

# MACKENZIE FAMILIES OF THE BARONY OF LOCHBROOM

Malcolm Bangor-Jones

Between the early 17th and mid 19th century the Highlands underwent a profound social and economic transformation. All sectors of society were affected but the landlords played a crucial role in this process. This study is concerned with the history of landownership in a small area in the north west Highlands, an area which includes much of the parish of Lochbroom and a good proportion of the parish of Gairloch. The area largely coincides with the old lands or barony of Lochbroom, but with the addition of Inverlael [Fig. 5.1]. To the north was the district of Coigach, owned by the Mackenzies of Coigach/Cromartie since the early 17th century and the subject of various papers in this book, and to the east was the estate of Gairloch, which had belonged since about 1500 to the Mackenzies of Gairloch. The two main themes which dominate the earlier history of landownership in this area are the acquisition of the lands or barony of Lochbroom by the Mackenzies of Kintail and its subsequent parcelling out amongst a number of Mackenzie lairds, some of whom were members of the leading families in Ross and Cromarty, others of whom were only of local prominence [Fig. 5.2]. By focussing on such an area it is thus possible to compare the histories of a range of families of varying status.<sup>1</sup> This is particularly important in view of the fact that a preliminary analysis of landownership in Ross and Cromarty indicates that, between ca. 1650 and ca. 1850, there was a definite trend towards larger estates; as the number of small landowners declined so the greater landlords came to own an increasing proportion of the county.<sup>2</sup>

## THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES: AN INTRODUCTION TO LANDED RIGHTS

The works of Alexander Mackenzie, clan historian and activist for the crofters' cause during the 1880s, are a common starting point for studies of Highland families. But although his *History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies* covers many of the Mackenzie landowners of Gairloch and Lochbroom, it cannot be relied upon.<sup>3</sup> Duncan Warrand's study, *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees*, is far more trustworthy and there is also a very useful work on the Mackenzies of Ballone.<sup>4</sup> However, Warrand's work only deals with a limited number of families and is more concerned with genealogy than landownership. For comprehensive information on the ownership of land it is necessary to consult a variety of documentary sources.<sup>5</sup>

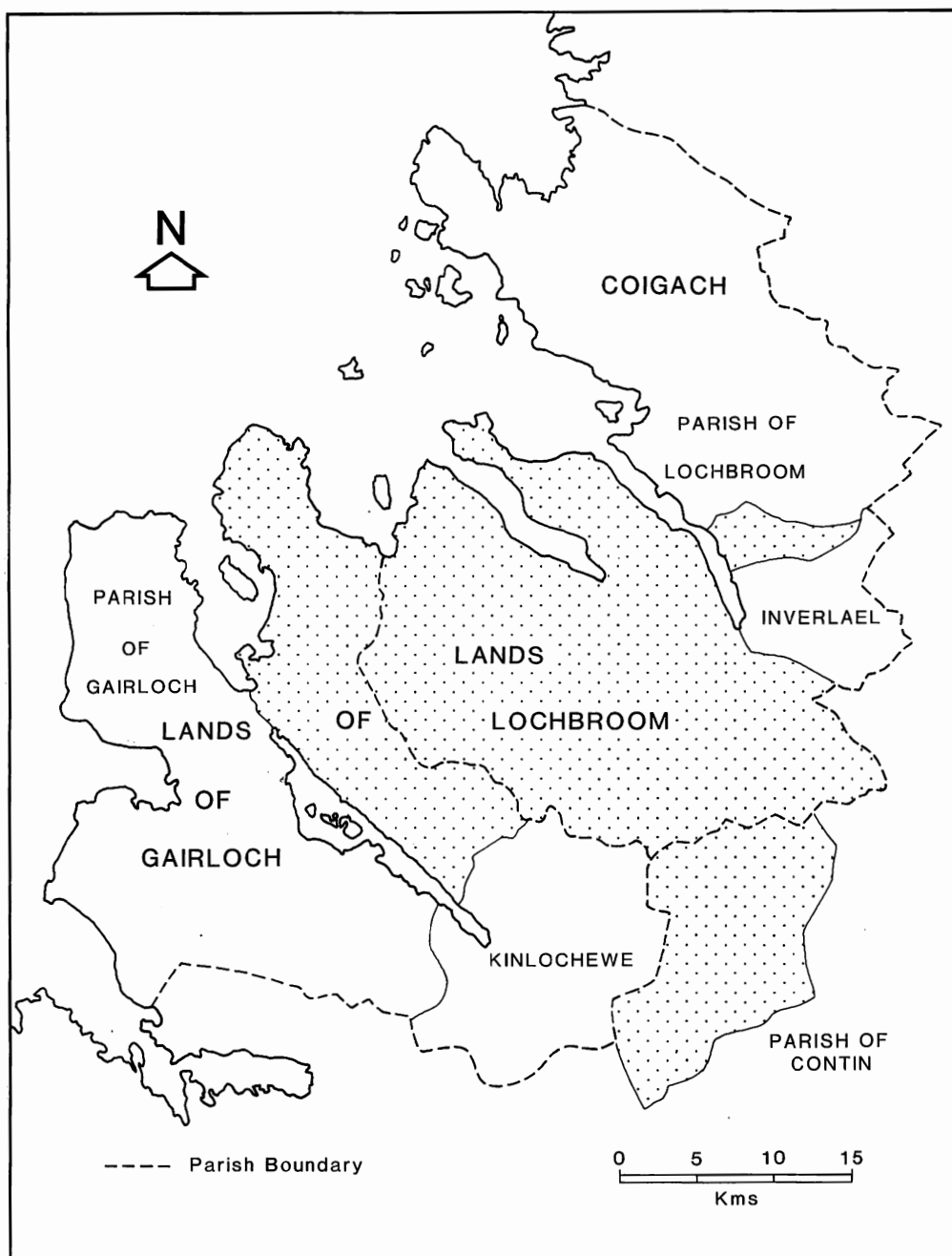
Although valuation rolls can suggest the main trends in landownership, they do not, given the very wide incidence of credit agreements secured on land, always identify the actual owners. In this study extensive use has been made of the deeds relating to property rights, particularly those recorded in the Registers of Sasines. The Register of Deeds, records of the Court of Session and various manuscript collections have also been consulted. Family papers have not survived for any of the Mackenzie families featured here; this study therefore serves in part as an evaluation of what can be achieved by a systematic search of a diverse range of sources.

Even using deeds it is not always a straightforward task to establish the facts of landownership. The first point to bear in mind is that while according to the feudal system all land belonged ultimately to the Crown, there was no limit on the number of superiors who might come between the sovereign and the owner or vassal. Some landowners held directly of the Crown but many more were vassals of a subject superior. For instance, the Earls of Cromartie were superiors of the lands of Kildonan on Little Lochbroom and the actual owners, the Mackenzies of Keppoch and Kildonan, were their vassals. Secondly, it was very common for landowners to create rights in land by granting liferents to their wives (to commence at the onset of widowhood) or by raising money on the security of their estates. The usual means employed to achieve the latter was by creating one of three now obsolete heritable securities:

- (a) **Wadsets**: Early wadsets consisted of an outright disposition of land by a debtor in return for a letter of reversion whereby the creditor promised to hand the lands back when the debt had been repaid. During the 17th century these deeds were combined in a single contract of wadset involving both parties;
- (b) **Annualrent Rights**: which were created by the debtor giving the creditor not land, but right to a sum or rent to be levied from specified lands equivalent to the annual interest on the debt or loan. Annualrent rights were often known as *localities*;
- (c) **Heritable Bonds**: which gave the creditor right to both lands and an annualrent.

All these rights were redeemable by the debtor when the loan was repaid but only a wadset right gave the creditor actual possession of the lands until redemption and the power to let the lands to tenants. If a landlord failed to repay a debt a creditor could initiate a process to obtain complete ownership of his lands by an **apprising**; from 1672 known as an **adjudication**. While the acquisition of such rights could give a creditor possession of an estate, it did not confer immediate ownership as the debtor could redeem the estate by paying the debt within a certain number of years. Apprisings or adjudications were transferable and any number could be led against a landowner.

Up until about the mid 18th century most transactions were made in merks or £ Scots (1 merk was equivalent to 13s 4d Scots and during this period £12 Scots were equivalent to £1 sterling). In this study, £s are expressed in sterling unless otherwise indicated.



*Fig. 5.1* The lands or barony of Lochbroom in the 16th century.

The precise boundaries of Achnasheen (a part of the lands of Lochbroom situated in the parish of Contin) and of Kinlochewe are not known. Furthermore, it is as yet unclear how the Forest of Fannich, here included within the lands of Lochbroom, relates to the Forest of Ned, acquired by the Mackenzies of Kintail in 1542.

## **BEFORE THE MACKENZIES: THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD**

In the 14th century the lands of Lochbroom appear to have included much of the parish of Lochbroom, a good deal of the parish of Gairloch and a small corner of the parish of Contin. Like the neighbouring lands of Gairloch, which formed a major part of the parish of Gairloch, the lands of Lochbroom probably formed a part of the territory known as North Argyll, held by the earls of Ross.

If Lochbroom was not an integral part of the earldom in the early 14th century, it appears to have become one by 1370. With the exception of Inverlael, the district of Lochbroom was contained within the earldom of Ross inherited by Alexander, Lord of the Isles, in 1437.<sup>6</sup> The lands of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, Lochbroom and others in Wester Ross appear to have been given by Alexander to his son, Celestine, otherwise known as Gillespie or Archibald, who took the designation 'of Lochalsh'. In 1463, his half brother, John, fourth Lord of the Isles, confirmed the grant. The lands continued in the Lochalsh family until 1519 when, on the death of Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, they were divided between his two sisters: Margaret, married to Alexander MacDonald of Glengarry; and Janet, married secondly to William Dingwall of Kildun. By these marriages, Lochbroom became shared between the Dingwalls and the Glengarry families.<sup>7</sup> It was this area, the lands or, as they were later termed, the barony of Lochbroom, which was eventually acquired by the Mackenzies of Kintail.

On the other hand Inverlael, which included Ardcharnich, did not form part of the lands of Lochbroom and was therefore not among the lands acquired by Mackenzie of Kintail (although it may, like Kinlochewe, have originally been part of a greater territory of Lochbroom). This was because Inverlael had been disposed of by the Earl of Ross and in 1370 had been granted by Elizabeth de Berclay, heiress of one Robert Lytyll, to Hugh Munro of Foulis; the grant was confirmed the following year by William, Earl of Ross.<sup>8</sup> Inverlael continued in the possession of the Munros of Foulis until Robert Munro, who succeeded in 1603, ran into debt on account of his extravagant lifestyle including his 'prodigal spending in his travels in France'.<sup>9</sup> In 1617 Foulis came to an arrangement with Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, whereby Lovat provided security for Foulis in £19,900 Scots of debts, and in return was assigned the estate, including Inverlael, redeemable on payment of the various debts. In effect Lovat acted as a trustee albeit with the advice of Foulis and the leading Munro families. In 1623 Lovat granted a wadset of Inverlael to Hector Munro of Pitfuir for 10,000 merks. Five years later Lovat, with the consent of Foulis, Hector Munro of Clyne and John Munro of Obsdale, sold Inverlael to John Mackenzie, archdean of Ross and first of the Mackenzies of Inverlael.<sup>10</sup>

## **THE MACKENZIES OF KINTAIL**

The Mackenzies of Kintail were the chiefs of the clan Mackenzie. As Sellar

## MACKENZIE FAMILIES OF THE BARONY OF LOCHBROOM: Showing their descent from the Mackenzies of Kintail

Alexander of KINTAIL  
d.1472?

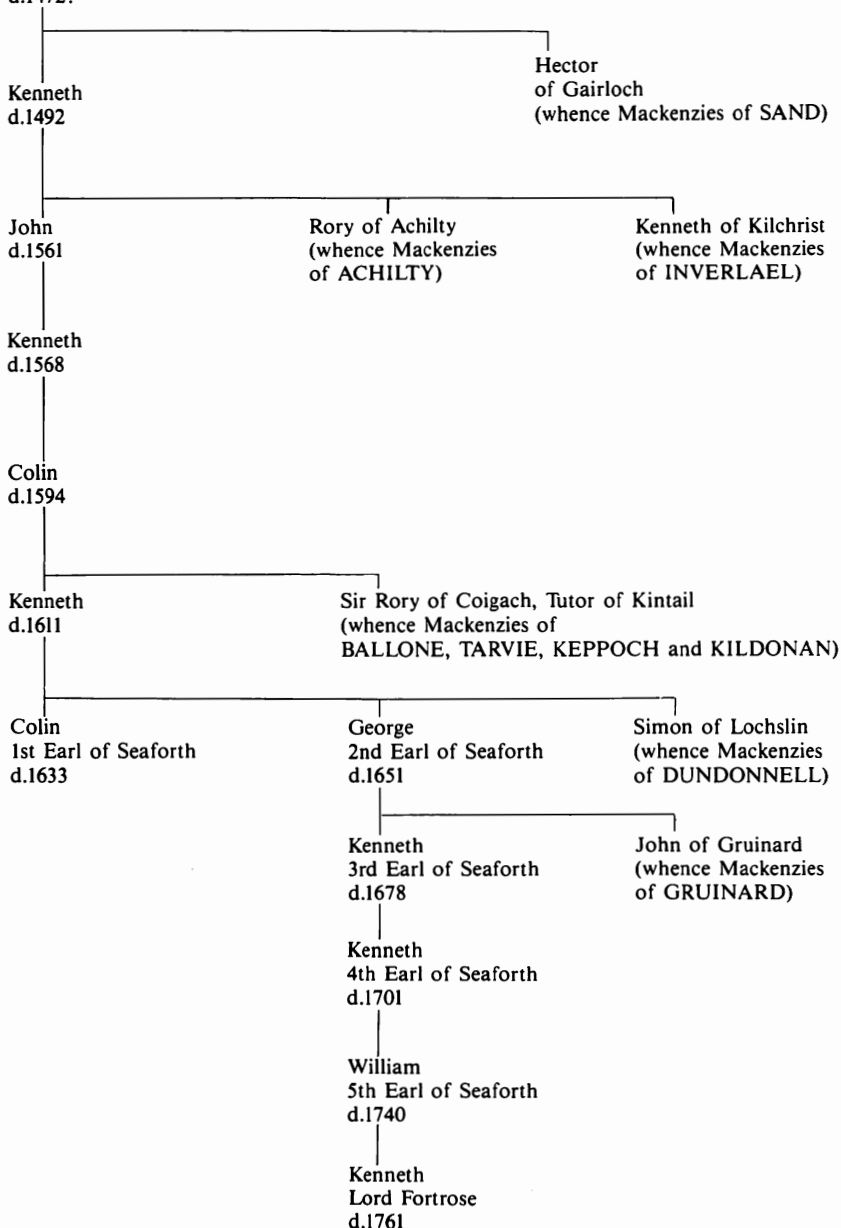


Fig. 5.2 Mackenzie families of the barony of Lochbroom.

