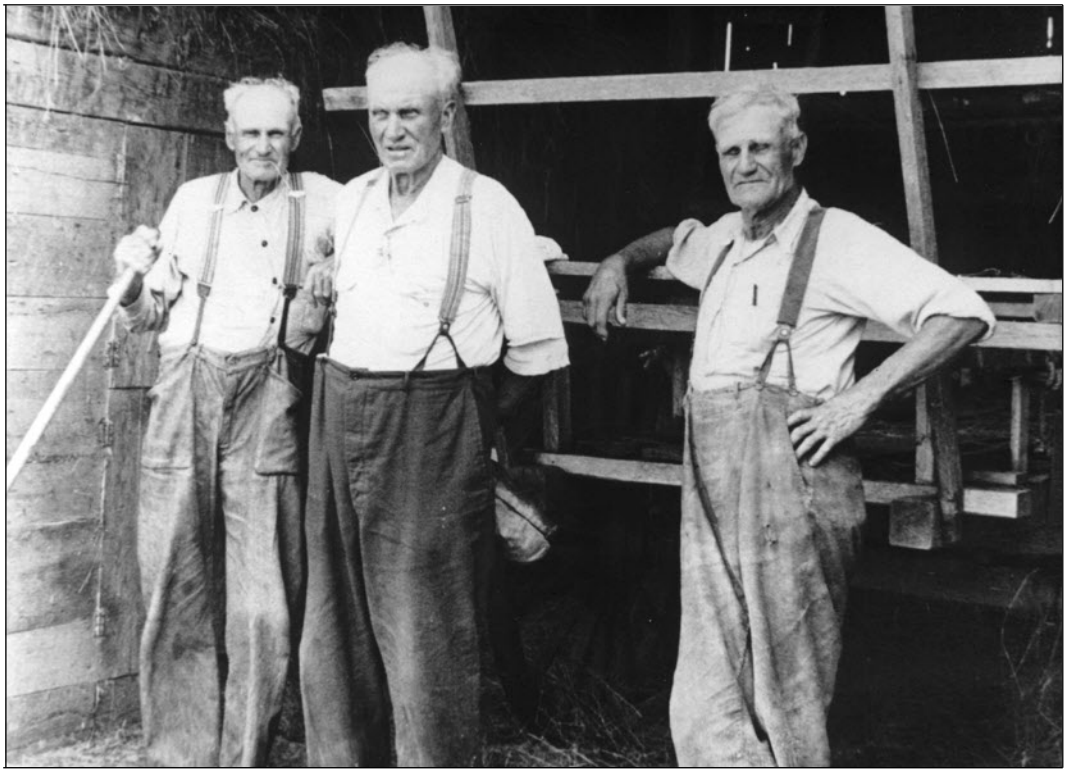
Sìl an Eòrna – Children of the Barley



The story of emigration from Tiree.

Sìl an Eòrna – Children of the Barley

Introduction

Tiree. 1847. The potato crop has failed and there is desperate hunger and poverty on the island. The landlord evicts a man from his croft and he huddles with his wife and children under an upturned boat on the shore for several months until he sets sail in an overcrowded emigrants' ship to Canada. There he logs the endless virgin forest and endures the long, biting Canadian winter. Many years later he sits on the porch of his house surveying the rolling fields of his farm.

Red River valley, Manitoba.

This is our classic picture of emigration from Tiree, and it is broadly true of hundreds of families. But emigration takes many forms. Some left Tiree to go to Glasgow, to Birmingham, to Patagonia, even to Coll. In this exhibition of stories from Tiree emigrants we hear the voices of many people and their journeys.

History

Tiree passed from MacLean hands to the Campbells in 1674. Ninety years later a visitor reported the islanders to be *'well cloathed and well fed, having an abundance of corn and cattle and great variety and profusion of the finest fish.*' The population was 1,676. The islanders lived in farm towns with the land farmed in strips called run rigs.

John Campbell, the 5th Duke of Argyll, took charge of the estate from 1770 to 1806. Despite living for most of his life in London he kept up a detailed interest in his Scottish lands, including Tiree, and made a number of attempts to develop the economy.

Kelp – brown gold

The shoreline of Tiree is cloaked with seaweed and the value of one, kelp, whose ashes were needed to make soap and glass, rocketed in the 1790s. The Peninsular War against Napoleon prevented the import of alkali made from kelp's main competition, a Spanish plant called barilla. In 1771 Tiree had paid a rent of £852 to the landlord, mainly from barley, whisky and beef. In 1805 the island paid a rent of £2,606. Most of this came from sales of kelp.

Kelp ridges at Kennavara.

The industry was controlled by the landlord and he needed a large workforce to drag the kelp from the shore and collect the ashes from the burnt seaweed. To this end the Duke decided to break up the old farm towns and settle islanders onto small individual crofts. The Duke wrote to his factor on the island in 1799:

> *As you inform that small tenants can afford to pay more rent for farms in Tiree than gentleman farmers owing to the manufacture of kelp, this determines me to let the farms to small tenants.*

By 1806 four fifths of Tiree was occupied by crofters.

Overcrowding

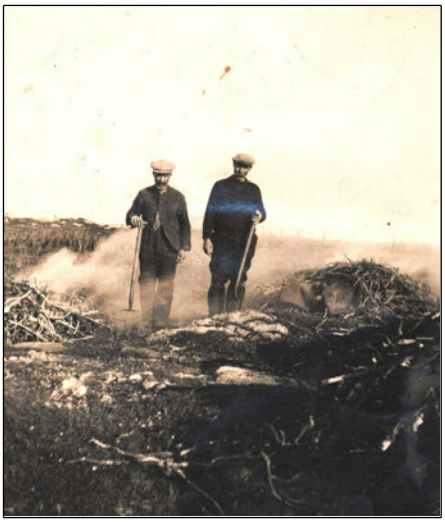
The kelp boom boosted the economy of Tiree and also the island's population. By 1792 the minister of Tiree reported that the population had increased to 2,416, despite the instability of the kelp price.

> *Thirty-six* [people] *have emigrated from Coll to America in 1792. None hitherto has emigrated from Tiree, though some talk of doing so. Their crops failed in 1790 and 1791, which together with the low prices of kelp and cattle has much reduced them.*

The population continued to grow. By 1802 the factor (the landlord's representative) on Tiree was reporting to the Duke that the island could no longer support these swollen numbers. He wrote that a thousand people should be assisted to emigrate to America or Canada. However, the 5th Duke at first did not pursue this line on Tiree.

> *Emigration was the last resort for the people of the Highlands. Strong kinship ties and a natural love of their homeland were overcome only by the most powerful of motives, and the Duke gave no encouragement to emigration.*

The Duke hoped to develop the island by, on the one hand, reorganising the land into larger, more profitable holdings with fewer tenants and, on the other hand, by setting up industries like fishing which would employ those displaced.



Calum and Archie Mòr Lamont of Cornaigmore burning tangles in 1932.

Many of these plans failed, but the economy of Tiree continued to be saved by the booming price of kelp. In 1810 revenue from kelp was still more than that from the whole of agriculture. However, the 5th Duke was not averse to getting rid of trouble makers. His drive to stop small-scale, illegal production of whisky on Tiree caught up 157 islanders, one in ten of whom was given notice to quit.

At the same time, elsewhere in the Highlands, other land owners were also keen to stem the haemorrhage of tenants overseas. War with Napoleonic France meant the prices of wool and beef, as well as kelp, were often high.

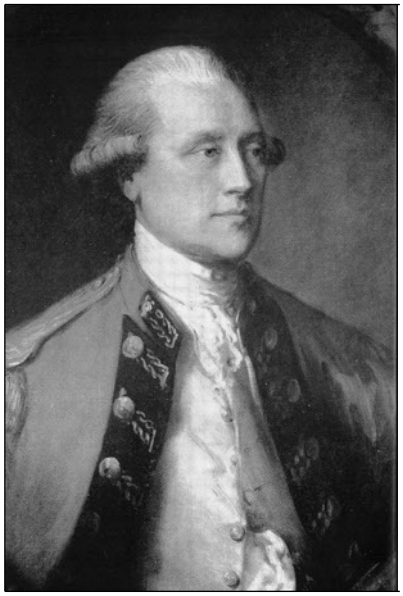
The fishing village of Scarinish.

With the encouragement of the landlords the Passenger Vessels Act of 1803 was passed. This Act reduced the number of people an emigrant ship could carry, insisted on better food for the passengers and that a surgeon should be aboard boats carrying more than fifty. Before the Act it cost £3 10s. to cross to Nova Scotia. After the legislation was passed, a ticket to Canada cost over £10.

In 1803 the Duke wrote to his Tiree factor:

> *The difficulty of emigration since the late* [Passenger Vessels] *Act of Parliament makes it necessary to relax and even to change my plan of settling the people of Tiree…farms must be broke down into small crofts to accommodate the people who are in want of possessions… these will give above 100 crofts…I am doing all I can to …make every man independent of his neighbours.*

The 5th Duke also gave those moving to the new crofts a year's free rent to compensate them for the work involved in building new houses, as well as quarrying tools and explosives for blasting rock. Compared to many other Highland landlords, who were busy clearing their estates for the new sheep farms, islanders on Tiree were being encouraged to stay.



The 5th Duke of Argyll.

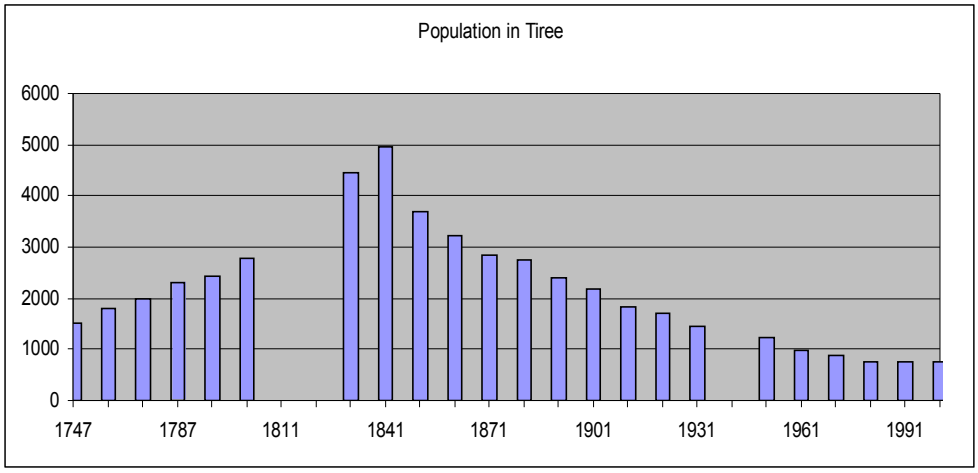
This benevolence was not to last. In 1806 the 5th Duke died and the 6th Duke, who ran the estate from 1806 to 1839, was more interested in spending his wealth than investing in the island. Even the 8th Duke admitted later that '*during* [the 6th Duke's life] *the restraining and regulating power of a landlord was comparatively in abeyance*.'

