, p.70.

3. E784/84/1, p.8.

5. F.R. Lovat 11.

7. E777/84/85.

2. E777/244, p.52.

4. Robertson, Perth, p.235.

6. E726/1.

8. E721/4, p.171.

to look for methods of distracting the tenants from their depredations on the woods and several ideas appeared such as planting the tenants' yards with timber for their building¹ and Lord Kames' notion that firs might be planted near Callander purely for fuel.² Goats were the great menace to plantations and there was apparently no compunction on the part of the Board in having any that did appear killed.³

They also began a positive programme of building new nursery gardens and repairing established ones to provide young trees for their own use and for sale to neighbouring proprietors at Drummond, Beauly, Callander, Balloch.⁴ These were under the care of specially appointed gardeners and they hoped to economise by finding men who could measure land, so that they could help tenants lay out their ground, something that surveyors usually had to do.⁵ They also spent a great deal of money on enclosing and planting moors, on the Lowland Division of the Perth estate alone, between 1768 and 1784, £1,900.7.10½.⁶, and on Small's division of the estate, by 1773, about £1,000 had been spent on planting.⁷

It would be too much to expect that the programme of afforestation would have progressed without any halt and it is not surprising to find several mishaps. The first gardener at Drummond, John Bruce, had to be dismissed for indolence;⁸ the gardener at the colony of Strelitz was reported to have planted trees so badly that half went bad, though this was refuted.⁹ The sawmill at Carie, rebuilt in 1759 to replace the 'Gothic' construction there¹⁰ was perpetually in arrears, probably because the tacksman was also a drover.¹¹ Tenants with leases had to accept the reservation by the commissioners to enclose woods without receiving any abatement of

1. F.R. Perth 39.

2. F.R. Perth 17.

3. F.R. G.M. 117. 3/- for watching for and killing goats in young plantations about Callander.

4. E721/6, p.66; E723/2, p.171; E721/7, p.246; F.R. Perth 20; List of trees sold to Stirling of Keir from Balloch.

5. E723/2, p.10.

6. E777/324, 325.

7. F.R. Perth 32, 25-1-1773.

8. E721/7, p.79.

9. E721/24, p.105.

10. E721/4, p.189; E783/58.

11. E777/340/7.

rent for what they lost thereby, such as the grazing¹ but long-established traditions were hard a-dying and Frennd expressed concern in 1780 about the prevailing habit of the tenants of peeling the bark of trees, which was as bad for young trees as goats were.² Few of the plantations, however, seemed to do too badly, though 93 acres of firs failed one year because of a bad over-dry season,³ and the Board's work here compares well with that of other proprietors in an age that thought of planting trees in millions, not hundreds. Wight claimed that every eminence near Castle Downie on General Fraser's estate had been planted by the Board and furthermore all were prospering.⁴ And Frennd's comments on the woods between 1780 and 1784 must have sounded like a paeon of praise in the Board's ears after his somewhat damping views on the progress of general agricultural improvements. Most of the woods unlike the houses, the cattle and the crops, were 'tolerably well kept', 'promising well' or 'in good order'!⁵

1. E737/19; E723/1, p.18.
3. F.R. Lovat & Cromarty 5.
5. E777/252.

2. E777/305(1), p.143.
4. Wight, Husbandry, iv, part 1, p.216.

3. ASSESSMENT

How can we measure the success or failure of the commissioners' agricultural policy? Not, I think, by merely counting up the money that was spent on diking, and improvements generally or by counting the length of dikes that were built. We must look at comments made by inspectors during the annexation, by reporters such as Andrew Wight, and also we must consider accounts of the areas involved in the annexation after 1784. Factors' reports of what was going on must be treated with a certain amount of reserve, for they had their reputations and their positions to consider. The General Inspector, Archibald Menzies of Culdares, toured the estates each summer from 1765 to 1768, visiting parts of Perth in the first three years, Struan in 1765 and 1767, Lovat and Cromarty in 1766 and 1768 and Barrisdale in 1768, having hired a ship, the 'Woodhall' for this last expedition.¹ Better paid than the factors, at £150 p.a. with one guinea allowed daily for expenses,² independent and self-confident, his reports serve as an interim commentary of the progress made on the estates, at about the half-way mark. Despite his apologia at the introduction to his first report, that 'As this employment is entirely new to me, I hope the Honourable Board will pardon the many mistakes I shall make'³ he was quite prepared to make pungent comments on the Board's policies as well as on the tenants' and factors' reactions.

His first point was that conditions varied greatly in different parts

1. E741/40, p.1.

3. E729/8, p.15.

2. E721/8, p.69.

of the estates, but at the same time, he seemed to consider all the tenantry as basically 'ignorant, awkward and lazy'¹ who would make it difficult to follow the best general plan of improvement. In his first year's tour, Menzies certainly paints a very mixed picture. One condition was general and that was that the tenants lived poorly and he thought that giving them an unspecified area for garden stuff would help them.² The Board and its officers he criticised first for indiscriminately establishing subtenants as King's tenants, as many of them were only suited to being servants.³ Secondly they had not cleared marches with neighbours before beginning enclosing. Some good dikes were being built but many were indifferent⁴ and dividing farms did not automatically lead to improved farming, for in Auchterarder Barony, divided, the tenants were no improvers,⁵ while Callander undivided was full of improving, if quarrelsome tenants, some of whom had even stopped making a distinction between infield and outfield, which was very advanced farming in the 1760's.⁶ Muthill, as usual, was farther back in farming than any other area.⁷

There were farms where the tenants 'took care to overstock'⁸ but in Lovat and Cromarty, where the tenants were mostly idle and the few tradesmen described as 'the dregs of the country', several tenants had wholly enclosed their farms.⁹ Later, in the barony of New Tarbat, however, he had to admit that only one tenant showed any interest in improvement.¹⁰ Charles Dundas had written in July, 1762, that all the tenants on the estate of Perth were bad farmers,¹¹ and though Menzies does not give quite the same impression, he did comment that one man, John Dun, showed a spirit and intelligence rarely to be met with in that country.¹² The few years between Dundas' writing and Menzies' inspection may have seen some improvement in the

1. E729/8, p.17.
3. E729/8, p.123.
5. E729/8, p.34.
7. E729/9, p.89.
9. E729/8, p.140.
11. F.R. Perth 17.

2. E729/8, p.9.
4. E729/8 passim.
6. E729/8, pp. 52-62.
8. E729/8, p.138.
10. E729/10, p.2.
12. E729/8, p.50.

tenants' attitudes, but it is noticeable that Andrew Wight from 1774 and William Frend in his reports from 1780-84 consistently convey the impression that most of the good farmers they met with were either tenants on or proprietors of other estates. Thirteen years of formal annexation had made little difference to Monaltry, too, where the tenants were 'the most beggarly wretches' who scoured a poor light soil with one crop of barley and two of oats.¹

The one truly encouraging report on the progress of improvements was on Struan, where Menzies was able to say that it gave him great pleasure to see the remarkable change in the country since his last visit about five years previously, presumably before he was employed as Inspector. He had a cheerful tale to tell of farms divided, cattle and sheep soumed, head fences of timber, stone houses and dikes replacing the universal creel huts previously seen. Admittedly farming utensils were still poor, but a plough and cartwright had settled at Kinloch so it would be possible to train an apprentice. In a period of five years, short in breeding terms, it was unlikely that the cattle would show much signs of increase in size or milk yield, but the arrangements being made to bring in bulls from Skye, where a standard higher than the usual Highland one was maintained were expected to improve the breed.²

Andrew Wight was the next semi-independent observer to set out on a tour of the estates to report on their conditions. It is somewhat surprising, considering the amount that had already been spent on surveys and on Menzies' inspections, to find Lord Kames proposing in 1773 that still another survey and inspection should be undertaken. Admittedly, on this occasion, special attention was to be paid to the corn farms on the estates, but most of the information the Board asked him to report on could have been discovered from the factors; methods of culture, instru-

1. E729/10/1.
3. E721/11, p.114.

2. E729/8, pp.94 ff.

ments of husbandry, types of grain sown, the return and the manure used, the climate and seasons, the price of labour and provisions, and how far farms lay from markets. However, as his reports were eventually published as The Present State of Husbandry in Scotland, historians should perhaps not quibble, though the immediate returns for his labours may not have been commensurate with the expense.

Wight set out on August 12th, 1773, and his preface in the published work was very optimistic. Fifty years ago, he pontificated, such a survey would have been of no avail, because the practice was the same everywhere. Fifty years hence, he thought nothing would remain to be learned.¹ Certainly, a great deal remained to be learned still on the annexed estates. He started off in Stobhall, which had been life-rented to the Dowager of Perth, who was not an improving farmer; some years after her death it was said that she would not bestow a farthing on repairs of any kind, for if her beads were in order all was well.² She had sold marl to her own tenants,³ but under the Board's management for only a year this part of the estate was hardly likely to be a model, and so it proved. All the usual features of unimproved farming practices could be illustrated in the Barony of Stobhall,⁴ and even Alexander Robertson of Brunty whom Menzies had singled out for praise for his energetic building and planting⁵ had corn no better than his neighbours, and as full of weeds.⁶

The next part of the Perth estate he visited was the Barony of Auchterarder. The Board had been in charge here since 1755, and though the tenants seemed to be industrious and ready to change their methods there was not a vast difference between Auchterarder and Stobhall. The ditches

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1. Wight, Husbandry i. Preface, pp. ix, xii.
 2. F.R. Perth 31C - Letter from Pat. Alison from Newhall, dated 15.11.1781, to the factor complimenting him on what had been achieved but pointing out that much still remained to be done as the late Dowager's absorption in religion had prevented any improvements on Stobhall.
 3. E777/269/2.
 4. Wight, Husbandry, i. pp. 3 onwards.
 5. E729/8, p.32.
 6. Wight, Husbandry, i. p.21.

that had been dug to enclose farms had been poorly planned and were now half-filled with earth that had been allowed to fall in.¹ Even hard-working farmers either used the same methods of cultivation as their neighbours and so got not much more produce though they had enclosed² or they overcropped.³ In Kinbuck, Wight reckoned that the enclosure had been carried out 'without any judgement' and that the tenants were reaping no benefits from the interest they were paying. He suggested that if the Board was serious in having ground properly enclosed, what was already done would have to be abandoned.⁴ However, in 1755, there had been no enclosures in the Barony so division and enclosures, even if unsatisfactory by the high standards of Wight of Ormiston, must be considered an improvement.⁵

When he reached Callander in the summer of 1774, it was seen that the slightly more efficient and energetic tenants there had maintained their superiority, described in earlier reports. Wight assumed that the greater enterprise thereabouts was the result of the presence of Mr. Small who had a small tenement near Callander. Small was a popular factor, who among other gifts was an amateur physician, and according to Wight the tenants tried to please him by keeping their farms in order.⁶ In this assumption, however, he underestimated the inhabitants for they had shown signs of interest in better husbandry when Menzies visited there, some years before, and their very quarrelsome reputation makes one suspect the likelihood of such agreeable behaviour; almost ten years later, when Frennd supervised the estates of Perth, he mentioned good crops, well-kept houses, and the use of lime there, but he was critical of their dikes and ditches, lack of repairs, and only middling-well grazed cattle.⁷ But there were few better farmers on the estates. Indeed, Wight eventually remarked in some despair, that he had had occasion to mention so much imperfect husbandry, he would close with

1. Wight, Husbandry, i. pp. 60, 87. 2. Wight, Husbandry, i. pp. 60 ff.
3. Wight, Husbandry, i. p. 114. 4. Wight, Husbandry, i. p. 131.
5. E777/244, p. 42.
6. Wight, Husbandry, i. pp. 140, 143, 154.
7. E777/252.

some instances of good - but these were not on the annexed estates.¹

The Board found Wight's survey sufficiently interesting and useful to employ him on a similar study of the whole of Scotland and it was 1780 before his travels took him to any more of the annexed estates. He set off then for the far north of Scotland and from his reports it would be difficult to believe that in the county of Cromarty, there was an estate under the control of his employers, that touched east and west coasts. The extensive lands of the family of the erstwhile Earl of Cromarty were never mentioned and the only reference to the annexed estates is in connection with the subsidy made through George Ross, the Cromarty improver and entrepreneur, towards building Cromarty harbour.² The Board may not have totally forgotten the existence of their most northerly responsibilities but in the last ten or twelve years of the annexation, there is a marked diminution of interest as illustrated by the decrease in the volume of records relating to this period.³

Wight's comment too that the inhabitants on the estate of Lovat had been reclaimed by the commissioners from ignorance and indolence⁴ must be weighed against the information Menzies gives about the comparable behaviour of the old and new tenants there.⁵ None of the original tenants by 1766 had done anything about improving their farms, and Wight himself states a few pages later, that Beauly, on the Lovat estate, furnished 'not a single good example of husbandry'.⁶ A few years before, Alexander Shaw, the manufacturer at Glenmoriston, had categorised the people of Beauly as an 'idle, drunken set' whom he would have removed to make way for industrious tenants.⁷ The afforestation on Lovat, round Castle Downie, was successful, however, and General Fraser who had had his ancestral lands returned to him in 1774 was

1. Wight, Husbandry, i. p.160 ff.

2. Wight, Husbandry, iv. part 1, p.256. 3. E746/70-198; E787/9-41.

4. Wight, Husbandry, iv. part 1, pp. 215-6.

5. E729/8, pp. 108, 109.

6. Wight, Husbandry, iv. part 1, p.226. 7. F.R. Lovat 10, 22-1-1780.

beginning to give nineteen year leases.¹ So far, we must agree from such evidence, that as Professor Youngson says, improvement had only begun.²

In the same year that Wight made his way north, the Board decided to revive the post of General Inspector. The Perth bridge was no longer absorbing its annual subsidy so the salary for the post was once again available.³ Adam Drummond of Gardrum was duly appointed and took a salary but what he did for it is difficult to discover. From 1780 onwards there are detailed descriptions of the estate of Perth from William Frennd appointed to advise on improvements there.⁴ He traversed several parts of Perthshire more than once in the few years to 1784. There were undoubted signs of improvements, though Frennd's comments on the astonishing change that took place between his first appearance in 1780 and in his last reports may be treated with some reserve, as special pleading. There were some well-kept houses and mills, e.g. Drummond;⁵ the tenants of Stobhall were 'becoming fond of clover' and were sowing rape, while Robert McNeil in Balloch got two bolls more yield to the acre than before he marled.⁶ Even the Muthill tenants were beginning to enclose; beginning, it may be noticed, in 1780.⁷ However, the Muthill houses were not recommended and they had dreadful cattle.⁸ Auchtermuthil tenants were condemned as indolent and cultivated their ground 'after the worst manner I ever saw'.⁹ In 1783 he was able to say there had been some changes for the better, including the sowing of clover and rye-grass, for which he implicitly claimed credit,¹⁰ but these annual reports make it clear what uphill work it was to introduce new methods.¹¹ One aspect of the Board's policy met with his approval; the hill farms of

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1. Wight, Husbandry, iv. part 1. pp. 212, 216.
 2. A.J. Youngson, After the Forty-Five (Edinburgh, 1973), p.41. Hereafter, Youngson Post Forty-Five.
 3. See Chapter V. 2.
 4. E777/252, 305(1).
 5. E777/305(1), p.29.
 6. E777/305(1), p.7.
 7. E777/305(1), pp.9 ff.
 8. E777/305(1), pp. 26-28.
 9. E777/305(1), p.26.
 10. E777/280/6.
 11. E777/252.

Easter and Wester Glentarken were apparently successful and he thought them of much greater value than lowland farms on account of the low management costs.¹

It seems likely that Thomas Keir, the factor on the Lowland Division of Perth was not the best of farmers, whatever his other merits, and without good examples, tenants were not usually inclined to improvements. Keir had overdone the quantities of marl on his grounds, so that his corn was rank.² In 1780 and 1781, Strathgartney, under Campbell, was in better condition, though better soil would help in Balquhidder,³ but unfortunately, in 1783, he could report mostly only dike-making, though one farm had good turnips. Back in Stobhall, the dikes, badly built in the first place, were going to ruin and only Lady Rachel Drummond continued improvements; the others had shot their bolt and were doing no more.⁴

There were undoubtedly improvements in farming practice and changes in organisation on the annexed estates under the Board's management. How much was achieved, particularly by comparison with the work of other improving landlords, is difficult to assess. Negative evidence is not without worth and it is perhaps significant that only one writer reporting for the Board of Agriculture from 1794 paid the Board of Commissioners for the Annexed Estates any compliment on their management of the estates. This was Robert Heron, who did not inspect any of the counties wherein the estates lay.⁵ Those writing about Central and Southern Perthshire, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty were suspiciously silent.⁶ Agricultural change, by its nature, and in the eighteenth century, by the nature of the human material involved as well as the animal and vegetable, was bound to be a slow process. That James Robertson found a great deal of the land between Stirling and

1. E777/305(1), p.42.

2. E777/305(1), p.45 (second section).

3. E777/305(1), p.95.

4. E777/252.

5. Heron, Hebrides, p.10.

6. Robertson, Marshall, Sinclair, etc. in their Reports to the Board of Agriculture.

Crieff for the most part unimproved in 1771, much of this annexed, only sixteen years after the appointment of the commissioners, is not too reprehensible.¹ Whether the Board should have been quite so slow in some of its reactions is something that is more open to criticism.

In 1774, Lord Kames produced a paper of comments on Andrew Wight's report of that year, but also including his reaction to Menzies' reports of the late 1760's. Highly critical of Scottish agriculture generally, he expressed the hope that if the commissioners persevered in their plans, they would be a blessing to their country. But the Board for the Annexed Estates was to have only another ten years of life, and at this point, two-thirds of the way through its existence, even in Perthshire, he had to talk of spirits depressed by poverty, though rents were low; of tenants who showed no activity in and had no knowledge of cultivating their lands well. 'They languidly go on in the old beaten track and it never enters their thoughts that there is a better method'. Nineteen years of state control, exhortation, and encouragement had so far little to show for all its efforts in that area where most might have been expected.²

The Perth estate was that one nearest good farming practice, where the previous proprietor had made some token steps at least in the direction of improvement; one would have thought it was the most likely place for displaying change, and yet ten years later still, Frennd's descriptions of conditions do not convince one that thirty years of expenditure had achieved significant results. Admittedly the Board started off with unfriendly tenantry, poorly-husbanded land, and a tradition of lethargy, but other proprietors in the same area faced almost identical problems and Wight's comments on the estates of neighbours like the Duke of Atholl and the Marquis of Breadalbane, do not show the annexed estates shining by comparison. Hugh

1. N.L.S. Ms. 2508, f.149.

2. E730/47.

Seton of Touch had been in possession of his lands only sixteen years when Wight visited him in 1777, and while he was certainly working with potentially rich carse land, it had been worn out when he went into it; his tenants were as ignorant and indolent as those on the annexed estates; and yet he had worked wonders.¹ Of work done on the annexed estates, a similar comment was made only by Menzies and only on Struan.

It would be unjust to assess the Board's work by what happened on those estates that remained under the Barons of the Exchequer until 1770, but those were the most remote, the least advanced in agriculture, and presumably most in need of all the processes the annexation was meant to set in motion. Yet following the surveys made immediately after the legal rights the subjects superior were bought over, no inspector visited them; there were few reports thereafter. Certainly leases were granted very quickly on Lochiel,² Cluny,³ Kinlochmoidart,⁴ Lochgarry (from 1778),⁵ Callart,⁶ and Ardsheal,⁷ but as we have seen leases were no guarantee of improvement, especially on estates so far away from immediate supervision. The return of the Lovat estate to the Fraser family may well have caused a certain lack of interest in very active policy, especially on the estates newly acquired in 1770, and possibly even an unspoken assumption that if all the estates were to be returned, then members of the respective families could well be left to make the best of them. Certainly in 1774, the whole of Ardsheal except Ardsheal farm itself and Lettermore was leased to the family.⁸ Four years later, Francis Farquharson of Monaltry was offered the factorship of his own estate though he refused it, suggesting his nephew William Farquharson of Bruxie instead,⁹ and while Monaltry was not in the same category as these other estates, having been under the Board since its

1. Wight, Husbandry, iii, part I, pp. 344-5.

2. E768/76.

3. E745/57.

4. E764/32.

5. E767/44.

6. E743/22.

7. E737/27.

8. E737/19/2.

9. E773/42.

appointment in 1755, this step may be another pointed to the direction in which the Board's collective mind was working.

More reprehensible, and something that must be a charge against the efficiency of the Board's management, we find their comparative neglect of the estate of Cromarty especially in later years. In 1779 the abstracted rental shows only £7.11.9. being paid in interest on money advanced for improvements when the total rental was £772.18.10 $\frac{8}{12}$.¹ And this is the first rental of those available that shows any expenditure of this sort on the estates. Rents had been raised but apparently only on the basis of increased valuation that took place all over the estates in the 1770's.² There had been discouraging reports on Coigach, except for Jeffrey's consistent belief that sheep would flourish there, and in 1772-1773, the surveyor, David Aitken, thought that the Forest of Coigach at least justified no expenditure whatsoever, even planting.³ Lord Macleod, the eldest son of George third Earl of Cromarty, who received his father's estates on the disannexation, is said to have had to begin their restoration, as Tarbat had been 'much dilapidated' during the forfeiture.⁴

Comparison with other improving proprietors, implicit in Wight's survey, for example, are not wholly encouraging. Nor did the estates pass highly in what Malcolm Gray calls 'the true test of the progress and importance of improvement' the response of the small man⁵. Nor did all their neighbours; a history of Monzievaird and Strowan written in 1784 talks of the failure of the inhabitants to follow the gentlemen in fallowing and sowing turnips and grass.⁶ What can probably be said is that the annexed estates made as much progress as the average by 1784⁷. Not all landlords were improvers and not

1. E746/72/11.

3. E746/171.

5. Gray, Highland Economy, p.78.

6. Adv. Ms. 31.1.2., p.50.

2. E746/72/9.

4. Fraser, Cromartie, 1, p.cclvii.

7. Cf. Handley, Scottish Farming passim.

all improvers were successful, in either the Highlands or the Lowlands. The commissioners were not alone in making mistakes and misjudgements. Captain Lawrence Day, for example, who was factor to Mackenzie of Delvine, was also allowed £200 by the Board for improvements, as well as being involved in training apprentices.¹ Mackenzie however became increasingly worried about Day's competence, complaining that whatever his genius, he was idle and his farm was going to waste and destruction. He thought that Day, who was a plausible Irishman, had gained no advantage and Mackenzie had lost much; moreover Day had apparently left his wife in financial straits.² His example may have influenced Lord Kames' later views, for he wrote of Campbell of Shawfield's agricultural plans that the idea of attracting skilled farmers to remote areas had a plausible appearance but seldom succeeded. He thought it was not skilful farmers who would be attracted but adventurers who were not successful at home.³ Instead he recommended employment of an overseer who was experienced in looking after gentlemen's grounds.

The Board took this advice themselves in some measure. They attempted to compensate for the lack of personal supervision by appointing overseers of various kinds and standards; Charles Dundas was director for a time of improvements on the estate of Perth,⁴ William Roy on Struan,⁵ and at the top of their pyramid of inspection, the General Inspectors, Francis Grant, Archibald Menzies and finally, Adam Gordon. It was unfortunate that the commissioners did not accept the logic of their earlier appointments and left the position of General Inspector vacant so long between Menzies' resignation in 1770 and 1780. It was a mistake, as Frenn point out and the commissioners accepted, for frequent inspections and dread of an unfavourable report to the Board could have acted as a 'spur and an auband' (awe-band) to the tenants.⁶

1. E730/45/2.

2. NLS. Ms. 1259.

3. E727/60/2.

4. E721/5, p.7.

5. E721/9, p.134. He was paid 1/6 per day.

6. E777/280/5.

The Board included many articulate improvers, Lord Kames perhaps outstanding, and certainly one of the more active commissioners, but in the last analysis, they were absentee landlords, and further, absentees who did not hand over to their factors the absolute control that many proprietors did, notably the Sutherland family.¹ This could lead to abuse, but lack of support for factors did not help efficiency.² An energetic, popular factor like Small on Struan, assisted by an overseer specially appointed for agricultural duties, could overcome the handicap of there being no resident proprietor to a great extent, but it is at least arguable that private landowners, with a personal interest in their estates, would have been just as effective as improvers as an Edinburgh board, however capable, enlightened and and successful individual members might be on their own estates. If any single cause were to be picked on for the lack of overwhelming success in achieving agricultural change and improvement, it should probably be this one, the absence of resident proprietors.

In thirty years of control, the state might have expected more from such an eminent group of improvers as comprised the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates but it must in all fairness be remembered that simple agricultural efficiency was not the sole or even the first aim of the annexation. The commissioners were never free agents, restricted initially by the terms of the Annexing Act which faced them with the dilemma of weighing efficiency against the possibility of achieving the 'happiness of the tenants' and their loyalty to the Hanoverians. After 1774, there was always present the realisation that the annexation might be overturned so that long-term policies would never come to fruition. It was not the best recipe for agricultural improvement.

1. R.J. Adam, Sutherland Estate Management, 1802-1816 (Edinburgh, 1972). Hereafter, Adam, Sutherland.
2. Cf. Chapter I, 2.

Chapter IV

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

1. TEXTILES

The Annexed Estates Board was not the first nor the last organisation, public or private, to try to introduce industries - as well as industry! - and manufactures into the Highland economy. Miss Dean points out that "One of the most surprising and indeed one of the most pathetic features of Scottish political life in the seventeenth century is the persistence with which even in the midst of dangers of all kinds, those who are anxious to foster Scottish industries kept urging their plans".¹ Even in 1641, there was a scheme by the Estates to promote industry and to set up a system of technical education. But in 1755, it was still possible to agree with Wodrow, who had remarked earlier "I have seen frequent attempts of this nature come to very little".²

Long before the half-century mark, landowners had begun to take an active interest in improving not only their lands but the whole economy of their estates and the surrounding country. Cockburn of Ormiston, Joseph Cumine and most significantly in this context, James Drummond, the titular Duke of Perth, were among those who tried, perhaps only instinctively, to produce a balanced economy in their estates. Drummond established a large

1. Dean, Spinning Schools, p.9.

2. R. Wodrow, Analecta, iii. p.319. Quoted by Miss Dean.

linen factory at Perth, which was destroyed by the military guarding the town in 1746,¹ and he had also built a "large house for carrying on a linen manufacture" in Crieff.² New industries needed new implements and new craftsmen readily available to make and mend more elaborate tools than the natives were accustomed to handling. A new type of society was also an essential.

So these heritors built small towns, feuing out land to craftsmen, who would be provided with a house and a piece of ground. Wheelwrights, spinners, weavers, blacksmiths, would grow on their crofts the primary products necessary to feed their families, but as their main occupation, they would be expected to practise their crafts, repair the tools of the less skilled and in addition train apprentices. On the annexed estates, Callander was a Drummond creation,³ and Crieff's redevelopment after 1716 was largely due to that family. Other proprietors worked on a smaller scale. Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, for example, on whose grounds the Board of Trustees had established a spinning school at Lochcarron, was reported by John Neilson, the Trustee's inspector as having given out wheels and reels to his tenants⁴ and he had also asked the S.S.P.C.K. for assistance in establishing tradesmen.⁵ There was great concern, at this time, to wean the Highlanders from what Lowlanders and Englishmen considered their "long habit of sloth and inactivity" and reconcile them to the love of labour, industry and good order. Nor was there any lack of ideas as to how this should be accomplished.

In this atmosphere, the factors, in 1755, reported among other matters, on the progress of manufactures in the estates. The references are minimal and discouraging. From east to west, the same tale is told, but further away from "civilisation" as it was understood south of the Tay,

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1. William Marshall, Historic Scenes in Perthshire (Edinburgh, 1880) p. 291.
 2. E777/213.
 3. R.H.P. 3414.
 4. S.R.O. N.G. 1/7 iv. p.43.
 5. Mason, Rural Education, p.19.

the less likelihood was there that the factor could describe any profitable commerce or industry. In Monaltry, the "generality of the people are idly inclined", and commerce and industry are "come to no great length" - not surprising considering the size of the estate.¹ On Struan, the factor, James Small declared that commerce and manufactures could scarcely be said to have reached Rannoch but he could say that there had been some improvement, in that "the women who were wont to do nothing but look after the cattle when the men were idle or perhaps worse employed", had betaken themselves to spinning and industry, especially in the winter, and the men looked after the cattle. In addition, he thought that the men were "labouring their grounds and of late do many things about the family which were formerly lookt upon by them as women's work but which they chuse to do themselves rather than take the women from the spinning".² A little optimistic perhaps.

Small thought a village at Kinloch Rannoch was a necessity but, discreetly, found himself "unequal to the task of saying what should or should not be done in Rannoch".³ One reasonable if not wholly practicable recommendation he did make was that several types of manufactures should be introduced to give the youth of the neighbourhood their choice of occupation.

In Cromarty, in the barony of New Tarbat, there was some spinning; in Strathpeffer, the women "spin but little" and were quite idle in winter.⁴ In the estate of Lovat, manufactures were introduced partly in Kirkhill, but little progress had been made in Kiltarlity, though there were plenty of stills!⁵ In the smaller estates, farther west, Kinlochmoidart and Barrisdale, spinning was hardly mentioned.⁶ In Barrisdale, the only commerce was the sale of black cattle and the exchange of butter and cheese for oatmeal from Skye. No linen was made and the multiplicity of whisky stills was one reason, it was suggested, for the poverty of the inhabitants.⁷

1. E729/1, p.108.

3. E783/84/1, pp. 12-13.

5. E729/1, p.21.

7. E729/1, pp. 70, 71.

2. E783/84/1, p.9.

4. E729/1, pp. 4, 6, 7.

6. E729/1, pp. 65-74, 81.

It is only when we come south to the Drummonds' extensive lands in Perthshire, that commerce, industry and manufactures, in the accepted sense of the word and then in only the most rudimentary way, became a part of ordinary life. And in this forty-six mile wide estate, in the western, most Highland parts, in the barony of Lix, in the parish of Killin, and in Balquhidder, there was "no commerce or public manufactures", though the inhabitants did buy lint for the women to spin. The yarn was sold and this was their only way in a subsistence economy of making money. One of the few references to wool-spinning relates to Balquhidder, but in this rather damp part of Scotland, the plentiful water was unfortunately inconveniently situated for bleaching,¹ so that the linen manufacture was handicapped.

The Duke of Perth's foundation, Callander, was in a better position, since the opening of some communications between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, and the factors felt it was reasonable to hope for some development there. A few craftsmen had settled on the feus granted by Lord James Drummond and linen yarn was the principal commodity at the yearly fairs. Strathgartney had two meal mills and "a good deal" of linen yarn was spun. The same pattern emerged in Comrie and Strowan parishes. In Muthill the honesty of the inhabitants was admitted - the very fact of this being mentioned may be a testimony to the rarity of such a quality - but alas, they showed industry only in spinning linen yarn and in watering their grounds.² This latter activity would seem to be a singularly unnecessary pastime in Perthshire.

Stobhall, life-rented to the Dowager-Duchess of Perth, had no sort of commerce, other than three meal mills and linen yarn, spun and unusually woven into cloth.³ In Auchterarder, there were some signs of commercial initiative, a number of shops selling small merchandise, and there were some middlemen, for some were described as "buying linen yarn up and down

1. E777/244, passim.

2. E777/244, p.36.

3. E777/244, p.49.

the country which they send to Glasgow".¹

The town of Crieff, however, was obviously considered the most promising spot in the whole of the annexed estates, if not in the whole Highland area, Inverness excepted. There was a large amount of Perth property there, in the Barony of Milnab, and it seemed at the time the most thriving, certainly the largest population centre, in the estates. It was the hub of the road system; there were already established merchants in linen, wool, skins, dealers in victuals; there was a fair, a convenient gathering place for merchants, farmers and pedlars; the drovers gathered near Crieff; there were tradesmen of all sorts - bakers, butchers, wheelwrights. A fairly sophisticated town for eighteenth century Scotland!

The factor quite clearly thought this a splendid place. There was even a surplus labour supply and he recommended a spinning and stocking-knitting school, as there were "crowds of little girls here that stroll about the streets playing at hand ball" and other such employments and diversions who would be much better guided into industry.²

Already, quantities of yarn were brought to Crieff to be sold and sent to Paisley and Glasgow. Why not manufacture it on the spot? A tannery could be built and should do well as there was plenty of bark as well as a good supply of skins.³ His excitement and enthusiasm must have been infectious.

Among the statistics the factors were asked to provide in the early years, was the numbers of persons in each estate able to spin.⁴ Not a surprising request, considering the obsession with the linen trade, but one's sympathies must be with the factor struggling round the remoter parts of Kinlochmoidart, for example, trying to find how many of the antagonistic natives could use a spinning wheel or even a rock! However, they all

1. E777/244, p.46.
3. E777/244, p.59.

2. E777/244, p.58.
4. E721/2, p.42.

managed to produce some figures: 2376 on Perth out of a total population on the estate of 6191, 112 of 293 on Arnprior, 73 of 249 on Barrisdale, 488 of 2199 in Strathpeffer, 389 of 1253 on Struan, but in Kinlochmoidart, none claimed such skill.¹

As with all the more complicated or "civilised" pursuits, the nearer to central Scotland, the more prevalent the skill, even within the estates that showed embryonic industry. In Auchtermuthil, 25 of the population of 55 were marked down as spinners; the proportion in the north-west of the Perth estate must have been much lower. Nothing is said in this purely statistical reckoning of the quality of the spun yarn, but that it was generally indifferent stuff, we can fairly assume from later reports and from occasional remarks by the inspectors and manufacturers who corresponded with the commissioners in later years, when it may be hoped some improvement had been made. When James Glass asked to be made an Inspector under the Trustees, in 1768, his memorial stated that "Most of the yarn spun in his neighbourhood is so ill-spun it is unfit for any branch of the linen manufacture".²

Once more using the factors' information in front of them, the Board set to work. Various influences combined to keep their industrial plans within the fairly narrow paths marked out by the Board of Trustees and other improvers. Many of the commissioners were also members of other groups, notably the Board of Trustees. Central government control of financial outlay with resultant delays in releasing funds for industrial development was a considerable disadvantage and a restraining influence. The limited financial resources available from the incomes of the estates came as a surprise; this was a very severe handicap and one that was not immediately appreciated by everyone involved. The end result was a decided lack of originality in the Annexed Estates Board's approach to all industrial development.

1. E729/3.

2. E777/203/4.

It is probably unreasonable to expect anything else. One needs only consider how many of the active members of the Board were also Trustees¹ to realise that any great divergence in the policies of the two bodies must have indicated either severe opposition from the other commissioners or a high degree of inconsistency in those members who served on both bodies. In any case, whether through lack of confidence in their own knowledge, lack of interest, or quite simply, merely a sensible division of labour, questions regarding industry and manufactures were almost invariably referred to a special committee, not always formally constituted, of members who were also Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries.² This was an amicable arrangement which ensured that the industrial activities of the Annexed Estates Board were in fact merely an extension of the work of the Trustees. But of course, while industry and fishing were the sole interest of the latter group, these aspects of Highland life were only two of the many the commissioners had to deal with, in addition to the day-to-day management of large estates.

The most elaborate of the abortive plans made before 1760 is perhaps worth looking at as it illuminates various facets of the outlook of the commissioners, especially their close adherence to the practices of the Trustees and the scale on which the Board envisaged itself working, before government indifference and financial stringency curtailed such ambition. This was "A plan for establishing and carrying on a manufacturing station at the house of New Tarbat, upon the Annexed Estate of Cromarty", which was expounded in the report to an unresponsive central government in 1757.³

This was a comprehensive scheme, encompassing every branch of the linen industry from the raising of flax to the final bleaching and weaving of the coarse kinds of linen thought to be necessary. An outlay of £4209 over nine years was planned, and during these years it was thought that 900 girls would be taught to spin, while 192 apprentices would learn the various

1. See Appendix D.
3. E723/1, pp. 58-64.

2. E721/6, p.92.

trades of heckling, scutching, bleaching, weaving, under a skilled entrepreneur, who was not expected to make any profit for several years, despite the assistance that was proposed. It was realised that the apprentices would only begin to earn anything towards their keep in the second year of their training, so maintenance was awarded on a sliding scale; bedding, clothes, food, utensils, yarn were all to be provided. Not only the resident apprentices, but the tenants in New Tarbat were to be taught how to prepare the ground for flax and how to crop it. In addition, remembering their mission to "civilise" the inhabitants, the Board "supposed" that a schoolmaster should be appointed to teach the children to read and speak the English language, and to instruct them in "the principles of religion and loyalty to H.M. person and government". The Trustees left religion and education to the S.S.P.C.K. but the moral approach was explicitly ordered for the Board in the Annexing Act.

Lacking approval from the crown, however, this plan came to naught and in any case, it is certain the funds would not have borne such an outlay, without the other activities of the Board being disproportionately curtailed. The failure of this scheme to materialise had one unfortunate effect. The house of New Tarbat was left to become ruinous despite the local doctor's tenancy¹ and according to the O.S.A. writer for Kilmuir Easter, this was a great loss to the area, as it had been "the most elegant and best finished house in the three counties".²

It was inevitable that the main emphasis of the Board would initially, at least, be on encouraging the "staple" of Scotland, the linen trade. All would-be industrial improvers had done so from 1681, when James, Duke of York had passed the first of several acts to aid the trade, but despite this and other legislation, the industry was declining at the beginning of the eighteenth century. There were a variety of reasons for this, the most

1. E746/77/13.

2. O.S.A. vi. 187.

potent perhaps, being the poor quality of linen exported, combined with an exaggerated description of its goodness. Foreign merchants had a not surprising "prejudice" against the Scotch product as a result of the misleading advertising.

From 1727, when the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries was set up, the Board's revenues and later in 1742, the Bounty contributed to the expansion of the industry. The Trustees were justifiably proud of the increase in the quantity of linen produce, but it was perhaps more to their credit that the quality improved because of their practice of appointing stampmasters for the various districts where linen was spun in any appreciable amount.¹ An act of 1727 for "The Better Regulation of the Linen and Hemp Manufactures in Scotland"² had provided for the appointment of stampmasters but it was the Trustees' activities which made this an effective step.

Their most difficult task was that of controlling and expanding the growth of flax, and then its preparation for spinning. Miss Dean declared that very few farmers and crofters had not their field of flax³ but as the Trustees allocated £1500 of their first year's income towards premiums for growing the crop, this statement may need further investigation before being totally accepted.⁴ In addition, once the crop was in the ground, those cultivating it were not as careful as such a difficult crop deserved, and as Patrick Lindsay put it, "Every Fault, every Failure in the Flax is an error of the first Connection not to be cured afterwards by Skill and Labour".⁵ When we consider the agricultural methods of the day, it is not surprising that flax was badly cultivated. A crop that needs care, skill and attention was unlikely to thrive when the humble oat was abused. Not only did much depend on temperature and rainfall, but careful weeding was essential and this was not a very popular occupation among the ordinary farmers in Scotland

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1. H. Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland (Oxford, 1932) p.79. Hereafter Hamilton, Revolution.
 2. 13 George I, c.26.
 3. Dean, Spinning Schools, p.16.
 4. A.J. Warden, The Linen Trade, Ancient and Modern (London, 1864) p.445. Hereafter, Warden, Linen.
 5. Quoted in Hamilton, Revolution, p.80.

in the eighteenth century.

Harvesting too, caused difficulty. There was not general agreement as to the best time for picking. In Scotland, it was believed that the flax should be pulled first when the blossom fell and the General Inspector on the annexed estates was greatly tried by the tenants leaving the crop in the ground until the seeds had developed, as lintseed was such an expense for them. This he was sure "hurt greatly the quality and lessens the quantity of flax".¹ Warden quotes Postlethwayte however, as castigating the more general belief, saying that too quick gathering made for poor flax, as the lint heckled to nothing, having "a fine appearance but no substance".²

The next processes of drying, scutching and heckling were also carried out roughly and imperfectly. The General Inspector also described in horror scutching done by merely beating the flax over the back of a chair with a wooden stick.³ The Trustees had had to tackle this aspect of production too before they could hope for an increase in the manufacture of good-quality, fine linen, so they gave premiums to those who would grow the crop in the first place, employed flax-dressers to teach heckling and scutching, encouraged by prizes any improvement to instruments used for these processes,⁴ established spinning schools and arranged for foreign weavers to come to Edinburgh to teach the art of weaving the fine linen produced abroad. The fine ladies of Edinburgh flocked to Broughton Loan, now Picardy Place, to learn the art - and having accomplished this, gave up practising. This was hardly the aim of the Trustees, but it did show the keen interest existing; or perhaps in this instance it was a whim of fashion!

In their programme for the improvement of the textile industry, we even find industrial espionage. Mrs. Fletcher of Saltoun had gone to Holland especially to discover the secret of fine weaving, and to find the proper

1. E729/8, p.126.
3. E729/8, p.127.

2. Warden, Linen, p.435.
4. Warden, Linen, pp. 448-9.

method of bleaching. Royal approval was also obtained to spend some of their funds in sending a "very ingenious and deserving young man of this country bred in Holland" to procure the secret of this final process. The implication was that he was to use fair or foul means for this purpose. Unfortunately, the Dutch masters "with the greatest secrecy locked up the mystery of whitening from him".¹ Despite the concentration of resources, and specific geographic concentration needed for the bleaching trade, as this report suggests, the "misteries of whitening" were unknown to the Scottish bleachers and remained mysterious until the end of the century, when in 1790, the use of chlorine was discovered.

Other people were also spreading the gospel of industrialisation. In 1738, the S.S.P.C.K. on the grounds presumably that an idle Christian is a "prodigious contradiction" was granted a second patent that enabled the society, primarily an educational and missionary one, to encourage the manufacturing arts as it thought proper.² The Society therefore combined both its functions by establishing spinning schools. Other groups not government sponsored, such as the Glasgow Highland Society and the Honorary Society of Improvers, dating from 1723 were working along the same lines. Small local societies did their best to improve the skills needed in spinning and weaving and the British Linen Company incorporated in 1746, later the British Linen Bank, was notable both for its effectiveness and its longevity. It became a bank as it found this the most practical way of doing business. Initially, the company handed out linen and material to its members and debtors.

Despite all this assistance and encouragement, the industry did not show as much improvement as might have been expected, and no doubt, there were hopes that the allocation of £3,000 a year for nine years out of the

1. S.R.O. N.G. 1/7. 1. p.234.

2. Mason, Rural Education, p.3.

PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL

unallocated funds of Scotland in 1753 would give added impetus as well as compensation for removal of the bounty in that year.¹ The Trustees planned to use £2,520 of this money to set up four linen manufacturing stations in certain parts of the Highlands, in the shires of Inverness and Ross, "where it has not hitherto been introduced" at an estimated cost of £630 for each station. In the second year, when three of these proposed, at Glenmoriston, Lochbroom and Lochcarron, had been established £420 was allotted to their upkeep. Each one combined technical school and factory and illustrated the policy of the Trustees and later of the Board of Commissioners for the Annexed Estates in encouraging industry. Experienced craftsmen were to be employed to teach the various steps in the process of converting flax into linen yarn and cloth, prizes were to be given for quantity and quality of work produced and wheels and reels were to be distributed by the managers to those who could not attend the schools.² The fourth station proposed for Glenelg never materialised. Robert Campbell who had been appointed to take charge there joined the army and at the end of the Seven Years War, appeared in Callander as a beneficiary of the Annexed Estates Board.³ However, he was never a satisfactory operator being unable to obtain workmen.⁴ The linen round Callander was very bad⁵ and Campbell was eventually threatened with legal action ('diligence') for non-payment of rent.⁶

At each of these stations, a 'principal undertaker', a mixture of manager and entrepreneur, was appointed; Ninian Jeffrey from Kelso was in charge at Lochcarron, John Ross at Lochbroom and Alexander Shaw at Glenmoriston when the Board for the Annexed Estates became actively concerned

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1. It is sometimes said by Professor H. Hamilton among others, that this money came from the Forfeited Estates rents but the act itself (26 George II.c.20) mentions only 'unallocated funds'. The rents of the estates annexed were tied up by 25 George II.c.41.
 2. S.R.O. N/G. 1/7 iv. p.205.
 3. He was awarded £182.10.0 towards promoting the linen industry at Callander, and was also to have houses built at an estimated £261.6.0. E730/15.
 4. E729/8, p.58.
 5. E777/289/2(1).
 6. E777/200/10(1)

with their financial organisation. This involvement arose after the 1753 grant ended. The Trustees had to announce then that the narrowness of their funds obliged them to discontinue the appointments which had been made in former years at Glenmoriston, Lochcarron and Lochbroom. The manufacturers there represented the necessity of continuing aid and asked the Trustees to recommend that the Board for the Annexed Estates should supply the deficiency. The latter body had asked and been granted approval to spend £1200 on encouraging manufactures in the Highlands, and at a meeting on 29th June, 1763, Lord Milton reported that £977 of this sum would have to be paid over to the Secretary of the Trustees, Mr. Flint, to support the three stations already established and to introduce manufactures into Badenoch, Strathspey and Braemurray.¹ This it should be noted tied the hands of the Annexed Estates Board as only £223 was left free for other industrial development, until they received a further note of approval from the Treasury for any of their proposals.

Their report to the King for 1764 gave an account of how this money had been allocated and it includes the following:-²

Lintseed distributed at Lochbroom, Glenmoriston, Lochcarron, Badenoch, Strathspey and Braemurray	£73- 6- 8
Itinerant flax-raisers and dressers at the said stations	£50
Spinning mistresses, ditto	£25
Rent of two spinning schools	£ 6
Maintenance of scholars at said stations	£108
Premiums for scholars	£22-10- 1
Wheels and reels distributed at said stations	£127
For wheelwright	£30
For promoting weaving in Badenoch, Strathspey and Braemurray	£15
For boatmen at Glenmoriston	£10
For employers of spinners for Glenmoriston, Strathspey	£22
For premiums and salary to undertakers	£321-10- 0

1. E721/7, p.89.

2. E723/2, p.63.

Of the £223 left, £6 had been spent on the manufacture of linen thread at Tomperran, £50 on the same at Inverness, £13 for distributing wheels and reels at New Tarbat, and £100 on promoting the spinning of coarse linen there. That left £106-17-11 reserved for any unknown expense at the Trustees' stations, out of the £1200 allowed.

Some years later, in 1766, the Trustees remitted to the Board an account for £306. This expense they had incurred in assistance to linen trade in the Highlands and they represented to the Board that they expected to be entirely relieved of any financial burden in the Highland area as their funds were rather too small for their commitments in the Low Countries.¹ The commissioners accepted this and resolved that when the King authorised the use of a further £1,000 they had asked for manufacturing purposes, they would honour this debt.

From this time, the Trustees had little or no financial interest in industrial development in the Highland parts of Scotland; the Board for the Annexed Estates was the sole official body for promoting manufactures in the Highlands until the disannexation, in 1784, and all would-be entrepreneurs, inventors, tradesmen, were directed to this Board for financial assistance. The Trustees had still some statutory obligations. They were responsible for giving commissions to stampmasters, but when James Glass was appointed in that capacity, in Crieff, in 1768, it was funds from the annexed estates that paid his salary of £5 p.a.² There were other occasions when the two bodies cooperated, as for example in 1770, when the Board gave ground and a house to a hosier in Callander, while the Trustees gave machinery.³

The Trustees had also suggested to the Board that they reward one of the Trustees' clerks, Robert MacPherson, who had invented a machine for dressing flax. The commissioners employed Angus Macdonald to study this and he reported that this machine would obviate many of the dangers in lint mills

1. E727/20/2(1); E721/9, pp. 120, 121.
2. E723/2; 1768 onwards in Manufacturing Expenses.
3. F.R. Perth 41.

where it was a frequent occurrence for men to lose an arm. As both committees approved, Macdonald was awarded £100 provided he did not take out a patent in Scotland for the sole privilege of making and vending the machine.¹

Even before the official transfer of responsibility from the Trustees to the commissioners, there had been some contact between one of the stations, Lochcarron, and the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates. In 1756 a petition was received in Edinburgh on behalf of thirty-eight people who had gone north from Kelso with Ninian Jeffrey, the 'undertaker', the description given to the manager/entrepreneur of the eighteenth century. The petitioners asked for meal from the estate of Cromarty as they had suffered a series of mishaps. First, instead of travelling all the way by sea, they had been forced to disembark at Stonehive (Stonehaven) on account of bad weather and travel overland had used up both their cash and subsistence quicker than they expected. Once arrived at Lochcarron it was found that the architect had misjudged the quantity of lime required for building so they had had to live in earthen houses during the winter. Next their crops were "defeated by the weather". They were obviously feeling very sorry for themselves, though the minister gave attestations of their good behaviour and they claimed to have had a good reception from the local inhabitants.²

The problems of obtaining food supplies where agriculture was carried on at subsistence level was one that faced all would-be industrialists in the Highlands. Alexander Shaw, the undertaker at Glenmoriston, also wrote of the need for meal in 1757³ and returned to the subject in 1770. In a letter recommending another manufacturer, Thomas Munro of Beaully, for the tenancy of a farm, he proposed that the commissioners should maintain a storehouse for meal on the Lovat and Cromarty estates, as he found that the

1. E721/7, p.250.
3. E728/15/2.

2. E728/15/1-3.

people engaged in manufactures were "straitened for meall" and a "good time" was spent travelling round looking for it. He suggested that if his proposal was acted on, manufacturers should have preference in buying this grain.¹ Munro, pleading on his own behalf, declared that there was "no market for ffewel or any kind of vivvers" and his servants had to go looking through the country for food that could sometimes not be found or had to be bought "very dear".² He had not even a kailyard - this seems to show a certain lack of enterprise on his part - and he meant to remove unless the Board rented him a farm and granted him aid in prosecuting his business.

Another logistic problem Munro mentions must have troubled all the manufacturers. This was the need for horses and carriages. The country people were not in the habit of hiring and were often "averse to go". If they did "go", their hires were not very good beasts; but there was no scope for bargaining and what they asked had to be paid!³

The commissioners soon realised that the money spent on the three manufacturing stations had been wasted. The managers kept on producing encouraging figures but they accompanied these by requests for more support. Ross claimed that at Lochcarron 2,500 spindles of yarn had been spun in 1765 and that the quality was improving yearly;⁴ Jeffrey showed in his records from October 1763 to December 1764 the spinning of 2,802 spindles of yarn, 5,188½ lb. of lint and 4,568 lb. of tow and 135 lb. of briards.⁵ He had not produced enough to qualify for the subsidy of 3d. per spindle but he was hoping nevertheless to receive it on the grounds that neither wheels, nor reels nor lint had been seen before his arrival in "this remote corner", that flax had been "extravagantly dear" in Holland, and that he had high carriage costs.⁶

The last question, the difficulty of transport to both the west coast

1. E769/87/1(1).
3. E769/87/1(2).
5. E727/27/1(2).

2. E769/87/1(2).
4. E728/15/16.
6. E727/27/1(1).

situations chosen by the Trustees had been emphasised by their surveyor, John Neilson, who made it quite clear to them that the road system was very poor and that the expense of remedying its deficiencies too great for statute labour to bear. As well as the cross-country roads to Lochbroom and Lochcarron being bad, the main road to Dingwall, Inverness and the south was "so remarkably bad that a horse with a load on his back would find it difficult to travel it."¹ The Trustees chose to ignore his warnings, however, and the painful and expensive business of cutting their losses was left to the Board for the Annexed Estates. Once the latter were responsible, the continuous pleas for more help served only to convince them that further subsidies would merely be a method of throwing good money after bad. The original plan after all had envisaged self-sufficiency of the stations in a comparatively short time.

The final blow was probably dealt by the Inspector's report in 1767-68. He wrote that "Considerable sums have been expended on that country, I am afraid to little purpose farther than it will be easy to teach a person already instructed in spinning yarn, to spin wool". He had visited both Lochbroom and Glen Moriston and learned that Lochcarron was in the same state. "Immense sums of money expended in building magnificent structures to carry on manufactures where there were hardly any inhabitants and to push a branch by high premiums which had fallen to the ground as soon as left to itself as the country has no access to raw materials". He was not so scathing about the outstations of Glenmoriston - "In a most unfit situation itself" - Urquhart, Fort Augustus, The Aird.² When Pennant made his first tour in 1769, he found this reasonably flourishing, reputedly teaching forty girls to spin every three months and operating six looms.³ This is not wholly inconsistent with Menzies' description, as the success of

1. S.R.O. N/G. 1/7 iv. pp. 41, 47.

2. E787/24, pp. 8. 9.

3. T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland in 1769 (Warrington, 1774), p.198. Hereafter, Pennant, 1769.

the outstations would help the viability of the centre, but it closed in 1791.¹ Shaw, the manager there, certainly remained active in the industry long after official support for the station was discontinued and even in 1767, his business was sufficiently healthy for him to be employing more spinning teachers than the number for whom he was allowed salaries.

The importunities of the undertakers did jar on the Board members and Lord Kames was constrained to write to Jeffrey at one point saying that "Mr. Jeffrey himself cannot but know the impracticability of establishing the linen manufacture at those stations that can never support itself without foreign aid".² Jeffrey may well have felt hardly done by, for he claimed to have had support for only five years of the eight promised and to have had to pay out of his own pocket for a wheelwright and an "intaker" - an employee who travelled round collecting spun yarn from the country people.³ But he got cold comfort for the final response was "With regard in general to the two stations at Lochbroom and Lochcarron, we have learned by woeful experience that they are unfit places for carrying on any Branch of the linen manufacture. The climate, the barrenness of the soil, the dearness of all sort of provisions, even oatmeal, the distance from commerce are all of them obstacles which in conjunction are insurmountable. It is for that opinion that I (Lord Kames) am of opinion to abandon these stations altogether and lose no more money upon them".⁴

In retrospect it is incredible that the obstacles mentioned by Kames were not more considered before the stations were built at all and the blindness of the Trustees can only be explained if not excused by the general Scottish obsession of the time with linen and the particular Lowland obsession with the need for the injection of industry into the Highlands.

1. J. Cameron Lees, History of the County of Inverness (Edinburgh, London, 1897), p.212. Hereafter, Lees, Inverness.
2. E746/111/1(3). 3. E746/111/1(1).
4. E746/111/1(3).

The positive results that must have ensued would be the skill gained in spinning by individuals and the small financial gain to the spinners but these were not commensurate with the expenditure.

While the largest outlay on linen manufacture had of necessary¹ been directed towards the three stations inherited from the Trustees and hence wasted, there had been other outlets for the funds. Several manufacturers who operated on a fairly large scale took full advantage of any assistance they could get from the Board. Among these were William Sandeman who had factories and bleachfields near Perth, his associate at New Tarbat and Fortrose, John Montgomery and Duncan Grant. Sandeman and Montgomery had experimented with producing fine yarn, but bad wheels among other things seem to have defeated them. They tried coarse weaving at Fortrose¹ but this did not last long and in 1766 Sandeman was trying to sell the Board the utensils left there.² He was paid for these in 1768³ and they were to be given to Montgomery but it was August 1771 before anything was done about them. As they had been lying outside all this time it is not surprising to find they were worth little - only "where they ly" and some not much even there.⁴

Sandeman wrote uniformly depressing letters to the commissioners. On All Fools' Day, 1763, a letter from him said "I am afraid from my experience herein, it will turn out a loseing trade on account of great outlay of money and charge attending correspondence and distance in transporting flax and yarn".⁵ He thought he was always about £1,000 out in advance which gives some idea of the scale of his business that he could even think of affording this. In January, 1765, he wrote that he had shipped £500 worth of cloth of "sundry fabricks" to London but prices had fallen and he had not

1. E746/138/11.

2. E746/94/8; E727/21/7.

3. E732/9. 26-1-1768.

4. E746/94/8(1); E746/94/7(2). A note of the utensils includes a shaking post and hake for drying yarn, a yarn cooler, yarn 'boams' for shaking and drying, a large 'vatt' with iron hoops, an ash lapping table, a heckling lanthorn and scales, a pot metal boiler for yarn with a broken timber cover, heckles, etc.

5. E746/94/1.

even covered his costs.¹ He added that he was extremely sorry to have occasion to write in this tone, but he felt the Board should know the true state of affairs.

Duncan Grant who was allowed £300 in March, 1764,² to introduce flax-spinning in Badenoch, Strathspey and Braemurray managed to gain the trust of the Board, the local Justices of the Peace and the Trustees, despite some very dubious behaviour. He was always "thought in a peculiar manner a proper person for doing business in the Highlands because he is a Country-man and of good Relations there, being a Gentleman, his turning his hand to Manufactures will be of useful example to the country".³ But Grant was regarded less favourably by the Board's employees and by others in the district. He was accused of embezzling and one of his defences was that the carriage was "unsupportable by me"⁴ as horses were difficult to obtain. He quoted expenses as 3½d. per stone for ten to fifteen Scotch miles⁵ and on one occasion produced a testimonial from the local J.P.'s⁶ and a signed assurance from the Secretary to the Trustees, Mr. Flint, dated 7 March, 1767 that he had done more than the other entrepreneurs.⁷ He also stated as a reason for his being pilloried that his activities in training spinners raised the servants' wages, and some even sent the constables to remove girls from the spinning schools.⁸ He claimed that there had been no flax raised before he started his business in Forres and Braemurray in 1763⁹ and that not a peck of lintseed was sown before the Trustees gave him an allowance.¹⁰

The factor had a different tale to tell! He said sourly that there was more lintseed in Badenoch before Grant appeared and that in fact

1. E746/94/4.

3. E728/16/3.

5. E727/26/7(1).

7. E727/26/11(9).

9. E728/16/6(1).

2. E728/16/6(2).

4. E727/26/6(2).

6. E727/26/7(11).

8. E727/26/11(1).

10. E727/26/1(1).

the situation was worse now as he was depended on for seed and never had enough - "not one third of what was demanded".¹ In addition, he had heard of no premiums being awarded and girls spun for nothing for him. Flax dressers had remained in Badenoch for only a short time. One cannot but be suspicious of one who put in his plan in 1764 "Premiums of cloathes, etc."² and then wrote in 1765, that he did not give cloth but only lint so that the spinners could improve their skill!³ And as a further explanation of some of his extraordinary expense, beyond what he was allowed, that in 1764, the Supervisor of Excise met his agents carrying lintseed to Castle Grant and Cromdale at a "little Alehouse", promptly suspected smuggling and pierced the casks, causing damage to the seed! But he was still sanding in accounts some years later, so the Board must have decided to ignore these dubious events.

These men were all interested only in spinning in the main, and one of Grant's reports showed this very clearly. Only 122 spindles of yarn were woven into cloth out of 9668 spun. 1910 were sent to the thread makers, 3156 to cloth makers and 4255 to the Glasgow and London markets.⁴

By 1766, Archibald Menzies the Inspector, had become very dubious not only about the whole programme of promoting linen manufactures but about the manufacturers themselves. He did some research into the information given in the earliest factors' reports⁵ and discovered that in the eastern parts of the estates of Lovat and Cromarty where most of the entrepreneurs operated spinning at that time was quite well established. Ten years later his view was that it was much further advanced than "would be imagined from the continued aids still granted by and craved from" the Board of Trustees, and presumably from the Board for the Annexed Estates.⁶ Continuation of

1. E727/26/9.
3. E727/26/9.
5. E729/3.

2. E728/16/6(3).
4. E728/16/7(2). See also E729/8, p.123.
6. E729/8, p.117.

grants seemed to benefit only the manufacturers so assisted; other dealers had to give up in light of unequal competition so that the former obtained a monopoly. This allowed them to deal with their outspinners just as suited them best and Menzies did not think the spinners were being fairly treated. Flax-dressers too had been settled out of public funds and yet flax-dressing cost more than anywhere else in Scotland. The only advantage he could find from the whole programme was that the distribution of lintseed free or at half price had helped tenants. And then they ruined their fine crops by harvesting at the wrong time and by inefficient dressing.¹

As we have seen, the inspector's report in the following year was instrumental in stopping the waste of funds on the linen stations. Shortly after receiving his scathing indictment of their policies in the general encouragement of the linen manufacture, the Board decided that "considering the state of spinning in the low parts of Lovat and Cromarty" they would cease paying salaries to spinners.² Lord Kames also produced a more positive suggestion that as spinning had made such progress, the bulk of the money allocated to developing the linen industry should be devoted to the encouragement of flax-culture as foreign flax was very expensive.³ The commissioners received authorisation from the government to spend the money in this way in August, 1767,⁴ but they had not enough money in hand at the time to develop a large-scale programme and the expenditure on flax-husbandry never reached any great heights. The factors' accounts show continuous outlay of small sums on lintseed and on spinning and weaving. For example, in Kilmorack, in 1768, £13.19.9. was spent on 279 $\frac{3}{4}$ pecks of flax at 1/- per peck while in Stratherrick the gentlemen and tenants spun only 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ pecks for which they were rewarded with £1.15.4.⁵ Private manufacturers and

1. E729/8, pp. 118-127.
3. E730/15.
5. F.R. Lovat 15, 1768.

2. E721/10, p.28.
4. E724/1, p.24.

other interested individuals continued to act as agents for the Board in distributing lintseed and in competing for prizes and subsidies. Shaw at Glenmoriston and Montgomery at New Tarbat were paid £29 and £8 respectively for distributing lintseed at cost at £1 per hogshead¹ in 1768 and two months later Shaw was awarded £25.17.9. as a premium of 3d. per spindle of yarn spun from Scotch-raised lint.² Mr. Campbell the younger of Aird was allowed £20 to furnish the people of Morven with hemp, flax-seed and utensils for their manufacture in 1769.³ Despite the 1767 allocation of such large funds for the purpose of raising flax, the last single entry in the commissioners' Journal regarding this was £9 in 1770 to the "gentleman" Duncan Grant for lintseed he had given out in Badenoch and Strathspey.⁴ 1772 saw the last individual entry regarding textiles when £12 was recorded as being paid to Grant's agent for looms and weaving utensils that he had provided for Lachlan M'Pherson at the behest of the Board of Trustees, the Board for the Annexed Estates underwriting the cost.⁵

The disappearance of such details from the Journal is an indication of the commissioners' declining interest in what was to have been their major industrial contribution to the Highland economy, a decline no doubt hastened by lack of success. Kames put a brave face on the matter by proposing increased help for flax cultivation as a logical complement to the expansion of spinning skills but the Inspector made it clear that little credit could be claimed by the Board even for that technical advance. The true beneficiaries, perhaps the only beneficiaries of a considerable outlay of public money had been the subsidised manufacturers. The notion of a widespread flourishing linen industry with all its accompanying ramifications in the north of Scotland had to be forgotten. The climate resulting in lack of

1. E732/9, 25-1-1768.
3. E732/9, 13-3-1769.
5. E732/9, 10-8-1772.

2. E732/9, 14-3-1768.
4. E732/9, 29-1-1770.

raw materials and the lack of nearby markets with a deficient system of communication were an unconquerable combination and having tacitly accepted failure the commissioners turned their attention to less ambitious industrial ventures, mostly initiated by individual entrepreneurs. It must be a severe criticism of the Board of Trustees initially that the question of whether the methods of improvement and the industry proposed were ideally suited to the localities was not one that they probed despite Neilson's discouraging survey. Equally the Annexed Estates Board unquestioningly accepted the burden of the linen stations particularly and discarded them only after a long series of disappointments.