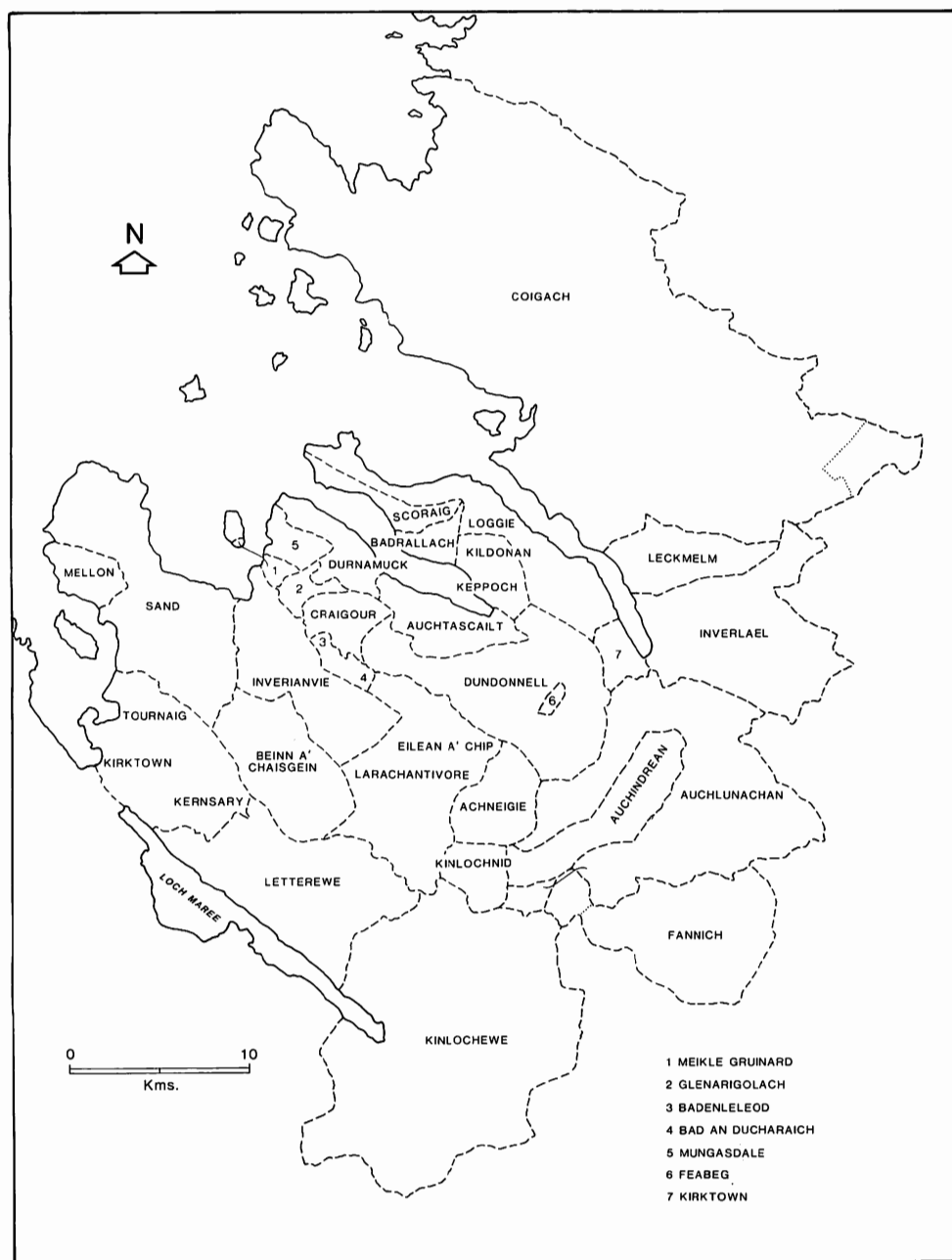


Fig. 5.3 Ownership units within the lands or barony of Lochbroom in the 17th and 18th centuries.

has recently argued, they may be descended from a junior branch of the family of del Ard, from the Aird, a district to the west of Inverness.<sup>11</sup> By the mid 15th century, however, the Mackenzies were established in Ross-shire.<sup>12</sup> They then rose through service to the Crown and advantageous marriages to become one of the foremost clans in the Highlands. In particular they took full advantage of the opportunities to acquire land which followed the forfeitures of the Douglas family in 1455 and of the earldom of Ross in 1476, and the subsequent feuing of crown lands during the 16th century.<sup>13</sup> The earliest document relating to the family upon which any reliance can be placed is the grant in 1464 by John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross to Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail of the lands of Strathgarve, Strathbran and Kinlochewe which was, according to a clan historian 'to defray expences in making peace between the king and the earl'.<sup>14</sup> Alexander's son was fostered by a family living in Kinlochewe and served heir to his father in the lands of Kintail, Kinlochewe, Strathbran, Strathgarve and Strathconan on 2 September 1488.<sup>15</sup> All of these lands were included within the barony of Eilean Donan granted to Kenneth's son John in 1509.<sup>16</sup>

The lands of Lochbroom, it will be recalled, had been split between Dingwall of Kildun and Macdonald of Glengarry. In 1543 Thomas Dingwall sold his half (a half share of each township) to John Mackenzie of Kintail in return for the lands of Fodderty and a sum of money.<sup>17</sup> The acquisition of the share belonging to Macdonald was rather more complex. During a feud between Clanranald of Moidart and the Frasers in 1544, Glengarry and Locheil raided the Grants' lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The Grants brought an action against the perpetrators for the spoil and loss suffered by them for which Glengarry's lands were appraised in 1547 and the following year James Grant of Freuchie was granted a charter of Glengarry's share of Lochbroom, subject to Glengarry's right to redeem it within seven years. The lands were not redeemed but neither was Grant able to take possession, even though the Queen ordered her officers to assist. Eventually the lands were obtained by Colin Mackenzie of Kintail in 1572 upon his marriage to John Grant of Freuchie's daughter. Colin appears to have taken possession of Lochbroom without much difficulty but it was only after a long and bloody feud with Glengarry that he was able to gain possession of Lochcarron and Lochalsh.<sup>18</sup> The Mackenzies had already in 1542 acquired the forest of 'lie Ned' (Fannich) and they also gained by the secularisation of church lands at the time of the Reformation; in 1567 they obtained a feu disposition from John, bishop of Ross, of the 'kirklands of Lochebroome' with the fishing rights — a grant confirmed by the Crown in 1587.<sup>19</sup>

It is during this period that one comes across references to the barony of Lochbroom — later to be subsumed within the larger barony of Eilean Donan. Little is known, however, about the initial impact of the Mackenzies on Lochbroom, although it is likely that most of the barony would have been placed under the control of Mackenzie tacksmen. In 1590 Colin Mackenzie of Kintail granted a wadset of Leckmelm to his 'officer', John MacIver, who appears to have possessed the lands previously and who was

to be the founder of the MacIvers of Leckmelm.<sup>20</sup> Similar grants may have been made to members of leading Mackenzie families.

Colin's successor Kenneth did much to further the fortunes of the Mackenzies of Kintail, taking an active role in national affairs and acquiring more lands including Lewis and Coigach belonging to the MacLeods of Lewis. In 1609 Kenneth was created Lord Mackenzie of Kintail while his son Colin, who was also prominent in national life, was created Earl of Seaforth in 1623 in recognition of the family's territorial importance and power. Colin, however, found the court expensive, although some of his activities in the Highlands, such as the building of the castle of Brahan, must have also been a drain on his finances. As a result, Colin's half brother George inherited a considerable financial burden when he succeeded in 1633. Colin's advice to his brother, written two years earlier, had been to dispose of the family's lands in Lochbroom first of all, though not on a scale to threaten the route to Lewis.<sup>21</sup> Colin had already wadsetted various lands, including half of Auchlunachan, to Alexander Mackenzie, fourth son of Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach and first of the Mackenzies of Ballone,<sup>22</sup> and George continued the process. In 1633 Letterewe was wadsetted to Alexander Mackenzie of Kilcoy (Seaforth's uncle) for 10,000 merks<sup>23</sup> and a wadset of Kinlochewe and a half share of the saw mill of Bianasdail was granted the following year to Alexander Mackenzie of Coul (an illegitimate uncle).<sup>24</sup> In 1637 Durnamuck, including Badluachrach, was wadset to Donald Mackenzie of Logie (Logiereich in the parish of Logie Wester, not Loggie in Lochbroom); and two years later he was given a wadset of the neighbouring lands of Auchtascailt and the shieling of Feabeg.<sup>25</sup> In 1639 Meikle Gruinard, excepting the salmon fishing, was wadsetted to the resident possessor, one Hugh Mackenzie, for £1,000 Scots.<sup>26</sup> Seaforth's uncle, Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden, was given a liferent tack of Loggie,<sup>27</sup> while other lands were wadsetted to relations such as Colin Mackenzie of Kinnock, a younger son of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. By 1644 only 16% of the barony of Lochbroom was in Seaforth's direct possession: he was still owner of the remainder but was not in receipt of the rents.<sup>28</sup>

As with many landed families, the period of the Scottish Revolution was particularly costly for the Mackenzies of Seaforth. There was the expense of maintaining troops in the field, fines imposed by the Cromwellian government and, perhaps most important of all, the disruption to agriculture and trade through military operations. In 1654, for instance, much of the estate, including lands in Lochbroom, was burnt by General Monck.<sup>29</sup> After Earl George went into exile on the continent, his creditors began legal proceedings to take possession of the estate. His son Kenneth, who succeeded in 1651, continued to support the Royalist cause but, despite suffering forfeiture and occasional imprisonment, he was able — largely through the assistance of some of the leading Mackenzie families — to evade his creditors. It was even found possible to come to an arrangement with Patrick Smith of Braco who had been awarded Earl George's moveable goods, though not until after Smith had sold the family furnishings, clothes and silverware at Fortrose.<sup>30</sup> Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin who had acted as factor and had



paid many of his brother, Earl George's debts, continued to assist the family; in 1658 he was given a 10-year tack of Seaforth's lands in Lochbroom on the understanding that the rents were to be paid directly to some of Earl Kenneth's creditors.<sup>31</sup>

The Restoration did much to restore Kenneth's power and influence. He became a 'great Court favourite' who, it was later alleged, 'did by Violence and Threats . . . for several Years debarr the poor creditors from all access to the estate'.<sup>32</sup> However, it soon became difficult to borrow on the security of a heavily burdened estate and in 1664, for instance, Kenneth was forced to pledge an 'inameld gold picture case sett with diamonds to the number of three score' to obtain a loan from an Edinburgh merchant.<sup>33</sup> Drastic steps were necessary and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat, Alexander Mackenzie younger of Coul, Colin Mackenzie of Redcastle and Sir John Urquhart of Cromarty (Seaforth's brother-in-law) began to buy up the debts affecting the estate. This clever and complex scheme, which was doubtlessly the product of Tarbat's fertile brain, involved the four, variously described as Seaforth's 'friends' or 'trustees', mobilising the support of a large number of Mackenzie landholders, including all of the landowners and wadsetters in the Lochbroom area.<sup>34</sup> Between 1667 and 1675 nine appraisings were acquired which, as the larger and more preferable debts affecting the estate, gave the trustees a sufficient right to claim ownership. Urquhart was forced to drop out but the remaining three obtained a charter from the Crown which they had ratified by Act of Parliament in 1681. This title was subsequently passed to the Countess Dowager Isabel, widow of Kenneth who had died in 1678.<sup>35</sup>

This did not mean that debts could be left unpaid, and the trustees were forced to grant certain creditors rights over parts of the estate which were to subsist until their claims had been satisfied. A good deal of land was also sold, particularly in the Lochbroom area [Fig. 5.4], primarily to reimburse those Mackenzies, including the trustees, who had assisted in the task of buying up Seaforth's debts. In 1690 the Countess-Dowager sold various lands to Mackenzie of Fairburn.<sup>36</sup> However, neither the Mackenzies of Redcastle, who had bought Achtdonnell in 1673<sup>37</sup>, nor the Mackenzies of Fairburn, were to retain their lands in the Lochbroom area for very long. Redcastle sold up in 1690,<sup>38</sup> while Fairburn was forfeited for his part in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 and was forced to sacrifice his lands in Wester Ross to enable him to buy back the remainder of his estate.<sup>39</sup>

The Countess Dowager Isabel continued as owner of the Seaforth estate after the death of her son Kenneth in 1701. However, in 1706 the Countess Dowager Francis seized possession of the estate for payment of her annuity, accumulating at the rate of £1,000 per annum, thereby forcing her mother-in-law, the Countess Dowager Isabel, to take refuge in the sanctuary of the Abbey of Holyrood. Frances continued to uplift the rents until 1715 when, as a result of her son's involvement in the first Jacobite Rebellion, the estate and title were forfeited. None of the wadset lands in the Lochbroom area were discovered by the Commissioners who had been given powers to sell the estate as soon as the claims of creditors had been determined. Two

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## DISPOSITIONS OF SEAFORTH LANDS IN THE LOCHBROOM AREA: 1666-1749

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1666	Achlunachan (half)	Mackenzie of Ballone
1668	Sand	
	Udrigill	
	Drumchork	
1669	Mellan	Mackenzie of Gairloch
1669	Auchindrean	Mackenzie of Kilcoy
1669	Glenarigolach	Mackenzie of Tarbat
1671	Fannich	Mackenzie of Tarbat
1671	Auchtascailt	Mackenzie of Tarbat
1671	Achneigie	Mackenzie of Tarbat
1672?	Kildonan	Mackenzie of Tarbat
	Keppoch	
1672?	Auchlunachan (quarter)	Mackenzie of Tarbat
1672?	Inverewe	Mackenzie of Coul
	Kernsary	
	Tournaig	
1673?	Auchlunachan (quarter)	Mackenzie of Achilty
1673	Meikle Gruinard	Mackenzie of Tarbat
	Isle of Gruinard (part)	
1673	Achtadonnell (Dundonnell)	Mackenzie of Redcastle
	Bracklach	
1690	Mungasdale	Mackenzie of Fairburn
	Inverianvie	
	Beinn a' Chaisgein	
	Isle of Gruinard (part)	
1743	Kinlochewe	Mackenzie of Gairloch
1743	Durnamuck	Mackenzie of Dundonnell
1745	Loggie	Mackenzie of Dundonnell
1749	Leckmelm	Mackenzie of Achilty
?	Letterewe	Mackenzie of Letterewe

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*Fig. 5.4* This table is based mainly on *SRO* Registers of Sasines and *SRO* GD 305. For disposals made between 1666 and 1673 it is not always possible to establish precisely when purchasers entered into possession, since they often received dispositions both from the Earl himself and also from his trustees.

exceptions, however, were made to the forfeiture — one by Kenneth, the second son of John Mackenzie of Gruinard, who had received a disposition from the Countess Dowager Isobel in 1713 and had married the Countess Dowager Frances; and the other by Kenneth Mackenzie of Assynt who was cousin to Seaforth, had been served heir to the Countess Dowager Isobel after her death in 1715, and who was now put forward as the Protestant heir to the Seaforth estate in terms of the 1700 Act for preventing the growth of

Popery. Neither claim was successful, but when the Commissioners tried to take possession of the estate they met with strong resistance which continued until Major-General George Wade was sent to pacify the Highlands. Proceedings, however, were then delayed by litigation amongst the creditors, a situation which Seaforth exploited as part of his scheme to regain ownership. By playing one group of creditors off against the other and promising to 'procure a preference' from the Court for whichever group offered him the most favourable terms, Seaforth was able to bid down the claims against the estate. He then employed third parties to purchase the estate when it was eventually put up for sale in 1730; and by persuading his mother, the Countess Dowager Frances, to convey to him her right to the large sum which she was to receive out of the estate, he was able to reduce considerably the financial burden.<sup>40</sup> In 1741, after Seaforth's death the previous year, the estate was formally conveyed to his son, Lord Fortrose. The estate was now in the actual ownership and possession of the head of the family for the first time in almost one hundred years, although the financial difficulties of the family were not yet over.