The brown bubble bursts

Kelp's 'brown gold' rush was not to last. The ending of the war in Spain meant foreign alkalis again became cheaper than Hebridean kelp. The price in 1827 fell from £7 to £3 a ton in the space of four months. The brown bubble had burst, and the industry never recovered. Kelp manufacture on Tiree stopped in 1837. The price of beef and grain also fell after the war.

There was widespread emigration from other Hebridean islands. 1,300 left Skye in 1826 and 600 left North Uist two years later, bound for Canada. This time the landlords were more than happy to '*shovel out the paupers*'. The 1803 Passenger Act was repealed in 1827 with little word this time of the health of the human cargo

Population and poverty before 1846



At first there was little in the way of emigration from Tiree. As the estate dithered, the population continued to grow, reaching 4,453 in 1831. In 1845 the island's minister, Rev. Neil MacLean, reported that over-population had reached a desperate state:

> *The chief feature which seems to distinguish the present state of the parish…is the great increase of population, and what has resulted in a great measure as a consequence from it, the greater poverty of the people…It now seems to be universally admitted that in the Highlands and Islands in general there is a great superabundance of population and to no part of the country is the observation more applicable than this island.*

Unlike other Hebridean estates, sheep farming had hardly developed at all on Tiree and cannot be blamed for emigration pressures. In 1845 the minister reported:

> *Some sheep stocks have lately been introduced into both islands* [Tiree and Coll]*...but the experiment has not been tried for a sufficient length of time to enable us to form an opinion how it may succeed.*

The severe over-population led to severe erosion and a further loss of cultivatable land.

> *Some of the farms, especially on the west and north-west coast have been in a great measure ruined by* [blown sand]*...The clouds of sand carried away have, at a distance, very much the appearance of a snow storm. I have been informed by people still living, that they remember cutting down fields of barley and hay in places which are now a barren and sandy waste.*

Another problem facing the islanders was a chronic shortage of fuel. As far back as 1792 the minister of Tiree had reported:

> *One end of Tiree can for a few years* [more] *make peats, but in the other end near 200 families are reduced to the greatest distress. They…*[dig the turf] *wherever there is the smallest mixture of* [peat] *in the soil. They have now exposed the rocks in many places…Sometimes in spring they gather dried horse dung. They even burn straw, and then comes the last shift, burning the roofs of their houses or some of their furniture.*

By 1845 the island's peat supplies were exhausted.

> *The only peat moss in the island, which is of very inferior quality…is now nearly exhausted. The people are now obliged to bring their fuel…some from Mull and some from Coll. I scarcely conceive how poor families, who have no boats of their own, can afford the hiring of boats for this purpose*.

The children of John and Mary MacKinnon of Cornaig who emigrated to Canada aboard the *Charlotte* in 1849.

Extreme weather conditions could also place severe stress on the fragile economy.

> *1821 was a year of extraordinary drought, and on the light sandy soils of Tiree the crops were almost a total failure. The cattle were almost starved and were so lean as to be unsaleable.*

Yet even then there was little emigration from the island. In his evidence to the Poor Law Inquiry of 1843, Rev. Neil MacLean reported:

> *Emigration to the colonies from the island has not taken place to any extent. A few families have gone to North America, but not in sufficient numbers to lighten the burden of the very superabundant population to any extent. Five or six have also gone to Australia…*

Christina Kennedy née MacLean (b. 1868) and her family. She emigrated to Canada in 1879.

And yet crofters were luckier than some. There were many families, known as cottars, who had no land at all. In 1845 the factor reported that two thirds of the 1,800 cottars on Tiree lived in '*great poverty*' and one third of the 1,200 smallest crofters were '*very poor*'. Only tradesmen, like shoemakers or weavers, and those on bigger crofts could support their families. 47% of the islanders were living in deep poverty.

Examiners for the Poor Law Inquiry reported at the time on the condition of the poorest islanders.

> *Catherine MacP**** A wretched hut made with pieces of wood and the spaces between them filled up with turf. It is full of holes. No window and no chimney. She has two natural children and begs about the country to support them.*
>
> *Donald ******* Has a daughter an idiot. He has a wretched bed with a single blanket. He can't afford fuel except to cook his food, and when the potatoes are boiled the fire is removed and put into a hole in the floor and covered over with turf.'*

This grinding poverty made many want to leave the island. However, ironically, many were too poor to afford the trip or to set themselves up when they arrived in Canada.

> *The trouble with this type of emigration, as Seaforth's factor remarked in 1827, was that it tended to attract the 'best and most active tenants' – that is, those with most initiative and most money – while the 'poor and weak' were left behind in even worse circumstances than before.*

The island was therefore already in a desperate state due to overpopulation, the failure of the kelp industry, the slump in agricultural prices, erosion, and lack of fuel even before the failure of the potato crop in the autumn of 1846.

Potato failure in 1846

The potato is first mentioned in the Hebrides in 1695. By 1790 it was grown widely as a subsistence crop, and by 1811 potatoes made up 80% of the diet of the islanders. It took three acres of grain to produce as much food as one acre of potatoes. When the potato blight fungus struck Tiree after the wet summer of 1846, the island's crop and major food source was virtually destroyed in a few days. Only West Hynish escaped.

The United Free Church at Kirkapol, now a guest house.

Because of the pre-existing poverty of many of the islanders, Tiree was hit worse than many other parts of the Highlands. The Duke's factor reported in January 1847 that the islanders were '*in a state of absolute starvation*.' Relief came first from the Free Church, and later from central government. 1½ pounds of meal a day was the allowance which was doled out from *Taigh a' Bhochdainn* (the house of poverty) in Baugh.

Next year's harvest was also poor, with a wet and windy autumn flattening the corn and renewed blight affecting the potato crop. More aid was provided, but only in exchange for eight hours a day working outdoors.

Many of the stone walls in the centre of the island date from this period. Many were unable, or too proud, to accept this 'labour test', and despite increasing hunger the amount of food handed out on Tiree actually went down. The poor harvests continued until 1850.

The stone wall at Heylipol built by the poor on outdoor relief.

The big going: 1846 -1851

1846 also saw the energetic 8th Duke take over from his ailing father, who had run the estate from 1839. He seems to have been keen to sell the island, but only after the bloated population had been trimmed down. '*I am in great hopes of getting out a much larger number next spring*', he wrote in 1846. Then, he said, '*the Island property will be as saleable as ever'*.

In 1846 the estate started to pay the costs of those wanting to emigrate. Hundreds of islanders petitioned for financial help to leave. Between 1847 and 1853 1,354 people left Tiree, mostly to Canada. This was 27% of the island's population. The principal boats were:

- 1847: *Eliza* (140) and *Jamaica* (200);
- 1849: *Charlotte* (364) and *Barlow*;
- 1850: *Conrad* (241)
- 1851: *Conrad* (389), *Birnam* (70) and, *Onyx* (6).

Fifteen also went to Australia paid for by the Highlands and Island Emigration Society.

> *But they left one fine summer's day, and my father's brothers and his brother Archie, told me how well they remembered the day of their going. And many went with them, most of them walking, until they reached Hynish. And the women who went with them were riding in the carts and the men were walking. And they got the boat, in which they left in the port of Hynish, and so they left and many people saw them off.*
> *And something that made us wonder, and it needn't have when we'd thought about it, some of them carried bundles of straw so that they might have comfortable beds on the boat. Because at that time beds were not provided on board the ships which were taking them to North America.*
>
> (The Lamonts of Cornaig quoted in *Odyssey - Emigration from Tiree to Canada*)

There's the famous stone on the Druim Bhuidhe [on the Vet's croft, on the road between Heylipol and Cornaig], *the big, huge boulder…Two men from Cornaig* [Iain Mòr Mairi Lachainn and Dòmhnall Mòr], *they'd been down at Island House and got their bounty* [for emigrating] *and they were walking home. They were emigrating the next day. One of them said to the other, "Well, we'll be away from here and we'll soon be forgotten." And the other one said, "Let's do something that they'll remember us by." The boulder there, twice the size of that table, and they rolled it over on its side. You'd need a JCB digger today to turn it over.*

(Hector MacPhail)

CM: *You were saying earlier that some people that were going were leaving money in case they returned.*

HM: *Everything was left at Island House, money, beasts, or anything, when they left. They were saying that some of it was buried for their return, but most never returned. Maybe it's there yet – no-one knows – in the old ruins.*

(Hector MacLean (*Eachann Bàn*) talking to Calum MacLean)

The emigrants' stone at Druimbhuidhe.

The mass transport of people in poor conditions meant the threat of disease was never far away.

[The emigrants from Tiree] *were landed at Quebec at a time* [1849] *when cholera raged in all our towns and cities…Their numbers had been considerably thinning by the prevailing plague, many having died…The emigrant sheds being filled with the destitute sons of Erin, the poor Highlanders had to weather, as the best way they could, under the canopy of heaven, huddled together on the wharf and on the commons that lie between the city and the bay…The first night of their arrival thirteen were seized with cholera; on the second night eight; in all, while they remained here, forty-eight; they were sent to hospital, but as yet none of them have left it alive.*

(*Inverness Journal*, 23rd October 1849)

After 1851 the estate developed a deliberate policy of clearing out the poorest people first. The Duke wrote, '*I wish to send out those whom we would be obliged to feed if they stayed at home – to get rid of that class is the object*.' In 1851, 860 people applied to emigrate and the factor chose only the poorest cottars and crofters. The 370 rejected were '*strong individuals*' who could pay for their own emigration if they chose.

After 1860 emigration from the Highlands became less popular due to better harvests in Scotland and a depression in North America.

> *The 1860s and 1870s were, in contrast, a period of unprecedented stability. The clearances were over, and crofters' incomes were rising for the first time since 1815.*

Tur Mhic Chaluim at Kilkenneth, the memorial to Rev. Donald MacCallum, the crofters' and cottars' champion.

In contrast, the 1880s once again saw the Highlands plunged into a return of agricultural depression, collapsing wool prices and a return of the potato blight. In the winter of 1882 the spectre of famine returned. Unrest amongst the crofters of Tiree grew, dissatisfied with the estate's control over their land.

Dr Alexander Buchanan (1835-1911).

Eventually the Crofters Act was passed in 1886. This gave Tiree crofters security of tenure and lower rents. The cottars who had no crofts, however, remained outside the political settlement. In 1902 Tiree cottars petitioned the Duke for land. He replied by offering them instead passage to the colonies. The majority of those who left the island prospered. Dr Buchanan, the island's doctor, was asked in 1883 by the Napier Commission if he knew how those who had left the island had got on.

> Commission: *Have you heard often of the condition of those who emigrated long ago from relatives at home?*
> Dr Buchanan: *I have. Their condition is that they would not return although they would get their land back again for nothing.*

The reason for the success of many of the Tiree emigrants was said to be the relatively high standard of education on the island

The vast majority of what are called, just for simplicity, the working class in the Lowlands of Scotland, could not read or write in the 19th century. They signed their names with a cross…The vast majority of people from Tiree could read and write and, when they emigrated, that's why a lot of them moved quickly into better positions.
As recently as 1912 a cousin of my grandfather's, Dòmhnall na Croise, emigrated to Canada, outside Calgary, and there were a lot of Highland people there and people from all over Britain, the Lowlands, and he was always being called on to write letters.

(Hector MacPhail)

Did they jump or were they pushed?