As long as the commissioners were concerned with improving the textile industry, they were bound to pay some attention to the finishing processes and one of these, bleaching, gave less than satisfactory results. One method of whitening linen was to boil it in ashes and a great deal of thought was given to finding the type of ashes that would obtain the best bleach. Sweden and Russia provided most of the supplies and it became a matter of national interest, both financial and chauvinistic, to try to produce a home-made substitute. In 1757, the proposal was made that £200 should be spent in bringing over a foreigner skilled in the craft of making "cashube" ashes as they were called, in building a suitable oven and trying to use the brushwood left after tree-felling.¹ After this sum was authorised in 1761, a committee was set up to execute the scheme.²

Various contacts were made with Mr. Alex Hogg, a merchant in Dantzic, for information about both methods and tradesmen and he suggested sending a tradesman and bringing back a Polish workman, an easy matter as wages there were so small.³ Dr. Adam Gordon of Gardrum sent in his instructions for using fern in December, 1761, and in June, 1762, Lord Milton impressed on

1. E723/1, p.47.

2. E721/6, p.10.

3. E730/13.

the Board the urgency of the need for a local product as foreign ashes were both dear and in short supply.¹ At the following meeting however, Lord Kames suggested approaching Dr. William Cullen, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh, as he had already carried out some experiments on procuring ashes, in Rannoch.²

Hardly encouraging at the first meeting as he said he had met with unforeseen difficulties, Dr. Cullen sent in a detailed report the following spring. He and his assistant, Dr. David Millar, who had worked in Rannoch for four months, had tried burning every type of vegetable matter they could lay their hands on from potato stalks to birch and found none completely satisfactory in their alkaline content. His comments on the results of burning kelp, which he can hardly have found in Rannoch, are interesting in light of later events in Scotland. He describes it as "so very foul in its ordinary state" it can be employed in bleaching only in the first steps of the process or for the coarsest manufacture. "Nothing but want of wood will lead us to practise on kelp".³ The ashes which resulted from the experiments were taken to Edinburgh where the Board arranged for trials by bleachers. One of these, Archibald Horn at Salton, reported that Dr. Cullen's ashes produced a parcel of cloth "in a small degree whiter" than that bleached with cashube lye. As Dr. Cullen's cost 7/6 per cwt. and the others 14/- per cwt. he felt they would be "of use to the country".⁴

Small, the factor on Struan, thought that an allowance of ½d. per pound for several years would attract several people to the work and he was ordered to make estimates for the expense of houses and necessary equipment, but there the matter seemed to rest.⁵ Commissioners and factors just about then became absorbed in making arrangements for the soldiers' settlements.

1. E721/6, p.198.

2. E721/6, p.262.

3. E730/27.

4. E721/7, p.192.

5. E721/7, p.203; E783/103/7. As Small had had to give board and lodgings to all those concerned with the experiment, he may not have been very enthusiastic in pursuing the matter.

In 1780 however, Sandeman the Perth bleacher forwarded a letter to the Board from James MacIlvride in Crieff who wanted to make bleachers' ashes from small brushwood, so the idea had not completely died.¹ Had the experiment been a complete success, of course, the soapmakers too would have been interested as the ashes would have been of use in making hard soap, the main commendation for which being that it would be entirely the produce of Great Britain, whereas soft soap was chiefly made of more expensive foreign materials.² The experiment was undertaken with a view both to improving the bleaching process and to helping the country's financial situation.

Textiles are of course coloured as well as bleached and in January, 1764, two brothers, George and Cuthbert Gordon approached the Board with proposals concerning dye-making. Describing themselves as patentees of a "cudbear manufactory" at Leith, they claimed to have made discoveries that would enable them to improve such estates in the Highlands as "abound with rock, water and heath, so as to double the present rate and also defray the expence of improvement in two years' time".³ "Cudbear", they explained, was a name derived from his Christian name by Dr. Cuthbert Gordon, who had obtained a patent for a purple or violet powder used for dyeing various materials.

The dye was prepared from several types of lichens and the collection and preparation of the powder would not inconvenience tenants in possession who could go on farming both grass and arable land as usual. The brothers therefore asked only for a title such as "Inspector-General of the Improvements of the Highlands and Islands" and an annual salary commensurate with the importance of their discovery! They also disarmed suspicion by stating that they did not want "a shilling paid" until they had demonstrated the

1. E777/127.
3. E728/27/1(1).

2. Scots Magazine, 13, p.418.

success of their discovery - though they did hope the payment would be back-dated! A contract was drawn up and signed, not offering the grandiose title but arranging tenure of farms up to the value of £500 per annum. Presumably this meant only the right to gather the necessary materials on these farms. No money was to be forthcoming from the Board after twenty-two years and if the Gordons did not work for any six months continuously "total abandonment" of the scheme would be understood.¹ Despite a penalty clause of £100 in case of default this experiment, like others, simply evaporates as far as the records of the Board are concerned.

The brothers may not have given up completely for David Loch "in my own house" watched Cuthbert Gordon demonstrating the use of his dye on cotton velvet, making it a fine crimson colour in a few minutes, and showing he could dye or stain wood, linen, leather, cotton or even vegetable substances. Loch was very pleased that the cudbear could be made from Scottish plants which he said showed that the "prejudice that we cannot equal the English in colours is without reason, existing only in the imagination".²

Unfortunately, Loch does not date such encounters so though his essays were published in 1778, this incident may have taken place up to thirty years before.³ George MacIntosh is given the credit for having established the manufacture of cudbear in 1777.⁴

The deficiency of the Board's administrative machinery is reflected in the later history or rather, lack of history, of these two ventures. Lord Milton's decline into senility and death would help explain the cessation of interest in cashube ashes, for he was the main instigator of the experiment. How the Gordons managed simply to disappear from the records gives food for thought.

Thread-making was another branch of the linen industry that both the

1. E730/19/3.

2. David Loch, Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1778) i. pp. 136-137. (Hereafter,

3. Loch, Essays, Preface, p.xii.

(Loch, Essays.)

4. Hamilton, Revolution, pp. 144, 145.

Trustees and the Board were prepared to subsidise. It was mostly women who seemed to be interested in this and women of some social standing at that. The Trustees passed on an account for £60 to be paid to Mrs. Campbell at Tomperran towards promoting the manufacture of thread and their secretary, Flint, recommended Helen and Lydia Thomson, threadmakers in Inverness on the grounds first that a great deal of yarn was made there but scarcely any was woven or "otherwise manufactured". Further, he considered this an ideal trade for "gentlewomen of small portions" who had difficulty in finding a "business they can prosecute".¹ The Thomsons were quite successful, operating a bleaching ground in connection with their thread-making and selling a proportion of their produce in London.²

In the Old Statistical Account of Inverness a thread manufactory is dated as having been established about ten years before the account was written. If the minister was right in this, he was not describing the Thomson's firm as they were in business from the 1760's, but the organisation he mentioned was certainly a busy concern employing 10,000 in heckling, spinning, twisting, bleaching and dyeing.³

Yet another textile factory operated in Inverness. A hemp factory had been granted £100⁴ after a favourable description by the Inspector who related that the "manufactory of sacking, bagging and ropery at Inverness is carrying on with spirit".⁵ The manufacturers had spent a considerable sum on sheds and warehouses and had a number of girls already employed in spinning "after the Montrose manner". A ship in the harbour was reported to have 150 tons of hemp aboard despite the various difficulties the makers had had to cope with. These included having to rebuild their long shed after it was damaged when the river bank burst, difficulty in obtaining

1. E727/20/2(1).

2. £110.3.1½d. out of a total of £114.7.4½d. in one year.

3. O.S.A. ix. 617.

4. E732/9, 20-3-1770.

5. E787/24, p.12.

tools and finding that those they had employed as instructors were worthless, so "abandoned" in fact that they had had to be sent away.¹ The £100 sent them must have been very welcome and it is likely that it was the same firm that was described in the Old Statistical Account.² Apparently they managed to increase their capital from £1,200 to £15,000.³ The manufacture of hemp was new to Scotland in the 1760's and it is encouraging to find one success. Lord Kames had been in favour of sparing support as it was not yet properly established, but he felt it might be a useful trade for poor people who had no means of acquiring knowledge in the finer branches of textile-making.⁴

As far as wool was concerned the Board for the Annexed Estates made only a few tentative suggestions towards encouraging the industry. There were suggestions for promoting wool-spinning in Lochaber and for wool manufacture at Callander.⁵ £20 was proposed for wheels for spinning woollen in Barrisdale⁶ and Lord Kames was asked to "bring in a plan" for developing the industry in Rannoch. Nothing seems to have come of this, Kames being unenthusiastic,⁷ linen being of predominant importance in most people's opinion and funds being scarce. English woollens in the eighteenth century were so much superior to the Scottish product that it is understandable that it seemed a more attractive proposition to encourage a different type of textile north of the Border, rather than face unequal competition. David Loch's was one of the few voices crying in the wilderness that wool had much more potential than linen in Scotland.⁸ Archibald Menzies, the inspector, was another wool enthusiast, remarking at one point that he thought money had been thrown away in teaching people to spin flax except

1. E787/24, pp. 12-13; E729/10/2.

3. Loch, Essays, ii, p.108.

5. E777/124/6, 7(2,6).

7. E777/289/2(2).

8. Loch, Essays, i.Chap. 3, Section 1.

2. O.S.A. ix. 617.

4. E728/28/3(2).

6. E730/15.

that it made it easier for them to learn to spin wool.¹ He thought sheep would thrive in the west where much of the ground was "too craggie" for cattle. Some prizes and subsidies for wool-spinning would soon overcome, he thought, the Highland farmer's belief that sheep were below his dignity and his pretence of lofty ignorance of the animal accompanied by the off-hand statement, "My wife has sheep with leave".²

There was some suggestion in 1772 of establishing a wool-based industry at Callander.³ The factor had compared wool to flax very favourable in that area. The linen was very bad but two hundred women "made their bread" by spinning wool (as well as some lint) for tartans, coarse grays and plaids. Some fine worsteds were also sold in Stirling for which the wool was combed locally and well done at that. Fifty stones of English wool were spun near the village as well as the three hundred or so produced within ten miles.⁴ In 1774 further favourable comment on the possibilities of wool-manufacturing at Callander pointed out the near vicinity of the Stirling carpet-makers and the walk-mill at Kilmahog.⁵ But Kames was lukewarm, only prepared to countenance wool because the inhabitants seemed "more addicted to it" - with reasons one would think - and already had sheep.⁶ He and the factor were to discuss the matter but no more was heard of it and the suggestion that £400 or £500 would be needed must have helped put the idea out of court at a time when the Board's funds were already overstretched.

In retrospect it is easy to see how unfortunate it was that the commissioners and before them the Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures did not in fact give some more positive encouragement to the woollen industry. The Board usually listened to Menzies but in this case his words of wisdom

1. E787/24, p.8.

3. E721/24, p.212.

5. E777/124.

2. E787/24, p.10.

4. E777/289/2(1).

6. E777/289/2(2).

fell on deaf ears. The large sums spent on the linen station by the Trustees and the smaller but still substantial amounts from the annexed estates funds might have had some results had they been devoted to an industry that had indigenous raw materials and a climate that encouraged these instead of one where there was insufficient suitable ground to raise flax and in any case the "immense rains" destroyed the crops.¹

1. E787/24, p.8.

2. OTHER INDUSTRIES

The second half of the eighteenth century was, of course, a period of general expansion in the financing of industries, old and new. A.W. Kerr records that between 1746 and 1751, several manufacturing companies were formed in Scotland for the prosecution of trades "hardly attempted previously".¹ He included in this list, rope and sailcloth, iron, gold and silver, sugar refineries, herring and whale fisheries. A glance at the index to the Forfeited Estates Papers 1745 will show how far the interests of the Board ranged, though it will not help us decide how effective their activities were. Bleaching, dishmaking, kelp, leather, dyeing, paper, rope, soap-making, all are listed. Of Kerr's group, only sugar refineries were not, I think, considered at some time by the commissioners.

Having decided to cut their losses over the fiasco of the linen stations, however, the Board's philosophy towards the developing of new industries changed. Slightly soured, one feels, and also more conscious of the comparative slightness of their resources, they "shut the door against unreasonable demands" and decided, as did the Trustees, that "the most effectual method of laying out public money" was to engage gentlemen "of patriotic spirit" to assist them by overseeing the application of sums allowed, especially if they were willing to contribute.² Even where such a character existed great caution was exercised. Daniel Campbell of

1. A.W. Kerr, History of Banking in Scotland (Glasgow, 1884), p.60.
2. E730/15.

Shawfield was informed in reply to his request for financial aid for Islay that while he could have a grant towards fisheries and harbours which were for the general public good, the introduction of manufactures into such a small area must be entirely his responsibility.¹ His emphasis on what his grandfather had done for the linen industry may not have helped his case!²

The Board practised their new approach however with several industries including leather, the working of which has always been important in Scotland generally³ though not in the Highland area, where the same lack of incentive to traders existed as in other consumer-oriented manufactures. Where shoes were worn, they were usually made from untanned dried skin, simply turned inside out so that the hairy side provided warmth and comfort. By the time of the Old Statistical Account, shoemakers were regularly mentioned but they must surely imported their hides, for even then there were few tanneries north-west of Perth. Loch mentions two at Inverness,⁴ three at Dunkeld,⁵ and a small one "on the increase" at Elgin,⁶ but a more typical reference is the Kilmallie minister's list of the disadvantages of the parish, which includes the want of a tannery.⁷

In 1755, the factor of the Perth estate thought that a tannery would have a very good chance of success in Crieff, for two reasons. The presence of woods was one. The town would be "commodious for bark", vital for the tanning industry. In addition, this would raise the prices the commissioners would obtain for their woods.⁸ Hides were also easily obtained. This was discussed at a meeting of the Board in January, 1762, and the factor declared that before the roads were made to Stirling, the Highland carriers and pedlars brought skins of all kinds to Crieff - goats,

1. E727/60/2.

2. E727/60/1.

3. John Butt, The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland (Newton Abbot, 1967) p.53.

4. Loch, Essays, ii.p108.

5. Loch, Essays, ii.p104.

6. Loch, Essays, ii.p112.

7. O.S.A. viii.pp. 440-441.

8. E777/244, p.59.

sheep, kids, lambskins, deer, roe, fox, otters and martins. Some of these used to be dressed and manufactured there, and the rest sold at other mercats, but now they apparently all by-passed the town in favour of the larger markets to be found further south.¹ It was just at this time that Crieff's pre-eminence as the centre for the black cattle market at Michaelmas, was waning, and the commissioners were sufficiently aware of this to ask for the King's approval for their ordering the abolition of customs for five years; one of the reasons for the loss of trade was considered to be the comparatively heavy dues.² The Royal approval of this suggestion to abolish tolls was received only three years later, in January, 1765. The removal of tolls might well have been an encouragement to dealers, and a tannery would have ensured a market for slaughtered animals. But the only immediate positive result evoked by the Crieff petition was a visit from Mr. Welsh, a Dalkeith skinner, who was initially employed by the Board to go to Inverness.

This latter town seems to have had its fair share of energetic inhabitants. Not only had the magistrates requested help for their spinning school, over which they had already taken action, but now we find them supporting one of the firms in the town that was endeavouring to obtain government help towards establishing a tannery. A memorial arrived on the Board's table, from William Cummins, Convenor of the Incorporated Trades of Inverness, and James Dunbar, a tanner and leather merchant there, setting forth the "expediency" of having a tannery there, and the benefits it would give to that part of the country. £400 would be required but they undertook to put £200 towards it and to find proper security for the money.³

This was precisely the type of approach the Board admired and on this occasion, Lord Kames suggested that Welsh should be sent to Inverness to investigate the position, looking at Crieff on the way. For this

1. E721/6, p.76.
3. E728/25/1, 2.

2. E723/2, p.16.

responsible task he was to be granted £5 travelling expenses, though in fact in November, 1762, the minutes record that he was paid £6.18.0d. for his journey.¹

Welsh's report was not particularly favourable to either town. He wrote that he was dubious about the number of skins that could be obtained near Crieff, and Inverness afforded only the "probability of success". The town was still in decay after the rebellion, there were no workmen of capacity and as most good skins were now exported, the manufacturers would have to attract the trade back to Inverness. Despite this lukewarm testimonial, he had resolved to "make a trial of the matter", "so much was I pleased with the manners of the town". He had been sufficiently attracted by the personalities of Cummins and Dunbar or by their business acumen - or by both - to enter a ten-year contract with them.²

These entrepreneurs had initiative enough for the annual report to the King to be able to say in 1765, "The tannery at Inverness is carrying on with probability of success", and it was proposed to lend £200 free of interest for a term of not more than five years.³ But the following year, the commissioners had to report that they had advanced £200 of private money to Welsh because of the delay in receiving the King's approbation.⁴ However, they thought that if he could keep the money for a longer period than five years, he and his partners could extend their trade "which with other articles must tend to spread industry among a people that have hitherto been better acquainted with the arts of war than peace". They added hastily that they never gave assurance that "the money was to be his for ever", but if His Majesty approves, they will consider the money to be well spent, for Welsh had threatened to give up the whole idea, it took him so long to obtain the required capital. Whether this threat did the trick, or

1. E721/6, p.325.
3. E723/2, p.80.

2. E727/31/1.
4. E723/2, p.107.

some other factor entered, the next year, the £200 lent has been "bestowed" upon the tannery and the industry seems to be in a flourishing state.¹ The Old Statistical Account as well as Loch mentions two tanneries still operating in Inverness, without mentioning the name of the partners, but it is possible that one of these at least was assisted by the money from the annexed estates.² Unfortunately, as the writer of the Inverness entry points out, there were "not many hands employed".

With one success on their hands, the commissioners tried to establish more tanneries, asking at once for £300 towards the same purpose in Crieff and Callander. Crieff was, of course, the more favoured spot. But there were no results until the 1780's, when eventually £300 was granted for the use of a tannery at Crieff, a sum which had not been fully paid when the estates were disannexed. In the records of engagements which the Board had not fulfilled by the passing of the Disannexation Act, in the second list, stands:

"Balance of £300 for the tannery at Crieff - £100"³ though according to the report sent to the King in 1784, £243.11.6. had already been paid out.⁴

This delay had been hard on the tanner, David Blair, for he had to keep asking for his money and it was only in December, 1782, that inspection of his factory was ordered. Blair's venture had not been all plain sailing. He had not got on well with the factor, who reported that his prices were the highest in the country.⁵ Blair, on the other hand, claimed that someone, nameless, who had been disappointed in getting the contract for the tannery had spread false rumours about the amount that was to be allowed him by the Board, with the result that the masons had "heightened their estimates".⁶

1. E723/2, p.133.
3. E714/18/o.
5. E777/47/1(4).

2. O.S.A. ix. p.618.
4. E723/3, p.60.
6. E777/201/6.

The tanners may have suffered from unnecessary delay in receiving their subsidies but another Inverness industry, soap-boiling, became embroiled in a bureaucratic and somewhat peevish demand from the Treasury for repayment of money lent by the commissioners without previous approbation by the central government. In 1764, a petition of a rather unusual kind was received at the Edinburgh office. William Henderson wrote that earlier in his career, he had been a bleacher, but as that involved only half a year's work, he had gone to Glasgow to learn soap-making, which he reckoned would combine well with bleaching. However, he had been captured by a French privateer on his way back from Laith to Inverness, and as a result, lost all his savings. While he had now started his business, he was short of money, and asked for a loan, interest free, of £50 or £100 for ten years, and two boilers of thirty-gallon capacity.¹ Two months later, we find a letter acknowledging the loan of £100 for three years, naming as his cautioners, a jeweller and a goldsmith - an interesting indication of Inverness society - but saying he was "uneasy" at not receiving the money as the kelp-burning season was approaching.² A year later he was not merely uneasy - he was "confounded" at having been asked to repay the loan and declared that it would be easier for His Majesty to "recall all his disbanded troops" than for him to collect enough cash to repay the loan at the time.³ However, this was eventually straightened out favourably to the borrower, and in 1776, Alexander Shaw vouched for Henderson's work, saying he had done well and the money had been well bestowed.⁴

Apart from hemp, another industry obtained substantial assistance from the annexed estates funds, which according to the O.S.A. for Crieff had never been before tried north of the Forth. This was paper-making.⁵ Certainly, in 1763, Bremner thought there were only three mills near

1. E728/26.

3. E727/33/3.

5. O.S.A. ix. 593.

2. E727/33/2.

4. E727/33/4.

Edinburgh.¹ Peter Arnot, sometimes Patrick Arnot, a merchant in Crieff had built a paper-mill and in 1767, in their report to the Treasury, the commissioners related that in 1765 and 1766, they had allotted £50, originally intended to "encourage artificers" in Crieff and Callander, to support a mill erected in Crieff for manufacturing a species of coarse paper, thereby saving £1,000 previously spent in buying foreign paper.² The year before, Arnot had sent samples of his paper to the Board with attestations from Perth merchants regarding its quality.

Presumably, the letter from Thomas Marshall was among these. He wrote in 1766, that Arnot's grey paper was superior to any of that kind he had ever had, and better, came "as cheap as what is much worse, at London and Newcastle".³ According to the factor on the Perth estate, Arnot had in the past made only brown paper, but was now laying by the finest of his rags, had got frames for making writing-paper and had obviously higher ambitions. He had already laid out £200, employed eight people, who made six or seven reams a day and he sold his paper as fast as he could get it made.⁴

Another would-be paper-maker in Crieff was apparently not so successful, nearly twenty years later. The Inspector of the time, William Frend, had to report in 1783, that John Cock was finding that the paper-work in the country did not quite answer to his expectations and he was hoping he would get "some encouragement" from the Board to convert his paper-mill into one for boulding (sifting) flour. Frend was in favour of this change for two reasons. First, the growing of wheat was beginning to take foot in the neighbourhood and if there was a convenient mill, this tendency was more likely to develop. Secondly, there were four bakers in Crieff, one in Muthill and one in Comrie, all of whom had to take their wheat to Perth

1. D. Bremner, The Industries of Scotland, (Edinburgh 1869), p.322.
2. E723/2, p.137. 3. E777/201/4(4).
4. E777/201/4(3).

for milling, with the result that the size of bread in Crieff was smaller than in Perth.¹ But 1783 was too near the end of the Board's existence for any action to be taken on this.

Wherever the Board turned to look at the economic life of the Highlands there were crying needs. In the primitive state of the eighteenth century economy, more was needed than the introduction of new industry and the Board did give some attention to other necessities that would help develop a flourishing and energetic economic life. Until communications became more efficient and sophisticated, small mills serving their immediate locality were part and parcel of the fabric of Scottish economic life - meal-mills, sawmills, oil-mills, as well as the various types connected with the textile industry such as lint-mills and walk-mills for fulling. These mills provided a market without which the full commercial value could not be obtained from the produce of any area. In 1781, for example, some of the tenants on the estate of Perth near Crieff were finding it very difficult to sell their lintseed, as there was no oil-mill near.² In 1780, the Board had paid £124.9.8. (plus £2.7.0d. for an inspection of the work) as half the price of a mill at Gartchonzie³ but this was of no use to tenants near Crieff who were having to accept very low prices.

The proprietor of a lint-mill at Callander claimed that his mill had decreased the price of dressing lint below 2/- a stone which of course was of benefit to the neighbouring community. His letter also declared that his mill was the first built at the mill-operator's expense.⁴ Mills also provided a comparatively high proportion of the landowners' wealth. There were twenty-one of various kinds on the estate of Perth with a rental of £343.18.4 $\frac{10}{12}$, nine or ten on Lovat paying rent of £237.6.6., and seven on

1. E777/252.

3. E777/329, 332.

2. E777/305(1).

4. E777/124/3.

Cromarty with valued rent of £213.14. $\frac{8}{12}$.¹ Of course, arrears of rent for mills as well as for any part of their estate were a part of life landlords had to accept. A new sawmill had been built at Carie on the estate of Struan in 1758 to prevent wastage of the profitable Rannoch woods.² The tacksman there however, was never as successful as might have been expected and his rents were always considerably in arrears. The failure of the timber trade may have been the result of his also being a drover and he may have neglected the mill in following his other trade.³

The Board did a certain amount then in respect of maintaining, building or helping others to build mills⁴ and they also tried to encourage markets to encourage trade generally. As we have seen the Crieff market dues were reduced at their instigation though they were too late to save Crieff. They certainly envisaged regular markets at any towns they planned as did most eighteenth century landlords though in the event only Strelitz in fact had its regular market. As in most of their activities, they were following a fashionable contemporary trend and they formed no general pattern or plan by which they might for example have gradually extended the number of mills evenly over the estates, or helped inject industry logically over the area. After the failure of the linen venture, piecemeal is the only description that can be applied to their industrial policies and furthermore initiative had to come from outside in the shape of requests for assistance from private individuals. The Board showed little or none themselves. This was not what was envisaged in the original concept of annexation.

1. E730/50/1, 2.
3. E788/22/1.

2. E783/103/4.
4. F.R. Perth 188, 34.

3. CRAFTSMANSHIP

Parallel to the commissioners' encouragement of what one might describe as "factory" development, ran their schemes to improve the quality of workmanship in the individual. In a society where each man was his own builder, carpenter, shoemaker, and his wife was clothmaker and tailor, and where tools though rude were sufficient for the work they were asked to do, there was little need for, or interest in specialised artisan skills. Farming methods and utensils had changed little over the centuries and few felt that change was necessary or desirable. In addition, in a subsistence economy, the few specialists who did venture to set up shop and ply their trade found there was little enough money and less desire to pay them for their work, as more than one discovered on the annexed estates.¹

As more sophisticated methods were introduced, both in agriculture and manufactures, the necessity for better husbandry, better tools and better workmanship very soon became obvious. Equally, it was soon realised that until money was more plentiful, any tradesman who was expected to earn his living by practising his trade, as opposed to subsisting from the produce of his garden or croft and earning a little on the side, must receive more concrete help than encouraging generalisations. The Highland "Jack-of-all-trades" would not overnight become the customer of the trained craftsman.

The Annexed Estates Board spent a fair proportion of their time and the resources at their disposal in trying to improve the general standards

1. See pp. 235-237 .

of craftsmanship, and in endeavouring to establish trained workmen in the Highlands, especially on their estates. They had four main lines of approach to these ends. The first was to apprentice boys and girls from the Highlands to tradesmen and farmers in the Lowlands; the second was to encourage and help "artificers" to come north to practise their trades; the third was by setting up or by assisting existing schools, elementary examples of the type that we would now call technical colleges; and the fourth was discussed in Chapter II, the plans to build new villages "colonies" they called them, of discharged soldiers and sailors, giving preference to the few who already had a trade.

In none of these was the Board a trail-blazer. In 1755, the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries had provided salaries at Lochcarron for various tradesmen, including a ploughman. The ploughman was to "instruct gratis" all who might offer themselves for instruction and the others were to train and maintain a certain number of apprentices at the expense of the S.S.P.C.K. But they taught only two apprentices, so they were dismissed for this and other reasons at Whitsunday, 1760.¹ At Glenmoriston, a gardener and a smith had also been employed but the encouragement there too had been withdrawn by 1762.² Other societies and individuals also dabbled in training schemes, including the Glasgow Highland Society which put out twelve boys to trades at their annual general meeting on January 10th, 1760.³ The Countess of Sutherland too on at least one occasion gave assistance to a deserving case.⁴

News of the lack of success of the Trustees' arrangements had not apparently percolated through to the members of the Annexed Estates Board by 1756 - or they had decided that their ideas were better - for in their

1. Mason, Rural Education, p.21.

2. Mason, Rural Education, p.26.

3. Scots Magazine 22, p.98.

4. E728/17/3(1). Donald Grant, a weaver, claimed that the Countess of Sutherland had "educated" him.

annual report to the King, they "beg leave to expend £200 per annum for binding apprentices to farmers in the Low Country such of the principal and most substantial tenants' sons in the Annexed Estates as discover the greatest genius for agricultural improvements".¹ It was expected that these boys would return to their native areas and set up "in the country where the useful arts have hitherto been unknown and by a suitable encouragement given them by Your Majesty's Commissioners" improve their own lands to their own profit and advantage. Also, "as example is a stronger instructor than precept", they might be expected to spread the spirit of industry and improvement, the skill necessary to acquire riches, and further, "the love of liberty and of depending only upon the protection of the law". Part of this sum was to be used for apprenticing poorer children to smiths, etc. (sic). By these means, quick progress in agriculture was to be hoped for, and youths were to be weaned from their former idle ways and "by degrees take pleasure in industry" by being put into the paths of acquiring property through virtue!

At this point, the Treasury was paying no attention to the Board, so nothing could be done, but when the central government did at last condescend to respond, the suggestion was immediately adopted. In August, 1761, the minutes record the approval of the King for this plan,² his letter being dated 25th July, 1761.³ £200 per annum was to be available for "binding apprentices to farmers in the Low Country, sons of the most substantial tenants upon the Annexed Estates as shall discover the greatest genius in agriculture in order to their being properly instructed therein". Children of the "poorer sort of inhabitants" were to be apprenticed to "smiths, ploughwrights, wheelwrights and other artificers". Further, on completing

1. E723/1, p.70.
3. E725/1, p.8.

2. E721/6, p.9.

their apprenticeship, these children were to be allowed premiums to enable them to set up and carry on their business. This last condition was likely to be the most tempting, if the General Inspector was correct in his surmise that nothing would be more likely to persuade tenants to put their families to a trade than the possibility of their becoming "proprietors".¹

The scheme was to be advertised at the church doors² but it did not attract a flood of applicants. Indeed, one apprentice wrote in 1762, the "Your Lordships know that there was none but me ventured from the inrest of Pearth".³ Even when the scheme had been under way for a year or two, in 1764, there were only three apprentices out of the large estate of Perth, which might have been expected to be most enthusiastic, being nearer the Lowlands, and a stocking-weaver in Edinburgh who wanted two apprentices could get none. It was also impossible at that time to persuade boys to become ploughwrights.⁴ This reluctance on the part of boys and girls or their parents to enter into formal apprenticeships slowly broke down and a later list shows nine cart-and-ploughwright apprenticeships from the Lowland Division of Perth and five from the Highland with three others, origins unspecified, as well as coopers, millwrights, a blacksmith and a wheelwright.⁵

Initially, a certain amount of care was taken both in choosing suitable boys and girls and in fitting them to a trade. Ludovick Grant's two sons were to be examined as to what trades would suit them, when he requested apprenticeships for them, and were promised "a compleat set of clothes" if they had behaved themselves.⁶ The selection processes can not have been too successful, however for the two Grant boys failed to take up the position arranged for them with Mr. Sandeman of Perth,⁷ and in August, 1762, one master wrote indignantly that "I propose having no more to do with any of them". Lord Kames had sent this fellow so he could stay, but "I think I

1. E729/8, p.116.

3. E777/140/1(2).

5. E723/2, p.237.

7. E721/8, p.56.

2. E721/6, p.14.

4. E721/8, p.56.

6. E721/6, pp. 192, 193.

have paid well enough.... in maintaining one idle man those nine weeks". He added bitterly that he wished the commissioners would be able to find "apprentices that as willing to be bound as their to bind or else they'll never do well".¹ His last sentence was unfortunately prophetic.

The Board seems to have looked after the apprentices fairly well, paying fees, providing clothes, medicine and tools.² Tools were expensive. The list necessary for a smith included £5.5.0. for bellows, £4.10.10. and £2.10.0. for a small and large anvil, the total cost being £18. 6.7.³ A weaver needed £14.13.11. to set him up.⁴ £200 per annum would not cover many boys at that rate, though the masters furnished food and bedding, as did the cooper at Leith, the Board having paid £16 indenture fees and providing clothes.⁵ Of course, not all were so expensive as the engineer who lost all his tools and clothes when the boat in which he was travelling to the pier at Cromarty was dashed to pieces off Portsoy! He needed an extra £20.⁶

Ninian Jeffrey, the factor on Coigach, was very interested in improving farming, and especially in trying to introduce sheep-farming. He never missed an opportunity to push his point of view and the apprenticeship-scheme for farmers was a splendid platform for him. When Kenneth M'Kenzie, the wadsetter of South Langwell, asked Jeffrey to recommend his son to the Board, "who he is inclined should be bread to husbandry and as he has a large family is not in ability to educate him to purpose in that way", Mr. Jeffrey was delighted to add, "As I humbly apprehend that little improvement in husbandry will ever be carried on in the Highlands without some such plan of educating their young and settling stranger farmers amongst them".⁷ On at least one other occasion, he pointed out that Coigach had very extensive hill grazings, and "these generally very drye", so boys should be

1. E777/140/1.

3. E746/90/7.

5. E721/10, p.38.

7. E746/75/6.

2. E723/2, p.189.

4. E746/123/9(2).

6. E721/15, p.23.

sent to the best farmers in "the highlands of Teviotdale, Selkirk or Dumfriesshire" to learn the management of "that useful creature" the sheep.¹

Apprentice-farmers involved the most expense per head. In 1765, the Board reported to the Treasury, that of the annual allowance of £200, they had spent £123.4.1., £40 of that going to Robert Menzies, in Northumberland, learning husbandry; an apprentice-ploughwright had needed only £6. Others were bound to flax-raisers and dressers, weavers and shoemakers.² In 1767, Helen Campbell was apprenticed to be a midwife at £10.13.6.³

As well as sending boys and girls away from home, the Board tried to induce skilled craftsmen to venture into the northern parts of the country, both to practise their trade and to train others. The Perth factor sent for one, "James Duncanson, a remarkable man for making all sorts of labouring utensils, particularly plough-shares and plough-irons", who promised to come to teach the smiths and wrights in Crieff to make ploughs.⁴ He was to be subsidised at the rate of one guinea a week, given ostensibly for cutting timber for making the ploughs, and he had agreed to take two apprentices to be bound for four years, at £5 and £6 fees. Improvement in such basic skills could hardly be expected to be attained quickly and in 1767, the General Inspector was still reporting unfavourably on the "utensils of husbandry" used by the tenants in the Highlands estates so that it was considered the more necessary to bind apprentices in making such tools.⁵

The idea that young people should be given a training of some sort - suited to their station of course! - can hardly be criticised, even if according to a memorandum from Small, the main motives were to induce "the second sons of Highland gentlemen and the sons of their better sorts of tenants to abandon their dogs, guns and idleness".⁶ The ideal was never fully realised, however, either for the poorer or the richer. The fund of

1. E746/75/11(1).
3. E723/2, p.163.
5. E729/8, p.110.

2. E723/2, p.91.
4. E721/6, p.213.
6. F.R. Struan 8.

money allocated was never fully spent, though it would not have been difficult to spend £200, as has been shown, merely on tools. There was always a credit balance - possibly only a theoretical one, but a credit just the same. In 1771, £168.7.1. was spent "From the fund of £522.13.0;"¹ in 1772, the fund was £534.5.11., and £403.19.0. was issued.² It must be remembered that £200 was being added in the books, each year, from the initial permission granted to use money in this way, in 1761.

Gradually, disillusionment combined with indifference set in. It became necessary to put the King's mark on all the tools given out, as some of the apprentices disappeared with them.³ Other unexpected charges arose when apprentices were taken ill and masters claimed for the care they gave them.⁴ Eventually the Board refused allowances for medical care.⁵ Masters also found themselves involved in releasing apprentices from the press-gang. In 1773, the committee on apprentices decided that if a man left the annexed estates, his tools should be kept.⁶

Some of the implications behind this last decision appear two years later, in January 1775, when the committee decided that the Board would not be liable for any expense for apprentices after the expiry of their indentures⁷ and two months later, practically wrote the whole scheme off. At a meeting on March 6th, 1775, the committee proposed and on the same day, the Board ratified the decision that "As very few of the apprentices bred by the Board have ever settled on the Annexed Estates, that as they are a continual burthen on the Board after their indentures are expired and their being present a great number under indentures, no more ought to be received until the present sett are settled!"⁸

The type of "burthen" the Board meant can be illustrated by one example, with the factor's illuminating comments. A blacksmith, William Paterson,

1. E723/2, p.189.

3. E721/15, p.3.

5. E721/11, p.20; E728/10/6.

7. E721/15, p.13.

2. E723/2, p.201.

4. E732/2/19.

6. E721/15, p.5.

8. E721/15, p.15.

trained at the Board's expense, was returning to the Cromarty estate, but he wanted money to cover the carriage of iron, and further, he asked the Board to "order his house and shop to be ready as soon as possible". The factor was in a dilemma. He wrote on the documents, "I am at a loss what to sayfor these artificers are so avaritious and have such an inclination to impose that it is impossible to satisfy them". On this occasion, however, as a ploughwright had already been established and one without the other was practically useless, the metalworker's skill being necessary to the ploughwright, he had to recommend, obviously against the grain, that it was "absolutely necessary to do something". He added significantly that he wished the Board would "liquidate" the sums they were "pleased to bestow". He, no doubt, bore the brunt of the apprentices' pressure.¹

The decision to halt the apprenticeship scheme was tempered with sense and mercy. When James Small reported that a cart-and-ploughwright was very much needed in Callander, £10 was allowed for tools for Alexander M^rRobie² and when Small died, his servant who had been with him for many years and had no trade, was given an apprenticeship, the rules about age of entry being rather less rigid than today.³ On another occasion, an older man was allowed a shorter period of training, for higher fees.⁴ As late as 1780, a widow in the Benniebeg settlement who had more than six children was granted the necessary funds for one of them, also as it happens to a cart-and-ploughwright.⁵ But when the Duke of Argyll's overseer wanted to send his son to England to learn farming, he was referred to the Board's decision of 6th March, 1775.⁶

1. E746/90/8.

2. E721/15, p.19.

3. E721/15, p.21.

4. E746/173. £30 for a three year apprenticeship, £20 for five years as a ship's carpenter thought he got better work in the last two years.

5. E721/15, p.22.

6. E721/15, p.20.

The benefits envisaged in 1761 simply did not materialise. It would be interesting to know why so few apprentices did in fact return home, unlike the son of Lovat's piper who left his master in East Lothian after ten days.¹ Even the lure of being set up in business with "reasonable encouragement", as was the deplorable cartwright, Davidson,² did not tempt them back. The S.S.P.C.K. put a clause in their indentures insisting on this, but it must have been difficult to enforce. Small sums were paid out for those already indentured and for the few who were added, until 1784, but in 1783, only three were provided for.³ £144.8.0. was spent in 1784,⁴ but that included £20 to a millwright, £15 to a stocking-weaver and £20 to the son of a former servant of the Board who would merit privileged treatment.⁵

It can be argued that the second string in the 'commissioners' plans for making the Highlands a hive of skilful industrious craftsmen was marginally more successful and effective than that for training and enticing young people back to their home stamping grounds. To their credit, they realised very early that while larger holdings might increase efficiency among farmers, a resultant disadvantage might be the disappearance of the "day-labourers" who did a little casual work for payment but depended on their holdings for food. Further, when the long-term plan of converting all services to money rents eventually took shape, there would be even more need for labourers, independent of the tenants, to carry out the work previously proffered as part of the rent. Craftsmen evicted from their holdings might well leave the area where they were uncertain of making a living in purely financial terms. It was no part of the Board's aims to denude the Highlands of people, trained or untrained; Malthus had not yet

1. Millar, F.E.P., p.109.

2. Davidson had been one of the ringleaders in destroying the mill lead at New Tarbat Mill. The factor thought he should be turned out of his possession.

3. E723/3, p.40.

4. E723/3, p.57.

5. E721/15, July 1784.

spoken, and skilled men were considered a great part of a country's wealth. In 1766, a cooper and merchant in Montrose were tried for "enticing artificers" to go to Sweden.¹

To counteract both these possible evils, to "help multiply the inhabitants and prevent the dispersion of artificers and day labourers now residing upon the estates whose small possessions as cottars are altogether dependent upon the tenant", the Board suggested that £500 should be used to except the lands from leases, build "small commodious house with cowbyre and a few acres of garden stuff for their families, forage for a cow", and in addition to enclose the ground.² Any willing to settle were to be considered, not merely the present inhabitants, and all were to be classified as "King's Cottagers".

So they set the factors to work and various pendicles were preserved for craftsmen. Tenants had to be prepared to give up some of their land for this purpose and while it might be an inconvenience at first glance, if a sufficient labour force could be maintained thereby, it would be to the tenants' advantage. There was not universal approval for this suggestion, however. Sandeman, the manufacturer, wrote early in 1765, that he had been given some cause for reflection by the fact that the weavers in Strelitz, one of the colonies of discharged soldiers, kept the cloth so long. He thought that it was not a good idea to let three acres of ground to craftsmen for then both the ground and the trade were neglected; only a kailyard should be provided.³ He was not alone in this belief⁴ but here the commissioners were more realistic for tradesmen could not yet depend on a money income to buy grain and meal, as the experiences of some of these they set up in business proved.

1. Scots Magazine, 28, p.110.

2. E723/2, p.11.

3. F.R. Forfeitures in General II.

4. E746/75/22. "It hurts a tradesman to have a farm as by having it he neglects the business he was bred to and disappoints his employers".

There were great difficulties in settling skilled men for even after they had been established in an area for many years, money or rather the lack of ready money remained a problem to men who had to purchase the raw materials for plying their trade. The blacksmith at Kinloch Rannoch, David Gow, was one of the Board's apprentices who did return to the estates, but he complained that the tenants would not pay as much as "will make me live".¹ The Board allowed him £2 per annum as the tenants refused to pay him the same rates as they did his predecessor.² A wheelwright on the estate of Lochiel declared he came to repair spinning-wheels at the request of the inhabitants but could not make a living without being granted a house, garden and "some othersmall sum or benefit". Henry Butter, the factor, agreed with this wright, Duncan Lothian, that his work was necessary and further suggested that a cartwheel-mender should also be given a yearly aid of £5 or £6.³ These are only a few of the tradesmen who could argue that cash payment was necessary.

A man who could repair spinning-wheels was considered an essential member of the community by the commissioners, obsessed as they were with the need to encourage the linen industry, and while the inhabitants of the Highlands seem to have been able to do most running repairs to their elementary tools, wheels were apparently beyond them. In 1764, in Rannoch, it was declared that "Everybody in this country by their being ignorant how to use or even spin with their wheel, put them wrong almost every day".⁴ In Coigach, it was the bad houses that were blamed for the damage to wheels.⁵ But whatever the cause of the breakdowns, only qualified wheelwrights could mend them.

1. E783/65/10. Other tradesmen made similar complaints. E783/65/14;
E783/65/12.
2. E721/27, p.21. 3. E768/63/5.
4. E783/65/3. 5. E728/15/5.

Robert Anderson the Maryburgh weaver had different problems. Because of the expense of provisions, he could not in 1765 on his present income support apprentices and he hoped for looms and "individual encouragement" from the Board.¹ By 1767 he had been provided with a "good and sufficient house" and eight looms but he still lacked assistants and claimed that there was not a tradesman in the whole country who could work linen cloth. The neighbourhood being so "excessively poor and extravagant" he could not persuade anyone to come and had to depend on what tradesmen were serving with the army in the area at the time.² This was needless to say a precarious means of finding workmen and on occasion all his looms were idle, so once again he asked for help towards supporting apprentices.

However, Mr. Anderson had additional troubles. The tenants of Lochiel and Ardsheal complained in 1772 that his behaviour had made him obnoxious, goods were "embeazled" or "abstracted from his house" and employers and customers got no satisfaction. They felt they were worse off than when they had no weaver.³ The factor agreed with their complaints and despite Anderson's plea that his wife was an alcoholic who carried off everything she could lay her hands on and "drinks it", recommended that he should lose the Board's support.⁴ The man's personal misfortune or inefficiency does not alter the picture of the lack of skilled men in the area and the lack of money to pay any who did appear.

Blacksmiths faced heavy carriage dues and were much sought after as the army needed their services. In February, 1773, a petition was read from John M'Lean, the smith and harrier at Coshievillie, applying for smithy coal gratis, he was so far from fuel and also had to go to Perth or Stirling for steel, iron and coals. The factor thought he had "always been paid for

1. E768/63/1.

3. E768/63/4(1).

2. E768/63/2(1).

4. E768/63/4(2).

his pains", probably because he had dealt with the military, but added fairly that he knew Coshieville was far from coals and peat.¹ Another smith, Alexander M'Naughton, however, would have found living impossible without the Board's assistance the factor thought and he was "no richer than we found him" despite a good house and smithy.²

As well as the subsidies given to more isolated workmen, the Board proposed, with the King's approval which was granted in March 1762,³ to spend £100 each year in settling tradesmen and artificers of good character in Callander and Crieff. These two relatively large centres of population were considered suitable development points for trade and manufactures and by settling industrious individuals there, the commissioners hoped to increase both population and productivity. Like the day-labourers in the countryside, these men in the towns were to be granted ground and a house. It was also hoped to spend £50 each year in premiums for them.⁴ The type of workmen wanted there were for example a stocking-weaver, who was given £100 to enable him to start a business at Crieff, a heckler who went to Callander with £25 of the Board's money and a manufacturer of linen cloth there who got £30.⁵

The commissioners translated permission to spend on manufactures, apprentices and settling tradesmen, in the broadest sense when it came to allocating money. Their report in 1767⁶ shows that the £50 in premiums for Crieff and Callander workmen had been given for two years to Peter Arnot, the paper-maker in Crieff who also received additional aid.⁷ In 1782, from a balance in the "Manufactures" funds of £1287.9.0⁶/₁₂ £36 had been spent, £23 on salaries to schoolmistresses teaching sewing and knitting stockings in Perth and the Lowlands.⁸ Then large sums, as has

1. E783/65/13.

3. E721/8, p.72.

5. E723/2, p.89.

7. See part 2 of this chapter.

2. E783/65/4.

4. E723/2, p.15.

6. E723/2, p.137.

8. E723/3, p.40.

been seen, were used for subsidising factories and industrialists which were kept in the accounting sense quite separate from the general sum supposed to be available for encouraging manufactures, so that in 1784, there was still in the theoretical fund a credit of over £1000.¹

This latter sum originated in permission given in 1766 to spend £900 each year for three years on expanding the manufacture of linen and woollens in the Highlands, a total of £2,700. There were insufficient funds at the time, but this matter was to be taken into consideration a few months later in the year.² Until the disannexation, money for lintseed, premiums to manufacturers, prizes for amounts of lint spun, etc., were withdrawn against this theoretical total of £2,700. But there were few occasions when as much as £100 was drawn from it any one year, as the Board had taken its decision against full-scale development of linen stations in the Highlands by the time this whole grant was available. The apprenticeship money was also juggled with once the plans were scaled down, for time and again, the entry appears, "To Henry Barclay, for apprenticeships and incidents".³ What the incidents were, is not stated, and presumably the Treasury did not ask.

Crieff and Callander were no doubt helped to develop by such expenditure as in one year:-⁴

To a stocking weaver enabling him to begin at Crieff	-	£100.0.0.
Two stocking frames in loan to a weaver at Crieff	-	£ 32.6.0.
Aid to a heckler at Callander	-	£ 25.0.0.
Aid to manufacturers of linen cloth at Callander	-	<u>£ 30.0.0.</u>
		£176.6.0.

However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Walker could still say that "in the burghs of Inveraray, Campbeltown, Inverness, and in the con-

1. E723/3, p.56.

3. E732/9.

2. E730/15.

4. E723/2, p.89.

siderable villages of Crieff, Callander, Oban and Maryburgh, there were fewer tradesmen and less demand for workmanship of mechanics than in any other place of the same size", because of everyone being of necessity a Jack-of-all-trades .¹ The scale of aid provided was sufficient only to affect small local areas and certainly not enough to change ingrained attitudes.

The third strand of the Board's policy, that of setting up schools specially to teach spinning and in addition employing men and women to teach various crafts, was one that had been conceived earlier in the century and practised by the S.S.P.C.K. since 1738 when the society received its second charter.² The Board had in fact, avowed their intention of following the methods used by the Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries³ and the funds of the estates were simply another boost to the various eighteenth century onslaughts on poor craftsmanship. Spinning, stocking-knitting, sewing white seams - all these were taught with the assistance of the Board both in schools and by peripatetic teachers.

The largest outlay of £133.5.0. each year for three years was made to the Inverness magistrates who had shown some initiative in providing premises for a school there.⁴ 184 girls were taught to spin there in 1765, 120 in 1767. An allowance for maintenance for fifty girls from outlying districts was included in the grant⁵ but none for those whose homes were in the town though wheel and reels were to be bought for poor girls.⁶ Schools of this type were often attached to factories and in this case the entrepreneur a Mr. Falconer got no financial encouragement except the house provided by the magistrates and his salary as a manager.⁷ This school was judged reasonably successful, and it is mentioned in 1775 as having had good effects on the spinning skills in the area.⁸

1. Walker, Economical History, ii.p375.

2. J. Mason, Rural Education, p.3.

3. E721/2, p.101.

5. E723/2, p.149.

7. E730/15.

4. E723/2, pp.91,149; E727/23/1.

6. E730/15.

8. E727/23.

The commissioners were asked for £30 per annum to help the spinning school on Lewis on the grounds that tradesmen refused to come to such places without a subsidy ¹ and £57.10.0. was given to the Leishmore island school in 1765,² but later expenditure tended to be concentrated on the south and east. Regular salaries were paid to schoolmistresses to teach sewing and spinning and knitting stockings on the Perth estate³ and there was at least one man, Malcolm Fisher, teaching "nitting" stockings at Callander.⁴ There were also what must I think be granted the name of "technical schools" in twentieth century terminology at Auchterarder, Borland, Muthill, Dunblane and Crieff.⁵

The Board's tendency to neglect the more remote estates can be illustrated in the location of these schools. There was one at Beauly in Lovat⁶ and the manufacturers taught spinners in those northern areas but the greater number of schools were in Perthshire; admittedly the larger, most lucrative estates were also in Perthshire, but manufactures were already in at least an embryonic stage there and there were opportunities for learning. In 1775, Henry Butter wrote bitterly that there was far greater need for a school for white-seam and stocking-knitting in Fort William⁷ and it would be difficult to refute this. It is even easier to sympathise with his frustration when it is remembered that he had pointed out just such a need eleven years before without any result.⁸

The attendance and proficiency of the scholars varied but fortunately few were so handless as poor Agnes Graham who could not learn to spin after

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| 1. E728/20/2(1). | 2. E723/2, p.93. |
| 3. E723/2; E723/3, accounts for the Highland and Lowland parts of the Perth and Struan estates. | |
| 4. E777/330/7. | 5. E777/287. |
| 6. E769/130. | 7. E786/33/9. |
| 8. E786/37/4. | |

a full three months stay.¹ The numbers reputed to have learnt spinning must be treated with caution for the Inspector found that experienced spinners attended the school attracted by the 1/6 per week allowed for maintenance.² He also commented as we have seen that spinning was much further advanced in both Lovat and Cromarty than the stream of demands for subsidies from the funds seemed to indicate.³ Just as the teachers were unwilling to send away girls who they knew could spin, so the entrepreneurs were prepared to grasp any financial aid they could. The benefit to the Highland economy in general or Highland skills in particular were marginal.

1. E727/24/1(1).
3. E729/8, p.117.

2. E729/8, p.121.

4. ASSESSMENT

When we try to gauge the effects of the activities of the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates on industrial development of the Highlands and Islands, the O.S.A. is the first obvious source for immediate results. And it must be admitted that therein there is a deafening silence except perhaps in the Inverness account. In Perthshire, there are some signs of life in the manufacturing industries. In Callander, woollen and linen yarn are "much spun by the poor".¹ In Comrie, the writer claimed that the linen yarn was the staple manufacture and tartan plaid and hose were made partly for sale, partly for home use.² In Callander, however, the Stirling carpet makers bought the wool and linen was sent to Glasgow.³ In Fortingall, it was recognised by the end of the century that no manufactures were possible because of the scarcity of fuel,⁴ but even in Crieff, which it may be remembered, was considered during the annexation the most promising site for industrial development, the O.S.A. described manufactures as having had "hitherto little effect on the population", but ever optimistic, "in comparison with what they will probably soon have".⁵ This "little effect" was in spite of the presence of three corn-mills, three fulling-mills, malt, barley and lint-mills, not to mention a tannery, for which £300 had been awarded out of annexed estates funds and a similarly subsidised paper-mill. But this last employed only eight hands, after all.

1. O.S.A. xi. p.604.
3. O.S.A. xi. p.604.
5. O.S.A. ix. p.592.

2. O.S.A. xi. p.182.
4. O.S.A. ii. p.460.

Further north and west, the ministers are still convinced that the introduction of industry of one kind or another would improve the life of the people, and in Kilmallie, the disadvantages of the parish are described as the want of a quay, of a good regular market, good water, and not least, though last, a tannery, a sawmill and a "manufactory", of a sort not specified.¹

The impetus for introducing manufacturing industries which animated the Board in the early stages of its life soon died away. The Journal of the commissioners, giving their daily expenses, shows this very clearly. While there are odd exceptions, such as the sum of £220 to the salt pans in Brora, in 1771,² assistance such as I have described in the last few pages, to individual entrepreneurs, and £150 per annum towards maintaining apprentices and providing them with necessary tools, in the last decade of the annexation, the highest proportion of the free produce of the estates was being devoted to the development of communications in the Highland area, notably on bridges, large and small. On the individual estates, this can be seen quite clearly. On the Lowland Division of the estate of Perth, in 1766, £26 was spent on help to apprentices, and £32 on premiums towards assisting manufactures. In 1771-72, only £30 went towards both these headings, and in 1783, the sum given was £62.6.6. which is certainly an increase, but it included the money spent on apprentices and the killing of vermin!³

The only large-scale plans formulated for the development of industry were connected with linen, and once these had failed, the commissioners tended to be very canny indeed. In the circumstances, it is difficult to see what more they could have done. Their schemes stumbled over the quite unexpected shortage of funds, over Treasury dilatoriness, and most of all,

1. O.S.A. viii. p.440.
3. E777/325, 326.

2. E732/9.

over the handicaps that the northern areas of Scotland still suffer from - lack of raw materials (though oil may alter this), lack of markets, poor transport and not least in the eighteenth century, the lack of energy and the lack of interest among Highland inhabitants in obtaining what the rest of the country considered the material essentials of a good life. An inkling of this, conscious or not, shows in the later weight of emphasis on bridge, road and harbour building. How, earlier, they were able to believe as the Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries did, that without raw materials, without easily available fuel, without adequate local markets or easy transport to markets, without skilled labour or even willingly trained labour, they could establish any viable industry is a question that can be answered perhaps only by considering the general atmosphere of Lowland Scotland at the time. Add to the vitality there, the absolute determination of those with power and influence to wean the Highlands and their inhabitants from their traditional behaviour to the habits of industry that were considered so necessary to their spiritual and material well-being and essential to the peace of the whole country, and we may begin to understand the conundrum.

If a few women retained their spinning skills, if only to transfer these to spinning wool: if a few men made a slightly better living by heckling and weaving: if the tanneries and mills that remained in operation at the end of the century made life a little easier for some of the inhabitants: then it can be argued that the money spent on linen stations and spinning schools was not entirely wasted, but these ends had been expensively reached. I find myself in agreement with John Knox who wrote in 1786, that "The Board of the Forfeited Estates made several spirited efforts to extend the fisheries and introduce general industry in the Highlands. Another Board

in Edinburgh have expended large sums with the same view, but for all these exertions, no effectual permanent settlement or even the appearance of it has been established and many thousands of pounds have thereby been lost to the public".¹

The Board's record then in attempting to establish industry and commerce is not an inspiring one. They showed little imagination beyond accepting the contemporary views of what was necessary and the question that apparently never occurred to them was - should any money at all have been spent on introducing manufactures into the area? Would it not have been more profitable and more effective to secure the basic economy of the region by devoting all their resources to the improvement of agriculture and the development of the fishing industry where the essential materials were at hand? By building up an infrastructure of transport and markets, the natural products of the Highlands might have been more profitably developed.

Unfortunately, only one person involved with the practical realisation of the annexation showed much awareness that such a fundamental question even existed. This was Archibald Menzies, the General Inspector, a remarkable man, who wrote "It is more than probable, had as much money been expended for introducing a proper knowledge of agriculture into the Highlands, establishing of villages and making of cross roads, (as on manufactures), that manufactures, which must always be considered in a secondary light, would have followed of course with very little assistance".²

1. Knox, Tour, p.cxx.

2. E729/8, p.134.

I. The bridge crossing the Almond at Kinbuck.

II. The same bridge showing the modern repairs to the cutwater and the splayed approaches, carried out in concrete.

III. The Bridge of Dun, crossing the South Esk.

This is a very elaborate structure. The refuges are triangular in shape, approached by a couple of steps from the carriage-way and they rest on columned supports of Gothic design. Not illustrated is the decorative carving on the outside of the approaches, visible from the river but not to passengers crossing by the bridge.

I.



II.



III.



IV. The Kiachnish crossing at Coruanan.

This photograph was taken from the present bridge and shows how the line of road has changed.

V. The Awe crossing at the Pass of Brander also photographed from the modern bridge.

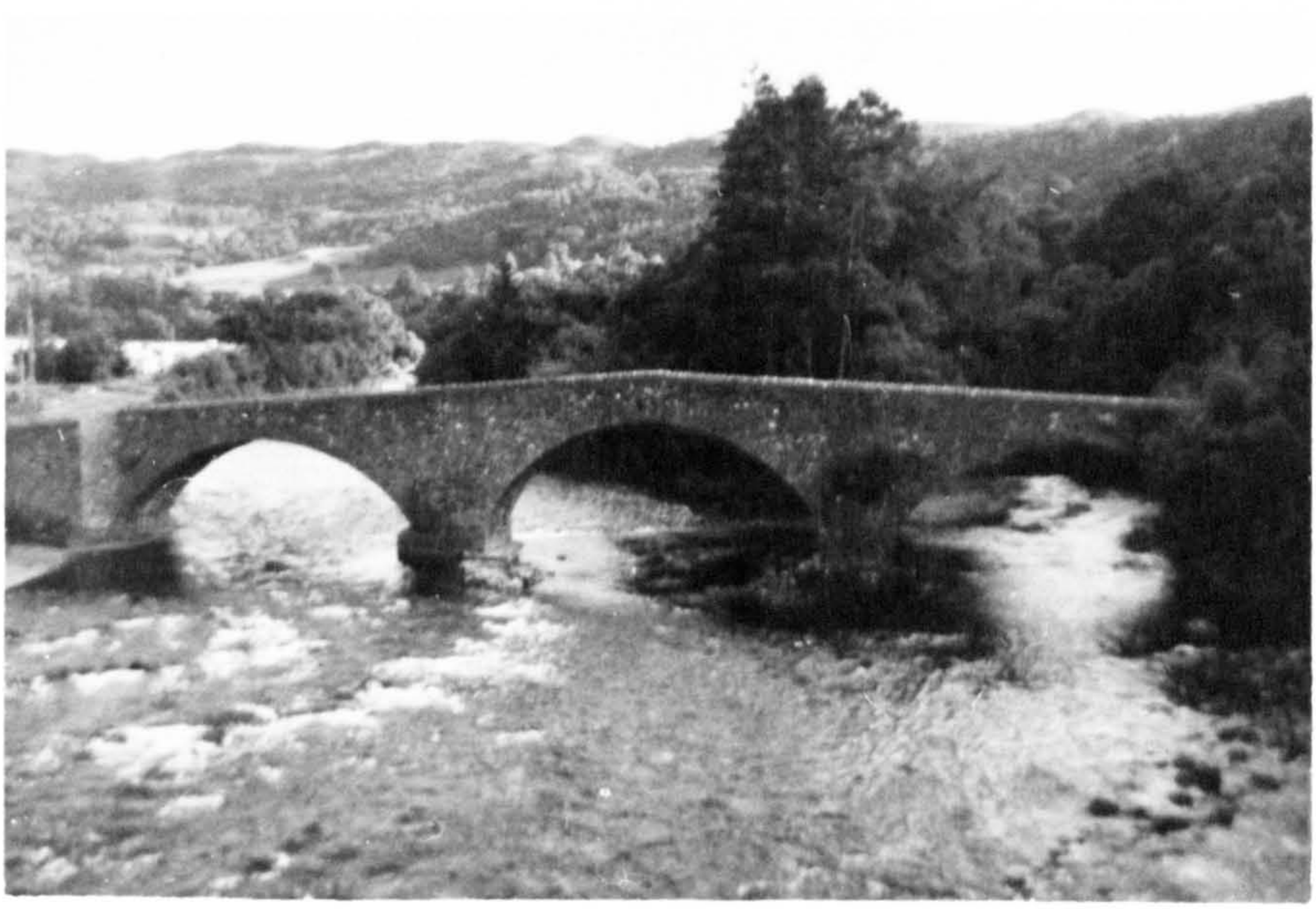
VI. The bridge over the Almond at Milnhaugh.

This graceful structure is unfortunately in a bad state of repair, the carriage-way almost wholly overgrown and the parapet having large holes in its walls. The metal studs showing in the foreground are part of the modern metal replacement.