During the 1740s and 1750s a good deal of property was disposed of, including the remaining Seaforth lands in the parishes of Lochbroom and Gairloch, all of which had been held on wadset. Kinlochewe, which the Mackenzies of Coul had held as wadsetters since 1634, was redeemed in 1743 and sold to Mackenzie of Gairloch.<sup>41</sup> The same year Durnamuck was sold to Mackenzie of Dundonnell. Daniel Mackenzie of Logie (Logiereich, Logie Wester), the wadsetter, had run into debt in the late 1660s and had lost most of his estate to his creditors although his widow, Agnes Morrison, continued to possess Durnamuck until her death.<sup>42</sup> The lands of Loggie [sic] including Annat, Achmore and Ardindrean were sold to Mackenzie of Dundonnell in 1745,<sup>43</sup> and in 1749 the lands of Leckmelm were sold to Murdoch Mackenzie of Achilty who had acquired a right to the property. Leckmelm had remained in the hands of the original wadsetters, the MacIvers of Leckmelm, from 1590 until well into the 18th century. However, when Murdoch MacIver succeeded to an already burdened inheritance as a minor, his neighbours took advantage and effectively deprived him of any right to the lands.<sup>44</sup> Finally, Letterewe may have been sold to its possessors, the Mackenzies of Letterewe, at about this time.<sup>45</sup>

This was not quite the end of the Seaforth interest in the area. The later Mackenzie of Seaforth, James Alexander Stewart (who took the name of Mackenzie on his marriage to Mary Frederica Elizabeth and who had succeeded to the estate on the death of her father in 1815), acquired several properties in Ross-shire, including in 1825 the small estate of Kernsary, of old a part of Inverewe. It was not long, however, before the Seaforths were in financial difficulty, and in 1829 the estate was placed under the management of trustees. Kernsary was eventually sold in 1844.<sup>46</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF INVERLAEL

The Mackenzies of Inverlael were a relatively distant branch of the

Mackenzies of Kintail who flourished in the 17th century and whose interests spanned the width of Ross-shire.

The founder of the family was John, the second son of Alexander Mackenzie of Kilchrist, who may be assumed to have been a grandson of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Both his father and grandfather appear to have served the church and John followed suit, obtaining a degree from Aberdeen University and then becoming Archdeacon of the diocese of Ross and minister of Killearnan.<sup>47</sup> He then proceeded to acquire various lands in Easter Ross: in 1607 the mill lands of Avoch (previously held by his father) and a feu charter of the lands of Balmaduthie from Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail (John and his father assisted Kintail to complete the purchase of Balmaduthie the following year); in 1614 the neighbouring churchlands of Arcanduich.<sup>48</sup> In 1628 he bought the lands of Inverlael in Lochbroom from Simon Lord Lovat, who was acting as a trustee for Munro of Foulis. It then took two years for John to redeem a wadset over Inverlael from the descendants of Hector Munro of Pitfuir.<sup>49</sup> After his eldest son, Kenneth, died without male issue John settled the estate on his second son Thomas. The settlement, which was in favour of Thomas's male heirs and assignees bearing the surname and arms of Mackenzie, was confirmed by Charles II in July 1642 — a form of reward for the family's support for the King's cause.<sup>50</sup>

Thomas had gone to University, become minister of Tarbat in 1633 and five years later had succeeded his father as minister of Killearnan and Archdeacon of Ross. He appeared at the General Assembly in November 1638 with a commission from the Chanonry of Ross. But when Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat had protested against the commission, Thomas made a counter protest against the election of ruling elders and as a result was then formally accused of 'Fornication, Drunkenness and Marrying of Adulturers'. Although he wrote a vindication against this 'Scandalous Libel', he was deprived of his living and forced to leave the country. However, after remaining for a few years in Ireland, he returned to live quietly on his estates to which he had succeeded on the death of father.<sup>51</sup> He sold Balmaduthie in 1645 but later acquired, mostly through apprisings, various rights to lands in Easter Ross, including parts of Cadboll and Rarichies.<sup>52</sup> He styled himself 'Mackenzie of Inverlael' but continued to live in Easter Ross, probably at Hilton of Cadboll.

Like many he became caught up in the events of these turbulent times. In 1649 he refused to comply with an order of Parliament to give an assurance for keeping of the peace. When hauled up before the Commissioners of Ross he declared that he had not been involved in any act of rebellion, particularly 'the first ingadement nor in the insurrectione & disturbance of Inverness', and was 'most willing to find security for himself, his men tenants and servants wtin the Incountrie of Ross be east the brig of Alness'. At the same time he was confident that 'he sall not be troubled not put in questione for the behaviour of his men in Lochbroome raised at all occasions be my Lord Seafort's doers against his expresse comand'.<sup>53</sup> In 1654, however, Thomas apparently took part in Glencairn's Rising against

the Cromwellian Government. In July, Thomas, along with other Mackenzies under Seaforth, their tenants and servants and a part of Middleton's 'broken army', invaded the lands of Assynt. Three months later the MacLeods of Assynt retaliated by raiding the lands of Inverlael 'under silence and cloud of night' and made off with 47 horses with foals and 40 cows.<sup>54</sup>

After the Restoration, Thomas was restored to his church and dignities. He died in 1665 and was buried at Fearn. In a contemporary court case it was claimed that 'Mr Thomas mckenzie was a comone agent & doer for many gentlemen in the north and receaved liberallie from them for his paines'. However, an early 18th century clan historian described him as: 'A man of good Learning and Parts but of a very Litigious temper which involved him in a great many Law Suites with his Neighbours which was not only Unbecomeing his Character as a Minister of the Gospel of Peace but likewise was very prejudicial to himself and his Family.'<sup>55</sup>

For whatever reasons, it is apparent that from the late 1650s his debts began to grow and extensive borrowings were made on the security of the estate.<sup>56</sup> In 1657 one Kenneth Mackenzie was granted, in return for a loan of 3,000 merks, a heritable bond over the lands of Inverlael which gave him an annualrent of 180 merks; and the following year, William Mackenzie in Fadoch of Kintail, was given an annualrent over the quarter of Inverlael called Balblair in security for a loan of £1,000 Scots.<sup>57</sup> In 1662 Thomas Mackenzie borrowed 1,200 merks from his second cousin John Mackenzie and granted a bond over Ardcharnich, another quarter of Inverlael.<sup>58</sup>

These burdens did not prevent Thomas's eldest son John from becoming involved in the plan to save the Seaforth estate.<sup>59</sup> In 1662 he was MP for Ross-shire. It was not long, however, before John's own creditors took steps to safeguard their interests and a number of appraisings, or adjudications, were led against him between 1671 and 1676, including one by the well-known money lender, Smith of Braco. John's creditors also attempted to recover funds from his cautioners, particularly the Mackenzies of Coul. Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul had married, as his second wife, a daughter of Thomas Mackenzie of Inverlael and Sir Kenneth and his son, Alexander, were both creditors and engaged as security for the Inverlael family 'in diverse considerable debtes and obleidgments'. In 1673 an advocate, William Moir, led an apprising against Inverlael in 1671 and proceeded to obtain an adjudication against Coul. Sir Alexander, who had by then succeeded his father, was forced not only to purchase this adjudication but also to acquire several other adjudications led against the Mackenzies of Inverlael, apparently 'for sumes far exceeding the value' of their estate. He himself obtained an adjudication against Inverlael and was eventually able to claim ownership in the 1680s, although he was to face various legal actions by other creditors for many years.<sup>60</sup> In 1693 Kenneth, the eldest son of John Mackenzie of Inverlael, renounced all right to his father's estate as Sir Alexander had paid him various sums towards his 'better subsistence'. John's younger brother John, a lawyer in Edinburgh, had died in 1677. Kenneth died a 'Gentleman' of the Horse Guards, his two younger brothers died while serving in Flanders.<sup>61</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF BALLONE

The Mackenzies of Ballone were a cadet family of the Mackenzies of Cromartie who were prominent in the Lochbroom area between the 1630s and 1770s.

Alexander, the founder of the family, was the fourth son of the redoubtable Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach, and therefore the immediate younger brother of Colin Mackenzie of Tarvie (qv). In 1633 Alexander received a wadset worth £10,000 Scots from Colin Earl of Seaforth for the lands of half of Auchlunachan, Auchtascailt, the shielings and grazings of Craigour and half of Glenarigolach and Strathnashalag (Larachantivore and Eilean a' Chip) — all of which were then possessed by Sir Rorie Mackenzie.<sup>62</sup> Four years later Alexander assigned his wadset and various other debts to his elder brother, Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, to be held in trust while he was out of the country. In 1640 Sir John transferred to Alexander a new wadset of the original lands which he had obtained from the Earl of Seaforth for 19,000 merks. Alexander, who also possessed lands in the parish of Avoch on the Black Isle, settled in Lochbroom and appears to have given the name of Ballone to his half of Auchlunachan — his father owned the lands and castle of Ballone on the Tarbat peninsula in Easter Ross. Alexander, however, was wounded at the battle of Auldearn in May 1645 and died shortly afterwards, leaving his son Alexander to succeed as a minor under the tutorship of Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell.<sup>63</sup>

In 1666, the Earl of Seaforth, who was in no position to redeem the wadset, granted Alexander the right of reversion to his lands in Lochbroom and a charter ratifying the transaction. The superiority of the lands was retained by Seaforth but was subsequently acquired by Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat who granted Alexander a feu disposition of his lands in 1673. In 1686 the same Alexander obtained from Kenneth Mackenzie of Davochmaluag the quarter of Auchlunachan in Lochbroom known as Kerrowmore, which stretched from Foich to Braemore; and two years later he bought the lands of Knockbaxter near Dingwall from Roderick Mackenzie, chanter of Ross. Alexander, described as a 'bulky, big man', died in 1714 aged 80; his tomb may be seen in Lochbroom churchyard.<sup>64</sup>

He was succeeded by his eldest son Alexander who continued to maintain the family ties with the Earls of Cromartie. In 1732 Alexander lent the Earl 3,000 merks in return for which, together with 1,000 merks due on a earlier bond, he was given a wadset of Auchtascailt. His son, also Alexander, who succeeded in 1737, was loth to part with this wadset since his mother was in possession of 'the principal dwelling house and mains and best sheallings' and he had already been at a 'Considerable Expence' with the 'bigging' of Auchtascailt. Alexander offered Cromartie an additional 2,000 merks, claiming that 'There is none desended of your family hade greater Dependence on you than I'. Cromartie, however, was swayed more by financial considerations. The wadset was transferred to Mackenzie of Dundonnell for an even greater increase and Alexander was forced to build himself a new house 'on the East side of ye Closs of his house of

Hilton', the family residence then occupied by his mother.<sup>65</sup> Alexander's younger brother, Colin, was a captain in the Earl of Cromartie's Regiment in the Jacobite Army during the '45 Rebellion. Colin was captured but was one of those released through the intervention of the Rev. James Robertson, minister of Lochbroom. It was a costly episode for Alexander and probably contributed to his financial difficulties.<sup>66</sup>

When Alexander V succeeded on the death of his father in 1752 the estate was said to be 'greatly burdened and embarrassed'. The debts secured on the estate amounted to about £1,400 and while the free rent was about £100, £36 fell to be deducted in annuities [Fig. 5.5].

#### INCUMBRANCES AFFECTING THE BALLONE ESTATE IN 1752

Contracted by	Nature of debt	Annuities	Principal
Alexander 1645-1714	bond of provision to his second son		£167
Alexander 1714-1737	liferent right to his widow	£20	
	bonds of provision to his younger children		£361
Alexander 1737-1752	bond of provision to his widow	£16	
	bonds and bills		£872
		£36	£1,400
Principal of annuities (£36 x 20)			£720
Total			£2,120

Fig. 5.5 Incumbrances affecting the Ballone Estate, 1752, from Mackenzie, H.H. *The Mackenzies of Ballone*. 1941. 146-148.

Apparently 'Some well disposed Gentlemen who are near Relations to the family and who have it at heart that the family Should subsist' were prepared to lend about £1,111 to pay off the creditors, most of whom were 'near Relations and well disposed, from whom with good grounds Compositions are expected'.<sup>67</sup> In the event, Alexander's curator, Kenneth

Mackenzie of Dundonnell, appears to have provided financial assistance and Alexander entered upon an army career, eventually becoming a captain in the 77th regiment. He was killed in 1762 and was succeeded by his brother John, who retired from his captaincy in the 78th regiment to attend to the estate.<sup>68</sup>

Colin Mackenzie, a merchant in London who was originally from near Strathpeffer and was related to Ballone, decided to help John 'with a Loan of as much money as will discharge such of his Creditors as are not willing to give him time also as much as will enable him to put a proper Stock of Cattle &c on such part of his Estate as he shall be advised to keep in his own hands'. At first John refused the offer, thinking to sell a part of the estate. However, in July 1765 he borrowed £200 from the widow of Kenneth Mackenzie, a merchant in Inverness. This was the first heritable bond over the estate. His other debts, which consisted of personal bonds, then amounted to £1,224 including £426 to Dundonnell. Some creditors, especially Mackenzie of Achilty, were pressing for repayment and in September John borrowed £600 on a heritable bond from Colin Mackenzie.<sup>69</sup>

John attempted to make money in the cattle trade. But in 1769 he lost on the droving and ended up borrowing £400 from another drover, Alexander Mackenzie of Hilton. Unfortunately he was no more successful the following year. In October, the minister of Gairloch reported that John had returned from Creiff unable to pay his creditors and 'All this part of the coast depends upon Ballone'. According to another account John was 'ruin'd' and his brother-in-law, William Crichton, a merchant in Stornoway, was 'proceeding against him with great severity'. However, Crichton accepted a heritable bond for £500.<sup>70</sup> John had now borrowed £1,700 on the security of his estate in Lochbroom and also owed £1,720 to Mackenzie of Dundonnell (confirmed by bond of corroboration in January 1773).<sup>71</sup>

Rather than allow his creditors take possession, John decided to sell up. He sold his lands of Knockbaxter near Dingwall for £500 to the Rev. Colin Mackenzie acting on behalf of the Earl of Seaforth in May 1772. Ballone was advertised in the Scottish newspapers in June, and was eventually sold in November 1773 to Henry Davidson of Tulloch for £3,500 plus an annuity of £28 to John's mother.<sup>72</sup> John thought of emigrating to America, but instead remained as a tacksman farmer in the Lochbroom area; he was joint tacksman of Auchtascaillt 1773-1776, tacksman of Mellon in the parish of Gairloch 1781-1800 and tenant of Island Ristol 1805-1813. He died in 1829 aged 91.<sup>73</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF GRUINARD

The Mackenzies of Gruinard were one of a number of families who owned little if any land outside the Lochbroom area but who were still quite substantial lairds.

