

**Plantation slavery and landownership in the west
Highlands and Islands: legacies and lessons**

ANNEX: Data and References

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November 2020

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Land and the Common Good
A discussion paper series on land reform in Scotland

Plantation slavery and landownership in the west Highlands and Islands: legacies and lessons

Report ANNEX containing report datasets and references

This annex contains seven sections:

- A. Estate acreages & purchase prices and dates
- B. Years of purchase
- C. Estate connections not involving purchase
- D. Total landownership by 'old' and 'new' elite beneficiaries of slavery in the west Highlands and Islands
- E. Slavery compensation paid to estate purchasers in the west Highlands and Islands for the loss of their slaves as 'property'
- F. List of references for dataset A (sources for purchase dates and costs, and estate acreages).
- G Bibliography

A. Estate acreages & purchase prices and dates

This section gives the acreage of land purchased in the west Highlands and Islands by significant direct and indirect beneficiaries of slavery. It also includes the estate purchase price and year of purchase where these are known. Additionally, it gives an estimate of the relative worth of those purchases in present day terms.

Purchase prices and acreages have not been found for all the transactions detailed here. This means that the totals for acreage and spend indicated here will be less than the actual totals, perhaps significantly so. This is particularly the case for spend as 22 out of 63 purchase prices have not been found and, therefore, have not been included in the calculation of contemporary values.

The relative values calculator from the measuring worth project has been chosen to make an estimation of the total value of the estate acquired by direct and indirect slavery beneficiaries from the first slavery related land acquisition – Daniel Campbell's purchase of Islay and Jura in 1726 – until the 1910 sale of Duart Castle on Mull and its grounds to Fitzroy Maclean, which is the last slavery related acquisition for which a price has been found.

The [measuring worth website](#) contains several helpful introductory articles on the subject, and this [short introductory](#) video is also useful.

Two different measures have been used to calculate the present day value of the estate bought by slavery beneficiaries in the west Highlands and Islands. For both measures 2019 has been chosen as the reference year in order to make the comparison as contemporary as possible.

The first measure is related to expenditure and uses the UK retail price index. This indicates today's value of an estate when the price is adjusted for inflation based on the rise in costs of a limited basket of consumer goods and services over

the period between the sale and today. This measure does not allow for increasing consumption patterns over time to be factored into the calculation of relative worth.

The second measure gives a value based on labour, and reflects the fact that wages have increased faster over time than prices. It gives an indication of how much a worker on an average wage today would need to earn in order to be able to afford, in this case, the slavery beneficiaries' estates. As mentioned in the report, this kind of calculation is an imprecise science and is being used here to indicate the scale of acquisition that was taking place.

The dataset for purchasers, acreages, dates and costs is structured as follows.

Each entry begins with the region in which the sale happened given in bold type. Each purchaser (usually individuals but families in a small number of cases) for that region is given a bullet point. Following the bullet point, and written in italics, is each purchaser's name (or names, or family name, if there is more than one purchaser) along with the number of estates they bought and the estate names or wider locality. This is followed, also in italics, by the total acreage of their holdings, and the total amount that they paid for their estate at the time(s) of purchase. This is followed in bold italics by the total value in today's terms adjusted, firstly, for inflation by way of RPI and, secondly, for inflation by way of average earnings today.

On a new line, and without italics, is given each individual purchase by this beneficiary, beginning with the year of acquisition, and followed by the name, acreage and price of the estate. This is followed in round brackets by the contemporary value of the estate measured first by RPI and then by wages. Any additional information about the purchase is then given within square brackets. e.g.

Region

- *Name of purchaser, number of estates and locality/name of purchase. Total acreage/total cost (**contemporary value adjusted for inflation / contemporary value adjusted for wages**)*
Date. Name of estate. Acreage. Cost. (contemporary value by RPI / contemporary value by wages) [any further information].

The list for each region includes only those estates which contribute to calculating the acreage of the total estate acquired by direct and indirect beneficiaries of slavery for that region. Other slavery related purchases in the region (for instance of the same estate acquired by a different slavery beneficiary) are included in a summary paragraph following each region's list. This paragraph containing references for the information about these additional sales. References for the information contained in each entry in the list are included in section F of this annex.

*

Argyll Islands

- *Daniel & Walter Campbell, 3 estates on Islay and Jura. >139,000 acres / £22,000 (**£3,024,000 / £41,570,000**)*
1726. Islay and part of Jura. >139,000 acres / £12,000 (£1,753,000 / £25,860,000) [bought by Daniel Campbell of Shawfield – Jura price but not acres included, see further details below]

1788. 'Sunderland' estate on Islay. ? acres / £10,000 (£1,271,000 / £15,710,000) [bought by Walter Campbell of Shawfield and Islay]

- *Lachlan Macquarie, 2 estates on Mull. 21,128 acres / £30,560 (£2,721,800 / £29,920,000)*

1802. Jarvisfield estate. c.10,000 acres / £10,060 (£904,800 / £11,150,000)

1824. Locharnacoil estate. c.11,128 acres . £20,500 (£1,817,000 / £18,770,000)

- *Alexander Crawford, 1 estate on Mull. 11,279 acres / £33,000 (£3,289,000 / £27,110,000)*

1845. Aros estate. 11,279 acres / £33,000 (£3,289,000 / £27,110,000)

- *James Forsyth, 2 estates on Mull. 13,600 acres / no purchase price found*

1849-50. Sorne estate.

1857. Quinish estate.

Arbuthnot Guthrie, 1 estate on Mull, two additional farms. 24,000 acres /

>£90,000 (£8,668,000 / £62,760,000)

1865. Torosay - 14,000 acres / £90,000 (£8,668,000 / £62,760,000)

1873. Farms of Scallastle and Garmony among others. 10,000 acres.

- *James Williams Scarlett, Gigha. 3,679 acres / £49,000 (£4,719,000 / £34,170,000)*

1865. Gigha. 3,679 acres / £49,000 (£4,719,000 / £34,170,000)

- *Lt. Col. Fitzroy Donald Maclean 10th bt., 1 estate on Mull, 310 acres / £11,000 (£1,097,000 // £4,268,000)*

1912. Duart Castle. 310 acres / £11,000 (£1,097,000 / £4,268,000)

Argyll islands total acreage and purchases: >212,996 acres

Other slavery related purchases in the Argyll Islands:

The acquisitions of the Campbells of Jura have also not been included. In 1883 James Campbell of Jura is said to have owned 55,000 acres in Argyll. (Bateman 1883: 74) Some of this family's land in Jura was bought previous to the period in which there is evidence for slavery involvement in the family. However, much if not all of that land was bought from Daniel Campbell (who also owned Islay, see above) and so the land on Jura that the family bought from Daniel Campbell was at one point certainly purchased by someone with significant wealth from slavery. The Campbells of Jura's 55,000 acre estate has not been included in the total acreage as it has not been possible to determine what proportion (if any) was bought before the family became involved in slavery.