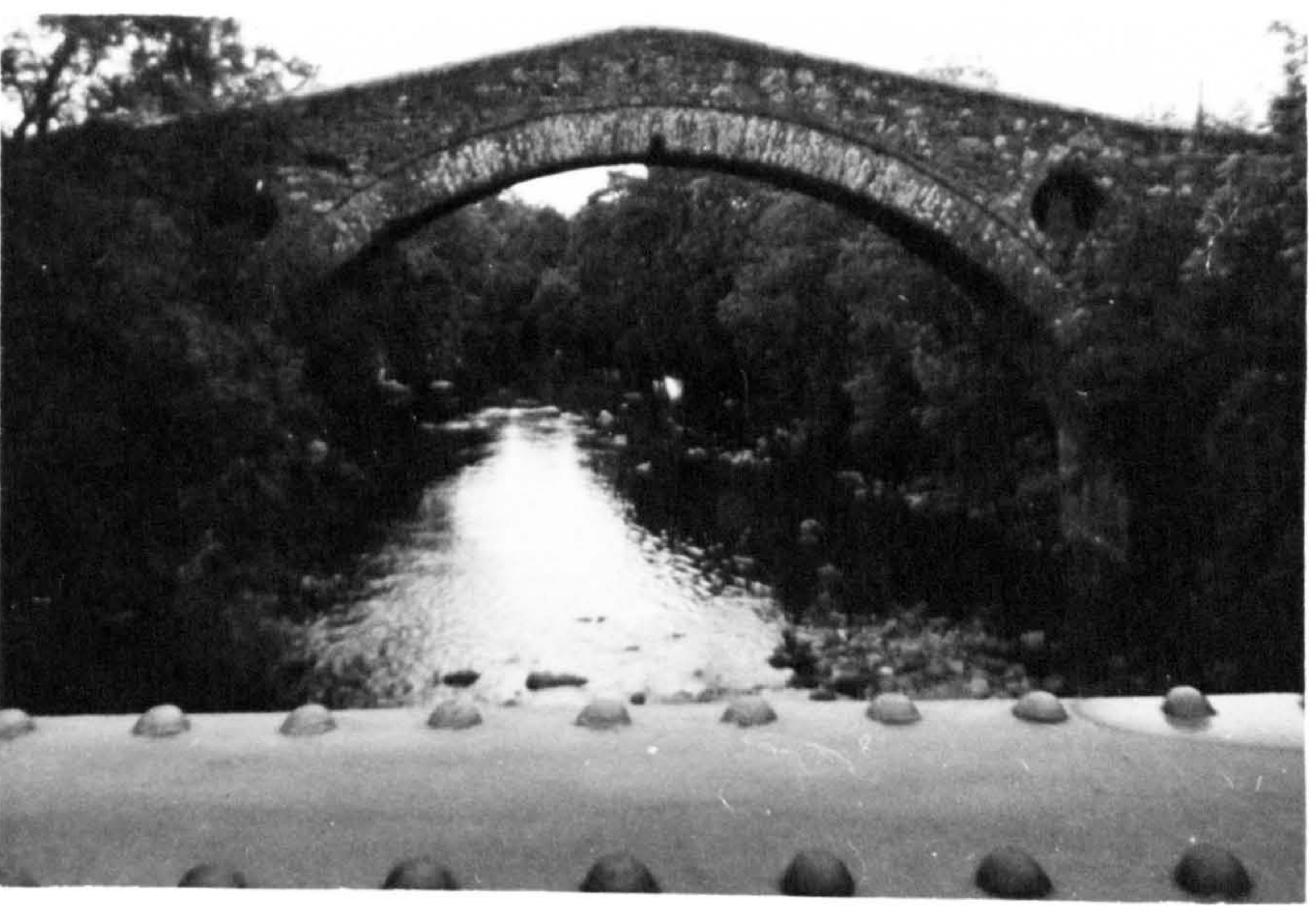
IV.



V.



VI.



VII. and
VIII.

Smeaton's nine-arched bridge crossing the Tay at Perth. Plate VII shows the bridge over twenty years ago, Plate VIII the present state of the bridge after its second widening of the carriage-way. The basic appearance of the bridge has fortunately remained the same.

VIII.

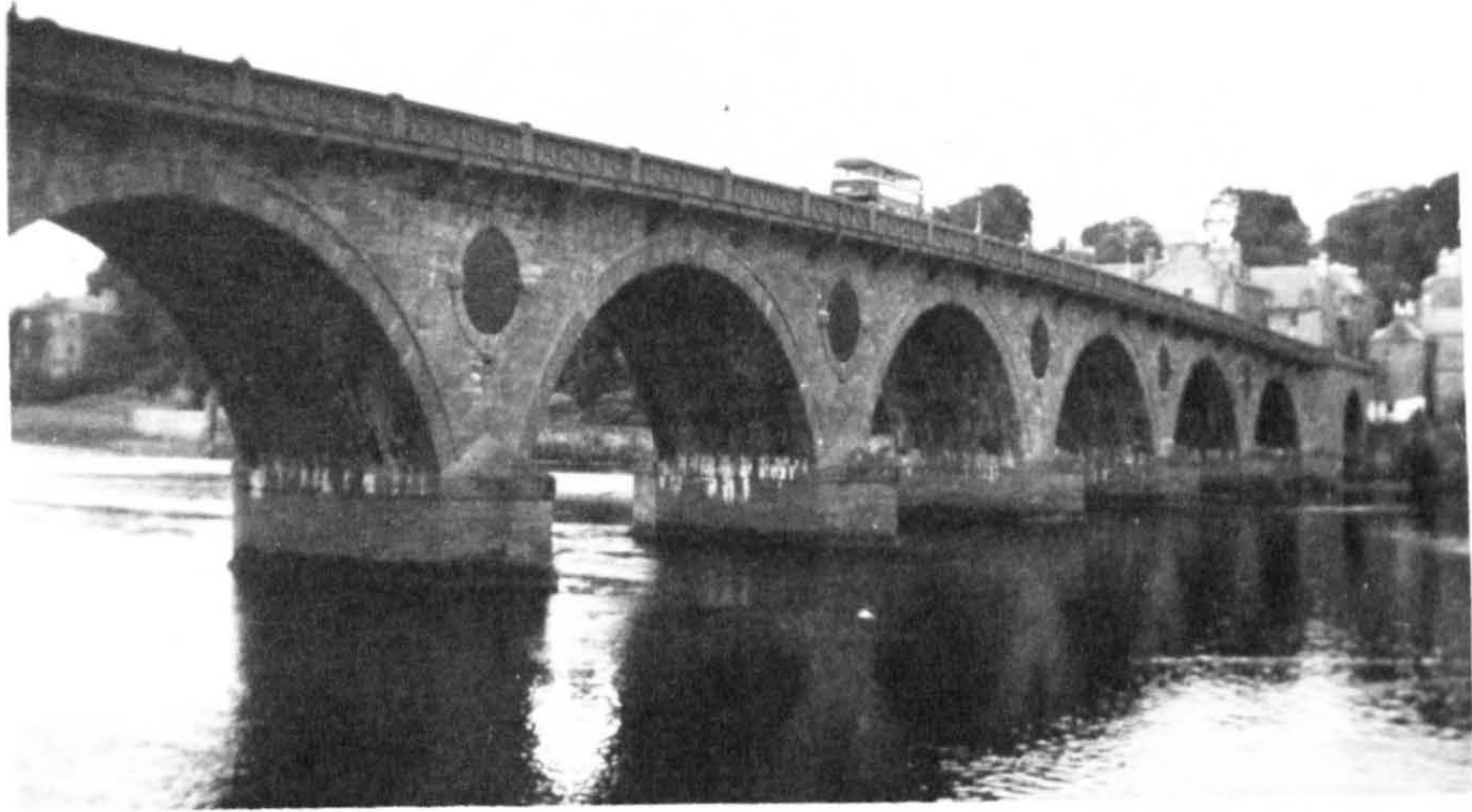
The Tay crossing at Perth.

IX.

The Earn at Kinkell.

There are refuges at regular intervals on this bridge, above the piers.

VII.



VIII.



IX.



- X. The inscription placed on the North Esk bridge by the Commissioners for the Forfeited Annexed Estates showing the contribution made from the estate funds.

The Board would have liked to see similar acknowledgement of the assistance provided on all those bridges to which they made contributions. Similar stones can be seen on the Kenmore bridge over the Tay and at Kinloch Rannoch where the Board built the bridge over the Tummel wholly out of their funds. As one looks at the fairly massive insertion into the parapet there can be little surprise that the masons who built the bridges were sometimes unwilling to allow the inscriptions to be placed in situ until they were no longer responsible for repairs and maintenance.

- XI. The grandiose inscription erected on the same bridge by the subscribers.

The sum of £800 presented by the Board for the Annexed Estates was a considerable contribution to the total cost of £6,500.

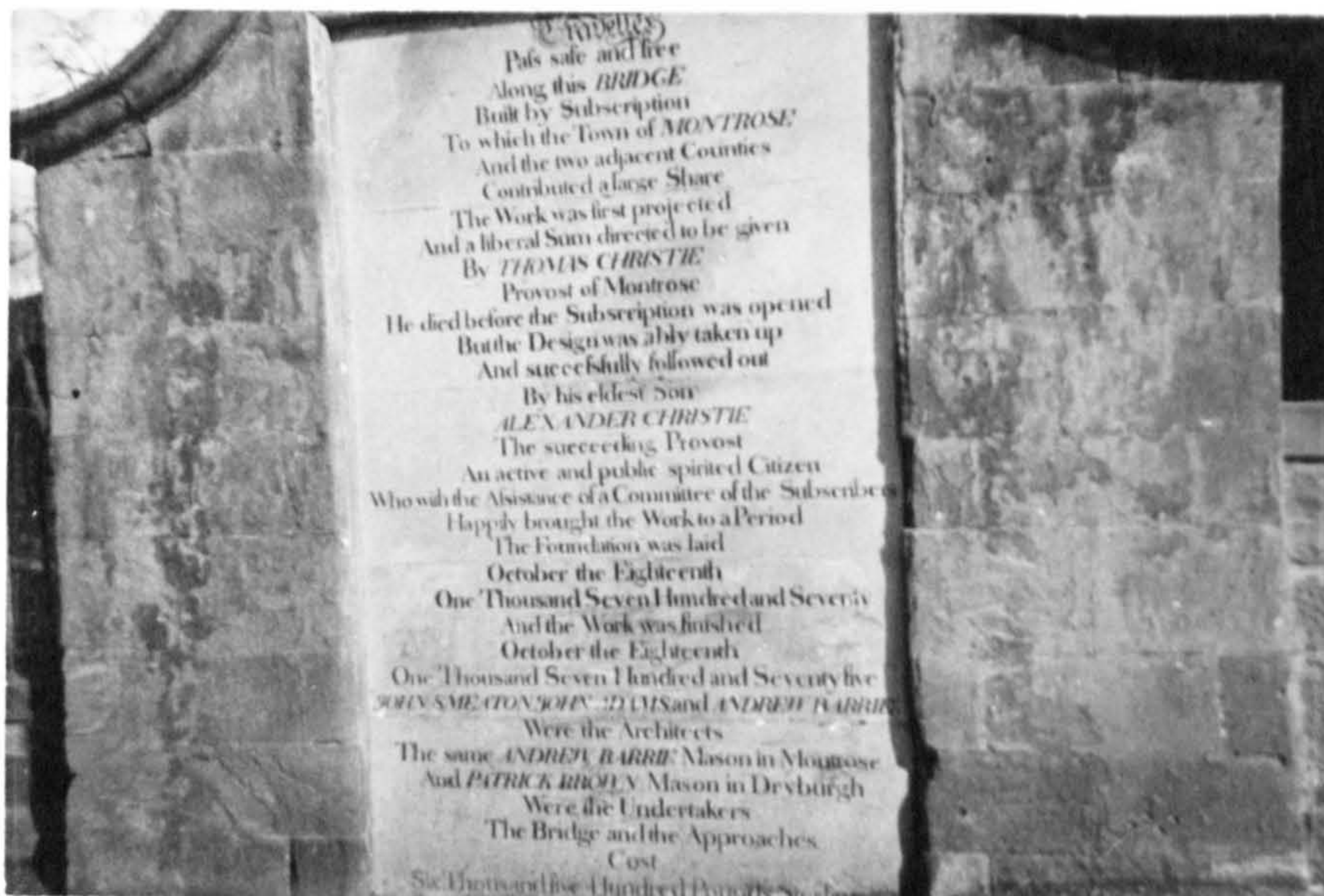
- XII. The bridge at Gartchonzie, crossing Eas Gobhain.

One of the small bridges to which the Board made a contribution, this illustration's main purpose is to show the inscription, now hardly visible as trees have grown obscuring it from view since this photograph was taken. Presumably the stone was moved to the outside of the parapet during repairs at some time during the last two hundred years. The contribution here was just over half the cost - £110 out of a total of £207.

X.



XI.



XII.



Chapter V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

1. ROAD-BUILDING

One's views of the development and easing of communications are rarely objective and the extremes that can be expressed are well illustrated on one side by the dictum of A.J. Byrne that "if they have no roads, they are savages"¹ and on the other by the sturdy refusal of Alexander Robertson of Struan to encourage the building of roads on his estate on the grounds that lack of them had never yet prevented his friends from visiting him and he saw no point in encouraging his enemies.² In between, there is room for the idea either that poor roads may merely indicate self-sufficiency in the local population or that roads encourage effeminacy. Eighteenth century government attitudes towards Highland road and bridge-building inclined towards the first of these extremes and indeed General Wade is reputed to have carried on his building and labouring in his belief that civilisation went along roads and bridges.³

Wade was sent north in 1724 soon after George I had received Lord Lovat's memorial on the state of the Highlands and by the end of the year, after describing the conditions he found, he went on to assert that the Highlands were "still more impracticable for the want of roads and bridges".⁴

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1. Quoted as a chapter heading by J.W. Gregory, Story of the Road, (London 1931), p.131.
 2. E783/84/1, p.10.
 3. J.B. Salmond, Wade in Scotland (London, 1938) p.26. Hereafter, Salmond, Wade.
 4. Salmond, Wade, p.48.

This is claimed by J.B. Salmond in his book Wade in Scotland to be the first mention of the question of Highland roads and bridges; it was not to be the last. On Wade's becoming Commander-in-Chief, he asked for supplies among other things for mending the roads between garrisons and barracks and since that date, Highland communications may have been neglected or ill-planned for practical purposes, but from 1724 to the present day, they have rarely been ignored.

For the convenience both of local inhabitants and would-be visitors, either tourists or traders, it is difficult to counter the argument that too little has been achieved. The main traffic arteries exist, but they are not always flexible enough to cope with changing traffic demands while cross-roads and side-roads which might have been expected in more populated, more growth-oriented areas have either not appeared or have not been developed. The route for example from Callander to Comrie, by the water of Keltie over the hills to the Water of Ruchill and down Glenartney, traversed an area which was then sufficiently populated for the Board of Commissioners for the Annexed Estates to consider it important to ease communications by building bridges at various points.¹ Now it serves a few farms only and has no through route for the ubiquitous combustion engine. In the middle of the twentieth century, there were still mainland communities such as Applecross in Ross-shire without any road access except for foot, horse or bicycle passengers, dependent on the sea for carriage of all goods they could not produce themselves, for medicine, for burials.²

It cannot be said that the area has been completely overlooked for there is a continuous if not consistent thread of attention to the problem running through 250 years. First there was Wade, building military roads,

1. See Appendix G.

2. Magnus Magnusson 'Highland Administration' in The Future of the Highlands, (London, 1968), ed. D. Thomson and I. Grimble, p.277.

then the Parliamentary roads, the British Fishery Society, the Caledonian Canal Commission, Destitution Roads, Commissioners of Supply, the County Councils and today, the Highland and Island Development Board who must take the question of access into their calculations. It can unfortunately be pointed out that not all the efforts made by these bodies were well-directed from the point of view of Highland society and Highland economy. The military roads were an honest straightforward approach to a military problem as it was then seen. Edward I may have carried out a punitive expedition over an astonishing area of Scotland in a very short time¹ but the army of the government in 1715 had discovered that Highland terrain was not suitable for speedy movement by troops in modern dress and equipment. The government's attempts to provide against such an eventuality in the future turned out to be useless, or at best not tailor-made for commerce, and worse, in the 1745 rebellion, these military roads were more useful to the Pretender than to the Hanoverian troops. Obvious deficiencies such as lack of bridges over the Esk at Montrose hindered the government but not the rebellious guerilla-type forces.

Too little, too late and in the wrong place is not too unfair a description of government forays into communications in the north, whether directly or by official agencies, the building of the Caledonian Canal being the prime example of expenditure that was overtaken by unseen future development in the size and style of transport. Like so many aspects of Scottish life, roads had not been neglected by the legislature before the eighteenth century but effecting what was aimed at was a different matter from passing a law, and while the Justices of the Peace had been given power to mend highways from market towns and sea ports in 1617² and in 1669 to exact in

1. G.S. Barrow, Robert Bruce, (London, 1968), p.98. Map of invasion of 1296.

2. A.P.S. 1617, c.8.

conjunction with the Sheriff six days labour on the roads for man and horse, from tenants, cottars and their servants for three years and four days thereafter,¹ the results obtained by these measures did not impress travellers throughout the eighteenth century. While soldiers were probably among the earliest to appreciate practical need for roads, by the middle of the century the improvers like Grant of Monymusk were expressing some surprise at the long neglect.² Grant's particular plea in 1754 was for roads for wheeled carriages and carts to save the husbandman's time and his notion that time and carriage would be lessened by better roads is amply borne out by the information given to the poet, Southey, during his tour of Scotland in the early nineteenth century. The postmaster at Dalmally assured him that carts that could formerly carry only nine cubic feet of timber could on improved roads take twenty-one.³

In the somewhat doleful catalogue of road and bridge builders sponsored by the government, however, as opposed to the energetic action of landowners like the Marquis of Breadalbane who is reputed to have built fifty bridges on his own estate,⁴ the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates were among the least negligent, having done all and more than might have been expected of them with their limited resources. They were very ready to accept and act on the thesis expressed by Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul that "the key to all improvements in the Highlands" was to make them accessible.⁵ Among their first queries to the factors concerning conditions on the estates were requests for information about the state of the road and bridges, showing that the state of communications was an early matter of concern. Inquiries were also made about the number of changehouses and inns, an essential part of the communication system in the days of slower

1. A.P.S. 1669, c.16.

2. Hamilton, Monymusk, p.161.

3. R. Southey, Journal of a Tour in Scotland, 1819 (London, 1929), p.237. Hereafter, Southey, Tour.

4. N.L.S. Ms.1021, f.23.

5. Millar, F.E.P., p.83.

travelling, though in the context of the queries, this question was connected with the consumption of alcohol for the number of stills and maltmakers was also wanted.¹

The factors' answers provided information about local needs as the factors saw them but also the position of the individual baronies - estates were described barony by barony even in this respect - with reference to such main arteries as were then in existence. The picture that emerged from the 1755 reports showed how far the military roads had affected communications in Scotland and how well placed some of the annexed estates were in connection with these. The King's Highway from Stirling to Inverness ran through Muthill parish, where part of the estate of Perth lay; the Stirling-Fort William road served a large part of the western part of the same estate from Callander to just short of Killin, and also passed through Strathyre, the part of Arnprior not claimed by a subject superior.² Further north, as far as Inverness, the Fort Augustus-Inverness road ran through the barony of Stratherrick, part of the Lovat estate.³ Monaltry in Crathie parish held a strategic position at a Dee ferry, about halfway between Perth and Inverness, where the county road from Aberdeen met the King's road.⁴ It is just conceivable that such a favourable site had had some influence on the choice of Monaltry for annexation but no special instructions seem to have been issued to the commissioners on that account.

However the King's highway stopped on the west at Fort William and on the north at Inverness and outside these limits, roads and bridges if they existed at all usually deteriorated rapidly where they did not actually disappear. In the estate of Barrisdale there were no roads of access at all;⁵ even at the end of the next decade the General Inspector had to hire a herring buss, the 'Woodhall', to get there.⁶ The factor thought the

1. E726/1, pp. 7, 8.

3. E729/1, p.25.

5. E729/1, p.72.

2. E777/244, pp. 2,7,37; E738/58, pp. 1,7.

4. E729/1, p.109.

6. E729/9, p.1.

commonality were honest, but their isolation helped keep them poor, idle and superstitious.¹ Conditions tended to deteriorate generally from east to west and from north to south, even in the same barony in the same estates. Campbell of Barcaldine, the Perth factor, could declare that in the barony of Auchterarder, almost diametrically opposite to Barrisdale, the people were peaceable and honest, there were no bridges needed and the roads providing access were tolerably good.² The factor on Lovat and Cromarty on the other hand provided answers that illustrated very clearly the lack of uniformity within estates and the tendency to north-west deterioration. The baronies of Beaully and Lovat were both better served to the east than to the west, Beaully having no public roads, but still tolerable ways in the east part while communication to the west with Glenstrathfarrar was very difficult.³ Lovat had "tolerably good" roads between Inverness and Castle Downie for eight miles, but to the west the roads were extremely bad.⁴ Coigach, he simply wrote off as having among the worst roads in the Highland, mountainous, rocky and full of stones, with no bridges upon the rivers so that "nothing but necessity makes strangers resort here and for a great part of the year it is almost inaccessible".⁵ The area round New Tarbat house had very good roads and easy communications with Tain and other public places,⁶ while a few miles further west in Strathpeffer, there were very bad roads which were never repaired, with no bridges.⁷ Always excepting the fastness of Struan, however, it is a fairly safe generalisation to state that not only were the "publick roads" or the "king's highway" at a more developed stage in the south; so were private and public interest and activity in the building of roads and improvements of communications generally.

1. E729/1, p.68.
3. E729/1, p.16.
5. E729/1, p.11.
7. E729/1, p.7.

2. E777/244, p.47.
4. E729/1, p.21.
6. E729/1, p.4.

The inhabitants of Balquhiddar were sufficiently interested in the convenience they presumably felt they gained from the Stirling-Fort William road's passage through the east end of their barony. They had tried to bridge the deep ditch or gott that lay between their land and the road. This ditch and the morass on each side of it which they attempted to solidify by filling in with stones, had been a considerable obstacle in wet weather. Their bridge was castigated as a very bad one, but at least they showed some initiative.¹ So had the tenants on the estate of Perth in the barony of Kinbuck who with their neighbours had built a bridge over the river Allan at Kinbuck, in 1753, at their own expense, borrowing £25 to complete it.² Roads in that area from Dunblane over towards Strathearn were all reasonable, even the cross roads being described as tolerable.³

The Commissioners of Supply were also taking some action, in Perthshire at least, for the road on Lochearnside that according to Barcaldine had previously been so extremely bad as to be almost impassable, had been repaired by parish work from Balquhiddar and Comrie, i.e. statute labour, and was now good enough for carriage traffic.⁴ The road was apparently neither complete nor particularly well made for in 1765, the factor produced an estimate of £210 which was needed over and above the statute work to improve a length of it at the west end of Loch Earn, west of the wood of Ardvaich.⁵ This expenditure was approved on the grounds that the road opened up communication between the lowland parts of Perthshire and the west Highlands.⁶

Another line of new road, a comparatively large scheme, had been decided on by Colonel Watson, the military Supervisor of Roads in Scotland, who was also one of the original commissioners. After what James Small called "a view of Rannoch", Watson had decided that more necessary than any other was a cross-country road from the Stirling to Fort-William road through

1. E777/244, pp. 6-7.

2. E777/244, p.43. See plates I, II.

3. E777/244, p.37.

4. E777/244, p.30.

5. F.R. Perth 31A; E721/8, p.114.

6. E721/8, p.26.

Glenorchy, Rannoch, along the Tummel, crossing the Perth-Inverness highway, then over the hills of Stormont to the Perth-Braemar road by Glen Brerachan and thence down the Ardlie valley to Alyth. This road was to open Rannoch both to trade and the civilisation to be gained from the marching of troops through the country! Watson apparently envisaged opening up an east-west highway, from the sea, Alyth giving access to Strathmore, whence goods could reach Montrose. He had used his military manpower, a sergeant and twelve men, to encourage the locals, with some effect, for the six miles between Tummel Bridge and Kinloch Rannoch had been made and work was now continuing along the south side of the Loch, the King's side, Slisgarrow. East of Tummel Bridge, local labour was being applied and it was expected that in three years, this would reach Alyth.¹

The making of such a road answered every demand of the annexation; it opened the country that had been a centre for thieves and stolen cattle,² so helping prevent such misdemeanours, and also made the entrance of such civilised activities as manufactures easier and hence more likely, as well as increasing the possibilities of social intercourse with the lowlands. As a result the commissioners gladly spent money on it each year, £65.7.3½. in 1755, even before the central government began to take an interest in their proceedings.³

The high road through Rannoch on the south side of the loch lay almost entirely in the estate of Struan, the area called Slisgarrow, twenty-four miles long and six miles broad⁴ so that any statute labour required was likely to be demanded from Struan tenants. As the road was only part of a larger scheme, the Board told Small to apply to the Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply in May of 1756 for assistance in repairing the roads leading to and from and through Rannoch. Thereafter such aid and

1. E783/84/1, pp. 10-11.
3. E783/102.

2. E783/84/1, p.4.
4. E783/84/1, p.5.

authorisation was forthcoming each year though the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates provided tools and had them repaired and the labour usually included a sergeant and twelve men.¹ By 1758, the road was sixteen miles long but still needed three miles to Innercomrie where there was an army headquarters.² The presence of the barracks there no doubt helped persuade the Commander-in-Chief to hire out men on this particular stretch of road though in 1757 Lord George Beauclerk deferred permission until after the reviews,³ and in 1758, the order had come too late to be of any use. Small had found soldiers very useful both in directing and instructing the natives of the area, and indeed, he went so far as to say that without them, the road could not be carried on.⁴ In 1757, he had been prepared to put up with an overseer if no military men were available,⁵ but overseers were expensive⁶ and not so effective as a gang of soldiers who were used to the work.

The administrative costs to the Board in road-making were a surprisingly high proportion of the whole. The Struan factor's visits to the Quarter-Sessions at Perth were an essential part of the business of road-making as he had to get a warrant to carry on the road and each year his costs amounted to £2 to £4. In 1756, out of £11.9.0 $\frac{7}{12}$ spent on the Rannoch high road, £3.10.0. was allotted to the factor's visit to Perth. The remainder included £2.1.0. for spades and shovels, £1.5.8 $\frac{7}{12}$ for 12 pickaxes, 10/- to a wright for making shafts for picks and hammers, £2.2.10 to a Kinloch Rannoch smith for making and mending tools, £1.12.6. for sundries and 7/- for the carriage of wheel barrows and pickaxes from

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1. E721/2, p.103; E721/2, p.99; E721/3, p.60; E721/4, p.202.
 2. E721/4, p.117.
 3. E721/2, p.99.
 4. F.R. Struan 8.
 5. E721/3, p.60.
 6. F.R. Struan 8; Overseer cost £2.15.0. out of total expense of £12.2.1 $\frac{1}{2}$; in 1770 £5.7.1. out of £8.2.1. for road workers. E783/104.

Blairgowrie.¹ Being able to buy wheel barrows etc. from the army stores at Blairgowrie was not an unmixed blessing for they were not always new and needed more frequent renewals as a result.²

Tools were at all times an expense that had to be borne by the commissioners for the country people had nothing suitable. The Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of Supply could direct statute labour to certain undertakings, but the tools were not their concern. When the minister at Lochbroom had persuaded the Board to ask for statute labour for making a road to a limestone quarry³ the factor had to be allowed £20 for tools and for paying an overseer.⁴ The commissioners were perhaps sometimes unrealistic about such matters as the reactions of the inhabitants over whose lives they had so much control. In Barrisdale, the committee discussing the road funds proposed that the factor should buy tools and sell them to the tenants at prime cost, at the same time binding them to keep the tools in good order.⁵ Fortunately the Barrisdale factor must have been in Edinburgh at the time and three days later that plan was scotched on his pointing out that the people in Barrisdale thought it a grievance to be obliged to work on the roads at all so it was not to be expected that they could be brought to pay for the tools.⁶

As far as the Rannoch road was concerned, however, despite the fairly speedy and promising start on the route from Alyth to Glen Orchy, Watson's design was never finished, for the last nine miles from Rannoch to the head of Glen Orchy are still unmade. In 1755, the factor described this as mostly moss, not fit for horses.⁷ By the time the estates were returned to the old families in 1784, military interest in Highland roads was decreasing and there was insufficient demand from any other pressure lobby to complete this line. 1894 saw the opening of the railway line from

1. E783/102, 1756.
3. E721/6, p.327.
5. E721/9, p.135.
7. E783/84/1, p.11.

2. E721/4, p.202.
4. E721/7, p.78.
6. E721/9, p.145.

Helensburgh to Fort William by Rannoch Moor¹ so the B846 makes its way west from the head of Loch Rannoch to Rannoch station and stops there. The traveller wanting to cross that piece of ground by any other means than on foot has to go by rail. The road from Kinloch Rannoch however, along the south side of the loch through the Struan estate, passing the factor's farm at Carie, to the west end of the loch, engaged funds each year until 1784.²

One major project in road-making directly affected the annexed estates, Captain Forbes, the Lovat and Cromarty factor, suggested that one of the great contributions that could be made towards the "civilising" of Ceigach in Lochbroom parish was to have the road from Dingwall to Lochbroom made up, for without this, overland trade between the east and west coasts was impracticable.³ When John Neilson had reported to the Board of Trustees for Manufactures he had considered that the expense of making this road suitable for wheel carriages was so great it could not be defrayed by the county.⁴ In 1757, the heritors in Lochbroom, led by Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, sent in a petition to the commissioners asking for help in constructing such a highway. They pointed out that as eighteen of the twenty-four miles of the planned road went through uninhabited country - heath - therefore statute labour was of little use, but if the Board would open the subscription list, then it might be possible with their support to collect enough money to pay for labour. The Board was cautious and recommended the petitioners to apply first to the Quarter Sessions to have statute labour used as much as possible and then in case of a deficiency, they would consider what assistance they might give.⁵

By August the next year, Sir Alexander was able to report that a trial had been made of using statute labour and he once again, with fellow

1. H.A. Vallance, The Highland Railway (London, 1971), p.49.
2. E783/102-106. 3. E729/1, p.13.
4. S.R.O. N.G. 1/7, iv. p.47. 5. E721/4, pp. 17, 18.

proprietor Kenneth MacKenzie of Dundonnel, asked for help. This time, he was asked to give an estimate including the proportion of the expense he proposed that the Board should pay.¹ and this estimate, the commissioners had before them in December, 1758. A road twelve feet wide was thought to be sufficient and the cost was expected to be 2d. per yard, except in rocky or marsh land. As such terrain was infrequent, the whole cost for 48,000 yards was estimated at £400 though above that tools would have to be provided, an overseer would need a "consideration", and with the incidental expenses the whole was expected to amount to £500, which would include necessary bridges, not always included initially in road-planning,² but two small rivers had been mentioned by Forbes as in the way.³ The proprietors of the Cromarty estate might have been expected to underwrite three-fifths of this, the memorialists one-fifth and the remaining heritors the rest, but the MacKenzies were prepared to pay one quarter if the Board would pay the rest to "avoid fractions and subdivisions". Despite their public-spirited approach, the Board delayed consideration of this; it will be remembered that at this time, they were obtaining no response to any reports sent to the King.⁴

There the matter rested as far as the commissioners were concerned until July 1763, when once again, they had a letter before them from Sir Alexander MacKenzie. On this occasion he elaborated his argument for the road by suggesting that the many bays and safe harbours for the plentiful herring and cod on the Ross-shire coast would be of more advantage if they were accessible by a high road from the east, especially from Dingwall to Lochbroom. Both Strathpeffer and Coigach would benefit from such a road, both parts of the annexed estates. While the proprietors at both the east and west ends of the proposed line of road had made an effort to make it

1. E721/4, p.142; E746/87.
3. E729/1, p.13.

2. E721/4, p.154.
4. E721/4, p.154.

fit for riding, the centre was "a desert with a steep at each end" and lack of labour had prevented the proprietor making any impression on it. Once again, as in 1757, he declared it would not be difficult to make as the bottom of the road was hard and £5 a mile would make it suitable for horses, £10 for carriages. The committee considering the matter thought that the secretary should write to see if Sir Alexander would undertake to make the road rideable at £5 a mile¹ and later in the day, the whole Board agreed that in addition he should make three miles of the road fit for carriage traffic.²

Two years later, there was unwillingness to supplement this aid though the road was unfinished and the Lochbroom heritors had spent £200 on it.³ Eventually in February 1767 the full meeting of the Board approved a committee's opinion that as no road was of more consequence, the factor on Lovat and Cromarty should employ the statute labour, but he should also be empowered to buy tools and pay an overseer. Also the Board should apply to the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland for a sergeant and twelve men to work with the country people.⁴ Tools had to be shipped in to Coigach as the tenants were poorly provided⁵ and in 1768 alone, there was a bill for £25.12.9½ for tools and carriage.⁶ By comparison, carriage of tools to Struan in 1768 cost 19.4 $\frac{6}{12}$.⁷ It is likely that without the existence of the Board for the Annexed Estates this particular stretch of road would have waited longer than it did to be made, for it is clear from correspondence that the heritors started the project in hopes of a contribution from the crown estates, in an underpopulated area where statute labour as a result was impracticable and the presence of annexed lands at

1. E721/7, p.105.
3. E721/8, p.200.
5. E721/11, p.11.
7. E783/104/6.

2. E721/7, p.114.
4. E721/10, p.29.
6. E746/195/5.

each end of the projected line made government help a reasonable expectation.

The roads in Caithness were also much needed for John Knox had found nothing that he was prepared to describe as a road on his tour but as A.R.B. Haldane points out though the records are scanty it is certain that communication in the second half of the eighteenth century was primitive and inadequate.¹ Even after the initial making of the road, usually inefficient, the upkeep was a drag on resources that nobody at the time possessed. The road from Contin to Lochbroom that the Board for the Annexed Estates had so highly approved and whose completion Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Coul had so actively pursued had apparently disappeared by the time the British Fisheries Society began to establish Ullapool for they decided to undertake the construction, not the repair, of a road from Contin to Ullapool.² Seduced by urgent need for transport and employment in the area and bullied by the government into accepting a cheap estimate, the road was finished in 1797 for £4,582 instead of £8,000 which an earlier surveyor had considered necessary. Economy in making any road tends to be false saving, nowhere perhaps more than in the Highlands, and twelve years later this stretch of road had to be remade once again by the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges.³

Roads tend to beget roads, for once their convenience has been experienced, those in less-endowed areas begin to feel their own needs. The Dingwall-Lochbroom highway was soon followed by the logical continuation further north, the road from Ullapool to the Dornoch firth through Glen "Achell" - Oykeill. The inhabitants of Easter Ross had made two miles of this before the Board was approached in 1768 and the Inspector, Archibald

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1. A.R.B. Haldane, New Ways Through the Glens (London, 1962), p.14. Hereafter, Haldane, New Ways.
 2. Haldane, New Ways, p.12.
 3. Haldane, New Ways, p.13.

Menzies was directed to consult Captain Ross of Balnagowan about the tools needed for continuing it for nine miles through the glen.¹ Menzies saw Ross who thought that an overseer would be needed and of course tools, for which Captain Ross was prepared to take the responsibility in case they were "embezzled" returning them when the road was made. He had also applied to the county to be allowed to use all his tenants' statute labour on this road.² The commissioners paid David Aitken £13.13.2. to measure, survey and mark out the line of road³ and also provided the overseer's wage of £3 per annum for three years from 1770 when Captain Ross claimed that one was necessary to speed the work and to be sure it was properly executed.⁴

It does not appear that the commissioners initially envisaged their duties as involving them in large-scale subsidisation of road-making. The factors were usually instructed to ask for county aid and the Board were willing to pay for tools beyond the normal expense they would have incurred as heritors. But it was a prime interest, nevertheless. In 1763, Small reported that all extra money "overplus" as he called it, from the Baron Bailie Court went on roads or similar projects.⁵ In Barrisdale, where it will be remembered that road access was lacking, by 1762 the factor had the Knoydart tenants at work on opening a road which he represented as the shortest from the south, through Lochaber to Skye and the Western Isles. This was not an easy task, for there were not many inhabitants, the farms were scattered and at some distance from the roads wanted. In addition they had no tools so that progress had been slow. The commissioners had no hesitation in authorising him to buy tools, to employ a sergeant and twelve men and in addition a skilful man to direct the making of the said roads.⁶ The Commissioners of Supply had authorised this line along Loch

1. E721/11, p.11.

2. E721/11, p.10.

3. E721/19, p.19.

4. E721/19, p.19.

5. F.R. Struan 9. Report on Baron Bailie Court.

6. E721/7, p.27.

Arkaig on the north side, through Glen Dessary to Inverie where a bridge cost £89.4.0. in 1763.¹

There was also a ready response to a request for aid beyond what the annexed estates in Inverness-shire would have been called on to pay if a general assessment was made, when more road work was required than the ordinary statute work could supply. In 1762, the Commissioners of Supply for Inverness-shire had faced criticism on account of lack of attention to making and repairing roads. As the main thoroughfare north from Inverness to the Ferry at Beauly had to cross one area with difficult terrain and three small bridges, a committee of the Commissioners of Supply had assessed the county at the legal rate of 10d in the £100 Scots of valued rent but this produced only £30 sterling. £25 more was essential and when the factor wrote that there was no road between Inverness and Tain more in need of repair or causing more complaints from strangers to the area than any other stretch, he was at once instructed to supply not more than £25 once the sum raised by assessment was used up.²

In Perthshire, the whole road system was somewhat more sophisticated than that existing further north. The main arteries leading from the south were made before 1745; and as we have seen, even some cross roads aimed at joining these were either planned or already improved. Individual landowners were also more active, Lord Breadalbane for example having made the whole road along the north side of Loch Tay, including thirty-two bridges.³ Later there seemed to be a change and the Perthshire heritors would not accept assistance from the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges with the result that Southey describes an incident when a traveller's carriage came on what he called a "devil's bowling green", but the driver was quite unconcerned and merely remarked "Perthshire! We're in Perthshire, Sir".⁴ What the commissioners found themselves mainly concerned with

1. F.R. Barrisdale 9.
3. Pennant, Tour, 11, p.104.
4. Southey, Tour, pp. 25-26.

2. E721/6, p.253.

in their Perthshire estates was in improving or building lines of road that would benefit their own lands in the first place, either by making the carriage of wood easier or by simply increasing the convenience of communications for their tenants or by opening access to lime quarries and kilns, thus enhancing the values of estates.¹

One stretch of road which could be represented as fulfilling all these needs was that west from Callander along Loch Venacher through Strathgartney. By 1763, a combination of statute work and £20 spent under the direction of Campbell of Barcaldine had resulted in six miles of good road, which the Board was inclined to encourage by allowing the factor to spend another £20,² as the woods in Strathgartney were valuable. Whether Campbell did in fact spend all he was allowed the commissioners took leave to doubt for in the chaos of his accounts, he had apparently lost his vouchers,³ so that in 1765, £20 was struck out of his expenses⁴ but the road continued nevertheless, under the succeeding factor. The overseer employed by Campbell in fact claimed for his unpaid wages for thirty-eight weeks and one day from 1754 to 1760 and had his claim sustained.⁵ The road however, went only as far as the Trossachs, which in 1755, had been almost inaccessible, closing off the upper part of the barony of Strathgartney except by boat on Loch Katrine.⁶ Later in 1765, Archibald Menzies had toured this area and as well as having some harsh words about the way in which the roads along the loch, especially at the Bridge of Turk, had been laid out, he suggested the use of gunpowder to clear rocks from the place called the Ladders, which he thought £40 or £50 would cover. He considered that statute labour could then be used to do the rest, once the foundations had been laid in this method.⁷

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1. E777/244, p.20; E721/2, p.43; E777/179; F.R. Perth 31A, 1765 re Cochearn road, a difficult bit needing more than statute labour.
 2. E721/7, p.74.
 3. E729/8, p.65.
 4. E721/8, p.218.
 5. E721/9, pp. 95, 152; E729/8, p.65.
 6. E777/244, p.20.
 7. E729/8, p.65.

The commissioners looked still further and saw the possibilities of continuing the road to the barracks at Inversnaid at the west end of Loch Arklet so they instructed Menzies to consider this and prepare a letter asking for military help.¹ In 1767, the allowance of £20 was ordered to be applied immediately, after the Board had considered Menzies' comments on the need for a road from Callander to Loch Katrine, without mention of the continuation to Inversnaid² and in 1770 there was an enthusiastic report from Small describing what had been done by that time.³ There was now passage for horses and he expected that carts would be able to make their way through the next year. For about a mile, the whole level of the road along the loch had been raised by five to ten feet and about a quarter of a mile had been cut out of whin rock which he declared to have been ten to twenty feet high.

With perhaps justifiable pride, Small remarked that "there was never a road of the kind undertaken in Scotland by a subject or by statute work" and he gave credit to the Inspector and to James Stewart in Edralednoch as overseer. The whole cost would not exceed £60, certainly more than Menzies had first estimated, but Small pointed out that as much, plus statute work, had been spent on repairing the old road and had that amount been "expended every year for 500" it never could have been a passable road. More was needed of course, but by 1773, the local heritors were interested and Captain Charles Stewart, tenant in Letter, and others were asking for help to complete the road in Strathgartney. £15 was granted on condition that the inhabitants would finish it.⁴ By the end of the period of annexation, the road was under the consideration of a committee of the Perthshire Quarter Sessions and George Nicolson was perturbed by

1. E777/269/1.
3. E777/249/7.

2. E721/10, p.136.
4. E721/24, pp. 250, 251.

their suggestion that the road should be altered from Duncraggan to cross to the south side of Loch Achray. This would have affected the sale of Strathgartney oak woods by adding to the carriage, and the Board thought the factor should apply to the committee to keep the road on the north side,¹ where the road still runs. Alteration would have led to considerable expense. The alteration would have required another bridge over the Black Water and had the county made a change that the Board felt would have deleterious results for the annexed estates they might well have felt hardly done by, after their initiative and funds there had made such a improvement to the road. But the continuation to Inversnaid was never finished; in 1818 the traveller, John Anderson reported that even the footpath from the Trossachs to Inversnaid was wretchedly bad² and today, access by "carriage-road" is still only through Aberfoyle.

Two other lines of road considered at different times by the commissioners were also abortive. Archibald Menzies was once again responsible for the idea of one, a direct road from Loch Rannoch to the head of Loch Tay.³ His motives on this occasion were purely for the internal good of the estates of Struan and Perth, for the relevant report which was read in June 1767 made the point that if this road was opened, then the Rannoch timber could be sent to the Perth estate, providing the tenants there with much better quality than that supplied from Drummond. It would also have benefited the tacksman at Carie sawmill who had not been able to sell his wood that year. Another road, the public road from Braemar to Atholl had destroyed his market, carriage of other timber being easier and presumably cheaper than by the paths from Rannoch and the county road towards Pitlochry. The Inspector had persuaded the Commissioners of Supply to allow statute labour for work on the road proposed and he wanted some military help too.⁴

1. E721/25, p.354.

3. E729/8, pp. 150-151.

2. N.L.S. Ms.2509, f.13.

4. E729/8, p.150; E721/10, p.130.

This scheme got as far as having some financial arrangements made¹ but unfortunately, despite the Board's allowance for tools both for this and for a road leading from Loch Tay to the Water of Lyon, government policy towards road-building in Scotland had already begun to be less generous and the Marquis of Lorne, the Commander-in-Chief, refused the help of the military on the suggested Tay-Rannoch line. The government he said had resolved to begin no new roads in Scotland and had scarcely sufficient troops for those already undertaken.² The Commissioners of Supply in Perthshire appointed a committee in 1769 to consider the petition but there can not have been sufficient interest in the idea to press it.³ George Nicolson in 1783 still persevered in pointing out the benefits of such a highway for the sale of Rannoch wood, all the more likely to be of use as by then there was a road from Glenlyon to Breadalbane,⁴ but this was too late for the Board, and it was the 1960's before this line along the side of Ben Lawers was macadamised.

The idea of the other abortive line in Perthshire also emerged too late in the Board's lifespan to have any chance of completion under their auspices. It too was cross-country, from Callander to Glenartney, along the Water of Ruchill to Comrie and Crieff, and the conception of such a route rose from the Board's policy in providing access to lime quarries. Where lime was found, convenient for their tenants but without good road access, the commissioners were usually able to find money for a road. There were several examples of this, not only in the Perthshire area. In March, 1763, £20 was allowed for tools and an overseer's wage, for the country people to make a passable road to a quarry near Ardmair in Coigach;⁵ £10 was spent on the road to a limestone quarry at Finart.⁶ That to the quarry at Leny took some time to come to fruition. The charges there first

1. E731/11/6.

3. P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.66.

5. E721/7, p.78.

2. E727/35/9.

4. E788/22/4.

6. E721/27, p.70.

attracted the Board's attention in 1757 and the factor was asked to see if statute labour could be used to make a cart road.¹ The estimate was too expensive so the matter was dropped until in 1762 Lord Kames brought the matter up again² and his plea for improvements was reinforced by "some of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Callander of Menteith" in the following spring.³ An estimate by William Shields was simply ordered to be laid upon the table, but John Buchanan of Auchlessie who had a tack of the quarry offered to make the road for £60 if the Board would entrust him with the money through the factor.⁴ This offer was accepted with alacrity as Shields' estimate had been for £173.

Any improving landlord was likely to look favourably on such constructions and in 1755, William Cockburn had mentioned roads made from Lochearnside to lime quarries on the Perth estate.⁵ Buchanan also discovered lime on the farm of Lurgavie two miles from Callander and a road was commissioned towards this quarry, for which the factor in one year at least paid out £69.10.0 after the Board's order of July, 1781.⁶ Having begun this route, it apparently occurred to the Board after considering Frenn's journal and survey of the Perth estate that it would be a reasonable idea to join this up with the existing road along Glenartney, to Achinner, where the funds of the estates had already been used to build bridges.⁷ Estimates were drawn up in 1783 for the junction, 3½ miles at £96.13.8, varying in price from 3d per ell where there was hard bottom available to 5d per ell on soft or mossy ground.⁸ But the traveller who would cross there today must still go on foot, or perhaps on horseback.

When the annexation officially began in 1752, military roads were still of importance and the skill the troops gradually acquired in road-

1. E721/2, p.43.

3. E721/7, p.51.

5. E777/243.

7. E721/25, p.298.

2. E721/6, p.239; E777/259.

4. E721/7, p.114; F.R. Perth 24.

6. E777/321.

8. F.R. Perth 40.

making was, as we have seen, often available for county or private use in making new lines and developing old ones. But the situation gradually changed as the Highlands became more amenable to Lowland habits and discipline and Highland gentlemen who some years previously might have been likely supporters of a Stewart attempt on the throne had become loyal officers in George III's army. As there was less need for such large bodies of troops in the northern parts of Scotland, while the Seven Years War made increasing demands, the decrease in manpower in the Highlands reduced the numbers who could be freed from work on the roads that were the direct responsibility of the army. Their expertise was no longer available for application to other lines of communication.

Indeed, according to Lieutenant-General Mackay there were not enough to keep the military roads in repair. In 1767, Lieutenant-Colonel Skene, who incidentally became a tenant on the annexed estates,¹ succeeded William Caulfield as Inspector of the Military Roads. Caulfield had been Inspector since 1732 and Dr. Salmond gives him credit for the burst of bridge-building that took place on these roads thereafter. When Skene succeeded him, there were 858 miles of highway made and 139 miles in the course of construction.² But though this mileage of 997 had increased by 1784 to about 1,100, Mackay wrote to the Treasury that not only were they in general in bad repair at that date but that Skene had found them so on his appointment; and he had not been able to remedy the situation "for want of troops to work upon them with which I could not supply him from the small numbers we have had".³ Mackay also propounded that there was a case for public assumption of the burden of road-making where the wildness and barrenness of the country and the thin population made this inevitable. He still supported the use of statute labour of course, where it was

1. E777/165; E777/305(1).

2. Salmond, Wade, p.298.

3. Salmond, Wade, p.302.

practicable, but he thought the situation needed clarification regarding the military participation "however proper and necessary the making of these roads may originally have been".¹ Clarification almost inevitably resulted in a decrease in military responsibility for roads that were no longer essential for policing except occasionally for ensuring evictions. By 1799, only 599 miles of military roads were kept in repair and in 1814 the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges were made the responsible body when they proceeded to rationalise the system and maintain only roads that could be shown to be of public use.²

As the military authorities lost both the will and capacity to maintain roads, it was fortunate for the future of the Highland road system, however deficient it may still be, that others became willing to shoulder some of the burden. The heritors were foremost among those by whom "the salutary effects of the great roads made by the government through the Highlands were sensibly felt".³ It was they who would have to bear the greater part of the expense of road construction and who could influence the Commissioners of Supply. Without their appreciation of the benefits of better transport and their expenditure which was beyond the calls of private interest, Highland communications would have deteriorated from even the eighteenth century conditions. The Commissioners of Supply were able to achieve little in the northern counties with the limited financial resources and the inefficient labour at their disposal.⁴ Turnpikes were never highly developed in the Highlands, Inverness-shire had twelve miles and the other crofting counties none. In 1855, when a commission inquired into the conditions of public roads in Scotland.⁵

1. Salmond, Wade, p.299.

2. Salmond, Wade, p.302.

3. E728/30/1.

4. Cf. Argyllshire assessment in the following pages.

5. Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into Matters Relating to Public Roads in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1859).

B.P.P. 1860 (2596) xxxviii. 1; 1860 (2596-I) xxxviii. 301.

So much depended on the heritors in individual districts. The writer of the account in the O.S.A. of Abernyte complained that the roads were bad because there were no resident heritors¹ while John Stewart petitioning for aid for Ballachulish pier claimed that the landed gentlemen and the inhabitants of the county were carrying on so much road-construction by subscription that no more could be expected from them.² The areas wherein the annexed estates lay were fortunate that with regard to communication the commissioners though absentee landlords took a wide view of the subject and of their responsibilities and were prepared to spend, in this field, to the limit of their resources. This was one aspect of their activities that almost always received prompt attention and approval from the central government. Initially they acted as generous, far-sighted landlords did all over the country, having more of their income from the estates at their disposal than the normal landowner who had to maintain his family and house in some degree of comfort. They supported the other local heritors when they showed any disposition to help themselves, as in Lochbroom and Rannoch. The factor in Arnprior was directed to take his due part with the other gentlemen in the area in making a road through Arnprior moss to Glasgow.³ Where more funds were needed than the county could reasonably supply, they subsidised when possible, the Trossachs road being the most dramatic example and their assistance to bridge-building was a notable contribution as we shall see below. They objected to any implicit assumption, however, that they would automatically underwrite expense; when the Committee for the Western District of roads in Perthshire forwarded a memorandum asking that the Board would be pleased to order an estimate to be made of the gravelling of a road between Callander and Cardross Bridge and order their factor to advance this, there was an immediate and unexplained refusal.⁴

1. O.S.A. ix. p.149.

3. E721/16, p.15.

2. E728/31/3.

4. E721/25, p.174.

Until the 1770's, however, their activities were confined to cross-roads or local roads leading off completely new lines of made roads. Thereafter there is a widening of interest. This was, like most of their activities, an interest that was injected from outside. It is not improbable that the applications that appeared were inspired but the lack of hesitation on the part of the government in agreeing to the commissioners' suggestions may show an awareness of a deficiency which the annexed estates rents could usefully make good. Just how insufficient county funds were even when converted is illustrated in a letter from Henry Butter to the secretary of the commissioners, Barclay, in July 1778.¹ He wrote that in Argyllshire the county was divided into administrative districts, the statute labour was converted and commuted at 1/- per £1 sterling valued rent, payable by the heritors to the collector of the land tax. Four-fifths was to be applied within the district, one fifth was at the disposal of the general meeting of Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply. The first great road in the county that was to be made under this act was that from Strontian to the Corran Ferry. The annual funds that could be raised in the district after the fifth for the county generally and the clerk's salary had been deducted was £25 so only £250 could be borrowed. But the cost of the road was expected to be about £600 excluding bridges, as there was so much impassable rock to cut. As the main heritors, who included the Duke of Argyll, the annexed estates commissioners and the trustees for MacLean of Ardgour, were not at the relevant meeting, only conditional arrangements were made but the Board was to advance £75 or £60 if the general meeting appropriated its legal rights.

In such circumstances, it must have been a happy realisation in many

1. E768/59/11. The valued rent of Lochiel estate in Ardnamurchan was £75.

areas that funds existed beyond the statutory provisions, funds that were not precisely cornucopic but could certainly be tapped, and one of the earliest appeals came from Hugh Seton of Touch. In December 1776 the Board considered his appeal for assistance in building a road through Glencoe to meet the military road from Fort William south to Stirling by the King's House at Black Mount.¹ According to Seton, Argyllshire had begun to feel excluded from the benefits of good roads. The gentlemen and inhabitants there were critical of the existing road and the line from Fort William to King's House was described with some justification as a very bad one which even the inhabitants from Lochiel avoided by using Corran and Ballachulish ferries. Even ferries were preferable to the route by Fort William and thence over "high almost perpendicular hills, often impassable even on horse, in winter". Seton could also enumerate the advantages of improvements there to the cattle trade of Ardnamurchan, Morven, Sunart and the islands. Drovers would be able to cross the ferries and have immediate access to the military road instead of going round by the head of Loch Eil where there were no made roads. The recently formed sheep farms in the area were also handicapped as wool by law could not be transported by water and the English traders were discouraged by the transport difficulties, as was a proposed woollen industry. So Seton declared.

Argyllshire heritors were at the time active in road-building and as a result it was impossible to raise subscriptions for £1,600 had already been raised for a road in Kintyre. The thinner population in the northern part of the county concerned could not raise a sufficient sum. Nor were the county funds adequate. However, of the fifteen miles estimated at £1,000 the most expensive part went through the estate of Ardsheal. About

1. E721/18, p.164; E728/30/1.

£500 had been obtained by subscription and if the Board would give the remainder, Seton promised himself to supply any deficiency, building the five bridges that were necessary and promising to finish the road in three years.¹

Several factors in this situation would impress the commissioners favourably. Perhaps the most important would be the evidence of local interest and active financial assistance, but in addition the fact that the road could be shown to effect and help the annexed estates. In 1777, after considering the state of their funds, they asked permission from the King to bestow the sum requested² for a road "through a place called Glenco" and the proposal was given the King's entire approbation.³

Five years after the original application the commissioners became somewhat restive as the road was not yet finished and Lord Stonefield was given control of the capital to use the interest in public roads generally in Argyllshire until demand was made for the money.⁴ In the next summer however, he was allowed to hand over the funds, provided he found the other subscriptions had been paid in and used in suitable proportion, as the Commissioners of Supply for Argyll headed by Major John Campbell of Airds put in a plea for the grant.⁵ The road had begun and was not finished but the expense was so great the money was needed immediately.⁶

Earlier, assistance had been given on what today is the continuation north of this road, from Ballachulish Ferry to Fort William by the sea coast. Near the ferry on the estate of Lochiel some parts of the road were impassable except at ebb-tide and the county once again could not provide funds.⁷ The estimate asked for by the Board⁸ amounted to £128.10.8. which Butter thought too high and he suggested restricting the

1. E728/30/1.
3. E724/1, p.53.
5. E721/12, p.2.
7. F.R. Lochiel 15.

2. E721/11, p.166; E723/2, p.256.
4. E721/11, p.224.
6. E728/30/8.
8. E721/11, p.103.

expense to £50 the first year.¹ Little or nothing was done, though the county did apparently do some road-making in this area, and a bridge was built over the Kiachnish, three miles south of Fort William, one that Butter mentioned in his earlier reports on bridges needed.² Fortunately this bridge was in a more reasonable position (though now by-passed by the line of road going nearer the loch-side) than many in Glenelg built by the contractors on the road to Bernera barracks from Fort Augustus. There the contractor seems to have been sent ahead and naturally chose places for bridges where he could build them most cheaply, apparently without regard to the most suitable lines for roads.³ In 1783, the Inverness-shire Commissioners of Supply asked for £210⁴ but consideration of this request had to be deferred until 1784 as the funds of the Board were already allocated, largely on this occasion on grain to combat the dearth of the previous year, and hence it was never dealt with on account of the disannexation.

While the assistance given to the road through Glencoe could be described without much stretch of the imagination as directly affecting the annexed estates by improving access, further extensive aid to the Commissioners of Supply in Argyllshire must be considered as contributing to the widest aims of the Annexing Act, the development of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland generally. In February 1780, the first instalment towards the completing of the Inveraray-Campbeltown post road was authorised, the second £100 of the £300 allowed to be granted the following June.⁵ The Argyll heritors must have seemed deserving cases for they had already contributed £1,800, the districts through which the roads passed had been assessed at £3,000 and £391 was still required for bridges.

No doubt the success of this application in providing a precedent

1. F.R. Lochiel 14. 20-7-1773.

2. E786/33/1; E732/16; See Plate IV.

3. O.S.A. xvi, p.274.

4. E721/12, p.14.

5. E721/11, p.209.

helped the proprietors of South Knapdale and Kilberry when they needed help in making a new road in their district to join the post road. The aid of £250 granted was to be paid out in three instalments, £100 when the local subscription of £200 had been spent, another £100 when £400 had been laid out and the remaining £50 of the grant when the last £200 was exhausted.¹ In March, 1782, another £300 was to be allowed in the Kintyre and Knapdale districts to be under the management of the Duke of Argyll, on condition that a similar sum was spent on the roads and bridges there by the local inhabitants,² and this was duly authorised in June of that year.³ When asking permission from the King to grant the money asked for, the commissioners could plead that they were sensible of the public utility of the work and point to the large sum raised voluntarily by the heritors.⁴ When the people of Argyllshire sent in their memorial on the subject, they had informed the commissioners that as well as the conversion of statute labour in 1774 which brought in £800 annually, they had raised £1,700 for roads, the Duke of Argyll having donated £700.⁵

One other county not directly connected with the annexed estates became conscious of the possibilities of obtaining help from the Board. Headed by Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, the Caithness heritors asked for assistance, claiming that they had made roads and bridges for some years as well as could be expected with bad tools and unwilling workmen, which was all that anyone seemed to expect from statute labour. Like everyone else they declared that the ground their roads traversed was the most difficult in Scotland not only for making roads but for repair, in this area because of the high hills, precipices and deep mosses. The petitioners were not of course selfish! The roads they built were, as they claimed, the only ones leading to Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire, and towards Orkney and Shetland. Nor were they too boastful! They were "not inclined

1. E721/11, p.225.

3. E721/12, p.15; E727/35/1.

5. E728/30/6.

2. E721/12, p.1.

4. E723/3, p.38.

to vaunt of aid" they had afforded the government in furnishing greater proportion of men than any other county in Scotland. They calculated their expenses at £20 a mile, and the total would amount to £2,640 with £500 for additional bridges.¹ The Board allowed them £100² in 1779 but Sinclair was indefatigable and business-like. He had used the first allowance on the road from the Ord of Caithness to Wick and the following year sent his vouchers to the Secretary of the Borad of Trustees showing that £50 out of the total had been spent on bridges on the road. His estimates for work proposed on the Caithness roads in the summer of 1780 totalled £525, one interesting item being £100 for maintenance of the tenants working on the roads on account both of their poverty and "their disinclination to roadmaking". Another £100 was also to be spent on hiring labour.³ He had 800 - 900 men working and would have 1,000 more before he was done with them.⁴ The commissioners asked permission to spend a further £150.⁵

The Caithness freeholders did not restrict their appeals to the commissioners but applied as well to the Treasury, only to have their petition handed on to the Board for the Annexed Estates,⁶ though it would appear that this may have been on their suggestion. R.B. Sheridan was the Treasury officer responsible and the Board replying to him pointed out that they were restricted to spending £500 a year on roads which was the reason for the application being made to the Treasury. The restriction was based on the idea that the greater part of the public roads in the Highlands were repaired from the General Military Fund,⁷ an official notion which obscured the facts if General Mackay was to be believed. While approving of improvements to the Caithness roads in general, however, the

1. E728/30/2.

2. E721/11, p.202; E727/35/8.

3. E728/30/3.

4. E727/35/6(1), (2) - Bridges were included in the costs.

5. E723/3, p.16.

6. E721/12, p.19.

7. E728/30/12.

Board in December 1783, delayed consideration of the proposal until they had detailed plans and estimates and this meant that it was too late for any further annexed estates rents to reach Caithness though the Parliamentary Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges spent money there.¹

Some years later, Lord Kames used his influence on the Board to have one line of road repaired on the grounds that the Perth estate would benefit. According to the overseers, David Courlay, Colin McLenan and John Grinnock, it was carriages to the annexed estates which had done most of the damage to the road from Stirling, round the back of Stirling Castle² to the bridge at Drip. First brought up in committee in 1772³ £60 was suggested as a contribution but delayed by the full Board until estimates were provided.⁴ In 1775, Kames reintroduced the subject as the work was costing more than the estimates and if the Board allowed £100 he undertook to make sure the work was properly done.⁵ Some years later, in 1782, the road was still unfinished though Kames was reported as having received £100 towards it in 1776⁶ and this time, Kames suggested that some feu-duties owed by him to the Perth estate which he had evaded for some years - a remarkable admission by a Board member! - should be spent by his stepson, George Drummond on finishing the road.⁷ About 600 yards remained to be made and Drummond expected this to cost £80, as it would be essential to metal the whole six or seven inches deep with hard whinstones. As the road was impassable in winter, the Perth estate lost a great deal of the benefit it might have gained from the Drip Coble Bridge. With the road completed coal and lime could be carried all winter.⁸

It must be noted that the road from Stirling past Drip is also the line towards Blair Drummond, but as in Scotland there was no common law liability on anyone to maintain the roads, it could be only considered

1. Haldane, New Ways, p.139.
3. E721/11, p.100.
5. E721/11, p.147.
7. E721/25, p.332; E727/35/3.

2. E727/35/4.
4. E721/11, p.102.
6. E723/2, p.248.
8. E727/35/2.

fortunate when private interest and public convenience coincided. The commissioners however were usually able to be objective about their duties as landlords and were prepared to pay their full share in any projects such as the proposed road to Glasgow through Arnprior moss where the factor James Fogo was empowered to collaborate with the other gentlemen in the neighbourhood.¹

The journal noting sums paid out daily from 1767-1784 shows £1,520 laid out from the Edinburgh office directly on roads² but in addition it must be remembered that the factors were also carrying out the ordinary duties of landowners throughout the estates, providing tools and making sure that the tenants carried out their statutory labour on the roads. The detailed expenditure for each estate is shown throughout the factors' intromissions and these accounts illustrate the difficulties and inefficiencies involved in using statute labour. Henry Butter, for example, who was assiduous in carrying out road improvements, claimed £10 in two months in 1765 for his expenses in travelling round meeting the gentlemen of the county to arrange agreements as to how the statute labour should be organised.³ The Struan factor's expenses for similar duties and attendance at the Quarter Sessions in 1768 amounted to £8 while the overseer for the Rannoch road alone was paid £7.3.11, so that £15.3.11. was spent out of a total for that year of £46.13.3 $\frac{6}{12}$ on roads and bridges on the administrative side.⁴ At the other end of the administrative scale, the Dunblane constable, James Edie, was paid 3/- for warning the people out to work on the roads through Kinbuck.⁵ The sums spent varied, depending on the plans of the Commissioners of Supply, the availability of money at the Board's disposal overall as well as in individual estates, and on the energy and interest of the factor concerned, just as much as in privately-

1. E721/16, p.15.
3. E721/8, p.145.
5. F.R. G.M. 117.

2. E732/9.
4. E783/104/6.

owned estates on the inclination of the heritor. In 1767, for example £71.2.10 was reported spent on Barrisdale roads¹ and in 1770 £108.4.6.² The factor there was criticised as his costs for road-building were higher than in other estates but considering the deficiencies of the area, these expenses were possibly excusable.³

The accounting methods used for the reports to the King and Treasury seem to have varied without much rhyme or reason so that one year the figures for estates are given separately, another they are conjoined and on other occasions, even the schedules, which were presented as giving more detailed sums, include in a lump sum a total for roads and bridges, sometimes giving the number of bridges built sometimes not. Despite having the same factor, Lovat and Cromarty are sometimes reported separately, sometimes together even before 1774, when Lovat estate was returned to the Fraser family. 1771 saw in "Expenditure on roads" £35.12.5. on Cromarty;⁴ 1773 under a similar heading saw "Lovat- roads and four bridges, £141.19.5";⁵ 1774 had union in £54.0.5. on Lovat and Cromarty.⁶ But however the figures were presented they amount in all to quite an impressive picture of interest in improving the road system in the estates and the counties in which these lay. The benefits that arose were apparently so universally accepted that a memorandum on a petition from the Caithness heritors merely remarked "It is unnecessary to enter into general arguments that making good roads of communication is the best method of promoting industry and improvements in that part of the country".⁷

A further practical form of assistance to improving the facilities for travellers can be seen in the financial aids given to map-makers. Andrew Skinner and George Taylor were provided with several subsidies towards their

1. E723/2, p.147.
3. E721/17, p.6.
5. E723/2, p.211.
7. E728/30/12(1).

2. E732/7.
4. E723/2, p.188.
6. E723/2, p.223.

survey of the roads in Scotland, published in 1776; they were given £105 in July 1776, £50 in July 1779, for which they were duly grateful.¹ John Ainslie was also paid £98.15.0 in March, 1784, for his maps² and James Stobie, another of the cartographers of the era, sold the Board twenty-five copies of his coloured map of Perthshire for £52.10.³ Taylor and Skinner's road map, laid out in linear style, is of use only for travel along the roads they set out, but Ainslie's work is a pleasure to look at, however inaccurate it may be.⁴ Then in road work as in other aspects of improvements with which the Board concerned themselves, they were prepared to reward invention and a Peter Fraser was paid 16/- in 1772 for making a machine with wheels for measuring distances.⁵

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1. E728/53; E732/9.
 2. E732/9.
 3. E732/9, (31-1-1780; 12-8-1783).
 4. C.H.R.B. 2, p.271.
 5. F.R. Lovat and Cromarty, 1.1772.