John, the first of the family, was an illegitimate son of George, second



Earl of Seaforth.<sup>74</sup> In about 1668 he obtained the right to a wadset of the lands of Gruinard, known as Meikle Gruinard, in the parish of Lochbroom and half of the isle of Gruinard which had been appraised from Mackenzie of Tarvie in 1657.<sup>75</sup> In December 1668 John acquired from the Earl of Seaforth the lands of Udrigle and Sand, including Little Gruinard (though without the fishing of Little Gruinard) in the parish of Gairloch — apparently as part repayment for ‘settling some of Seaforth’s debts’.<sup>76</sup> Seaforth’s trustees confirmed the grant two years later (the confirmation specifically mentions the lands of Drumchork and Tighnafiline which had probably been included in the grant of 1668).<sup>77</sup> In 1685 John, prior to being succeeded by his son George, gave a liferent right of half of Sand and half of Little Gruinard to his wife Christian Mackenzie.<sup>78</sup> In 1694 the wadset of Gruinard was redeemed from George by Mackenzie of Tarbat who had acquired the lands in 1673.<sup>79</sup>

In the meantime, however, George was in the process of obtaining possession of Inverianvie (excluding Cambusgannich) and Beinn a’ Chaisgein from Mackenzie of Fairburn. He had lent Fairburn 2,500 merks in 1693 for which he obtained a heritable bond followed by a tack (a combination which was effectively a wadset) in 1697.<sup>80</sup> In 1709 George obtained right to a wadset of Cammis of Inverewe.<sup>81</sup> He was now owner of Udrigle, Drumchork and Sand (George built or repaired the chapel at Sand) as well as wadsetter of adjoining or neighbouring lands belonging to the Mackenzies of Fairburn and Coul. Despite residing at Udrigle, the family continued to style themselves ‘of Gruinard’.<sup>82</sup>

In 1696 George had provided his wife Margaret, the eldest daughter of Alexander Mackenzie of Ballone, with a liferent right to the lands of Sand and Little Gruinard, together with the lands of Tighnafiline; a much more generous provision than his father had given to his wife.<sup>83</sup> George also provided for younger members of the family. In 1690 he had been hard put to raise money for his brother Kenneth, then in London, ‘but all to little purpose since we can gett nothing for our Cows’. George was prepared, however, to send Kenneth 40 to 50 dollars; although ‘but verie little q[u]e[r] he is, yet it has taken a considerable number of C[ows] from me’ — a very revealing comment both on the importance of cattle as a source of wealth and the effort it took to earn a relatively small sum of money. He probably also assisted another brother, Alexander, to become a surgeon.<sup>84</sup>

George was to be the father of an extraordinarily large family. When his first wife died after bearing 23 children he married Elizabeth, an illegitimate daughter of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, who bore George a further 10 children. The financial burden must have been considerable, especially if, as Alexander Mackenzie claimed, all of his offspring were well provided for. His son, Colin, for instance, was apprenticed to an Inverness goldsmith.<sup>85</sup>

In 1715 George unsuccessfully applied to the Earl of Cromartie for the purchase of ‘some little thing to the value of four or five thousand marks’ in the ‘InCountry’ or Easter Ross. However, in 1717 he was given a wadset over Ridorch, a part of the lands of Glenarigolach, probably as security for a

debt.<sup>86</sup> George's own finances appear to have been under strain and his eldest son, John, took a voluntary reduction in his allowance. When, in 1713, John had married Katherine, the second daughter of Alexander Mackenzie of Balmaduthie, his father had provided him with a yearly annuity of 660 merks to be drawn out of the lands of Tighnafiline, Drumchork and Cammis of Inverewe. In 1718 John, who had also been given possession of Tighnafiline and Drumchork, agreed to restrict his annuity to 550 merks in return for possession of Cammis and 'Durigarty' then possessed by his father.<sup>87</sup> The next step was for George to borrow, and in 1721 he raised 3,000 merks by granting a heritable bond over his wadset of Cammis.<sup>88</sup> More enterprising was the family's involvement in the local herring fishing; George supplied Inverness merchants with fish caught not only by his own tenants but also by the tenants of neighbouring estates as well — the merchants provided salt and casks for preserving the fish, and tobacco, brandy, whisky and cash to pay the fishermen. A storehouse was maintained at Tighnafiline.<sup>89</sup>

As was sometimes the case when landowners remarried, the provision George made for his second wife appears to have been prejudicial to the children of his first marriage. In 1727 George sold the 3,000 merks wadset over Cammis; but rather than apply this money to the advantage of the children of his first marriage, he obtained a wadset of Meikle Gruinard and Auchtascait for 6,000 merks from the Earl of Cromartie and then proceeded to assign this right along with the lands of Ridorch to his second wife and her children. Although this was in satisfaction of the terms of the marriage contract with his second wife, it had been made, as George's grandson William later complained, at 'my Expence, and forgetting his prior obligations in the Contract for my Father'.<sup>90</sup> For George, it was very inconvenient when in 1738 Cromartie tried to redeem the wadset (which still had 11 years to run) and he could not persuade his wife to dispense of her jointure without advising with her father, the Lord President, who had custody of the deeds. Even if the wadset were redeemed, his wife would occupy the lands under a 5-year lease 'Seing she not any oyr place to retyr her to were I once sett in my Greave which of necessity will be in a very short time, for my sight is allready failing me'.<sup>91</sup>

George's son John does not appear to have possessed the estate for more than a few years before his death, in early January 1742. John was succeeded by his son William who was for several years plagued by his grandfather's creditors, even though he claimed not to be liable for any of the debts contracted by his grandfather after his father's marriage.<sup>92</sup> With his step-grandmother living at Meikle Gruinard (she was still alive in 1762), William had to provide his wife with a liferent right to the lands of Drumchork and Tighnafiline with the house of Tighnafiline 'principally design'd for her use'.<sup>93</sup>

In 1745 William built a small but very fine mansion house at Udrigle (see Beaton, this volume).<sup>94</sup> That year he also bought the lands of Beinn a' Chaisgein from Mackenzie of Dundonnell, a purchase which was made to strengthen the Mackenzie political interest in Ross-shire. These lands

brought his total holding in the valuation roll to £401 Scots, just sufficient to entitle him to a vote.<sup>95</sup> A dispute over some salmon fishing rights with Mackenzie of Gairloch, a 'powerfull Tyranicall Neighbour the reall Successor of Lovate' (Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat), was settled amicably in 1757 by William paying 20 guineas for a heritable title to the 'salmon fishing of one coble upon the seaside opposite to' Drumchork, Mellon and Tighnafiline.<sup>96</sup> William was a very active drover, taking cows to markets in Easter Ross, often to Crieff or Falkirk and down into England as far south as Leicester. He also traded in salmon, cod and ling and, almost certainly, herring; and he was probably involved in smuggling goods into Easter Ross and Sutherland.<sup>97</sup>

William's enterprises, legal or otherwise, appear to have been matched by high spending. Strong evidence is hard to come by although he is, for instance, recorded as purchasing a 'black durant Negligee' gown for his daughter Katherine in 1761.<sup>98</sup> Eventually the family indebtedness reached a critical level and in 1774 Colin Mackenzie, minister of Fodderty and a well-known money lender, obtained an adjudication against the estate for the large sum of £6,099, a sum which probably represents an accumulation of unsecured debt which had built up over the years. Colin Mackenzie made the adjudication over to William and was given a bond for £1,200 secured over the estate — a transaction which suggests that the adjudication was arranged to defend the estate against other creditors.<sup>99</sup> A few years later William borrowed further sums from Colin Mackenzie followed by a small loan from his nephew, Roderick Morrison, tacksman of Mellon Udrigle, a merchant and shipowner in Stornaway and soon to be involved in establishing the fishing station on the Isle of Tanera (see J. Munro, this volume). By 1782 the accumulated debt secured on the estate amounted to £2,840, almost ten times the free rent.<sup>100</sup>

William died in about 1782<sup>101</sup> and was succeeded by his third son John, a Lieutenant with the 73rd Regiment. William's eldest son Simon had received a disposition of the estate from his father in 1778 but had died while returning from service as an officer with the 78th Regiment in India; and George, the son next in line, had died from a fall in Jamaica.<sup>102</sup> John failed to attend to the loans affecting the estate, and by 1788 Colin Mackenzie was owed about £500 in unpaid interest and the other creditors were in a similar position. A process of ranking and sale had already been commenced but when John announced that he had decided to sell, Colin Mackenzie, who 'wished to show every indulgence', suspended further proceedings. John, however, put a price on the estate 'far exceeding its value and accordingly no offer was made upon the day of the sale'. Legal action was recommenced and on 4 March 1788 a judicial factor was appointed to safeguard the creditors' interests.<sup>103</sup> This achieved the desired effect and on 26 March John sold the estate to Murdoch MacIver, minister of Lochalsh, for £6,600.

John was still keen to retain part of his inheritance and managed to persuade MacIver — who was finding it difficult to come up with the purchase price because money which he had hoped to obtain from his

brothers abroad had failed to materialise — not only to restrict his purchase to two-thirds of the estate but also to give John a pre-emption of buying the estate back if he ever wished to sell. MacIver was sold the lands of Udrigle, Sand and Little Gruinard, John held on to Drumchork and Tighnafile and the mill of Aultbea, and the fishing and kelp rights were shared in proportion. John remained in occupation of the mains of Tighnafile, mansion-house, farm buildings and garden.<sup>104</sup> The £4,400 proceeds from the sale enabled him to clear the loans secured on the estate, and a formal disposition of the estate to MacIver was signed in February 1790 when John also gave his mother a life-rent annuity of £30 over the remainder of the estate.<sup>105</sup>

John's army career gave him little opportunity to manage his small estate and his debts once more increased. In July 1791 Davidson of Tulloch, who had obtained an adjudication against the estate the previous year, agreed to lend John £1,000. Tulloch was to be secured by a heritable bond and was also to receive a conveyance of John's right of pre-emption. John regretted making the agreement, fell out with Tulloch and sold the right of pre-emption to Rose, minister of Dingwall for £100.<sup>106</sup> In 1792 John successfully obtained a loan of £1,000 from John Morrison, the tacksman of Drumchork and brother of the now deceased Roderick Morrison. Three years later he borrowed £600 from Simon Fraser of Bruiach.<sup>107</sup>

The level of debt secured on the estate had once again reached critical levels and there was little scope for increasing the estate rental in the short term. A shepherd had offered £100 for the farm of Drumchork but the lands were let on a long lease to Morrison for £38. Furthermore John had also taken on the tack of Meikle Gruinard after the death of his cousin, Captain John Mackenzie of Avoch.<sup>108</sup> Crisis point had been reached, and John made a last attempt to save the estate by assigning it to George Mackenzie of Avoch. Then it became evident that the latter was unable to pay the creditors, the estate was sequestered in June 1797 and sold by judicial sale the following year. A disposition by Avoch to the purchaser, Duncan Davidson of Tulloch, in January 1799 completed the transaction (see Caird, this volume).<sup>109</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF TARVIE

The Mackenzies of Tarvie were a minor landowning family whose influence in the Lochbroom area extended to little more than fifty years.

Colin, the first of the Mackenzies of Tarvie, was the third son of Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach and an elder brother of Alexander Mackenzie of Ballone. In 1621, while still a boy, he was provided in the sum of £6,666 13s 4d Scots by way of a wadset right over the lands of Culloden in Inverness-shire.

The contract, made between Sir Rorie and Colin on the one hand and Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle on the other, probably reserved a liferent right to Sir Rorie. After the death of Sir Rorie, steps were taken to have the

loan repaid and Colin obtained a decret of apprising in 1629 for £10,467 Scots, a sum which suggests that neither Colin nor his father had ever received any rent or interest on the loan. Colin renounced his right to the lands in 1634,<sup>110</sup> and three years later reinvested his money in a wadset right to the lands of Tarvie, Comrie and Glenvaich in the parish of Contin. The wadset was later converted into full ownership, and in 1640 Colin and his wife Isobel obtained from the Earl of Seaforth a lifetime tack of part of the lands of Kinellan at an annual rent of £230 Scots. Two years later Seaforth granted a wadset right over Kinellan in return for a loan of 4,000 merks. The wadset confirmed Colin's liferent possession while his sons were each given right to an annualrent of £213 6sh 8d Scots (equivalent to the interest on the wadset), thus leaving Colin and his successors to pay an annual superplus of £26 13sh 4d Scots.<sup>111</sup>

In 1648 Colin, at Seaforth's request, obtained an assignment to a wadset right of the lands of Meikle Gruinard in the parish of Lochbroom and half of the Isle of Gruinard by paying off the previous wadsetter, Hugh Mackenzie. Seaforth ratified the assignation and gave Colin a lease of the lands to endure for Colin's lifetime and 19 years thereafter.<sup>112</sup> In the meantime Colin had been acting as factor for his mother, 'Lady Cogeach', in uplifting the rents from the lands in her possession in virtue of her second marriage to Thomas Fraser of Strichen.<sup>113</sup>

After Colin's death, a considerable portion of his small estate was possessed by his widow, Isobel, the 'goodwife' of Tarvie who later married Murdoch Mackenzie of Achilty. She, however, gave a lease of Kinellan to her eldest son, Alexander in 1663, reserving to herself the house and isle of Kinellan (still visible site of an old stronghold of the Mackenzies of Kintail, just west of present-day Strathpeffer). Three years later Seaforth discharged Alexander for any arrears of superplus and suspended the redemption of the wadset during his mother's lifetime.<sup>114</sup>

There were soon indications of financial strain; in 1657, Alexander's uncle, Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell, obtained an apprising of the wadset of Gruinard (Scatwell had been cautioner to Colin of Tarvie in a bond made in 1648).<sup>115</sup> Alexander eventually reached his credit limit and in the spring of 1667 Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat brought proceedings against him for three debts, including one outstanding since 1647, amounting in total to 7,260 merks excluding interest. The following year Tarbat acquired an apprising against the whole estate, and two years later he completed his title by obtaining a charter of confirmation.<sup>116</sup> In April 1671 an agreement was made whereby Alexander gave Tarbat his possessions in the parish of Contin in exchange for lands in the parish of Lochbroom and bonds to the extent of 9,000 merks. In February 1672, after further negotiations, Tarbat sold Alexander the lands of Kildonan, Keppoch, Glenarigolach and Auchtascait in Lochbroom.<sup>117</sup> These lands were rented at over 1,000 merks per year but Alexander was only allowed to uplift 420 merks during his mother's lifetime.<sup>118</sup> Alexander does not appear to have taken up residence in Lochbroom and indeed his mother granted him a lease of that part of Tarvie which she still possessed in virtue of her liferent right.<sup>119</sup>