Other purchases connected to slavery but not included in the total acreage include the purchase of Torosay for £40,000 (**£3,308,000 / £34,810,000**) in 1825 by Alexander Campbell of Possil. (Currie 2000: 238) He was from a major Glasgow slave-owning family and went on to collect £6,113 from the compensation fund. (Robson 1998: 16) Additionally on Mull, George Clerk Cheape bought the estates of Tiroran and Carsaig on the island in the late 19th century. This appears to be the son

of a man of the same name who was business partner of Arbuthnot Guthrie, purchaser of Torosay on Mull and other land earlier in the century. No purchase prices or acreages have been found for Cheape's Mull estates. It is also clear from the work of Jo Currie (2000) and from the inventory of documents held by Mull Museum that Maclean families on Mull were widely involved in slavery and were slave-owners. Further work is needed on these families.

On Islay, Dunlossit estate was bought around 1868 by Kirkman Finlay, a scion of a major Glasgow cotton manufacturing firm whose 'vast profits were therefore made directly from the products of slavery'. (Bellamy 2018) The same estate was subsequently bought in 1939 by the Schroder family, whose banking business had extensive interests in the Atlantic slavery based economy during the nineteenth century. (Storrie 1981:149). These two purchases of Dunlossit, and Possil's Torosay acquisition, are not included in the acreage total as both have already been calculated from the purchases of other slavery landlords (Campbell of Shawfield and Guthrie respectively).

A further connection is that of the lawyer James Cheyne, who bought and cleared the island of Lismore. He acted as an executor for the slavery interest of Elizabeth Robertson on the island of Tobago.

Argyll Island purchases in total: 17

Argyll Islands total purchase costs (contemporary values): >£26,826,000 / £234,608,000

Skye

- *John Maclennan, 1 estate on Skye. 1,200 acres / no purchase price found 1837. Lyndale. 1,200 acres*
- *Nicol Martin, 1 estate on Skye - 5,200 acres / no purchase price found 1844 [?] Husabost. 5,200 acres.*
- *George Rainy, Isle of Raasay. 17,551 acres / £27,000 (£2,634,000 / £22,090,000) 1846. Isle of Raasay. 17,551 acres / £27,000 (£2,634,000 / £22,090,000)*

William Fraser of Culbokie, 1 estate on Skye. 46,142 acres / £85,000 (£8,002,000 / £63,960,000) 1855. Kilmuir 46,142 acres / £85,000 (£8,002,000 / £63,960,000)

Skye and Raasay total acreage: 70,093 acres

Other slavery related purchases in Skye and Raasay:

Husabost estate had a series of owners with family connections to slavery. Nicol Martin appears to have bought it from his brother Donald Martin who received a substantial sum from the compensation fund and who also bought Roshven estate in

Moidart. Donald Martin purchased in 1841 and Nicol Martin appears to have bought it from him just a couple of years later. Both men were in British Guiana and both appear to have been slave-owners. Before the Martin purchases, Husabost appears to have been owned by Malcolm Nicolson. (Nicolson 1996) [Testimony to the Napier Commission](#) claimed that Nicolson had cleared the township of Scorr on the Husabost estate. The same witness also claimed that Nicolson had exacted four days of unpaid labour from tenants, a practice continued and extended by Nicol Martin. Malcolm Nicolson and his brother Peter were slave-owners in Berbice, British Guiana. Malcolm Nicolson was back in Britain by the 1820s. However, Peter Nicolson appears to have still been resident in British Guiana in 1837 as his daughter was born there. (Macdonald and Maclean 2014: 451-453) It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the Peter Nicolson resident in British Guiana who [received £2,010](#) from the compensation fund was Malcolm Nicolson's brother. Malcolm Nicolson was the father of Sheriff Alexander Nicolson, a member of the Napier Commission.

Skye purchases in total: 6

*Skye and Raasay total purchase costs (contemporary values): **£10,636,000 / £86,050,000***

Western Isles

- *George Murray [Lord Dunmore], Harris - c.117,810 acres on Harris / £60,000 (**£5,809,000 / £53,250,000**)*
- 1834. Harris. c.117,810 acres / £60,000 (£5,809,000 / £53,250,000)
- *John Gordon of Cluny, 5 estates on Barra, South Uist and Benbecula 98,116 acres / £162,279 (**£14,473,000 / £136,770,000**)*
 - c. 1839. Benbecula. for acreage see following entry / £40,000 (£3,546,000 / £33,280,000)
 - c. 1839. South Uist. total acreage for Benbecula & South Uist 67,908 acres / £56,000 (£4,964,000 / £46,950,000)
 - c. 1839. Boisdale & Bornish. Boisdale 11,000 acres & Bornish 1,600 acres / £28,229 (£2,502,000 / £23,480,000)
 - 1840. Barra. 17,608 acres / £38,050 (£3,461,000 / £33,060,000)
- *John Powlett Orde, North Uist. 75,320 acres / no purchase price found*
 - 1855. North Uist. 75,320 acres [Powlett Orde also held 4,646 acres in mainland Argyll]

*Western Isles total acreage and purchases: **c.291,246 acres***

The entries above account for all the major landholdings in the Western Isles aside from one. The final major estate, that of Lewis, was owned by the Mackenzie [Seaforth] family who were forced to sell it to the opium dealer James Matheson in the mid-nineteenth century, despite the last Lord Seaforth becoming Governor of the slave colony of Barbados and investing in plantation slavery in Berbice. (McKichan 2018) That is, all the major estates of the Western Isles during the nineteenth century were owned by men who participated in the Caribbean slavery economy.