2. THE CONSTRUCTION OF BRIDGES

The construction of the actual roadway is in Scotland only part of the provision of good communications, for a very cursory glance at a map of the country, showing the innumerable rivulets crossing almost every road, will convince one of the truth of Maurice Taylor's statement that "Without bridges, in Scotland, roads are of no use".¹ This may seem self-evident today in a society that considers a shallow ford an adventure even when it is traversed on four wheels and a deepish burn an insuperable obstacle, but such an approach was far from being accepted until very recently. The method of funding the county work alone illustrates this for the bridge fund was separate and quite inadequate as both eighteenth and nineteenth century road history continued to demonstrate. A fairly substantial bridge over the Lyon near the ruins of Comrie Castle bears the inscription that as late as 1896 it had replaced an older structure through public contributions organised by Egidia Charlotte Menzies of Menzies who opened it on September 19th of that year. The bridge replaced had been mooted in 1784, when Breadalbane and others reported that £150 had been subscribed for it but £200 more was needed.² This application was approved by the Board in February 1784,³ the sum to be paid when the work was finished but it fell to the Barons of the Exchequer to pay the builders.⁴

There was a clear division between roads and bridges which is to the

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1. M. Taylor, Stone Bridges in Scotland. Winner of the Neale Bursary 1947 awarded by the Royal Institute of British Architects.
 2. E728/29/34.
 3. E721/12, p.24.
 4. E714/18, p.18.

twentieth century mind almost incomprehensible but there can be no doubt about this. Consider the description of Wade's work. He claimed maintenance for Caulfield his inspector, for 250 miles of roads and above forty stone bridges,¹ two distinct categories which today would be intrinsically part of one concept. There are large projects such as the Tay and Forth road bridges which expense or lack of apparent urgency may prohibit for a time at least, but even a minor metalled road today will include arches over tiny burns as part of the initial expenditure. The situation in the eighteenth century was not improved by the fact that the funds available were not always applied correctly to bridge-building. In 1754, the Commissioners of Supply for Perthshire found that the Bridge money fund was always exhausted by the large sums paid yearly to the overseers and officers who called out the county services for road and bridge repair, so that the fund could not in fact be used for what it was designed for.² It was proposed that these officers should in future be paid from funds obtained from commuting service labour.

One may trace signs of appreciation that a road without a bridge over a passage for water, whether always wet or not, is only half a road by the time that the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges was in operation, for they noted that they had built more than 1,100 bridges over rivers and streams.³ They commented that in the Highlands the erection of bridges over unfordable rivers was of more urgent importance than even the formation of carriage roads for while these did materially contribute to the promotion of commercial intercourse, the building of bridges added the removal of all personal danger. Fatal accidents were common as Highland rivers were so liable to be swollen by mountain torrents.⁴ The very strong construction

1. Salmond, Wade, p.150.
3. C.H.R.B. 8, p.5.

2. P.L.A. 14/1/2 f.18.
4. C.H.R.B. 5, p.21.

required to stand up to the weather and these swollen rivers constituted about one third of the cost of making Highland roads.¹ That factor alone helps explain the deficiencies of earlier days given the limited resources.

Individual contributions from resident heritors played a very large part in remedying the deficiencies in county and government road funds and the Board was expected to play its part, especially after 1770, on a large scale. Hugh Seton wrote to the secretary on 18th July, 1774 making the very pointed comment that he had spent over £600 out of his own pocket on roads and bridges in his district and while the Board had given him £60 asked for, a second request for a similar amount had been refused. He had in addition advanced £150 towards a bridge on the coast line from Inveraray to Fort William leaving only one gap unbridged on the road and that was over the Duror on the estate of Ardsheal.² Butter, the factor, estimated that a bridge there would cost £90 - in fact, the total was £91.5.0.³ - and added that he thought the "expediency" of this structure must be obvious to the commissioners. The area of land annexed in Perthshire was so large that the Perthshire Commissioners of Supply were bound to realise at an early date that the Board for the Annexed Estates would have to undertake at least the ordinary duties of heritors and that this would be a considerable addition to the resources of the county. In 1756, one of their number promised to apply to the Board as well as to other gentlemen in the neighbourhood for aid towards a new bridge over the Earn at Comrie.⁴ Another method of providing bridges beyond what the county funds would allow and the heritors contribute was to make "judicious application of the vacant stipend which has fallen from time to time".⁵

However, the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates seem to have been fully alive to the need for bridges in the Highlands generally and on their estates in particular. Information about the state of bridges was asked

1. C.H.R.B. 8, p.6.
3. E786/33/7.
5. O.S.A. x. p.126.

2. E737/21.
4. P.L.A. 14/1/2.f.42.

for from the factors in 1755¹ and was duly provided in some detail with reference both to the internal convenience of tenants within the estates and to the general development of the road system. William Cockburn had also described the condition of roads and bridges in his survey of the estates.² Not surprisingly where the roads were bad, the bridges too tended to be either poorly built or more likely non-existent. Strathpeffer barony which had very bad roads, never repaired, had no bridges³ and the road to Coigach had no bridges over the rivers, making it almost inaccessible for the greater part of the year.⁴

In the estate of Struan the factor did not mention bridges at all despite the current building of the road through Rannoch, but later it emerged that despite Alexander Robertson's dislike of roads, he had not only provided timber for Wade's bridge at Aberfeldy⁵ but had composed a fairly bad poem to celebrate its opening.⁶ He had also built or at least paid most of the expense of one bridge for the convenience of his tenants, a timber bridge over the Ericht⁷ on the north side of Loch Rannoch. The commissioners considered a memorial from Sir Robert Menzies of Weem pointing out that this bridge was now "entirely ruinous and decayed" and as the Water of Ericht was at all times rapid and often impassable for days or weeks on end, the high road from Perth to Lochaber on the north side of Loch Rannoch was often closed. This also prevented any communication between the tenants of Struan and the north countries and was an inconvenience to the military stationed in Rannoch. Sir Robert hoped for help from the Board either in the shape of all the necessary timber if another timber bridge was to be built or sufficient for the cooms⁸ if a stone bridge was to be made. The only timber in the area was on the estate of Struan.⁹

1. E726/1, p.8.

3. E729/1, p.7.

5. Salmond, Wade, p.234.

7. E721/4, p.225.

8. Coom - the wooden centering or frame on which an arch or vault of stone is supported during its construction.

9. E783/62.

2. E777/243 passim.

4. E729/1, p.11.

6. Salmond, Wade, p.21.

Menzies mentioned that he had already applied to the Quarter Sessions who had asked for an estimate in August. As the factor agreed with the memorialist about the need for a bridge he was instructed to ask Sir Robert for a copy of the estimate, of the Quarter Sessions' resolution, and how much the latter was prepared to contribute himself as the bridge would be on his estate.¹ In September, the Commissioners of Supply granted £20 out of the estimated £51.18.4 and advised Sir Robert to apply to the Board for the Annexed Estates which he had already done.² The next year in August, after Menzies had forwarded the estimate, the allowance from the Quarter Session, and the information that he would contribute £10 and buy a boat to transport materials, costing £6, the Board allowed the Struan factor to pay the balance once the other contributions had been exhausted.³ Despite the availability of finance, however, the bridge was a long time building for eighteen months later, Sir Robert was in contact again, asking for another £20 to be allowed, which he was granted, as by this time, the Board had an official bridge fund; he had had to change the site and this had increased the estimate.⁴ £30.10.0. was eventually paid by 1770.⁵

Even main roads were not always completely bridged and on the recently made Lochearnside road there were three or four "very rough rapid waters" with no bridges provided by the county. The Perth factor thought that single arches only were necessary and mentioned the plentiful supply of stone near and the lime obtainable from a neighbouring estate.⁶ Campbell of Barcaldine was very enthusiastic about the potentialities of Crieff and he gave as an additional reason for having these bridges the increase in the town's trade from the Western Highlands.⁷

In one area, there were no complaints about the King's highway. The Stirling to Fort William road went up the south side of Loch Lubnaig

1. E721/4, pp. 225, 226.

3. E721/5, p.23.

5. E723/2, p.177.

7. E777/244, pp. 56-57.

2. P.L.A. 14/1/2. f.102.

4. E721/6, pp. 185-186.

6. E777/244, p.30.

-William Monteath the factor spells it Lochludnick; as it was recently made, it was in very good condition with stone bridges on every place they were needed. A timber bridge serving local needs however needed frequent repairs and he suggested that it should be replaced when next it gave way under force of spate water. The Barons of the Exchequer had repaired it fairly recently.¹

The factors differentiated between bridges, saying about one that it would be very useful while for others there was "great occasion"² while for yet another, the detailed local needs for a bridge were given. Henry Butter remarked that he mentioned only those that were "absolutely necessary", meaning those that stopped communications whenever there was a small rise in the level of the water, when he replied to the Board's request for lists of bridges required, after they had been authorised to spend £500 on this type of construction.³

One description of the consequences of the lack of a bridge of any kind as opposed even to an unsafe wooden structure clearly and vividly illustrates the inconveniences. In the Barony of Lix in Killin parish, the factor wrote:-

"There is a small water called Adlchromie that is in the way from this barony to the parish church the school and the miln they are obliged to bring their corns to be grinded and also betwixt them and the smiddie they go to with their labouring instruments. This water in the time of winter rises so high as to hinder their children from going to school, which is the only time of year their parents can spare them from their work and sometimes hinders the people from going to church".⁴

1. E738/58/1, p.7.

3. E786/33/1.

2. E729/1, pp. 16, 21.

4. E777/244, p.2.

Absence from church and school might worry the factor, schoolmaster and minister more than the children and the congregation, but always having to carry corn and agricultural implements needing repair over an unbridged burn was no recipe for the greater speed and efficiency that Lowland society wished to graft on the Highland economy.

However willing the commissioners may have been in the first five years of office to remedy such deficiencies, large-scale bridge-building was something they could only embark on with specific permission from the central government. They had early commented on the disadvantages of poor communications, the lack of bridges especially, including among those disadvantages the acceptance of baptism from Roman Catholic priests if the alternative was unbaptised children,¹ and they had advocated a positive policy² but it was only after the accession of George III that they were officially in a position to attempt to carry out their ideas. They recorded in the minutes of 11 August 1761 that they had been authorised to spend £500 on bridges in the Highlands where they considered it best, so as to give the inhabitants free access to churches, markets and also a ready and certain intercourse with their neighbours.³ The committee of commissioners appointed to consider the best method of spending the money met a few months later in November and made out the factors' orders.⁴

The commissioners were willing to act with the neighbouring heritors and the Commissioners of Supply but they were not prepared to assume total responsibility. For one thing their finances would not have allowed it as the first £500 built only the four mentioned over the Lochearn road and provided assistance of £200 to the bridge over the Teith at Callander (the first public work assisted in the Callander area),⁵ £50 over the Almond at Bertha on the Perth-Dunkeld road and £103 for one over the River Dee at

1. E723/1, p.48.
3. E721/6, p.10.
5. E729/8, p.123.

2. E723/1, p.81.
4. E721/6, p.22.

Garthbeg¹ on the Lovat estate, with a small amount over for contingencies.² And that left twenty-seven more that the factors had produced in the list of bridges they thought would benefit the country.³

The commissioners were in the main practical men and their instructions to the factors included the order that estimates were to be as frugal as possible, that consultation should take place with the heritors and inhabitants of the neighbourhood in places where bridges were thought necessary, to discover what contribution they would make if the proposed arches were not wholly on the annexed estates. Finally the factors were ordered to find out which bridges were to be county bridges and what proportion the county would contribute to building them.⁴ The remaining bridges on the factors' lists for which there were no funds left included seven on the estate of Perth, three on Lovat, two on Cromarty, one on Struan, Arnprior and Monaltry, Barrisdale, Kinlochmoidart and Ardsheal and seven on Lochiel.⁵ Some of these estates were still having the claims of subject-superiors investigated but in 1762, the commissioners were hopeful that those would soon be under their control - mistakenly as we know.

The committee considering bridge-building suggested that the Board should request a further allowance of £1,000 for this purpose. When authorisation to spend this arrived, it gave permission not only for the original number of new bridges but for repair of any that were in danger of falling down.⁶ Apart from the very large capital sums of over £9,000 for the settlement of discharged soldiers and sailors and £1,200 for manufactures already earmarked for maintaining the undertakings the Board of Trustees were abandoning, this was the largest amount the commissioners had to deal with on this occasion for a single purpose.

1. See Appendix G. This must be, I think, the River E in the O.S.
2. E723/2, p.28. 3. E723/2, pp. 29, 30.
4. E721/6, p.22. 5. E721/6, p.112; E786/33/1.
6. E724/1, p.12.

There was room for manoeuvre too for estimates varied very considerably depending on the width of the bridge. Butter's list in 1761 included 10 bridges at a total cost of £270 but one over the River Pean running into Loch Arkaig he reckoned would cost £5 while a larger one over the Arkaig at Bunarkaig would require £130. The next dearest he estimated at £30, over the Kiachnish at Coruanan, two more at £20, three at £15 and two at £10.¹ He had to admit later that that over the Kiag² had cost more than the estimate but he thought it an essential part of the Lochaber-Argyllshire road.³ That at Coruanan turned out to be even more expensive.⁴

The commissioners' approach to the subject of bridge-building was a nice blend of consideration of their wider duties to the Highlands and Islands as a whole and to their narrower duties as landlords. One of their earlier contributions to bridges in the north of Scotland and indeed the only major contribution for which they were solely financially responsible was the bridge over the Tummel at Kinloch Rannoch. Small, the factor, had suggested Kinloch Rannoch at the east end of Loch Rannoch as the most suitable place for a village, but he had not initially mentioned access nor the possibility of a bridge in 1755.⁵ However, by 1757, he was urging a bridge or ferry-boat at Kinloch, preferably a bridge, if only to enable children to go to school at Kinloch.⁶ He first gave estimates for a timber bridge at £40 to £50, a timber bridge with stone pillars at £80, and an arched stone bridge at £200, but when asked for a particular estimate for a stone bridge, he produced one of £194 with the curious statement considering his previous opinion, that a timber bridge would not cost much less. Another economy the commissioners were disposed to consider was restricting the width over the parapets to fourteen feet,⁷ possibly a shortsighted

1. E786/33/1.

2. Cia-aig at the east end of Loch Arkaig.

3. F.R. Barrisdale 10.

4. E721/6, p.6. £129.15.4 for this bridge was struck off his accounts as he produced no vouchers. See Plate IV.

5. E783/84/1.

6. E721/2, p.74.

7. E721/2, p.124.

attitude as roads were supposed to be twenty feet wide, at least when approaching market towns.¹ But the £194 estimate was for a two-arched bridge of eighteen feet width over the walls, its middle pillar of broached "aizlure" (ashlar or hewn stone), as were the proposed "land stools"² and coping of the battlements.³

In the somewhat frustrating period 1755-1760, however, this project was a non-starter and in 1758, Small was still pleading for at least a ferry boat, for which he got £5.⁴ Eventually, in conjunction with the village the Board set up at Kinloch Rannoch, a bridge became a pressing necessity, for the factor at least. His home was at Carie on the south side of Loch Rannoch and his presence was continually required at the new settlement there and at Black Park. In 1764, he had tried to persuade several masons from Dunkeld to put in estimates for the bridge which was by then a firm commitment but only one, Donald MacEwan, was bold enough. The price had increased from under £200 in 1757 to £470 but Small thought that probably no-one would offer to do the work cheaper and he urged haste in accepting MacEwan's offer as the building season was approaching.⁵ In the event, the hesitant tradesman had perhaps been wiser, for in 1765, MacEwan was petitioning for payment of the amount he had had to spend above the estimate - considerably above it, he claimed - £598.15.4 compared to the £470 estimate.⁶ But the Board were adamant on the grounds that he had been several times employed by themselves in what they termed "other profitable work".⁷ This four-arched bridge still stands with inscriptions

1. A.P.S. 1617, c.8.

2. Land Stools, alternatively spelt stell, stehl, stool in the Scottish National Dictionary is described there as a "foundation of the pier of a bridge". The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue gives the further spelling steall and in the F.E.P. steal appears. The definition in the latter dictionary is also given as (a) Foundation on land of a bridge or a weir; (b) the end pier or abutment!

3. E721/2, p.124.

4. E721/4, p.86.

5. E721/7, p.252.

6. E783/71/2(1, 2).

7. E721/8, p.159.

announcing in English that it was erected in A.D. 1764 at the sole expense of His Majesty out of the annexed estates funds and then extensively repaired by the County Council of Perthshire in 1946. The Latin subscription too is there - "Pontem Hanc in Publicum Commodum Georgius III Rex Construi iussit".

At the time, it was an essential part of the proposed road through Rannoch, joining the county road on the north side of the Tummel to the continuation being built along the south side of Loch Rannoch, largely under Small's supervision, and with aid from the commissioners as we have seen. The bridge was also of great benefit to the tenants on the south side of Loch Rannoch but a few years later it was argued that it was not nearly so useful as it would be if another small bridge was built over the burn at Innerhaddon. This burn enters the Tummel about a mile east of Kinloch Rannoch, on what is now a classified road but would hardly be a made one in 1767; the road joins the military road from Aberfeldy to Tummel Bridge at White Bridge. As the Quarter Sessions had granted £20 and the people in the country of Rannoch had subscribed £15, the Board authorised £20 once the committee had been assured there was a balance in the bridge money fund.¹ The Commissioners of Supply had originally granted £20 in 1764, and renewed the order in 1770.²

Despite the planned cross-country road from Alyth, the commissioners did not apparently think of asking for county aid for the Kinloch Rannoch bridge and were quite prepared out of the first £500 authorised to undertake the whole expense of the three bridges needed on the county road along Lochearnside, which were on the annexed estates. The mason asked to have the filling up of the road to meet the level of the carriage-way of the bridges done by the county.³ These three were over the Beich at the west

1. E721/10, p.119; E721/27, p.2.

2. P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.82.

3. E721/6, p.110.

end of Loch Earn, the most expensive at £30.16.0, and over two burns entering Loch Tay at the east and west ends of Glentarken woods. They were to be fifteen feet wide in passage, again narrower than the 1617 act prescribed, and thirty-three feet, thirty feet and twenty-two feet respectively across the water. A fourth arch was agreed upon over the Ogle on the estate of Fonab, belonging to Major Campbell, as the factor declared it was equally essential.¹ When Cockburn had surveyed the estates in 1755, there had been timber bridges over these streams but they could not bear horses, as they were in such poor condition.²

The Board's readiness to pay for these without recourse to the county was probably politic. In 1761 they had been advised by Colin Campbell, the son of the factor John Campbell of Barcaldine, that as the bridges were wholly in the Perth interest, county assistance was likely to be trifling and it would be unwise to pursue the matter because of the other larger structures that were under consideration, that over the Teith at Callander and over the Balvaig in Balquhiddier. While Campbell agreed that the heritors around Callander would benefit from the new bridge, there were few of them and no important ones - except of course, the Board for the Annexed Estates. The Balquhiddier bridge would have one end on the Crown's property, the other on the Earl of Moray's, but because of thin population, the expense would be heavy and Campbell advised asking for county assistance.³ Some twenty years later, in 1783, the factor at the time had to pay £13 towards repairing bridges on Lochearnside⁴ and he had also been allowed to spend £37.18.0. on four small bridges on the continuation of the same road from Lochearnside to Crieff,⁵ bridges which presumably had not been considered necessary even

1. E721/6, p.110.

2. E777/243.

3. E777/84/74(1); E777/84/74(2). The estimate was £84.11.0, the filling up to be done by the county and the existing bridges going to the builders. The names given were Veich and Glenkerken.

4. E721/25, p.348.

5. E721/25, p.296.

on a main road in the middle of the century, or had been like so many more, precarious structures of timber.

In the first few years after 1760, most support was given to bridges that were either on the annexed estates or could be shown to be of undoubted direct value to them. £50 went to the £1,000 bridge over the Almond at Bertha on the Perth-Dunkeld road, a sum promised by the commissioners before 1760. This bridge, however, was so clearly useful, as the Commissioners of Supply recorded, to "prevent many melancholy accidents" which befell travellers fording it¹ as well as being in the vicinity of some of the annexed estates that the recommendation was made that the previous Board's promise should be made good. At least, it would be once the bridge was finished for the committee considering this said they had heard it fell down the autumn before.² William Sandeman, the Perth merchant who had organised the subscription from the nobility and gentry and the town of Perth was able to claim the money in 1763, however.³

£100 went towards the bridge over the Earn at Kinkell⁴ and to that at Dalreoch⁵ to replace a ferry whose high freight rates had roused complaints that were taken to the Quarter Sessions.⁶ One was on the line of the main Glasgow-Perth road the other on an important approach road thereto and both could certainly be described as of some assistance to the tenants of the annexed estates in Auchterarder parish, but the main long-term benefit was to the long-distance travellers on the road. Today Dalreoch bridge provides only private access to a farm, Chapelbank, as the line of road has been altered, lying further west.

The bridge at Callander over the Teith, already mentioned, involved the commissioners in one of their larger outlays at this time. There had

1. P.L.A. 14/1/2, f.109.

3. E721/7, p.16.

5. E721/7, p.142.

2. E721/5, p.32; E721/6, p.111.

4. E721/8, p.211. See plate IX.

6. P.L.A. 14/1/2, ff. 100, 126.

originally been a ford by the church and a boat a little east of it¹ and later a timber bridge but apparently not one that would take wheeled traffic. To hasten the construction of this particular bridge, the commissioners were prepared not only to allow £200 and another £15 towards any deficiency in carriage, but were prepared to build a limestone kiln - the Leny quarry was nearby - and sell the wood of Gartchonzie at a reasonable price, as otherwise wood would have to be brought from Alloa. Barcaldine suggested that the Gartchonzie timber would do for brandering² for the foundations and if firs in the Mains of Callander were sold, for cooms, then only ten large trees would need to be brought from Alloa for the basis of the cooms.³

Despite the importance of Callander's position in the road system of the time, that alone might not have persuaded the Board to commit themselves so heavily out of their bridge fund had the area not been an important part of the annexed estates. The original sums authorised for general bridge-building, and by 1767⁴ quietly extended to road repairs, were soon either spent or committed despite careful watch being kept over costs. For example the centers used in building the bridge over the Teith were to be properly laid up and preserved for future use;⁵ when the Lovat factor sent in an estimate of £103 for a thirty foot arch, he was promptly referred to the Perth estimates of £27.10.1 for the same size.⁶ Fines extorted from people who damaged woods were used towards a bridge at the mill of Brunty⁷ and the tenants of Camaghouran had 5 per cent interest added to their rents on the advance of £50 for a bridge that was of more convenience to them at the time than to anyone else.⁸

Most of the bridges built were in response to the factors' list of priorities and could be represented as being of most use to the Board's

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1. Macfarlane's Collections, 1.134.
 2. Brandering - (Scots) Scaffolding.
 3. E721/6, pp. 110, 183, 217; E777/84/8.
 4. E723/2, p.139.
 5. E721/8, p.169.
 6. E721/6, p.112.
 7. E721/7, p.186.
 8. E730/20/3.

own tenants. Where the suggestion was made that arches should be made over county roads, the Commissioners of Supply were at once applied to and expected to help. Where the new arches were purely for the benefit of the estate, then the commissioners bore the whole cost without any hesitation if there was money available.¹ On the other hand, when the factor wanted three bridges on the main road from Dingwall to Inverness, before the commissioners would move, he was told to apply to the gentlemen of the county. When the Board did allow £25 for three that required rebuilding, over the burn at Bunchrew and two others, though these were on the estate of Lovat, this was only on condition that the Commissioners of Supply would make up the remainder as these were on the Inverness-Dingwall thoroughfare,² an important public road north. Economy in this area of the country was not the best answer, however, for in 1769, several of these had been carried off in floods, that at Bunchrew among them, and the factor was in a hurry to have them rebuilt as he thought the fords were more impassable than before the bridges were built.³

Workmanship on bridge masonry was not always expert at the time, however, and remained suspect for some time. Thomas Telford in the following century had difficulty in finding experienced bridge-builders and even more in discovering any who could claim to have built large arches.⁴ Techniques in stone bridge-building were not perfected even in the nineteenth century as the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges discovered and we should perhaps not be over-critical of their predecessors in road and bridge construction. The speed of the short Scottish burn in spate posed a challenge that was not always properly dealt with, one indeed that had not been fully faced in previous ages. Even foot-bridges of timber

1. E721/7, p.94, e.g. £120 for four arches over burns, all on Lovat, Belladrum, Downie, Teianuilt, Allanbreck.

2. E721/9, pp. 122, 189.

3. E721/18, p.32.

4. Haldane, New Ways, p.120.

had needed regular and frequent repair and replacement and quite a number of the stone arches financed in part at least by annexed estates rents needed renewal before the disannexation. Some the commissioners were prepared to deal with at once, like the three in Glenartney in a "ruinous" condition in 1781,¹ for which the factor's estimate of £11.15.0 was at once agreed to. But these were an essential part of the road planned from Comrie to Callander and had been looked on favourably in 1762 when the only thing that delayed the Board's approval of spending £150 on them was lack of reply to their last report to the King.² Several on the Comrie-Dunblane road were described as having never been properly finished and £5, admittedly a very small sum, was at once allowed for these.³

It must have been more disconcerting when a newly-built bridge fell down whenever the timber supports were removed. This happened to the fairly expensive structure planned over the river Ruchill near Comrie, paid half by the Commissioners and half by the county.⁴ The Board's subscription was withheld until the work was completed and the builders had given an assurance that they would maintain it for seven years, not an unreasonable condition in the circumstances nor an unusual one.⁵ A few years later they refused to compensate the two masons who built the bridge for their losses at this time when they declared that a flood had carried away part of the structure.⁶ It is not surprising that the Perthshire Commissioners of Supply in 1774 expected the gentlemen concerned to be responsible to the public for "upholding" bridges, allowing them to adjust prices with the builders accordingly.⁷ Bad design or bad workmanship and the strength of Scottish flood waters were not the only hazards faced by bridge-builders, however; in 1772, it was reported that a madman had thrown down the ledges

1. E721/25, p.284.

3. E721/25, p.216.

5. E721/25, p.255.

7. P.L.A. 1/1/2, p.119.

2. E777/88, 24-7-81.

4. P.L.A. 1/1/2, pp. 194, 195.

6. E721/26, p.7.

of an arch being built at Carie on the south side of Loch Rannoch, near the factor's house!¹

One request for rebuilding had a very unfavourable reception from the Board. If they were to attain the Inspector's aim of a road from Rannoch to Loch Tay, the river Lyon lay between and in 1767, £200 was proposed for a bridge over it, beyond any regular amount allowed for such expenditure, the argument being that it would raise the value of the fir woods in Struan.² In February 1780, William Jeans the mason who carved some of the Board's memorial tablets, reported that the bridge was in a very bad state, with water having made holes near the foundations; some of the stones covering the parapet were missing and the others so unevenly laid that water had leaked in and caused damage.³ Though immediate repair was ordered, it was too late. The masons sent by Robert Menzies, the Struan factor, to inspect it, came back to say that a great flood had carried away the whole bridge a few days before and the water was still so high they could not even tell if any part of the pillars had remained.⁴ When neighbouring heritors asked the Board to have it rebuilt, the committee was not surprisingly somewhat peevish and refused as they blamed the local people for not having done small repairs in time.⁵ However, they repented when a further petition with a list of subscribers appeared a few months later and promised £100 in two parts, £50 at the beginning of the work, £50 when it was finished with a ten years guarantee from the masons.⁶

When tenants on the estate wanted the Board to act by providing some additional funds towards particular bridges, they were in the habit of drawing attention to the particular needs of their districts⁷ and the commissioners always kept in mind that their first duty was to the inhabitants of the annexed estates. However, it was soon realised by other interested parties that the advantages arising from bridge building could

1. E732/16.

2. E732/2, p.141.

3. E727/34/18(3).

4. E727/34/18(1).

5. E729/28/24; E721/11, p.211.

6. E728/29/26; E721/11, p.216.

7. E768/68/1, 2; E777/512; E788/14.

usually be represented as spreading far beyond their immediate vicinity, and hence, often to the estates in particular and the Highlands in general. The first of these large-scale plans brought to the notice of the Board was the decision of the Perthshire Justices of the Peace at the May 1763 Quarter Sessions to promote the building of a new bridge over the Tay at Perth.¹ There had been only a ferry there since 1621 when flood water had carried away the structure built by John Mylne. According to tradition expressed in Pennant, this was regarded at the time as punishment for the town's iniquity in holding the Parliament of 1606 when bishops were restored to their old position in church and state.²

The Commissioners for the Annexed Estates were first approached in June 1764 when the town and county of Perth sent their petition.³ John Smeaton who was consulted and eventually employed to build the bridge made an estimate originally for a seven arch bridge, the whole length to be 893 feet, the width between the parapets 22 feet and the cost £9723.11.1.⁴ The Board was obviously impressed by the point that such a bridge would help many plans for Highland improvement but did not commit themselves until it was discovered how much the town of Perth would contribute.⁵ Mr. Swinton, the commissioner who had been given the task of looking into this, reported that Perth town council would give £1,000 if tolls were to be charged and £2,000 if there were to be none. As far as he could see the town's funds were in such a state as to make this a fairly secure offer, so it was decided that subject to the King's approval, £4,000 should be granted out of the rents of the estates, in two instalments in 1765 and 1766.⁶

The reasons put forward to persuade the government to grant such a considerable sum show an interesting assessment of London's priorities.

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1. J. Smeaton, Reports of the late Mr. John Smeaton, F.R.S. (London, 1797) i.pp. 174-5. Hereafter, Smeaton, Reports.
 2. Pennant, Tour, ii. p.114.
 3. E721/8, p.14; E728/29/6.
 4. Smeaton, Reports, i. p.177.
 5. E721/8, p.121.
 6. E721/8, p. 144.

Previous attempts by Charles I and II to rebuild, the first by collecting subscriptions, the second at his own expense, were mentioned and it was said that in both the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, first ice and then low water alone enabled the government's troops to pass over the river. The crossing of troops was the first factor they represented as making rebuilding necessary, then general movement of transport.¹

By the time the warrant for paying £4,000 had arrived the Board had had second thoughts about their method of paying such large amounts and wrote to the Perth writer, Peter or Patrick Miller, agent for the commissioners for directing the building of the bridge, that they would pay the sum in four annual instalments.² Even with this precaution, in 1769 they found themselves having to delay payment of grants to the Inverness hemp factory and the Brora salt-pans until there was enough cash in the Receiver General's hands to provide the final instalment of £500.³

Like so many estimates for work in northern conditions, by 1770 Smeaton's was turning out to be wildly inaccurate. By 1772 Smeaton himself felt the need to comment that "I have found in every work I have been concerned for in Scotland that though the work has been well executed, yet it has not been possible to get it done for the prices at which I executed similar works in England, and particularly in masonry and carpentry branches".⁴ In a later estimate for the commissioners he remarked that the only thing he could be certain about was the quantities, for the final price depended on the type of workmen and the carriage. He detailed the amount of carriage he allowed for - one mile by land or five or six by water - and added that if the labour was the same as further south, then the prices would suit.⁵ However, in the estimates for the Perth bridge, these were not the factors that added to the costs.

In his original instructions he had been advised to take due note that the river Tay was fourteen feet higher in winter than in summer and that the bed of the river was generally gravel⁶ and he certainly made careful

1. E723/2, pp. 77, 78.

3. E721/11, p.33.

5. E730/22/16.

2. E721/9, p.118.

4. Scots Magazine, 34, p.397.

6. Smeaton, Reports. 1. p.174.

preliminary borings "in James Bissett's garden" as well as near the site of the old bridge. The unfortunate James Bissett had to lose at least part of his garden as this site was preferred; ice did not collect there and also slightly shallower foundations would suffice. Near the old bridge, Smeaton found ruins and would have had to dig deeper before finding solid material.¹ Once again those responsible for the bridge had recourse to the annexed estates funds. Though the original subscriptions had amounted to £1,500 more than Smeaton's estimate,² the weight of water had been underestimated. Perhaps this was not too culpable in one who had never seen the Tay in full spate. But the changes in foundations and superstructure necessary as a result had raised the estimate to £24,840.0.8 $\frac{3}{4}$. The interest of £648.3.11. on the remaining debt would have exhausted the tolls calculated at £700 minus the charge for collecting them, so no sinking fund would be left.³ The Board was sufficiently satisfied with the "very perfect manner" hitherto shown in executing the work and also that the opening of communications between the Highlands and Lowlands "quite conformed to the spirit and intention of the Annexation" in helping to civilise that remote country. So they proposed using the salary saved by not appointing another General Inspector in place of Archibald Menzies who had resigned on becoming a Collector of Customs and adding an extra £300 per annum to complete the bridge.⁴ The Board's total contribution eventually amounted to £13,800⁵ which still did not cover the whole cost but the Earl of Kinnoull who had been deeply involved in all the plans and financial arrangements for the bridge, advanced the greater part remaining.⁶

1. Smeaton, Report, i. p.184.

2. Annexed Estates - £4,000; Perth Town Council - £2,000; Convention of Royal Burghs - £500; Private subs. - £4,756.7.6.

3. E728/29/6.

4. E721/11, p.50.

5. E727/34/13(2).

6. NLS. Ms. 1021, f.28. S.R.O. GD 248/3408/6. Mr. Ian Grant directed my attention to a letter from the Earl of Kinnoull to the Earl of Findlater, 23 July, 1770, describing some of the manoeuvring both inside and outside the Board to obtain money from the funds of the annexed estates.

The keystone of the last arch was struck on Saturday May 26th 1770,¹ and in 1787 Smeaton had to give a report on it which stated that everything was in perfect order except the footpath. It had become very worn partly because the stone was not hard enough - he would have liked to use Aberdeen granite - and also had rough pebbles embedded in the stone itself.² This bridge still stands but has had to be widened twice to cope with changing traffic demands, first in 1869 and the recent alteration finished in 1972.³

Other would-be bridge builders were not slow to realise that there might be a ready supply of much needed money after watching the success of the Perth builders in tapping the annexed estates funds. The next important contribution to communications through bridge building was the proposed North Esk bridge on the Montrose-Aberdeen road. This was of interest to a great many eastern areas of the country, Aberdeen and Montrose provosts and magistrates as well as gentlemen and noblemen of Forfar and Kincardine signing the memorial.⁴

The commissioners were a little hesitant about giving any assistance to this project as they thought it should probably be built out of the Ordnance Funds but once again they discovered defence reasons in that a bridge there would have been of importance to the army in the rebellions. Also it would be of general assistance to the penetration of the Highlands by Lowland custom. They thought £500 would be a suitable grant.⁵ The foundation stone was laid by the local M.P. the Hon. Mr. Lyon,⁶ attended by Montrose magistrates and various masonic lodges in their "formalities" and by February 1772, the second half of the grant was to be paid.⁷ Smeaton was the designer of this bridge too and his estimate was once again on the

1. Scots Magazine 31, p.340.

3. See Plates VII, VIII.

5. E721/11, p.31.

7. E721/11, p.81.

2. Smeaton, Reports, i. p.190.

4. E728/29/7(1); E721/11, p.31.

6. Scots Magazine 32, p.728.

small side; in 1776, another capital sum of £300 was granted.¹ Once the North Esk was bridged, it was logical to plan a span over the South Esk and though there was a ferry boat at Dun, it was said not to be reliable. In 1784, a further petition from the area appeared before the Board, this time from the Montrose magistrates, presented by Sir David Carnegie.² The commissioners at once agreed to a contribution of £500 out of a total of £4,000 but their promise had to be carried out by the Barons of the Exchequer after the disannexation.³

The salt-pans at Brora had to suffer further delay in receiving the grant of £220 allocated to them, when pressure was put on the commissioners through the Earl of Findlater, to grant £100 to the Duke of Atholl's agent towards a bridge over the Garry near Killiecrankie.⁴ The Board had intended delaying their contribution to the bridge there until all their previous engagements were honoured, but such high-powered persuasion was too much for them and the precepts already signed and waiting in the office for sufficient funds to accumulate were ignored.⁵ However, there was some urgency in this case. The Garry was rarely fordable from October to March⁶ and in February, 1767 a ferry-boat with thirty passengers had been swept away with the loss of twenty-seven lives. The third accident in twelve months, though the first when there were fatalities, at what was the only access to the west in an area which the Scots Magazine describes as "very populous country" must have given impetus to local and national recognition of the need for a bridge.⁷ Probably it was the exigencies of the Board's finance rather than any unwillingness to contribute which restricted their assistance to £100 instead of the £250 asked for by the

1. E723/2, p.248. See Plates X, XI.

2. E721/12, p.27; E728/29/36.

3. E713/14; E714/18/0. See Plate III.

4. E727/34/4.

5. E721/11, pp. 43, 44.

6. Macfarlane's Collections, i.p.221.

7. Scots Magazine, 29, p.166.

Duke of Atholl, once the General Inspector had assured them of how useful it would be to the estate of Struan.¹ The Commissioners of Supply also gave £50 towards it.²

It was certainly shortage of money that prevented any assistance being available to help Lord Fortrose, Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Gairloch, Sir Alexander MacKenzie of Coul and various other proprietors in obtaining a bridge over the river Orrin on the road from Beaully to Lochcarron, despite the fact that Mr. Menzies, the Inspector, had been held up for three days by this river.³ The factor agreed on the need for the bridge though he considered the estimate of £199 too little, but in any case the Board could merely recommend that the gentlemen should apply to the Marquis of Lorne and Colonel Skene for aid from the military bridge fund.⁴ There was no help forthcoming from that source either however, and when the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges began their work, the Orrin was still unbridged. The Ross-shire proprietors, though they had assessed themselves at £75 in 1768⁵, were not very cooperative in the first decades of the nineteenth century and in 1827 there was still no Orrin bridge.⁶

From the late 1760's until the demise of the Board, requests for assistance flowed in. Some went unrewarded for other reasons than lack of funds. For instance, despite the note "sent by Lord Kames" on the back of the petition from the heritors and freeholders of Berwickshire, in 1780, wanting help for estimated expenditure of £1,860 for bridging the Whitwater, there was summary dismissal of the appeal.⁷ Berwickshire was too far from the Highland area. Neither was there any interest in a very generally phrased petition for aid for Argyllshire bridges.⁸ The Board liked to know exactly how it was proposed that their money was to be spent.

1. E721/11, pp. 17. 18.

3. E728/29/4.

5. E721/18, p.14.

7. E721/11, p.215; E728/29/25.

2. P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.79

4. E721/18, p.45.

6. Haldane, New Ways, pp.120-1, 140.

8. E721/11, p.181.

The Kenmore bridge over the Tay was another expensive if not the most important addition to the road system. £1,000 was eventually paid out of the rents towards this. The original petition played up the great benefit it would be as an essential junction between the annexed estates, between Perth and Struan, Lochgarry and Cluny, completing the road to Lochiel, Callart, etc.¹ To talk of completion showed some degree of poetic license, but the Board was ready to be convinced and when an architect, Mr. John Baxter, approved by Mr. Clerk and General Dughton, had given an estimate higher than that of £1,400 originally produced by the Earl of Breadalbane and his fellow heritors, it was immediately decided to ask for approval from the King for an allowance of £1,000 to be paid in three parts in 1773, 1774 and 1775.² Mr. Clerk and General Dughton had also to inspect the foundations.

At this point in time, it would not be surprising to find that the commissioners felt their work was unappreciated and certainly some of it unacknowledged. Dislike of visiting the sins of the fathers on their children was to result in the return of the Lovat estates in the next year; there were few encomiums to be found for what the Board had accomplished and more brickbats than bouquets. Even where they had made some considerable contribution of one kind or another, as in their financial aids to communications, this was not always known. The Tay bridge at Kenmore, for instance, was according to one tourist in 1776, "generally said to have been built at the sole expense of Lord Breadalbane, but some say the Government allowed him £700".³ This it must be admitted was hard, in the year after the Board had just completed paying £1,000 for that very bridge.⁴

In 1773, the commissioners decided that some public notice should be made of the very considerable sums that were being handed out all over

1. E728/29/9.

3. NLS. Ms. 1021, f.22.

2. E721/11, pp. 75, 76, 79.

4. E723/2, pp. 211, 236.

the country on various types of construction especially in the Highland areas, and they decided that in future, inscriptions would be fixed on these giving the sums contributed.¹ Sir Adolphous Oughton composed these and Mr. Baxter the architect was first employed to inscribe them.² On the bridges, these inscriptions included in English the amount that was granted by the King and in Latin, "Viator Totu Transeas, sis memor Regii Beneficii" or "Pontem Hanc in Publicum Commodum Georgius III Rex construi iussit".³ This decision to blazon abroad their good works could be construed as an act of defiance, at that particular time, as rumblings of doubts about the efficiency of annexation could be heard. There was no doubt about the bridges. There they stood - most of them! - and many still do today. As bridge-building was financed at the time, without funds from the annexed estates many would certainly have made their appearance much later; many more plans like that for bridging the Orrin would have lapsed.

Latterly little or no pretence was made by petitioners that there would be any direct advantage to any of the annexed estates. Those interested in a bridge over the Dee at Tullich in 1777 were quite blunt that they had been encouraged to apply by the Board's attention to "erecting bridges as the first and best improvement on the face of all countries".⁴ The bridge over the Awe for which the Argyllshire Commissioners of Supply had managed to collect £400 from the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Breadalbane and the partners of the Lorn Furnace Company among others, was represented mainly as being of assistance to the drovers.⁵ They normally made for fords, ferries or crossings that the animals could swim across, but they found the Awe crossing at the east end of the Pass of Brander a difficult one.⁶

1. E721/11, p.113.

2. E721/11, pp. 114, 141.

3. E730/46. See Plates X, XII.

4. E729/28/18.

5. E728/29/16.

6. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 88-89. Hereafter, Haldane, Drove Roads.

Once the Awe was bridged it was not surprising that the active gentlemen of Argyllshire quickly foresaw the economies that could be made by immediately building its neighbour over the Orchy, on the road to Tyndrum. The timber scaffolding, the cooms and the machinery could be moved the few miles along the road at once, instead of having to purchase a completely new lot at some time in the future and have carriage to Glen Orchy to pay in addition.¹ Despite having collected £400 the year before towards the Awe bridge, they did not approach the Board until they had amassed almost half the sum estimated for the Orchy bridge. Unfortunately the Awe bridge was another that came down during its construction after three arches had been completed and the Board ended by giving £300 to both the Awe and the Orchy bridges, £100 more than was originally decided on for the Awe.² The road line approaching the Awe has been altered³ and a newer stone bridge now takes through traffic on the A85, though on the north-east the old line is still used for access to houses around. The south-west is almost overgrown. The Orchy bridge however still carries the B8077 over the river though most traffic to the west keeps further south along the A85.

One grant tended to lead to another. The precedent of the aid to the crossing of the North Esk made it a logical step that other crossings on the post roads in the area should receive assistance. £100 was allowed towards the rebuilding of an arch at Benholm in 1777⁴ and £120 to a new structure over the Bervie on the Laurencekirk to Stonehaven road,⁵ where the vacant stipend of Glenbervie was at this time directed towards bridging rivers, so saving lives rather than souls.⁶

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1. E721/11, p.184; E728/29/20.
 2. E723/3, pp. 6, 19.
 3. See Plate V.
 4. E721/11, p.170.
 5. The bridge of Mondynes. Laurencekirk received mail three times a week - Map showing postal routes in A.R.B. Haldane, Three Centuries of Scottish Posts (Edinburgh, 1971).
 6. E721/11, p.186; E728/29/22.

The Board's largesse where road and bridge-building was concerned had the effect on one or two occasions of arousing some slight peevishness on the part of those who felt they had not had their fair share. One of these who complained was Mrs. Susanna MacDonald, daughter-in-law of Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, who wrote in 1779 that whatever the commissioners might have done for other estates, not a shilling had hitherto been laid out on Kinlochmoidart, despite its being so remote. The public road from Strontian had boats at all the ferries except across the river Moidart and she considered a bridge there absolutely necessary.¹ A similar petition from her husband had been read in 1775² and in 1779 a contract was signed for £100 to an Oban mason, John Stevenson, allowing the tenants' services for carriage of rubble, stone flags, limestone and coal and for filling up the ends of the bridge, and timber from the Lochiel fir woods to make cooms and centers. Also necessary was a specially made landing stage.³

In 1775, another complaint came from the Earl of Aboyne and others including Francis Farquharson previously of Monaltry, who "took the liberty of mentioning" that the seven Highland parishes in the Braes of Aberdeenshire had hitherto received no benefit from the annexed estates.⁴ They wanted help for a bridge near Tullich, about twelve miles below that on the Braemar-Fort George military road, as between that and Aberdeen there were forty miles of river with no bridges. They got £300.⁵

Events have overtaken the commissioners' work on bridges, in some cases only in the twentieth century under pressure from the combustion engine. Lines of road with sharp turning to obtain access over a high-backed bridge were not impossible for horses and carriages but are resented by the motorist for the deceleration imposed on him and have led to a super-

1. E764/31/4.

2. E764/31/3.

3. E764/33.

4. E728/29/15; E728/29/18. A petition in 1777 claimed that no public money had been spent in Monaltry. Perhaps they did not count the few soldiers settled there as a benefit!

5. E723/2, pp. 260, 263.

cession of many of the older constructions and the older lines of road by gentler curves on the road and by flatter bridges. The changes are not always aesthetic improvements. The slender arch over the Almond at Milnhaugh for which Lady Catherine Drummond of Logiealmond was one of the petitioners in 1779¹ does not have any competition in beauty from its modern metal replacement, squat and uninteresting though no doubt safer.

On secondary lines, secondary that is by modern computation, the chances are that the old bridges still do the work they were built for if proper repairs have been continued, and there are several of these to be seen. Where eighteenth century highways have become part of the modern arterial system then most of the old bridges have gone. On the A9, the Almond at Bertha near Perth needs wider and sturdier structures to support today's traffic. The bridges, also on the A9, over burns on the south side of the Beaully Firth between Inverness and Dingwall had been washed away even before 1784 (see above) and there again far greater width and strength is now necessary there than was ever provided in the eighteenth century. The bridge over the North Esk however, still takes the main Dundee to Aberdeen coast road, the A92, right-angled approach and narrowness regardless.

Many are still standing but sadly barricaded off like that over the Forth at Drip near Stirling, or are used only for private traffic as at Dalreoch. Of another, over the Frew at Wester Frew, nothing is left but some signs of mason work and the raised road on the south side, but this bridge was unfortunate from the first. The gentleman who was the chief promoter of a bridge at that spot died before the work had begun and in 1768, Lord Kames thought that the others involved had lost interest. He proposed, therefore, that half the sum allocated towards its construction by the Board should instead be directed towards the expensive Drip Coble

1. E728/29/23. See Plate VI.

bridge, estimated at over £700.¹ It was 1779 before the Frew project came alive again and the Board gave £200 as the county services had made the road from Callander.² Building it was not without incident, for the cooms at one point sank into the clay bottom of the river and the arch "keyed itself", an explicit phrase. Then a spate brought down the main and the north arches.³

Despite such mishaps, the contribution to bridge-building was a very positive one, the Journal from 1767 specifying the payment of £3,575.6.8. for particular bridges,⁴ excluding the payments towards the Tay bridge at Perth and the many smaller structures that the factors dealt with, included generally in lump sums towards "Public Works" and only to be traced in their "Accounts and Vouchers". But this was only a beginning and the need was greater than the Board's resources, perhaps greater than any that have so far been tapped even today.⁵

The last bridge assisted by funds arising from the annexation should not be forgotten. In 1793, £1,000 was handed over to Mr. David Robertson, the treasurer for a bridge over the Pease at Cockburnspath.⁶ This money came from the capital repayments by the returning heirs, a matter that will be dealt with in this chapter, part 4 and in chapter VI.

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1. E721/11, p.17.
 2. E721/11, p.204.
 3. E728/29/33; E721/12, p.23.
 4. E732/9 passim.
 5. In Appendix G there is a list of the major bridges which benefited from the annexed estates rents. Major in this context refers either to the size of each bridge or to its importance in the communications system. The Appendix also contains further discussion of the value of this particular aspect of the Board's work.
 6. E713/12/1, 2; 29 George III c.42.

3. THE ACCOMMODATION OF TRAVELLERS

A further essential element in the road system when horse-power was indeed provided by horses and not by petroleum was the series of inns, public houses and changehouses where accommodation overnight was available and where horses as well as humans could be fed, watered and rested. The petrol pump has replaced them in providing energy to continue a journey, but in the days before school halls, church halls and town halls were an almost automatic adjunct to settlements of any size, an additional public need was also filled by these establishments. They had suitable accommodation, though sometimes not ideal conditions, for many public gatherings including baron courts.¹ An additional use was made of the public house in Killin where the jail was at one end of the building and at least one prisoner had access to the other as often as he pleased.²

Scottish inns however, had a poor reputation where their primary function was concerned.³ A few travellers can find a kind word for them, John Wesley describing them as clean and comfortable, but as he had heard "miserable accounts" of them the reality may simply have been less unpleasant than the reputation.⁴ Southey, too, was agreeably surprised to find books provided for the use of guests, an amenity he believed to be found also in Irish inns but not common in England.⁵ However, such mild

1. E721/6, p.116.

2. E721/6, p.69.

3. Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, Memoirs of a Highland Lady, ed. Angus Davidson, (London, 1950) p.114. "We never see such inns now; no carpets on the floors, no cushions on the chairs, no curtains to the windowsthe dinner itself....was excellent; hotch-potch salmon, fine mutton, grouse, scanty vegetables, bad bread, but good wine".

4. W.L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, (Glasgow, 1916) p.46.

5. Southey, Tour, p.90.

enconiums were rare compared to the general reports of dirt, unpleasant food and unwilling service and Ramsay of Ochtertyre went so far as to say that in no capacity did the Highlander in particular make a worse figure than as an innkeeper, an ostler or a waiter. "He too often ingrafts pride, sloth and contempt of cleanliness on the worst qualities of an English publican".¹ The commissioners were conscious of the general need for such accommodation as some of them in their legal duties travelled around the country and were at the mercy of local innkeepers. After receiving the factors' answers to their inquiries in 1755 they were equally aware of the deficiencies on the annexed estates as in the Highlands generally, if indeed they were not before. Strangers would be less willing to enter some areas without assurance of being able to obtain reasonable food and shelter, but the picture of accommodation, gained from the factors' reports, was hardly encouraging and became less so as one looked further north and west.

On the estate of Barrisdale though there were neither maltmakers nor stills, yet there was a "multiplicity of whisky-houses" to which the factor attributed the inhabitants' poverty but he did not mention change-houses, which could hardly have been needed in that inaccessible land,² where there were only footpaths. The most northerly estate annexed outright in 1755, Cromarty, seemed to be almost equally empty of inns³ though it was not without roads. Lovat was fairly well supplied with public houses and stills in the two northern baronies, Beaully and Lovat, but in Stratherrick there were only a few "hutts where they sell whisky" except in Fort Augustus and there the public houses were in the liberty of the garrison.⁴ Further south on the Struan estate, of the five changehouses,

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1. J. Ramsay of Ochtertyre, Scotland and Scotsmen of the Eighteenth Century, (Edinburgh, 1888) ii.402. Hereafter, Ramsay, Scotland.
 2. E729/1, pp. 70-71; E741/38/2.
 3. E729/1, pp. 1-13.
 4. E729/1, pp. 16, 21, 25.

two the factor thought scarce deserved the name.¹ On Monaltry, the somewhat contradictory information was given that there were no change-houses except two which were kept by the miller and the boatman,² two occupations which the commissioners later stated they considered unsuitable for innkeepers.³

The situation on the widespread Perth estate varied from one district to another. One at the Mill of Kinbuck was described as better than the ordinary run of country changehouses⁴ possibly the exception proving the commissioners' rule, but few received the factor's approval. He could say of only one that it was very good; this was kept by James Cliphane in Crieff. Crieff was well provided numerically with small inns and ale-houses but apart from Cliphane's only one other was considered tolerable.⁵ In Callander, though he thought every house was a "sort of changehouse", he could talk of only one "tolerably good inn" kept by Donald McNab.⁶ The inhabitants of Muthill once again excelled themselves by being singled out unfavourably as sometimes having ale and whisky but sometimes not, in their very bad, small changehouses.⁷ For the rest, indifferent to bad would suffice as a general categorisation.

The Board had been faced at an early stage by requests for help from individuals such as Angus Symon. A smith to trade, he wanted a farm on Monaltry where he could practice his craft, and where he said there were none available. He also proposed providing accommodation for travellers as there was no inn on the part of the King's road where he hoped to get a farm, Concraig. The factor approved the general suggestion, though he slightly lowered Symon's estimate for improvements.⁸ In 1759, they were also approached by order of the Barons of the Exchequer concerning the inn

1. E783/84/1, p.9.
3. E721/7, p.13.
5. E777/244, p.57.
7. E777/244, p.36.

2. E729/1, p.108.
4. E777/244, p.43.
6. E777/244, p.13.
8. E721/4, p.65.

at Dalnacardoch, which was not strictly speaking their responsibility at that date. This house lay on Lochgarry estate, still managed by the Barons because of the legal difficulties arising from the position of the Duke of Atholl as subject superior. The Barons had already done something about its repair, but this was an important stage on the road north and when the factor brought to the Board's attention the fact that it was in great disrepair and unfit for receiving travellers, he was asked to obtain estimates, one merely for repairing, the other for considerable improvements. The first for what he described as "habitable repair" was for £18.4.10, the second for "commodious repair" arrived at the figure of £67.19.4. and it was the more expensive that was accepted.¹

By 1763, the Board was prepared to ask for the large capital sum of £800 to be allocated for the construction of inns in suitable places and towards buying a house on sale in Crieff which would be cheaper than building.² It was unfortunate for their idea of developing a chain of inns that in the same year the Seven Years War ended and the absorbing interest of factors and commissioners became the expensive and time-consuming plan to settle demobilised soldiers and sailors on the estates. The request for the authorisation of a capital sum for the general purpose of building inns was ignored by the Crown and never revived by the Board though sums were allocated for specific inns throughout the annexation, the two on the Great North Road, at Dalwhinnie and Dalnacardoch having most time, attention and money devoted to them. Dalnacardoch was one of the shelters used originally by General Wade's men whence on occasion he sent letters with the heading "From my Hutt at Dalnacardoch",³ and over 40 miles of the road from Crieff to this point were constructed in 1730.⁴

1. E721/4, p.232.

3. Salmond, Wade, p.130.

2. E723/2, p.40.

4. Salmond, Wade, p.136.

Dalwhinnie was the starting point of the road west to Fort Augustus by Corrieyairack.

The innkeeper at Dalnacardoch, Donald Macdonald, having once benefited from the Board's largesse, appeared as a petitioner for more assistance in 1765, when he wanted a further loan of £25 free of interest on condition that he also spent £25 of his own money. He also wanted £50 towards enclosing and improving his farm and for raising hay.¹ The factor was set the task of finding out how much he had been allowed before and somewhat surprisingly, out of what fund the allowance had been granted, a piece of information that the central office might have been expected to have more readily to hand.² Swamped by the work connected with the soldiers' settlements, Small did not have his report ready until early in 1767, and then he was very uncomplimentary about the inn, describing it as very far from making a comfortable lodging place for strangers even with the newest improvements, and endorsing the innkeeper's suggestions. Because of the continuing responsibility of the Barons of the Exchequer for the estate of Lochgarry, they were to be asked for assistance with the farmground, but the Board decided to ask for permission to repair the house.³

By the next year, it was clear that even more expenditure would be needed and Small was directed to spend £40 largely on roofing, but specifically not on painting and papering.⁴ Even this was not enough. In 1773, Small, who by now was factor on Lochgarry, legally annexed at last, was told to prepare timber to "support the inn" till the next year, when it was proposed to rebuild.⁵ Estimates were drawn up for a house finished with lathe and plaster, the principal rooms and staircase papered and two of the parlours fitted up with Russian stoves. Stables and offices were

1. E767/12.

3. E721/10, pp. 109, 110.

5. E721/11, p.116.

2. E721/8, p.209.

4. E721/11, p.19; E767/32.

not included as it was thought that it would be quite cheap to alter the existing house for the purpose which is perhaps an illuminating reflection on its condition. Very conveniently the widow of the previous possessor, Macdonald, was being courted by the mason Peter McNaughton, who had built an inn at Killin for Lord Breadalbane. Small approved of him as an ingenious fellow, a good workman and perhaps even more important, worth some money. He considered that self-interest would persuade the man to build the house for £500 and do it well¹ and by 1776 the Board was prepared to insure it for £500 on Small's advice.² An inscription similar to that inscribed on bridges was duly fixed to the building, with "Hospitium hoc" in place of "Pontem hanc".³ The inscription is still visible but in September 1793 the garden gate was padlocked preventing further inspection.

The existence of changehouses was tied up with the availability of alcohol and the commissioners tried to control both. In 1762, Lord Stonefield wanted to limit the number and fix the situation of houses on the estates to "prevent the debauchery, idleness and dissipation occasioned by having a number of unnecessary changehouses" and he also suggested that no officer employed by the Board should be allowed to keep any type of premises which sold wine, ale or spirituous liquors by retail.⁴ Later that year, the factor on Lovat and Cromarty was to inform tenants that none should retail alcohol without a licence on pain of eviction.⁵ The threat of eviction had however little effect in the north, for in 1765, the factor complained that changehouses were being kept without licences and that distilling had become universal and was likely to ruin the tenants.