Alexander's own problems did not prevent him appearing as one of the many relations and friends to offer security for Seaforth.<sup>120</sup> In the meantime he had lost possession of Gruinard; he had been unable to redeem the lands after they had been apprised, despite in 1672 bringing a process of removing against John Mackenzie of Gruinard who appears to have been in possession since 1668. Five years later he assigned any right he had to Gruinard to Tarbat.<sup>121</sup>

Alexander died between 1677 and 1682 and was succeeded by his son John. In 1683 Colin Mackenzie, a brother of Alexander Mackenzie of Ballone, obtained an apprising against John which he transferred to Tarbat the following year. This may have been to protect John, who was apparently still a minor, from other creditors.<sup>122</sup> John looked to retrieve his fortunes through military service and joined one of the Scottish Regiments on the continent. He returned and landed in Harwich in December 1693, expecting his regiment to move to Scotland. The Government, however, was notoriously slow in paying the army, and by February the following year John was stuck in York and could not stir for want of money. In a letter to Tarbat, whom he claimed had 'alwise been ye greatest instrument of my encouragement and preferment', John referred to 'our misfortunes since wee came from Flanders, both at sea and since', and requested a small sum of money as it was 'verie expensive living in this place'.<sup>123</sup> It was at this point that John probably took up residence in Lochbroom. His financial affairs were in considerable disorder and by 1696 he owed Tarbat £8,000 Scots. Tarbat agreed to write off one half, but took the lands of Auchtascait and any right Tarvie had to the wadset of Meikle Gruinard as payment for the other half. John also agreed to pay both an increased feu duty for his remaining lands in Lochbroom and, from the time of his mother's death, the 'annualrent' on a debt of 2,000 merks to his uncle Kenneth who had been in possession of lands in Strathkanaird at a very reduced rent.<sup>124</sup>

With his small estate only producing a yearly rental of 600 merks, John's situation gradually became more and more desperate. In 1714 Kenneth Mackenzie of Dundonnell advised the Earl of Cromartie that if he had 'any thoughts of preserveing any thing for Tarvie's poor family' then John should be restricted by legal means from burdening his estate any further, 'for now hie has allmost don with all that he has on this side Contacting, which he must do or his familie starve, and allwise threatens to brake upon his stock now that he has no oyr way'.<sup>125</sup> In 1716 it was found that John had not paid any feu duty since 1700. He settled his arrears by giving Cromartie a 'locality' or right to the rents of the lands of Kildonan, then possessed by Tarvie's brother George 'and severall others small tennents'.<sup>126</sup> The following year he granted a wadset over the lands of Ridorch, a part of Glenarigolach.<sup>127</sup> His health was not good; indeed in February 1717 it was reported that he had been 'beadfast near this halfe year'.<sup>128</sup> Eventually in 1727 John sold his lands of Kildonan and Keppoch to James Mackenzie of Achindrean, also descended from the Mackenzies of Coigach and to whom he owed 1,430 merks. John was dead by July 1729 leaving a son Alexander of whom nothing is known. His brother George, who at the time was living

in Auldnahinin, a part of Keppoch, was one of the elders of Lochbroom in 1742 when he was styled 'broyr to ye late Tarvie'.<sup>129</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF ACHILTY

The Mackenzies of Achilty were an old cadet family descended from Rory, the third son of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who received a charter of Achilty and other lands in the parish of Contin in 1529. The family maintained close links with the Mackenzies of Kintail and Rory's grandson Murdoch appears in several of Kintail's charters, including some relating to land transactions with the MacLeods of Lewis. Both Murdoch and his father are said to have died in Lochbroom. His son, Alexander, served in the clan wars against Macdonald of Glengarry and then took part in the colonisation of Lewis by the Mackenzies, later acting as chamberlain or factor for the Earls of Seaforth. The lands of Achilty appear to have been disposed of by the mid 17th century and the family had taken up residence on the Isle of Lewis, although they continued to style themselves of Achilty. Both Alexander and his son Murdoch, who was a substantial cattle drover, were Gaelic poets familiar with classical Gaelic poetry.<sup>130</sup>

In 1673 Murdoch bought a quarter of Auchlunachan in Lochbroom and in the early 18th century his son Alexander acquired an apprising over half of MacIver's wadset of Leckmelm.<sup>131</sup> Alexander continued to lease extensive lands in Lewis and also acted as chamberlain. However, on the appointment of a new factor in 1740, the family lost all of their lands on the island and Alexander took a tack of the lands of Dornie in Coigach and various grazings on the Cromartie estate in Lochbroom.<sup>132</sup> After Alexander's death in 1742 his son Murdoch, who had also possessed lands in Lewis, took over some of the lands on the Cromartie estate. In 1747 Murdoch obtained, after paying off some of Mackenzie of Coul's debts, a 10-year lease of the lands of Inverlael and took up residence there.<sup>133</sup> Two years later he took a lease of the whole of Coigach, introduced tenants from Lewis and made a fair profit until 1756 when allegations of oppression were made against him by the tenants.<sup>134</sup> The factor, however, found him a very honest person and thought that the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates were being hard on a 'Gentleman that has been so useful to ye Government'.<sup>135</sup> Murdoch, who had for many years been a JP, later served as baron baillie of Coigach.<sup>136</sup> In the meantime he had, in 1749, bought the lands of Leckmelm from Mackenzie of Seaforth and taken over an extensive wadset on the estate of Assynt.<sup>137</sup> When his possession of Inverlael terminated he obtained a tack of Corrie, where he took up residence, and Dalvraid in Coigach which he later claimed to have considerably improved.<sup>138</sup> He acquired Mungasdale and Glenarigolach in 1767.<sup>139</sup> He died in 1770 after a prosperous career as a merchant, farmer and drover.<sup>140</sup>

On Murdoch's death, without heirs, the bulk of his estate passed to his nephew Colin, except the quarter of Auchlunachan which Murdoch had settled on his youngest brother Roderick, tacksman of Glenarigolach.<sup>141</sup>

Colin's father Donald had been a merchant in Stornoway, trading in fish and kelp who, after his involvement in a scandalous divorce case, eventually became tacksman of lands in Coigach and self-appointed baron baillie to the herring fishery for which he extracted dues from the fishing vessels.<sup>142</sup> Donald died in 1760 when Colin was only twelve. Colin built a substantial house at Keanchrine but after succeeding to his uncle's small estate, took the farm of Corrie where he made further improvements.<sup>143</sup>

Colin, however, did not have his uncle's business ability and became involved in an unsuccessful scheme to organise emigration. As the minister of Gairloch, the Rev. John Downie predicted, 'a part of old Murdo's money will find wings before the remainder is settled on the Banks of the Ohio'.<sup>144</sup> Indeed it was not long before his fortunes went into decline. In 1774 Colin sold Mungasdale and Glenarigolach, and the following year he raised money on Leckmelm.<sup>145</sup> His uncle Roderick, who may also have been involved in the emigration scheme, had sold Auchlunachan in 1773.<sup>146</sup> A few years later Colin embarked on an army career. After serving as a Lieutenant in the 73rd Foot, he took a lease of the mansion and farm of Kinkell belonging to the Mackenzies of Gairloch on the Black Isle. He joined the 78th Highlanders in 1793, retiring as a captain two years later after being badly wounded at the Battle of Nimeguen.<sup>147</sup> No doubt encouraged by the development of Ullapool, in 1807 he had plots measured out for fishermen at Leckmelm.<sup>148</sup> Nothing appears to have come of this initiative and the following year he sold Leckmelm for £7,200 and placed his affairs under the management of trustees.<sup>149</sup> He died in 1813 with his affairs greatly involved.<sup>150</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF DUNDONNELL

The Mackenzies of Dundonnell were a well-connected family who built up an extensive estate in Lochbroom and became the leading resident land-owners.

Kenneth, the first of the family, was the only son of Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin by his second marriage, and was thus half brother to the celebrated advocate, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh.<sup>151</sup> Kenneth had almost certainly received some legal training which enabled him to act as a man of business for the foremost Mackenzie families. In 1680, for example, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat appointed Kenneth Deputy Master of the Game, with the task of upholding the laws relating to game and muirburn between the 'March of Cogach to Edderakilis and Strathokell'. This appointment was probably connected with the Mackenzie take-over of Assynt organised by Sir George, and a few years later Kenneth was made factor over that estate.<sup>152</sup>

In 1681 Kenneth obtained the lands of Meikle Scatwell, 'Auchyeir' and Strath Chromouill in the parish of Contin, and for a time styled himself Mackenzie of Glenmarksie.<sup>153</sup> In 1690 he exchanged these lands for those of Achtadonnell, including Badrallach and Kinlochnid, in Lochbroom, then



owned by Mackenzie of Redcastle.<sup>154</sup> Eight years later he bought the lands of Auchindrean from Roderick Mackenzie of Kilcoy.<sup>155</sup> Kenneth appears to have decided to establish his family in Lochbroom, for in 1703 he executed a deed of entail settling his estate on his eldest son Kenneth and a number of substitutes, reserving the liferent to himself.<sup>156</sup> He also changed the name of Achtdonnell to Dundonnell, although he appears to have continued to reside for several years in Assynt, probably in Ardvreck Castle.<sup>157</sup> In the meantime, he had in 1714 been appointed baron bailie over the Seaforth lands in Lochbroom, and between 1725 and 1730 he acted as Deputy Receiver General to the well-known Edmund Burt over the forfeited estate of Seaforth.<sup>158</sup> In 1726 he bought the lands of Mungasdale, Inverianvie, part of the Island of Gruinard and Beinn a' Chaisgein, which had belonged to the Mackenzies of Fairburn.<sup>159</sup> Mungasdale was sold in 1730,<sup>160</sup> probably to enable Kenneth to assist the Mackenzies of Assynt by taking an assignation to a wadset right to a number of farms in Assynt which the wadsetter was anxious to redeem. However Kenneth was not only 'doer and agent' to the Mackenzies of Assynt, but also appears to have been having an affair with 'Lady Assynt'.<sup>161</sup>

Kenneth died in 1730 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Kenneth, who had already begun to make his mark.<sup>162</sup> As a young man, Kenneth had looked to the Earls of Cromartie for advancement and had written obsequious letters with the aim of securing posts such as Forester of Fannich. In 1715 Kenneth had lent the Earl 1,000 merks and had been granted what amounted to a wadset right to the lands of Achneigie. He was evicted from these lands by Colin Mackenzie of Kincaig who held an 'ancient' wadset right, but in 1723 was given a similar right over part of Auchtascailt. By 1726 Kenneth apparently had some involvement in Cromartie's exercise of his right of Admiralty and the herring assise. In return for this and other services, he asked the Earl to grant him 'an attollerance for some 2 or 3 yeares of taking up the Quirns of Achteskailt & Gruinort To oblige them to come in to my new miln which I have built upon a very small sucken' — effectively asking Cromartie to order his tenants in Auchtascailt and Gruinard to grind their corn at Kenneth's new mill for several years.<sup>163</sup>

When he succeeded to the Dundonnell estate Kenneth was fortunate in that there were no debts or provisions burdening the estate apart from a £100 life-rent right held by his mother. After he married in 1737 he gave his wife a liferent disposition to Auchindrean and Bracklach, to take effect from the time of his death.<sup>164</sup> He had acquired a heritable bond for 3,000 merks over Auchtascailt and entered into a contract with the Earl of Cromartie to take over Mackenzie of Ballone's wadset right of 4,000 merks. Ballone eventually relinquished the wadset in 1742, and two years later Cromartie gave Kenneth a wadset right not redeemable until 1760 — to allow Kenneth to recoup his additional investment.<sup>165</sup> In the meantime Kenneth had begun buying up lands surrounding his estate as the opportunity arose; he bought Keppoch in 1742, Durnamuck in 1743 and Loggie in 1745.<sup>166</sup> The latter purchase was probably financed by the sale of Beinn a' Chaisgein and also the lands of Glenarigolach, bought in 1744.<sup>167</sup> In 1748 he disposed of his

wadset in Assynt in exchange for a wadset over Achneigie.<sup>168</sup>

Kenneth's ability to sustain this momentum was probably reduced by the effects of the '45 Rebellion when several of his relatives served as officers in the Earl of Cromartie's Regiment.<sup>169</sup> The Mackenzies of Dundonnell were not Jacobites, but Cromartie held the feudal superiority of some of their lands and so was able to call upon their services. Very sensibly neither Kenneth nor his eldest son participated, but Kenneth was, however, put to a good deal of expence in trying to obtain the release of several prisoners. Indeed it was Kenneth and Mackenzie of Ballone who paid for the Minister of Lochbroom, the Rev James Robertson's successful journey to London to free some of the 'Unhappy people'.<sup>170</sup>

Kenneth was also faced with providing for the family. He assisted his brother Thomas's attempt to become a surgeon in the armed forces, paying for Thomas to spend a winter studying under Professor Munro in Edinburgh and also contributing £100 towards his equipment. By some 'Unlucky Miscariage', Thomas ran into financial difficulties which necessitated the remittance of a further £50, although Kenneth was determined to 'risk no more for him at least till he show himself to be a better Manager'.<sup>171</sup> Kenneth's own numerous offspring had also become a greater priority for as he wrote in 1770 'as my family is now come to some Maturity it's my duty to do for them while they deserve it'.<sup>172</sup> His second son, for instance, was apprenticed for three years to a lawyer in Tain, and served in a similar position in Edinburgh before eventually managing through family influence to gain a post with the Board of Customs.<sup>173</sup> By 1774 Kenneth could boast that of his 7 sons there was 'one in Virginia, one in Holland one at London one at Edin[bu]r[gh] one at home and two at schools'. He complained with some justification, however, that there was 'neither Chief or Leader in this Country, particularly in our Name, to take any Concern with the growing generation'.<sup>174</sup> To a large extent it was the Edinburgh lawyer, Mackenzie of Delvine, who acted the all important role of broker between families in the north and the world of patronage and favour in the south.