One of the most fascinating questions about Tiree in the 19th century is how many of the emigrants left because they wanted to go and how many were forced into going.

The 8th Duke of Argyll.

1846 had seen the arrival of two significant figures, both Campbells, on the Tiree landscape – the 8th Duke, George Campbell, who ran the estate from 1846 when he was just 23, and John Campbell, his factor on Tiree. The Duke certainly saw himself as having taken over an impoverished, overcrowded island. He paid the emigration costs of over a thousand people and allowed those who remained on Tiree to keep larger and more profitable crofts and farms.

[In 1846] *a large sum was spent assisting as many as were willing to emigrate to Canada…in the course of four years* [the number] *exceeded a thousand souls. The whole of this was voluntary emigration, for a great portion of which I paid the whole cost myself.*

Excerpt of emigrant list from Tyree to Canada in June 1846:

Manal. Charles MacLean, cottar. Number in family 7, paid £10 10 shillings. House pulled down.

Barrapol. Lachlan MacLean, cottar. Number in family 5, paid £7 10 shillings. House given to four orphans.

That year the Duke paid a total of £212 to twenty-nine families. He stopped assisting emigration in 1851. He believed the islanders who left were not forced to go.

> *I determined not only to avoid anything like what has been called a 'clearance', but as a rule, not even to allow any individual evictions or dispossession of the existing crofters, except for the one cause of…non-payment of rent…Between 1853 and 1883 there has been only one solitary case of eviction of a crofter by Warrant of the Sheriff.*

He also thought that by the 1880s the island was left a better place.

> *Every subsequent measure of improvement – the regular division of individual possessions, the fencing of them, the selection of the best candidates for the holding of them, the building of a better class of houses, the introduction of the old ploughs in substitution of the old barbarous 'crooked spade', the introduction of carts, of grain of a better kind, of superior stock, of dairy farming – in short, every item of progress in agriculture has been the work, and often the arduous and expensive work, of the proprietor…If a higher standard of comfort has now been attained, and if a higher standard of intelligence has followed it, this happy result has been due entirely due to the causes I have indicated.*

Donald Gillies of Mull and his wife Helen MacLean of Baugh. They emigrated to Canada in 1858.

His factor on Tiree from 1846 to 1864 was John Campbell from Islay. In his evidence to the MacNeill report, he too remembered the benign nature of the emigration.

> *No person was forced to emigrate from this property* [Tiree].

Not surprisingly, many islanders saw the situation differently. The Napier Commission came to Tiree in 1883, holding hearings in Kirkapol Church into how the crofting system was working. The anger and sense of injustice that many islanders felt burns out of the pages of the Commission's Report.

Donald MacDougall, a crofter from Balephuil reported:

> *This factor* [John Campbell] *that cleared our place* [Ben Hynish in 1853]…*went round also among us holding a paper in the one hand and a notice to quit in the other, and he told us unless we signed this paper, the effect of which was that we would require to be obedient to anything and everything which either he or the Duke of Argyll would order us to do, we would have to quit the place…After we signed the paper his mode of procedure was to raise our rents excessively…because he thought he would get us to follow our neighbours to foreign places and give up the crofts… neither the law nor the liberty reached this estate. We were in a state of slavery and oppression.*

The factor John Campbell.

The estate applied pressure on tenants with an increase in the number of summonses of removal, usually due to rent arrears or *'unruly conduct'* and *'neglecting to build their fences'*. From 1848, rent arrears were no longer tolerated. The factor would frequently move families around in a way that was seen as harassment.

> *The factor would move you from Caolas to Barrapol, or from there to here, so that you could never find your feet – you could never settle. Like draughts it was. Man's inhumanity to man.*
>
> (Sandy MacKinnon)

There were harrowing individual stories of eviction.

> *Neil MacDonald, Mannal,* [about 1849] *was, for no well-grounded reasons, evicted from his home and farm by the factor, John Campbell. He had no other home to go to and was forbidden by the factor to build a house in any part of the island. The factor also threatened with instant eviction any crofter or cottar who might out of pity afford him even one night's shelter from the cold. So his only place of shelter was a small boat turned upside down, with a hole in the centre for a chimney, and some straw laid round the openings to prevent the snow drift from perishing himself and little ones. One neighbour, who, out of pity was moved to take and give his children shelter in his house was instantly summoned before the factor and severely reprimanded for being so humane.* [He had no croft to lose.]
>
> (Napier Commission)

Hugh MacLean, Mannal, who was blind, was disgracefully evicted [around 1864]. *Having no house to go to, he was still in his own home. The factor then sent men to strip the roof off…by means of instruments of iron. He then removed to the barn, in which lay a quantity of grain. The same men were then sent back with orders to strip the barn too, and the poor, blind man, with his crippled wife and no sons to help him, as of the sons he had two were drowned some time before, and his only other son was insane in the asylum, was cruelly turned out and left at the roadside.*

(Napier Commission)

Some islanders blamed the factor more than the Duke.

Donald MacDougall, Balephuil: *We never had much fear of the good man the proprietor, because* [the] *factor here was his eyes, his ears and his mouth in dealing with us…anything that we complain of as having been unjustly done will be put to the credit of* [blamed on] *the factors…We think that…the proprietor…is willing to hear and redress our grievances*.

John Campbell, the factor, became widely reviled. Known as *Am Bàillidh Dubh* (the black factor) he was rewarded with the two farms of Heylipol and Hough. A song about him went,

When they heard in Canada that the monster was asleep [had died],
The bonfires were lit and bunting was strung on the branches.
There was great celebration as they met one another,
And they all fell on their knees giving praise that you had died.

Shearing sheep at the fank at Heylipol around 1948.

The truth lies somewhere between these two opposed views of Tiree's history. Certainly there were winners in this enormous game of chess that the Duke was playing. Some crofters, who were seen by the estate as 'better', in favour, or just lucky were rewarded with larger crofts.

Of all the forces that have shaped modern day Tiree emigration has had the most profound effect on our landscape, economy, culture and psychology. Of course one country's emigrants are another's immigrants, and the island has also welcomed many 'incomers' from elsewhere. Today we call them 'white settlers'. But that's another story!

This chapter is based on three wonderful historical accounts:

- *The Making of the Crofting Community* by James Hunter. John Donald, 1976.
- *The Great Highland Famine* by T. Devine. John Donald, 1988.
- *Argyll Estate Instructions 1771-1805* ed. Eric Cregeen. Scottish Historical Society, 1964.

UNITED STATES

North Carolina

They were going in the 18th century [from Tiree] *to the American colonies, particularly North Carolina. You know Lisa MacKinnon – she was over there on a school trip, and she was in a town called Stewartsville. The party was taken to this old graveyard, and Lisa noticed the gravestone of someone who was born on Tiree, Argyll, and then another one, and then another one!*

I had a man come to see me about three or four years ago, David MacPhail, whose ancestors had gone to North Carolina [from Tiree] *in 1792.*

(Hector MacPhail)

Stewartsville cemetery, North Carolina.

Flora of the five graves

Flora MacDougall was born in Balephuil in 1825, the daughter of the famous Baptist minister Duncan MacDougall. As a young woman Flora would climb Ben Hynish and watch in fascination fleets of ships speeding on their way to many foreign lands. A tomboy fond of music and dancing, she earned the disapproval of her very religious father. At her home *'there was nothing but church and prayer meetings aside from the daily routine.'* At fifteen, she was given a gold breast pin for being the best dancer at a ball celebrating the completion of Skerryvore lighthouse. On her return home, her father thrashed her with a horse bridle so badly she was unable to put her clothes on for three weeks.

She married but, tragically, on her wedding day some of the guests, including the groom, went off in small boats to race and gather seabird eggs. A storm blew up, her new husband's boat capsized and he was drowned. When her father proposed marriage to a middle-aged family friend within months, it was the cause of her *'leaving home, which proved to be forever.'* In Glasgow she met Jay Hannah. When, in 1844, her father wrote saying he was coming to take her home, she eloped. Flora never saw her father again. She married Jay with whom she had eight children and converted to the Church of Latter Days Saints (Mormons Church). Her life was once again struck by tragedy when their eldest son developed smallpox. The doctor said that he would die, but four local church elders came and prayed over him and no sooner had they gone the boy *'asked for a tart'* and was cured. However, four of her other children died.

Jay then went to Nova Scotia and travelled through seven states before eventually finding work in the mines up the Allegeny River, Pennsylvania. Nearly a year after his departure, Flora and their three surviving children landed in New York in 1867. They went to Monticello, Pennsylvania and five years later to Minersville, Ohio.

(*Footprints of One Bonnie Scotch Lassie*)

SOUTH AMERICA

The white gold rush

Patagonia in the south of Argentina and Chile was cleared of the indigenous people in the 1880s to make way for huge sheep farms. Many men from the Hebrides, including a score from Tiree, went out to share this 'white gold' rush. Donald Paterson from Balinoe was one.

He wrote in 1885 to his brother John, asking him to send out his birth certificate and baptismal record so he could take possession of twelve square miles of land. He found the native Indians very kind and friendly. Later that year he wrote again, asking his brother to speak to any young men who would be prepared to work as shepherds in Patagonia. The pay was good, £6 a month, and the passage cost £18.

Donald married in Patagonia and had a family. He brought his two sons, George and John home to Tiree. George was the father of the late Iain Paterson (*Iain Dhèorsa*) of Crossapol, Mairi Campbell of Cornaigbeg and the late Angus Paterson..

George Paterson with his family in Crossapol in 1937.

They were opening up the bottom of South America at the end of the 19th century with sheep. As you go really far south it's too cold for cattle…they were looking for men that were used to working with sheep. They used to come up here recruiting, men that were used to hardship and living in lonely places, you see. No good taking a piece of trash off the streets of Glasgow down to Patagonia…Iain Dhèorsa's father was born in Patagonia. He was seven years old when he came back to Tiree. He could speak Gaelic and Spanish and not a word of English.

(Hector MacPhail)

The MacDonalds of Patagonia

Lachie, Hugh and Hector MacDonald from Kenovay all emigrated to Patagonia at the beginning of the 20th century. Lachie married an Orkney woman out there and they had nine children, whose names became progressively more Spanish: Hector, Isabel, Jessie, Robert, Donald, Lola, Alejandro, Jorge and Jean.

Lia MacDonald with her son Eduardo, daughter Isabel, son-in-law Eduardo and her grandchildren.

Their first child, Hector, was the first white baby born in the area. Isabel MacDonald, Jorge's daughter, wrote that Hector's mother was very afraid of the Indians who she thought would want to eat him. Today there are over fifty descendants of Lachie living in America, Argentina and the Malvinas. Jorge, married Lia Horber, whose parents were from Germany and Holland. Their daughter Isabel married an architect, Eduardo Pavlovic from Croatia, and they have three children.

The eldest, Virginia is a wonderful dancer of *'tango, Croatian and a little of Scottish'* and Marcos is the only bagpipe player in Patagonia. Isabel herself was the first optician in Patagonia.

Isabel's son Marcus playing the bagpipes and wearing his grandfather's MacDonald tartan tie.

Hugh went out in 1913 after finishing his joinery apprenticeship.