1. E788/13.

2. E723/2, p.239; E721/11, 9-12-1776.

3. E730/46. Cf. inscription on bridges, p.305.

4. E721/6, p.173.

5. E721/6, p.278.

On other occasions, factors noted that the illicit nature of distilling caused tenants to make night journeys with their products, thus resulting in neither horses nor men being fit for work on the farms during the day. But in 1765, the factor was told to seek the help of the Excise officers.¹

On the other hand, the commissioners were prepared to build in Lix for example, where there was already a small inn which was not considered sufficient for the traffic between Stirling and Fort William, instructing the factor that he need pay no great regard to the present houses.² The factor's report on the Lix situation however gave the Board pause for he thought the best place was where the present inn stood; further the innkeeper was an old soldier who was doing quite well, managing a pretty good stable with plenty of hay and corn, even though these were commodities that were hard to come by in that part of the country. However, he hedged by saying he did not know how this man would get on in a better house.³ This innkeeper asked for a farm in 1760, and the factor had assumed then that this was for fodder for travellers' horses.⁴

The factor's reference to this innkeeper's success in supplying hay and corn reminds us that the task of innkeeping in the Highlands in a subsistence economy, did not simply involve keeping beds and providing meals for travellers with stabling and fodder for horses. The hotelier must also be at least an adequate farmer with ground attached to his inn to provide the raw materials. Hence the request from Macdonald at Dalnacardoch for help with enclosing. The Board and the Inspector were well aware of the ramifications of the profession and were always sympathetic to those who showed any desire to improve the amenities of their inns. The Auchterarder keeper, James Stewart, was allowed £50 at 5% to build stables.⁵ However,

1. E721/8, p.77.
3. E721/6, p.353.
5. E721/9, p.177.

2. E721/6, p.337.
4. E721/4, p.257.

he had not room on his existent tenement, he claimed, and the Inspector corroborated this,¹ but he promised to expand at his own expense if he were allowed a long lease of the two acres adjoining it.² Whether the two ditchers who were to be removed from these crofts to vacant buildings on Borelandbog appreciated the public need is not recorded.³ Reference to the development and building of inns often included recognition of the farm produce needed and innkeepers asked for the lease of grazing land on the grounds that no innkeeper could be accommodated properly without, especially if an inn were situated in an area where corn and hay could be obtained only from a distance and hence at great expense.⁴ The connection between inn and grazing is recognised too by the lease of farms to innkeepers, merely for the length of their tenure of the inn.⁵

Through the Crown's negligence in responding to the request for permission to buy the inn at Crieff when John Caw, an Edinburgh Writer, put it up for sale,⁶ this opportunity was missed but the Board had an interest in another in Crieff kept by Charles Murray, a vintner, as they were his feudal superiors. He and his wife were competent managers for whom the Inspector had nothing but praise, both during Murray's lifetime and during his widow's continuing proprietorship. Indeed he went as far as to say they deserved the protection of the Board more than any others he had met on the estates.⁷ They must have made him very comfortable! But certainly Murray was keen to keep his house in good repair⁸ and after his death, Mrs. Murray not only kept on the inn and the vintner's business but tried to obtain extra land to have butter as well as the more usual hay and corn.⁹ Good as the Murrays were however, the Board considered assisting another would-be innkeeper in Crieff, for the growing town could support

1. E729/8, p.38.

3. E721/9, p.87.

5. E721/2, p.42; E721/11, p.124; E721/6, p.180.

6. E721/6, p.354.

8. E721/8, p.139.

2. E721/9, p.198.

4. E721/10, p.177.

7. E729/8, pp.85-86.

9. E721/24, p.77.

more than one.¹ They certainly felt that a good inn was needed there at such a road junction, but not a monopoly.²

The commissioners did not restrict their attention merely to the inns needed on the main road north for even before 1760 they had authorised the factor to have one built at Kinloch Rannoch which was not to be either very large or very well endowed with land. This one was a long time on the way for in 1757 the factor was asked about the "public house presently building" at Kinloch Rannoch³ and gave estimates of £40 for a two storey house of stone and lime with garrets or £30 for a three-roomed house with a kitchen on a stone floor.⁴ Two years later the keeper of the public house wrote piteously that for two years he and his family had lived in the house in great danger for the roof was held up by trees. Not surprisingly no stranger or passenger would stay a night in it.⁵ Despite the reluctance of travellers to put up at his house, he found that he needed more land, presently held by one he described as a troublesome neighbour. As the factor bore out his statements, the neighbouring tenant was to be evicted; also it was resolved to build a new inn at an estimated cost of £38.12.3. excluding timber.⁶ The innkeeper's troubles were not over even when he was decently housed, however, for the soldiers settled in the area brought competition from the redoubtable wife of the storekeeper in the village, the spouse of Sergeant McIntyre. Contrary to the Board's orders, the sergeant kept alcohol for sale and his wife was in the habit of going to the authorised public house in Kinloch Rannoch and beating up those who would not drink at her house.⁷

Callander was another centre where a good inn was a necessity for it was the first stage between Stirling and Fort William. In 1755, it may be remembered that while all the houses in the village had claim to be some

1. E721/9, pp. 72, 73.
3. E721/2, p. 66.
5. E721/4, p. 199.
7. E729/8, p. 38.

2. E721/6, p. 355.
4. E721/2, p. 104.
6. E721/4, p. 244.

sort of changehouse, there had been only one decent inn kept by Donald McNab.¹ By 1761, one John McDiarmid had realised the possibilities of such a site. He had spent between £200 and £300 on improving his inn and wanted only meadow and arable ground near Callander to augment his supply of corn and hay, most of which he had to buy.² Granting him the land he wanted meant that another tenant, John MacArthur had to give up his land but this was considered a sacrifice that had to be made.³

Unfortunately for McDiarmid his inn and all its contents were burnt to the ground in April, 1763, through a servant's carelessness and though he had been insured for about £250 this had not been sufficient to re-furnish his inn completely. In 1763, he was allowed £60 towards this, the interest on this sum being converted into feu duty. He claimed that his was the only house that could accommodate a gentleman with a night's lodgings between Stirling and the head of Lochearn.⁴ McDiarmid did not rest on his laurels and he kept on adding to and improving the facilities in his inn, no doubt to his own benefit, as the village of Callander and the number of travellers on the road through were increasing, but receiving also the approval of the Board and further financial assistance from them, £50 in 1773 and £20 in 1784.⁵ His inn was described as inferior to others and regular travellers on the road had asked the Board to remedy the inconveniences, but the innkeeper was also expected to spend his own money on improvements in addition.⁶

Similar sums were spent on building new small inns and improving existing establishments⁷ but only two other inns received large-scale financial aid. A new inn was being built at Inverness and extensive improvements were made to the existing stage at Dalwhinnie on the great

1. E777/244, p.13.

2. E721/5, p.40.

3. E721/6, p.161.

4. E721/8, p.21.

5. E721/24, p.237; E721/26, p.26.

6. E721/24, p.200; E777/233.

7. E721/7, p.145; E741/52, - £66.13.1. on a changehouse at Inverie; E746/75/14, - £100 for repairs at a Coigach changehouse.

north road, some miles north of Dalnacardoch, near the junction of the main road north and the cross country route towards the Great Glen. The Inverness inn was a local venture sponsored by local business men including a merchant and a glazier and it was clearly quite a large building for one petition mentioned that £500 to £600 was still needed.¹ In 1778, the Board allowed £200 towards this² but a few years later when they reported awarding another £100 they were constrained to point out to the Lords of the Treasury and the King that in the past there had been no proper accommodation for the Judges of the Court of Justiciary during their circuit in the area, nor for the Commander-in-Chief at the review.³ The Lord Justice Clerk, Thomas Miller, had made the same point earlier when he forwarded a begging letter from one of the subscribers, accompanying it with the comment that it was as well entitled to Board's bounty as any one of the inns between Blair and Inverness.⁴ He added what would seem a statement of the obvious except that it is only now apparently being taken to heart, that it was vain to bring travellers on to Inverness if they could not be accommodated there.⁵

One wonders if Miller may not have wholly approved of the lavish assistance to the two inns at Dalnacardoch and Dalwhinnie, lying between Blair and Inverness. Certainly the latter received attention and money in full measure from 1771 and because of the Board's decision to exercise more control over it, involved particular financial arrangements after the disannexation. The inn and the adjoining grounds, including grazing for one hundred sheep, were the property of John McPherson, but he was considered by the commissioners "by no means qualified for the business of an innkeeper".⁶ As a result, once over £540 had been laid out on repairing and extending the buildings,⁷ the Board decided to take a fifty-year lease

1. E728/35/1.

3. E723/3, pp. 28, 31.

5. E727/40/2.

7. E723/2, pp. 215, 222.

2. E723/2, p.261.

4. E728/35/1.

6. E721/11, p.88.

of the inn, McPherson having initiated the arrangement, to ensure that their funds had not been wasted.¹ By their control of the appointment of an innkeeper they could maintain the standard and Peter Robertson was installed as mine host, giving satisfaction until the disannexation.² Appointing an innkeeper was yet another task laid on the factor's shoulders.³ The fifty-year lease had still forty years to run in 1784 and the Highland Society accepted responsibility for paying the rent thereafter, on receiving funds allocated from the forfeited annexed estates balances.⁴

Direct responsibility for Dalwhinnie must have made the Board even more conscious of all the ramifications of Highland innkeeping. Dalwhinnie was claimed to be farther away than any place in Scotland from a seaport or a public market. As a result freight charges were high⁵ and a further handicap was the exposed situation and the severity of the climate, so that Robertson's attempts at least to raise corn and hay had been ineffectual. It must be noted however, that the architect inspecting the inn, Baxter, cast some doubts on Robertson's skill as a farmer, but in the circumstances, considered that it was more desirable for him to concentrate on the inn.⁶ This he certainly seemed to do but despite his expenditure on the fabric, the building demanded more repairs than he could afford and he threatened to give up his post if he did not receive some more financial aid. The stage was such an essential one on the road to Inverness that the Board ordered £60 to be sent to Colonel Skene, the road Inspector, even before they received government approval for the work.⁷ For provision of farmland and grazing the Board found that Robertson was fairly nice in his requirements and eventually, as he represented that the corn lands nearest the inn on the annexed estates were not convenient, the Duke of Gordon was

1. E723/2, p.222.

3. E721/11, p.88.

5. E728/34/1, 10.

7. E721/11, pp. 58, 60.

2. E721/11, p.127.

4. E713/19; 26 George III, c.28.

6. E728/34/11.

applied to.¹ But despite the Duke's willingness to give ground without inconveniencing his own tenants, Robertson had finally to be content with the farm of Gaskinloan some miles from the inn, and the hill grazings of Nordmore and Ralia adjacent to it.²

Attaining a higher standard of accommodation within the house was slightly more difficult, for the first repairs especially to the roof, had been poorly executed, and despite the 28,000 slates carried by tenants from Dunkeld at Skene's request,³ Small had to report in August 1776, that the work had been very badly done, an assessment with which both General Oughton and the architect, John Baxter, agreed. Every third course of slates had been missed out and only a piece of slate stuck in, so that when the wind blew, the rain got in and there was a great noise. As a result all the slates had to be taken off, and 10,000 more were needed, costing £24.⁴ Internal alterations were made in 1776 to increase the accommodation but it was still insufficient and not sufficiently socially divided, for in 1779, Robertson wrote that lack of a common hall for soldiers caused him to lodge them in the rooms and beds which were intended for the accommodation of gentlemen, resulting in disgust on the part of his guests and destruction to his furniture. As for those who could not be lodged in beds, they were put in the hay loft and made the hay totally unfit for horses.⁵

Another trial the innkeeper had to cope with was a smoky kitchen chimney, despite Carron stoves bought in 1771⁶ and his experiment with a machine for preventing smoke.⁷ General Oughton was asked to consider the innkeeper's requests and complaints at this time but he went south instead or north and died at Bath with the result that nothing had happened and Robertson had to write again in 1782. The additions were eventually carried

1. E721/11, p.155.

3. E721/11, p.93.

5. E721/11, p.193; E727/39; E728/34/10.

6. E721/11, p.177.

2. E728/34/7.

4. E728/34/9(1, 11).

7. E721/11, p.157; E728/34/11.

out in 1784 for £100¹ but by that time Peter Robertson and his wife were becoming rather tired, for which he blamed the climate, and at the time he sent in his petition for his rent to be reduced, rather depressed, as they had just lost 200 sheep by smothering in snow.²

Despite this however, the inn must have seemed to outsiders to be a thriving concern, for the owner offered it to the Board for outright sale at the price of £1,000 in July 1784, an offer which was immediately refused.³ Later Robertson was in trouble with the Barons of the Exchequer for sub-setting⁴ and eventually renounced his lease in 1803⁵ but at his best he seems to have been an active and interested hotelier and in the bleak country round Dalwhinnie the knowledge of decent beds - despite the occasional presence of "other ranks" - and reasonable food must have been cheering. The whole venture was worthwhile, though the effects may not have been lasting for in 1818, John Anderson, one of the many travellers of the time who kept a diary of his tour, described Dalwhinnie as "an indifferent house".⁶ The Board gave attention to other inns too, refusing at one time to build one on the estate of Monaltry as there was a "commodious" public-house at Castletown of Braemar, only eight miles south of one proposed there, while of five of what the factor called "Tippling houses" between, three were on the estate of Monaltry, a surprising number for its size.⁷ However, they had to retract the following year, for the factor suggested that one was in fact needed. Fortunately, they had a suitable innkeeper at hand, Sergeant Low, a former sutler for the 87th Regiment of Foot with satisfactory references from two of the Lieutenants of the regiment and he had been promised a house on Monaltry in 1766.⁸

At Inverie, the pressing need of the factor and the members of the

1. E721/12, pp. 28, 30.
3. E721/12, p.31.
5. E702/4, p.201.
7. E721/10, p.149.

2. E728/34/17.
4. E702/4, p.193.
6. NLS. Ms. 2509, f.66.
8. E721/9, p.67; E721/10, p.117.

Baron Court for decent accommodation when they visited the estate of Barrisdale hastened the building of a changehouse at Inverie, at the estimated cost of about £30.¹ The innkeeper there had to be removed however in 1766, having failed to impress the committee of the Board concerned of his competence.² He had "squandered his funds" among other misdemeanours.³ One other innkeeper who was also sawmiller and drover provided accommodation for the Baron Courts; this was Alexander Cumming in Carie.⁴ He wanted more land and the comment on the possession he had of three and a half acres of arable, sowing about four bolls of oats and bear, with grazing for about twelve black cattle, four hill horses and two dozen sheep and goats was that "doubtless it was scarce enough for a publichouse keeper", once again showing the Board's appreciation of logistic difficulties.⁵ At any rate, he was given two extra farms, one belonging to a woman Katherine McPhail whose son had a bad character and the other to a man who had not replied to complaints made against him. But at least, Mrs. McPhail was to be given another holding.⁶

The Board improved the facilities for travellers in other ways too, giving timber for repair to the King's house on the Fort William to Tyndrum road⁷ from the woods on Ardsheal, Lochiel and Callart, and thirty tons of timber towards a new inn to be built halfway between Fort Augustus and Fort William, where previously there had been none. The military funds were to be drawn on there, to the tune of £50 to £60 with the Duke of Argyll's permission, provided the Board allowed timber.⁸ In the same area, later in the year, a lease was refused of the old glebe of Boleskine on the grounds that it seemed a suitable, central place for an inn.⁹ Further

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1. E721/7, pp. 26, 49; E741/52. The actual cost was more than twice that.
 2. E721/9, p.136.
 3. E786/37/8.
 4. E721/6, p.116.
 5. E721/6, p.115.
 6. E721/6, pp. 164, 175.
 7. E721/11, p.93.
 8. E721/22, p.5.
 9. E721/18, p.132.

north still, in 1770, the factor had suggested that the Board should buy a house in Milntown that rumour had it was for sale. The price however, was 200 guineas, apparently too much, for in 1780 Sir John Gordon of Invergordon was empowered to purchase the house at not more than £100, and when this offer did not succeed, Sir John suggested repairing the Court House at New Tarbat. In 1782, however, there was still no tenant in the public house described as "lately repaired".¹

There was some discrepancy between the factor's and tradesmen's accounts of the pier and changehouse to be built at Ballachulish ferry and the conditions described by the surveyor. Henry Butter, the factor, presented his accounts with a receipted bill for £76 from the Fort William wright, Peter Tarnish, but James Morison the surveyor reported that he found only the walls of the house, a few couples set and no more, while a few stones were set aside on the beach for the pier; there were no workmen around. Not surprisingly the Board asked Butter for his answer to this.² I have not found Butter's reply but in August of 1782, only eight months later, the Board received a memorial from John Stewart of Ballachulish mentioning a quay which he said the Board had built on the north side of the ferry, on the Lochiel estate.³ The discrepancy is odd unless Morison had stumbled on Corran Ferry without the benefit of today's notice, "This is NOT Ballachulish Ferry"!

Stewart had built an inn for £250 on the south side and asked for £30 towards a similar quay to that on the north, built by the Board. This he thought would remove what he called the "only obstacle" on the new road through Glencoe which it will be remembered had been subsidised by annexed estates funds.⁴ This line was supplanting the military road to Fort William and as it carried the mail by this time there was the greater

1. E721/18, pp.60, 83, 177, 180.

3. E728/31/3.

2. E721/22, pp. 33, 34.

4. See Part 1 (Roads) pp.272, 273, 274.

incentive for the Edinburgh Board to assist here in that improved communications would help accelerate the post to their outlying estates as well as to the north and west of the country generally.¹ The reference to Ballachulish pier and ferry lead us to consideration of yet another form of transport subsidised by the funds arising from the annexed estates. Last mentioned, it is certainly far from being least important, especially in the eighteenth century. This is of course the movement of people and goods by loch, river and sea.

1. E728/31/3.

4. TRAVEL BY WATER

It was not to be expected that such men as the commissioners would overlook any contemporary trends developing in transport as in any other aspect of the economic or intellectual life of their day and as well as showing a proper concern with existing ferries, by ensuring the proper maintenance of boats and the employment of efficient reliable ferrymen,¹ they were attracted by the canal mania and by the late eighteenth century plans to deepen and enlarge harbours. Water was both a hindrance and a help to transport at the time a hindrance where broad or fast rivers crossed highways whether made or unmade, and a help where navigable stretches of loch or river provided facilities for travel or for carriage of heavy goods which neither the existing road surfaces nor the vehicles using them could cope with. Boats were used on Loch Rannoch for taking provisions to the troops stationed at the west end, for example,² and for carrying consignments of limestone from the source of supply at the west end of Loch Earn to customers in the east.³ Though the first example is taken from the beginning of the annexation and the second from near the end by which time roads had been built along Lochearnside, at both dates a boat was more suitable for the transport of heavy goods.

Ferry services were legion. There was one at the west end of Loch

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1. There are accounts and receipts for ferry boats being built and repaired in all the estate papers.
 2. E721/1, p.136.
 3. E721/25, p.327.

Rannoch for instance for which the Board built a boat in 1759 to replace one that sounded extremely dangerous, and they then rented it to the ferryman.¹ Boats needed regular replacements, that on Monaltry seeming to give more trouble than most. It was renewed in 1761 and 1762, destroyed by ice brought down in a sudden thaw in 1768 and replaced again in 1779. After the incident in 1768 the factor implied that the boatman had been less than careful and that if he were bound to maintain the boat he would be more attentive to his vessel in future. Certainly, thereafter the boat did seem to last a little longer!²

Many of the crossings were connected to public-houses like those at Ballachulish and the Banavis ferry over the river Lochy on the road from Fort William to Loch Arkaig and Lochiel, to the north and west. A ferry-boat was built for this crossing in 1772³ at a cost of £5.10.0 including 1/4 for "whiskie at the launching",⁴ and in August, 1775, the Board decided to lease the farm and ferry of Banavie to the minister of Kilmallie, binding him to employ a proper boatman.⁵ However, this order was reversed in November and the factor, the previous tenant, was continued in the farm though not the ferry; he was also charged with keeping the changehouse near the Kirk of Kilmallie going as a public-house.⁶

Ferryman of course could be quite badly affected by new roads and bridges. A change of the line of road or a new bridge deprived them of old custom and both landlords and Board were prepared to compensate them for loss of earnings.⁷ Only one major venture in ferrying was subsidised by the Board, a packet-boat to Mull. First brought to their attention in 1772, this scheme did not impress the commissioners favourably for it had been

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1. E721/4, p.221. £3 - £4 granted.
 2. E721/6, p.24; E721/6, p.237; E721/23, pp. 1, 5, 9, 15.
 3. E768/82; E721/22, p.5. 4. F.R. Lochiel 17.
 5. E721/22, p.18. 6. E721/22, p.20.
 7. E721/8, p.124.

losing money during the year it had operated and they wanted a detailed defence of the scheme showing just how much advantage it would bring to the Highlands in general and the annexed estates in particular.¹ The Campbeltown merchants who had originally financed the boat pointed out in their petition that they could hardly be expected to persevere in the trade, however useful to the public, if their private interest suffered.² In 1773, however, it was agreed to allow £40 per annum for three years, the boat sailing weekly from Crinan to the Sound of Mull, though freight was just covering costs.³ In 1774, the balance-sheet presented by the owners James Shaw and Duncan MacKenzie showed a loss of £13 and it took a letter from the Duke of Argyll to persuade the commissioners to ask for permission for further aid in their report.⁴

When the J.P.'s and Commissioners of Supply for Ross-shire represented to the Board how much mileage would be saved on the road north from Inverness, if carriage could go by Kessock Ferry and Inverbreakie instead of round by Beauly and Dingwall, a subscription of £50, half the estimated cost of £100 was to be allowed, to make the Inverbreakie piers suitable for wheeled traffic.⁵ This aid was dependent on equal subscriptions from the county gentlemen however and the other half seems never to have been collected.⁶ Smeaton had been commissioned to estimate how much this would cost when he was in the area⁷ but the ferry there was not extended until the early nineteenth century. Under the direction of the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges piers were built on both sides of the Cromarty Firth at Invergordon and Inverbreakie, 130 yards and 90 yards long, respectively. The whole cost was £1,638 of which £616.18.11.⁸ was provided from the funds made available by the government under the Scottish Harbours Act.⁹

1. E721/11, p.84.

3. E728/49/2; E721/11, p.110.

5. E721/11, p.70; E728/31/2.

7. E730/22.

9. 46 George III c.155. See below pp.341 ff.

2. E728/49/1.

4. E727/59; E723/2, p.227.

6. E730/45/2.

8. C.H.R.B. 9, pp. 49, 108.

When the Bailies of the Admiralty of Dunfermline and the J.P.'s of Fife first asked for £100 in 1764, towards the repairs they were carrying out at both South and North Queensferry, their appeal was first left on the table and then in December of the same year rejected, despite their contention that cattle from the annexed estates travelled south by that ferry.¹ On this occasion local funds had already contributed £200 and the Convention of Royal Burghs £60 and no reason was given in the minutes for the refusal, but at the time, the Board's resources were fully stretched in settling demobilised soldiers and sailors and the commissioners had not yet reached the point they later did of spreading largesse over wider geographical areas. Eight years later the Fifers had a better reception for a much more expensive repair of these harbours and for the erection of piers, designed and estimated by Smeaton at £980.² The Board asked permission to spend £400 on this crossing, part of a military road, as they declared Queensferry was the most frequented sea passage in Scotland.³ The grant was paid out in 1775⁴ and in the following year, on a verbal report from Mr. Clerk on the progress being made, they awarded a further £100,⁵ informing Crown and Treasury that they had done so and were "in hope of meeting with the Royal approbation".⁶ On a smaller scale, Colonsay pier benefited to the tune of £40, the petitioner Archibald MacNeil also laying out £20, "to encourage manufactures".⁷

The dramatic rise of Glasgow entrepot trade in the eighteenth century tends to obscure the growing prosperity of the east coast harbours but in fact while Scottish trade generally was obtaining an increasing share of British foreign markets apart from the lion's share of the tobacco trade, what statistics there are show that the east coasters were not sluggards.⁸

1. E721/8, pp.25, 61; E728/31/1.

2. E721/11, p.92.

3. E723/2, p.221.

4. E721/11, p.151.

5. E721/11, p.162.

6. E723/2, p.217.

7. E721/11, p.188; E723/3, p.25.

8. T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (London, 1969) p.245.

The increasing interest in the linen trade, despite the attempts to use home-grown flax, was bound to attract European trade, especially with Russia and the Baltic where the best supplies were obtained. The largest ports of Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen and increasingly as the century progressed, Grangemouth, had the greatest share of import and export trade, but in Scotland, where mountain and stream made communications exceptionally arduous and the rivers were in the main too fast to be navigable, the coastal trade was an important and vital part of the country's economy. While the acceleration of both overseas and coastal trade was greater after 1780,¹ for those who had eyes to see, the portents of things to come were visible before that date, and three towns had town councils or entrepreneurs sufficiently energetic and foreseeing to raise funds themselves and then to approach the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates. They thereby qualified for and deserved assistance, on the Board's standards of encouraging self-help. These were Cromarty and Peterhead on the east and Rothesay on the west coast.

Rothesay magistrates and town council were the latest to apply for aid in enlarging their harbour, in 1779, but theirs was also the least ambitious project and by 1781, £425 had been paid towards it.² Lord Stonefield and Mr. Oliphant to whom a great many practical schemes were referred for their opinion, had suggested that the original estimate of £1,449 was excessive and recommended that simply widening the piers so that carriages could load and unload was sufficient. Lord Bute was prepared to donate £100 so the improvements would cost the town nothing in improving what they claimed was the safest harbour in the Mulls of Kintyre and Galloway.³

It was the town council of Peterhead also who approached the commissioners for assistance, but spoiled their case by stating that they had no

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1. H. Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, (Oxford, 1963), p.286.
 2. E723/3, pp. 27. 31.
 3. E728/33/4 (1-4).

town funds. The Board expressed approval of the extensions proposed but the note is made on the back that the secretary is to inform those concerned that the Board did not feel it was proper to give aid until subscriptions had been raised. There was no doubt about the utility of the plan, for Peterhead was well placed to offer shelter to both coastal and ocean-going vessels, as well as being in a good strategic position to act as a base, in time of war, against privateers. Unfortunately the pier on the south harbour - there were really two basins, north and south - had taken such a battering from the fierce south-east winds that it was in danger of collapse.¹

The interested parties, however, raised £500 from the Royal Burghs, £300 from the Merchant Maidens Hospital in Edinburgh who hoped for an increase in rents from the lands they owned near the town,² and £1,000 on the harbour dues. They employed John Gwyn as engineer, and the merchants and shipmasters added their support to a petition to the Treasury.³ This was forwarded to the Board who prepared to make the contribution requested of £3,500 in seven annual instalments, from 1779 to 1786.⁴ This was another undertaking by the Board which had to be completed after 1784 by the Barons of the Exchequer from the funds paid by the reinstated heirs.⁵ Gwyn's estimate of £6891.3.6. was insufficient. However the writer of the O.S.A. thought that had the extension cost three times that sum it should have been carried out. £5,000 had only deepened the harbour and made two piers.⁶ There was no doubt that the extensions to the piers was of great service to shipping, but as ships increased in size and more facilities were demanded, like so many other harbours, Peterhead saw more improvements in the early nineteenth century, on the advice of Rennie and Telford.⁷

1. E728/33/2(1).

2. O.S.A. xvi. p.600.

3. E728/33/3.

4. E723/3, pp.1, 10, 16, 20, 38, 42, 46, 52, 59.

5. E714/18/o - £1500. See Chapter VII.

6. O.S.A. xvi. pp.598, 599; E728/33/2(2).

7. Gibb, Sir Alexander, Story of Telford, (London, 1935) pp.65, 152-3.

Once again, forfeited annexed estates funds were available, but after 1806, through the agency of the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges.¹

The benefits of a proper landing-place in the Bay of Cromarty had given the commissioners some food for thought at an early date.² Their original interest had sprung from the need to deliver materials and export goods from New Tarbat House, had their scheme to turn it into a factory been realised. However, the want of a good pier or harbour must have been increasingly felt as agriculture began to produce a surplus in the area, especially on the south side of the Moray Firth, on the estates of the Earl of Findlater. About midway through the annexation, Smeaton's estimate for a pier at Port Leish had had to be laid aside regretfully with some other plans he had made³ on account of lack of resources, so the Board was no doubt all the more open to suggestion when George Ross, the energetic entrepreneur of Cromarty, proposed improvements to Cromarty pier in 1778.⁴

Ross strengthened his application for assistance in 1778 by offering, as proprietor of the barony and town of Cromarty, to make over all his rights and title to the ground and coast needed for the proposed expansion, as well as making a financial contribution himself,⁵ and in January 1779, the minutes record the arrival of the Royal Warrant allowing expenditure of £5,000.⁶ Payment began in 1779 with an instalment of £500, followed by the same amount in 1780 and 1781.⁷ The next group of payments were to be in instalments of £700 and the first was paid in January 1782.⁸

At the end of the summer, Ross was pressing for speedier payment as the pier was progressing well and he had spent more than the £2,200 he had already received. But the Board could only undertake this conditionally - if their accounts were favourable and other commitments were not too pressing.⁹

1. See below pp. 345-348.

3. E730/22.

5. E723/3, p.6.

7. E732/9, 8-4-1779, 28-2-1780, 26-2-1781.

8. E732/9, 28-1-1782.

2. E721/2, p.75.

4. E721/11, p.188.

6. E721/11, p.192; E728/33/3(1).

9. E721/12, p.5.

In the event, the next payment was not made until August, 1783,¹ so Ross had to remain out of pocket and the disannexation the following year may have incommoded him still further, as the change over from administration by the Board to administration by the Barons of the Exchequer meant that such payments had to be statutorily dealt with. Eventually the Barons paid up the balance of £2,100 to complete the original grant of £5,000.²

One plea came too late for the Board to be of any assistance. Alexander McLeod in Harris wanted help towards roads and a pier in Harris but his petition was read in July 1784, by which time the committee considering the correspondence had to tell him that all the Board's engagements had already been reported to the Treasury, as financial tidying-up that the disannexation involved got under way, and they did not think they could enter any new undertakings.³ However in the last ten years of the annexation support for pier and harbour building, the subsidy to the Mull boat and lastly, surveys for canals had accounted for £5,883.19.7. of the Board's funds.⁴

It would have been more surprising if the canal mania had passed by the Board than it is to find that they commissioned James Watt to survey a possible cut from Perth through Strathmore, and for a survey for the Crinan Canal as his work on the former had impressed them. Watt had been only the fourth choice for the Strathmore survey, Smeaton, Brindley and Robert Mackell having been originally recommended.⁵ Smeaton and Brindley were among the foremost civil engineers of the day and Robert Mackell had been employed by some Glasgow merchants to try to find an alternative route to Smeaton's proposals for the Forth-Clyde canal, which would not by-pass Glasgow, and then with Watt to alter Smeaton's route so that it would finish

1. E732/9, 4-8-1783.
3. E721/12, p.31.
5. E721/11, p.35.

2. E714/18/o.
4. E732/9, passim

nearer the Broomielaw.¹ When the Strathmore survey was mooted however, Smeaton was too busy and the other two refused the commission so George Young, the merchant in Coupar Angus, who acted for the Board on occasion, was asked to employ "Mr. Watt of Glasgow".² James Watt was paid £216.4.4. for the survey³ a copy of which is in the National Library.⁴ He apologised for the time he took in the field but defended this on the grounds of "uneven country and unhospitable weather". George Clerk-Maxwell's comment on his report was that he was happy to find a "great share of genius in this performance and that he is particularly fortunate in arranging his thoughts, but am sorry to observe that he is not so good at stating his account".⁵

The building of this canal was proposed to preventing depopulation caused by difficulties in obtaining fuel in the area. Watt estimated that a level canal from Kinnoull to Coupar Angus would cost £27,214,0.4. while the expense of a locked canal from Scone to Glamis would be £41,537.13.7.⁶ The Strathmore cut was an abortive scheme, but the other canal surveyed by Watt at the Board's expense, Crinan, is still in use, though not built under their auspices or to his specifications.

Both Miss Lindsay and Dr. Haldane credit the annexed estate commissioners with having employed Watt to survey the route from Fort William to Inverness, for an inland waterway, later of course, the Caledonian Canal, but in this case credit seems to be given where it is not due.⁷ There are no records in the Journal of any payments to Watt for canal surveys other than these two, the Crinan and the Strathmore,⁸ though Watt apparently did

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1. Jean Lindsay, The Canals of Scotland (Newton Abbot, 1965), p.16. Hereafter, Lindsay, Canals.
 2. E721/11, p.37; E727/37/3.
 3. E726/2, 1772.
 4. NLS. Ms.3164 - not an enthusiastic advocacy of the plan.
 5. E727/37/6(1).
 6. NLS. Ms.3164, pp.49-55.
 7. Lindsay, Canals, p.142; Haldane, New Ways, p.78.n.
 8. E732/9.

made a survey for the Caledonian canal.¹ The only direct financial assistance made by the Board to the Crinan canal was in fact to pay Watt for his survey of the lines proposed by the Magistrates of Glasgow when they approached the commissioners, in 1771. All the Glaswegians wanted from the Board at that stage was in fact the cost of the survey to see if it was a practicable proposition to make a canal from Loch Fyne west, either from Loch Gilp to Loch Crinan on the Sound of Jura, or from Easter to Wester Loch Tarbert. As a paragraph in Mr. Menzies' journal for 1768 could be quoted mentioning the utility of such a canal at either place, the Board agreed to underwrite the cost.² George Clerk-Maxwell thought that Watt preferred the Loch Gilp to Loch Crinan line for which he presented estimates of £34,879.0.4. for a seven-foot deep canal and £48,405.5.3. for one ten foot deep.³ Clerk agreed with Watt's preference and also recommended the shallower cheaper estimate.⁴ Watt's account on this occasion was for £162.15.3.⁵

There the connection of the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates with the Crinan canal had to rest, but financial assistance from funds arising from the annexation was far from finished. There was a large amount of capital injected into Scottish communications, especially into building canals, harbours and piers, which arose from the return of the estates to the original families and the use of this must now be considered, for it can hardly be divorced from the general effects of the annexation.

The repayment by the reinstated heirs of the money expended by the public in clearing their ancestors' debts amounted to a large sum.⁶ Instead of allowing this capital accretion to disappear into the maw of the Treasury, the Disannexing Act⁷ allocated the money to specific Scottish

1. Samuel Smiles, Lives of Boulton and Watt (London, 1865) pp.157,197.
2. E728/31; E721/11, p.63. 3. E730/21/2.
4. E730/21/3. 5. E721/11, p.108.
6. E714/18/m. 7. 24 George III c.57. See Appendix K.

projects, including the Forth-Clyde canal. The "Great Canal" as it was called¹ had staggered on from one financial crisis to another during its construction and it was perhaps not surprising that £50,000 was lent to the proprietors out of the funds. Like the Forth Road Bridge this had been an idea in the mind of Scots for a long time before it was actually built and apparently had been proposed by Charles II, for strategic reasons.² In 1768 the Scots Magazine published the suggestions made in a pamphlet generally believed to come from the hand of an Edinburgh merchant, George Chalmers, that the annexed estates should be sold and the proceeds used for just such a canal. His arguments for this course of action were that the estates did not yield 1½% to 2% of the sum they would realise if sold, and that the canal would make the western estates more accessible. He claimed that the great distance from the "civilised trading part of Scotland", the almost insuperable difficulties of access were the "chief perhaps the only causes of the long unpolished rude state of the west Highlands and Islands". Everyone knew, he said, that the estates were inaccessible from the east side by land for any purposes of trade or improvement and he was inclined to believe that if his suggestion was accepted, it would contribute more to what he called the "wise purpose" of the annexation in ten years, than all the produce of the estates as "we have hitherto seen them laid out" would do in a century.³ The next month's issue saw an objection from merchants to the proposal to tax vessels on the canal on the grounds that the funds from such a sale would be sufficient with the addition of only a trifling toll.⁴ Lord Ellick, Lord Advocate and George Clerk-Maxwell, commissioners for the annexed estates were also included among proprietors of the canal⁵ so their private interest would not at least prevent their considering the idea

1. E721/10, p.170

2. R.S. Fittis, Illustrations of the History and Antiquities of Perthshire (Perth, 1874), p.293.

3. Scots Magazine 30. p.294.

4. Scots Magazine 30. pp. 289, 290.

5. NLS Ms. 1497 f.131.

sympathetically and at least, the germ of the idea of using funds from the estates was there.

The canal was opened in July 1790¹ but not before there had been a certain amount of acrimony between the proprietors and the Barons of the Exchequer who were responsible for handling the finance involved in the return of the estates. Various officials of the Exchequer court including James Loch and later James Baird, the Deputy King's Remembrancer, were in correspondence on several occasions complaining about negligence in sending abstracts of the canal accounts to the Exchequer as the 29th and 30th sections of the Disannexing Act had directed. In February, 1789, the Barons had received no such abstracts and Loch asked that the act should be complied with before May 20th.² Even when some sort of records did arrive he had to apply for further information as they were framed in such very general terms.³

The opening of the canal did not relieve the financial stress on the Directors and despite increasing traffic, notably herring busses sailing from the west coast to fish in the Forth, the company still made no profit. £30,000 was owing at the end of 1793 and as yet no dividends had been paid.⁴ Nor were the Barons receiving the statutory abstracts of the accounts and in January 1794 they threatened to have the company's books brought into court and an accountant authorised to inspect them and make such abstracts as were necessary.⁵ What most worried the Barons was that they could not precisely say what proportion of the dividends should be paid into the public purse.⁶ Lack of detailed accounts added to the various alterations to the stock of the company such as the forfeiture of shares not totally paid up (including those of George Chalmers!)⁷ did not clarify matters for them. The Barons' agents were still complaining about the non-appearance of abstracts in

1. E702/4, p.112.
3. E702/4, p.106.
5. E702/4, p.149.
7. E702/4, p.128.

2. E702/4, p.104.
4. Lindsay, Canals, p.34.
6. E702/4, p.135.

1798¹ and there must have been a certain relief when in 1799, Parliament passed an act² enabling the Forth-Clyde Navigation Proprietors to repay the capital sum loaned by the government without interest. In 1784, it had been optimistically planned that dividends should be used for the improvement of Highland roads and bridges but it was April 1800 before a first dividend of 10% was paid³ by which time the government was no longer financially concerned.

But the Barons had merely moved from dealing with one canal company to having to cope with another plus a town council, for the capital of £50,000 repaid was immediately loaned out again, £25,000 to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city of Edinburgh to complete the improvements to Leith harbour⁴ and £25,000 to the Crinan Canal Company⁵ of which John Seton Karr was the officially authorised recipient.

The Crinan Canal company like the Forth-Clyde ran into financial difficulties at some points because of the failure of subscribers to pay up, but unlike those who reneged from the earlier project, proprietors in arrears were to be sued.⁶ As 1,378 of the original subscribers were English compared to 473 Scottish, perhaps distance lent disenchantment.⁷ John Rennie's plan for a fifteen-foot canal estimated at £107,512 was accepted.⁸ As £91,500 had been subscribed by February 1793, an act authorising the canal was obtained and the work began with Rennie as chief engineer and Captain Joseph Huddart, a well-known marine surveyor, employed to pick the best harbour sites at each end of the canal.⁹ The loan from the government came at an auspicious time for the inflation due to the war had added to the costs and a loan of 5%, even though the canal itself was mortgaged to the Barons, must have seemed preferable to the proprietors than

1. E702/4, p.178.

3. Lindsay, Canals, p.35.

5. 39 George III, c.71.

7. Lindsay, Canals, p.117.

8. Compare Watts estimate above, p.336.

9. Lindsay, Canals, p.116. ff.

2. 39 George III, c.71.

4. 39-40 George III, c.57.

6. Lindsay, Canals, p.119.

the other possibility, that of abandoning the construction altogether. But the 5% interest on the capital was a pious hope; in 1806 the Barons wrote to the canal company pointing out that five and a half years' interest was due, amounting to £6,875, and begging that the same should be paid by 12th May next, a fortnight ahead.¹ A few days later however, a letter from Henry Jardine, the Barons' agent, to Sir John Sinclair notes that as the canal company had asked the Treasury to grant bygone interest, no legal steps would be taken as yet.²

Edinburgh Town Council had also run into difficulties of rising costs and as the Lord Provost pointed out there was no possibility of income from the harbour and hence no interest for the Barons until the first dock was completed. But the Exchequer Court very properly remarked that it was beyond their statutory powers to grant a deferment of interest payment as the act 39-40 George III directed an immediate application of the money.³ This "immediate application" was like the unforthcoming income from the Forth-Clyde canal to have been spent on Highland roads and bridges. Both the Crinan Canal and the Edinburgh docks needed additional state aid in 1806,⁴ once more of £25,000 each. By 1817, the Edinburgh debt was paid and hence was available for use in the Highlands.⁵

Growing consciousness of the need for good communications can of course be seen throughout the eighteenth century and the special needs of the Highlands were not forgotten. The first major step taken towards improving the road system there in the nineteenth century was the appointment of the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges, with a parliamentary grant of £20,000. It was expected that half the amount needed for any given road or bridge would be collected locally, whereafter the government commission would provide the other half. Improved communications being considered a

1. E702/4, p.209.

2. E702/4, p.210.

3. E702/4, pp. 204, 205.

4. 46 George III, c.156.

5. E702/4, unnumbered folios after 1817.

sure step to increased profit to proprietors in the relevant areas, even landowners on entailed estates were to be allowed to join in contributing towards the expense.¹

Three years later, piecemeal provision having been made previously at irregular intervals to make use of funds arising from the repayment of their forefathers' debts by the reinstated heirs to the annexed estates, in 1806 an act was passed vesting the "Balances arising from the Forfeited Estates in Scotland" in the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges. The capital was to be applied by them in building railways, canals, harbour improvements, quays, or any other works of that sort which they considered would improve "that part of the United Kingdom".² The Royal Bank of Scotland had also a deposit of £15,125 held at 4% to pay annuities for the servants of the Annexed Estates Board and the rent of the Dalwhinnie inn. £22,300 had already been granted for a variety of purposes³ and included £7,500 to the British Fisheries society for building a harbour at Wick.⁴

The act also hopefully described as "Balances" the two sums of £25,000 lent to the Crinan Canal Company and to Edinburgh Town Council. But the Crinan Canal capital was never repaid, nor the additional loans, the total amounting in all to £74,000.⁵ The Barons assigned their rights over it to the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges in 1812, an empty gesture,⁶ except that it transferred the onus of pressing for repayment on to the latter body. The Caledonian Canal Commissioners took over the burden of management in 1816 though any revenue was still at the command of Barons of the Exchequer to repay first loan⁷ but this unsatisfactory situation was remedied eventually in 1848 when the Crinan Canal was vested

1. 43 George III, c.80.

2. 46 George III, c.155. The Scottish Harbours Act.

3. See Chapter VI.

4. 46 George III, c.156.

5. Lindsay, Canals, p.133.

6. E713/25/7.

7. 56 George III, c.135.

in the Commissioners for the Caledonian Canal.¹ In 1919 the Ministry of Transport took over both when the canal's income was still, as throughout its history, smaller than its running expenses. Despite the poor workmanship, restricted capacity and totally unprofitable nature, an inquiry held by the Ministry in 1921 found unanimous agreement among witnesses of the importance of the canal to the Hebrides.² In the present century, though the number of commercial vessels using it has decreased steadily, this has been counterbalanced by the growing number of leisure craft that avoid the long journey south round the Mull of Kintyre on the route to and from the western islands of Scotland. 1963 saw modern technology using the canal when a hovercraft passed along from Loch Gilp to Crinan.³

The Barons of the Exchequer were to report on the state of the funds to the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges and in the latter body's Third Report, the year after the 1806 act, they remarked that "we are not taught to expect speedy repayment of either of the large debts", i.e. those from Crinan and Edinburgh.⁴ They made regular demands to the Barons of the Exchequer for their dues after 1806 but that there was no lack of appreciation of the difficulties in obtaining this can perhaps be adduced from their secretary, Rickman's letter in 1810. He had to inform the Barons that the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges had spent all the money received so far and considered that they should really have access to the £25,000 lent to Edinburgh. It was accepted that of this £16,000 had to be retained so that the Highland Society could pay the annuities awarded at the time of the disannexation. This limited the demand to £9,000 and in response to a letter from Jardine representing the financial straits of the town council, eventually only £1,000 was requested. And Rickman added

1. 11 and 12 Victoria, c.54.

3. Lindsay, Canals, p.141.

2. Lindsay, Canals, p.140.

4. C.H.R.B. 3, p.33.

that he was sure that the Barons would realise that the aims of the act allocating these funds would "remain unexecuted unless the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges pressed for repayment of the debts".¹

The Edinburgh response was that they were no better off than in 1807; in other words until the docks were finished they could repay no capital,² but they did keep up interest payments.³ As we have seen, the capital was repaid in 1817, though only by borrowing from another lender who was inclined to be less pressing when in any case borrowing in post-war conditions was easier.⁴ It must have been somewhat aggravating too, to have the assignation of the Crinan Canal debt described among "Money aid from the Forfeited Estates by the Barons of the Exchequer to the Commission for Highland Roads and Bridges" as if it had been real money, coming to a grand total of £48,781.0.1. At least some interest was in fact forthcoming from Edinburgh council.⁵

Dr. A.R.B. Haldane in his book New Ways through the Glens, 1962 has dealt with the work of the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges as it was initially conceived in 1803 but the use to which they put the capital available from forfeited estates funds is what now must be considered if we are to assess the total contribution to Scottish highways of all kinds, water as well as macadamised, from the conception of annexation, as well as that resulting from the work of the Annexed Estates Board.

The Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges who had been at work since 1803 had produced two reports by 1805 on their past progress and current programme in road-building. They had found cause to complain incidentally about the inaccuracy of Ainslie's map and of the surveys drawn

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1. E704/12/3.
 2. E704/12/4.
 3. C.H.R.B. Reports 1807-17 passim.
 4. C.H.R.B. 9; Haldane, New Ways, p.117; E702/4.
 5. E713/25/7; £5,809.13.11. from Edinburgh Town Council.

up for the Annexed Estates Board, though the restricted nature of the latter could hardly be faulted as they were primarily intended for estate management.¹ They had been very pleased to have come upon Roy's map drawn up under the supervision of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson - as were the original surveys of the annexed estates - and even better pleased to discover its comparative accuracy.² Another mapmaker, Arrowsmith, was employed to copy it at the expense of £150.³ In 1807, however, their third report had to describe a new dimension added to their work as they had the added responsibility of administering the "Funds Arising from the Forfeited Estates in Scotland" under what was generally called the Scottish Harbours Act.⁴

In the light of the increasing interest in harbour and dock development at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the number of applications they had received for assistance was surprisingly moderate. Eleven town councils or harbour proprietors (not necessarily the same) had put forward suggestions for enlarging, deepening, or otherwise improving their harbours or for lengthening or strengthening their piers - Ardrossan, Peterhead, Macduff and Banff, Oban, Port Patrick, Burghead, Kirkwall, East Anstruther, Culgower, and last, for quays in Islay and Colonsay.⁵ Many of the applicants had not realised that loans could be made under the Harbour Act only under the same conditions as to road and bridge building i.e. a "moiety" (a half) of the proposed expense had to be provided by the petitioners,⁶ and others had not specified amounts at all.⁷ In their third report, the commissioners decided to defer any proceedings until they had made some investigation into the comparative utility and urgency of the applications

1. C.H.R.B. 1; C.H.R.B. 2, p.13.

2. C.H.R.B. 3, p.19.

4. 46 George III c.155.

6. C.H.R.B. 4, p.23.

3. C.H.R.B. 4, p.63.

5. C.H.R.B. 3, p.33.

7. C.H.R.B. 3, p.33.

before them for two reasons. First their funds were limited. As we have seen, £50,000 was tied up in Leith docks and the Crinan canal, and only £12,931 had been received from the Barons.¹ Secondly, the House of Commons Report on the bill had held out promise or at least expectation of assistance for several projects, including a canal from Loch Earn to Perth; proposed expansion of Fraserburgh, Thurso and Helensburgh harbours had brought what one might describe as anticipated expenditure to £13,800² so it was only sensible for the commissioners to move warily.

By 1807, however, they had eliminated all but Burghead, Fraserburgh, Peterhead, Kirkwall and Culgower as not being in conformation with the act of Parliament, and then they cut out Culgower because it was too small and too shallow.³ It was reckoned that without the financial assistance from the government through this agency, neither Burghead, Fraserburgh nor Kirkwall would have found it possible to improve the facilities of their harbours.⁴ There were technical snags to be evened out in two of these cases. The usual rule adhered to in the case of assistance to roads and bridges was that it should not be retrospective, but as the proprietors of Burghead had carried out their improvements relying on the act and on the circular letter sent out by the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges in 1808 the commissioners thought that it would be inequitable to keep too strictly to the letter of the law.⁵ There was the further question of tolls which both Burghead proprietors and Peterhead magistrates had intended using to reimburse their funds.⁶ This, however, was forbidden by the original act providing funds for the Highlands in 1803 so compromises had to be made.

Burghead proprietors had indeed increased their original expenditure to £9,000 so confident were they of obtaining aid. The Commissioners for

1. C.H.R.B. 3, p.32.
3. C.H.R.B. 4, p.23.
5. C.H.R.B. 4, p.24.

2. C.H.R.B. 3, p.33.
4. C.H.R.B. 4, p.28.
6. C.H.R.B. 4, pp. 24 and 26.

Highland Roads and Bridges proposed that the sum to be repaid by tolls should be counted as a contribution to meet the aid given by the Harbour Act; they would call the whole sum £8,000, provide a subsidy of £2,000 and half the revenue should be used for the upkeep of the harbour.¹ This the proprietors agreed to. The village sits on a promontory at the south entrance to the Moray Firth, admirably placed between Inverness and Peterhead. The promise of those involved to use any surplus from the grant of £2,000 to make roads in the neighbourhood of Burghead² added to the fact that between the two major ports only Cromarty could admit a vessel of 100 tons must have encouraged the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges to twist their rules. Cromarty harbour as we have seen had been extended with the help of the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates in the 1780's.

Unfortunately, the plans used for Burghead led to later troubles. The work was completed in 1809 but by the time the commissioners produced their report for 1810-1811, the disturbing factor had appeared that sand accumulated at the mouth of the harbour at an alarming rate, so that the port was not having such beneficial results as had been promised. Also, the walls were not watertight and constant labour was needed for repairs.³ The Burghead experience led to the refusal of extra assistance to Fraserburgh where it was suggested that the south pier should be extended to enclose the area further, on the grounds that there were dangers in effecting too closed a space in the attempt to provide perfectly smooth water.⁴ Also the funds were insufficient, an even more potent argument.

Despite the amount already spent on Peterhead, the harbour was said to be "in great want of improvement" in 1809.⁵ The inhabitants in the

1. C.H.R.B. 4, p.24.
3. C.H.R.B. 5, p.23.
5. C.H.R.B. 4, p.25.

2. C.H.R.B. 4. Appendix K, pp.47-48.
4. C.H.R.B. 5, p.24.

eighteenth century had shown that they were keen to improve their harbour and their enthusiasm seemed not to have abated for when it was pointed out to them that despite their having procured an act authorising tolls, in 1807, this would disqualify them from obtaining aid from the funds available under the Scottish Harbours Act, they at once agreed to dispense with tolls and raise half the sum needed, £3,900. The magistrates also suggested that if they were given £400 more they would deepen the basin still more but the commissioners were unsure that the benefits arising from this merited the extra expense. As it was, vessels drawing fourteen to sixteen feet of water could now, it was hoped, be accommodated in ordinary tides, and Rennie had inspected and certified the work done.¹ In October, 1819, both Peterhead and Banff, which had already been recipients of the commissioners' funds, suffered extensive damage from a violent storm which hit Banff on the 22nd and Peterhead on the 23rd and 24th of that month. The estimate of repairs at the latter was £3,000 which was shared by the commissioners and the town, and that at Banff was £2,000.² In the latter case, it was decided to benefit by experience and provide a larger harbour of two Scottish acres with a better entrance so that the largest merchant vessels of the time could be accommodated if three-quarters loaded.³

The urgent and immediate need for repair as a result of the 1819 storm had meant that money not definitely committed had had to be diverted to these two harbours and Macduff was one that lost its chance of a grant thereby, for in the ninth report, the commissioners were closing their harbour accounts. The Crinan Canal debt of £25,000 was still a paper one, but that and a claim on the Perth estate, they had had to regard as "of no convertible value". Despite these, the funds from the forfeited annexed

1. C.H.R.B. 4, p.26.

2. C.H.R.B. 9, pp. 46, 48.

3. C.H.R.B. 9, p.48.

estates had realised £52,000 all of which had been applied to harbours, canals and piers, and had been almost doubled by contributions from individuals or from burgh funds. The amount of expense on individual schemes had varied greatly, from £30,000 on Peterhead to £130 for K.Øills Ferry Pier in Kintyre.¹

No railways appeared as a result of the 1806 act and the only canal built was that at Dingwall; the suggestion of one from Loch Earn to Perth never reappeared after the third report. The Dingwall canal was 2000 yards long, and had enabled the town to have two basins with quays, one where the Great North Road crossed the Peffer, the other 600 yards east of the town, giving access at all times to vessels drawing nine feet of water and to larger vessels in the spring tides. Previously cargoes had had to be discharged on a muddy shore a good mile from the town, the approach along a poor road.² On this occasion, the other contributor had been a Mr. Davidson of Tulloch who also undertook the contract totalling £4,000, £2,000 from the commissioners, £2,000 from the contractors.³

Appendix Z in the ninth report showed how the money available had been spent at the date of the report. The details are given below, showing that £41,327.4.3. had been paid out, and £8,893.17.4. remained of £52,640.16.0, the discrepancy being due to administrative costs, part of the salary paid to the commissioners' secretary, for example. The total unused for constructional purposes, as recorded in this appendix, amounts to only £2,419.14.5. for fifteen years administration which is not an extravagant sum in the circumstances.⁴

The use to which the remaining capital was to be applied was also noted,⁵ including the amount committed to finishing the landing pier "of massive dimensions" at Ballintraid, spelled Ballintraed, for import of lime,

1. C.H.R.B. 8, p.32; C.H.R.B. 9, pp. 45, 108.

2. C.H.R.B. 8, p.31.

4. C.H.R.B. 9, p.108.

3. C.H.R.B. 8, p.32.

5. C.H.R.B. 9, pp. 49, 50.

coal and other goods for use in Easter Ross, and for the export of timber and corn. Of the total due from the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges, £638.15.9. had been paid, but in all £1,200 had to be contributed. The report described the Cromarty Firth as one of the best and most extensive harbours in Great Britain, but until recently it had had no pier. The Board for the Annexed Estates had had thoughts of building one at Port Laish, near Tarbat House, and Smeaton was employed to make plans and estimates, but it was too expensive for them at £711.2.1.¹

It was hoped that under the Harbours Act some improvements on Nairn harbour costing less than £3,500 would be carried out and also that a ferry pier at Channery (Chanonry in today's Ordnance Survey) would be built with £500 from Mr. Mackenzie of Flowerburn and a like some from the government funds. Here the report expresses some disapproval of the Ordnance Board's refusal to assist by building similarly on the other side of the Firth, for the use of the garrison at Fort George.² By their next report on the roads anticipated for 1822, the Commissioners expected to be able to announce the completion of all these works.³ In fact, their tenth report did not appear until 1824, by which time apparently neither were the commissioners sufficiently interested to provide nor the House of Commons to demand details of the expenditure and the final comment was as follows. "Some of the harbour, piers and Ferry Piers will in future be maintained in repair by means of tolls authorised by the Road Repair Act of 4 George IV, c.56 parts 35, 36. Applications to this effect are not all of them in such form as can be complied with; but substantially the desired result will take place. A Bill is now pending in Parliament for due maintenance of the Dingwall Harbour and Canal which has hitherto been described as an object of solicitude to the Commissioners".⁴ This marks the end of Parliamentary interest

1. E730/22, p.11.

3. C.H.R.B. 9, p.52.

2. C.H.R.B. 9, p.50.

4. C.H.R.B. 10, p.9.

in the finance rising from the annexed estates; more general interest had died a long time before.

Ninth Report, Appendix Z. showing the amounts spent from £52,640.16.0.

Harbour, or Pier	Expenditure
Avoch	£527.17.0
Ballantraid (in part)	638.15.9
Banff in part	6,200. 0.0
Burghead	2,000. 0.0
St, Catherine's	83.10.0
Cullen	2,070. 9.7
Dingwall Canal	1,904. 2.2
Fortrose	2,007.13.3
Fraserburgh	5,277.17.7
Gourdon	994.18.8
Invergordon piers (in part)	616.18.11
Jura Small Isles Pier	373.10.0
Keills Pier	64.18.7
Kirkwall Harbour	1,972. 2.0
Kyle Rhea	572.16.3
Peterhead, South Harbour	3,900. 0.0
North Harbour	7,880. 4.0
Portmaholmack	1,584. 9.2
Portree	338. 1.2
Tarbet	863.11.9
Tobermory	1,455. 5.4
	<hr/>
Total	£41,327. 4.3
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It will be seen that the greatest proportion of the money was directed to the east coast of Scotland from Peterhead to Portmaholmack, while with the exception of Kirkwall, Portree and Kyle Rhea the rest went to Argyllshire.¹ The weight given to the harbours on the Buchan and the Ross and Cromarty coasts was due largely to the awareness of the lack of all shipping facilities in the area when an expanding agricultural economy looked for outlets. Banff, for example, though a very bad harbour² in the eighteenth century could have provided an outlet for any surplus produce from the lands of

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1. See Map C. The map shows all the harbours financed under the provisions of the Scottish Harbours Act. See T. Telford, Life written by Himself, ed. J. Rickman (London, 1838), Appendix L.18.
 2. Pennant, 1769, p.133.

the improving Earl of Findlater and Seafield; now the Middleton brothers were growing wheat successfully in the Black Isle, and landlords and tenants were prospering generally, as well as in special areas during the French wars. The proprietors of land in Ross while grateful for help received and particularly for the canal at Dingwall, pointed out the need for more harbours, quoting the export of 10,000 bolls of wheat in 1816 whereas not long before this crop and trade had been unknown.¹ Harbours and piers in the west can by and large be seen to be connected to road building that the commissioners had subsidised or were interested in. In 1805, the roads that had been surveyed included 57 miles 670 yards from Kyle Rhea west to Stein on Loch Bay; 37 miles 990 yards from the Aird of Trotternish past Portree to Sconser; 16 miles 157 yards on Jura from the Ferry of Feoline to the Ferry of Lagg between which lay the Small Isles where a pier was built and 1 mile 528 yards from the quay at Keills to join a country road.² Their assignment of funds to these harbours and piers was part of a consistent pattern of development.

In assessing therefore the effects of the annexation on Scottish transport and communications, the contribution from the repayment of debts by the reinstated heirs must be fairly highly weighted. The sum of over £50,000, as the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges pointed out was almost doubled by local contributions and apart from any advantage to the economy of particular areas in the provision of better transport facilities, the increase in wages must have also provided a welcome boost to local families and traders while the works were in progress.

The harbours themselves were not uniformly successful. The new basin at Banff in particular, destroyed in 1819 and then repaired with help from the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges, was discovered to be unsafe, having vessels wrecked when moored inside it. Further it was very

1. C.H.R.B. 8, Appendix L, p.80.
2. C.H.R.B. 2, passim.

quickly almost filled up with sand. The only advantage gained from the new pier was prevention of swell in the old harbour.¹ By the time of the second Statistical Account it was still of use for the live-cattle trade and grain though the herring fishery had declined, but obviously it had not fulfilled the expectations of the earlier years of the century. Others were longer-lasting in their benefits to the communities. In the middle of the century, Avoch still serviced sloops bringing coal and lime;² steam vessels were able to make deliveries at Chanonry Point,³ and though the minister of Tarbat might deplore the effects of the harbour at Portmaholmack and of the herring fishery stimulated by its existence, in effecting a decline in morals in the parish, he had to admit that it was otherwise useful to the area's economy.⁴ Nairn harbour like others on the south coast of the Moray Firth assisted by the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges had an accumulation of sand and in addition had to contend with river floods so that it was of use only for fishing boats and small vessels.⁵ The Earl of Seafield got the whole credit for any improvements at Cullen, having in 1834 made an extra quay, but the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges as we have seen did provide over £2,000. All the improvements were supposed to have cost him personally £10,000.⁶ The Dingwall canal also received favourable comment in mid-century but Fortrose was not mentioned.⁷

In retrospect it can be seen that the two basins most likely to succeed were in fact those of Fraserburgh and Peterhead, whether they received financial aid at this particular time or not. They were the largest, for one thing, and as transport systems have evolved, the tendency to increased growth in the size of the vessels used for carrying goods has given the larger harbours and docks a built-in advantage wherever hinterland

1. N.S.A. xiii. Banff, p.46.

2. N.S.A. xiv. Ross and Cromarty, p.378 (hereafter N.S.A. R & C)

3. N.S.A. R & C, p.356.

4. N.S.A. R & C, p.406.

5. N.S.A. xiii. Nairn, p.4.

6. N.S.A. xiii. Banff, p.340.

7. N.S.A. R & C, p.229.

conditions are favourable. More trade stimulated further improvements and both these ports refused to rest on early nineteenth century improvements; the trustees for Peterhead began a pier to protect their north harbour almost as soon as it was completed with the help of the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges.¹ Fraserburgh was described by Robert Stevenson as being with Burntisland the best tidal harbour on the east coast in the first half of the eighteenth century² and thereafter, investment in the two harbours continued largely to accommodate the herring fishery.³

However, from 1807 to 1821, the overall picture of the needs of transport and communications was very different from that of a very few years later when the advent of railways affected both road and harbour traffic and early nineteenth century planners can hardly be criticised for lack of a crystal ball. Whether the sanding up of the Moray Firth harbours could fairly have been anticipated is doubtful, for even modern techniques by hydrographers in constructing models simulating all conditions expected in such constructions do not always foresee all the possible snags. The rising costs experienced in the period during which the Harbours Act mainly operated, one of the effects of the Napoleonic War, restricted its application, as did the delays in obtaining access to the capital, but taken all in all the building that took place as a result of the act must be considered as being a very real benefit that arose from the 1752 annexation, even though an indirect one.

1. N.S.A. xii. p.375.

2. N.S.A. xii, p.255.

3. H. Hamilton, ed. The County of Aberdeen (Glasgow, 1960), pp. 228, 328. This is a volume in the third Statistical Account of Scotland.

5. ASSESSMENT

The Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates in their support of all forms of communications once again illustrated how very much they were in sympathy with contemporary attitudes and outlook. At least one petition was quite explicit on this approach; Sir Alexander Ramsay of Balmain, Sir James Nicolson of Glenbervie and others excused their appeal for assistance for a bridge over the Bervie, which was not strictly speaking in the Board's territory, on the grounds that "the building of bridges has now become much the object of public attention as being absolutely necessary for opening free intercourse of communication through the different parts of the country and consequently for advancing the progress of improvements in agriculture and manufactures".¹ Their interest in all types of communication in use in the Highlands at the time followed the same course as that of the public at large. Starting off with financial assistance to roads, bridges and inns, and maintaining that interest throughout their existence, the commissioners partook of the canal mania and latterly they gave considerable sums to aid harbour construction just as interest developed in this nationally.²

Also, the commissioners did not work in isolation. We have seen that they sought the assistance of the Commissioners of Supply and in turn

1. E726/29/22.

2. B. Lenman, Ports of East Scotland (forthcoming, David & Charles) Chapter I. I am grateful to Mr. Lenman for allowing me to refer to this volume.

were appealed to by them. Large bridges were not built out of annexed estates funds alone, partly because funds were insufficient, but also because of the Board's philosophy of self-help; they would only contribute where local interest had resulted in practical effective steps being taken to amass at least part of the necessary capital outlay. So strong was this element in their allocation of their resources that as we have seen, they were unwilling to rebuild one bridge built mainly for the convenience of travel between the estates of Perth and Struan, that over the river Lyon near Meggernie Castle, because other heritors in the area had neglected its repair.¹ That at Kinloch Rannoch was an exception, built solely from the Board's funds, because the Crown estates were so extensive in the area. It was also expected that the new settlement there would become a centre of communications to the west and north, a forecast that has a hollow ring today, but in the 1750's and 1760's, with the prospect of a road across Rannoch Moor to King's House in Glencoe, not unreasonable. The rapid pacification of the Highlands in the second half of the century helped to remove any sense of urgency in finishing such a line.