Although we know little of how the estate was managed during this period, it is clear that while Kenneth did not take part in the droving of cattle, he was extensively involved in commercial cattle farming. He was also involved in the herring fishing; he used to hire a cooper to supervise the packing of herring caught by tenants on the estate, and contracted with a skipper to ship the barrelled herrings to market.<sup>175</sup> In addition Kenneth took the lead in various local matters. For instance, in 1758 he made a joint application for assistance from the Forfeited Estates Commissioners to make a road to Lochbroom, and in the early 1770s he organised the repair of the church and manse of Lochbroom.<sup>176</sup> With the purchase of Kildonan and Scoraig in 1775 he achieved complete ownership of the peninsula between Little Lochbroom and Big Lochbroom.<sup>177</sup> This final acquisition and the almost permanent tenure of various lands on the Cromartie estate, including Auchtascailt, established Kenneth as the foremost landowner in Lochbroom and one well respected in the county. The most visible sign of the family's status was the new mansion house which Kenneth had built at

Dundonnell in 1767 (see Beaton, this volume).<sup>178</sup> The last word, however, should be given to a contemporary, Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, who described Kenneth as 'a man of real worth', who appeared 'among his Neighbours as the full moon among the stars in a frosty night'.<sup>179</sup>

His son George, who is said to have succeeded in 1789, was also a careful manager; he preferred to hold to the traditional ways of a Highland laird, dressing very plainly in a 'kelt-coat and trousers' and enjoying the services of a numerous tenantry, rather than turning his estate over to sheep to support a more extravagant lifestyle. By the turn of the 19th century he was the only resident landlord in the parish of Lochbroom. Some thought him 'stingy' but when he died in 1816 he left the estate free from debt, personal property valued at £5,176 and his family well provided for.<sup>180</sup>

Unfortunately his eldest son, Alexander — who had been a 'young man of great promise', had gone to university and had then been apprenticed to an Edinburgh lawyer — had died in 1813. His life was celebrated by an elegy composed by John MacLennan, a local Gaelic poet.<sup>181</sup> George was succeeded by his second son, Kenneth, who was rather stupid and a bit eccentric. He had made little progress with his schooling, despite intensive drilling by private tutors at home and in Aberdeen, and had then served, after a fashion, for six years as an officer, firstly in the Ross-shire Militia and afterwards in the Inverness Militia. It was during this period that he began to acquire those habits — including a passion for all sorts of hens, an evident enjoyment of the company of wandering idiots and a firm belief in the supernatural — which were to remain with him for the rest of his life. He was also, much to his father's concern, very extravagant and, largely through his partiality for 'beef steaks and his favourite drink cream', becoming very obese.<sup>182</sup>

No sooner had Kenneth succeeded to the estate than he had to flee to France to escape from his creditors. A loan of £6,000 from Davidson of Tulloch<sup>183</sup> enabled him to return to Scotland and in 1817 he married Isabella, daughter of James Roy, surgeon at Fort George. She was provided with a generous annuity of £500 per year.<sup>184</sup> It was only after Kenneth's own finances had been restored and a series of disputes relating to the property settled (disputes involving Kenneth, his younger brother Thomas, his sister Jean — married to the Rev. Dr Thomas Ross, minister of Lochbroom — and his father's executors), that Kenneth and his wife were able to come to Dundonnell. However, while Kenneth did take some interest in his inheritance, the management of the estate, the running of the Mains Farm and the house with its substantial number of servants largely rested with his wife, who 'managed all the laird's affairs and the laird into the bargain'.<sup>185</sup>

The financial condition of the estate was steadily deteriorating and further loans were obtained. In 1824 it became necessary to place the estate in the hands of a trustee, James Scott, an accountant from Edinburgh who immediately raised an additional loan bringing the total debt secured on the estate to £18,500.<sup>186</sup> This, however, was merely the prelude to the sale of land to existing creditors; Auchindrean was sold to Davidson of Tulloch in

1825 for £7,500, and the following year Inverianvie (Fisherfield) was sold to Thomas Fraser of Balnain for £8,500.<sup>187</sup> The trustee was able to pay off £12,500 of debt;<sup>188</sup> but further progress was prevented by the death of Kenneth in April 1826 and the discovery that in 1821 Kenneth had settled the estate on his brother-in-law, Robert Roy, a lawyer, and others of his wife's relations to the total exclusion of his brother, Thomas.<sup>189</sup>

This settlement produced a good deal of ill-feeling both within the family and throughout Ross-shire. In Lochbroom resentment against the Roys led to a series of lawless outrages (1826-28) which later became known as the Dundonnell Atrocities. Shots were fired at Dundonnell House, buildings were fired, Roy's carriage horses were killed and cattle were maimed. Identifying the perpetrators proved to be impossible — threats were allegedly made against anyone who supported the 'Sassenachs' — and no-one was ever brought to trial.<sup>190</sup> The Atrocities were the subject of extensive correspondence in Scottish newspapers following the Lochbroom yair riot in 1832, after the Rev. Dr. Ross wrote a number of grossly exaggerated accounts.<sup>191</sup>

Thomas, who had become bankrupt in 1822 through an unsuccessful attempt at sheepfarming, did not have the money to challenge the settlement.<sup>192</sup> However, after 'many of the country Gentlemen of Ross-shire' had subscribed to a fund, he was enabled to begin legal proceedings to have the settlement overturned on the grounds that his brother had been either incapable or that his incapacity had been acted on by fraud. The case eventually came before the Jury Court of the Court of Session in May 1830 and attracted considerable public interest. Although a huge amount of evidence was produced relating to Kenneth's life and the circumstances under which the deeds had been executed, the jury was unable to reach a verdict.<sup>193</sup> However Thomas was successful at the retrial which took place in January 1831, when it was convincingly argued that the deeds had been 'concocted' by Roy and his 'confidential agent' while other papers had been forged by Kenneth's wife. An even greater quantity of evidence was produced relating to the state of Kenneth's mind, but it was Roy's dual role as lawyer and beneficiary which swayed the jury.<sup>194</sup>

With the fraudulent settlement set aside, Thomas's succession to the estate was regulated by the settlement made in 1817. In the meantime, the estate had remained under the management of the trustees for Kenneth's creditors. In 1827 the stocking of the Mains was sold off after the farm had been let to Davidson of Tulloch, who had also become tenant of Dundonnell House.<sup>195</sup> After taking account of the public burdens, provisions for widows and the interest on the debts, the trust made a small loss every year. A valuation made in January 1831 put the net rental at £900, the heritable debts at £8,000 (after a further loan of £2,000 had been obtained in 1829), the legacies at £8,000 and the value of the annuities at £7,772. The total amount of debts and other burdens affecting the estate was put at upwards of £23,000, and it was estimated that if the estate were sold there would only be about £500 left to the owner after all the debts had been paid.<sup>196</sup> Efforts were made to increase estate revenues by reorganising some of the farms,

but Thomas decided not to claim his inheritance and the estate was eventually sequestrated. It was found that Kenneth's trust took precedence and the trustee chose to bring the estate to a sale. Dundonnell was sold for £22,000 in April 1834 to Murdoch Mackenzie, formerly of Ardross and founder of the second family of Mackenzies to own Dundonnell.<sup>197</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF KEPOCH AND KILDONAN

The Mackenzies of Keppoch and Kildonan were one of the minor cadet families of the house of Cromartie whose status was more that of substantial tacksman farmers than landlords.

James, the first of the family, was a younger son of Alexander Mackenzie of Ardloch, a wadsetter in Coigach and later Assynt, and was therefore a nephew of the George, 1st Earl of Cromartie grandson of Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach. He was a Catholic or, in the words of the presbytery a 'protest papist', possibly because he grew up under the influence of the Mackenzies of Assynt. He was almost certainly the only Catholic in the parish of Lochbroom.<sup>198</sup> In the early 1720s James appears to have collected the rents of Coigach for the Earl of Cromartie.<sup>199</sup> In 1721 he acquired a wadset of Achindrean in Strathkanaird from Sir James Mackenzie of Royston. He gave this up in 1730 having the previous year bought the lands of Keppoch, Kildonan, Scoraig and Glenarigolach from his relative, John Mackenzie of Tarvie. These lands were bought in satisfaction of a bond of corroboration which Tarvie had granted James three years earlier. James was granted a feu charter by his superior, the Earl of Cromartie.<sup>200</sup>

The family were also tacksman of several farms in Coigach. In 1725 James, styled 'of Achindrean', paid 650 merks grassum (entry money) for Inverpolly and Dalpolly. His eldest son Alexander succeeded him in these farms while another son, Roderick, was a tenant in Dalcnoch.<sup>201</sup> James appears to have been a successful farmer, the Earl's factor described some of his milk cows as 'much the largest and best I see in Coigach', and he was also involved in the cattle trade. In 1734 James, styled 'of Keppoch', sold 550 merks worth of 'Blacke Cattle' to drovers from Assynt. The following year, he and his partner, Alexander Mackenzie of Corrie, bought 1,300 merks worth of cattle from a tacksmen in Assynt.<sup>202</sup>

Despite, or perhaps because of his dealings in cattle, James did not prosper. He made Keppoch over to his eldest son Alexander in 1741 but then sold the lands the following year. Glenarigolach was sold in 1744, having been placed under wadset in 1741.<sup>203</sup> Alexander took part in the '45 Rebellion as an officer in the Earl of Cromartie's Regiment and, it was later claimed, forced men to enlist. His brother, Roderick, also served in the Regiment but despite being taken prisoner was later acquitted. Alexander on the other hand escaped capture, returned to Lochbroom and assisted various attempts by French ships to find the Prince.<sup>204</sup>

James died in about 1748 and was succeeded by Simon, the eldest son of

his second marriage, who was usually styled 'of Kildonan' but sometimes 'of Scoraig' in reflection of the fact that James's widow Anne continued in possession of Kildonan in virtue of her liferent right.<sup>205</sup> One of the family, probably Simon's brother Colin, borrowed money from Peter Mackenzie, a younger son of the Earl of Cromartie and therefore a distant relative, 'to Outtrigg him for Jamaica'. According to Mackenzie of Dundonnell it appeared 'very plain that the young Man was much straitened for money for his voyage' for his father 'left no Subject or funds that ever I heard of'.<sup>206</sup> Simon died in about 1765 when his family were still quite young. Kildonan was still in the hands of his mother and Scoraig in the possession of his widow Frances, who later married George Mackenzie, tacksman of Scoraig. Simon's creditors continued to pursue his widow for payment until Alexander, who succeeded his father on the death of his elder brother James, sold his lands to Mackenzie of Dundonnell in 1775.<sup>207</sup> A Mrs (Anne?) Mackenzie of Kildonan died in 1805 aged 106.<sup>208</sup>

## THE MACKENZIES OF SAND

The Mackenzies of Sand were a minor landowning family descended from Murdoch Mackenzie, a younger son of Alexander Mackenzie of Gairloch who died in 1638.

There has in the past been a good deal of confusion over the origins of this family and, in an article published in 1887, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch inclined to the view that Murdoch was descended from one Duncan Mackenzie of Sand who died of the cat's bite in 1635.<sup>209</sup> However new evidence has come to light which establishes Murdoch's descent beyond doubt. In August 1638 Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch granted to his brother Murdoch a liferent right to the lands of 'Mikle' or Big Sand in the barony of Gairloch. There is also a statement in the Gairloch family papers to the effect that Murdoch Mackenzie of Sand, 'the first of that family', was the second son of Alexander of Gairloch (he was therefore the Murdoch Mackenzie who was accused in 1633 of taking part in the mutilation and dismembering of one Elspeth Smith). In 1639, Murdoch, with the consent of his elder brother Kenneth, entered into a marriage contract with Mary, daughter of John Mackenzie of Fairburn.<sup>210</sup> He was also cautioner for his brother in various borrowings. An indication of his worth is revealed by a bond associated with the marriage contract of his eldest daughter Margaret in 1657, whereby Murdoch was bound to deliver 'fyftie good and sufficient kowes with calffe to be milk kowes that year at the feast of Beltan', or £16 Scots for each undelivered cow, towards payment of 1,000 merks, and another 1,000 merks in 'sufficient gold and money' by Whitsunday 1659.<sup>211</sup>

It appears that Murdoch, who was still alive in 1669, was succeeded by another Murdoch, probably his grandson (family traditions of the late 19th century plausibly state that the first Murdoch is believed to have had a son Alexander who in turn was succeeded by his son Murdoch).<sup>212</sup> In 1702 Murdoch lent 5,000 merks to Murdoch Mackenzie of Fairburn, in return for

an annualrent right over Inverianvie and other lands in the parish of Lochbroom. In addition, Murdoch's possession of the lands was secured by a lease. This arrangement was confirmed in 1707 and continued for a further three years by Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn by a heritable bond of corroboration. Under a contract, which took in both the original loan and a further bond for 1,000 merks dating from 1705 (tocher or dowry promised to Murdoch's eldest son Alexander on his marriage to Fairburn's sister), and a lease drawn up in 1711, repayment of the loan was suspended until 1717. This new arrangement, later referred to as a wadset, specified that Murdoch was to pay 384 merks tack duty but was allowed to retain the interest on 6,000 merks.<sup>213</sup> These lands were additional to Murdoch's holdings on the Gairloch estate; rentals of 1706 and 1721 state that the family paid a rent of £276 11sh 8d for the two Sands (Big and Little), Longa Island and 'Lochadrink'. In the meantime, his son Alexander had leased the salmon fishings on the River Gruinard from the Earl of Cromartie, although this did not turn out to be a profitable venture.<sup>214</sup>

Murdoch's wadset right became a claim against the forfeited estate of Fairburn and in 1723 it was found to be a just debt affecting the estate, although Alexander (who by now had succeeded his father) was to account for the superplus rent for all years remaining unpaid. In 1724 Alexander made an agreement with Alexander Mackenzie of Gairloch whereby he became bound to resign his interest in Fairburn's estate in return for an infetment of annualrent in the lands of Sand and others on the Gairloch estate, then possessed by him and his subtenants. The arrangement was never put into effect, however, for while Sand assigned his claim against the Fairburn estate to Mackenzie of Allangrange, he relinquished his Gairloch possessions. At about this time he took a 5-year lease of Gruinard, a detached part of the Cromartie estate.<sup>215</sup>

In 1730 Alexander bought Mungasdale in the parish of Lochbroom from Dundonnell for 3,000 merks.<sup>216</sup> The family had now severed all connection with Sand and were proprietors of a small estate in Lochbroom. Alexander died leaving his eldest son Alexander, then a minor, under the care of John Mackenzie of Lochend, also descended from the Mackenzies of Gairloch. In 1741 a wadset for 4,000 merks was obtained for Alexander over the lands of Glenarigolach. In 1744 Alexander came of age and married Janet, the eldest daughter of Murdoch Mackenzie of Letterewe. He gave her a right to an annuity of £200 Scots and possession of the 'Mansion House Garden & Office houses of Mungasdale' (the 'mansion house' was probably a one-and-a-half storey house of stone and lime and not necessarily with a slated roof).

The following year Alexander became the outright proprietor of Glenarigolach.<sup>217</sup> But this prosperity was not to last. In 1762 Alexander was forced to grant an annualrent right to a creditor, Alexander Mackenzie, a merchant from Dingwall. This measure only served to postpone the inevitable: three years later Alexander (with the approval of his eldest son Alexander) sold his small estate to Alexander Mackenzie, by then provost of Dingwall.<sup>218</sup> With no landed estate to support them, the family returned

to Gairloch; and in 1770 Alexander Mackenzie, still styled 'of Sand', was tenant of Inveraspidale and 'Ballachneimrich' of Kinlochewe.<sup>219</sup>

## CONCLUSION

While in many respects the rise of the Mackenzies of Kintail parallels the rise of other major families such as the Campbells, it is clear that the establishment of junior branches in areas such as Lochbroom was largely determined by the financial difficulties of the Mackenzies of Kintail/Earls of Seaforth. The Mackenzie take-over of the Island of Lewis, by contrast, was achieved in the face of determined opposition and the Earls of Seaforth subsequently attached a good deal of importance to the island; hence the greater emphasis on the role of the Mackenzie tacksmen. There was a much greater readiness to dispose of land in Lochbroom, provided it still remained within overall Mackenzie ownership, and the phase of tacksman control was relatively short-lived.