Moreover, another major island landlord, Reginald Macdonald [Clanranald], was also forced to sell his island and mainland estates (the islands to the slave-owning John Gordon) despite marrying into slavery derived wealth. Furthermore, in the wider category of forced labour, there have been strong allegations that a company ultimately owned by a later owner of Lewis, William Lever, was coercing villagers to work on plantations in the Congo in the 1920s. (Buell 1928: 542)

Western Isles purchases in total: 7

Western Isles total purchase costs (contemporary values): >£20,282,000 / £190,020,000

Ross

- *Davidsons of Tulloch, 5 estates in [Wester] Ross. >45,981 acres / >£12,000 (£1,125,770 / £13,520,000)*
 1773. Ballone. £3,500 (£448,000 / £6,189,000) [Bought by Henry Davidson (1726-1781). Ballone is later known as Inverbroom and, combined with Braemore which was also in Davidson ownership, totaled 39,530 acres]
 1799. Guinard [part of]. £1,000 (£98,970 / £1,240,000). [Bought by Duncan Davidson (1733-1799)]
 1825. Auchendrean. £7,500 (£578,800 / £6,091,000). [Bought by Henry Davidson (1771-1827)]
 1837. Fisherfield [Bought by Duncan Davidson (1800-1881). See entry below for Thomas Fraser of Balnain for more details]
 [?] Leckmelm. 6,451 acres.
 [NB The same pieces of land appear to go by different names. It may be that some of the estates were renamed under Davidson of Tulloch ownership.]
- *Thomas Fraser of Balnain, Fisherfield estate. ? acres / £8,500 (£702,000 / £7,396,000)*
 1826. Fisherfield [aka Inverianvie]. £8,500 (£702,000 / £7,396,000)
- *Alexander McBarnet, 2 estates in Ross. 62,000 acres / £12,150 (£1,134,000 / £10,590,000)*
 1837. Attadale. c.32,000 acres
 1838. Torridon. c.30,000 acres / £12,150 (£1,134,000 / 10,590,000)
- *James Evan Baillie, 1 estate in Ross. 24,500 acres / £24,500 (£2,222,000 / £20,750,000)*
 1838. Glenshiel. £24,500 (£2,222,000 / £20,750,000)
 [See also his Inverness entry]
- *Mary Hanbury, 2 estates in Ross. 12,000 acres / no price found*
 1862. Kernsary.
 1863. Inverewe and Tournaig
- *Captain Arnold Stancomb Wills, Applecross estate. 62,000 acres / no price discovered*
 1929. Applecross. 62,000 acres

Ross total acreage: >**206,481 acres**

Other slavery related purchases in Ross:

Other purchases not included in the acreage include those of Wilhelm Schroeder, John Mackenzie, Duncan Darroch, David Dick and William Elphinstone. Wilhelm Schroeder, a member of the international banking family which had extensive slavery interests, bought Attadale estate in 1910. (Roberts 1992: 93. Drayton 2019) (Another family member bought Dunlossit on Islay.)

Torrison estate had been sold by Kenneth Mackenzie of Torrison to his brother John in 1797 for £1,727 (**£180,200 / £2,185,000**), shortly after John Mackenzie's marriage to Anne Isabella Van Dam, the daughter of Isaac Van Dam, who appears to have been from a prominent Atlantic slave-owning dynasty. (Mackenzie 1879: 611, 612. UKHL 2: 1868. Macdonald: 1997: 96) After McBarnet's ownership it was bought for £63,000 (**£5,666,000 / £36,480,000**) by Duncan Darroch whose family had also benefitted from slavery in the Caribbean. (Macdonald: 1997: 114)

The Glenshiel estate owned by Baillie had previously been bought by [David Dick](#), who was part of a Jamaican slave-owning family and had helped to run the Kingston firm of John Tailyour, transporting 'slaves to Jamaica in large numbers'. (University of Michigan no date given) In 1866 William Elphinstone [15th Lord Elphinstone] bought 15,000 acres of what had previously been part of the Applecross estate and which became a separate estate called Coulin. (Dagg 2011: 19,20). Elphinstone was a great-grandson of John Murray [4th Lord Dunmore] the slave-owning governor of Virginia and the Bahamas. (Burke 1878: 436) The acreage of Coulin is not included as it is accounted for as part of the Applecross Estate later bought by the Wills family.

Ross county mainland purchases in total: 18

Ross total purchase costs (contemporary values): >£11,029,970 / £90,921,000

Inverness

- *Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale and heirs, 4 estates in Inverness 33,220 acres / >£15,060 (**£1,101,000 / £21,650,000**)*
1773. Glenaladale and Glenfinnan. 18,000 acres [bought by Alexander the elder]
c. 1811. Lochsheil. 7,220 acres / £8,960 [bought by Alexander the younger]
c. 1811. Eilean Shona. £6,100 [bought by Alexander the younger]
[?] Lettermorar. 8,000 acres [?]
- *Anne Selby Cunninghame [Lady Ashburton], 1 estate. 27,960 acres /£48,950 (**£4,269,000 / £42,190,000**)*
1827. Arisaig. 27,960 acres /£48,950 (£4,269,000 / £42,190,000) [bought by Lady Ashburton and gifted by her to James Edward Cranstoun, her cousin, in 1835]

*John Walker, 1 estate in Inverness 70,940 acres / £45,000 (**£4,357,000 / £39,940,000**)*

1834. Corroul. 70,940 acres / £45,000 (£4,357,000 / £39,940,000)

- *Dr Donald Martin, 1 estate. 6,000 acres / no price discovered*
1834. Roshven and Glenuig. 6,000 acres

James Evan Baillie, 2 estates. >46,500 acres / £97,000 (£9,254,000 / £80,370,000)

1837. Glenelg. 46,500 acres / £77,000 (£7,048,000 / £63,710,000)

1851. Letterfinlay. £20,000 (£2,206,000 / £16,660,000)

[See also his Ross Entry]

- *Edward Ellice, 2 estates in Inverness-shire. 99,545 acres / £152,000 (£14,187,000 / £113,730,000)*

1839. Glenquoich. c.30,000 acres / £32,000 (£2,837,000 / £26,620,000)

1860. Glengarry. c.69,545 acres / £120,000 (£11,350,000 / £87,110,000)

[Although the great majority of Edward Ellice's Glengarry estate lies in the west coast parish of Kilmonivaig, a small portion appears to lie in the neighbouring parish of Boleskine and Abertarff, which does not count as part of the west Highlands and Islands by the definition given in this research. It has not been possible to discover exact figures for these non-west coast portions. However, the rental for the Ellice family's Boleskine estate in 1902 was £311 whereas the total for the west coast parish of Kilmonivaig was £4,149. The non-west Highland rental is substantially less than ten per cent of the total rental of Ellice's Inverness-shire estate and therefore it can be argued that the inclusion of what is highly likely to be a relatively small number of Boleskine acres in the calculations cannot alter the results in any significant way.]