The general aims of the annexation once accepted, however, i.e. pacification of the Highlands, the introduction of industry and the general assimilation of Highland into Lowland culture, then subsidisation of methods of transport became a logical course for the Board to adopt. The central government's ready and almost invariably immediate response to their requests for permission to be allowed to spend more money in this sphere contrast vividly with reaction to or ignoring of some other of their activities and show the general appreciation of the importance of better communications. At an early date in the annexation, in 1757, it was the social benefits to be conferred, as seen from the Lowland and London stand-

1. See part 2. of this chapter.

point, that were emphasised. For example, bad roads with no bridges resulted in the inhabitants going to anyone, even itinerant Roman Catholic priests, for baptism, if such appeared first in their district.¹ This was considered undesirable in a society that was trying to propagate Protestantism and Presbyterianism. A few years later, the belief was expressed that bridges would soften Highland manners and quicken their industry in that they would shake off their "sloth and indolence and improper means of supporting themselves".² Later still, as we have seen, the economic benefits, local and general, that it was hoped would arise, were quoted as reasons for supporting petitions for aid, while defence of the realm loomed fairly large.

The commissioners never forget their primary duty to promote the welfare of the annexed estates in particular and gave as much sympathy and interest to the Callander minister's plea for a bridge to prevent his congregation being soaked on the way to church as they devoted to much larger structures. Captain Forbes' suggestion that they devoted £150 per annum to the sole purpose of building bridges over "little rivulets", especially those that led to churches and mills,³ was one that the Board would no doubt have willingly followed had other demands not seemed more pressing, in light of their resources. As it was, a considerable number of arches of both stone and timber that the Board did build and repair, without formal acceptance of any specific sum, must have added greatly to the comfort and convenience of their tenants.

The proportion of their expenditure devoted to communications shows the importance attributed to this aspect of Highland development, from the start of active involvement by the Board. In the Journal detailing sums paid out, from August 1767, £3,675.6.8. was earmarked for bridges, excluding

1. E723/1, p.48.

2. E723/1, p.81.

3. F.R. Lovat and Cromarty, 4.

the large capital subsidy to the bridge over the Tay at Perth and the sums not specified in the amounts spent on "Public Works" by the factors; £1,520 was allocated to roads and in the last ten years, £5,883,19.7. to harbours, ferry piers, the Mull packet and on Watt's surveys for the Strathmore and Crinan Canals.¹ The last sums are not even the total for the Barons of the Exchequer had to discharge a proportion of the allowance on harbours after 1784.² Between 1761 and 1784, the Crown authorised £21,807 for road and bridge-building.³ This was a contribution towards the aims of annexation, assisting industry and the integration of the population, which was not derisory. But it was a slow process, many of the arches described as very necessary in 1755 and 1761 being built only ten or fifteen years later. It was 1780 before the inhabitants of Balquhiddar and Strathyre had stone bridges over the Balvaig, assisted by a large contribution from the county.⁴

However, it must be admitted that the Board must be faulted on two points. First, they initiated few projects that materialised, the Strathmore canal and the pier at Port Leich being abortive, though the Kinloch Rannoch bridge on the other hand is still a monument to their labours. They usually just waited for requests for help though it can be argued that the annual expenditure they incurred from 1761 onwards on smaller local structures serving the estates was of major importance in proportion to their total income. Secondly, the concomitant of this lack of initiative is that most expenditure was concentrated south of Loch Rannoch as a glance at Map B will show. There heritors were thicker on the ground, so there was more active interest in improvements, more money available and hence more appeals for help. The theory of David Turnock that differences

1. E732/9, passim.
3. E724/1, 2, 3.

2. E714/18/o.
4. P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.201.

between south-east and north-west have been intensified by all schemes to improve is once more illustrated.¹

Certainly it was logically necessary to open the roads further south before one could reach the more remote north, but despite pleas that work was held up for lack of money, most of the lowland work might well have been accomplished with help from other sources such as the Ordnance Fund. The large subsidy given to the Perth bridge would have achieved less spectacular results than Smeaton's graceful bridge but would have built many small arches and improved many miles of road further north. Admittedly statute labour was not the most efficient method of building roads and the country people needed a great deal of expensive supervision but the £700 a year granted by the Board would have gone far. Even maintenance might have been improved though this was an intractable problem as the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges discovered later. These later road-builders found that despite initial enthusiasm for new roads and indeed for roads much superior in quality to what they considered justified or prudent in terms of expense,² yet when the roads were left to the care of Highland gentlemen they were allowed to fall into disrepair, through lack of co-operation and what the factor to the Duke of Hamilton, Robert Brown called "a shortsighted view of individual interests".³ Brown had also worked for Clanranald so that he knew what he was talking about.

Henry Butter was one factor on the annexed estates who never failed to impress on the Board the crying need for improvement in communications and much of his correspondence shows how much thought he gave to the subject, as well as time and energy. In 1767, he employed two to three thousand

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1. David Turnock, Patterns of Highland Development (London, 1970), passim. Hereafter, Turnock, Patterns.
 2. C.H.R.B. 9, p.14.
 3. C.H.R.B. 6, p.35.

people on statute labour¹ and made sure of the county services to make roads where there had formerly been "only footpaths".² Highland transport needed and still needs people with similar devotion and it is a sad fact that lacking either devotion or finance or both, many Highland roads are still "only footpaths" by twentieth century standards, though most streams may be bridged. It is perhaps an even more pointed commentary that some bridges built to eighteenth century specifications and widths are bearing the flow of twentieth century traffic without any change in their fundamental structure.

1. E786/33/2.

2. E786/33/1.

Chapter VI.

THE DISANNEXATION

CONCLUSION

In 1784 the experiment ended. At the beginning of August in that year, Henry Dundas who was appointed to the Board in 1783, presented a bill to Parliament for a first reading which proposed returning the annexed estates to the former owners or to their heirs. Already in 1775 Dundas had argued for the return of the estates, expressing the view that "it was to talk like children to talk of any danger of disaffection in the North".¹ The bill passed quickly through all its stages and on 19th August the Royal Assent was given to an Act of Parliament revoking the annexation that in 1752 had been envisaged as "unalienable".² The Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates which cannot unreasonably be called the first Highland and Islands Development Board was discontinued from Martinmas 1784.

Disannexation can hardly have come as a surprise. The writing had been on the wall for a long time for the climate of opinion towards the Highlands in general and towards the forfeitures and the families affected in particular had been changing gradually over the last quarter century. As early as 1764, the Marischal, Panmure and Southesk estates forfeited in 1715 had been bought back by the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Panmure, and

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1. C.R. Fay, Adam Smith and the Scotland of his Day (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 12-13.
 2. 24 George III c.57, The Disannexing Act.

Sir James Carnegie of Pitarrow, the heir-male of the family of Southesk, at the upset price. No-one had offered against them and according to the Scots Magazine "the people in the galleries could scarce forbear expressing their joy by acclamation, on seeing these estates return to the representatives of the ancient and illustrious families to which they had formerly belonged."¹

Ten years later the Lovat estates were returned to the Fraser family in the person of Major-General Simon Fraser.² In 1748 it was possible for Baron Edlin to write that he was convinced "they had better give young Lovat a Pension to ten times the value than reinstate him in his Paternal Estate"³, but by 1774 the same "young Lovat" was a high-ranking officer in the British army and without being in formal possession of his paternal estates had raised a regiment from them in defence of the dynasty that had beheaded his father. Other heirs of the forfeited persons were also officers in the army and of undoubted loyalty.⁴ Many were living on their ancestors' estates,⁵ fully accepted by their social equals who had not supported the Stewarts.⁶ Francis Farquharson was even offered the post of factor on his ancestral estate.⁷ The Highlands themselves "formerly looked upon as a nuisance to the Islands"⁸ were by the third quarter of the eighteenth century valued for their scenic beauty and the inhabitants for their source of supply as a fighting force. Even Gaelic culture was no longer so despised, MacPherson's "Ossianic" poetry (1762-3) having considerable effect in this connection. The avowed aim of the Highland Society of 1784 to assist this culture would have been impossible and unacceptable in 1752.

1. Scots Magazine, 26, pp. 108-9.
3. Adv. Ms. 19.1.35, f.26.
5. E768/61/4(1).
7. E773/42.

2. 14 George III c.22.
4. See Appendix L.
6. E777/146/2.
8. E723/1, p.82.

At the same time there was not wholehearted approval for the activities of the Annexed Estates Board. The views of one critic, George Chalmers, have already been quoted.¹ Lord Kames had to admit that large amounts of money had been spent on the Highlands and on the annexed estates which had proved "no better than water spilt on the ground",² and anyone who had cared to calculate the costs of the early support of the linen stations or of the soldiers' settlements must have felt constrained to agree. It was all very well for Thomas Pennant who was rather appalled by the state in which he found one of the latter to remark apologetically of the commissioners that: "As these gentlemen with rare patriotism discharge their trust without salary, they might not be liable to censure like hireling placemen on every trifling failure".³ Others were likely to be less charitable and some of the failures after all were not so trifling. Southey's comment in the early nineteenth century is an illustration of the more critical view of the Board's administration. He was clearly under the impression that it had been both inefficient and ineffective and his phrase was "However much the money (i.e. the rents) may have been misapplied during a long series of years by those to whom it was entrusted.....".⁴

The management of the estates themselves came under fire during the debate on the Disannexing Act when Lord Sydney declared that it was easy to distinguish the annexed estates because of the bad condition they were in compared to other men's estates and for the almost total neglect of their cultivation.⁵ This was not wholly special pleading. As we have seen, little praise can be found from outside unprejudiced sources for the results of the Board's agricultural policies, however admirable they may have been in theory, and even one of the factors, Colin MacKenzie, on

1. Previous chapter, Section 4.

2. Ramsay, Scotland, i.p198

3. T. Pennant, Tour, ii,p91.

4. R. Southey, Tour, p.88.

5. Parliamentary History of England (London 1815), xxiv, 1372-3.

his appointment wrote of the estate of Cromarty: "You will know how this estate has been harshly used since the forfeiture".¹ This was an opinion the family agreed with on their return.²

The main details of the Disannexing Act and the names of those to whom the estates were returned may be found in Appendices K and L; here it may suffice to note briefly that Ardsheal, Callart, Cluny, Cromarty, Kinlochmoidart, Lochgarry and Lochiel were returned to the only or the eldest sons of the previous owners. Francis Farquharson received back his former estates and Barrisdale was granted to the grandson of John MacDonnell of Glengarry by whom the estate had been originally leased in wadset. Three of those attainted had no direct heirs, Drummond of Perth, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, and Alexander Robertson of Struan. Some genealogical research was required before the Perth estates were awarded to the great-grandson of the first Earl of Melfort. Francis Buchanan's sister, Jean, and another line of the family were held to be the due heirs and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Robertson of Drumachina was the nearest male heir of Robertson of Struan.

One important condition was imposed on the new or returning proprietors. After the annexation, large sums were voted by Parliament at various dates to ascertain and pay the debts due from the attainted owners so that there should be no legal doubts about the Crown's title to the estates. It was considered only just that public funds should be reimbursed. The amount involved in paying creditors, purchasing the rights of superiorities and in compounding claims made by subject superiors was £142,035.8.4 $\frac{7}{12}$. which with £808.1.6. Exchequer fees gave a total of £142,843.9.10 $\frac{7}{12}$.³ The actual debts totalled £90,124.12.5.⁴ The amount due from each proprietor

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1. F.R. Cromarty 14. 10-6-1777.
 2. Fraser, Cromartie, ii. p.cclvii.
 3. E714/18/m.
 4. BPP. 1806 (221) ii. 307.

was stipulated in the Disannexing Act and the Dukes of Argyll and Atholl were instructed to buy back the superiorities their families had previously possessed, for £3,248.2.4. The debts on the Struan estate were somewhat complicated by the fact that Alexander Robertson of Struan seemed to have paid none of his creditors since the estate was first forfeited in 1690¹ and in the Disannexing Act no attempt was made to calculate what was due. The Barons of the Exchequer however show £1,698.3.3. $\frac{2}{12}$ owing from before 1690 and £5,502.16.0 thereafter.²

Receipt and administration of the capital accruing from the repayment of debts by the proprietors and tidying up unfinished business of the annexation became the responsibility of the Barons of the Exchequer. This included such duties as arranging for the collection of rents and arrears due from before 1784, paying the pensions awarded to redundant officers of the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates and honouring any firm promises of financial aid still unpaid at the demise of the Board. Half the amount due from the new proprietors was to be paid by Martinmas 1785 and was in fact by then in the Exchequer;³ the remaining moiety due by Martinmas 1788 was rather less punctual⁴ and as we have seen, some of the debt from the heirs to the Perth estate was never collected.⁵ Simon Fraser had received much more generous treatment than those who regained their estates under the Disannexing Act. He was allowed ten years from 1774 to repay the capital of £20,983.0.1. with 3% interest charged and then he had to be given twelve months notice before having to produce the principal;⁶ the others were allowed only four years to find the capital and paid 5% interest.

Our chief concern here is the use made of these not inconsiderable sums. Parliament might easily have allowed the money to disappear into

1. See Appendix L.

3. E700/5, p.13.

5. See Chapter V. 4, p.347.

2. E714/18/j, k.

4. E702/4, pp. 102-103.

6. 14 George III c.22.

anonymity in the Exchequer's maw. With what must be recognised as a continuation, conscious or not, of the principles under which the original annexation was planned, all the resulting capital was devoted to specifically Scottish though not necessarily Highland projects. In the third reading of the bill for disannexing the estates, a clause was added awarding £50,000 towards the building of the Forth-Clyde canal which had been languishing for lack of funds, and £15,000 towards completing a "proper Repository for Records in Scotland".

The question of the storage of Scottish records had been a vexed one since the union of the two Parliaments. Duncan Forbes of Cullen had made a brave attempt at putting them in order but he had not been able to solve the problem of finding a suitable place for depositing them once this had been done.¹ In 1765, the government authorised the expenditure of £12,000 from any free produce from the Forfeited Estates in Scotland to buy and construct a suitable building.² The records had hitherto been kept mostly underground in a cellar in the Scottish Parliament House, where they had suffered from the damp so that "some of the Records are thereby effaced, many of them rotting and all of them in imminent danger of of being destroyed".³ The foundation stone of the new repository was laid by the Lord Clerk Register, Lord Frederick Campbell, on 27 June, 1774 and it contained a hermetically sealed vase including one of each coin struck during George III's reign as well as the gold medal struck at his coronation.⁴ The Register House, as it was to be known, was designed by Robert Adam to stand at the north end of the North Bridge in the extended Royalty of Edinburgh. But it was unfinished in 1784 for lack of funds and it was hoped that the sum granted would be sufficient to complete the building.⁵

1. G. Menary, The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Cullen (London, 1936) pp. 174-181.

2. Funds arising from the Forfeited Annexed Estates were not involved before the disannexation.

3. E700/3, p.322.

4. Scots Magazine, 36, p.333.

5. E727/71/1.

Once the Forth-Clyde proprietors repaid the £50,000 granted in 1784, the sums available began a financial roundabout, assisting various schemes to develop and improve communications.¹ Other awards were made as money became available and particular needs or worthy causes appeared. The award to the S.S.P.C.K. was one such.² In 1786,³ £3,000 was allocated to the Highland Society founded in 1784, for any purposes its directors cared as the society's general aims included the promotion of improvements, the establishment of towns and villages, making roads and building bridges, advancing agriculture, extending the fisheries and introducing useful trades and manufactures⁴ - the policy of annexation in a nutshell.

From the time that the returning proprietors paid their initial instalments, the Forfeited Estates account maintained a credit balance in the Royal Bank, gaining interest but little else. All the previous grants including £1,000 to build a jail at Inverness had not exhausted the funds by the end of the century. In 1806, there was a balance of £22,329.18.4. unallocated, £15,125.0.0 at 4% to pay the annuities of the Annexed Estates Board's servants, and £9,000 proposed as a loan to Edinburgh to build new courts of justice. In 1806, three acts were passed to make more constructive use of this money, on the lines suggested by the Parliamentary Committee on the Funds Arising from the Forfeited Estates.⁵ First, £12,000 was awarded to replace the ruinous building which housed the Barons of the Exchequer.⁶ By another act passed shortly after this,⁷ the British Society for Extending the Fisheries was awarded £7,500 to make a harbour at Wick where they had bought land but had no funds available to develop the site. By the same act, £2,000 was to be used to build a larger lunatic asylum at Edinburgh which had to cater for most of Scotland. The

1. Chapter V, 4.

3. 26 George III c.28.

5. BPP. 1806 (221) ii. 305.

7. 46 George III c.156.

2. Chapter II, 1.

4. Scots Magazine, 46, p.697.

6. 46 George III c.154.

Highland Society was awarded £800 per annum for ten years but the first call on this sum was the payment of annuities to the officers of the Board. The total due under this head had now been reduced through deaths from over £800 to £460 a year and in 1817 when the bequest to the Highland Society had run its course, those remaining were bought out for what at least one of those concerned thought a very fair sum.¹

Finally the Committee had suggested that public aid to harbour construction was of "infinite consequence"² and the remaining balance of the funds was applied under what was to be known as the Scottish Harbours Act to the building of harbours, canals, and quays under the administration of the Commissioners for Highland Roads and Bridges.³ This has been considered in Chapter V, part 4.

The use made by the government of the money repaid by the proprietors must be commended. It may not have been strictly applied to the benefit of the Highlands and Islands until the Scottish Harbours Act was passed but Register House still stands as a worthy monument to the annexation. The harbours built have been further extended where there was a demand as in Leith, Fraserburgh and Peterhead and though other works, including the canals, have been overtaken by events they merited the expenditure in contemporary eyes. Further the influx of capital, providing employment and specie, can only have benefited the whole of the Scottish economy. Equally the earlier inflow of money into the country from the capital authorised by Parliament to repay the debts of the forfeited owners must have had a similar beneficial effect, but the settlement of the claims made on the estates is a study in its own right and one that lies outside the bounds of the present work.

1. E702/4. 6 December 1817.

2. BPP. 1806 (221) ii. 310.

3. 46 George III c.155.

It is perhaps worth noting in connection with the return of estates that annexation eventually made it more likely that the old families would in fact resume ownership of their paternal estates. The others had been sold and not all were so lucky as the Marischal, Panmure and Southesk heirs. Some of those whose families had lost their possession in 1715 went so far as to form a committee, largely at the instigation of Erskine of Mar, to plead for at least a return of the old titles, accepting that it would be impossible to deprive those who had purchased forfeited estates of their legal property.¹

Assessment of the performance of the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates may be more critical than Pennant's but less damning than Southey's. In retrospect, it is possible to see how heavily several factors weighed against complete success. Lack of time and lack of adequate funds were handicaps against which the commissioners found themselves struggling throughout, the latter affecting their activities from the earliest stages of annexation.

It is not only historians who "overestimate the incomes from large estates" and forget to calculate the running costs.² There can be little doubt that the whole conception of annexation was built on unrealistic contemporary calculations - if calculations there were! Assumptions may be a more accurate word - of the financial resources that would be at the Board's command. Consider the income of £6,000 a year in the hands of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries in 1727 to encourage Scottish economic development in a limited range of industries; in 1753, £3,000 a year was granted to the same body for nine years for the single purpose of encouraging industry in the Highlands. The S.S.P.C.K. had an income of £1,500 for educational purposes only and the annual income of £9,000 available in the second half of the eighteenth century to the Dukes

1. NLS. Ms. 5209, ff. 13-44.

2. Review by J. Kenyon of Roy A. Kelch 'Newcastle, A Duke without Money' in the Observer, 31.3.1974.

of Argyll¹ was double the free produce of the estates annexed. By comparison, the Board's income was paltry. Certainly the expense of the maintenance of proprietors was removed, apart from widows' and dowagers' portions, but on the estate of Perth the Dowager-Duchess occupied the greater part of the barony of Stobhall with a rental of £500. What was forgotten or incorrectly calculated or even more probably guessed, if remembered, was the amount that a centralised administration would cost. What never seemed to be realised was the large sums that were necessary, far beyond the resources of the estates, if some of the visionary schemes were to be sustained once they were beyond embryonic form.

At one point between 1755 and 1760, Gilbert Elliot of Minto, very troubled at the apparent melting away of resources, repeated the sums of the office in some disbelief.² Of £9,000; the surplus reckoned to be available over two years, fitting up the Edinburgh office cost £1,200, £1,865 worth of expenditure had already been allowed and plans made that would absorb £5,330 more, a total of £8,098. This was only a start and it was already clear that the purse was not bottomless. Unfortunately this was a lesson the commissioners were slow to learn and they sometimes showed what can only be described as arithmetical obtuseness where finance was concerned. Had the full-blown plans to develop the fisheries and fishing towns been carried out, even keeping within the estimated £6,000, the surplus from the rents for about a year and a half would have been absorbed. All other plans would have been effectively put out of court. Yet first the Board and then the Treasury approved this expenditure in addition to that on inland villages without a query as to how the money was to be found. In 1775, the Board certainly stated that they made no new proposals involving expenditure as their resources were already totally

1. Lindsay, Inveraray, p.238.
2. NLS. Minto EFP 35.

committed¹ but the following year they returned to their usual habits, despite the good financial sense shown by Robert Oliphant of Rossie who had been examining the accounts.

The situation he found was as follows. The gross rent in 1776 was £7,679.0.1 $\frac{8}{12}$; payment of the usual public burdens such as stipends, schoolmasters' salaries, etc. and feu-duties reduced this to £6,493.8.2 $\frac{10}{12}$. After further deduction of managerial expenses and salaries to officers the free rent had shrunk to £5,425.19.0 $\frac{11}{12}$ - in theory, but arrears amounted to £2,848.1.10 $\frac{11}{12}$.² £2,578.17.2. was left. Set against this was the total expenditure authorised at that date - £9,225.7.11 $\frac{6}{12}$ for which the Receiver General had cash in hand of £1,286.18.2. Very little of this was in fact available for new or authorised projects for £925.16.0 was due in salaries and unavoidable incidental expenses, £200 was already committed for the innat Dalnacardoch and £80 for seating Callander kirk.³ Delay in beginning even approved schemes was unavoidable.

Mr. Oliphant struck out as much as he could, an action that was in itself a criticism of the Board's financial administration, to which of course, he was a part. He then made some sensible suggestions for the future, that no more engagements should be undertaken until the existing debts were paid and that no order should be made for payment even of firm undertakings unless there was money actually in the Receiver General's hand.⁴ Little attention was paid to his strictures however, for in the same year another £500 was allowed for bridges and roads on the grounds that the free rent was £3,663,⁵ and in 1783, £3,342 was promised against £873 in ready cash.⁶ Far more was needed to effect the desired radical transformation of the Highland people and economy than was ever at the

1. E723/2, p.234.
3. E731/11/21.
5. E731/11/22.

2. E731/11/20.
4. E731/11/21.
6. E731/11/24.

disposal of the Board.¹ The writer of the manuscript transcribed in Appendix C was financially wiser than the legislators when he recommended an initial Treasury loan of £10,000 but it is doubtful if even that amount would have been sufficient to accomplish the wide-reaching aims of the annexation. The Highlands have soaked up larger sums over the past two centuries and whatever the aims of those responsible for such expenditure, whether private gain or public good, the results have rarely been commensurate with the relevant outlay of energy and money.

The passage of time has indeed been curiously kind to the commissioners for their performance and achievements do bear comparison with the activities of most of those later would-be improvers and transformers of the Highlands. It is doubtful if the activities of the Congested Districts Board from 1897 to 1912 or those of Lord Leverhulme in the 1920's or even more controversially, the Sutherland estate schemes of 1802-16,² showed any more results for the money spent than this first planned attempt at comprehensive development. What is somewhat depressing is that throughout, there have been few new ideas as to how to improve the quality of life of the Highlanders. The latest policies of the Highlands and Islands Development Board set up in 1965 are in essence identical to those of the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates, even to the building of hotels and that as an "improvement" was actually proposed in the seventeenth century.³

The time available to the commissioners was, like their funds, limited, little though they realised this in 1755. Five years to 1760 lay fallow as far as their wider plans were concerned though they immediately

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1. In their final report, the Board gave the figures of £19,380.16. $\frac{9}{12}$ as the gross rent of the annexed estates. This, however, included the produce of some estates from 1780 and arrears amounted to £5,646.4. $\frac{5}{12}$. E723/3, pp. 62, 63. A few years before, the gross rent of £10,700.0. $\frac{0}{12}$ was reduced to neat rent of £6,542.14. $\frac{2}{12}$ with the further reduction of arrears of £3,098.3. $\frac{6}{12}$. E723/3, p.11.
 2. Adam, Sutherland, i. Introduction.
 3. Donaldson, Documents, p.172.

began agricultural change. It was 1770 before they gained control of the estates held of subject superiors and only four years later that the beginning of the end could be discerned in the disannexation of the Lovat estate. Indeed in 1775 the morale of the Board must have been at a low ebb. They had seen the failure of the linen stations, colonisation plans had gone sadly awry and minor schemes, minor that is in the expense involved, such as encouraging craftsmen and settling day labourers, had had only modified success. A few small firms were thriving with the help of subsidies but major industrial development had ceased. In agriculture, leases and security of tenure were the first aim of the commissioners and in 1774, the Treasury suggested that no more long leases should be granted.¹ The Treasury mind was plain; if one estate could be returned to a loyal army officer so could others. Returning proprietors would be the less grateful if they found their paternal estates encumbered with long leases set at comparatively low rents, enforcing agricultural policies they might not wish to follow. At this point, an affronted Board dug in its heels and declaring that such a policy would be "fatal to industry", carried on making out leases of up to forty-one years in length to the end of the annexation.²

Only seven years later, however, in 1781, we find the Board refusing the prayer of the General Assembly to authorise their agent to carry on the process of a proposed new erection in Ardnamurchan parish, accepted in principle before, on the grounds that having been "some time ago discharged from exercising an ordinary act of management", unspecified, they were declining to enter into any matter of great importance "especially such as tend to entail perpetual burthens upon the Estates under their management".³ Here was another straw showing in which way the wind was blowing and an illustration of the reduced powers and hence of the effectiveness of the Board.

1. E727/65.

2. E727/65; E721/20, p.20.

3. E721/11, p.222.

Agricultural change in the Highlands, whatever the extent of manufacturing industry that might have been introduced, was bound to be the heart and core of the hoped-for transformation, involving as it did, not only purely economic effects but basic social change. Such changes are by their very nature slow unless they be of a drastic and revolutionary type like the forming of immense sheep-runs. It was the Board's misfortune that the annexation was revoked before the smaller tenants as a whole, not only on the annexed estates but in the whole of Scotland, were prepared to accept the need for change or to realise that the new methods brought some benefits to themselves. Tenants desired the security of tenure that came with leases but were not prepared to slough off old habits. There had not been time to win them over and the atmosphere of uncertainty, that must have arisen after 1774, can have done nothing to persuade conservative farmers and the ignorant "awkward, lazy inhabitants"¹ to cooperate in altering practices which they fondly assumed would be resumed under the old families. George Nicolson wrote, not of tenants on the remote estates in the north and west where recalcitrance could have been expected but of some near Callander, who if they were sure "the estates is to go away" immediately would pull down a dike as fast as it was built "over the Commissioners belly".² This was in February 1784 so twenty-nine years of state control and attempts at organised improvements had not been enough to alter old attitudes.

In the next century, James Loch on reflection considered that the alterations on the Sutherland estates had been too rapid and had been carried "farther than even the most active of the old tenants can undertake, understand or keep pace with".³ The Commissioners for the Annexed Estates are unlikely to be accused of such a fault. The happiness of the inhabitants

1. E729/8, p.17.

2. E777/136/19.

3. Adam, Sutherland, 1. p.xcvii.

had to be considered and this involved their acquiescence in no small degree. The aims of the annexation were not to be achieved by economic prosperity if it were combined with the alienation of the natives. Some of the servants of the Board as we have seen felt that tenderness towards tenants was carried too far, as did other proprietors. The factors however, did seem to appreciate the need to hasten slowly.

The most notable characteristic, however, that may be attributed to members of the Board, both individually and collectively, is their modernity in eighteenth century terms. "Enlightenment Man" was forward-looking, far-sighted, excited by an interest in physical and mental experiment and change and the commissioners and those who initiated the Annexing Act were typical of the best of their age. Every aspect of the policies proposed in the act and followed by the Board can be paralleled in the work of private landowners and the commissioners' own estates reflect the beliefs, fashions and preoccupations of the time. The century abounds with examples of model improving landowners, the building of new towns and of the attempted introduction of industry where there was none before, by private individuals. Not least, proprietors at their own expense carried out improvements on the appalling transport system of the period.

Acting as a body within the confines of the statute of annexation and controlled in the last resort by the central government, it must be admitted, however, that the commissioners often displayed rather less wisdom, efficiency and far-sightedness than their contemporaries generally or themselves individually. It had been hoped that the annexed estates would be models for their neighbours but in the event, the examples set by the commissioners in their private capacity must have made far more impression than similar policies carried out in the name of the Board. Lord Kames began the draining of Flanders Moss and carried it through with spectacular success; the draining of Rannoch Moor was unlikely to inspire

imitation. Lord Findlater and Lord Gardenstone built towns more successful at the time and more lasting than even Kinloch Rannoch and the former's reputation as an agricultural improver did not arise from his position as a member of the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates.

Far from praising the Board for far-sightedness it is possible to criticise the commissioners for short-sightedness at various points. With the benefit of hindsight their acceptance of the responsibility for the Trustees' manufacturing stations was unwise, but even at the time it was hardly prescient to accept without question the Treasury's ignoring their request for authority to spend more than the paltry £200 a year allowed for education.¹ While all praise is due for the decision to encourage craftsmanship by apprenticing boys and girls to various trades, there was little attempt to decide on any system of priorities as to where the greatest need lay except perhaps as regards farm utensils. They totally discounted Factor Small's warnings on the nature of the type of settlers they proposed establishing all over the estates and in arranging for these settlements to be built showed a deplorable lack of sense of the practical, even allowing for the inevitable haste engendered by the end of the Seven Years' War. The wholly meritorious encouragement of bridge, road, canal and harbour building was guided by no overall strategy but was awarded to individual projects as first the factors gave their views on immediate essentials and then as requests, recommendations and petitions reached the Edinburgh office from outside sources. The response to the factors' lists was not particularly methodical.

Indeed, in the latter part of the annexation it is possible to imagine a certain degree of despair in the wholehearted devotion of a large proportion of the funds to the development of communications. By 1775, so

1. Lang, Highlands, p.159. The writer thought £5,000 per annum would be needed to carry out his ideas on dividing parishes and providing more schools.

many of the other types of activity aimed at transformation of the Highland scene had either failed, or had at most achieved doubtful success, that it is not wholly illogical to assume that the Board seized on the policy of encouraging bridge-building as a last resort in the face of possible disannexation. Bridges would at least stand as clear and visible proof that some of their work had not been in vain. This may be over-facile however, and the more positive and charitable point of view is also tenable that they began to perceive better late than never that improved communications were the first and probably the most vital step in encompassing the Highlands in Lowland civilisation. The awareness of the need had been present from the early years of annexation, both in the questions sent to the factors and in the reports to the government¹, but it was in the second half of the Board's existence that the greater attention was paid to this aspect of their work. It is possible that the comments of Archibald Menzies too began to bear fruit;² he joined the Board as a commissioner in 1770. Whatever the reasons, there was explicit recognition of the Board's philosophy in a petition referring to the attention being paid to the erection of bridges as "the first and best improvement on the face of all countries".³

The importance attached to this and other policies was sometimes fluctuating, not always consistent, but the idea of agricultural improvements on the estates was ever-present and continued throughout the annexation with different degrees of care and intensity on different estates. And here perhaps the greatest criticism of the commissioners must be made. There was a fundamental lack of balance in the care lavished on the various estates which, as David Turnock describes the process, "compounded" instead of

1. E726/1, pp. 7, 8; E723/1, p.48.

2. E729/8, p.133. This report included his suggestion that cross-roads should have been made before industry was introduced.

3. E728/28/18.

resolving the differences in culture and economy between the south-east and the north-west.¹ The most remote and most in need of change if they were to be brought into the mainstream of Scottish economic and social life were the least attended. Admittedly the length of time wasted in making the legal arrangements with subject superiors was one element in producing this situation. Map A shows that these estates that came under full annexation so late were just those farthest removed from "civilisation", but even so, ten years later, Mrs. Susannah MacDonald could complain that no public money had been spent on Kinlochmoidart² and Henry Butter was aware of unfulfilled needs on the estates under his management, which were being looked after further south.³ Even in the building of bridges, Map B shows that most of these were in the south and east. The reason for this was that the Board demanded evidence of self-help from the inhabitants where major crossings were involved and heritors in the south were wealthier and thicker on the ground.

Undoubtedly a defensible case can be made out holding that the best way of ensuring the desired changes was to consolidate the government's control on the most southerly estates and those such as Struan which straddled the centre of the country. James Small thought that if Struan could be kept honest, especially Rannoch, thieving would be wiped out,⁴ so presumably if it could be kept loyal so by analogy could disloyalty. It could have been argued that the most certain and effective way of securing peace, good government, industry and agricultural improvement not to mention the Protestant religion, was to form a sound base in the south and let the effects of these speak for themselves. The fact that so few of the tenants in Perthshire could be persuaded to take part actively in the Forty-Five

1. Turnock, Patterns, p.16.
3. See Chapter IV.

2. E764/31/4.
4. E783/84/1, p.14.

could have lent strength to this theory.¹ Unfortunately for the Board's reputation there is no sign that such a definite case had been formulated. Inspector Menzies recommended the restriction of aid to industry and schools on the annexed estates² to facilitate the recognition of the results of the Board's activities, but such a restriction was never imposed and would probably have been contrary to the spirit and letter of the Annexing Act, which proposed devoting the rents to all the Highlands and Islands with only special attention to the annexed estates. Accessibility to Edinburgh seems to have been of the greatest importance in influencing the Board and factors of the more remote estates had least opportunity of pressing their points. There were fewer gentlemen of standing too in these wilder regions who could be on such terms with commissioners as the heritors and noblemen of Perthshire; the influence of the latter would be greater in wealth and numbers and presence so that once again the south had the advantage.

The vulnerability of the Board to outside pressure was one reason too for the fact that so many of their decisions were ad hoc and that the same criticism can be made as Mr. Adam makes of the plans for the Sutherland estates - there was regular under-estimation of practical difficulties and equally important a failure to coordinate the various developments.³ The pressures were not exerted merely by private individuals; the paradoxical combination of close control and indifference emanating from the central government contributed in no small measure to this failure. In the first five years on the annexation, from 1755 to 1760, some attempt was made to draw up comprehensive plans of improvements and developments on the lines drawn up in the Annexing Act and in the original instructions sent them.⁴ Thereafter, planning tended to be overtaken by events.

1. Lang, Highlands, p.130.

2. E729/8, pp.132-135.

3. Adam, Sutherland, 1. p.xxxv.

4. E723/1, passim.

The greatest disadvantage that handicapped the Board for the Forfeited Annexed Estates was that they were asked to operate a process of government with few precedents if any; their function was the equivalent of that of the governing board of today's public corporations or nationalised industries, but they were not provided with the essential adequate administrative machinery which would have facilitated their work. Neither did the practice nor the theory of the central government show any signs of developing during the annexation in a direction which would have enabled both Board and Treasury to cope more easily with the situation the legislature had created. Our greatest admiration must be reserved for those whose vaulting imagination conceived such an all-embracing social, economic, constitutional and political experiment so far in advance of contemporary constitutional philosophy. The pity was that the creaking bureaucracy of the eighteenth century could not transform itself or be transformed fast enough either to enable the system to have worked automatically or those entrusted with its administration, able as they undoubtedly were, to overcome the restrictions that it seemed so natural at the time to impose. Perhaps the most fitting epitaph on the work of the Board can be found in the words of their contemporary who remarked that ".....it is not doubted (they) have acted as well as circumstances and the nature of their constitution could admit".¹

1. Scots Magazine, 30. p.294.

Appendix A

ESTATES FORFEITED UNDER THE 'VESTING ACT', 20 GEORGE II C.41

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Location (by parish)</u>	<u>Attainted Person</u>
Abernethy	Personal estate	Alexander Abernethy
Abernethy	Banff	George Abernethy
* Aldie	Caputh, Fossoway, Kinross, Methven	Robert Mercer of Aldie
Ardsheal	Lismore and Appin	Charles Stewart of Ardsheal
Arnprior	Balquhidder, Callander, Kippen	Francis Buchanan of Arnprior
Asleed	Monquhitter, New Deer	Adam Hay of Asleed
Balmerino	Balmerino, South Leith, Coupar Angus	Arthur, Lord Balmerino
Barrisdale	Glenelg	Archibald MacDonnell of Barrisdale
Burnfoot	Newbattle	Andrew Porteous
Callart	Kilmallie	Allan Cameron of Callart
* Clanranald	Ardnamurchan, Small Isles, South Uist	Donald MacDonald of Clanranald
Cluny	Kingussie, Laggan	Ewan MacPherson of Cluny
Cromarty	Fodderty, Kilmuir Easter, Kincardine, Lochbroom, Logie Easter, Urquhart	George, Earl of Cromarty
* Dungallon	Ardnamurchan	Alexander Cameron of Dungallon
Dunipace	Dunipace, Edinburgh	Archibald Primrose of Dunipace
* Dunmaglass	No papers in the F.E.P. 1745 collection	William McGillivray
Elcho	Heritable Bond	David, Lord Elcho
Gask	Gask, Madderty	Laurence Oliphant of Gask
Glastullich	Fearn, Logie Easter	Roderick McCulloch of Glastullich
Glenbucket	Fraserburgh, Kirkmichael	John Gordon of Glenbucket
* Glencoe	Lismore and Appin	Alexander MacDonald of Glencoe
Gordon	Duffus	Lord Lewis Gordon

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Location (by parish)</u>	<u>Attainted Person</u>
Graden	Linton	Henry Kerr of Graden
Hamilton	Huntly	John Hamilton
Hay	South Leith	John Hay
* Henderson	Lochmaben	John Henderson
* Keppoch	Kilmonivaig	Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch
* Kilmarnock	Falkirk, Kilmarnock, Linlithgow Muiravonside, Slamannan	William, Earl of Kilmarnock
* Kinloch	Mains	Alexander Kinloch
Kinloch and Nevay	Alyth, Coupar Angus, Eassie and Nevay, Meigle	Sir James Kinloch of Kinloch
Kinlochmoidart	Ardnamurchan, Glenelg	Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart
Lethendy	Lethendy, St. Martin's	Laurence Mercer of Lethendy
Lindsay	Personal estate	Patrick Lindsay
Lochgarry	Blair Atholl, Boleskine and Abertarff, Logierait	Donald MacDonnell of Lochgarry
Lochiel	Kilmallie	Donald Cameron of Lochiel
Lovat	Boleskine and Abertarff, Dores, Croy, Kiltarlity, Kilmorack, Kirkhill, Urray	Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat
McIntosh	Inverness	Lauchlan McIntosh
* MacKinnon	Strath	John MacKinnon of MacKinnon
* McLauchlan	Kilmorie	Lauchlan McLauchlan of McLauchlan
Monaltry	Crathie	Francis Farquharson of Monaltry
Nairn	Auchtergaven, Edinburgh, Kinclaven, Moneydie, Redgorton	John Nairn, commonly called Lord Nairn
Nicolson	Leith	James Nicolson (sometimes 'of Trabroun')
Park	Marnoch, Ordiquhill	Sir William Gordon of Park

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Location (by parish)</u>	<u>Attainted Person</u>
Perth	Auchterarder, Balquhidder, Callander, Cargill, Comrie, Crieff Dunblane, Killin, Muthill, Port of Menteith, Strowan	John Drummond, brother of James, the sixth earl, who died before the Act of Attainder took effect
* Pitscandly	Rescobie	James Stormonth of Pitscandly
Pitsligo	Pitsligo, Tyrie	Alexander, Lord Forbes of Pitsligo
Redhouse	Glasmuir	George Hamilton of Redhouse
Row	Personal estate	David Row
Strathallan	Blackford, Muthill, Trinity Gask	William, Viscount Strathallan
Struan	Blair Atholl, Strowan, Fortingall, Kenmore, Logierait	Alexander Robertson of Struan
Terpersie	Tullynessle	Charles Gordon of Terpersie
Watson	Arbroath	Thomas Watson

* These estates were surveyed, having been assumed to be forfeited. For various reasons, some of them technical legal points, the forfeitures turned out not to be legally tenable and they were returned to the original owners.

Anno vicésimo quinto

Georgii II. Regis.

An Act for annexing certain Forfeited Estates in Scotland to the Crown unalienably; and for making Satisfaction to the lawful Creditors thereupon; and to establish a Method of managing the same; and applying the Rents and Profits thereof, for the better civilizing and improving the Highlands of Scotland; and preventing Disorders there for the future.



HEREAS by an Act made in the Twentieth Year of His Majesty's Reign, (intituled, An Act for vesting in His Majesty the Estates of certain Traitors; and for the more effectually discovering the same; and applying the Produce thereof to the Use of His Majesty; and for ascertaining and satisfying the lawful Debts and Claims thereupon) It is (among other Things) enacted, That in case His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, shall not make effectual Provision for the Payment and Satisfaction of all such Debts and Claims,

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Claims, upon the Estates, Real and Personal, by the said Act vested in His Majesty, as shall be decreed to be just and lawful, in the Manner by the said Act directed, within the Space of Twelve Months after the same shall be respectively adjudged, then it shall be lawful for the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, or any Three of them, and they are thereby required to sell, or cause to be sold, so much of the Estates of the Attainted Persons, as they shall judge necessary to be sold, for Satisfaction of the Debts and Claims affecting the same, and apply the Money arising by the Sale thereof respectively, in Discharge of the several Debts or Claims to which they shall be adjudged to be liable: Provided nevertheless, That if His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, shall, after the Expiration of the said Time, make effectual Provision for the Payment or Satisfaction of all the Debts or Claims upon any such Estate, and shall, before the same is sold, by Warrant or Warrants, under His or Their Sign Manual, at any Time or Times, direct any such Estates not to be sold, then the said Barons shall not proceed in the Sale of any Estates so prohibited to be sold: And whereas by another Act of the Twentieth Year of the King (intituled, An Act for taking away the Tenure of Ward-holding in Scotland, and for converting the same into Blanch and Feu-holdings; and for regulating the Casualty of Non Entry in certain Cases; and for taking away the Casualties of Single and Life-rent Escheats incurred there, by Horning and Denunciation for Civil Causes; and for giving to Heirs and Successors there, a summary Process against Superiors; and for discharging the Attendance of Vassals at Head Courts there; and for ascertaining the Services of Tenants there; and for allowing Heirs of Tailzie there, to sell Lands to the Crown for erecting Buildings; and making Settlements in the Highlands) upon a Recital that it hath been, and may be found necessary for the publick Service, to erect Buildings, and make Settlements in certain Places in the Highlands of Scotland; it is enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for any Person who is seized in, or possessed of, a Tailzied Estate in Scotland, to sell, dispose, or resign, ad perpetuam remanentiam, any Part thereof, which His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, shall think fit to purchase, for erecting of Buildings, or making Settlements within the same: And by One other Act of the same Year of the King, intituled, An Act

Anno Regni vicésimo quinto Georgii II. Regis.

Act to enlarge the Time limited by an Act of the last Session of Parliament, for restraining the Use of the Highland Dress; and to enable Heirs of Tailzie, Guardians, Tutors, Curators, and Trustees in Scotland, to sell Lands to the Crown) upon a Recital that it may be necessary for the Preservation of the publick Peace, and the further civilizing of the Inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland, that Lands should be purchased there by His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, which Lands may be subject to strict Tailzie, or belong to Infants, Pupils, Idiots, Lunatics, fatuous or furious Persons; it is enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for any Person, who is seized in, or possessed of, a Tailzied Estate in Scotland, or for any Guardian, Tutor, Curator, or Trustee, of an Infant, Pupil, Idiot, Lunatic, fatuous or furious Person, to sell, dispose, or resign, ad perpetuam remanentiam, the Whole or any Part of such Tailzied Estate, or the Estate of such Infant, Pupil, Idiot, Lunatic, fatuous or furious Person, which His Majesty, His Heir, or Successors, may think fit to purchase for the Purposes aforesaid; which Lands, so purchased, shall remain in His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, unalienable for ever, except as to the Power of granting Leases for Seven Years, with a Diminution of a Fifth Part of the usual Rent only: And whereas to prosecute more effectually the good Purposes intended by the said in Part recited Acts, in order to strengthen the Foundations of the future Tranquillity of this Kingdom, it is necessary that some farther Provisions and Regulations be made; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That all and every the Lands, Lordships, Baronies, Patronages, Cytbes, Fishings, and other like Heritages, which became forfeited to His Majesty by the Attainder of the several Persons after named of High Treason, for their being engaged in the late unnatural and wicked Rebellion, and which were vested in His Majesty by the above-mentioned Act of the Twentieth Year of His Reign; that is to say, the Lands and other Premises which became forfeited by the Attainder of Simon late Lord Lovat; John Drummond, taking upon himself the Title of Lord John Drummond, Brother to James Drummond, taking

Certain Forfeited Estates annexed to the Crown unalienably.

on himself the Title of Duke of Perth; George late Earl of Cromarty; and Archibald McDonald, Son of Col McDonald of Barisdale; as the same Lands, Lordships, Baronies, and other Premises, are more particularly enumerated and described in the Title-deeds, Rights, and Inclosures, of the said Attainted Persons, or their Predecessors, or in the Surveys already taken, or hereafter to be taken thereof, by the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, in pursuance of the Powers given to them by the aforesaid Act of the Twentieth Year of the King, by which the said forfeited Estates were vested in His Majesty, shall, together with all the Parts and Proportions of the same, from and after the Twentieth Day of December, One thousand seven hundred and fifty two, be, and be deemed to be, annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and shall be and remain for ever unalienable from the same; and all Grants, Charters, or other Rights, made, or to be made, or granted, of all or any of the said Lands, Baronies, and other Premises, by His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, excepting as is herein after excepted, shall be void to all Intents and Purposes.

Right of Claims not injured by this Act.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to take away any Right, Title, or Benefit whatsoever, which any Person or Persons are, shall, or may be intitled to, in virtue of any Claim or Claims that have been, or shall be, duly entered in the Court of Session in Scotland, pursuant to the aforesaid Act, or in virtue of any Decree or Decrees that hath been, or shall be, made upon such Claims.

Satisfaction to be made to lawful Creditors, but not for only as the Value of such Lands shall extend.

And to the end that Payment may be made to the just and lawful Creditors on the Forfeited Estates hereby annexed to the Crown, so far as the Value of such Lands and Premises, whereupon such Claims shall have been sustained, shall respectively extend, and no further; be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That Actions may be brought before the Court of Session, in the Name of His Majesty's Advocate, against such Creditors, which shall and may be served against the Defendants, under the general Description of the Claimants upon such Estates, by One Coidal Citation, upon Thirty Days Notice, to be affixed on the Walls of the Inner and Outer House of the Court of Session, where the Rolls of Causes in that Court are usually affixed, in order

order to have the Value of such Forfeited Estates ascertained, upon a Proof brought before the said Court of the Rental and Value thereof; and in every such Action it shall and may be lawful for the Creditors on the said Estates to bring a joint Plea, and the said Lords of Session are hereby authorized and required to proceed in valuing the said Estates summarily, in setting which Valuation regard shall be had to the ordinary Rates, at which like Lands and Estates have been sold in the same County; and the said Lords of Session shall thereafter, without Loss of Time, certify to the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, the Amount of the several Claims on such Forfeited Estates, with the Value of the Lands and Real Estate, upon which respectively the Claimants are just and lawful Creditors; and in such Cases where the Claims that have been sustained exceed the Value of the Lands and other Premises, out of which they ought to be paid, that the said Lords of Session shall, at the same Time, certify the Order of Preference by which the said Claims ought to be paid, to the Extent of the Value that shall be certified as aforesaid; and the said Barons of Exchequer are hereby authorized and required to transmit such Certificate of Certificates to the High Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being; and upon such Certificate of Certificates being made and transmitted, the Creditors respectively shall be paid out of the then next Aids to be granted in Parliament, according to the Order of Preference specified in such Certificate; so that the Sum to be paid to the Creditors upon each of the said Estates shall not exceed the Value of such Estate certified as aforesaid.

Provided always, That out of the Value to be certified as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful in the first Place to deduct or retain the Expence that shall have been laid out by the Agents for the Crown, in raising and prosecuting the Actions of Valuation and Ranking, and adjusting the Schemes of Division of the Value among the Creditors, as the same shall have been taxed and settled by the said Court of Session.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every such Decree of the Court of Session concerning the Valuation of such Estates, or the Ranking or Order of Preference of the Creditors thereon, shall be final and binding upon all Parties concerned, in case Three Days, on any of which such Proceedings as are usual and competent by the Laws of Scotland, for reversing

Expence of the Agents for the Crown, to be paid out of the Valuation.

Decree of the Court concerning such Valuation, to be final.

ing or amending such Decrees may be had, shall elapse without such Proceedings being had, made, or commenced by either Party.

And whereas in such Cases, wherein the Claims upon the Lands, and other the Premises hereby annexed, shall clearly fall short of the Value of such Lands and Premises, upon which respectively they shall have been entered and sustained, it will not be necessary to raise and prosecute Actions of Valuation and Ranking in the manner before prescribed; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in every Case where the total Claims upon any Estate or Estates shall not exceed Twenty Years Purchase, of the clear surputed Rental, returned into the Court of Exchequer, of such Estate or Estates, the said Lords of Session are hereby authorized and required to certify to the Barons of Exchequer the Amount of the Claims sustained upon such Estate or Estates, which do not exceed the Value as aforesaid; and the said Barons of Exchequer are hereby authorized and required to transmit such Certificate of Certificates, and also the clear annual Value of such Estate, appearing by such surputed Rental as aforesaid, to the High Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being; and upon such Certificate of Certificates being transmitted, the Creditors respectively, whose Claims shall have been sustained, shall be paid out of the then next Aids to be granted in Parliament.

And whereas certain other Lands and Estates became vested in His Majesty by virtue of the before-mentioned Act of the Twentieth Year of His Majesty, and the Attainder of High Treason of the Persons following, namely, Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Charles Stuart of Ardsheil, Donald Mc Donald of Kenloch Moylart, Evan Mc Pherson of Clunie, Francis Luchanman of Arnprior, Donald Mc Donald of Lochgary, Allan Cameron of Callart, Francis Farquharson of Monaltry, and Alexander Mc Donald of Keppoch; which Lands and Estates were holden of Subject Superiors, who have entered Claims in the Court of Session to the Property thereof.

And whereas it would be highly conducive to the good Purposes intended by this Act, that the said Lands and Estates should remain with His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, by proper Persons to be appointed for that Purpose, under His or Their Great Seal,

Where the Claims upon any Estate do not exceed 20 Years Purchase, the same to be certified.

and the Certificates to be paid out of the next Aids granted in Parliament.

Power given to purchase the superiority of all other Estates which were holden of Subject Superiors.

Annual, to transact or compound with, such Subject Superiors, or any of them, concerning their Claims to the Property of the said Forfeited Estates held of them respectively, and also to treat and agree with the said Subject Superiors for the Purchase of the Superiority of the said Lands and Estates, and that the agreed Prices of such Superiorities, and also the Sums to be paid by way of Composition for such Claims of Property, shall be from time to time certified by the Persons authorized to treat for the same, on the Part of the Crown, to the High Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury, for the time being.

Provided always, That in every Case where such Superiority was subject to a strict Bailie, the Monies to be paid as the Price thereof shall be laid out and settled in the manner directed by the before mentioned Act of the Twentieth Year of the King for enabling Heirs of Bailie, and others in Scotland, to sell Lands to the Crown.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That in case the Property of any of the said Lands or Estates so claimed by such Subject Superiors as aforesaid, shall be finally determined to be forfeited to His Majesty, or such Subject Superior shall be agreed or compounded with for such Claim in manner herein before-mentioned; then and in either of the said Cases, such Subject Superiorities shall be purchased as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, to vest, in such manner as shall be agreeable to the Laws of Scotland, the said Lands and Estates held of Subject Superiors, or such Parts of the Lands and other the Premises herein before annexed to the Crown, as shall appear to have been formerly held of Subject Superiors, in One or more Trusts or Trustees, their Heirs and Successors, to be renewed from time to time by His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and which Trusts or Trustees, their Heirs, and Successors, shall, according to the Forms of the Laws of Scotland, be from time to time, entered and received as usual in the Lands, and other the Premises by the respective Superiors thereof, and shall hold the same in Trust for the Uses and Purposes of this Act; and the said Lands and Estates, with all the Rents, Issues, and Profits thereof, shall be disposed of, and applied to the Uses and Purposes in this Act mentioned, and to none other, and shall be under the same Management, and subject to the same Rules, Orders, and Directions, and the same Provisions

Where the Superiority was subject to a strict Bailie, the Monies to be laid out to be settled in the manner directed by the Act of the 20th Geo II.

The said Estates to be vested in Trustees.

and to be applied as this Act directs.

Provisions for Payment of the lawful Debts thereon, shall take Place that are by this Act made concerning the other Lands and Estates hereby annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Provided always, That the Heirs of such Trustees or Trustees, by making up Titles to such Trust Estates, shall not incur the Passive Titles, nor represent their Predecessors universally; any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, That His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, may change such Trustees, at His or Their Pleasure, and present new Ones, from time to time, who shall be received by the immediate Superiors respectively for the time being, without Payment of a Year's Rent, or any other Composition.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That whatsoever the Property of any of the Lands or Estates so claimed by any Subject Superior, shall have been finally determined to be forfeited to His Majesty, or such Subject Superior shall have been agreed or compounded with for the same as aforesaid; and also the Superiority of such Lands shall have been purchased by His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, then the Lands and Estates, whereof the Superiorities are so purchased, shall both Property and Superiority be, from that Time, annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and shall remain for ever unalienable from the same.

And whereas the Barony of Strouan, and other the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which formerly belonged to Alexander Robertson of Strouan, now deceased, became forfeited to the Crown, by Decree or Sentence of Forfeiture pass in the Parliament of Scotland in the Year One thousand six hundred and ninety, and now belong to, and remain the Property of His Majesty; be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Barony and Lands be, and are hereby annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and shall be and remain for ever unalienable from the same, and the lawful Debts thereon shall be paid in the same manner as is provided concerning the Lands and Premises before mentioned.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the clear Rents and Produce of the Lands and Estates hereby annexed to the Crown, or directed to be held in Trust, as aforesaid, shall be applicable in the manner herein after mentioned, or in such other manner as

Heirs of such Trustees not to incur the Passive Titles, &c.

Trustees may be changed.

The Property of such Superiors shall be forfeited.

as purchased, or by agreement with His Majesty to the Crown.

The Barony of Strouan annexed to the Crown.

Debts thereon to be paid.

The Rents and Produce of the said Lands and Estates to be applied.

His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, shall, from time to time, by Warrants under His or Their Sign Manual, be pleased to direct, to the Purposes of civilizing the Inhabitants upon the said Estates, and other Parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the promoting amongst them the Protestant Religion, good Government, Industry, and Manufactures, and the Principles of Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and to no other Use or Purpose whatsoever.

And, to the end that the said Lands and Estates may be managed, and the Produce thereof applied, in the most beneficial Manner, for the Ends and Purposes aforesaid; be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to and for His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, by Commission under the Great Seal of Scotland, to authorize and empower such Person or Persons as His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, shall think fit, from time to time, to be Commissioners and Trustees for managing the said Estates, and applying the Produce thereof for the Ends and Purposes appointed by this Act.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Commissioner to be appointed for executing the Trusts in this Act, as aforesaid, shall receive any Fee, Salary, Pension, or Reward, for the same.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Commissioners to be appointed as aforesaid, shall have Power to grant Leases of the said Estates, of any Part thereof, for any Term not exceeding Twenty one Years; or if the Lessee shall enter into proper Covenants, to lay out upon the Premises any Sum, not less than five Years Rent, in Buildings or other Improvements, within the Space of Seven Years from the Date of such Lease, then, and in such Case, and upon such Condition, for any Term not exceeding forty one Years; all which Leases shall be subject to the Provisions, Conditions, and Limitations, herein after mentioned, and such other as His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, shall, from time to time, by His or Their Sign Manual, direct and appoint.

Provided always, That upon every such Lease there shall be reserved not less than Three fourths of the real annual Value of the Premises to let; and that every Lease to be granted by such Commissioners, shall contain

Commissioners for managing the said Estates, to be appointed by the Crown.

without any Salary for the same.

Commissioners may grant Leases thereof.

Condition as the Lessee.

contain a Clause for making the same void, in case the Lessee, or his or her Heirs, shall assign or let the Premises, or any Part thereof, to any other Person, or shall suffer the same to be adjudged at the Suit of any Creditor, or shall not occupy, cultivate, and be resident upon the Premises, or shall pay, or cause to be paid, directly or indirectly, to, or for the Use of, any Person or Persons whatsoever, any Statute or Fine, or any annual Rent or Pledgation, for or in Consideration of his obtaining or holding the Lands or other Premises comprehended in such Lease, other than the Rent in such Lease expressed and covenanted to be paid to the said Commissioners, for the Purposes in this Act directed.

Let the said Statute or Fine be void.

Not to hold Land above the said Rent of 20 l.

Commissioners may sue for the same, and the Rent of 20 l.

Provided also, That every such Lease shall be absolutely void, unless the Lessee shall, before the making thereof, have taken the Oaths requisite by Law to qualify Persons to execute Offices of publick Trust in Scotland, at the Quarter Sessions of the County where the Premises lie, or before the Sheriff Depute, or his Substitute; and that no Person shall be capable of taking or enjoying, directly or indirectly, any Lands or Tenements, other than Houses of Fishings, by virtue of such Lease or Leases, of greater annual Rent than Twenty Pounds at the utmost.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Commissioners shall and may have Power, and Authority to bring Actions in their own Names, either in the Court of Session or Sheriff's Court, not only for Payment of the Rents into the hands of the Factors appointed for levying the same, but also for Breach and Non Performance of the several Covenants contained in the Leases, under which the Lands shall be possessed.

Commissioners may sue for the same, and the Rent of 20 l.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Commissioners shall and may have Power, by and with the Approbation of the High Treasurer, to appoint Stewards, Receivers, or Factors on the said Estates, with an Allowance not exceeding five Pounds per Centum of the Rental, who shall be bound respectively, with One or more sufficient Surety or Sureties, in a Sum not less than Two Years Rent of the Estate, to be put under their Collection, to account to the said Commissioners for the full Rents of such Estates, and to pay in the clear Residue thereof, to His Majesty's Receiver.

Receiver General of the Crown Rents and Casualties in Scotland, after Deduction and Allowance of the publick Expences and necessary Charges of Management; and upon their so accounting and paying in the Residue of the Rent as aforesaid, the said Commissioners are hereby empowered to grant Acquittances or Discharges to such Factors from time to time.

Provided always, That the said Commissioners shall have Power to appoint Persons to officiate as Factors in the Interim, until the Factors granted by them shall be approved or disapproved of by the High Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury, as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Steward, Receiver, or Factor, on the said Estates, shall, during the Continuance of his Office, by himself, or by any other Person whatsoever on his Account, directly or indirectly take, accept, or receive, from any of the Tenants or Possessors of such Estates, any Money, Gift, Present, Service, or other Gratuity whatsoever, to the Use of such Factor, he shall incur the Penalty of fifty Pounds Sterling, to wit, twenty Pounds thereof to the Use of His Majesty, and the other to any Person who shall sue for the same, to be recovered by Summary Petition or Complaint, upon fifteen Days Notice before the Court of Session, or before the Sheriff's Court of the County.

Factors in the Interim to be appointed.

Penalty on Factors taking any Money from the Tenants or Possessors.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Commissioners shall be, and are hereby empowered, by and with the Approbation of the High Treasurer, or of the Commissioners of the Treasury, for the time being, to appoint Clerks and other necessary Officers, with proper and reasonable Salaries; and that the said Commissioners shall cause such Lands to be surveyed, and proper Plans to be made thereof, stating both the Extent and different Qualities of the Grounds, the several Advantages and Disadvantages arising from their Situation, and what Improvements may be made upon the same; which, with all other their Proceedings, shall be entered in Books to be by them kept for that Purpose, and a faithful Abstract thereof shall by them be reported annually, or oftner if required, to the High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being, who shall cause Copies of such Reports to be laid before both Houses of Parliament in every Session.

Commissioners with Approbation of the High Treasurer, may appoint Clerks and other Officers.

and cause a Survey to be made of the Lands.

the same, with all their Proceedings to be entered, and reported.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, where any One or more of the Estates aforesaid comprehend whole Parishes, belonging in Property to the Crown, which they shall judge to be of too large an Extent to be under the Charge of One Minister, to divide such Parishes into Two or more, by Warrant or Grant to be passed under the Great Seal of Scotland, which shall prescribe the Bounds of the new erected Parishes, and grant competent Provisions to the Ministers of such Parishes, to be paid out of the present Allowance for the Minister of the old Parish, and the Remainder out of the Rents of the said Estates, but so as the Stipend to be settled on One Minister shall not exceed fifty Pounds Sterling per Annum, in Money or Value; and upon Production of such Grant before the Commissioners for Plantation of Kirk's and Valuation of Kirk's, they are hereby required and empowered to interpret their Authority thereto, in such Manner as to render the Provision thereby made effectual to the Ministers serving the Cure in such new erected Parishes.