On the other hand it is worth emphasising that many of the greater landowners in Scotland were facing financial difficulties in the early 17th century, and that the Earls of Seaforth were not unique in having to cope with a growing burden of debt. Furthermore, it appears that no matter how much the disasters, military or otherwise, of the years of the Scottish Revolution contributed to this indebtedness, they were not necessarily the cause of it. In drawing on the resources of the junior branches of the clan to escape from financial crisis, the Seaforths were typical of many leading families in the Highlands.

It is not altogether surprising that, during the 17th and 18th centuries, landownership within the Lochbroom area was largely confined to the ranks of the existing families and that a significant number of land transactions were tied to credit arrangements. Hence the importance of the wadset, not only as a means of borrowing but also as a stepping stone to full ownership. Some wadsets endured for such a long time that they should be treated as a form of ownership.

It was debt rather than demographic crisis — the failure of families to provide heirs — which accounted for the vast majority of land transactions. Financial difficulty was clearly related to rising standards of living, including the building of new houses and the provision for wives and children. While rental income rose in line with the general trends, evidence for agricultural improvement is sparse. This is attributable to the fact, however, that the documentary material has not survived, rather than a low interest in improvement. For there is no doubting the enterprise of landlords, particularly in connection with the fishing industry or the cattle trade, even though neither activity was without risk.

The tendency of smaller landowners to succumb to their indebtedness should be judged against their general failure to live within their means, and in particular against the effects of having a high proportion of their income



tied up either in family provisions or in interest payments. With little room for manoeuvre, their ability to survive business failure was limited.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Devine's comment that 'little has been published on the mass of middling and smaller proprietors' is as applicable to the 17th and 18th centuries as the 19th. Devine, T. M. *The Emergence of the New Elite in the Western Highlands and Islands, 1800-60*, in T. M. Devine (ed.) *Improvement and Enlightenment*. 1989.
- <sup>2</sup> This analysis is based on a series of valuation rolls from 1644 to 1856. Comparable data for Aberdeenshire is presented in Callander, R. A. *A Pattern of Landownership in Scotland*. 1987.
- <sup>3</sup> Mackenzie, A. *History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies* (2nd edition). 1894.
- <sup>4</sup> Warrand, D. *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees*. 1965; Mackenzie, H. H. *The Mackenzies of Ballone*. 1941.
- <sup>5</sup> Examples and further information on most of the deeds mentioned here can be found in Goudsbrough, P. *Formulary of Old Scots Legal Documents* (The Stair Society). 1985. Useful background is provided by Dunlop, J. (Dr. J. Munro) Gunpowder and sealing wax: some Highland charter chests, in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. XLIV. 1964-66.
- <sup>6</sup> Munro, J. *The Earldom of Ross and The Lordship of the Isles*, in J. R. Baldwin (ed.) *Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland*. 1986; C. T. McInnes (ed.) *Calendar of Writs of Munro of Foulis, 1299-1833* (Scottish Record Society). 1940. The Munro writs provide evidence that Lochbroom was incorporated into the earldom earlier than is suggested by Munro.
- <sup>7</sup> *RMS* II No. 806; Gregory, D. *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*. (1881) 1975. 59-60, 218; Munro, J. *The Clan Period* in D. Omand (ed.) *The Ross and Cromarty Book*. 1984. 134-135; J. & R. W. Munro (eds.) *Acts of the Lords of the Isles* (Scottish History Society). 1986. 117-119, 303-307.
- <sup>8</sup> C. T. McInnes (ed.). 1940.
- <sup>9</sup> R. W. Munro (ed.) *The Munro Tree*. 1978. 19; Mackenzie, A. *History of the Monros of Fowlis*. 1898. 76-77.
- <sup>10</sup> SRO GD242/57/3/1.
- <sup>11</sup> Sellar, D. Highland family origins — pedigree making and pedigree faking, in L. MacLean of Dochgarroch (ed.) *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*. 1981. 110-113.
- <sup>12</sup> Munro, J. 1984. 131-32.
- <sup>13</sup> Stell, G. *Architecture and Society in Easter Ross before 1707*, in J. R. Baldwin (ed.) *Firthlands of Ross and Sutherland*. 1986.
- <sup>14</sup> Although the charter is lost, its terms are known from several sources. Excerpts from manuscript histories of the Mackenzies by the first Earl of Cromartie and Dr. George Mackenzie, are quoted in J. & R. W. Munro (eds.) *Acts of the Lords of the Isles* (Scottish History Society). 1986. 129-30, and a 17th century inventory of the Seaforth charters has been discovered by the author in the Cromartie Papers SRO GD305/1/66/7. According to the latter, the charter, which is the earliest Mackenzie charter in the inventory, included the lands of Killin, Garve, Corrimoillie, Kinlochluichart, Garbat, 'Dalnatua', 'Auchlusk' and 'Taag', all later included in the barony of Eilean Donan. Dalnatua has not been located but Auchlusk and Taag can be identified as the two parts of Kinlochewe, an identification which is suggested by the Earl of Cromartie's version of the charter. Each part, according to a later charter (*RMS* IX no. 2140), consisted of a davoch of land, and thus corresponded to the two davochs of Kinlochewe. It is also worth noting that Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail was fostered in 'ye Taaks of Kinlochu' (J.R.N. MacPhail (ed.) *Highland Papers*. vol. II (Scottish History Society). 1916. 31) and the name still survives in the place-name Taagan.
- <sup>15</sup> SRO GD305/1/166/7.
- <sup>16</sup> *RMS* II no. 3313.
- <sup>17</sup> *RMS* III nos. 1957, 3005.

- <sup>18</sup> SRO GD46/20/6/3/3, 4; RMS IV no. 2273; Gregory, D. *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*. (1881) 1975. 157-59; Mackay, W. *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*. 1893. 104-111; Warrand, D. 1965. 11.
- <sup>19</sup> RMS III no. 2817; SRO GD305/1/166/7 (The confirmation of 1587 was not registered).
- <sup>20</sup> SRO GD305/1/1/4; GD46/20/6/3/5.
- <sup>21</sup> British Library Add MSS 39187 f.2.
- <sup>22</sup> SRO GD46/20/6/3/6.
- <sup>23</sup> SRO GD305/1/163/4; RS38/6 ff.94-95.
- <sup>24</sup> SRO RS37/5 ff.310-11.
- <sup>25</sup> SRO RS37/6 ff.68-69, 229-30.
- <sup>26</sup> SRO RS37/6 ff.312-13.
- <sup>27</sup> SRO RD4/28 pp.645-51; Dundee District Archives, Wharncliffe Papers, Box 1, 'The true start of Sir George Mackenzies affairs Octr 1673'.
- <sup>28</sup> Fraser-Mackintosh, C. *Antiquarian Notes* (2nd ed). 1913. 358. No title appears to have been registered for Kinnoch.
- <sup>29</sup> Firth, C. E. *Scotland and the Protectorate*. 1899. 236; Dow, F. D. *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660*. 1979. 127, 129-30.
- <sup>30</sup> SRO GD190/2/210.
- <sup>31</sup> SRO RD3/9 pp.425-38.
- <sup>32</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Seaforth.
- <sup>33</sup> SRO RD2/21 p.108.
- <sup>34</sup> SRO RD2/37 pp.80-95; RD3/37 pp.66-88.
- <sup>35</sup> APS VIII. 382-84; SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Seaforth.
- <sup>36</sup> SRO RS38/5 ff.520-21.
- <sup>37</sup> SRO RS38/4 f.236.
- <sup>38</sup> SRO RS38/5 ff.542-43.
- <sup>39</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Fairburn.
- <sup>40</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Seaforth.
- <sup>41</sup> SRO RS38/9 ff.377-78.
- <sup>42</sup> SRO CH1/2/70 ff.351, 357-8; RS38/3 ff.131-2, 463-7; RD3/20 p.341-44; Gairloch Papers, bundle 8/1, 2; RS3/178 ff.332-35.
- <sup>43</sup> SRO RS38/9 ff.460-61.
- <sup>44</sup> SRO CH1/2/70 ff.349, 351; RD4/176/1 ff.277-79; RS38/10. 139-40.
- <sup>45</sup> No deed has been found transforming Letterewe's wadset to full ownership.
- <sup>46</sup> RAS 2/292, 618; 4/218.
- <sup>47</sup> Warrand D. 1965. 105-107; SRO GD46/14/1 pp.140-1, 148; Scott, H. *Fasti*. 1928. vol. 7. 10-11.
- <sup>48</sup> RMS. VII. nos. 395 1094; SRO GD242/57/3/8.
- <sup>49</sup> SRO GD242/57/3.
- <sup>50</sup> RMS. IX. no. 1181.
- <sup>51</sup> Scott, H. 1928. vol. 7. 11; SRO GD46/14/1 pp.149-150; Baillie, R. *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A. M.* 1841. 135, 168, 426; Peterkin, A. *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*. 1838. 111, 137-138, 181.
- <sup>52</sup> SRO RD4/31 pp.81-89; RMS. X. nos. 24, 25, 272, 286.
- <sup>53</sup> APS. VI: 2. 734-35, 739.
- <sup>54</sup> SRO PA7/9/2/128/1-9; Firth, C. H. *Scotland and the Protectorate*. 1899. 236.
- <sup>55</sup> SRO CS15/324 27 February 1663, Balnagown v Mackenzie; GD 46/14/1 pp.149-50.
- <sup>56</sup> The Register of Deeds contains a great number of bonds granted by the family.
- <sup>57</sup> SRO RD2/10 pp.74-76; RD4/12 pp.773-77.
- <sup>58</sup> SRO RS38/1 ff.65-7; GD46/14/1 p.141.
- <sup>59</sup> SRO RD2/37 pp.66-88.
- <sup>60</sup> SRO CS119/49; RD 4/65 pp. 1073-79 for the disposition of John's escheat and liferent obtained by Moir in 1670 and purchased by Coul in 1674; GD242/57/3, 6; Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Seaforth, 'Double Wryts Taken from the records of the Comissariat of Ross'; NLS MS1116 ff.7-8. In 1687 Sir Alexander redeemed the lands of Ardcharnich from John Mackenzie, ancestor of the Mackenzie wadsetters and tacksmen of

- Langwell in Coigach SRO RS38/5 f.419.
- <sup>61</sup> SRO RH15/44/161; Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Seaforth 'Double Wryts Taken from the records of the Commissariat of Ross'; GD46/14/1 p.150.
- <sup>62</sup> SRO GD46/20/6/3/6. George Earl of Seaforth confirmed the wadset in 1635, SRO RS37/5 ff.256-57; GD403/54/1; Mackenzie H. H. 1941. 23, 114-18.
- <sup>63</sup> SRO GD305/1/18/5; GD305/1/37/1-3; RS37/6 f.324; Mackenzie, H. H. 1941. 23-25, 119-23. Some sources put the wadset at 19,500 merks.
- <sup>64</sup> SRO GD403/54/25 27; Mackenzie H. H. 1941. The 1724 inscription on his gravestone is incorrect.
- <sup>65</sup> SRO RS38/8 ff.612-613; RS38/9 f.321; E746/1 p.144; GD305/1/37/7 GD305 Letters bundle XIX, Alexander Mackenzie 23 April, 9 November 1737.
- <sup>66</sup> A. Livingstone, C.W.H. Aikman and B. S. Hart (eds.) *Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army 1745-46*. 1984; A famous Highland minister of the Forty-Five, in *The Celtic Magazine*. 1878. III. 261-69; NLS MS1341 ff.23-25.
- <sup>67</sup> Mackenzie, H. H. 1941. 148.
- <sup>68</sup> SRO E746/70 p.112; Mackenzie H.H. 1941. 39.
- <sup>69</sup> NLS MS1367 ff.94-97, 102; SRO GD403/56/23; RS38/11 ff.481-85, RS38/12 ff.25-30.
- <sup>70</sup> NLS MS1367 f.166; SRO GD427/216/5, 6; RS38/10 ff.378-81; J RS38/12 ff. 423-25.
- <sup>71</sup> SRO RS38/13 ff.56-57.
- <sup>72</sup> NLS MS1368 f.37; SRO DI97/4 ff.377-78; SRO RS38/13 ff.116-117; *Caledonian Mercury*. 17 June 1772.
- <sup>73</sup> NLS MS1368 f.112; SRO E746/113/106; E721/19 p.61; SRO 25/22/2 Execution Mrs MacLeod a Lieut MacKenzie; Gairloch Papers, bundle 46/19; Gairloch Papers, Rental Book of Gairloch 1788; SRO SC25/22/25 Summons Magnus Adams Agt Lieut John Mackenzie and others; SRO SC25/22/45 Lybd. Summons of Removing the British Society and Agent Agt Mr Thomas McKenzie and others; Mackenzie, H. H. 1941. 62.
- <sup>74</sup> He was not related to Hugh Mackenzie who received a wadset of Meikle Gruinard from Colin Earl of Seaforth in 1639.
- <sup>75</sup> SRO GD305/1/70/28, 30, 31, 34, 35-37.
- <sup>76</sup> John had been named as security in a bond his brother, Kenneth Earl of Seaforth, had given to Patrick Smith of Braco in 1656; and in 1668 John had granted a large bond to Braco who had in turn witnessed Seaforth's disposition to John: SRO RD2/17 pp.299-302, RD2/27 pp.331-32; RS38/3 ff.366-68.
- <sup>77</sup> SRO RS38/4 f.19.
- <sup>78</sup> SRO RS38/5 ff.327-28.
- <sup>79</sup> SRO GD305/1/70/37; RS38/6 f.2.
- <sup>80</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Fairburn; RS38/6 ff.55-56.
- <sup>81</sup> SRO RS38/9 ff.397-98.
- <sup>82</sup> NLS MS1343; Dixon, J.H. *Gairloch*. 1886. 70, 100.
- <sup>83</sup> SRO RS38/6 f.56.
- <sup>84</sup> NLS MS1343 f.2. Presumably George's brother Kenneth who had been or was to be a schoolmaster in Fortrose; MacGill, W. *Old Ross-shire and Scotland*. 1909. No. 158; SRO RS38/8 ff.344-46.
- <sup>85</sup> Mackenzie, J. D. *Genealogical tables of the Clan Mackenzie*. 1879. Sheet 12; SRO RD2/127 12 February 1730.
- <sup>86</sup> SRO G305 Letters, bundle XIII, George Mackenzie 7 June 1715; RS38/8 f.436.
- <sup>87</sup> SRO G403/60/1.
- <sup>88</sup> SRO RS38/8 ff.113-14.
- <sup>89</sup> SRO GD23/6/45.
- <sup>90</sup> NLS MS1343 ff.141, 152; SRO E746/1 pp.183-84; RS38/8 ff.437-40; RS38/9 ff.397-98; CS29 24 July 1762 Claim of John Mackenzie on Cromartie.
- <sup>91</sup> SRO GD305 Letters, bundle XIX, George Mackenzie 3 January 1738.
- <sup>92</sup> NLS MS1343 ff.141, 152, 153.
- <sup>93</sup> Although William appears to have possessed the lands of Meikle Gruinard as tacksmen to his step-grandmother, her eldest son Captain John Mackenzie of Avoch was subsequently in possession. SRO E746/1 pp.183-84; E746/70 pp.114-15; E787/23/2; RS38/9 ff.319-20.