James Scarlett [Lord Abinger], 1 estate in Inverness, 39,414 acres / £75,150 (£6,835,000 / £65,290,000)

1840. Inverlochy. 39,414 acres / £75,150 (£6,835,000 / £65,290,000)

Duncan Cameron of Fassifern, 1 estate in Inverness – 40,000 acres / £31,700 (£3,206,000 / £25,920,000)

1848. Glennevis. 40,000 acres / £31,700 (£3,206,000 / £25,920,000)

[Duncan Cameron of Fassifern may also have inherited Fassifern estate as in 1883 his daughter is said to have owned 74,000 acres in Inverness – this extra acreage may also be accounted for by the family's earlier purchase of Callart, and of Meople from the Macdonalds of Morar, and, if so, these acres should be included in the list. It is also worth noting that according to Antiquarian Notes Fassifern cleared Meople after acquiring it. (Bateman 1883: 75. Fraser Mackintosh 1897: 247. Fraser Mackintosh 1900: 67)]

Inverness total acreage: 363,579 acres

Other slavery related purchases in Inverness:

Other purchases not included in the total acreage are those of William Ward, Colin Campbell Mackay and Hugh Blackburn.

William Ward [10th Lord Ward and 1st Earl of Dudley (revived title)] bought Glengarry estate for £91,000 (**£8,277,000 / £79,060,000**) in 1840. Ward sold Glengarry to Edward Ellice in c.1860. William Ward's [father](#) appears to have [inherited](#) the estates as well as the title of Lord Ward from his cousin [John William Ward](#). This estate included three Jamaican plantations.

Colin Campbell [Mackay of Bighouse](#) bought Arisaig from James Cranstoun in 1843 but sold the estate on shortly thereafter. As a trustee of the will of James Cruikshank, Mackay shared [£8,753](#) of the compensation fund. He was married to Marjory Cruikshank, a daughter of James Cruikshank, but also seems to have been a plantation owner in his own right on St Vincent. His aunt was married to James Baillie, a plantation owner in Grenada, and member of the slaveowning Baillies of Dochfour. (Wimberley 1894: 132)

Hugh Blackburn had bought Roshven estate by 1854, probably from Donald Martin. Blackburn was a [Professor of Mathematics](#) at Glasgow University and was son of [John Blackburn](#), a major figure in the slavery economy of Jamaica and who in his 32 years in the colony is reckoned to have had around 30 plantations under his management or care (Sheridan 1971: 296). He left more than £100,000 on his death. Hugh Blackburn's wife's family, the [Wedderburn Colvilles](#) were also [major slaveowners](#). There were close relations between these two families with at least three marriages between them over several generations. (Rankin 2000: 7)

Sir John Stirling Maxwell bought Corrour Estate from the Walker family and was also co-founder of the National Trust for Scotland and owner of Pollok House in Glasgow. He was a grandson of [Archibald Stirling of Keir](#) who received more than £10,000 from the compensation fund. This family were extensively involved in slavery. Archibald Stirling spent 25 years in Jamaica and at one point in time one of his plantations there was generating profits of some £5,000 a year. (Fraser 1858: 81)

Inverness county purchases in total: 16

Inverness total purchase costs (contemporary values): >£32,505,000 / £468,150,000

TOTAL NUMBER OF ESTATE PURCHASES MADE BY BENFICIARIES OF SLAVERY IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS: **63**

TOTAL ACREAGE BOUGHT BY BENFICIARIES OF SLAVERY IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS: **>1,144,395 acres**

TOTAL SPEND: **>£120,260,770** (RPI measure) / **£1,069,749,000** (Average Wage measure)

B. Years of purchase

In the following list the 'Unknown year' category only applies to those purchases which cannot be categorized in the general temporal categories, below. Thus, the actual years when George Clerk Cheape acquired his two estates on Mull have not been identified, but it is known that they happened post-1859 (but pre-1900) and so they are listed in that category.

Unknown year

Unknown Davidson of Tulloch – Leckmelm **unknown**

Unknown Macdonald of Glenaladale – Lettermorar **unknown date**

Total unknown: **2**

Pre 1834

Daniel Campbell – Islay and Jura **1726** (2)

Henry Davidson of Tulloch – Ballone [aka Inverbroom] **1773**

Alexander Macdonald – Glenaladale and Glenfinnan **1773**

Walter Campbell – 'Sunderland' on Islay **1788**

John Mackenzie – Torridon **1797**

Duncan Davidson of Tulloch – Gruinard **1799**

Lachlan Macquarie – Jarvisfield on Mull **1802**; Locharnacoil on Mull **1824** (2)

Alexander Macdonald (yr.) of Glenaladale Lochshiel **c.1811**; Eilean Shona **c.1811** (2)

David Dick – Glenshiel – **1813**

Henry Davidson (yr.) of Tulloch – Auchendrean **1825**

Alexander Campbell of Possil – Torosay on Mull **1825**

Thomas Fraser – Fisherfield **1826**

Anne Selby [nee Cunningham] – Arisaig **1827**

Malcolm Nicolson – Husabost **1827** [?]

Total pre 1834: 17

1834 – 1844

George Murray – Isle of Harris **1834**

Donald Martin – Roshven and Glenuig **1834**

John Walker – Corroul **1834**

John Maclennan – Lyndale on Skye **1837**

Alexander McBarnet – Attadale **1837**; Torridon **1838** (2)

Duncan Davidson (yr.) of Tulloch – Fisherfield **1837**

James Evan Baillie – Glenelg **1837**; Glenshiel **1838** (2)

John Gordon – Isle of Benbecula **c.1839**; Isle of South Uist **c.1839**; Boisdale in South Uist **c.1839**; Bornish in South Uist **c.1839**; Isle of Barra **1840** (5)

Edward Ellice – Glenquoich **1839**

James Scarlett – Inverlochy **1840**

William Ward – Glengarry **1840**

Nicol Martin – Husabost on Skye **1842** [?]