Where any Parish is divided into two or more Parishes.

with a Stipend to the Minister.

Provision of Stipend to be settled on the Minister.

Re-division of Parishes.

Provided always, That the Patronage of such new erected Parishes, whereof the Stipend shall be wholly, or the greater Part thereof paid out of the Rents of the said Estates, shall belong to, and for ever remain united to the Crown; Saving and reserving to all Persons their Rights and Titles to the Churches of such old Parishes, and to the Patronage of the disjoined or new Parishes to the Minister whereof the old Stipend shall be allocated, as the whole or greater Part of his Provision; and also saving and reserving to the Incumbent for the time being, when such Division or new Creation shall be made during his Incumbency, the Stipend or Maintenance he shall then be possessed of, although the same should exceed fifty Pounds Sterling in Money or Value.

And whereas it may happen that other Persons may have Interest or Property in some of the Parishes, which His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, may judge proper to be divided; be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all such new Divisions or Creations of Parishes, in which other Persons besides His Majesty shall have an Interest, either as Rectors, Patrons, or Titulars of the Churches in the Parish or Parishes to be disjoined,

The new Divisions of Parishes, in which other Persons besides His Majesty have an Interest, may be settled.

Disjoined, or in the new Parish to be erected, shall be made by Authority of the Court of Commission for Plantation of Kirks and Valuation of Tithes in Scotland, upon an Action to be raised and pursued in the Name, and at the Instance of, His Majesty's Advocate for Scotland, and which he is hereby enabled to raise and carry on, whether any of the other Heretors, who have an Interest in the said Disjunction and new Erection shall consent or not, and which Court of Commission shall have Power, and is hereby required to settle and determine, according to the Rules of Law and Justice, all such Questions, Debates, and Controversies, as may arise touching the said new Erections; and every such Decree of the said Court of Commission shall be final and binding upon all Parties concerned, in case Thirty Days, on any of which such Proceedings as are usual and competent by the Laws of Scotland for reversing or amending such Decrees may be had, shall elapse, without such Proceedings being had, made, or commenced by any of the Parties therein concerned.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to and for His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, to erect Publick Schools on the said Estates, or in other Parts of the Highlands or Islands of Scotland, for instructing young Persons in Reading and Writing the English Language, and in the several Branches of Agriculture and Manufactures, and to erect Houses for the Reception of such young Persons, and for carrying on such Manufactures by them, and for the accommodating such Masters as shall be appointed by the said Commissioners to instruct and teach them, and to apply such Parts of the Produce of the said Estates as shall be necessary for erecting such Schools, providing competent Salaries for such Teachers, and for the Cloathing and maintaining such young Persons, and for supplying such Schools with Utensils and Materials for Agriculture and Manufactures, and for the raising of Flax, and for such other like Uses, as by His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, shall be thought proper for promoting the Purposes aforesaid.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, to empower the said Commissioners

Crown may erect publick Schools

and empower the Commissioners to alien or purchase Lands to the Use thereof

Commissioners to alien Portions of Land out of the said Estates to the Use of such Schools as may be erected on the said Estates, or to apply such Part of the clear Rent of such Estates, as His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, shall think proper, in the Purchase of Portions of Land to be allotted to the Use of such Schools as shall be erected in other Parts of the Highlands or Islands of Scotland.

and to grant Lands to be used for the Use of such Schools, or to well affected Persons, for building Houses, and for other Uses, &c.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, to authorize and empower the said Commissioners to grant out in Property such Parts and Portions of Ground, not exceeding Ten Acres to One Person, as may be sufficient for building convenient Dwelling-houses, Out-houses, and Gardens, to Persons well affected to His Majesty's Person and Government, and who shall be duly qualified by taking the Oaths to the Government, who shall oblige themselves to erect Buildings, and make Gardens thereupon; which Portions of Ground shall be by the Statutes held feu of His Majesty, His Heirs, or Successors, for Payment of a yearly Feu Duty, equal to such a Proportion of the Rent as the said Commissioners shall find to correspond to the Ground to be seued out by them: And in respect that such small Feus cannot bear the Charges of passing the Seals, and other Charges necessary for making out the Titles of Lands held of the Crown; it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, to authorize and empower the said Commissioners to grant Charters, containing Precepts of Saline, to be held feu of His Majesty as aforesaid, and also to grant all Charters, Precepts of Clare constat, and other Writings necessary for entering their Heirs and singular Successors.

Persons residing in such Houses, may hold Lands of other Parts of the said Estates.

Provided always, That any Person who shall reside in any Dwelling-house erected upon any Portion of Land, which shall have been granted for that Purpose in Manner as aforesaid, shall, during his Residence in such House, be capable of holding a Lease from the said Commissioners of any other Part of the said Estates, within the Distance of five Miles from such House, subject to all the other Conditions and Limitations of this Act; any thing herein before contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

3ad

And whereas it hath been found a great Obstruction to the Course of Justice in the Highlands, that many Parts thereof are far remote from any Royal Burgh, or County Seat; be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, by and out of the Rents and Profits of the Lands and Estates aforesaid, to cause Prisons to be erected and maintained on such Parts of the aforesaid Lands, or other Parts of the Highlands or Islands of Scotland, as they shall think fit, for the Custody of Prisoners for Crimes or Offences; and that such Prisons so erected shall be held to be lawful Prisons for the Purpose aforesaid; and the Commissioners to be named as aforesaid, are hereby empowered to appoint Gaolers for the keeping of such Prisons, and to assign them reasonable Wages, to be paid by the Factors on such Estates, with proper Allowances, from time to time, for the Maintenance of indigent Prisoners; and the said Commissioners are hereby further empowered to appoint Bailiffs over the said Estates, or any Village or District thereof; which Bailiffs shall have all the Powers over such Estates, that are now by Law competent to Baron Bailiffs, and shall further have Power to commit Offenders to the next free Prison within the County, although not within the Territory of such Bailiff himself.

Crown may erect Prisons.

Commissioners may appoint Gaolers, with Salaries

and Bailiffs, with Power to commit Offenders.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That His Majesty's Receiver General for Scotland shall receive the Monies that shall come into his Hands out of the Rents of the said Estates, for answering such Orders as shall be made upon him by the said Commissioners, in pursuance of the Powers that shall be granted, and the Warrants and Directions that shall be given to them, from time to time, by His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, concerning the Application of the Rents of the said Estates, for the Ends and Purposes aforesaid, and for no other Ends or Purposes whatsoever.

Rents of the Estates to be received to answer the Orders of the Commissioners.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That until the final Determination of the Claims that have been, or shall be, duly made, or entered, in the Court of Session in Scotland, to or upon the said Estates, it shall and may be lawful to the High Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being, to cause to be applied so much

of the Claims to be determined the Treasury may apply so much of the Rents as shall be necessary for satisfying the same of moneys of the said Estates, and for discharging the Claims.

of the Rents and Profits of the Estates aforesaid, as they shall find necessary for satisfying the Expenses of Management thereof, and of litigating and discussing such Claims; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

F I N I S.

Appendix C

An unsigned manuscript, Advocates' Library Ms. 19.1.35, ff.22-24

HINTS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT OF THE FORFEITED ESTATES
IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND

It is humbly proposed

1. That the number of Trustees to be appointed by His Majesty for the Management of these Estates exceed not Twenty one at the most, and that it be rather as much beneath this Number, as may Suit His Majesty's Pleasure. The Aim of this Proposal is, to prevent the Inconveniencies, which will be liable to arise under a large Number of Trustees, from the Attendance of many of them being required, upon every meeting, to constitute a Quorum; And the formal consulting & satisfying of many inactive Persons upon every Measure will much interrupt the Execution of Business - Besides, under a large Number of Trustees there will be room for Varieties of Parties to be form'd; Whereas a small Number heartily engaging in the Trust without any Clog upon them of useless Members, may be more Easily United to Act together with Cordiality, Zeal & Secrecy, Upon which the Success of Management will depend.
2. That out of the whole Body of the Trustees, three, being Gentlemen of Activity, capable of undergoing the Fatigue of travelling in the Highlands & understanding Accounts, be constituted general Surveyors of these Estates besides their Appointments of being Trustees; Whose Duty it shall be, as Surveyors, personally to inspect such Divisions of the Estates, as shall be Allotted to each of them; And to reside therein for the Space of (Blank) Days at least, during every Summer; In order personally to View and Examine their condition in every Respect, And to deliver in a Report in Writing at the Meeting of the Trustees, to be held in the Beginning of every October, of the State of their Division, under the several Heads, of the Conduct of the Stewards, & Factors, The Progress of the Buildings & Manufactures, the Stock of all Sorts, the Number of the Inhabitants, their Disposition & what ever else shall appear to them worthy of Remark - And that in recompense of the labour of these General Surveyors they shall be appointed Gentlemen of the Police at the present Salaries 400 £ p annum to each as Vacancies shall arise therein. Compensation for their Expenses in the mean Time to be paid to them out of the Rents of the Forfeited Estates. It is apprehended that the personal Appearance & Residence of these Gentlemen for Some Time, during every Summer, upon these Estates, will have a very happy Effect, by enabling them to View, & Examine the Conduct of the Stewards & Factors & ye Dispositions of the Inhabitants; And by giving them full Opportunity, to hear any Complaints of Mismanagement, or bad Behaviour, & such Informations, as shall be laid before them, towards Rectifying Abuses, or promoting further Improvements; For these Gentlemen being Trustees would carry a far greater Awe & Authority amongst the Inhabitants than any of the Stewards or Factors; and would be very much able by their presence to protect & countenance such persons as shall appear to be deserving of favourable Notice & to discourage & check such as shall Appear to be unworthy; And being Gentlemen proper to Roll with the rest of of the Trustees could Obtain greater Regard from their Brethren to what they shall remonstrate, than can be expected to be paid to the Representations of servants.

3. That, in order to enable trustees to act with Vigour & Efficacy upon their first Entering into these Estates, the Lords of the Treasury be empower'd to advance them out of the Aggregate Fund, a sum not exceeding ten thousand pounds sterling, Interest for the said sum to be paid by the Trustees, and the Principal Also in proper portions out of the Profits of these Estates, And that the said Trustees having carefully Examin'd the Surveys of all these estates, shall fix upon proper passes, and cause Bridges to be Built There, and adjacent there to Churches, Workhouses, Schoolhouses, & Prisons, together with new Stone Houses suited to manufacturing People, having Glass Windows; And thus to form Towns at these particular Passes into which the present Inhabitants shall be all gradually received; And convenient dwelling Rooms Allotted to them in which they may see to work during all the Winter; Which new Houses being built, and the Tenants upon these Estates, being summoned into them that their present dark Smoky Cabbins, indisposed for Industry & Work, be all destroy'd. This Junction of the People together in lightsome Houses will give the Stewards, Factors, & different Masters convenient Opportunities of instructing them in one Body in manufactures & other Mechanical Arts; Whereby a Spirit of Industry & Emulation will be propagated amongst them; Especially as they will all be easily overlook'd & deprived of their usual Recesses for Sauntering & Slothfulness - The convening of the Tenants thus together into Towns & placing them in suitable new houses, their Old Cabbins being destroy'd, will tend greatly to alter their manners & to render them a new People; And the Ministers, Stewards & Factors will thus be constantly at hand & be enabled to protect & Encourage any New Tenants & those amongst the present Inhabitants, who behave themselves well, to suppress any Evil Doer. (To which may be added, that the forming of Towns at the important Passes on these Estates, across the middle of the Highlands, will not only be of Security to the Inhabitants by collecting them together for their mutual Defence, but may also be of Public service in any future Rebellion of the Clans, As His Majesty's Troops will find good Entertainment and Refreshment in these Towns, instead of the miserable Fare which is now to be Obtained at the wretched Cabbins; and a few Soldiers added to the well affected Inhabitants of these Towns, may be able, from their Situation, to stop the Passage of different Parties of the Disaffected, & to interrupt their Junction into one body
4. That Leases of every kind be at first declined to be Granted by the Trustees, except for particular encouragement in an important instance, & then for no Longer Term than seven Years, in order that no new Tenants, nor any Regulations may be irrevocably fixed, till their Public Utility hath been confirm'd by Experience.
5. That all Grants of particular Royalties, made by any of the forfeited Chiefs to other persons, be Surrendered to the Crown, upon a Valuable consideration to be paid out of the Rents of these Estates, for which the Trustees shall be empowered to treat with the present Possessors of these Royalties.
6. That in every one of these new Erected Towns an Establish'd Minister of the Church of Scotland be settled with an income of 50£ p. annum, to be at present out of the Rents of these Estates, and to be hereafter fix'd in Glebe Land to be Allotted for this Use, as soon as the New Improvements shall have taken place, And the Value of Lands in general under them shall begin to be Establish'd. And that every such Minister, together with every principal Steward on these Estates, shall be a Justice of the Peace, not only for these Estates, but for the adjacent Lands belonging to other Chiefs; In order to form a new and respectable Body of Magistracy, with a Competent Number of Constables under them, through all these Parts of the Highlands.

7. That the Inhabitants of the forfeited Estates be all Registered, & that they and their Children be obliged Regularly to come to the Establish'd Church of Scotland on every Sunday & Holyday, & that all who are Arrived to Sixteen Years of Age shall take the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy & Abjuration, in the most Solemn & public Manner, in the midst of Divine Service before the whole Congregation of their Respective Parish.
8. That the Utmost Attention be us'd for the Suppressing of Thieving of Cattle in every Part of the Highlands. The same being a sort of hostile or Warlike Exercise, in Defiance of the Laws & force of the present Government; Whereby a sett of desperate Banditti are train'd up, ready to rush upon an invitation into Rebellion; And this Body of Miscreants, are the Chief Fund, upon which the Strength & Terror of Jacobitism depends; That towards procuring a Detection of these Offenders, a Reward of fifty Pounds be paid by the Lord Advocate, upon Conviction of every person for stealing of Cattle, to his Prosecutors, as an Encouragement for their Trouble, Expence, and Danger in carrying on the Prosecution; and that it shall not be Lawful to make a Composition, for any Theft of Cattle, Horses, or Sheep, and that all persons concern'd in such a composition shall be guilty of Felony, and that any person privy thereto, who shall Impeach and convict any of the other Parties in such Composition, shall be freed himself from all Penalty & be Intitled to all the Goods & Chattels of the Person or Persons so convicted.

It may be added that the former Proposal for the Junction of all the Inhabitants of the forfeited Estates in Towns situated at proper Passes, will Effectually prevent any Tenant of these Estates from being Stealers of Cattle; As they will not be able to leave their Habitations in these Towns, in order for such Theft, without having their Absence observ'd & known; nor will they be able to harbour and conceal, such Cattle, after they are stolen, - In Respect also to the Thieves of Cattle living upon other Land, as their passage across these new Settled Estates, with their Booty, will be liable to be detected, & stopp'd at these Towns, the Whole Scheme of Thieving Cattle, will hereby be much interrupted through every Part of the Highlands.

9. That the Estates in the Highlands of Scotland their present Possessor & the Mortgages & other Incumbrances upon them be Registr'd at Edinburgh and that the same Power of cutting off Entails be granted to the Possessors of these Estates, which now Subsist in England. The Breaking of the present Entails of the landed estates in the Highlands would be immediately followed by a Circulation of the Property of these Estates into new & various hands. For the Chiefs in general being fond of travelling & entering into Military Services, will continually want to raise money, either for Extravagance, or in order to push their Fortunes abroad; which will lead them into a quick Sale of their Estates; Whereby new Persons without Power or Authority to lead the Clan into any insurrection will become Landlords; who will be jealous of all Connections between their Tenants and the former Chiefs; And whose Interest it will be to suppress all Remains of such Connections & to Attach themselves to the present Government upon whose support their new purchas'd Properties in these Estates will entirely depend; - By such a new regulation of the Highland Estates for the Better security of the Government a Precedent might be Introduced for bringing the Scotch law in General to be nearer coincidence with the English.
10. That the Highland Dress now preserv'd in the Regiment of Lord John Murray be entirely suppress'd, whereby the Remembrance of this Dress would vanish apace; And be unknown to the Rising Generation, whereas by the Specimens of it Annually shewn throughout the Highlands by the Recruiting Parties for the Regiment, the Idea of it is still renewed, & its loss passionately regretted.

11. That a new Road is now made from Stirling to Fort William, That a Circuit Court be held at the last place in the same manner, as at Inveraray, & Inverness - Whereby the Authority & Awe of the Laws would be further Extended, & be carried out with the most Solemn & Effectual Force into the rudest Part of the Highlands, adjacent to the Isles, where it is much wanted.
12. It is further submitted, whether if an Moiety of His Majesty's Annual Bounty of a Thousand Pounds, which is now Allotted for the Maintenance of Itinerant Preachers, & Catechists, was applied for the purchasing of Glebe Lands in different Parishes, for Ministers, to be there constantly settled, it would not in all probability soon become of more Solid Benefit than the present Distribution of this Charity; As Such Ministers by being constantly resident in the several Parishes would acquire Respect & Authority over the People, And deliver their Instructions with more weight, And by being acquainted with the Persons & Dispositions, be able to know, & send timely Information of, any mischief agitating amongst them; Far beyond what can be expected from the present Itinerant Catechists.
13. Lastly it is humbly added upon the whole; That this Plan of Collecting the present Inhabitants of the Forfeited Estates into new & convenient Houses & of introducing Industry & Manufactures amongst them, though attended at first with much Expence, will in time considerably Augment the Rents of these Estates, clearly demonstrate the Lenity & Compassion of the present Government towards them; And furnish Examples of Imitation to all their Neighbours. And the new Improvements & Happiness of these Inhabitants will be receiv'd with Universal Applause, But with deep conviction of the Goodness of the present Royal Family; under whom, notwithstanding all the Provocations Receiv'd so much generosity has been Extended to the Highlands.

13 December 1752

Appendix D

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD FOR THE FORFEITED ANNEXED ESTATES

B.E. = Baron of the Exchequer
C.C. = Commissioner of Customs in Scotland
C.I.C. = Commander of H.M. Forces in Scotland
C.P. = Commissioner of Police
M.P. = Member of Parliament
T.M.F. = Member of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries

Year of
Appointment

Commissioners

- 1755 Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll, 1682-1761. As Lord Islay acted for Walpole in Scotland. He was greatly interested in the economic development of Scotland and maintained his influence with government even after the fall of Walpole.
- " * John Hay, 4th Marquis of Tweeddale, 1695-1762. Secretary of State for Scotland, Governor of the Bank of Scotland. He improved his own estate of Yester by enclosing and tree-planting.
- " * James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton, c.1702-1768, Lord Clerk Register, 1760-67, Trustee of the British Museum, President of the Royal Society, Keeper of the Records of Scotland.
- " * James Ogilvie, 5th Earl of Findlater and 2nd Earl of Seafield, c.1689-1764. C.C. 1754-1761. T.M.F. A noted agricultural improver, he opened bleachfield, and tried to establish linen manufacture in Cullen.
- " * Hugh Hume, 3rd Earl of Marchmont, 1708-1794. He increased and improved his estates.
- " * John Hope, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, 1704-1781. C.P. Extraordinary manager of the Edinburgh Society.
- " * James Ogilvie, Lord Deskford, 1714?-1770, C.C. T.M.F. He was interested in improving his own estate.
- " * Charles Shaw, 9th Lord Cathcart, 1721-1776. T.M.F., C.P. Ambassador to St. Petersburg, 1768-1771.
- " * James, 12th Lord Somerville, 1697/8-1765. He restored the family fortunes by marrying two wealthy wives.

Year of
Appointment

Commissioners

1755

* Charles Hope Weir of Craighall, 1710-1791. M.P. for Linlithgowshire, 1743-1768, T.M.F., Muster-Master General of H.M. Forces in Scotland.

"

* Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, 1692-1766. Lord Justice Clerk, T.M.F. A close associate of Lord Islay, he was interested in the Campbeltown whale fishery, among many other schemes of economic development.

"

Edward Edlin, d. 1760. B.E.

"

* John Maule of Inverkeillor, 1706-1781. M.P. for Aberdeen Burghs, 1739-1748, B.E., T.M.F. Confidant of Duke Archibald of Argyll.

"

* William Grant, Lord Prestongrange, 1701-1764. M.P. for Elgin Burghs, 1747-1754. Lord Advocate 1746. He introduced the bill for annexing the estates on 28th February, 1752.

"

Robert Dundas of Arniston, 1713-1787. M.P. for Edinburghshire, 1754-1760, T.M.F., Lord President of the Court of Session, 1760.

"

* James Oswald of Dunnikier, 1715-1769. M.P. for Dysart Burghs, 1741-1747, 1754-1768; M.P. for Fifeshire, 1747-1754. Principal Auditor of the Exchequer.

"

* Andrew Mitchell of Thainston, 1708-1771. M.P. for Elgin Burghs, 1755-1771. M.P. for Aberdeenshire 1747-1754. Envoy to Prussia from 1756 until his death in Berlin.

"

* Gilbert Elliot of Minto, 1722-1777. M.P. for Selkirkshire, 1753-1765, for Roxburghshire, 1765-1777. Sherriff-Depute of Roxburgh.

"

William Alexander, 1690-1761. M.P. for Edinburgh, 1754-1761., T.M.F. Director of the Royal Bank. Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 1752-1754. Edinburgh merchant and banker.

"

* George Drummond, 1687-1766. T.M.F., Accountant General of Excise, sometime Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Commissioner of Excise.

"

Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson, c.1713-1761. Major-General in 1759, Quartermaster-General for Scotland. T.M.F. Laid out directions for tracks for roads for Roy's maps and was instrumental in arranging for this great survey.

Year of Appointment

Commissioners

- 1755 * Mansfeldt Cardonnel, 1697-1780. C.C.
- " * Alexander Le Grand, 1682-1766. C.C.
- " * Joseph Tudor, d.1774. C.C. but died in England where he had resided for some time

* Reappointed by George III in 1761

New Appointments made by George III

- 1761 James Stuart MacKenzie, 1719-1800, younger son of 2nd Earl of Bute. M.P. for Argyllshire, 1742-1747; for Buteshire, 1747-1754; for Ayr Burghs, 1754-1761; for Rossshire, 1761-1780.
- " Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto, 1693-1766. M.P. for Roxburghshire, 1722-1726, Lord Justice Clerk in 1763, agricultural improver.
- " Henry Home, Lord Kames, 1696-1782. T.M.F. He was a noted writer on a multiplicity of topics, legal, educational, agricultural and one of the most active commissioners.
- " Andrew Haining, Lord Alemoor, d. 1776. T.M.F.
- " William Mure, 1718-1776. M.P. for Renfrewshire, 1742-1761, B.E., T.M.F., an authority on agricultural improvements and manager of the Bute estates.
- " Sir George Allanson Winn, 1725-1798. M.P. for Ripon, 1789-1798. B.E., 1761-1776.
- " Thomas Miller, Lord Barskimming then Lord Glenlee, 1717-1789. M.P. for Dumfries Burghs, 1761-1766. Lord Advocate for Scotland, T.M.F.
- " Lord George Beauclerk, 1704-1768. C.I.C., 1756-1767. M.P. for New Windsor, 1744-1754, March-May, 1768.
- " James Montgomery, Lord Alexander, 1721-1803. Lord Advocate, 1766-1775, Lord Chief Baron, 1775-1801, T.M.F. He introduced a measure enlarging the powers of heirs of entail in 1770. (10 George III c.51).
- " Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone, 1721-1793. T.M.F., improver, builder of Laurencekirk.
- " Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, 1726-1792, a prolific writer.
- " John Swinton, d.1799. Commissioner for Plantation of Kirks, T.M.F.

Year of
Appointment

Commissioners

- 1761 John Campbell, Lord Stonefield, d.1801. T.M.F. thirty-nine years on the bench. He was a regular attender at meetings of the Board.
- 1764 John Grant, formerly of Easter Elchies, d.1775. B.E., T.M.F. He sold his estate shortly after the death of his father Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies. He died in Grenada where he had extensive sugar estates.
- " Robert Oliphant of Rossie, d. 1795, Postmaster-General in Scotland for thirty-two years. T.M.F.
- " George Clerk-Maxwell, 1715-1784. C.C., T.M.F. Born George Clerk he adopted his wife's name. He had interests in agricultural, commercial improvements, in linen manufactures and in lead and copper mining in Dumfriesshire.
- 1767 James Veitch, Lord Ellick, 1712-1793. M.P. for Dumfriesshire, 1755-1761, T.M.F.

In May, 1769, the Treasury requested a list of those commissioners who had died since 1755. Eleven had died and there had been only four replacements since 1761. This information, however, did not result in an immediate spate of new appointments to fill the vacancies. (E725/2).

Year of
Appointment

Commissioners

- 1770 Charles Sholto Douglas, 15th Earl of Morton, 1732-1774. C.P.
- " John, Lord Sunbridge, called Marquis of Lorne, 1723-1806. M.P. for Glasgow Burghs, 1744-1761; for Dover 1765-1766 when his father became Duke of Argyll. C.I.C., 1767-1778.
- " John Stewart, Lord Garlies, 1736-1806. M.P. for Morpeth, 1761-1768; for Ludgershall, 1768-1773. C.P. He was an 'ambitious, self-seeking opportunist', according to Namier's History of the House of Commons.
- " Major-General Dughton, 1720-1780. C.I.C. 'of boundless curiosity and unusual diligence'. (Dr. Johnson).
- " Thomas Dundas of Fingask, 1708-1786. M.P. for Orkney and Shetland, 1768-1770. C.P. (To replace the Earl of Findlater).
- 1771 Captain Archibald Grant, 1731-1796. He served in the East India Company army and succeeded his father as third Baronet of Monymusk in 1778.

Year of
Appointment

Commissioners

- 1771 Major-General David Graeme, 1716-1797. M.P. for Perthshire, 1764-1773. He had recruited for the Jacobites in 1745. He had, later, interests in the linen industry and in the Forth-Clyde canal.
- " Archibald Menzies, Younger of Culdares, d. 1777. C.C. General Inspector of the Annexed Estates.
- 1772 Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, 1746-1812. T.M.F., Member of the Poker Club, Royal Society of Edinburgh. He was tutored by Adam Smith on his European tour.
- 1776 David Ross, Lord Ankerville, 1727/8-1805. T.M.F.
- " Alexander Murray, Lord Henderland, 1736-1795. M.P. for Peeblesshire, 1780-1783. T.M.F.
- 1777 John, Baron Cardiff, commonly called Lord Mountstuart, 1744-1814. M.P. for Bossiney, 1766-1776. He entered the House of Lords in 1776 as Baron Cardiff. First son of 3rd Earl of Bute.
- 1783 Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville, 1742-1811. M.P. for Edinburghshire 1774-1782; 1783-1790; for Newton, Isle of Wight, 1782; for Edinburgh, 1790-1802. T.M.F. He 'managed' Scotland for the government.
- " Sir John Dalrymple, 1726-1810. B.E., T.M.F. (in 1799). To replace Lord Kames

Ex officio members included the Lord President of the Court of Session, the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Advocate for Scotland and the Commander-in-Chief of H.M. Forces in Scotland. As can be seen from the above lists, some of these officers served in a dual capacity being appointed on their own merits as well as by virtue of their office.

Appendix E

FACTORS SERVING ON THE FORFEITED ANNEXED ESTATES

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Years of Service</u>
+ Ardsheal	* Henry Butter	1770 - 1784
Arnprior (Strathyre)	* William Monteath Walter Monteath John Campbell of Barcaldine	1755 - 1761 1762 - 1764 1765
<p>From 1766, Strathyre was included for administrative convenience in the Highland Division of the estate of Perth (q.v.) under the same factors.</p>		
+ Arnprior (other than Strathyre)	* James Fogo	1770 - 1784
Barrisdale	* Mungo Campbell Henry Butter	1755 - 1758 1759 - 1784
+ Callart	* Henry Butter	1770 - 1784
+ Cluny	* Henry Butter	1770 - 1784
Cromarty	* Captain John Forbes of New Hector MacKenzie Colin MacKenzie	1755 - 1774 1774 - 1777 1777 - 1784
<p>In 1764, the Barony of Coigach, the part of the estate of Cromarty lying farthest west, was sensibly placed under a separate factor. Access was hardly easy.</p>		
Coigach	Ninian Jeffrey Hector MacKenzie	1764 - 1773 1773 - 1784
+ Kinlochmoidart	* Henry Butter	1770 - 1784
+ Lochgarry	* James Small Robert Menzies	1770 - 1777 1777 - 1784
+ Lochiel	* Henry Butter	1770 - 1784
Lovat	* Captain John Forbes of New	1755 - 1774
Monaltry	* James McDonald of Reneton Francis McDonald John Farquharson William Farquharson of Bruxie	1755 - 1767 1767 - 1772 1773 - 1777 1778 - 1784

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Years of Service</u>
Perth	* John Campbell of Barcaldine	1755 - 1765
<p>From 1766, two factors were appointed to the estate of Perth, managing what were entitled the Highland and Lowland Divisions. The former also included the Barony of Strathyre and the other small parts of the estate of Arnprior not held of a subject superior</p>		
Perth, Highland Division	James Small	1766 - 1777
Perth, Highland Division	John Campbell of Lochend	1777 - 1780
Perth, Highland Division	James Goodlatt Campbell of Achlyne	1780 - 1784
Perth, Lowland Division	Thomas Keir	1766 - 1784
Struan	* James Small	1755 - 1777
	Robert Menzies	1777 - 1784

* Factors who were employed by the Barons of the Exchequer on the same estate as that to which they were appointed by the Commissioners for the Forfeited Annexed Estates in 1755 or shortly after.

+ Estates held of subject superiors which were managed by the Barons of the Exchequer until 1770.

Appendix F

A REPORT FROM THE FACTOR ON PERTH CONCERNING THE METHOD
OF SUBSETTING IN THE HIGHLANDS E777/258/2

As to that part of the Order about subsetting the Factor must acknowledge himself a good deal at a loss concerning proper method of making his report of such as subsett their farms, as the term is differently understood in different countys of Scotland. In the first place, most of the Tenants on the Estate of Perth, by their late Tacks, had power of subsetting to persons of no higher Degree than themselves, some of these Tacks not yet expired and such as are, continue their former practice of subsetting and have no notion of altering that method till they are ordered by the Commissioners to do so, either by new Leases or otherways and that it is made clear to them what is meant by subsetting. At present, the methods are very different, viz. subtenants that are really such. bowmen, steelbollmen of two kinds, Plowmen which are already defined (see below), pendiclers, crofters, cottars who have some sowing and grasing and Cottars who have only the possession of what is called a dry house.

Of all there different designations, the only persons who at present are looked upon as subtenants are such as have a certain proportion of a farm sett to them /vizt. a Plough, half a plough, quarter plough or horse gang / which they manage in Grass and Corn with their own stock, Independent of the princ. tacksman, and the only difference betwixt them and the tenant is that they pay the agreed on rent to the tacksman instead of paying it to the proprietor or his Factor.

A Bowman is the hired servant of the Tacksman, who receives from the Tacksman a compleat stocking of the farm, the risque and Repair is the tacksman's, this Bowman for his own labour and trouble and for defraying the meal and wages of the other servants necessary for managing the farm, receives no fixt stated wages, but a certain proportion of the produce of the Farm, is accountable to the tenant for the overplus in kind, the bargain with them is only verbal and from year to year as with any other hired servants.

Steelbollmen are those that receive a certain quantity of Corn and a certain number of cattle, horses and labouring utensils for the produce of all which they pay an agreed on rent to the Tacksman, some of the steel bollmen in Grass Farms, get only Cattle and no Corn, and in Corn farms get only Corn, and it is only in Grass and Corn farms that they get both Corn and Cattle, the difference between them and Bowmen is that the Cattle and all other things which the steelbollmen receives is appretiated at the Entry, and they are bound to leave them in as good condition of the same value at their Removal, the whole Risque falling on themselves, in Consideration whereof they have the power of disposing of the Stocking as they please, the bargains with the steelbollmen are frequently reduced into writing and subsists for a term of years.

A Pendicler is a person who has a certain small quantity of Grass and Corn Land distinct from any Neighbour which he manages and labours as he things proper, and in the labouring or managing of which, the Master or Tacksman has no concern, there are many of those that have their possession and pay their Rents to the proprietor or his Factor; those are sett by the proprietor and not mixed with Farms and sometimes such pendicles are sett by Tenants.

Cottars who have sowing and grasing pay in services an agreed on price, and the Tacksman Ploughs the Ground, gives them horses to lead their Dung, to Harrow their Land, and for the most part to Carry home their fireing.

Crofters are much of the same nature with the Cottars above described, only that the price of the Arable Ground allotted for them continues in their possession without Changing Whereas the cottars are generally shifted from one place to another of the farm as the Tacksman sees proper, and the Crofter differs little from the Penticler, only that his Cattle pastures with the Tacksman's, and are taken care of by his herd at least all summer and harvest.

What is called the dry-house Cottar, is one that has neither sowing nor grasing but has a house and Kailyard.

Of all those, designed as above the first is the only person that is looked upon in the highlands as properly a subtenant, and for this reason that he is able upon his own bottom and with his own stock to Plough and manage a farm, and in many Instances in the Estate of Perth, a subtenant is more Creditable person than the principal Tacksman, Nay the Factor has known the Tacksman a Cottar to the subtenant.

The Bowman is no other than a servant who is not able to take Land, a Steelbollman a servant of a more substantial kind but still unable to take a farm without some help of the Tacksmans stock; a Penticler has a very small possession and has never been considered as a subtenant; crofters and cottars are defined above. The Factor begs the Commissioners will inform him, which of all these classes and how many of them he is to look upon as subtenants in making his Report upon the head of Subtenants.

E777/258/1

..... Married Plowman who labour the farm with the Tacksmens horses, and sows, Harrows and reaps his Corns, and does all other kinds of Work the Factor does not know, only that by the word Plowman or Hind he takes it to be in the same manner as a great many farms in the Highlands are Laboured to Witt the Plowman has an agreed on number of Bolls sowing of Oats and ground for as much Bear as he has dung to manure all of which is Laboured with the Tacksman's horses; He has likewise Grass for a certain number of Cows and sheep which are herded upon the Tackman's expence and sometimes if the farm is small and cannot admitt of as much sowing and grasing as is Equivalent to his trouble the Plowman gets a certain quantity of Meal in lieu of his sowing especially when his wife is obliged to work. The Commissioners will be pleased to advert that the plowman has no sett piece of ground allotted for him but that it is the Tacksmans power to give him what part of the farm he pleases

Factor - John Campbell of Barcaldine

Appendix G

BRIDGES SUBSIDISED BY ANNEXED ESTATES FUNDS

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources</u>
Allan	<p>Kinbuck NN 792054</p> <p>E701/2, p.54; E721/2, pp.1, 117; E721/13, p.73 E.723/3, 1779; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.214</p> <p>The proprietor of the Perth estate had always repaired the wood bridge here because of its vicinity to the Mill of Kinbuck. In 1752 the tenants built a stone bridge costing between £80 and £90 for which they still owed £25 in 1757. The Board allowed £15 towards this debt. By 1773, the bridge was described as unpassable but it was still standing, though 'ruinous' in 1780. The Board was asked by the Commissioners of Supply to pay £6 towards its repair. It is now extensively repaired with concrete.</p>
Almond	<p>Bertha NO 094266</p> <p>E721/5, p.32; E721/7, pp. 2, 16; E728/29/1; E777/215/1; P.L.A. 2/1/1, pp, 8, 228; P.L.A. 14/1/2, p.109</p> <p>The Perth linen merchant, Mr. William Sandeman, initiated the construction of a bridge over the Almond near Bertha farm on the Perth-Dunkeld road at a cost of about £1,000 for a five-arched bridge, 19' wide, about 180' long, the county and the town of Perth contributing £750. The Board decided to give £50 towards this when they had funds authorised for bridges. In 1762, they learned that it had fallen down so they delayed payment until the bridge was rebuilt and Sandeman claimed the grant in 1763. Later the Commissioners of Supply had to pay for a canal rerouting the Almond to the middle of the bridge as the river was changing course.</p>
Almond	<p>Milnhaugh NO 001294</p> <p>E721/11, p.193; E727/34/15; E729/29/1; P.L.A. 2/1/1, pp. 212, 228</p> <p>The ford at Milnhaugh was claimed by the petitioners to be the 'most central place' for crossing the Almond to join Perth to the West Highlands. Now the old bridge is replaced by a metal structure twenty yards west, on a minor road. The Board gave £80 towards the estimated expense of £369-16-7, other contributions having amounted to £266-9-1. The County gave £10 in 1781 as there was still a deficiency of £83-7-6.</p>

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources</u>
Aultgraad	<p>Evanton NH 612664</p> <p>E721/11, pp.83, 105; E721/12, p.168; E727/34/10</p> <p>The Board had employed James Smeaton to make plans and estimates for a bridge here in 1771-2 but had decided it was not possible for them to continue with it. In 1777, the Commissioners of Supply for Ross-shire decided to build a bridge on the Dingwall-Tain road and the factor on the Cromarty estate, Colin Mackenzie, wrote on their behalf to ask if Smeaton's plans could be seen to compare with their own. Apart from paying Smeaton, the Board was not financially involved.</p>
Abhainn na Cuile	<p>Avinagillon NR 836673</p> <p>E721/11, p.174; E728/29/19; E732/9</p> <p>The eighteenth century spelling by the petitioners was Avanagelan, the anglicisation of the Gaelic.</p> <p>Lord Stonefield gave support to a grant towards this bridge as the heritors of Argyll had laid out £2,000 over and above any taxation for roads and statute labour. The Board gave £60, the total estimate being £100.</p>
Awe	<p>Pass of Brander NN 030299</p> <p>E721/11, pp.164, 166, 192; E723/2,1777; E727/34/14; E728/29/16</p> <p>The J.P's and Commissioners of Supply of Argyllshire asked for aid in 1776 for a bridge over the river Awe near Bonawe as it was fordable for only a few weeks in a dry summer and was one of the great lines of communication between east and west Scotland. Having considered the bridge fund, the Board assigned £200 to a bridge there when it was finished. Unfortunately after three arches were thrown the bridge fell down so the contractor, Archibald Campbell, was £316 out of pocket. However, he was not paid another £100 until the bridge was safely completed. This bridge is now off the main road, the west approach is almost covered with vegetation but the east gives access to several houses. The need to build both this and what may be called a companion bridge over the Orchy at Dalmally by subscription and not out of public funds is a staggering illumination of the approach to providing bridges on main roads, at the time.</p>

River

Location with Ordnance Survey Grid number and Sources

Balvaig

Balquhidder NN 534206
Strathyre NN 561172

E701/2, p.63; E721/16, pp.11, 24, 28; E721/24, p.225;
E721/25, pp. 248, 277; E732/16; E777/215/17;
E777/305, 10-11-81; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.201

The river Balvaig ran from the east end of Loch Voil for eleven miles through the parish of Balquhidder, cutting tenants off from church, mill and school, when the temporary structures - usually timber, sometimes merely planks laid on stone pillars or stone heaps - were carried away by floods. That at Balquhidder was described as 'ruinous' to the Barons of the Exchequer in 1754 but it was only after a timber bridge at Strathyre which had joined the west part of the Barony to the main road was carried off that stone bridges were built there. The Board paid half the price for each. County contributions were likely to be small as the heritors were non-resident and the inhabitants poor, but the Board's tenants agreed to pay half too.

Both bridges still stand, the Balquhidder one which the tenants criticised as having too small arches for the water that came down, is now too weak for heavy traffic, but neither is on a main road today. There are two sets of plans for the Balquhidder bridge, one with three arches of 31', one of 25', one of 15', one of 10' and 11' between the parapets. The other has two arches of 31', two of 18' and two of 9'. The tenants may have been correct about the arches as they are sometimes invisible after heavy rain. William Frennd certainly agreed with them. At one point the Board withheld payment until the question of damage to plantations near Strathyre bridge had been resolved.

Benholm

Between Montrose and Bervie NO 808690

E721/11, pp.170, 172; E727/34/9

£100 was allowed towards rebuilding a bridge over the Benholm on the post road north, between Montrose and Bervie, for which payment was requested in June 1777.

Bervie

NO 782797

E721/11, pp.186, 190; E727/34/12; E728/29/22

£120 was granted in 1778 towards a bridge on the post road between Laurencekirk and Stonehaven. A local farmer had bequeathed £100 and by saving the vacant stipend of Glenbervie, the fund had reached £220, of which only £200 could be relied on as some of the promised subscribers had died and others had removed. The estimate was for £350 but as the work was to be done partly by days' wages and partly by contract, the expense might be more. By August 1778, the work was well on the way with twelve masons and six quarriers already employed. The grant was asked for in December, 1778.

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey Grid number and Sources</u>
Carron	<p>Stenhouse Ford</p> <p>E721/11, p.139; E727/34/8; E728/29/14</p> <p>Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouse asked for assistance towards a bridge over the River Carron at Stenhouse Ford in 1774, the cost to be £700. The Board's bridge fund was exhausted so despite their willingness to oblige in this case, the matter had to be delayed. Nothing more seems to have been heard of the project. Probably the petitioners could not obtain enough in the way of subscriptions to pursue the matter.</p>
Dee	<p>Tullich, sometimes identified as Dalmachy NO 372956</p> <p>E721/111, pp. 155; 173, 227; E721/12, pp. 5, 29; E723/2, 1777; E727/34/11; E728/29/15, 18, 23.</p> <p>Two bridges, not given any financial assistance by the Board were suggested over the Dee and Don, about the location of which controversy arose between Sir Archibald Grant on the one hand and the Earl of Aboyne and a supporting committee on the other. Grant wanted bridges at Banchory and Monymusk, the others suggested Alford and Inchbear. But the matter was not settled in 1784, which ensured that no help would come from the Board's funds.</p> <p>£300 was however given in two instalments towards bridging the Dee at Ballater, as it is now. Francis Farquharson eventually wrote asking for the second moiety in 1781. This was the only bridge over the Dee at the time between Aberdeen and the Braemar-Fort George military road which crossed the river at Castletown of Braemar.</p>
Divie	<p>Edenkillie NJ 002498</p> <p>E721/10, p.184; E721/11, p. 223; E723/3, p. 57; E727/34/25; E728/29/3, 29</p> <p>In 1768, Patrick Cuming of Relugas petitioned for assistance for a bridge over the Divie in Edinkillie parish to help communications between the highland and lowland parts of Moray to encourage trade in Forres and Elgin. His son had to repeat the petition in 1782 as did the Forres magistrates, arguing that a bridge over the Divie near Miltoun of Relugas would divert some of the Forres-Inverness traffic; by the Bridge of Dulsie, further up the Findhorn, the distance from Forres to Inverness was only five miles longer than by Nairn.</p> <p>Lord Kames added a note that he was not averse to a contribution of £100 but not a farthing was to be advanced before it was finished. Despite being destroyed during its construction by a spate in August, 1782, the bridge was in fact finished by 1784.</p>

River

Location with Ordnance Survey Grid number and Sources

Duror

NM 986546

E737/25; E786/33/7

Neither this bridge nor that over the Righ (Ree) figured as necessary in first list of bridges provided by the factor there, Henry Butter. Only new road building established the need for both, as with a larger bridge over the Kiachnish. Hugh Seton of Touch pointed out the need for the Duror bridge and also the fact that it was on the estate of Ardsheal.

Providing a crossing over the Duror river, on the road from Fort William to Argyllshire, it cost £91-5-0. It is now completely useless situated between the main A828 and a side road leading to farms, overgrown and broken down, as the line has been altered.

Earn

Crieff NN 587209

E721/6, p. 236; E721/8, pp. 97, 116

The banks of the Earn had to be strengthened in 1762, on parts of the Perth estate, to protect the bridge near Crieff.

Dalchonzie NN 740229

E721/24, pp. 228, 233, 242; E721/25, p.74; F.R. Perth 31C.

In 1775, the Board paid £12-6-6 for a new bridge here on stone pillars, as well as providing the timber. The main benefit of this bridge was local, though Col. Skene's position as tenant of Dalchonzie and his need for access to the military roads must have had some weight with the Board.

Dalreoch NO 004178

E721/6, p. 291; E721/7, p. 142; E777/215/2;
P.L.A. 2/1/1, p. 241; P.L.A. 14/1/2, f. 100

The inhabitants of the parishes of Auchterarder, Blackford, Dunblane entered into a contract for a stone bridge at Dalreoch for £500. In 1762 the Board deferred consideration of their plea for assistance but in 1763 when they learned that the work had stopped for lack of money, they sent £100 towards completing the structure. One factor inspiring the local population to such effort must have been the high rates exacted by the ferry there, which had been brought before the Commissioners of Supply in 1759 and 1761. On the main Glasgow to Perth road, this bridge is still in existence, scheduled as an ancient monument, but now by-passed by the main road, merely serving as an entrance to Chapelbank farm. By 1782, the bridge needed repointing, as well as having been 'partly shaken and rent' so that the horn of one of the pillars needed to be repaired, and the county gave £15 towards this.

Bridge

Location with Ordnance Survey Grid number and Sources

Earn

Dundurn NN 702242

E721/25, pp.198, 242; E723/3, 1779; E777/87, 14-6-80; E777/215/18; E777/305, p. 47

In 1779, £50 was granted towards the £105 bridge of stone and lime at Dundurn, but as both the inspector and the factor reported in 1780 that the middle pier was cracked and that the first flood would carry it away, payment was withheld until November when apparently sufficient repairs had been carried out by the responsible masons. The bridge joins the road south of Lochearn to the St. Fillias-Crieff road. Very narrow between the parapets, one arch is over land on the north side.

Forteviot NO 049175

E721/11, p. 217; E728/29/27; P.L.A.2/1/1, p. 76

The contribution to this bridge was restricted to £140 towards repairs in 1780. Privately built in 1761, one arch had failed and the Earl of Kinnoull reported that repairs had cost £200 more than was subscribed. This bridge is now part of a secondary route, B934 between Dunning and the A9.

Kinkell NN 932167

E721/7, p. 30; E721/8, pp. 129, 211; E777/215/3, 6; S.R.O. GD. 24/1/917; P.L.A.2/1/1, pp. 304, 79; P.L.A.14/1/2, f. 126

The Commissioners of Supply had been approached in 1761 about the possibility of building a bridge here and a committee was appointed to manage its construction. In 1765, this committee pointed out to the Board the benefits the bridge might be expected to bring to the Perth estate, for large parts of the estate lay between the bridge and Drummond Castle. Once it was built it would improve access to the Auchterarder to Perth road, i.e. the Glasgow to Perth road, which was the easiest in the area for wheeled carriages. 'One of the Board', unnamed, had encouraged the committee to widen the bridge beyond what they had originally planned, thus increasing the expense, so the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates could hardly refuse to grant some help. They had previously been approached in 1763. £150 was allowed towards the £600 still required. The bridge was not wholly paid even by 1770. In 1784, it had 'failed in some parts' but the basic structure is still part of the Crieff to Auchterarder route by the B8062. Fourteen to fifteen feet wide between the parapets, it has refuges in the parapets above each pier.

It can be seen that the Board gave assistance steadily over the years to bridges at various points over a river which created a division between the south and north parts of the estates under their management between the River Tay and Lochearn and also broke road lines which apart from the Perth to Glasgow road, were more important in the eighteenth century than they are today.

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey Grid number and Sources</u>
Eas Gobhain	<p>Gartchonzie NN 605072</p> <p>E721/9, pp. 113, 177; E721/11, p. 13; E721/24, p. 225; E721/25, pp. 124, 169; E723/3, p. 8, 1779; E777/99; P.L.A.2/1/1, pp. 172, 173</p> <p>In 1766 it was suggested that a bridge should be built at Gartchonzie over the water between Loch Venacher and the river Teith, instead of a timber bridge with stone pillars over the Teith at Kilmahog which had been swept away. The Inspector General was ordered in March to arrange for this but in July after hearing his report, this was deferred. March 1768 saw estimates for both bridges laid before the Board and the factor Mr. Small was given the task of treating with neighbouring heritors about subscriptions. In 1772, Small proposed that tradesmen's estimates should be obtained for plans drawn up by the architect John Baxter and while the committee considering the matter recommended that this should be done, the matter was again deferred to March to be discussed then in light of the funds available. In March 1776, there was no further progress and in that year the minister, James Robertson, took a hand, protesting that the great part of his parish needed this bridge. On the way to church they were soaked and sat in church 'almost frozen to death before my eyes'. He also pointed out that the cattle from Strathgartney could be taken this way more conveniently and that the wood in the area would sell more easily.</p> <p>The bridge was eventually built, the estimate being £207, in 1777. The bridge still stands, substantially the same, though the inscription stating that the king gave £110 from the Annexed Estates funds has been moved to the outside of the parapet on the south west, probably during repairs. The commissioners liked their notice of good works to be seen.</p> <p>In 1778, two of the subscribers wrote asking for £6-7-8 remaining from the sum allowed by the Board as the other subscribers had not all kept their promises of a contribution and they, two Buchanans, had engaged £95 towards the two bridges at Gartchonzie and Kilmahog. The County Bridge fund provided £15 to Gartchonzie and Kilmahog.</p>
Ericht	<p>North side of Loch Rannoch NN522582</p> <p>E721/4, p.225; E721/5, p.23; E721/6, p.185; E723/2, p.177. 1770; P.L.A.14/1/2, ff. 98, 102</p> <p>The bridge concerned was the replacement for a timber structure built largely at Alexander Robertson of Struan's expense. Despite correspondence beginning in 1759, it was 1770 before £30-10-0 was paid out because the site was changed. Sir Robert Menzies instigated the movement to replace the bridge with a stone one. The County Bridge Money allowed £20 and the Commissioners of Supply advised applying to the Board for the Annexed Estates, with some success.</p>

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey Grid number and Sources</u>
Errochty	<p>By the Old Kirk of Struan NN809654 E721/8, p.154</p> <p>The Errochty at this point has fairly deep banks and the local inhabitants were prepared to pay £25, half the cost of a bridge. The factor on Struan was ordered to pay the other half as the inhabitants were not particularly well endowed. Their main argument for the bridge was that it would ease their way to church.</p> <p>In 1782-83, the heritors and the county built a large bridge over the Garry about half a mile to the north-west.</p>
Esk, North	<p>North. of Montrose NO 724622 E721/11, pp. 31, 55, 72; 113, 114, 153; E727/34/2, 6; E728/29/7, 12; <u>Scots Magazine</u> 32, p.728</p> <p>1769 saw the first petition to the Board from the gentlemen of Forfar, Kincardine and Montrose and Aberdeen Town Councils for assistance towards this £6,000 bridge over the North Esk. £500 was granted with the comment that the Ordnance Funds should more properly pay for it. In 1773, further help was asked for and £300 more granted. As this sum was eventually claimed in 1775, the petitioners had to wait until funds were available as the Board found their resources were straitened in that year.</p> <p>The gentlemen concerned had not approached the Board until they had the sum of £4,000 subscribed. Smeaton was the architect and the bridge carries today's traffic.</p>
Esk, South	<p>Dun NO 663585 E714/18; E721/12, p.27; E723/3, 1784; E728/29/36</p> <p>The request for assistance towards a bridge over the South Esk near the Ford of Dun was dealt with in March, 1784. The contract went to Mr. Alexander Stevens, architect at Prestonhall; he was to finish the bridge by November, 1786, uphold it for seven years, at a cost of £3,128. The price did not include the ground and roads to and from the bridge. £1,600 had been collected and the total cost was likely to be £4,000 so the Board asked for permission to allow £500 when funds allowed, which in the event was after the disannexation of the estates, and so honoured by the Barons of the Exchequer.</p>

River Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources

Farigaig

Torness NH 580269

E721/4, p.83; E721/13, p.113; E721/11, pp. 98, 104.

Bridges were required to maintain communications in the parish of Dores as the river divided church, school and mill from parts of the barony of Lovat. Two timber bridges over the Farigaig were built earlier in 1758 at a cost of £20 and £9.15.0 in cash plus timber. Some years later, £36 was allowed (1771-2) with the tenants' carriage service towards a £46.10.0 bridge near the Torness mill, on a new road being built, presumably by the county.

Forth

Cardross NS 598573

E721/10, pp. 22, 63; E721/11, pp. 97, 111, 116;
E727/34/5, 7; E728/29/2, 8. 10; E732/16; P.L.A.2/1/1, pp.
76, 80; RHP 3419; Macfarlane's Collections i. 340.

John Erskine of Carnock, whose home was the mansion house at Cardross, sent petitions to both the Board and the Commissioners of Supply asking for assistance in building a bridge of three arches, with spans of 45', 45' and 25', on the grounds that it would give general assistance towards the improvement of agriculture and manufactures in Perthshire, a better crossing for the drovers on their way to Falkirk and would be the most convenient road from Balquhiddar, Strathgartney and Callander to Glasgow. He could collect only £400 out of a total estimate of £840. However, later estimates for both building and subscriptions were lowered to £566 and £300 respectively. The Board agreed to give him £250 for which Erskine asked without success in 1772. His brother had to write again in 1773 - the bridge had been almost finished the year before - to remind the Board of their promise of help as John had had to pay out £150 of his own - "not an easy matter at that time". This bridge has been replaced on the B8034.

Drip Coble NS 770956

E721/10, pp. 17,33,45,47; E728/29/5; E732/16, 1771-2;
E777/249/6; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.24; Macfarlane's Collections,
i. 339.

The internal reason, within the estates, for supporting this bridge was that tenants between the Teith and the Forth would be able to get lime from the Earl of Elgin's sheds two miles below Stirling at all seasons of the year, once the river was bridged here. Lord Kames also declared that it would shorten the Stirling-Fort William road and he was prepared to waive compensation for the £12 per annum rent for the ferry there, which he owned. The bridge was to cost £700 and £130 was eventually advanced from the estates' funds, first through Lord Kames' hands and then through the factor's (Small's) in 1770. The first £50 was moved in the accounts from the aid promised to the bridge at Frew, which scheme had lost impetus. The bridge is still standing but is closed even for pedestrians.

River

Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources

Frew NS 960 668

E721/11m p.204; E721/12, p.23; E727/34/1,17,19,21,22;
E728/29/33; E777/215/5; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.224;
Macfarlane's Collections, i. p.339.

A bridge at the Ford of Frew was given support despite the existence of a ford and ferry providing a crossing at all seasons, as it was expected to improve communications generally. £100 was promised in 1763 and more offered in 1765 if the County would make the road to Callander. This would have eased tenants' journeys to Glasgow as it would have joined up with the Glasgow-Stirling road. The bridge was not built however until 1781-2, the estimate being £760 which did not include compensation for losses suffered by the ferry owner. The Board gave £200 and the first attempt collapsed in the clay river bed. There are now only traces of masonry on the south side of the river and of the filling in of the road.

The river Forth was not much of an obstacle to communication between the various estates annexed. Journeys south were also easier than in other areas for there were ferries which were fairly reliable at the main crossings, and a bridge at Stirling. All the estates lay north of the river, so the great advantage in bridging it would be expected to be in the development of trade and commerce, more easily carried out by bridge than by ferry and ford.

Garry

Killiecrankie NN 915613

E721/11, pp.17,18,43,44; E727/34/4; E732/9,19-2-1770;
P.L.A. 2/1/1, pp.43,79; Scots Magazine, 29, p.166;
Macfarlane's Collections, i. p.221.

The river Garry was seldom fordable from October to March and it was the death of twenty-seven passengers returning from Mouline market in February 1767 which caused action to be taken by the gentlemen of the county to build a bridge to replace the patently dangerous ferry, at this point. £100 was allowed by the Board and paid in February, 1770 to the Duke of Atholl's agent. The argument for support from the Board was that it would ease communication between the main Perth to Inverness road and the estate of Struan. This bridge was unusable many years ago and has now been removed. It has been replaced and the line across the river straightened.

Isla

Tillytarmount NJ 530468

E721/12, pp.1,18; E723/3, p.57; E727/34/24; E728/29/31.

The Board was approached in March, 1782. This bridge was built over the Isla on the road from Huntly to Banff and Portsoy to facilitate the carriage of "vast quantities of grain". County funds and subscriptions had raised all but £90 of the £225 estimate. This sum was allowed and paid in November, 1783 on receipt of certificates that it was properly built by James Robertson, mason in Banff, and John Loban, mason in Inverkeithing. There was no suggestion nor could there be, that its construction would be of any direct use to the estates.

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources</u>
Kelty	<p>Possibly NN 648068</p> <p>E721/25, pp.139,174; E732/16, 1779; E777/179; E777/215/16; RHP 3421; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.163; Macfarlane's <u>Collections</u>, i. 134.</p> <p>Two crossings of the Kelty water may be involved here. One, originally a county bridge on the main road from Stirling to the north needed repair in 1776. The Commissioners of Supply had written to Colonel Skene but there had been no reply and despite this now being under military management, they despaired of assistance as the county had built the bridge before the military road-builders took over. They hoped for £16.5.0 from the heritors and would provide £15 from the county fund. The Board for the Annexed Estates was approached and agreed to give £15 but within the year, the bridge collapsed because of insufficient workmanship by the Callander mason, John Herdman. As he was a poor man, however, he still got £5. In 1782, plans and estimates by William McInnes were given to the Board for a bridge on the new road intended to be built between Callander and Strathearn. However, this road is still only a footpath and I have not found any signs of payment of £46, so far.</p>
Kiachnish	<p>Coruanan NN 066691</p> <p>E721/7, p.239; E721/8, p.145; E721/10, p.100; E721/12, p.27; E721/17, p.5; E732/16, 1765, 1768; E768/71; E786/33/1, 2; E786/37/2, 6.</p> <p>In 1761, the road south from Fort William was being repaired by the county. A few miles south of the town, the Kiachnish crossed the main road to Argyllshire and the need for a bridge at Coruanan was obvious. The factor mentioned it early on and by 1767, funds were allotted towards building a single arch there. The first estimate was too small and eventually £129.15.4$\frac{6}{12}$ was spent, for a larger arch was needed to span the river than was at first thought. The mason was John Menelaus. In 1784, the Duke of Gordon asked for help in "making" this road - £210 - but he was too late before the disannexation. The main road is now nearer the lochside and the bridge in good repair gives access to a farm.</p>
Kinglas Water	<p>Ardkinglas NN 187099</p> <p>E714/18; E721/12, pp.12,21; E721/25,19-1-1784; E721/26, p.10; E728/29/32.</p> <p>£100 was to be paid towards a thirty-seven foot arch, estimated at £110.15.10, when it was finished. The date when this was expected was June, 1784, but in fact, it was completed later and the Barons of the Exchequer had to pay the promised grant.</p>

River

Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources

Lyon

Comrie NN 786487

E714/18; E721/12, p.24.

In 1784, £150 had been subscribed towards a bridge over the Lyon near Comrie Castle, the total expense to be £350. The Board allowed £200 to be paid when the bridge was completed and this undertaking had to be honoured by the Barons of the Exchequer after disannexation. The bridge was replaced in 1896, again largely by public subscriptions, organised by Miss Egidia Charlotte Menzies of Menzies whose ancestor Sir Robert Menzies had been one of the petitioners in 1784.

Meggernie

E721/10, pp.5,16; E721/11, pp.205,211,216; E727/34/18; E728/29/24,26; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.44.

The Board built a bridge over the Lyon entirely at their expense of £200 for the convenience of the estates of Struan and the Highland Division of Perth as these shared a factor. The mason was Ludovick Piccard. Though other heritors no doubt benefited from this they did nothing about maintenance and it was swept away in flood water in 1780. At first the Board refused to have anything to do with rebuilding it as they thought the neighbouring heritors had been very culpable in their neglect. When it was pointed out, however, that lack of a bridge prevented attendance at church, school and smithy and in addition lowered the price of timber, the refusal was reconsidered. Even more to the point, the local inhabitants, having got used to a bridge there, had collected money towards rebuilding. The Board relented and decided to allow £100, half when the work began and the other half when it was finished if the builders undertook maintenance for ten years. Exact identification of the site of the original bridge is difficult as it is variously described as at Innerwick, at Corruclack and a little below Meggernie Castle. The present Bridge of Balgie is the probable replacement. The county was also interested in Glenlyon bridges.

Loy

NN 148818

E723/2, p.236; E786/33/7.

In 1775, it was reported that £34.15.6. had been granted to repair a bridge over the Loy which had been built by subscription about fourteen years before.

Moidart

Kinlochmoidart estate NN 713722

E721/20, pp.2,4; E786/37/1.

A bridge was suggested here by the factor Butter in 1761 but it was 1779 before the contract was made out with John Stevenson, an Oban mason for a thirty-six foot arch, eighteen feet over the walls, of stone and lime. This was to cost £100 instead of the £15 suggested earlier but the first estimate was probably for a timber bridge. The commissioners gave £100 plus timber for the cooms and centers and the services for carriage of about an English mile for supplies landed on the coast.

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources</u>
Orchy	<p>Dalmally NN 166277 E721/11, pp.184, 192; E723/2, 1778.</p> <p>Like the bridge over the Awe, the crossing of the Orchy was part of the great military road system from Stirling by Tyndrum to Bonaw. Only a few miles away from it, too, it was suggested that considerable economy could be practised by using the timber cooms and centers already in the area for the Awe bridge. £100 for three years was granted. The main road west, the A85, now crosses the Orchy at the end of Loch Awe but this bridge still carries the B8077, the longer way to the west side of Loch Awe, going north over the Strae.</p>
Righ (Ree)	<p>Between Corrin and Ballachulish Ferries NN 023629 E723/2, p.236.</p> <p>£77 was spent on a bridge over this river, like that over the Kiachnish, on the main road south to Argyllshire from Fort William. This was being improved to take the place of the military road over the mountains, following the coast instead.</p>
Ruchill	<p>Dalclathick NN 718171 E721/25, pp.89,98,208,216; E777/87; E777/215/14; P.L.A. 2/1/1, p.194.</p> <p>Others in Glenartney E721/6, pp. 288,311; E721/7, pp.23,83; E721/25, p.284; E721/26, p.7; E723/3, 1779; E777/88; E777/100/3; E777/215/19; E777/243.</p> <p>The Board built several small bridges in Glenartney, in pursuance of their aim of obtaining a direct cross-country road from Comrie to Callander. The Board cut the factor's estimates, authorising only 10 foot wide bridges with 18" parapets in place of the 15' width he had recommended. These did not last long however, needing repair in 1781. The road then planned was on the north side of the water of Ruchill and crossed at Dalclathick where the old bridge built by the local tenants, only seven foot wide, had been carried away in flood water. The Board gave half the estimated expense of £168 towards a new bridge which like so many others fell down when the timber supports were removed in 1780. The presence of a limestone quarry on the south of the Ruchill no doubt encouraged the Board to help with the building at Dalclathick. The mason, Donald McIntyre, collected the money for this but Francis Oatt and Alexander Buchanan were also involved. There was also pressure to help bridge the Ruchill south of Comrie to open communications south but nothing came of this.</p>

<u>River</u>	<u>Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources</u>
Tay	Kenmore NN 772456 E721/11, pp.75,79,104; E721/25, p.2C; E728/29/9,11,13; E777/215/9 Perth NO 122239 E721/8, pp.14,116,121,144; E721/9, pp.118,160; E721/11, pp.57,60,161,191; E721/24, pp.17,12,187,28,33,50; E723/2, 1765; E727/34/13,16; E728/29/6; <u>Scots Magazine</u> , vol.31, p.340; Smeaton's <u>Reports</u> , Vol 1; NLS.Ms.1021, f.28.