> MM: *Where did you go after you got your papers?*
> HM: *I made for South America like a fool and I wish I never saw it!...Tierra del Fuego, the most southerly inhabited part of the globe, along with the Indians…I was building, in the building trade. You could make money in those days if you could look after it! I had quite a lot coming home.*

MM *How long were you out there altogether?*
HM *Seven or eight years.*
MM: *Always in Tierra del Fuego?*
HM: *No. I was four years in Patagonia…. You could get ground yonder very, very cheap. Johnny* [another brother] *was the joiner or tradesman at the big farm at the big port where the boat comes in. And it was a Tiree man, Dr. Buchanan's son, that was the manager there…*

James Buchanan (b. 1873).

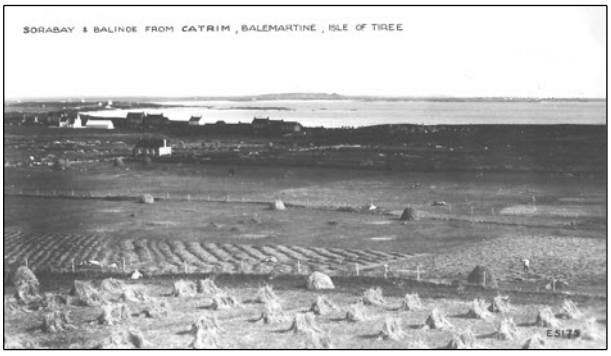
MM: *What made you decide to come home?*
HM: *...I built all the sheds in my brother's place… He called it the 'Pride of Patagonia'. When I got that finished Bob and I came home. Bob went back again. I was going back myself, but I took pity on Alasdair, my brother, who was looking after the old mother. He said, 'Now it's my turn to get away and I hope you'll stop and look after our mother.' I said 'Off you go boy!' That's what kept me.*

(Hugh MacDonald speaking to Dr. Margaret MacKay in 1974 at the age of 84)

Diana MacPhail of Chile

An old lady came to see me, a Miss Diana MacPhail. She was born in Chile in 1913. Her father, Angus MacPhail, had left Balinoe in 1900. He went to Chile. A couple of years later he came back to Tiree, recruiting. And at least a dozen men went out with him. In 1922 he moved to Patagonia where he acquired a ranch of his own and his children were brought up in Patagonia.

(Hector MacPhail)

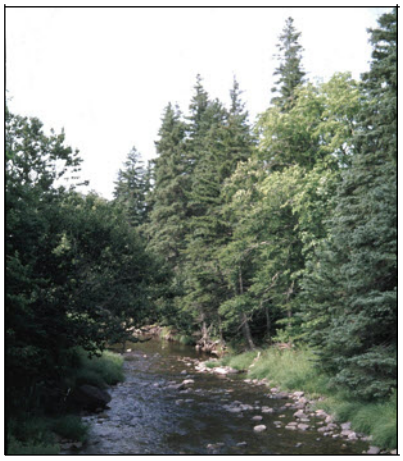


Balinoe.

CANADA

The Gloomy Forest

John MacLean, *Bard Thighearna Cholla* (the bard of the laird of Coll), from Caolas was one of Scotland's finest Gaelic poets. The songs he wrote on his arrival in Canada give us a fascinating insight into the thoughts of the earliest settlers. In 1819, at the age of thirty-two, he emigrated with his wife and three children to Nova Scotia where he bought a plot of woodland at Barney's River in Pictou County. There, he cleared some ground, planted potatoes and built a log-cabin. Life was hard.



Barney's River in 1978.

In his poem *Oran do dh' America* (Song to America) he shows his feelings of betrayal by the emigration agents who promised him a land of milk and honey.

> *When these cattle drovers come after you, they do their job with lies, not uttering a word of truth, their heart denying what their mouth says, representing that everything desirable under the sun is in this land. But when you reach it, there's little you'll see but tall forests shutting out the sky from you…*
>
> *A hidden grief has overfilled me since I've been doomed to stagnate here for the rest of my life with little amusement in this gnarled forest and without anyone to ask me if I'd sing a song. That was not my custom in the early day; then, I used to be frolicking at every table, happy and contented among cultured companions, passing the time without any care.*
>
> (Translated by Charles W. Dunn)

When his friends on Tiree read his poem, they offered to send money to bring home. MacLean of Coll offered him a piece of land free of rent. The bard refused.

His most famous poem, *A' Choille Ghruamach* (The Gloomy Forest), was written in a letter to his eldest brother Donald in Tiree soon after his arrival.

> *I am feeling lonely in this desolate wood. My thoughts restless, I cannot raise a tune. I have found that this place is contrary to nature, and all the talent that was in my head has fled from me. I cannot compose a song. When I make a start I am heavy hearted. I have lost my ability to use Gaelic as I used to when I was back in the old country.*
>
> (Translated by Flora MacPhail)

The Canadian winters were also a shock.

> *However good your trousers are they'll do no good without two pairs of stockings and hair-like moccasins that are tightly laced with thongs. It's the latest fashion with us to wear the hide, hair and all, just as it comes stripped from the beast the day before.*
>
> (*Highland Settler*)

These negative reports must have discouraged emigration from Tiree for some years. MacLean, however, gradually adapted to his new surroundings. In 1830, he moved to another farm six miles away at Glenbard. Donald Sinclair of West Hynish told an amusing story of the move to John MacInnes.

Donald Sinclair photographed by Eric Cregeen in 1971.

> *Iain mac Ailein went to America and he described America to his friends in his poem called* A' Choille Ghruamach. *He told on that song everything that was going on there – things weren't as good as they were saying.*
>
> *Anyway he and his wife were burning and felling trees and preparing the ground with their small son Charles. And an Indian came over and stood a while, waiting. And the Indian jumped, seized the boy and away with him! And Iain mac Ailein and his wife in pursuit! They chased him a long way and they came to a river. The ground was beautiful and level. And the Indian let go the boy's legs. Iain mac Ailein was pretty astute. 'There's no burning or felling trees here and the ground's flat and the river green.' The Indian stayed with him and he put up a hut next door and stayed with him quite a while after that…And that became Iain mac Ailein's farm and where he finished his days…on the banks of Barney's River.*

His life was easier after the move, his grown-up children doing the work. After his initial disappointment, he realised he had reason to be thankful. He was comfortably off and his children and grandchildren had better prospects than they would have had in Scotland.

The MacCallum brothers of Pictou Island

Donald and Flora McCallum emigrated from Tiree around 1823 with their nine children. Donald is likely to have been the son of John McCallum, the miller in Cornaigmore. Donald's brother, Lachlan known as 'Big Lauchie', emigrated around the same time and settled on Pictou Island which lies between Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The great-grandsons of the miller of Cornaig: Hector, Duncan and Lachie MacCallum in Pictou Island in the 1950s.

His son Daniel, 'Big Dan', followed the charismatic minister Norman McLeod who took a group of followers from Scotland to Cape Breton, sailing on to Australia and finally New Zealand. Big Dan returned from the Victorian gold fields to become a sailor running the Union blockade of the southern ports during the American Civil War before returning to farm on Pictou Island.

Several of his children made their livings as lobster fishermen. Big Dan's great-grandson, Kenneth MacCallum, practises corporate law in New York City and resides in Wilton, Connecticut.

Early settlers in Ontario

Dr. Margaret Mackay from the School of Scottish Studies has done extensive research among the Tiree settlers of Ontario. Tiree settlers to eastern Canada tended to settle near each other.

The four main areas in Ontario were:

- Brock Township, Ontario County, settled from the 1820s and providing a staging post for later Tiree emigrants;
- Osprey Township, Grey County, especially around MacIntyre's Corner;
- Glenelg, Artemesia and Egremont townships near Priceville, Grey County;
- Kincardine and Bruce Townships, Bruce County, on the shores of Lake Huron around Tiverton.

Kincardine Township around 1900.

In *Tiree Migrants in Canada*, Dr Margaret MacKay quotes descendants of these early settlers:

> *I heard my grandmother say that they could put a hill of potatoes in around a stump and they'd get a whole pail of potatoes off one hill and they'd be just as white as snow – that new land, you know…They would be there maybe three or four years before they'd get any more than four or five acres cleared…*
>
> *They had to build their buildings of huge logs which had to be raised up and it took quite a few people to do that…*
>
> *The second generation still had log houses, logs squared with a broad axe, chinked with clay or cow manure…They were warm too…*
>
> [The old house] *wasn't healthy. It was full of bed bugs. When we built the new house dad said, 'This is the best time of my life,' he says, 'to see that old log house go up. Got a permit to put fire to it…*
>
> *The men at that time had to get out and earn money some other way…Some of them was working in lumber camps, some more of them were cutting cordwood and some more of them were working for a framer or just anything they could get to do…*
>
> *Everyone was more or less related in this community, distantly perhaps…They were intermarried a lot, you know, after they settled here…It wasn't considered good form to marry outside of the, you know, to marry an English person or an Irish one…*
>
> *They were like one family – if one was sick everybody was there, and if one needed help at all, the whole bunch – just like you would your brothers and sisters, you see. If there was sickness in your house the rest of them was just as concerned as if it was in your own house.*

The former undertaker's and harness maker's premises at Priceville, Grey County.

The MacFadyens of Caoles

Alexander MacFadyen of Caoles and his family settled in Kenyon Township in Glengarry County. He suggested that his brother Neil join him in 1844 but Neil's wife and children were against the idea. However, several members of the same family emigrated later on.

Donald MacFadyen and eight family members emigrated from Tiree in 1851 on the ship *Conrad*. They settled near Tiverton, Bruce County, Ontario.

John MacPhadden (3rd right at back) with his two youngest sons (centre) at the cheese factory in Kenyon Township, Ontario around 1900.

'Muckle' Hector McFadyen, Donald's son, left Tiree as a young lad and went to work for a Mr. Wilson who owned a large dairy farm at Airdrie outside Glasgow. In 1844 he married the farmer's daughter Janet. Nine children were born in Scotland before the family emigrated to Bruce Township in 1861.

John MacFadyen and family stayed on Tiree and had a large croft at Miodar, Caolas. He had fifteen children. One daughter, Euphemia married Lachlan McLean of Cornaigbeg. This family left Tiree in 1878 and settled in the Brandon Hills, Manitoba.

John and Mary MacPhadden with their children Isabella, Hattie, John, Alexander and Charles and cousin Margaret.

Neil MacFadyen stayed on Tiree with his family of nine. Neil took over the family croft at Croish, Caolas, which was then shared between two sons, Charles and John. One of Charles' daughters, Marion, married Donald Cameron. They emigrated to Elnora, Alberta.

One of their sons, Donald, was a founder of the Banff School of Fine Arts and Senator of Alberta. Another of Charles' descendants, Ewan MacKinnon of Hillcrest, Balephetrish runs this croft to this day

Daily Gaelic scripture

Neil Brown (b. 1822) left Tiree around 1847 with his twin brother Donald and five sisters after the death of their parents. Donald was quarantined for smallpox and died on their arrival in Port Whitby, Ontario. Neil married Sarah Henderson from Nova Scotia in 1858 in Seaforth, Ontario.

Neil and Sarah Brown.

They had twelve children. Worship was held every day in their home. Mrs. Brown read the scripture then Mr Brown led in prayer using the Gaelic tongue.