- <sup>94</sup> Beaton, E. *Ross and Cromarty, An Illustrated Architectural Guide*. 1992. 91. The new house, which stands to this day, although in need of urgent restoration, was presumably on the site of an older family house. See also Beaton, this volume.
- <sup>95</sup> NLS MS1343 f.156; SRO RS38/9 f.461.
- <sup>96</sup> NLS MS1343 ff.157-61; *RAS* 1/543.
- <sup>97</sup> NLS MS1343 ff.152-55 171 174; SRO GD347/48/2.
- <sup>98</sup> SRO GD128/24/7/51.
- <sup>99</sup> SRO RS38/13 ff.225-28.
- <sup>100</sup> SRO GD427/26/4, 5; RS38/13 ff.418-19, 483; *RAS* 1/61.
- <sup>101</sup> He was alive in April 1782, but in 1788 it was stated that he had died 'some years ago'. SRO CS111/389; *RAS* 1/61.
- <sup>102</sup> *RAS* 1/542 but not 1/202; Mackenzie A. 1894.
- <sup>103</sup> SRO CS111/389.
- <sup>104</sup> Session Papers, Campbell Collection.
- <sup>105</sup> *RAS* 1/244, 245, 289 and 448.
- <sup>106</sup> Session Papers, Campbell Collection.
- <sup>107</sup> *RAS* 1/369 and 469.
- <sup>108</sup> SRO GD305/1/163/177 and 200; GD403/60/12.
- <sup>109</sup> *RAS* 1/514 and 585; *Edinburgh Gazette*. 27 June 1797, 30 March and 8 June 1798.
- <sup>110</sup> SRO GD176/329/1, 5; GD176/335-336; GD23/4/5.
- <sup>111</sup> SRO GD305/1/103/271; GD305/1/162/263; GD305/1/166/254; GD242/57/6/3.
- <sup>112</sup> SRO GD305/1/157/19; RS37/7 ff.51-52.
- <sup>113</sup> NLS Dep.327/164.
- <sup>114</sup> SRO GD305/1/162/272; GD305/1/103/272.
- <sup>115</sup> SRO GD305/1/155/63 & 68; RD2/40 pp.608-609.
- <sup>116</sup> SRO GI)305/1/166/24; GD305/1/155/72 & 73; GD242/58/1/21.
- <sup>117</sup> SRO GD305/1/18/4; RS38/4 ff.162-63; GD242/58/1/21.
- <sup>118</sup> SRO GD305/1/164/25.
- <sup>119</sup> SRO GD305/1/162/271.
- <sup>120</sup> SRO RD2/37 pp.87-88.
- <sup>121</sup> SRO GD305/1/70; GD305/1/145/15; GD305/1/154/126; GD305/1/155/80.
- <sup>122</sup> SRO GD305/1/154/84 & 85; GD305/1/157/38 & 39.
- <sup>123</sup> NLS MS1351 ff.141, 143; SRO GD305 Letters, bundle V, 1 February 1694, John Mackenzie.
- <sup>124</sup> SRO GD305/1/18/9; GD305/1/153/8; GD305/1/162/297; RS38/6 f.119.
- <sup>125</sup> SRO TE19/9 Lochbroom; GD305 Letters, bundle XIV, 21 December 1714, Kenneth Mackenzie.
- <sup>126</sup> SRO GD305/1/71/39.
- <sup>127</sup> SRO RS38/5 f.436.
- <sup>128</sup> SRO GD305 Letters, bundle XIV, 15 February 1717, Kenneth Mackenzie.
- <sup>129</sup> SRO RS38/8 ff.346, 416; CH1/2/81 f.53.
- <sup>130</sup> Warrand, D. 1965. 130-33; SRO GD305/1/1/2, 4; GD305/1/7/2; NLS Acc. 9711 Box 8.
- <sup>131</sup> SRO E746/70 p.77; TE19/9 Lochbroom; CH1/2/70 f.351.
- <sup>132</sup> NLS Acc.9711 Box 8; MS1315 f.8; SRO GD305/1/163/64.
- <sup>133</sup> NLS MS1315 ff.5, 9; SRO RD2/181 18 March 1757.
- <sup>134</sup> SRO E721/1 pp.31-33, 64; E746/70 pp.78-81; E746/152/1-6.
- <sup>135</sup> SRO E746/74/8; E787/9/33.
- <sup>136</sup> SRO E721/4 pp.170-72, 185-86; E721/9 p.104.
- <sup>137</sup> SRO RD4/176/1 ff.277-79; RS38/10 ff.139-40.
- <sup>138</sup> SRO E721/4 p.251; E721/8 p.168; E746/74/13; E746/113/11,20. There are many references to his farming activities in Coigach.
- <sup>139</sup> SRO RS38/12 ff.168-70.
- <sup>140</sup> NLS Acc.9711 Box 8.
- <sup>141</sup> SRO RS38/12 ff.389-90, 455-56.
- <sup>142</sup> SRO CC8/6/14 Mackenzie v Mackenzie; E746/70 pp.99-100; E787/9/12.
- <sup>143</sup> SRO E721/19 p.39; E746/113/27, 86 109.

- <sup>144</sup> SRO GD427/216/17.
- <sup>145</sup> SRO RS38/13 ff.267-69 337-39.
- <sup>146</sup> SRO RD4/215 pp.310-312.
- <sup>147</sup> Gairloch Papers 45/71; Warrand, D. 1965. 135.
- <sup>148</sup> SRO SC25/22/42 Summons of removing Mackenzie v MacLennan.
- <sup>149</sup> SRO RD5/145 pp.165-172.
- <sup>150</sup> NLS Acc.9711 Box 8.
- <sup>151</sup> Warrand, D. 1965. 60.
- <sup>152</sup> SRO GD128/32a/6/5; GD128/66/12/1-3; *Register of the Privy Council*. 3rd ser., XVI. 341-342; Warrand, D. 1965. 60.
- <sup>153</sup> SRO RS38/5 ff.100-101.
- <sup>154</sup> SRO RS38/5 ff.542-43.
- <sup>155</sup> SRO RS38/6 ff.177-78.
- <sup>156</sup> SRO RS38/6 ff.381-82; RT1/6 ff.90-95.
- <sup>157</sup> SRO GD128/32a/6/1.
- <sup>158</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715) Mackenzie of Seaforth; GD128/23/1/12.
- <sup>159</sup> SRO RS38/8 ff.281-83; GD46/18/29, 31.
- <sup>160</sup> SRO RS38/8 f.479.
- <sup>161</sup> SRO RS38/10 f.70; CH2/508/1 p.107.
- <sup>162</sup> SRO RS38/8 ff.281-83 but CH2/508/1 p.139 suggests 1732.
- <sup>163</sup> SRO GD305 Letters, bundle XIV, Kenneth Mackenzie 21 December 1714, 15 February 1715, bundle XVIII, Kenneth Mackenzie 5 December 1726; GD305/1/162/321.
- <sup>164</sup> SRO RS38/9 f.411.
- <sup>165</sup> SRO E746/1 pp.144-45; CS29 24 July 1762 Claim of Mackenzie of Dundonnell (I am grateful to John Ballantyne for this reference).
- <sup>166</sup> SRO RS38/9, ff.408-409, 460-61; SRO RS3/178 ff.332-35.
- <sup>167</sup> SRO RS38/9 ff.409-410, 461-62.
- <sup>168</sup> SRO RS38/10 f.70; NLS MS1341 f.52.
- <sup>169</sup> A. Livingstone, C.W.H. Aikman and B. S. Hart (eds.). 1984; Warrand, D. 1965. Kenneth's uncle Colin, his brother Alexander and son Murdoch are known to have taken part.
- <sup>170</sup> NLS MS1341 ff.23-25.
- <sup>171</sup> NLS MS1341 ff.28, 30, 34, 36.
- <sup>172</sup> NLS MS1341 f.56.
- <sup>173</sup> NLS MS1341 ff.53, 56, 63; Warrand, D. 1965. 62.
- <sup>174</sup> NLS MS1341 f.62.
- <sup>175</sup> NLS MS1341 ff.32, 37-38; SRO E746/113/94.
- <sup>176</sup> SRO E721/4 pp.142, 154; DI97/4 ff.363-64.
- <sup>177</sup> SRO RS38/13 ff.237-238.
- <sup>178</sup> Stell, G. & Beaton, E. Local Building Traditions, in D. Omand (ed.) *The Ross and Cromarty Book*. 1984. 208. There appears to have been quite a substantial house there previously SRO RHP3478.
- <sup>179</sup> NLS MS1336 f.188.
- <sup>180</sup> Hogg, J. A. *Tour in the Highlands in 1803*. (1888) 1986. 91; *Old Statistical Account, Lochbroom; Dundonnell Cause*. 1830. 6; *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831. 97; SRO RD5/99 ff.428-39; *Session Papers*. new ser., V. 151.
- <sup>181</sup> *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831. 2, 96; Mackenzie, W. Leaves from my Celtic Portfolio, in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. 1877. VII. 104-109.
- <sup>182</sup> *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831.
- <sup>183</sup> RAS 1/1299.
- <sup>184</sup> SRO RD5/119 pp.507-527.
- <sup>185</sup> *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831. 9.
- <sup>186</sup> RAS 1/1483, 1544, 2/118, 235; *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831.
- <sup>187</sup> RAS 2/401, 478; Private Act of Parliament 5 & 6 Vict c.21.
- <sup>188</sup> RAS 2/462-5, 468.
- <sup>189</sup> SRO CS232/M/60/1 Summons of Reduction.
- <sup>190</sup> SRO AD14/28/392 precognitions and other papers.

- <sup>191</sup> See, for instance, *Caledonian Mercury* 24 June 1833; Bangor-Jones, M. The Lochbroom yair riot of 1832, in *Ross-shire Journal*. 1989.
- <sup>192</sup> SRO CS313/2156; *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831. 70, 72.
- <sup>193</sup> *Dundonnell Cause*. 1830. The proceedings were also extensively reported in the Scottish newspapers.
- <sup>194</sup> *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831.
- <sup>195</sup> SRO CS46/1831/No 41/Dec.
- <sup>196</sup> *Dundonnell Cause, Second Trial*. 1831. 109; RAS 2/632.
- <sup>197</sup> *Session Cases XII*. 266-68; *Session Cases*. new ser. III. 31<sup>o</sup>; RAS 3/281.
- <sup>198</sup> SRO CH1/2/83 ff.269-270.
- <sup>199</sup> SRO GD305/1/163/125; GD305/1/167/142.
- <sup>200</sup> SRO RS38/8 ff.346, 416, 449-50; E746/70 pp.109-110.
- <sup>201</sup> SRO GD305/1/163/64, 126-29, 131.
- <sup>202</sup> SRO GD305 Letters, bundle XIX, 2 Jan 1730 MacLeod; RD4/157 12 March 1735 Mackenzie v Mackenzie, RD2/139 2 Feb 1736 Mackenzie v Mackenzie.
- <sup>203</sup> SRO RS38/9 ff.276, 408-10.
- <sup>204</sup> SRO E746/74/4(2); A. Livingstone, C.W.H. Aikman and B. S. Hart (eds.). 1984; Gibson, J. S. *Ships of the '45*. 1967.
- <sup>205</sup> SRO RD2/217/1 pp.1042-46; RS38/13 ff.237-38; E746/1 p.186; *Service of Heirs* 9 August 1749.
- <sup>206</sup> NLS MS1341 f.49; Mackenzie, J. D. 1879. Sheet I.
- <sup>207</sup> SRO E746/72/3; DI 97/4 f363-64; RS38/13 ff.236-38; Macgill, W. *Old Ross-shire and Scotland*. 1909. nos. 236 & 805.
- <sup>208</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* 28 December 1805. The George Mackenzie of Kildonan, living at Inverlael in 1805, enjoyed a courtesy title through his marriage to Simon's widow, SRO SC25/22/25 Summons Magnus Adams Agt Lieut John Mackenzie and others.
- <sup>209</sup> Mackenzie, K. S. Notice of marriage contract of 1657, with notes, in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. 1887. See also Gairloch Papers, bundle 30/5.
- <sup>210</sup> SRO RS37/6 f.161; DI62/8 f.256; Gairloch Papers, bundles 41, 54/1.
- <sup>211</sup> Gairloch Papers, bundles 30/5, 33/2, 3.
- <sup>212</sup> SRO RS38/3 ff.366-68; Gairloch Papers, notes on the Mackenzies of Sand. These notes appear to have been used by Mackenzie: Mackenzie, A. 1894.
- <sup>213</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Fairburn.
- <sup>214</sup> Gairloch Papers, bundle 48; SRO GD305, Letters, bundle XII, 20 December 1708, Norman MacLeod.
- <sup>215</sup> SRO Forfeited Estates Papers (1715), Mackenzie of Fairburn; Gairloch Papers, bundle 34/2; SRO GD305/1/163/126, 128, 129. The family tradition - which states that Murdoch's eldest son, Hector, was killed in America and was succeeded by his younger brother Alexander — may well refer to a later generation: Gairloch Papers, notes on the Mackenzies of Sand.
- <sup>216</sup> SRO RS38/8 f.479.
- <sup>217</sup> SRO 2S38/9 ff.276, 412-13, 461-62.
- <sup>218</sup> SRO RS38/11 ff.303-305; RS38/12 ff.168-70.
- <sup>219</sup> Gairloch Papers, bundle 46/7, 12.

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## Abbreviations

### *Manuscript:*

#### Scottish Record Office (SRO)

AD	Lord Advocate's Department
CH1/2	Church of Scotland, General Assembly
CH2/508	Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Tongue
CC8	Edinburgh Commissary Court
CS	Court of Session
D162	Particular Register of Hornings, Inverness
D197	Particular Register of Hornings, Ross, Tain
E (unallocated)	Forfeited Estates Papers (1715)
E721, 746, 787	Forfeited Estates Papers (1745)
GD23	Warrant of Bught Papers
GD46	Earl of Seaforth Papers
GD128	Fraser-Mackintosh Collection
GD176	Mackintosh of Mackintosh Papers
GD190	Smythe of Methven Papers
GD242	Shepherd and Wedderburn Collection
GD305	Earl of Cromartie Muniments
GD347	Sutherland of Rearquhar Collection
GD403	Mackenzie Papers
GD427	Gillanders of Highfield Papers
PA	Parliament of Scotland, Additional Papers
RD	Register of Deeds
RHP	Register House Plans
RS3	Register of Sasines, General
RS37-38	Register of Sasines, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland and Caithness
RT	Register of Tailzies
SC25	Sheriffdom of Ross (Dingwall), Records
TE	Teind Court Records

#### National Library of Scotland (NLS)

Acc. 9711	Matheson Papers
Dep. 327	Frasers of Strichen and Lovat Deposit
MS1111-1351	Delvine Papers

### *Printed:*

APS	<i>The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland</i> T. Thomson and C. Innes (eds.) 1814-75
RAS	<i>Register of Abbreviated Sasines, Ross-shire</i>
RMS	Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum J. M. Thomson and others (eds.) 1882-1914