Colin Campbell Mackay – Arisaig **1843**

Total 1834-1844: 19

1844 – 1859

Alexander Crawford – Aros on Mull **1845**
George Rainy – Isle of Raasay **1846**
Duncan Cameron – Glen Nevis **1848**
James Forsyth – Sorne on Mull **1849-50**; Quinish on Mull **1857** (2)
James Evan Baillie – Letterfearn **1851**
Hugh Blackburn – Roshven **1854**
William Fraser of Culbokie – Kilmuir on Skye **1855**
John Powlett Orde – Isle of North Uist **1855**

Total 1844-1859: 9

Post 1859

Edward Ellice – Glengarry **c.1860**
Mary Hanbury – Kernsary **1862**; Inverewe and Tournaig **1863** (2)
Arbuthnot Guthrie – Torosay on Mull **1865**; Farms of Scallastle and Garmony etc. **1873** (2)
James Scarlett – Isle of Gigha **1865**
Kirkman Finlay – Dunlossit on Islay **1868**
William Elphinstone – Coulin **1868**
Duncan Darroch – Torridon **1873**
George Clerk Cheape – Tiroran and Carsaig on Mull **[unknown year(s) in late nineteenth century]** (2)
John Maxwell Stewart – Corroun **1891**
William Schroder – Attadale **1910**
Fitzroy Mclean – Duart Castle on Mull **1912**
Arnold Wills – Applecross **1929**
Member of the Schroeder family – Dunlossit on Islay **1939**

Total post 1859: 16

TOTAL SLAVERY RELATED PURCHASES: 63

C. Estate connections not involving purchase

1. Existing landowners with a direct interest in the slavery economy

This category has two sub-categories

i. Slavery interest & maintained estate

- Cameron of Locheil – owner of 109,574 acres in Inverness-shire (Bateman 1883: 72)

According to a clan history, Ewen Cameron of Locheil acquired an interest in a Caribbean plantation in Jamaica in the 1730s. (Mackenzie 1884: 214. See also Macinnes 1988: 77) and several of his grandsons appear to have managed land there in the 18th century. (Cameron 1842: 23,29)

- Alexander Mackintosh of Mackintosh – owner of 124,181 acres in Inverness-shire (Bateman 1883: 291).

According to Charles Fraser Mackintosh, following the death of Aeneas Mackintosh, the 23rd chief of clan Mackintosh, Alexander Mackintosh returned from Jamaica to take up the title. He is thought to have owned [Moy Hall estate](#) in Jamaica which had 133 enslaved in 1834. (Fraser Mackintosh 1890: 301)

ii. Slavery interest & lost estate

- Francis Humberston MacKenzie and his successors were forced to sell almost all of their estates in Scotland despite being governor of Barbados and owning slaves in British Guiana. (McKichan 2018)
- The family of David Stewart of Garth were forced to sell his Perthshire estate following his death, despite him being a slave-owner and Governor of St Lucia. (Robertson 1998: 34, 176-181)

2. Indirect slavery derived wealth via marriage

This category has three sub-categories

i. wealth enabled estate purchase

- Lachlan Macquarie – purchased Jarvisfield on Mull. See the main report for further details of his marriage to the daughter of [Thomas Jarvis](#), a slave-owning president of the Council of Antigua.
- George Dempster – although Dempster's main interests were in the East India Company, he married Rose Heming, the daughter of [Richard Heming](#), a major Jamaican plantation owner and is said to have received a dowry of £2,000 which he used to restore part of his estates. His biographer says that by the marriage Dempster was able to pay off his debts and acquired a new sense of purpose and also states that [William Pulteney](#) (who inherited huge slavery derived wealth) stood security for Dempster in enabling Dempster to buy Skibo Estate for £11,000 (Evans 2005: 7, 11, 99, 100, 181) Dempster's estate is outside the west Highlands and Islands area and his acreage and purchase price have not been included in the calculations. However, he is included not only because he is a particularly interesting example of this kind of indirect beneficiary, but also because his 'improving' activities involved repeated interventions on landed estates in the west Highlands and Islands.

ii. wealth may have enabled estate to be maintained

- Norman Macleod of Macleod – owner of 141,679 acres in Inverness-shire (Bateman 1883: 292)
Norman Macleod married Barbara Louisa St John, whose [grandmother](#), daughter of the merchant [Peter Simond](#), was a large-scale slaveowner in Grenada. The grandmother is said to have brought £20,000 to her marriage to St John of Bletso. (Mackenzie 1889: 185. Bedford Councils No date given) A historian of Skye has said that Norman Macleod, at the time close to bankruptcy, was ‘lucky’ to have made ‘a good marriage’. (Hutchinson 2015)
- Francis Mackenzie of Gairloch – owner of 164,880 acres in Ross-shire. (Bateman 1883: 289)
Francis Mackenzie married slavery heiresses twice. His first wife was Kythe Caroline Smith-Wright, whose maternal grandfather was [Edward Grey](#) of Harringay who received £4,624 from the compensation fund. His second wife was Mary Hanbury whose [ancestors](#) were slave-owners and also financed slavery through their banking business. (Gentleman’s Magazine June 1848: 662, 663. Lloyds Bank, no date given.)
- Countess of Sutherland (wife of Duke of Sutherland) – owner of 1,326,453 acres in Sutherland and Ross-shire. (Bateman 1883: 431)
See main report for her slavery connections.
- Duke of Argyll – owner of 168,315 acres in Argyll. (Bateman 1883: 14)
See main report for the family’s multiple slavery connections.

iii. wealth did not enable estate to be maintained

- Reginald Macdonald of Clan Ranald.

3. Sporting tenants

- Duncan Darroch – held shooting rights on Lewis from 1865 to 1872. He bought the estate of Torridon the year after giving up the shooting rights on Lewis. (Jones 2008: 34)
- William Hill Brancker – held shooting rights at Aline on Lewis from 1878 to 1891. He was grandson of the slave-trader and slave-owner [Peter Whitfield Branker](#). Brancker became ‘one of the most despised characters on the island of Lewis’ and appears to have had to flee the island during the land risings. (Jones 2008: 65, 66. *The Annual Register* 1847: 221. Aspinall 1923: 84, 89)
- Daniel Mackinley – held shooting rights at Gress on Lewis 1874-1876.
Mackinley was a Lewisman who had become a managing partner of the mercantile house of Arbuthnot Gillanders in India and President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Arbuthnot Gillanders was originally set up with the backing of John Gladstone, and the firm’s early work had involved deceiving many poor Indians to become indentured labourers on Gladstone’s Caribbean plantations following abolition of slavery and the end of the subsequent apprenticeship system. (Jones 2008: 94. Checkland 1971: 120, 123, 181)
- Walter Campbell of Islay – Evander McIver claimed Campbell was the first ever shooting tenant on Lewis (McIver 1905: 196)

- [Sir Thomas Edwards-Moss](#) – held sporting rights at Gaick, Kingussie and Fasnakyle (31,000 acres) near Beaulie. He also rented shootings at Poolewe where his daughter was unhappily married to Osgood Hanbury Mackenzie. (Grimble 1896: 143, 148. SLR 1893)

The demand from this sporting category arguably helped to fuel the demand for deer forests in the second half of the nineteenth century and kept huge areas of land out of agriculture for sport. Some of these, such as Darroch and Mackinley, seem to have behaved inoffensively to local people. However, this was not always the case and Brancker's assault on a young boy in Stornoway, for which he was successfully prosecuted – and indeed Brancker's whole relation with the Lewis people – would be worth further study.