The Browns' house at Egmondville.

The 100 acre farm

Hugh MacLean came from a twelve acre croft in Ruaig, and was one of a family of ten. He emigrated to Canada in 1846 at the age of thirty-five with his wife and two small children. They settled in Brock Township, Ontario.

Seven years later he was persuaded by other Tiree settlers to move to Kincardine Township and the family, now with five children, walked there.

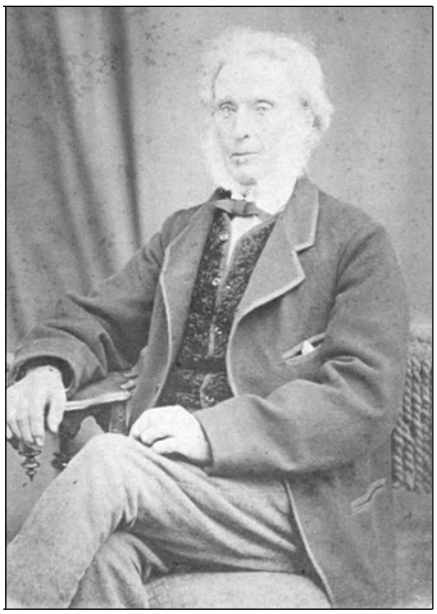
The MacLean homestead around 1945.

Eight years later, his farm was valued at $500 and contained:

- 100 acres, 16 under cultivation, mainly wheat, with some oats, potatoes and turnips;
- 2 bulls or oxen, 4 heifers, 2 cows, 1 sheep and 4 pigs;
- 2 barrels of pork, 1½ barrels of beef, 60 pounds of maple syrup.

Fifteen years after emigrating he had a farm he could only have dreamed of in Tiree. Hugh died aged eighty-five having had twelve children.

Alexander MacEachern



Alexander MacEachern.

Alexander MacEachern of Gorten Mhic Eachainn emigrated to Canada with his wife Ann MacLean and their nine children in 1847. The family settled in Osprey Township in Ontario. Alexander died in 1881 aged eighty and is buried in Tiverton Cemetery.

Neil Cameron

Neil Cameron of Balevullin emigrated to Canada on the *Charlotte* in 1849 with his mother Flora MacFarlane, two brothers, both named John, and his sisters Catherine and Marion. He married an Irish girl Margaret Thornhill in Greenock, Bruce County, Ontario in 1857 and had five children. The family eventually moved to upper Michigan then to Duluth in Minnesota.

Neil Cameron on the right.

Courage in adversity

Sarah MacDonald was nine years of age when she left the township of Salum at the east end of Tiree with her widowed mother destined for the distant land of Canada. They left during the famine years of the late 1840s when the staple diet of the islanders, the potato, rotted in the fields. Sarah's mother died during the voyage. A family of MacKinnons took compassion and fostered her. She grew up in the Bruce County township of Kincardine in western Ontario where so many Tiree emigrants settled.

Sarah's husband, Donald Lamont, with their children.

She married a native of Tiree, Donald Lamont, the son of Peter Lamont and Ann MacLean, crofters with a large family from Cornaigbeg who emigrated on the *Conrad* in 1851. Sarah had a love of books and learning and could read and write in Gaelic and English. It was no surprise that she became a school teacher.

In 1861 the couple had their first child Isabella who was named after Sarah's late mother. Belle the next child Peter were to play an invaluable role supporting their invalid mother when misfortune struck again and Sarah became paralysed from the waist down after her sixth pregnancy. Her indomitable spirit, however, came to the fore and she had three other children.

The Lamont sisters: Belle, Janet, Ann, Hannah and Dot.

Sarah, who had always collected books, now concentrated on the education of her children. The walls of her room were covered with books in English and Gaelic. In later years an acquaintance of the family observed *'that all a Lamont needs to make him or her happy is a book.'*

'Few songs but lots of hymns'

Fingon MacKinnon of Ruaig emigrated to Canada in 1851 with his wife Christena MacLean and their seven sons then aged between five and nineteen.

Fingon's son Archibald with his wife Catherine.

Fingon first worked as a labourer in Brock Township where the youngest son died of typhoid in 1854. The family then moved to Kincardine Township where the Queen's Bush was free for the taking and settled on Lot 29 Concession 11. Fingon died there in 1859.

By 1861 the family had cleared 60 of their 100 acres. Their crops included spring wheat, oats potatoes and turnips and, as well as two oxen, they had three steers or heifers, four milk cows and seven pigs. They also continued in the Tiree tradition of combining farming and other trades, e.g. carpentry.

Kincardine School in 1897. It was built on land given by Fingon's son Archibald.

Three of the sons, John, Archibald and Hugh, married into other Tiree families now settled in the neighbourhood. As the family expanded they increased their holdings in the concession. Some moved into the northern United States and, towards the end of the 19th century, to Manitoba.

One of Archibald's descendants, Russ McGillivray, described the family as *'sober, serious and hardworking* [people whose] *faith forbade participation in some of the more exuberant aspects of Scottish culture. There is no mention of ceilidhs; few folksongs but lots of hymns.'*

John and Christy with their family.

As time passed, members of the family engaged in trade and commerce, academia, teaching, nursing and community affairs. Many served in the armed forces in both world wars. A family tree compiled in 1999 lists over 300 descendants of Fingon and Christena.

Culloden pipes played in Ottawa

Born in Tiree in 1798, John Brown emigrated to Ottawa and became a receptionist on Parliament Hill. He wrote this account of the pipe's origins:

> *These pipes are a relic of the Battle of Culloden. They were the cause of the Scottish soldiers' return to finish the fight which they had deserted on the field of battle because Lord Murray commanded them to fight on the left side and they were used to fighting on the right. Chief MacDonald then composed and played the tune "Health to the MacDonald's Return" and the soldiers, on hearing the pipes, realised and understood, better than from words and command, the tune that the piper was playing. They returned to the field and fought on.*
>
> *A friend of the MacDonalds, by the name of James Brown, of Williamstown, Glengarry, Canada, was the recipient of the pipes and from him I got them in 1816. I had them in my possession for 72 years…*
>
> *I am a native of the Island of Tyree…and oftentimes I played on the pipes "Health to the MacDonalds' Return."*

John Brown's bagpipes now at the College of Piping in Prince Edward Island.

Tradition had it that John Brown's family had inherited their skills from the fairies. A long time ago a family of Browns had two sons. The first, the favoured one, was sent away to be educated while the other, less gifted, was kept at home to work. The latter, resentful of his position, was attending a burning lime kiln one day and came across a hillock where fairies were dancing. Entranced, he stayed to watch and listen and, on leaving, an old man asked if he played the pipes. On replying that he didn't, the old man rubbed Brown's knuckles, saying, *'Go to your home and steal out your brother's pipes. Then play what you will and watch your family's astonishment. Your family will all be pipers for seven generations and the last one will be John Brown.'*

John Brown's grandson remembers that the old piper *'always shook hands with his left hand. He had played the pipes for the visit of the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, to Ottawa, and the Prince shook hands with him. My grandfather was so pleased that he forever after would only extend his left hand to lesser folk.'*

John Brown, the last of seven generations of pipers, died in 1889 aged ninety. The pipes are now on display at the College of Piping, Summerside, Prince Edward Island.

The first Mayor of Vancouver

Malcolm Alexander MacLean, from Tiree, was the first mayor of Vancouver. His election was fraudulent, but he rallied the town so well after a disastrous fire that he won the next election fairly.

Malcolm MacLean (1844-1895).

He was born in 1844 in Kilmoluaig and emigrated to Victoria, Ontario with his parents as a young child. He moved on to Winnipeg in 1877 where he started a wholesale business. After the 1881 crash he lost his business and went south to San Francisco and then on to Vancouver, arriving at the age of forty-one, where he set up a real estate office.

No sooner had he set foot in town he was persuaded to stand for the post of the city's first mayor. The man he was standing against was a local sawmill owner called Richard Alexander, who had made himself violently unpopular by threatening his striking workers with the sack, saying he could run the mill more cheaply with Chinese and native labour.

Vancouver City Hall in a tent.

There was skulduggery on both sides. Alexander dragooned his Chinese workers to vote for him but a crowd at the polling booths prevented them from casting their votes. Local hotel guests, who had no vote, were given forged papers and voted for the Tiree man.

In the end MacLean won by 258 votes to 241, and his jubilant supporters '*took him in the back seat of a buggy and hauled him all over what there was of the little town.'* The controversy of the election was soon forgotten when, four weeks later, a huge fire destroyed the town. MacLean himself lost everything in the disaster, but called a meeting of the city council in a tent.

MacLean's leadership distributing relief supplies was appreciated and he won the election fairly the next year. A native Gaelic speaker, he was first president of the Vancouver St. Andrews and Caledonian Society. He died in 1895 aged fifty-one. His wife died in 1934 having seen Vancouver grow from a *'little clearing'* to a city of 300,000. Her obituary described the MacLeans as being *'the real founders of the third city of Canada.'*

Moose on the loose

John Mackinnon emigrated to Shoal Lake, Manitoba in 1878 with his wife Mary Ann MacDonald and their two children Dougald and Sarah. Dougald, it was said, was akin to a 'horse whisperer' as he could tame the most difficult of horses with his gentle ways. He was an avid horseman and traded horses across Manitoba and Montana.

Dougald Mackinnon with his moose team.

Two moose calves captured by a farmer, Walter Anderson, were broken to harness and trained by Dougald. They were a common sight on the streets of Brandon when Dougald began courting Hector MacLean's daughter who lived near the Brandon Hills. The moose were a sensation during the summer fair of 1905.

The owner of a visiting carnival offered Anderson $500 for the pair if they would tolerate being positioned immediately behind the brass band. Dougald practised until the animals were rock solid with all the famous marches. The carnival owner was about to pay the agreed price when Anderson upped it by $100. This was agreed but when Anderson tried to up the price again the deal was called off.

His dream of steady work shattered, Dougald refused to have any more to do with the animals. Anderson hired a replacement but the moose refused to accept the stranger. One of them was kicked by a horse, suffered a broken leg and had to be destroyed. Its partner died shortly afterwards. And Dougald? He eloped with Mary Flora MacLean to Grand Forks, North Dakota where they were married.

(Story from *Brandon Sun*, 29th March 2000)

Brandon Wheat Market in 1887.

'Hard work, I've seen lots of it!'

Hector MacPhail was born in Cornaigmore in 1892. His parents emigrated with their six children to Russelldale, Ontario in 1903 on the S.S. *Sardinia*, a crossing that took just nine days.

HM: *One year, two years before we came out this Malcolm Lamont came home to Tiree. He was a first cousin of my dad. He persuaded my dad to bring us out to Canada because he thought there were better opportunities over here…There wasn't very much workable land* [on the island]. *My dad worked it was supposed to be 50 acres altogether* [but] *some of it was wet…*

We young people looked forward to coming to Canada, but mother felt sad about leaving because her people were all there Her father and mother were still living…

We were the only ones that came across on that boat from Tiree. But the MacKinnon family came out the next year and were living close by… --

I worked for Parks [farm] *right there east of the village* [for $7 a month] *five months the first fall and again I was there the next summer and I went to school again in the winter. The next year I hired with a man up in Osborne…I was there two years. One fellow told me I shouldn't go there because he was a sort of a hard boss. Then I had a notion that I needed a change, came home and helped to cut the winter's wood and then I hired out* [to Nelson's farm] *and lived there for twelve years. I was sixteen years old then.*

Hector married and bought his own farm in 1920.