Both these bridges were dealt with fairly fully in the text. Both were considered vital links in the chain of communication between Highland and Lowland Scotland and were subsidised heavily, especially that at Perth towards which was paid £700 out of the rents of the Perth estate each year from 1770 onwards after an initial allowance of £4,000. Both remain essential parts of the present road system, the Kenmore bridge standing much as it did in 1774. The Perth bridge has been widened twice, once in 1869, and again in 1972 and the inscription relating to the 1869 widening on the parapet is not that put up by the Board.

A wide fast river, crossed mainly by ferries, the Tay was a considerable barrier to easy intercourse, between north and south, with Wade's bridge at Aberfeldy the only adequate crossing, in the eighteenth century. It was argued that the Kenmore bridge would connect many of the annexed estates at a place where the ford was not always passable and the ferry not always safe. John Baxter was the architect at Kenmore, Smeaton at Perth. The mason at Kenmore was Patrick McInnes and his work was described as remarkable for its goodness and beauty. He put difficulties in the way of having the Board's inscription fixed on the parapet before the bridge was fully out of his hands, as did the masons for the Perth bridge.

Teith	Callander NN 626078 E721/6, pp.110,183,217; E721/8, p.169; E721/9, p.92; E721/24, p.53; Macfarlane's <u>Collections</u> , i.134. The Callander bridge was of three arches, two of 40', and one of 50', the passage 15'. The estimate was £350 of which £150 had been subscribed. The Teith divided the barony of Callander in two and in 1760 was crossed only by a timber bridge near the town of Callander. £14 was allowed in that year but by 1762 the masons Francis Oatt and William Morison had given the above estimate. The Board decided to grant £200 and in addition sold the neighbouring wood of Gartchonzie to the masons to avoid carriage charges from the great distance of Alloa; this was at the factor's suggestion. Subscriptions promised did not all materialise and the inscription gives £215 as the sum granted by the Board. This bridge, the first public work undertaken by the Board in the Callander area has been replaced by Perth County Council who have an inscription on the bridge to this effect.
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- River Location with Ordnance Survey grid number and Sources
- Teith** Kilmahog NN 608083
E721/9, pp.13,113,177; F.R. Perth 18B,20; P.L.A.2/1/1,p.172.
- Further up the Teith, some fifteen years after the bridge at Callander had been built, one was put up at Kilmahog, similar to that at Gartchonzie, over Eas Gobhain. It was suggested by Robert Oliphant in 1777 that expense would be spared if it were built at the same time as the latter and that it would also complete the communications from Strathyre south.
- Tummel** Kinloch Rannoch NN 662587
E721/4, pp.81,86; E721/7, p.252; E721/8, p.159;
E721/24, pp.45,68,79; F.R. Struan 1745, No. 8;
F.R. Struan 1745, No. 9; E777/104.
- A ferry sufficed to cross the Tummel at the east end of Loch Rannoch until the village of Kinloch Rannoch was built under the Board's auspices. The bridge there was built at the sole expense of the funds from the estates in 1764 and it was renewed by Perth County Council in 1946, the cutwaters now reinforced with concrete. It does not carry traffic on a classified road as the main road west now runs on the north side of the loch, unlike the eighteenth century highway. In Small's posthumous accounts, there was a receipt for £16.12.8. for harling the bridge.
- Turret** Crieff NN 858221
E721/25, pp.55,78,133,134; E777/215/10,15;
P.L.A. 2/1/1, pp. 126, 127,136; P.L.A. 14/1/2, ff.87,88.
- Before 1760 a bridge taking traffic west from Crieff had been somewhat unsatisfactory, so narrow that passing carriages regularly knocked down the parapet. The county had made plans to widen it, but in a spate in October, 1773, the damhead of the mill at Milnab on the estate of Perth finally knocked the bridge down. The responsibility of the Board was clear but they gave £50 and refused further liability. The line of road approaching the bridge had also to be changed. There are now signs of alterations to the parapets where the road has been built up to avoid the extreme slopes that characterised approaches to earlier bridges.
- Various** The funds available from the estates were also used to build and repair between many bridges of varying size and importance from what must have been a considerable structure over the Peffer, which cost £41.18.4. paid to Kenneth Forbes mason, to £7 for a small arch near the church of Kilmallie, £5.12.2. for crossing a burn near Wester Corsecaple, and

£9 for a timber bridge over the Stirpbollie in Achtoo. The Board's funds filled in many small gaps on main roads not provided by the county or military funds. The operative word here is small, including two at least on the Comrie to Dunblane road which had to be repaired in 1779 at a cost of about £9, four on the road on the north side of Loch Earn in 1784, which cost altogether £37.18.0, two at Carie and Camaghouran on the south side of Loch Rannoch and two at Greenock and Auldcher on the south and west roads, respectively, leading out of Callander, which cost £29.8.0½. A small bridge at the west end of Callander cost £11.11.0. The Inverness to Tain road was also cut by burns of varying width and force to which the Board contributed.

Other crossings were basically of local convenience to the tenants of the estates and their immediate neighbours, like those over the Pean and Dessary in the estate of Lochiel, at the west end of Loch Arkaig. A slight qualification might be made about that over the Dessary (Deshair in the factor's notes) for it would have helped communications to the west had the new road being made along Loch Arkaig become a viable proposition. At the east end of the loch, Cia-aig (Kiag) river was bridged to avoid a delay between the land further east and this new road. The commissioners were prepared to spend small sums, comparatively speaking, on timber bridges which they knew must be temporary rather than have tenants and inhabitants generally suffer the inconvenience of passing through streams rather than over them, as long as they had funds at hand.

On the estate of Lovat, most bridges financed by the Board, even on main roads, were apparently small. A few were estimated at large sums, that over the Dee (now the river E in the Ordnance Survey map) at Garthbeg at £103 which was sent smartly back to the factor as too dear for a thirty-foot arch. The estimate for a bridge on a "gravlie" foundation was made up as follows:-

Carriage and making up of timber	£ 7
Clearing the foundations	£ 4
Quarrying and carriage of stones	£24
200 bolls of lime	£28
Masons and pioners* for building sd. bridge	<u>£40</u>
	£103

(* Pioner is clearly an example of confusion with piner, sometimes spelled pynner, pynor, poiner, meaning a labourer, especially a mason's labourer)

A bridge over the Beauly near Kilmorack was mentioned but the masons, John Fraser, David Wishart and Kenneth Forbes, felt it would be very expensive and that the services available in the countryside would not be adequate. In 1763, another crossing of the Beauly was estimated at £1,200. It came to nothing. A more usual price was £90 for two arches sixteen foot wide on the highway leading through the Aird from Strathglass and the parish of Kiltarlity to Inverness. Some built in Stratherrick were described as not strictly county bridges as they were most useful to the inhabitants on Lovat.

In many ways the small bridges built or partly subsidised would make more difference to the quality of life of the inhabitants of the estates and were probably appreciated by them more than the larger spans, though these made a more dramatic impression on travel generally and on the commercial life of the time.

Some of the sources that may be consulted in the Forfeited Estates Papers, 1745, for information on these smaller arches are listed below, mainly from the minutes. Information can also be found throughout the factors' accounts and their reports and letters to the Board, and in local authority records, notably the Perthshire archive for the Justices of the Peace, Freeholders of the County, the Commissioners of Supply and the Quarter Sessions.

E721/6, pp.48,109,110,111,137.
E721/7, pp.33,45,61,94,186.
E721/8, p.121.
E721/9, pp.36,122,189.
E721/10, pp.109,119.
E721/11, pp.23,27,32,90,228,261.
E721/16, p.30.
E721/22, pp.23,38,39.
E721/24, pp.113,131,
E721/25, pp.39,216,296,306,348.
E721/27, p.2.
E728/29/30.
E729/8.
E769/126.
E777/215/12,13,20.
E777/243.
E777/244, pp.49,56.
E786/33.
E786/37/3,6.
E786/37/6.
E788/14.

Appendix H

ESTIMATE FOR A BRIDGE OVER THE DIVIE IN EDINKILLIE PARISH. E728/29/29(3)

Nairn, Feberruarrie the 18th 1778

An estimate of A bridge intended to be built on the water of Devie to consist of two Arches one fortie fut wide and the other twentie fut wide the length from one end to the other is about 112 fut Breadth from outside to outside 15 fut.

To 14 roods 12 yards of mason work at £1.8sh. per rood	£20. 1. 4
To 750 cube fut of causie free stone for one pillar, two land briests and borders for the arches at 8d. per fut	£25. 0. 0
To quarrieing Rubble stone for the bridge	14. 0. 0
To 530 bolls of line at 1sh per boll	27. 0. 0
To wood workmanship and nails for senters	24. 0. 0
To clearing and leveling foundation	1.10. 0
To iron lead and workmanship for bats	2.10. 0
To 148 yds. paving with peble stones along the bridge	1. 4. 8
To scaffolding speadds, barrows and hdds (sic)	1.10.0
To incident charges	<u>6. 0. 0</u>
	£122.16. 0

To the carrage of the Materials from the different places
that they are to be found to the bridge

To 360 loads of freestone from findhorn @ 1sh. per load	18. 0. 0
To the carrage of the lime from findhorn	12. 0. 0
To the Carrage of all the rubble stone	20. 0. 0
To the Carrage of the wood from Findhorn	<u>14. 0. 0</u>
	£54. 0. 0
	<u>£122.16. 0</u>
	£176.16. 0

N.B. betwixt the parapets is to be filled up by the countie with greaval and sand and likewise the paving stones is to be carried by them.

Alexr. W. Watts

Note that the arithmetic of the carriage charges was likely to leave the builder £10 out of pocket.

Appendix J

CONTRACT FOR BRIDGE OVER KIACHNISH RIVER AT CORUANAN E768/71(2)

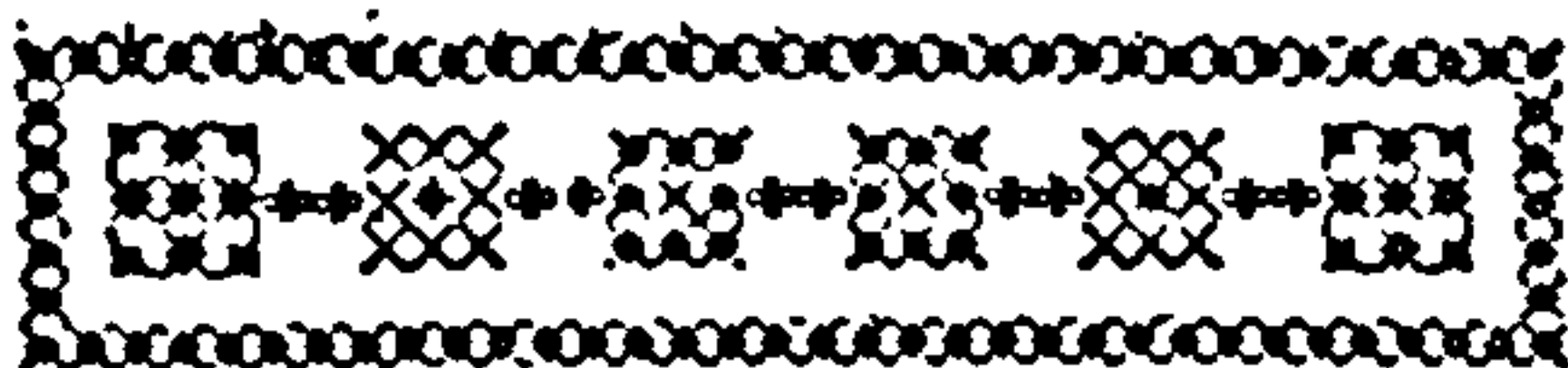
It is contracted and agreed upon betwixt Henry Butter of Pitlochry Factor upon the Annexed Estate of Barrisdale on the one part, And John and Thomas Menelaus both masons at Greenock on the other part in Manner Following That is to say the said John and Thomas Menelaus as principalls, John Campbell Tacksman of Knock in Mull as Surety and Cautioner for and with them Bind and Oblidge them and their Heirs that the said John and Thomas Menelaus shall build a sufficient stone Bridge of one Arch over the water of Kichnish at or near the old Miln at the foot of said water of the Following Dimensions, the Arch to be at least Fourty Foot Diameter, and to be at least Fourteen Foot broad within the Parrapet Walls, and the Parrapet Walls to be Three foot high above the Bridge the Land Stools upon each side to extend the proper Distance for Easie Access to the said Bridge, the Whole to be Built with Stone and Lime sufficient workmanship and Compleatly Finished betwixt* and the middle of September next, the said John and Thomas Menelaus Furnish- ing all Materials Excepting the Firr Timber for the Coomb which the said Henry Butter is to deliver to the said John Menelaus at the foot of the water of Kichnish in due time, The said John and Thomas Menelaus paying for the same to the said Henry Butter at the Rate Timber usually sell at in his Country and the said John and Thomas Menelaus and the said John Campbell their Cautioner Bind and Oblidge them conjunctly and severally and their Heirs to the performance of the Premisses and likewise that the said Bridge shall stand Sufficient for Seven Years after the same is Finished, and In case the same shall Fail within that Period the said John and Thomas Monelaus and John Campbell are Bound conjunctly & severally to Repair and Rebuild the same Sufficiently or to pay the sum of Eighty Four Pounds Sterling being the sum so to be paid them for Building the same in manner Following For which Causes and on the other part the said Henry Butter Binds and Oblidges him and his Heirs to Contract and pay to the said John and Thomas Menelaus their Hairs or Assigners the Sum of Eighty Four pounds Sterling for Building and Finishing the said Bridge to be paid to them as the work goes on, Out of which sum Ten Pounds Ten Shillings Sterling as the apprised Value of the Materials lying at the stanse of the Bridge and furnished by Robert Melvill mason is to be deduced with a Fifth part of Liquidate Expencc in case of Faillie and both Partys Oblidge them to perform the premisses to one another under the Penalty of Twenty pound Sterling by attour performance consenting to the Registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session or other Competent that all necessary Execution may on Six days Charge pass herein in Form as Effeirs and thereto the partys hereto Constitute

Whereof These present wrote upon this and the two preceeding pages of stamped paper by Donald Innes at Corpach one subscribed by the partys as Follows⁺ The said John Campbell at Killmore upon the Eight day of September 1m vii and Sixty Eight years Before these witnesses Allan Campbell Tacksman of Killmore in Mull and Donald Campbell son witness there And by the said Thomas Menelaus upon the Thirteen Day of September said year at Strachur Before these Witsnesse John Mansion Tenant in Craignish and Patrick Campbell wright in Inverary

⁺In margin - Viz. by the said Henry Butter and John Menelaus at Corpach the Twenty Second day of August 1m vii and Sixty Eight years before these Witnesses Alexr. Robertson sevt. to the said Henry Butter and the said Don Innes his Clerk Witnesses to the signing this marginal note on the third page and by

Donald Innes)	
Alex Robertson Allan Campbell)	Henry Butter
Don Campbell)	John Menelaus
Patrick Campbell)	John Campbell
John Mansion)	Thomas Menelaus

* Date omitted in original document



Appendix K
ANNO VICESIMO QUARTO

Georgii III. Regis.

C A P. LVII.

An Act to enable His Majesty to grant to the Heirs of the former Proprietors, upon certain Terms and Conditions, the forfeited Estates in Scotland, which were put under the Management of a Board of Trustees by an Act passed in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Second; and to repeal the said Act.



WHEREAS, by an Act made in the Twentieth Year of His late Majesty King George the Second, (intituled, An Act for vesting in His Majesty the Estates of certain Traitors, and for more effectually discovering the same, and applying the Produce thereof to the Use of His Majesty; and for ascertaining and satisfying the lawful Debts and Claims thereupon), the Estates of those who had been attainted of High Treason for their Accession to the then late Rebellion, were declared to be
11 A 2

Cap. 57. GEORGII III. REGIS.

of His Majesty's Dominions are more loyal or dutiful, or better affected to His Majesty's Person and Government, than the Inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland now are, many of whom, of all Ranks and Descriptions, have performed signal Services to their Country in the late Wars between Great Britain and its Enemies, and more particularly the Heirs and Families of all or most of the said attainted Persons have been employed in the Service of their lawful Sovereign, and testified their Loyalty and Zeal upon all Occasions, and therefore it is fit that they should now receive some Mark of His Majesty's Royal Mercy and Clemency: And whereas it is expedient that the said Estates be now disannexed, and re-posed to the Heirs or Families of the former Owners, upon the Payment of certain Sums on account of the Debts due by the forfeiting Persons, which were discharged by the Publick, and under the other Conditions herein-after mentioned: May it therefore please Your Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose, to the Honourable John M^r. Kenzie, commonly called Lord M^r. Leod, eldest Son of George late Earl of Cromarty, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands, Lordships, Baronies, Cities, Patronages, Fishings, and other like Perquisites, which became forfeited to His said late Majesty, by the Attainder of the said George late Earl of Cromarty, now deceased, and which were annexed to the Crown by the aforesaid Act, in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Nineteen thousand and ten Pounds, Ten Shillings, and Seven pence, and Ten Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the Court of Exchequer in Scotland as herein-after directed.

II. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors,

His Majesty empowered to grant to the Honourable John M^r. Kenzie, and his Heirs, all the Lands, Lordships, Baronies, Cities, Patronages, Fishings, and other like Perquisites, which became forfeited to His Majesty by the Attainder of George late Earl of Cromarty.

And to Donald Cameron the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Charles Stewart.

of Geo. II. Cap. 41.

in His Majesty, subject to the Payment of Debts, and under various Regulations therein contained: And whereas by another Act, made in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty, (intituled, An Act for annexing certain forfeited Estates in Scotland to the Crown unalienably; and for making Satisfaction to the lawful Creditors thereupon; and to establish a Method of managing the same; and applying the Rents and Profits thereof for the better civilizing and improving the Highlands of Scotland, and preventing Disorders there for the future), all and every the Lands and Estates which were then in the Hands of His Majesty, by the Attainder of Simon late Lord Lovat, and certain other Persons therein named, were declared to be unalienably annexed to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms; and Provision was also made by the said last recited Act, for Payment of all just and lawful Debts due by the forfeiting Persons before their Attainder, and for transacting the Claims made by Subject Superiors to the Property of some of these Estates; and likewise for acquitting the Superiorities belonging to such Subject Superiors: And whereas, by an Act passed in the Fourteenth Year of His present Majesty's Reign, (intituled, An Act to enable His Majesty to grant unto Major General Frazer the Lands and Estate of the late Simon Lord Lovat, upon certain Terms and Conditions), the said Act of the Twenty-fifth Year of His late Majesty was repealed, in so far as it related to the Estate which formerly belonged to the said Simon late Lord Lovat; which Estate was thereby disannexed from the Crown, and has since been granted by His Majesty, in the Terms, and under the Conditions at Length specified in the aforesaid Act, passed in the Fourteenth Year of His present Majesty's Reign: And whereas the said Estates were put under the Management of a Board of Trustees or Commissioners for managing the same, and applying the Rents and Profits thereof for the better civilizing and improving the Highlands of Scotland, and securing the Peace and Loyalty of the Inhabitants: And whereas, by the Experience of many Years since that Time, it has been found, that no Subjects in any Part

and Geo. III. Cap. 22.

Donald Cameron late of Lochiel.

Subject to 3431 £. 9s. 3d. to be paid as aforesaid.

And to Duncan Stewart the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Charles Stewart.

Subject to 699 £. 7s. 9d. to be paid as aforesaid.

And to John M^r. Donald the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Donald M^r. Donald.

Subject to 2111 £. 9s. 3d. to be paid as aforesaid.

Successors, to give, grant, and dispose, to Donald Cameron, Son and Heir of Charles Cameron, late Captain in the Seventy-first Regiment of Foot, deceased, who was only lawful Son of Donald Cameron late of Lochiel, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands and Estate which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the said Donald Cameron late of Lochiel, now deceased; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Three thousand four hundred thirty-three Pounds, Nine Shillings, and One Penny, and Six Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

III. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose, to Duncan Stewart, eldest lawful Son of Charles Stewart late of Ardmeal, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands and Estates which became forfeited to His said late Majesty, by the Attainder of the said Charles Stewart, now deceased, and which were annexed to the Crown as aforesaid; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Six hundred ninety-nine Pounds, Seven Shillings, and Nine-pence, and One Twelfth Part of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

IV. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose, to John M^r. Donald, eldest Son and Heir of the deceased Lieutenant Colonel Alexander M^r. Donald, of the Seventy-first Regiment of Foot, who was eldest Son of Donald M^r. Donald late of Kinlochmoydart, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands and Estate which became forfeited to His said late Majesty, by the Attainder of the said Donald M^r. Donald late of Kinlochmoydart, now deceased, and which were annexed to the Crown as aforesaid; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of One thousand one hundred and eleven Pounds, Sixteen Shillings, and Five-pence Sterling, of Principal Money.

ney, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as hereafter directed.

V. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose, to Colonel Duncan M^r. Pherson, only lawful Son of Evan M^r. Pherson, late of Cluny, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands and Estate which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the said Evan M^r. Pherson, now deceased; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Five thousand one hundred thirty-eight Pounds, Seventeen Shillings, and Eleven-pence, and Seven Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

And in Col. Duncan M^r. Pherson the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Evan M^r. Pherson;

Subject to 2,138 l. 17 s. 11 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

VI. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose, to Colonel John M^r. Donell, late of the Seventy-sixth Regiment of Foot, eldest lawful Son of Duncan M^r. Donell, late of Lochgarry, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands, Tithes, and other Heretages and Estate, which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the said Duncan M^r. Donell, now deceased, and which were annexed to the Crown as aforesaid; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Two thousand and eighty-three Pounds, Twelve Shillings, and One Penny, and Five Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

And in Col. John M^r. Donell the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Duncan M^r. Donell;

Subject to 2,083 l. 12 s. 1 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

VII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose unto John Cameron, eldest lawful Son of Allan Cameron, late of Callart, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands, Tithes, and other Heretages and Estate, which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the said Allan Cameron, now deceased; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Four hundred and twenty Pounds, Fifteen Shillings, and Nine-pence Sterling, of Principal

And in John Cameron the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Allan Cameron;

Subject to 420 l. 15 s. 9 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

Assigns; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of One thousand six hundred forty-seven Pounds, Thirteen Shillings, and Five-pence, and Ten Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

Subject to 1,647 l. 13 s. 5 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

X. And whereas the Estate of Perth, which became forfeited by the Attainder of John Drummond, taking upon himself the Style of Title of Lord John Drummond, Brother to James Drummond, taking on himself the Style of Title of Duke of Perth, stood devised before the Forfeiture to Heirs Male; And whereas the said John Drummond died without leaving Issue lawful of his Body, and it is not yet ascertained who is his nearest collateral Heir Male; be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose to the Heirs Male of the said John Drummond, who would have been intitled to succeed by the Inheritances of the said Estate, had it not been forfeited, and to the Heirs and Assigns of such Heir Male, all and every the Lands, Lordships, Baronies, Fiferies, Tithes, Patronages, and other Heretages and Estates, which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the said John Drummond, taking upon himself the Style of Title of Lord John Drummond, and which were annexed to the Crown as aforesaid; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of Fifty-two thousand five hundred forty-seven Pounds, One Shilling, and Six-pence, and Three Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

And in the Heirs Male of John Drummond, or the Estate of Perth, forfeited by his Attainder;

Subject to 52,047 l. 1 s. 6 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

XI. And whereas Francis Buchanan, late of Arnprior, another of the forfeiting Persons, also died without lawful Issue of his Body, possessed of, or intitled to the following Lands and Estates; videlicet, The Estate of Arnprior, and the Lands of Stank and Kerinloch, which were devised to Heirs General, and the Estate of Strathyre, and certain Parts of the Lands of Arnsinlay, which were devised to Heirs Male; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty,

And to grant the Estate of Arnprior, &c. forfeited by the Attainder of Francis Buchanan, to his Heirs;

Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as aforesaid.

VIII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose to Francis Farquharson, late of Monaltry, who has received His Majesty's most Gracious Pardon, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Lands, Tithes, and other Heretages and Estate, which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the said Francis Farquharson; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Sum of One thousand six hundred and thirteen Pounds, and Nine-pence, and four Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer as after directed.

And in Francis Farquharson the Lands forfeited by his Attainder;

Subject to 1,613 l. 9 s. 4 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

IX. And whereas the Lands and Estate which were surpeped and annexed to the Crown, as belonging to Archibald M^r. Donald, Son of Col M^r. Donald of Barrisdale, were in fact only held in Madsett by the said Col M^r. Donald, and his Son Archibald, redeemable for the Sum of One thousand five hundred and twenty-seven Pounds, Fifteen Shillings, and Six-pence, and Six Twelfth Parts of a Penny, by John M^r. Donell of Glegary, but were nevertheless allowed to be surpeped and forfeited as the absolute Property of the said Archibald M^r. Donald, without any Claim being entered in due Time by John M^r. Donell the Reverter, whose Heir ought now to be restored against the Consequences of that Oversight: And whereas the Debts due by the said Archibald M^r. Donald at the Period of the Forfeiture, and which were afterwards paid by the Publick, exceeded the Madsett Sum before-mentioned, so that no Benefit could accrue to him by restoring him to the Right of Madsett, with the Burden of a Sum equal to or exceeding his Debts; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose the said Lands and Estate to Duncan M^r. Donell, now of Glegary, the Grandson and Heir of the aforesaid John M^r. Donell, of Glegary, and his Heirs and Assigns;

His Majesty may grant to Duncan M^r. Donell the Lands forfeited by the Attainder of Archibald M^r. Donald;

His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to grant and dispose to Mistress Jean Buchanan, Widow of the deceased John M^r. Nab of M^r. Nab Esquire, Sister and Heir General of the said Francis Buchanan, and her Heirs and Assigns, the said Estate of Arnprior, and the said Lands of Stank and Kerinloch; and to John Buchanan of Auchlessie Esquire, the Heir Male of the said Francis Buchanan; and his Heirs and Assigns, the said Estate of Strathyre; and the said Parts of the Lands of Arnsinlay; subject always to, and chargeable, the said whole Estates and Lands so to be granted, with the Payment of the Sum of Two thousand four hundred ninety-seven Pounds, Eight Shillings, and Three-pence, and Eight Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, to be paid by them the said Mistress Jean Buchanan, and John Buchanan, and their Heirs, jointly and severally, into the said Court of Exchequer, as after directed; but declaring that the said Persons shall have such Claims against each other to be relieved of the said Sum, either in Whole or in Part, as they would have had with respect to their Predecessors Debts, if there had been no Forfeiture.

Subject to 4,497 l. 8 s. 8 d. to be paid as aforesaid.

XII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the several Principal Sums aforesaid shall be made payable by the different Grantees, their Heirs, and Assigns, into the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, in equal Proportions, One Half of each Sum at the Term of Martinmas, in the Year One thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, and the other Half at the said Term in the Year One thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, together with Interest upon the Whole at the Rate of Five Pounds per Centum per Annum from the Term of Martinmas, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, until Payment of the Sums due, with a Fifth Part more of liquidated Penalty in case of Failure; for which Payments so made, the Lord Chief Baron, and other Barons of the said Court, or any Three of them, are hereby empowered, authorized, and required to execute, on Behalf of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and all others concerned, and to deliver to those from

When the said Sums shall be paid into the Exchequer.

Barons of Exchequer to give Discharges for the same.

from whom the Money is received, full and ample Receipts, Discharges, and Renunciations of the said Money, Principal and Interest, so paid, according to the Forms prescribed by the Law of Scotland for discharging and renouncing Perpetual Debts and Real Incumbrances in that Part of the United Kingdom; which Receipts, Discharges, and Renunciations, shall be good, valid, and sufficient Acquittances, in the same Manner, and as effectually, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been granted by His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors; any Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

XIII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Money, when paid into the Court of Exchequer as aforesaid, shall be forthwith, by Order of the Court, lodged in the Royal Bank or Bank of Scotland, or in any of the Publick Funds, for such Interest as can be obtained for the same, till otherwise disposed of, in Manner after directed.

XIV. And whereas the Barony and Estate of Strowan, which formerly belonged to Alexander Robertson of Strowan, became forfeited to the Crown by a Decree of Sentence of Forfeiture passed in the Parliament of Scotland, in the Year One thousand six hundred and ninety, subject to the Debts then owing by the said Alexander Robertson, and the Estate was afterwards given back to his Family, and, having come into his Possession, new Debts were contracted by him; but he having again committed Treason, and been attainted, the Gift was recalled, and the Estate declared escheat, and, by a Clause in the said Act of the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, was annexed unalienably to the Crown, and none of the Debts have yet been paid: And whereas the said Alexander Robertson, late of Strowan, is now dead, without having left Issue lawful of his Body, and the Indebtedness of the said Estate before the Forfeiture stood in favour of Heirs Male; be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose to Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Robertson, of the Eighty-second Regiment of Foot,

And Money, when paid into the Exchequer, how to be disposed of.

His Majesty may grant the Barony of Strowan, &c. forfeited by the Attainder of Alexander Robertson, to Lieut. Col. Alexander Robertson.

the nearest Heir Male of the said Alexander Robertson, and his Heirs and Assigns, all and every the Barony of Strowan, and other the Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, which became forfeited by the Attainder of the said Alexander Robertson, and which were annexed to the Crown as aforesaid; subject always to, and chargeable with, the Payment, to the Creditors of the said deceased Alexander Robertson, of all the just and onerous Debts due by him, whether contracted before his Forfeiture or afterwards, with an Accumulation of Interest on the Debts contracted before the Forfeiture, as at Christmas, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; and likewise with the Burden of paying the Debts contracted by Margaret Robertson, Sister to the said deceased Alexander, who some Time possessed the Estate as a Trustee for the Family; the said Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Robertson, and his Heirs, being bound to relieve the Crown and the Publick of all Claims and Demands whatsoever at the Instance of these Creditors.

subject to the Payment of Debts with Interest.

His Majesty may grant the Superiorities of certain Estates to the Duke of Argyll, on Condition of his paying certain Sums into the Exchequer.

XV. And whereas, before the Attainder, the said Estates of Ardsheal, Kinlochmoydart, Lochgary, and Part of the Estate of Lochiel, were holden of the Duke of Argyll and Athol, as Superiors, from whom they were acquired by the Publick, in virtue of Powers given by the aforesaid Act, passed in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty; be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose to John Duke of Argyll, his Heirs and Assigns, the Superiorities aforesaid of the said Lands and Estates of Ardsheal, Kinlochmoydart, and Part of Lochiel, which were formerly holden of his Predecessor, he or they always paying into the said Court of Exchequer the Sum of Two hundred and three Pounds, Eleven Shillings, and Five-pence, and Six Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, for Ardsheal; the Sum of One hundred and fifty-two Pounds, Five Shillings, and Sixpence, and Six Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, for Kinlochmoydart;

moydart; and the Sum of One thousand two hundred and eighteen Pounds, Four Shillings, and Five-pence Sterling, of Principal Money, for Lochiel; being the Sums which his Predecessor received as the Value of these Superiorities; and in like Manner, that it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose to John Duke of Athol, his Heirs and Assigns, the Superiority of the said Estate of Lochgary, formerly holden of his Predecessor, he or they always paying into the said Court of Exchequer the Sum of One thousand six hundred and seventy-four Pounds, Fifteen Shillings, and Six Twelfth Parts of a Penny Sterling, of Principal Money, for the same, being the Value which his Predecessor received; these several Sums to be paid at the Term of Whitsunday in the Year One thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, with Interest for the same, at the Rate of Five per Centum per Annum, from the Term of Martinmas, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, till the Time of Payment, with a Fifth Part more in Name of Penalty in case of Failure; and the Receipts, Discharges, and Acquittances for the same, to be granted in Manner before directed.

and the Superiority of Lochgary to the Duke of Athol, on a similar Condition.

XVI. And whereas, for the Relief of certain smaller Vassals, who held their Lands and Heretages of some of those attainted Persons, from the Expence and Burden of making up their Titles by Precepts from the Chancery, and Charters from the Crown, an Act was passed in the Second Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, intitled, An Act for Relief of the Vassals of the several Estates which are or may be annexed to the Crown, by virtue of an Act passed in the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty; and for carrying the Purposes of the said Act more effectually into Execution; which, inter alia, empowered the Commissioners and Trustees for managing the said Estates to receive Resignations, and grant new Charters containing Precepts of Sale, and also to grant all other Charters, Precepts of Sale, and other Writings whatsoever, necessary or competent for completing the Titles of the aforesaid Vassals,

Recital of a Statute, Cap. 17.

their Heirs and singular Successors, in their Lands and other Heretages respectively, to be holden feu or Blench of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, in the same Way and Manner as the said Lands and Heretages were then holden, or might be holden of His Majesty; and which Charters, Precepts of Sale, and Precepts of Sale, were thereby declared to be as valid and effectual to the said Vassals, their Heirs and singular Successors, for completing their Intestments in their Lands and Heretages aforesaid, as if the said Intestments had proceeded upon Charters and Precepts under the Seal appointed by the Treaty of Union to be kept in Scotland in place of the Great Seal, or upon Precepts from the Chancery: And it was further declared, that the Compositions payable by these small Vassals should be applied by the said Commissioners for the same Uses and Purposes as the other Rents, Profits, and Casualties of the said annexed Estates; provided always, that it should be competent to the Vassals of the said Estates, their Heirs and singular Successors, or any of them, if they should think fit, to make up their Titles to their respective Lands by Precepts from the Chancery, or Charters under the Seal, in the same Way and Manner as was competent to other Vassals of the Crown: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such of the said Vassals of the Estates of Perth, Cromarty, or Strowan, as have made up their Titles by Special Services and Precepts from the Chancery, or by Charters from the Crown, since the Forfeiture, and their Successors in the Lands mentioned in such Services, Precepts, or Charters, shall be considered as Crown Vassals to all Intents and Purposes, and shall not now be obliged to hold of the Subject Superiors; without Prejudice, however, to their being obliged to pay their feu Duties to those Superiors; but that all others who formerly held their Lands under the Owners of any of the said forfeited Estates, shall still continue as Sub-vassals under those Persons in whose favour the said Estates are now to be granted; and the said Act of His present Majesty

Certain Vassals of the Estates of Perth, &c. to be considered as Crown Vassals.

which is hereby repealed, so far as it gives them an Option to hold of the Crown.

XVII. And whereas, in virtue of Powers given by an Act passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of His present Majesty, intituled, An Act to enable His Majesty to exchange the Lands of Ferman and Lix, in the County of Perth, for other Lands belonging to the Right Honourable John Earl of Breadalbane, called Pitkellony, in the said County of Perth, the Lands of Ferman, Part of the annered Estate of Strowan, and the Lands of Lix, Part of the annered Estate of Perth, were disposed to the said John Earl of Breadalbane, in Exchange for certain Parts of the Estate of Pitkellony, in the Parish of Muthil and County of Perth, which Lands of Pitkellony lie contiguous to, and almost surrounded by the Estate of Perth, he it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Exchange shall remain effectual and binding upon all Parties; and the said Lands of Pitkellony, as particularly described in the Act aforesaid, with the Cithes and Pertinents, being now considered as a Part of the Estate of Perth, it shall and may be lawful to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, to give, grant, and dispose the same to the Person who shall obtain the Grant of the said Estate of Perth, such Person, and his assigns, always paying to the said Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Robertson, and his assigns, at the Term of Whitsunday, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, the Sum of Three thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine Pounds, Thirteen Shillings, and Nine pence Sterling, being the Sum at which the Lands of Ferman, Part of the Estate of Strowan, were valued at the Date of the Exchange, with Interest thereof, at the Rate of Five Pounds per Centum per Annum, from the Term of Martinmas, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, until Payment, with a Fifth Part more of liquidated Penalty in case of Failure.

Cap. III. Cap. 57.

His Majesty may grant the Lands of Perth along with the Estate of Perth, &c.

XVIII. And be it enacted, That where any of the said Estates now intended to be restored are held of Subject Superiors, the several Persons, their Heirs or Assigns, in whose Favour the Grants are to be made, shall be intituled

Clauſe relative to their Estates which are held of Subject Superiors.

intituled to receive their first Charters, in virtue of the Dispositions by His Majesty, from the said Subject Superiors of whom the Lands are respectively held, for Payment of no higher Dues or Casualties than are usually given upon Entries of Heirs, or than those Persons would be obliged to pay if they were entering as Heirs to their several Predecessors.

This Act not to affect the Validity of Feus or Leases granted by the Board of Trustees, in pursuance of the Act of Geo. II, &c.

XIX. And whereas by the said Act of the Twenty-fifth of His late Majesty, and by the Commissioners and Instructions afterwards granted by His Majesty to the said Board of Trustees, Power was given to the said Trustees to grant Feus and Leases of the said Estates, and of Parts and Portions of them, under certain Conditions and Restrictions therein specified; And whereas a Variety of such Feus and Leases have accordingly been granted by the said Board, some of which, particularly of the Leases, may not have been formally completed, but may yet stand upon Minutes and Resolutions of the Board, though Possession may have followed, or the Parties may have bona fide relied upon such Minutes and Resolutions as binding; be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall be understood as affecting the Validity of any such Feus or Leases which have been thus entered into, and are bona fide binding on the Parties, though not regularly completed by formal Deeds, without Prejudice always to any Challenge which the said Grantees, or any of them, may have to any of the said Feus or Leases as unduly made, contrary to the Powers, Regulations, or Conditions, specified in the said Act of the Twenty-fifth of His late Majesty, or the Commissions or Instructions following thereupon, or where the Conditions may not have been duly implemented.

Powers of Redemption competent to Grantees.

XX. And provided always, and be it hereby declared, That where any of the said Feus Rights contain Clauses of Redemption, empowering the Board of Trustees in any Event to redeem them, the same Power of Redemption shall be competent to the several Grantees.

Grantees to have Rents and Profits of said Lands for Crop 1785.

XXI. And be it enacted, That the said Grantees shall have Right to the Rents and Profits of the said respective Lands and Heritages for Crop One thousand seven hundred

hundred and eighty-five, and all succeeding Years and Crops; but the Arrears of Rent and other Profits due, or which may become due, for the said Lands and Heritages for Crop One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and all Proceedings, shall be directed to be called in and levied by the said Lord Chief Baron and other Barons of the Court of Exchequer, and shall make a Part of the General Fund in their Hands, and who shall likewise grant Discharges and Acquittances for the same, and shall be intituled to sue for Payment of all Monies directed by this Act to be paid in to them, according to the usual Forms of Law.

and all succeeding Years.

XXII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the aforesaid Board of Trustees shall be discontinued from and after the Term of Martinmas, One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and the whole Commissions to Officers and others employed under the Board are hereby declared to be void and of no Effect from that Period.

Board of Trustees to be discontinued from the Term of Martinmas, 1784.

XXIII. But in respect that some of these Officers have been long in that Service, and have devoted a great Part of their Time and Industry for Years past in attending diligently and faithfully to the Duties of their several Stations under the said Board; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That out of the said Monies which are to be paid into the Court of Exchequer in Scotland as aforesaid, an annual Sum, not exceeding Five hundred and eighty Pounds per Annum in Whole, shall be allowed to the Officers and Servants now employed at Edinburgh under the said Board during their respective Lives, subject to the Distribution of the Lord Chief Baron and other Barons of the said Court of Exchequer.

Annuities may be granted to some of their Officers.

XXIV. Provided always, and it is hereby declared, That the Share to be given to each shall cease and expire upon the Death of the Person receiving it, and shall not be continued to the Survivors or Survivors; and the said Lord Chief Baron, and other Barons of the Exchequer, are hereby authorized and empowered to take the Assistance of such Person or Persons as they judge necessary in executing the Business committed to them, and to make

which shall cease upon their Deaths, &c.

such Person or Persons a reasonable Compensation for his or their Trouble out of the said Fund.

Engagements come under by the Board, and confirmed by Royal Warrant, to be fulfilled.

XXV. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all Engagements which have already been come under by the Board, and have been confirmed by Royal Warrant before the passing of this Act, shall be fulfilled and carried into Execution; and the Lord Chief Baron, and other Barons of the said Court of Exchequer, shall issue Warrants for Payment of the same, and of the Expences of passing this Act, and of the aforesaid Sums to the Officers, out of the first and readiest of the said Sums coming into their Hands, and lodged in the said Royal Bank or Bank of Scotland, or in any of the Publick Funds as aforesaid.

Preamble, reciting that a Repository for the Records of Scotland is much wanted.

XXVI. And whereas a proper and safe Repository for containing the Records of Scotland is much wanted, and would be of great publick Utility, and for that Purpose a large Building of Stone was begun to be erected several Years ago in the new extended Royalty of Edinburgh, but the Money allotted for it being exhausted, the same has not been completed, and it will require a considerable Sum to finish and fit up the said Building, and to provide a Fund for keeping it in good Condition and Repair: And whereas, by an Act passed in the Eighth

Act Geo. III.

Year of His present Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for making and maintaining a Navigable Cut or Canal from the Frith or River of Forth, at or near the Mouth of the River of Carron, in the County of Stirling, to the Frith or River of Clyde, at or near a Place called Dalnair Burnfoot, in the County of Dumbarton; and also a Collateral Cut from the same to the City of Glasgow; and for making a Navigable Cut or Canal of Communication from the Port and Harbour of Broom's-Yellowness, to join the said Canal at or near the Place where it will fall into the Firth of Forth; the late John Duke of Bedford, and other Persons therein named, and their Successors and Assigns, were united into a Company and Body Corporate, to make a certain Navigable Cut or Canal between the Firths of Rivers of Forth and Clyde, and a Collateral Cut to the City of Glasgow; to purchase Land, raise Money, and levy

Colls and Duties for that Purpose: And whereas the Eastern Branch of the said Canal, from the River Forth to a Place called The Stocking Field, and the Collateral Cut from thence to the City of Glasgow, of Neighbourhood thereof, were completed several Years ago, but the Funds contributed by the Subscribers, or raised upon the Credit of their Colls, have been entirely exhausted, and a considerable Sum of Debt remains due by them, and the Western Branch of the said Canal from its present Termination to the River Clyde, at or near Dalmuir Burnfoot, cannot be executed without a considerable Aid from the Publick: And whereas the said Navigation, if completed, must at all Times, but particularly in Time of War, be of the greatest Importance to the Trade of Great Britain and Ireland, by opening an easy Communication between the East and West Seas: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Lord Chief Baron, and other Barons of the said Court of Exchequer, shall, out of the Sums coming into their Hands, and lodged as aforesaid, so soon as conveniently may be after paying or retaining what is necessary for answering the several Purposes already mentioned, pay, or cause to be paid, unto the Trustees to be named by His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, for superintending or overseeing the said Register Office, the Sum of Fifteen thousand Pounds Sterling; and to the Company of Proprietors of the said Forth and Clyde Navigation, or their Cashier, the Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, towards completing the said Works.

Sum of the Sums to be paid by certain Sums towards completing the said Register, and towards completing the Forth and Clyde Navigation.

XXVII. And be it further enacted, That the said Sums of Fifteen thousand Pounds Sterling, and Fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, shall be paid as aforesaid, with Interest upon them, from the Term of Martinmas, in this present Year One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and without any Deduction whatsoever.

From what Time the said Sums, with Interest, shall be paid.

XXVIII. Provided always, and be it hereby declared, That the said Company of Proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Navigation shall make no Dividends from the Revenues of the said Canal, till the whole Debts which they

Proprietors of the said Navigation to make no Dividends until all their Debts are paid.

they at present owe, or hereafter may contract in carrying on and finishing the said Undertaking, shall be paid and discharged; and thereafter the free annual Revenue or Proceeds arising out of the Colls and other Profits of the Canal shall be regularly applied in Manner aforesaid mentioned.

Interest due to the Proprietors to be accumulated and added to the Principal, &c.

XXIX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Interest already due to the several Proprietors of the said Navigation upon the Sums subscribed and paid in by them, from the respective Periods when these Sums were paid, shall be accumulated and added to the Principal as at the Term of Martinmas in this present Year One thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and the whole Money so accumulated shall from thenceforward be considered as the Stock of the Company; and so soon as the Debts due by the Company shall be fully paid as before directed, the said Company shall be obliged to apply the said free annual Produce of the Canal in making regular Dividends to the said accumulated Stock of the Company, and to the said Fifty thousand Pounds, in an equal Proportion, a sufficient Fund being always retained for answering contingent Expences and Repairs; which Dividends for the said Fifty thousand Pounds shall be paid into the said Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

The Company to deliver into the Exchequer, annually, an Abstract of their Books, shewing the State of their Funds and Debts, &c.

XXX. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Company of Proprietors shall deliver into the said Court of Exchequer Once every Year, an Abstract from the Company's Books, shewing the precise State of the Company's Funds and Debts, as well as the gross Revenue of the Canal, and Deductions therefrom, for the preceding Year; which Abstract shall be signed by the proper Officer, and by a Quorum of the Committee of Managers for the Company resident at Edinburgh or Glasgow; and the Lord Chief Baron, and other Barons of the said Court of Exchequer, shall likewise, if they find it proper, cause the Books themselves, or attested Copies thereof, to be produced to them by the Officer who has the Custody of them, who shall make Oath to the Justice of the same, if required; and it shall be in the Power of

of the said Court to issue every Kind of Process and Compulsatory competent against Accountants in Exchequer, and Debtors to the King, for compelling the Managers of the said Company to deliver the said annual Abstracts, and Production of the Books when the Court shall think it necessary, and likewise to prevent the Payment of Dividends till the Debts are extinguished, and thereafter to obtain a proportionable Payment of Dividends for the said Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds as aforesaid, when the Lord Chief Baron and other Barons, or any Three of them, shall be intitled to receive and discharge the same.

XXXI. And be it enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the said Company of Proprietors of Forth and Clyde Navigation, so soon as they begin to execute the said Western Branch of the Canal, to borrow and raise Money on the Credit of the said Sum of Fifty thousand Pounds, and to assign their Right to or Interest in the same, in the Whole or in Part, as they may think proper, to such Person or Persons who shall advance Money on the Security of the same; which Assignments, when intimated to the King's Remembrancer in the said Court of Exchequer, or his Deputy, and recorded in his Office, shall be held as complete and effectual Transferences of the Right or Interest so conveyed; and in case of Repayment or Exinction of the Debt so contracted, the Discharges and Acquittances for the same shall be recorded in the same Manner.

Proprietors of the said Navigation, when they begin the Works in which the said Sum may be borrowed on Credit of the said Sum.

XXXII. And whereas the Sums to be paid into the said Court of Exchequer by the several Persons before mentioned, in consideration of the annexed Estates being restored, may happen not to be exhausted by the several Applications already specified; be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Balance of Money so to be paid in shall remain under the Care of the said Court of Exchequer in Scotland, to be lodged in one or other of the said Publick Banks or Publick Funds, subject to the future Disposition of Parliament.

Surplus of the Money to be paid into the Exchequer, how to be applied.

XXXIII. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That when any Dividends shall arise from the said Fifty thousand

ing the Roads, &c. in the Highlands.

thousand Pounds before mentioned, the same shall be applied towards making and repairing the Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, to which publick Aid has hitherto been found necessary to be granted in the annual Votes of Parliament.

An Act of Geo. II. Cap. 45. repealed.

XXXIV. And be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Act of the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty, whereby the several Estates already mentioned were annexed to the Crown, shall be, and the same is hereby repealed; and all and every the said Lands, Lordships, Baronies, Cities, Salmons and other Fishings, and other like Hereditages and Estates whatsoever, which became forfeited to His said late Majesty by the Attainder of the several Persons hereinbefore named, shall from henceforth be disannexed from the Imperial Crown of these Realms, in the same Manner, and as fully and effectually, as if the said Act of the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of His said late Majesty had never been made; any Thing in the said Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

General Saving.

XXXV. Saving to all and every Person and Persons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, his, her, and their Heirs, Successors, Executors, and Administrators (other than and except the King's most Excellent Majesty, His Heirs and Successors), all such Estates, Rights, Titles, Interests, Claims, and Demands, of, in, to, and out of the Lands and Premises to be granted as aforesaid, as they, every or any of them had before the passing this Act, or should or might have held or enjoyed, in case this Act had never been made.

Publick Act.

XXXVI. And be it further enacted, That this Act shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be a Publick Act; and shall be judicially noticed as such by all Judges, Justices, and other Persons whomsoever,

Appendix L

THE DISANNEXATION

<u>Estate</u>	<u>Returning Proprietor</u>
Ardsheal	Duncan Stewart, son and heir of Charles the forfeited person.
Arnprior	Jean Buchanan, sister of the forfeited person, and John Buchanan of Auchlessie.
Barrisdale	Duncan MacDonnell of Glengarry, grandson of John MacDonnell who had granted a wadset of the estate.
Callart	John Cameron, son and heir of Allan Cameron the forfeited person.
Cluny	Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan MacPherson, son and heir of Ewen the forfeited person.
Cromarty	John MacKenzie, Lord MacLeod, eldest son and heir of George, Earl of Cromarty who forfeited the estate.
Kinlochmoidart	John MacDonald, son and heir of Colonel Alexander MacDonald, son and heir of Donald MacDonald who forfeited the estate.
Lochgarry	Colonel John MacDonnell, son and heir of Donald, the forfeited person.
Lochiel	Donald Cameron, grandson of Donald the forfeited person.
(1)Lovat	Major-General Simon Fraser, eldest son and heir of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, the forfeited person.
Monaltry	Francis Farquharson, the forfeited person.
(2)Perth	James Drummond, great-grandson of John Drummond, first Earl of Melfort, brother of the fourth Earl and first Duke of Perth.
(3)Struan	Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Robertson, son of Duncan Robertson of Drumachine

1. The estate of Lovat was returned to the family by an Act of Parliament in 1774 (14 George III c.22). All the others were returned by virtue of the Disannexing Act (24 George III c.57).

2. The heir to the estate of Perth was unknown when the Disannexing Act was passed. Parliament passed an act allowing the heirs-male of John Drummond to be granted the estate by the Crown (24 George III c.10) and in 1785, the Court of Session found the above James Drummond to be the legal heir.

3. Struan having been forfeited in 1690, refofeited in 1715, and granted in 1723 to the sister of Alexander Robertson of Struan, she handed it over to trustees for her brother's benefit and in the event of his death without heirs, to Duncan, the son of Alexander Robertson of Drumachine. His son eventually received it in 1784.

KEY TO MAP A

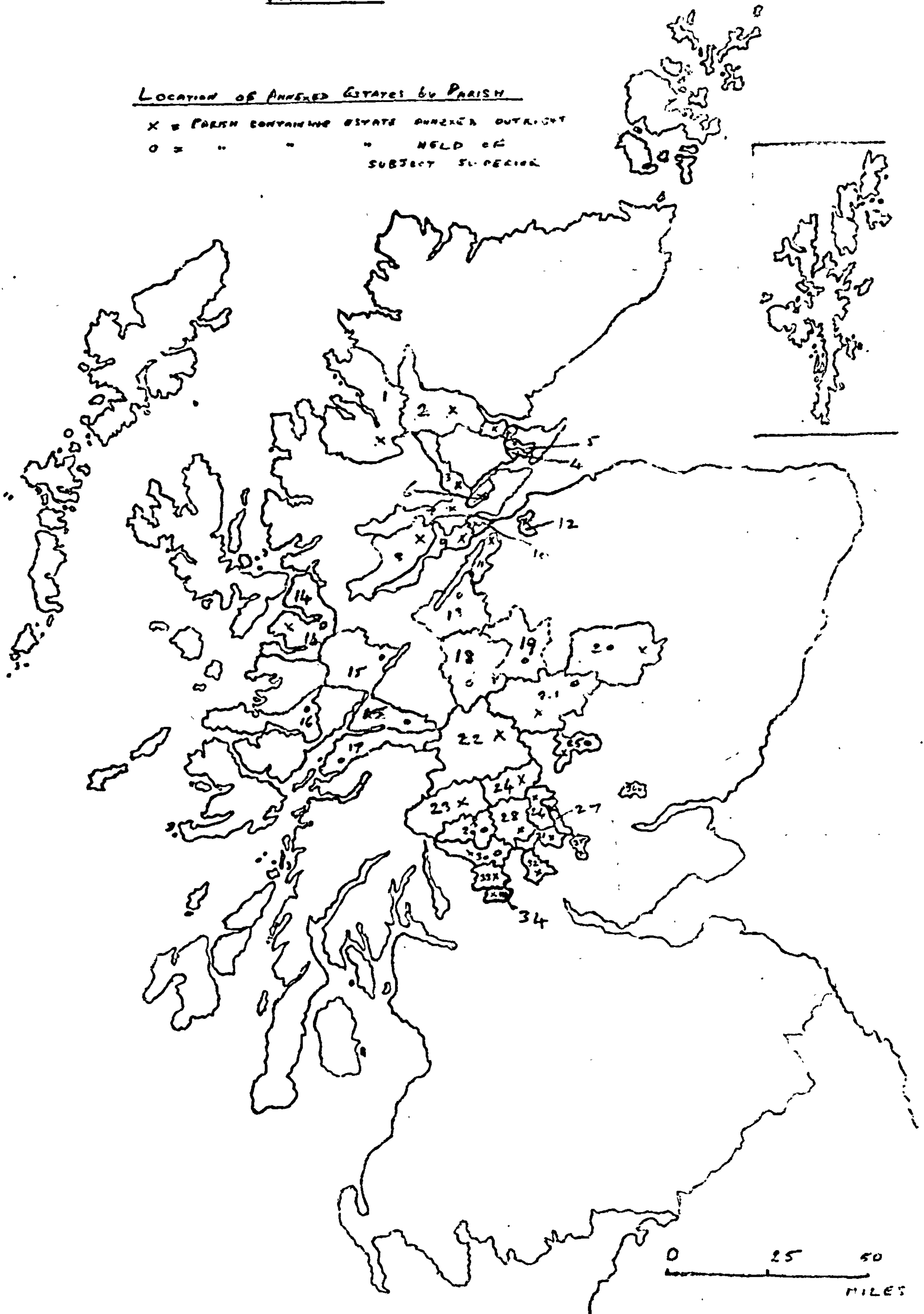
Parish

1. Lochbroom
2. Kincardine
3. Fodderty
4. Kilmuir Easter
5. Logie Easter
6. Urquhart and Logie Wester
7. Urray
8. Kilmorack
9. Kiltarlity and Convinth
10. Kirkhill
11. Dores
12. Croy and Dalcross
13. Boleskine and Abertarff
14. Glenelg
15. Kilmallie
16. Ardnamurchan
17. Lismore and Appin
18. Laggan
19. Kingussie and Insh
20. Crathie and Braemar
21. Blair Atholl
22. Fortingall
23. Killin
24. Kenmore
25. Logierait
26. Monzievaird and Strowan
27. Crieff
28. Comrie
29. Balquhidder
30. Callander
31. Muthill
32. Dunblane and Lecroft
33. Port of Menteith
34. Kippen
35. Auchterarder
36. Cargill

MAP A

LOCATION OF ANNEXED ESTATES BY PARISH

X = PARISH CONTAINING ESTATE ANNEXED OUTRIGHT
O = " " " " HELD ON SUBJECT SUPERIOR

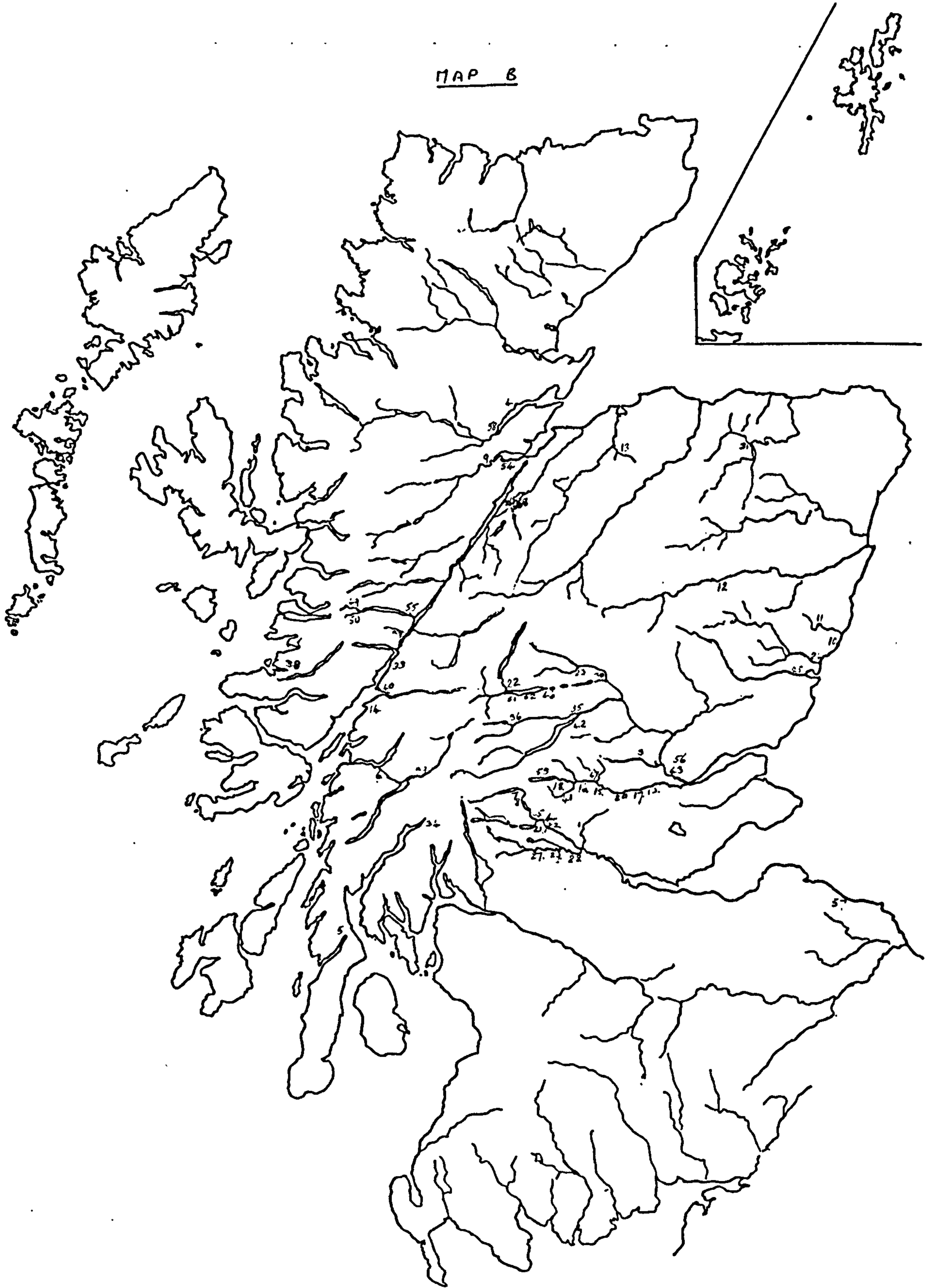


Key to Map B

BRIDGES TO WHICH ANNEXED ESTATES FUNDS CONTRIBUTED

<u>River</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. Allan	Kinbuck (Plates I, II)
2. Almond	Bertha
3. Almond	Milnhaugh (Plate VI)
4. Aultgraad	Evanton (survey and estimate only)
5. Abhainn na Cuile	Avanagelan or Avanagillon in earlier documents
6. Awe	Pass of Brander (Plate V)
7. Balvaig	Balquhidder
8. Balvaig	Strathyre
9. Bridgend Burn	Beauly
10. Benholm Burn	Benholm
11. Bervie	Bridge of Mondynes
12. Dee	Tullich
13. Dyvie	Edinkillie
14. Duror	Unnamed - on estate of Ardsheal
15. Earn	Crieff
16. Earn	Dalreoch
17. Earn	Dalchonzie
18. Earn	Dundurn
19. Earn	Forteviot
20. Earn	Kinkell (Plate IX)
21. Eas Gobhain	Gartchonzie (Plate XII)
22. Ericht	North side of Loch Rannoch
23. Ericht	Near the kirk of Strowan
24. North Esk	North of Montrose (Plates X, XI showing inscriptions)
25. South Esk	Dun (Plate III)
26. Farigaig	Torness
27. Forth	Cardross
28. Forth	Drip Coble
29. Forth	Frew
30. Garry	Killiecrankie
31. Islay	Tillytarmount
32. Kelty	Near Callander
33. Kiachnish	Coruanan (Plate IV)
34. Kinglas Water	Ardkinglas
35. Lyon	Comrie Castle
36. Lyon	Meggernie
37. Loy	Near mouth of the river
38. Moidart	Near mansion house of Kinlochmoidart
39. Orchy	Dalmally
40. Righ	Between Bellachulish and Corran Ferries
41. Water of Ruchill	Dalclathick and others in Glenartney
42. Tay	Kenmore
43. Tay	Perth (Plates VII, VIII)
44. Teith	Callander
45. Teith	Kilmahog
46. Tummel	Kinloch Rannoch
47. Turret	Crieff
48. Dee or E	Garthbeg, south end of Loch Mhor
49. Dessary)	
50. Pean)	West end of Loch Arkaig
51. Camaghouran)	
52. Carie)	South side of Loch Rannoch
53. Beich and other burns	North side of Lochearn
54. Bunchrew and others	Inverness to Tain road
55. Cia-aig	East end of Loch Arkaig
56. Balgray burn	Near the church of St. Martin's
57. Pease	Cockburnspath
58. Peffer	Near Dingwall

MAP 6



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