D. Total landownership by 'old' and 'new' elite beneficiaries of slavery in the west Highlands and Islands

To obtain an estimate of the total acreage of the west Highlands and Islands I defined the area as all the islands off the west coast of Scotland, from Jura in the south to Lewis in the north, and those mainland parishes of what were the counties of Inverness-shire and Ross-shire which have a boundary with the Atlantic ocean on the west coast. This consists of four parishes in Inverness-shire (Kilmallie, Kilmunvaig, Ardnamurchan and Glenelg), and seven parishes in Ross-shire (Glenshiel, Kintail, Lochalsh, Lochcarron, Applecross, Gairloch and Loch Broom)

ISLANDS

The acreages for the islands are given in a General Register Office for Scotland briefing paper. (GROS 2003) These total:

Argyll islands 577,542 acres

CnES 758,406 acres

Highland council islands (excluding those attached to mainland parishes)
471,066 acres

Island total acreage 1,807,014

MAINLAND

I used Slater's *Royal National Commercial Directory* to obtain acreages for all of the mainland parishes aside from Ardnamurchan. In the nineteenth century Ardnamurchan parish was split between the counties of Inverness and Argyll. Slater's *Directory* gives the acreage of Ardnamurchan parish as 109,402 acres. (Anonymous 1903: 176) This figure almost certainly accounts only for those parts of the parish south of Lochshiel which lie in the county of Argyll, and does not include Moidart, Arisaig, and South Morar, those parts of Ardnamurchan parish which were in the county of Inverness. Another nineteenth century gazetteer which does distinguish between the two counties claims that the parish contains more than 250,000 acres in total with an exact figure of 110,568 acres given for the Argyll-shire portion. (Lewis 1846: 64 – I have converted these two figures to imperial acres from Scots acres) The *National Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland* gives the more exact figure of 273,280 acres for the entire parish area. (Hamilton 1868: 87) I have subtracted from this total the exact Argyll-shire acreage given in the 1846 gazetteer to obtain a total of 162,712 acres for the Inverness-shire portion of the parish.

[As it happens, by the end of the nineteenth century a substantial part of the Argyll-shire section of Ardnamurchan parish was also owned by a colonial magnate whose wealth had been built on the exploitation of black lives. This was Charles Dunell Rudd. (Anonymous 1903: 176) Alongside his longtime close business partner, the racist and unscrupulous British imperialist Cecil Rhodes, Rudd had co-founded the De Beers mining company in South Africa. One banking inspector commented that one of De Beers early ventures in South Africa was marked by 'a reckless disregard for human life'. (Turrell 1982: 328)]

Inverness-shire west coast parish acreages

Kilmonivaig – 267,047 acres (Anonymous 1903: 899)

Glenelg – 134,478 (Anonymous 1903: 876)

Kilmallie – 205,482 (Anonymous 1903: 898)

Ardnamurchan 162,712 (Lewis 1846: 64. Hamilton 1868: 87)

Total: 769,719

Ross-shire west coast parish acreages

Glenshiel 57,320 ((Anonymous 1903: 1286

Kintail 77,441 (Anonymous 1903: 1289)

Lochalsh 49,532 (Anonymous 1903: 1290)

Lochcarron 85,090 (Anonymous 1903: 1292)

Applecross 109,293 (Anonymous 1903: 1278)

Gairloch 200,646 (Anonymous 1903: 1285)

Lochbroom 261,020 (Anonymous 1903: 1291)

Total: 840,342

Mainland total 1,610,061

Island total 1,807,014

Total acreage of west Highlands and Islands:

3,417,074 acres

Old elite acreage figures are all taken from *Great Landowners* (Bateman 1883)

149,999 acres – Duchess of Sutherland holdings in Ross

109,574 acres – Cameron of Locheil in Inverness

124,181 acres – Mackintosh of Mackintosh in Inverness

141,679 acres – Macleod of Dunvegan in Inverness

164,880 acres – Mackenzie of Gairloch in Ross

Old elite total: 690,313 acres

Old elite acreage: 690,313

New elite acreage: 1,144,395

Grand total 1,834,708 acres

This amounts to 53.7 per cent – more than half – of the west Highlands and Islands area and is approaching 10 per cent of the entire land mass of Scotland.

E. Compensation paid to estate purchasers in the west Highlands and Islands for loss of their slaves as 'property'

*[Direct beneficiaries of the fund are marked with an *]*

Argyll Islands

Fitzroy Jeffreys Grafton Maclean [grandfather of Fitzroy Maclean who bought Duart Castle] **£3,676**

George Clerk Cheape sr [father of George Clerk Cheape jr] - **£194** [Cheape was a partner with David Guthrie (see below) and I have divided equally the £388 joint compensation they received in seven enslaved people in Trinidad. I have not included another £3,087 of claims for which they acted as trustees.]