One of his children Bill *'said he'd like to go to high school. He'd come home at night and he'd sit there till 12 o'clock …I can hear him yet working at his questions and when he got the answers you could hear him give a sigh of relief and close his books and go to bed.'*

WD: *I remember seeing his report in the Mitchell and he'd sometimes have three 100s one after the other.*
HM: *He was called up when war broke out in 1939 and he went…*
WD: *You've got to be 91 years of age and that's really a great life you've lived. Can you say what helped you to live so long?*
HM: *I guess it must have been hard work. I've seen lot's of it…There was no choice in them days. You ate what was put on the table, if you were hungry, whether you liked it or not.*

(Hector MacPhail talking to his daughter Winnifred Dell in 1979 and 1983)

Tiree's best shot

John MacLean and Christina MacDonald emigrated from Caolas with their seven children in 1878. Leaving his family in Ontario for the winter John set off west with a party of cousins to the Little Saskatchewan Valley, Manitoba. There he filed a claim for some land and built a turf-roofed hut in the district now known as Cadurcis.

Some of the descendants of John and Christina MacLean.

While walking through the snow to the store five miles away he lost his way in a storm and lost his toes from frostbite. Despite this he built a two roomed log cabin with a thatched roof and chinked with mud.

John was one of the best shots on Tiree and had often been included in the Duke of Argyll's shooting parties. One of his most prized possessions taken with him to Canada was a muzzle loading gun won in a shooting match on the island. The Duke of Argyll's son, the Marquis of Lorne, who was at the time the Governor-General of Canada, asked to see John on a visit to Rapid City in 1881.

Christina took with her an oak spinning wheel which had been a wedding present. It was still in use by the family in the 1930s.

Over the ocean to Manitoba

Brothers John and Charles MacLean of Balephuil emigrated to Manitoba with their nephew Hector in 1878. Their house in Balephuil has been known as 'Manitoba' ever since.

The MacLean farm in Manitoba.

Their emigration was unusual in that it was recorded by two poets. The first, an unrelated John MacLean, known as the Balemartine bard, wrote a famous song describing their leaving, and the rage he felt that the Highlands, which had provided so many soldiers for the British Empire, was being stripped of its people.

How sad I am without a single companion
Who can raise, or understand, or sing a song with me;
With all the goodwill of my heart I bid a fond farewell to the lads
Who sailed over the ocean to Manitoba.

When that morning came when they were to go to a strange land,
And every friend in the place had gathered,
I cannot express the sorrow that weighed me down
As they turned their backs on the township on that Tuesday morning.

The wearers of kilts and hose and cocked bonnets
Who were always extolled in the battle's front line –
They are being sent overseas to a place that's unhealthy,
And the perpetrators are concerned only to lay waste the land.

(Three verses of *Manitoba* translated by Donald Meek)

After spending the winter in Ontario the brothers went east to Little Souris in Manitoba. Charles, who never married, died in 1928 aged a hundred and one. John, who married a widow Flora MacKinnon, had no children himself and died in 1912 aged eighty-seven.

The bard's wife Flora MacLean with her feet on a bearskin rug.

John, also a poet, wrote a song soon after he had settled in Canada

Wandering I am in this new place which has never been cultivated
Or had crops taken from its soil.
But what is really causing me to be low in spirits
Is that I won't see my people on New Year's Day.

Last year in Ontario things were fine for us
Our friends and fellow countrymen were nearby
But now we are wandering in an uncongenial land
Out of reach of loved ones and friends.

John MacLean of Balephuil.

It was no wonder I was in a bad way that day
When I had to go a hundred miles to get butter from the store
But Neil Kennedy and Hector came to meet me
And I greeted them joyfully, bottle in hand.

There are only Indians in their thousands to be seen
Indians with mirror-like stones in their finger rings,
Their blankets folded cloak-like round their shoulders,
And their trousers underneath, without crotch or backside.

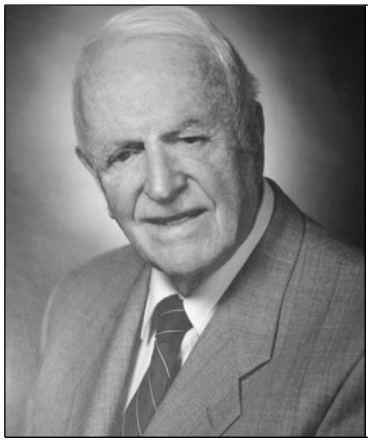
Although at the moment we are far from our friends,
If they live the rest will come of their own accord.
And when we get the place cultivated and in use,
We won't dwell on the days we left behind us.

(Translated by Donald Meek)

The bard's nephew 'Red' Hector.

Tiree lawyer dies at 93

Alasdair MacDonald, from Tiree, was the oldest practising lawyer in Ottawa when he died in 1994 aged ninety-three, having been a regular attender at the Elgin Street offices of MacDonald Affleck until just nine months before he passed away.



Alasdair MacDonald.

He came to Ottawa from Tiree during the First World War and was a prominent lawyer in the city for sixty-five years. He was a fluent Gaelic speaker who helped found the Chair of Celtic Studies at Ottawa University.

A Tiree senator

Donald Cameron was born in 1901 and spent his early days in Hong Kong, where his father, who came from Mull, worked in the naval dockyards. His mother was Marion MacFadyen from Croish in Caolas.

Senator Donald Cameron.

In 1906 the family emigrated to Canada, attracted by the advertising of the Canadian Pacific Railway which promised the opportunity to *'make your fortune and retire to your homelands in five years'*. They bought a farm of 320 acres near Innisfail, Alberta, between Calgary and Edmonton for $6 an acre. Donald won a scholarship to study Agriculture at the University of Alberta. He went onto become a lecturer in the Department and founded the Banff School of Fine Arts. After years as its Director, he was appointed to the Canadian Senate in 1955.

AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

'The Gold Diggers Arms'

John and Flora McEachern from Balephuil, with their three children, sailed out of Tobermory in September 1837, among 322 passengers on the *Brilliant* mainly from Mull, Coll and the mainland.

Balephuil photographed by Morton Boyd.

> *The people to be conveyed to this vessel are decidedly the most valuable that have ever left the shores of Great Britain. They are all of excellent moral character and from their knowledge of agriculture and management of sheep and cattle must prove a valuable acquisition to a colony like New South Wales.*
>
> (*Inverness Courier*)

The *Brilliant* was much admired. *'The size and splendid fittings (of the vessel) created a sensation, the Highlanders only being used to seeing small vessels for American emigration.'* On board were two surgeons and two teachers. The voyage to Sydney seems to have been a successful one. The captain received a letter from the Chairman of the passenger committee thanking him.

> *Sir,*
>
> *We beg leave, before quitting your ship, to express our gratitude for the kindness and indulgence we have experienced from you and the officers under your command during the voyage…we consider ourselves bound to acknowledge our deep obligations to you for your vigilance and activity as commander of the ship and your unremitting attention and readiness to forward every measure calculated to promote our comfort…To your crew our heartfelt thanks are also due for their orderly and civil behaviour to us and our children throughout the voyage.*

A letter to the Sydney Morning Herald stated: *'Out of 322 passengers on board only 10 children died, who were all under 2 years of age and the greater half of them in delicate health coming on board.'*

Once in Australia the family travelled to southern New South Wales where John established a blacksmith business at Jugiong. They moved to Goulburn after a few years then south to Beechworth when gold rush fever occurred in the 1850s. They returned to Albury, crossing the Murray river in a hide boat and ran a hotel called the 'Gold Diggers Arms'.

In total they had eight children. John died in 1855. Flora ran the business herself for many years before moving to another hotel, the 'Horse and Jockey'. She died in 1897. Their eldest son, Donald, raised horses at a property called 'Thurgoon' near Albury, but drowned in the Murray river in 1891.

The countryside around Albany, New South Wales.

Another son, John became a well-known blacksmith and won several awards at the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition of 1888. His brother, Archibald, was the father of the famous singer Malcolm McEachern (1883-1945). Malcolm made two hundred recordings during his career, accompanying Dame Nellie Melba and singing to the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace.

Chief Justice

Ellen Campbell and her thirteen children left Tiree in 1838 for Australia. Her husband Duncan died prior to departing but the family sailed from Tobermory on the *British King* and arrived in Sydney.

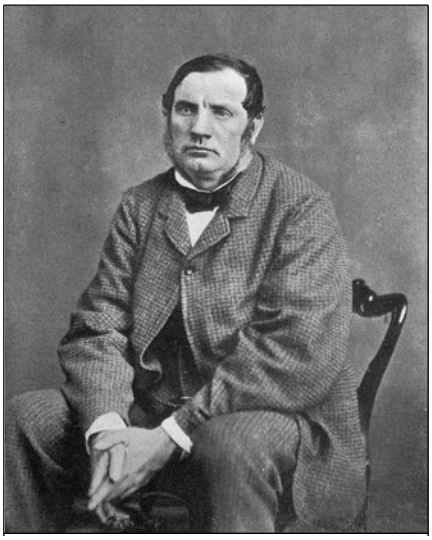
Sir Harry Gibbs.

One of her children, Ann, travelled with her husband Donald. Their little son died on the voyage. Donald worked as a doctor in Picton and Mudgee, country towns in New South Wales. They had ten other children.

Their most notable descendant is their great-grandson, Sir Harry Gibbs, who became the Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia.

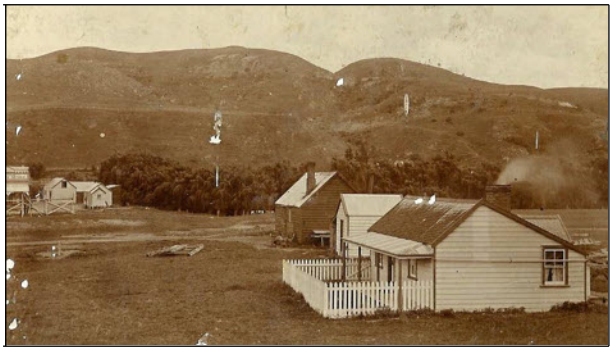
Sir Donald MacLean

Donald MacLean was born in Kilmoluaig in 1820. His father died when he was young and when his cousin's husband was appointed to a government position in Australia he decided to emigrate with them. The party left Oban in 1838, arriving in Sydney five months later. He walked 130 miles to a sheep property and managed that until forced off the land the next year by drought. He was then sent to New Zealand by a logging company. From the start he got on well with the native Maori population and became a fluent Maori speaker. Six foot two and physically strong, he found many resemblances between them and the people of Tiree. The colony's governor made him Protector of the Maoris around New Plymouth.



Sir Donald MacLean.