Sarah Maria Forsyth [mother of James Forsyth] - **£989**

David Guthrie [father of Arbuthnot Guthrie] - **£194** Guthrie was a partner with George Clerk Cheape (see above) and I have divided equally the £388 joint compensation they received in seven enslaved people in Trinidad. I have not included another £3,087 of claims for which they acted as trustees (or an additional unresolved claim for £1,690 for Guthrie)]

*Alexander Campbell of Possil - **£6,113**

Skye

*John Maclennan - **£329**

*Nicol Martin - **£295**

William Fraser [Grandfather of William Fraser] - **£3,676** [plus share in £2,175]

*George Rainy - **£50,000** [ODNB entry gives this figure (Alston 2016)]

Western Isles

*John Gordon of Cluny - **£6,150** [this is based on him receiving an equal share of claims received along with his brother]

Ross-shire

*Alexander McBarnet - **£8,250**

*Duncan Davidson - **£4,885**

Inverness-shire

*Edward Ellice - **£4,184** [in joint claims with three others I have given him a quarter - he is also likely to have benefitted from further claims on plantations on which he held a mortgage]

*James Scarlett - **£626**

*John Walker - **£1,461** [Given the other people involved in the claim, I consider it likely that John Walker, the owner of Corrou, is the same John Walker as was awarded a share of the compensation for [Barking Lodge](#) estate in Jamaica]

*James Evan Baillie - **£53,964** [not including partnerships]

*Donald Martin - **£1,343**

Peter Blackburn [father of Hugh Blackburn [Roshven]] - **£11,321**

Trustees of Lord Ward (estate eventually went to relative who bought Glengarry) -
£7,892

As a general rule I have only included claims where the UCL records put the claimants as 'beneficiaries' and have not included those where they act as 'trustees' or as 'executors', although these categories may also in some cases have included financial rewards.

The contemporary estimate of the value of slavery beneficiaries' compensation payouts has been reached by making the same calculation of relative worth as made by the Legacies of British Slavery project at University College London investigators: the compensation fund total of £20 million = c.£16 billion in today's terms (Hall et al 2014b)

Total direct compensation payments for slaveowners: £137,600

In today's terms this amounts to: £110,080,000

F. List of references for dataset A (sources for purchase dates and costs, and estate acreages).

Argyll islands

Campbells of Islay: The acreage, date and price for Islay is from Campbell's biography. (Hill and Bastin 2007: 82, 99). The total purchase price also includes his purchase of land on Jura which was later sold to the family of James Campbell of Jura. The acreage of the Jura estate has not been identified and has not been included. The date and cost of Walter Campbell's purchase of Sunderland estate is in Storrie's history of Islay (Storrie 1981: 92, 93)

MacQuarie: The total acreage of Macquarie's estates on Mull and the cost of his 1802 purchase of 'Jarvisfield' (Macquarie University, 'The Lachlan & Elizabeth Macquarie Room', 'The "Jarvisfield" Estate'.) Available on-line at: <https://www.mq.edu.au/about/campus-services-and-facilities/library/about-us/lachlan-and-elizabeth-macquarie-room/lachlan-macquaries-regiments/jarvisfield-estate> [accessed 09/11/2018]. The cost of the subsequent 1824 Locharnacoil purchase is in the will of Lachlan MacQuarie.

Crawford: The acreage is from *Great Landowners*. (Bateman 1883: 8) An alternative slightly larger acreage is given on a map showing his estate – the more conservative figure has been chosen. The purchase date and cost is from the testimony of John MacCallum, a solicitor in Tobermory, to the Napier Commission on 10th August 1883. http://napier-argyll.blogspot.com/2012/03/tobermory-mull-10-august-1883-john_145.html [accessed 3rd August 2020].

The evidence for this man's connection to slavery is not strong – his father is given as 'of Kingston' by Jo Currie in her very well researched history of Mull. (2000: 386) Additionally, a couple of Maclean clan histories also make a Jamaican connection. But I can find nothing of this family in the UCL *LBS* records.

Forsyth: Acreage: (Bateman 1883: 173) Years of purchase: (Currie: 2000: 382, 384)

Guthrie: Acreage, purchase price and date: (Robson 1998: 20, 22)

James Williams Scarlett: Acreage: (Bateman 1883: 398). Purchase date and price: (Haswell Smith 2008: 39 – Haswell Smith erroneously gives James Scarlett [Lord Abinger], the uncle of James Williams Scarlett, as purchaser).

Lt. Col. Fitzroy Donald Maclean: Acreage, purchase price and date: (Robson 1998: 30, 31)

Skye and Raasay

MacLennan: Acreage: (Wightman 1996: 84) [Wightman gives late twentieth century acreage, but is probably relatively accurate for this small estate.]

Martin: Acreage: (Wightman 1996: 82). [Wightman gives late twentieth century acreage, but is probably relatively accurate for this small estate.] According to the sasine record, the estate was bought by Nicol Martin's brother, Donald Martin (also a slave-owner and landowner of Roshven in Moidart), in 1841, and appears to have been transferred to Nicol Martin three years later.

Rainy: Acreage: (Bateman 1883: 487 – this is under the name of Edward Wood who owned Raasay when Bateman's book was published). Purchase price and date is in the title deeds in Skye and Lochalsh archives.

Fraser: Acreage: (Bateman 1883:176). The purchase price and date are in his grandfather's [UCL LBS](#) entry.

Outer Hebrides

Murray: Acreage: (Inverness Journal, 18th May 1832 [reprinted in Kerr 2011]); Purchase price and date: (SCS 1840: 17)

Gordon: There is disagreement over Gordon's acreage in the islands. Bateman (1883: 82) gives around 84,000 acres. However, the Crofters Commission's report on conditions in Uist in 1903 breaks down Gordon's purchases within South Uist and Benbecula, and suggests a higher total acreage. As an official government report, the latter has been preferred. (Crofters Commission 1905: xi) The acreage for Barra and Vatersay has been derived from a report on Scotland's islands by the General Register Office for Scotland. (GROS 2003: 11)

In calculating the total purchase price of South Uist, Benbecula and Barra, the Inverness Courier and James Stewart (who uses a different source from the Courier) both say the price for South Uist and Benbecula, bought from Clanranald, was £96,000. The Courier adds that the price for Barra was £38,050. The Crofters Commission report adds the detail that in addition to Clanranald land, Gordon additionally bought Boisdale and Bornish for £24,229. This approximates the £163,799 that Eric Richards says Cluny spent 'on property in the Western Isles'. The total that has been used here is £162,279. (Crofters Commission 1905: xi. Barron 1907: 330. Stewart 1982: 578. Richards 2013: 270)

Powlett Orde: The acreage of this estate was given in *Great Landlords* as 81,099 (Bateman 1883: 345) but the figure given for North Uist is 75,320 by the Crofters Commission. (Crofters Commission 1905: xi) As no other record has been found of Powlett Orde holding land elsewhere in Inverness-shire, the Commission's figure has been selected. Purchase date: (Crofters Commission 1905: xi)

West of mainland Ross-shire

Davidson The acreage figure for Braemore is taken from the holding of Sir John Fowler in the 1880s given in *Great Landowners*. (Bateman 1883: 174). This total

appears to be constituted from the two estates that Fowler bought from Davidson of Tulloch, Braemore in 1865 and Inverbroom in 1867 (Inverbroom had previously been called Ballone). These are the only two Ross purchases by Fowler that are mentioned in his biography. (Mackay 1900: 182, 322, 323); the dates and purchase prices for the other estates come from the work of Malcolm Bangor-Jones. (Bangor-Jones 1994: 94, 98 105) According to Alexander Mackenzie in his clan history, a member of the Davidson family is also said to have bought land from Mackenzie of Gairloch.

Fraser: Purchase price and date: (Bangor-Jones 1994: 106)

McBarnet: No figure has been found for the acreage of the Attadale estate bought by McBarnet. The total of 32,000 acres that has been used in the report for Attadale is from *Who Owns Scotland*. (Wightman 1996: 120) Another source gives Attadale estate at 45,000 acres century at the time it was purchased by William Schroder of the merchant banking family in 1910. (Roberts 1992: 93) This figure must also be used cautiously as it post-dates the estate concentration of Sir Alexander Matheson who bought Attadale following McBarnet. On the other hand, the Schrodgers were also involved in the new world slavery economy and so, arguably, the higher figure could also be used. John MacEwan gave a figure of 35,700 acres. (MacEwen 1977: 28) Although Wightman's book gives the modern acreage for Attadale it has been adopted on the grounds that it is the most conservative. Torridon estate was sold by the McBarnet family to Duncan Darroch in 1865 and McBarnet's acreage for Torridon is estimated from Darroch's acreage in *Great Landlords* (Bateman 1883: 4). Local historian Murdoch Macdonald also gives a figure of approximately 30,000 acres. (MacDonald 1997: 96) Darroch's family were also slavery beneficiaries. The price that McBarnet paid for Torridon is given in MacDonald's valuable local history. (Macdonald 1997: 106)

Baillie: Acreage: (Bateman 1883: 21). Purchase prices and dates: (Devine 2006: 212).

Hanbury: Acreage: (Dixon 1886: 219). Purchase dates: (Dixon 1886: 62. Mackenzie. 1894: 446). No purchase prices found.

Wills: Purchase date in National Archives Catalogue Description for 'Papers relating to Applecross Estate'. Available on-line at: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/e9fe4f86-84e6-446a-ae62-9bc0969031ab> [accessed 13th October 2020]. Acreage: (Wightman 1996: 120). No purchase price found.

West of mainland Inverness-shire

Macdonald – Acreage for Glenfinnan and Glenalladale, and Lettermorar: (Millais et al 1913: 79, 80). The Lettermorar purchase is confirmed by Charles Fraser Mackintosh (Fraser Mackintosh 1897: 247). Acreage for Lochshiel: (Murray 2007: 83).

There are two purchase dates and prices for Loch Shiel. The two Reverend Macdonalds' account of Clan Donald gives a total price for a series of possessions including 'Dalelea' and 'Island Shona'. (Macdonald & Macdonald 1904: 271) Barron's Northern Scotland in the nineteenth century gives Dalilea and Eilean Shona as separate purchases. However the financial value of the two sales in Barron's work comes to the same total as that given in Clan Donald. (Barron 1907: 330)

This suggests that what comes to be called the Lochshiel estate was considered to have two component parts in Eilean Shona and Dalilea, with the latter itself consisting of a number of smaller territories delineated in the Clan Donald account. According to Fr. Charles Macdonald, Archibald Macdonald of Rhu inherited Dalilea and Eilean Shona from the younger Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale. Although Fr Macdonald makes Lochshiel a separate estate to Eilean Shona, recent doctoral research by Michael Murray has confirmed Eilean Shona was part of Lochshiel. (Macdonald 1997: 214, 215. Murray 2007: 44)

In addition to Lettermorar, the Glenaladale Macdonalds are said to have bought other parts of the South Morar estate including Almie and Rhetland. (Mackintosh 1897: 247). Alexander the younger is also said to have bought the estate of Drimnin in Morven which was later bought by John Maclean of Boreray. (Macdonald & Macdonald 1904: 271)

Cunninghame – The figure given for acreage is the figure given for the Astley family in *Great Landlords* (Bateman 1883: 17). Purchase price and date: (Barron 1907: 330).

Walker: Lisbet Rausing in her abridged history of Corroul gives the purchase price of John Walker's estate in the area as £45,000. *Great Landlords* gives the acreage belonging to Walker's son in Inverness in 1883 as 70,940. (Rausing 2018: 23 Bateman 1883: 461)

Martin – acreage *Inverness Journal 16th July 1824*. Records from the Inverness Courier state that the 'Lands of Moidart' were sold to Major Allan Macdonald of Belfinlay in 1827 for £9000 (Barron 1907: 330). Major Macdonald also has a connection to slavery through extensive military service in the Caribbean. (MacDonald and MacDonald 1904: 289. Macdonald 1938: iii, iv) Fr Macdonald says that Major Macdonald only bought the estate of Glenuig, which he sold to Dr Donald Martin in 1834, and that Dr Martin additionally bought the estate of Roshven at that time. Andy Wightman has the contemporary acreage of Roshven and Glenuig at over 8,000 acres. (Wightman 1996: 82, 83) However, a more conservative figure based on a nineteenth century source has been adopted to estimate the size of Dr Martin's holding in Moidart. In 1854 Dr Martin sold Roshven to Hugh Blackburn, professor at Glasgow University and the son of a Glasgow based plantation manager and owner estimated to be one of the wealthiest slave-owners in Jamaica, and politically influential. (Macdonald 1997: 202, 204. Sheridan 1971: 296. Mullen 2015: 126, 127.)

Baillie: The acreage for Glenelg is calculated from the amount in Scots acres given in the advert when Macleod of Dunvegan tried to sell Glenelg in 1794. (Fraser

Mackintosh: 1897: 244, 245). Tom Devine has reported the purchase price and dates for Glenelg and Letterfinlay. (Devine 2006: 212).

Ellice: Acreage: (Bateman 1883: 150). Purchase prices and dates: (Barron 1907: 270, 330) The rental values for Ellice's estate come from the Inverness county directory of 1902. (Anonymous 1902: 132, 135)

Scarlett – Acreage: (Bateman 1883: 3). Purchase price and date: (Barron 1907: 287, 330)

Cameron – Acreage, purchase price and year: (Stewart no date given: 11)

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