In 1844, at the age of twenty-four, he was sent to defuse a confrontation between the Maoris of Taranaki and British settlers who claimed they had acquired a large area for £200, two horses, two saddles and a hundred blankets. The ownership of the land was also disputed by two Maori tribes, and MacLean led negotiations which led to the Maoris receiving some of their land back and a better price for the rest. Many white settlers were put off their newly-acquired farms.



Blacksmiths house and forge at Maraekakaho.

Later that year he was the centre of a war between two Maori groups and his diplomacy led to the war party simply dancing their war dance and firing their guns into the air. MacLean continued his work travelling hundreds of miles through the scrub on foot and along the coast by canoe, negotiating land sales and trying to calm the simmering feuds between Maori tribes.

He bought 30,000 acres of rough land at Hawke's Bay in 1855 and came to live there at the age of forty-three. Eventually Maraekakaho station had 32,000 sheep and a hundred men working on it. He was elected Superintendent of Hawke's Bay and entered political life, pushing through a Bill to enable Maoris to sit in the House of Representatives. He became Minister of Native Affairs in 1869, a position he held for seven years.

He was also Minister of Defence from 1869 to 1872. Possibly remembering the success of General Wade's roads in the pacification of the Highlands, one his first projects was a large road building programme. His detailed understanding of Maori land ownership led to a saying that *'during MacLean's lifetime the land had rest'.*

He died in 1877. At his funeral the sounds of the pipes and the Maori songs mingled, and an old Maori chief wrote that MacLean had *'spread the sleeping mat of peace for the tribes of the island.'*

Hay-making team at Maraekakaho.

His son Douglas was sent to be educated in England at the age of ten but returned to mange the family property. He won the first bicycle race in Wellington, bicycled a penny farthing from Wellington to Napier and captained the Wellington rugby team. He brought in quality horses, sheep and cattle and the station was the first in New Zealand to have electricity.

'Enjoying myself the best way I can'

Archibald Campbell, the son of the miller at Cornaig, emigrated to Australia and New Zealand in 1850. Unusually, he kept a diary of his passage out.

> *October 14. Very little breeze. All the passengers were on deck at half past six in the morning. Very busy all day cleaning my own apartment, rising my bread and cleaning my gun…the fiddler playing, the sailors dancing and the steward singing till ten.*
>
> *October 29. Up on deck at six o'clock this morning to make ready for the wedding. We had a wedding on board the Sydney this day. One of our cabin passengers took notion of one of the steerage passengers to marry her and in a very short time he put it to effect. We had a good spread today about it, dancing and singing songs till they were tired.*
>
> *November 12th. This is Halloween* [Old Style] *with my dear friends in Tiree. It awakens deep thoughts within me, but there was no way of banishing them, but going to God with a loaded heart and poured out in His presence.*

We crossed the Line about ten o'clock at night by the ship's time. When we crossed the Line three cheers were given. Though they were given by me, it was with a deep sigh, thinking of my friends at home.

I was sleeping this month back with only one sheet above me and some nights without anything at all and as warm as could be.

November 30th. I killed another albatross with the gun. There was ten feet nine inches in his two wings – a very large one. I killed one of every kind of bird I saw since I left Glasgow.

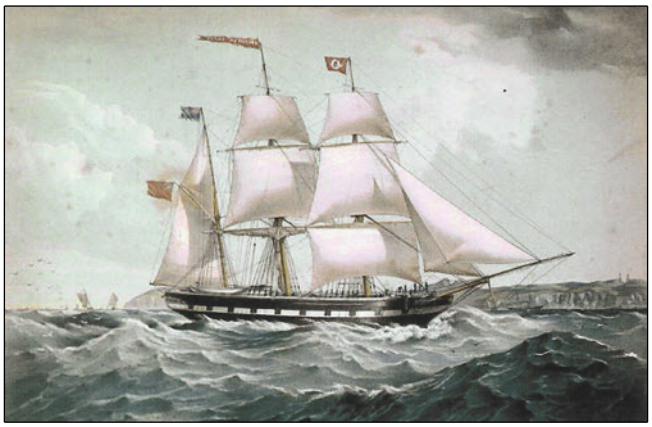
December 3rd. Always passing the time in smoking or reading or talking to someone or other, enjoying myself the best way I can.

January 1st 1851. I gave the captain and the rest of the gents a first foot about half past twelve this morning. I treated them with a Highland whisky from a Highland man out of a Highland glass, as the captain used to say, and also the rest of the steerage passengers.

January 3rd. My bed companion was complaining very much this three days back that I was bruising him every night with the heaving of the vessel.

January 13th. We had a very hearty night of it keeping the [Old] *New Year in the Highland fashion, dancing and singing till 3 a.m. There is eight hours and forty minutes between your time in Scotland and our time here at present.*

January 17th. We came alongside a white sandy beach about twenty miles long. It puts me in mind of our own sandy beaches at home. Landed next morning at Yarra Yarra wharf.



The *Southern Cross* around 1853.

The voyage from Greenock to Port Philip had taken a hundred and six days. There were twenty-two passengers, seven of whom were women. Six travelled as cabin passengers (first class) and sixteen went steerage.

'Full of Sunshine'

John MacDonald, his second wife Flora and their three children emigrated to Australia from Balinoe in 1854. Travelling in steerage, a low space below the main deck, the voyage from Liverpool took eighty-three days.

Only five passengers died during the passage, a low number for an emigrant ship. Their fare had been paid by the Highland and Island Emigration Society.

The family of Hugh, John MacDonald's son, around 1900.

Arriving in Australia John and his family made for the goldfields of Victoria where he settled in Ararat and worked as a blacksmith and gold miner. Flora died after the birth of her ninth child at the age of thirty-six.

His niece Flora MacDougall (see above) wrote that he *'spent many of his young days in the city…He was naturally smart…and was as handsome as any MacDonald that ever walked the earth...He knew navigation, land surveying and engineering, and could make anything from a needle to an anchor…He was skilled in the exercise of sword, gun and bayonet, and he was one of the best singers. No wonder I liked his company; he was so full of sunshine and anecdotes that one never tired of him.'*

An unwilling emigrant

Hector Mac****** from Tiree was an emigrant of a different kind. He was convicted of murder in 1857 and transported to Western Australia.

Originally from Balephuil, he had lost his croft in 1855 and moved into his mother-in-law's house in Earnal. It was an unhappy situation. Hector accused Jane, his wife, of having a child by a slater who occasionally visited the island and he was hauled in front of the Kirk session in an attempt to persuade him to stop. He had a reputation for violence towards her.

One night in February Jane's mother heard a commotion. On entering the couple's room she found her daughter unable to stand being supported by her husband. Within ten minutes she was dead with Hector lamenting, suspiciously dramatically, *'Oh! She is dead! I'll throw myself in the sea!'*

Hector insisted the funeral was arranged hurriedly, but suspicions were raised by marks that could be seen around her throat. The body was exhumed and examined by the doctor who declared himself *'quite satisfied that the deceased did not die from natural causes…*[and] *that she died asphyxiated produced by manual strangulation.'*

Hector was taken to Inveraray jail where he was tried, found guilty of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. He was transported the next year on the *Edwin Fox* to Western Australia. A note in his prison record read *'*[He] *is simple minded and likely to be made the sport of his fellow prisoners.'* Two years after arriving in Australia he was sentenced to ten days bread and water and three months solitary confinement for trying to escape. He received his ticket of leave in 1864 but died of tuberculosis the next year.

The first iron barque in Australia

Charles MacKinnon was born in Ruaig in 1838. He went to sea as a young man and in 1862, at the age of thirty-four he bade farewell to his family and shipped as an ordinary seaman on the tug *Bungaree* which reached Sydney after six months. The day after docking in Australia he signed on with a local boat. Within four years he was its master and part-owner. He then bought the first iron vessel in Australia, the barque *Melrose*.

On one memorable voyage during the Franco-Prussian War he sailed through a naval blockade to Mauritius. On the way home yellow fever broke out on board and four crew members died. They then ran into one of the worst typhoons in living memory. His obituary reported: *'Lashed to the wheel, the captain and a huge Highland AB* [able seaman] *fought for 48 hours to save the barque. The Highlander died of exhaustion but Captain Charles MacKinnon survived.'* He was one of the founders of the Highland Society of New South Wales.

Captain Charles MacKinnon.

He sent money home to Tiree which paid for his sister to build a house in Brock. In 1901 he returned to the island. While walking around the township he had left thirty-nine years before, he remarked to neighbour looking out to sea, *'Dh' atharraich a h-uile rud ann an Rubhaig ach Sgeir an Duilsg!'* (Everything in Ruaig has changed except Dulse Rock!) He died in 1926 and his ashes were scattered outside the heads of Sydney harbour. He had twenty grandchildren.

Death in the outback

A few years ago, four friends on a four wheel drive trip in central Queensland came across a grave near Charleville. The inscription on the headstone reads:

> *In loving memory of Donaldina McLean only daughter of Dugald and Mary McKinnon Born on the Island of Tiree Argylshire Scotland November 30th 1880 Died May 1st 1886 Aged 5 years and 3 months…*

The grave in the outback near Charleville.

Local knowledge has it that the child was restless and crying and the parents attended to her several times during the night. In the morning they found the girl dead and a snake was found in the bedclothes. She had been bitten several times.

Isolated graves like these are not uncommon in the outback and remind us of the hardships the early settlers endured.

Dugald of the gold

Dugald MacKinnon, known as *Dùghall an Òir* (Dugald of the gold) was born in Scarinish and emigrated to Australia. The first record we have is a bill from a general store in Charleville, Queensland in 1897. His address is given as Cairn's, Langlo Downs.

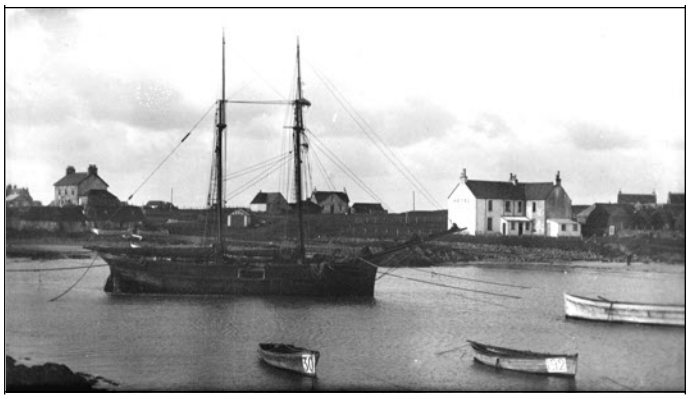
His wife died in 1906 and he is said to have also lost a daughter. He returned to Tiree the next year. Several letters to him from his old friends in Queensland give a vivid picture of life on the Queensland stations at the time.

> *I got your letter alright last week and was very glad to learn that you had reached Tiree in good fettle. I can quite believe that you find many things changed since you were home last…I expect that a good many of your old acquaintances are gone and that you are a greater stranger in Tiree than you are in Charleville. Which makes me think you might be out here again…*

I got badly hurt about four weeks ago through a horse falling with me and rolling over me…It happened in the Range paddock here, close to the drafting yard. I had a mob of ewes and lambs, a very cantankerous lot…I had to do a bit of galloping to put them together. The ground broke away under my horse's forefeet and he came down and then came down right over me…I could not rise and had to lie about four hours until the overseer came to look for me. They got a wagon and carted me down to the station…The shearing here is just finished. About 60,000 sheep were put through in four weeks.

Sheep stations have been booming. Oak Park, near Charleville was sold for £18,000 a few weeks ago with about 15,000 sheep and 400 cattle…My brothers Walter and Albert discovered a good gold and copper mine at Cloncurry, three miles from the town and the railway is there now, so we have formed a syndicate to get sufficient money to open it up. I am sending you a prospectus under separate cover and I enclose a list of those who have taken shares. If you would like to take one or two you might let us know. They are £10 each…

The local Aboriginal people were said to have *'cried when he left.'* Back in Tiree, Dugald remarried and had six children. He built the house known as Adavale in Heanish and one called Langlo in Scarinish, both named after stations in Queensland. He also bought the schooner the *Mary Stewart*, the remains of which now lie in Scarinish harbour. He is said to have lost most of his money in a failed railway investment.



The *Mary Stewart* in Scarinish harbour.

Donald MacKinnon of Balevullin

Donald MacKinnon, a miller in Balevullin, was among six leaders of the Tiree Land League who were arrested in 1886 after a period of land agitation on the island. The League took over the vacant tack at Greenhill and placed livestock belonging to poor crofters and landless cottars on the tack grazing. After a disturbance at Balephuil where a detachment of thirty Glasgow policemen were prevented from serving notices by an angry crowd of islanders, the marines were sent in.

Twelve men were arrested but four of the ringleaders, including Donald and the Land League Chairman, were released without charge. These four were the most articulate and potentially the most damaging to the authority's case.

The remaining eight prisoners were found guilty and sentenced to either six or three months' imprisonment. The case drew attention to the crofters' plight and when the Land Court investigated the following year, the crofters' rents were much reduced and a substantial sum of debt was cancelled.

Margaret Padbury with her grandfather's travelling desk.

Although much admired for his perspicacity, Donald's prospects on the island were blighted and he decided to emigrate. He was presented with a travelling desk with an inscription which read: *'Presented to Donald MacKinnon Balevullin by friends of Tiree on his leaving for New Zealand in recognition of his services in advocating their rights to the people and as a token of their respect and regards 16th March 1888.'*

Donald eventually settled in Western Australia where he worked on the railway and raised a family. His grand-daughter, Margaret Padbury of Kojonup, described him as *'a man of the highest principles, who lived by the word of God and brought up his family the same way.'*

'Piper wanted'

Hugh MacLean, his wife May and their four sons Charles, Donald, Duncan and Peter left Tiree in 1964 for New South Wales when Hugh replied to an advert 'Piper Wanted for Tenterfield Pipe Band'.

> *Our thoughts were of our four sons, whom at that time could only reach third year at Tiree High School. You had to go to the mainland for further schooling. Winter weather was absolutely appalling for Hugh* [a postman]. *The boats could land at any time and the mail had to be delivered, come hell or high water. This meant they could be out in the rain and wind and come home around midnight sometimes, cold and soaked.*
>
> *Finally we received a letter* [from Tenterfield] *telling us we were chosen from fourteen applicants. We had to read that letter a few times before we could realise it was true.*

We sold off our cattle, sheep, hay and cornstacks and embarked on our trip, still in our winter gear and found Australia in the second year of a bad drought. The heat and the strong sun could have cooked us. The bitumen on the landing ground was sticking to our shoes.

Hugh worked at the local meat works and became pipe major of the pipe band.

If the meat works closed for any time, the Shire always had jobs on the roads. One local shop gave credit and often a box of vegetables and fruit were left on the verandah. No names and we still have no idea from whom they came.

When the meat works closed the family had to move to find work. In 1984 Hugh joined the Queensland Police Pipe Band.

Hugh was on cloud nine! He got a job as a civilian in the museum and was with the band for thirteen years until he retired.

(Letter from May MacLean)

Hugh and May MacLean with their sons at Oban station en route to Australia.

AFRICA

The MacNeills of Hough

Marion MacNeill was born at Hough in 1841 and married Richard Brown in Glasgow in 1872. In 1877 her brother Donald married Mary Napier in Glasgow and some time after that the two couples emigrated to Eastern Cape, South Africa.

They had to contend with all that nature hurled at them, from torrential rain and hail storms to blazing heat and crop pests. Their nearest village and train station was Toise River about twenty-five miles away. Goods were fetched by ox wagon which took a full twelve hours for the round trip.

A visit to the doctor involved a train journey of forty miles, while the dentist was a hundred and sixty miles away. During these visits to the towns all manner of goods had to be purchased, from new boots, material and corsets to farm implements and medicines.

The MacNeills at Tufthill Farm in the Eastern Cape.

Births and deaths in the community were celebrated or mourned by all. When a neighbour died, the closest men turned out to lay out the body, put it into the coffin and hold the burial.

Their social life was second to none. Tennis was the usual Saturday afternoon activity. The Rifle Club held regular shoots that were hotly contested within the club and also against rival clubs, e.g. Bolo or Mgwali Clubs. These communities also played football against each other.

Marion MacNeill's children, Neil and Mary Brown, on the left.

The Schoolroom was used as a Church, with the itinerant minister travelling from the Mission station in Mgwali. It was also used as a Social Hall where weddings, concerts and dances were held. Sports Days were the highlight of the year. Sundays were for visiting and barely a Sunday went by that did not bring visitors. If no-one was found at home, they carried on to the next neighbour. Nobody waited for an invitation.

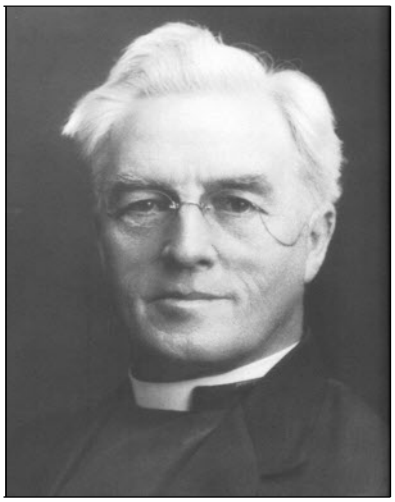
'The sound of many waters'

Allan Munn left Tiree for Glasgow University and was ordained in 1897 into the United Free Church. His first parish was in Inverness. In 1911 he spent several months at the Scottish Church of Algiers and in 1913 he moved with his seven children to take charge of a church in Germiston in the Transvaal. Eleven years later he moved to the Presbyterian church in Bulawayo, now in Zimbabwe.

He was not tall, and yet he gave the impression of height and dignity. He had a grand head – lofty and crowned with a halo of white hair, which gave him a leonine appearance. Then his voice with its glorious Gaelic intonations I described as being 'like the sound of many waters'.

There seemed to be no limit the goodness of that family – two girls and five boys, as happy a family as I have ever known. The boys slept on the stoep and shared a room for dressing purposes. In that room all things seemed to be held in common – ties, socks and shirts, they were to be shared and shared alike…

He graced no less the old 'Tin-Lizzie' he drove. When he got into the front seat the old car looked like a limousine.



Rev. Allan Munn.

Allan died in 1937 aged seventy. His family continues to flourish. His daughter-in-law Elsie Ashworth was a well-known singing teacher in Africa.

GLASGOW

The Tiree Association

The growth of Glasgow to become the 'Second City of the Empire' in the late 19th century was based at first on the ready access to tobacco from the colonies of North America and sugar from the West Indies. After the American War of Independence had cut off this supply in 1780, nearby deposits of coal and steel led to the development of linen and cotton industries. The River Clyde was dredged in 1770 and Glasgow became the world's major ship building centre. The city's population soared from 77,000 in 1801 to 784,000 in 1901.

If Canada had been the favoured destination from 1800 to 1880 for emigrants from Tiree as crofters were attracted by the promise of land, an increasing number of islanders made their way to Glasgow towards the end of the 19th century. Many island girls went to service in the big houses of Glasgow's west end.

Tiree Association Vice President Neil MacLaine and his wife.

In 1901 the Tiree Association was formed.

> *The primary function of our association is to give assistance to natives of Tiree who, through no fault of their own, may be in an embarrassing financial position.*

The Association's annual concert and dance became a fixture in the social calendar.

> *In 1912 it was that ladies were first admitted to the committee of the Tiree Association. What was merely an experiment has proved an unqualified success, and the ladies section has ever since proved a useful part of the executive.'*

Money was raised during the First World War to send parcels to Tiree servicemen and a War Memorial built on the island.

The Duke and Duchess of Argyll at a Tiree Association Concert in the 1950s.

Of submarines and alligators

Hugh Angus Clark, whose family came from Brock and Ruaig, was born in 1892 in Saltcoats. After school he commenced his apprenticeship at Harvey Engineering. In the First World War he joined the submarine service.

His son Donald wrote that *'Dad claimed to be the first man to be below the surface of the sea and up in an aeroplane on the same day. Having returned to Portsmouth early one morning he decided to visit the nearby Royal Naval Air Station… The adjutant summonsed a pilot and told him to take Hugh up in a two-seater open cockpit plane which had to be tested. The pilot was a bit put out about this* [and] *got his own back when he looped the loop in a vain effort to get him airsick. All without being strapped in!'*

On a visit to London in 1917, he *'went to Hampstead Heath for some relaxation and was walking along the path when two young ladies cycled past. Suddenly one fell in a heap when her pedal fell off. He immediately went to her assistance and they were married a year later.'*

Hugh Clark and his wife.

On being demobbed the young couple left for British Guiana to work as an engineer on a sugar plantation. *'He shot an alligator while on safari up the Demerara. When dead, alligators roll over showing their white underbelly. Dad's trophy had only blacked out and came to life when brought aboard the dugout! Mum was not amused…'*

The family returned in 1932 but the next year he was off again to *'Moti Hari, Behar, India to build a sugar mill…* [In 1934] *he noticed that the machinery overhead began to sway…A split second later the ground shook, the walls began to tumble and the entire factory collapsed in an earthquake. Three of the exits from the factory collapsed, killing those attempting to escape. Dad chose the fourth…10,000 people died in the state…He retired in 1960 and they settled in Hythe. He died in 1979.'*

A' Bhuain

Most school leavers go to the mainland for work, training or further education. This school photograph was taken in 2002 and shows the senior two classes of Tiree High School. Of the thirteen young people, all left the island in the next two years. Two became chefs, one a policeman, one a music student, two had children, and the others continued to study, mainly in Glasgow. One has since returned. Emigration continues. *A' Bhuain* – the Harvest – goes on.

The senior years of Tiree High School in 2002.

Many thanks to Sue and Gregory Abbot, Paul Birt, Myrtle Bridges, Isabelle Carter, Stanley Cawthorn, Donald Clark, Betty Edens, Brian Fitzsimons, Glenda Franklin, Barbara Hall, Ann Hentschel, Gene Lamont, Eleanor Lillico, Ken MacCallum, Louise MacDougall, Russ McGillivray, May MacLean, Archie MacKinnon, Betty MacKinnon, Isabel Pavlovic, Leanne Piper, Val Read, Bill Riley, Wallace and Jeanette Robertson, Gail Rothlin, Margaret Russell and many others without whose contributions this exhibition would not have been possible.

