

in them when present at a performance of the same play. They were also often worn by Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary.

In the inner hall and in the drawing-room we saw water-colours of two former homes of the family. Donibristle in Fife, overlooked the Firth of Forth but suffered twice from fire – in the 16th century, at the time of the murder of the ‘Bonnie Earl’, and again, irreparably, in the last century. Kinfauns, near Perth, had the strange distinction of being painted not only before having been built, but even before the architect had been given the chance to draw up his plans. The drawing-room also contained a beautiful series of small portraits still in their original matching frames, also after Van Dyke, of ladies largely unknown to history but, it has been suggested, perhaps rather well known to Van Dyke! These came from Moray House in Edinburgh, now a teacher training college.

In the dining-room hangs a portrait of the 8th Earl which, when the room was a hospital ward, crashed on to the bed of the patient below. Fortunately the patient was temporarily elsewhere.

We listened to our final story back in the Randolph Hall. This was the horrific tale of the murder in 1592 of James Stewart, ‘the Bonnie Earl of Moray’, by the Earl of Huntly and his men. The Earl had inherited his father-in-law’s title together with an old family feud. Huntly had been in trouble with the King, but saw an opportunity to regain the King’s favour and attack a traditional enemy when Moray’s arrest was desired on a charge of abetting the Earl of Bothwell’s rebellion. Huntly left the King’s hunting party, surrounded Donibristle and finally set it on fire. The Earl broke out from the ring of flames but, betrayed by his height, he was followed to the sea-shore and stabbed to death. Huntly is said to have delivered the final cut to the face and, dying, Moray mocked him saying, ‘Ye hae spoiled a better face than your ain, my lord.’

The macabre painting behind doors showing his naked body with all its wounds was commissioned by Moray’s mother and paraded round Edinburgh in order to raise popular feeling against Huntly. However, though the ballad records the King as grieving:

“Now wae be tae ye, Huntly
And wharfore did ye sae?
I bad ye bring him wi ye
But forbad ye him to slay.”

all the punishment Huntly received was a week’s imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle.

On this sad historical note our gathering ended. It was a weekend of varied and consistently interesting activities in a most magnificent setting. Our thanks go to all who contributed to and helped with the organisation of such a successful occasion.

• **Picture**—see page 109

The Appin Regiment

By **Angus Stewart, Q.C. and A. T. B. Stewart, C.B.E.**

There is reproduced below and published for the first time a *List of persons within the parish of Lismore and Appin who have not delivered up their Arms*. The list is dated at ‘Islandstalker’ (in Appin) July 6, 1746. The list is filed with the Stonefield Papers in the Scottish Record Office.⁽¹⁾

The Stonefield list adds substantially to our understanding of the composition of the Appin Regiment 1745–46. The best information published to date is in *The Muster Roll*.⁽²⁾ The Muster Roll gives 114 members of the Appin Regiment by name. The Stonefield list names 96 persons. Some of the Stonefield names do already appear in the Muster Roll. For example, No. 2 in the Stonefield list, ‘Callum McIlmichal Changekeeper and Miller, Kenantalen’, appears in the Muster Roll as Malcolm Carmichael, Changekeeper, Kintallen, Appin, No. 55 looks to be the same as the Donald Stewart entered in the Muster Roll as Sergeant. Half a dozen persons have so far been identified as occurring in both lists. The vast majority of names in the Stonefield list are new names.

This means that we now know the names of about 200 officers and men of the Appin Regiment. The strength of the Regiment fluctuated during the campaign. The only reliable evidence of numbers at a particular time comes from the Order Book of the Appin Regiment⁽³⁾ which gives 198 all ranks drawing pay on November 3 and 11, 1745. There is one apparently contemporary assessment of strength at 256. The Muster Roll estimates strength as follows: at Prestompans, 200; at Falkirk, 300; at Culloden, 250. These are very much estimates and must be particularly uncertain as regards the number of local recruits.

The inference that the persons named in the Stonefield list had been in armed ‘rebellion’ is based on internal and external evidence. In the absence of indications to the contrary it is assumed that these ‘rebels’ served with the Appin Regiment.

There is a question as to whether No. 77 ‘John McKenzie Sailor and Servant to Charles Stuart, Notar’, should be counted in the regimental strength: Charles Stewart, Notary at Maryburgh, was on the Staff as Paymaster. Likewise there is a question as to whether the two ‘postmen’, Nos. 36 and 61 should be counted.

The context in which the Stonefield list was prepared may be gathered from Sir James Ferguson’s work.⁽⁴⁾ Archibald Campbell of Stonefield was Chamberlain of the greater part of the Argyll estates and (as the Duke’s depute) Sheriff of Argyll. With the Duke absent in

⁽¹⁾ SRO, GD 14/98.

⁽²⁾ *Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s army 1745–46*, Alastair Livingstone of Bachuil and others, (Aberdeen, 1984). All but five of the Appin Regiment names in the Muster Roll come from two sources, (1) *The Order Book of the Appin Regiment (infra)* and (2) *List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion* reproduced by the Scottish History Society with preface by the Earl of Rosebery (Edinburgh 1890). The list is a series of returns by Excise officials in response to the requisition by the Commissioners of Excise dated May 7, 1746. The Appin names appear in the *Argyle North* return.

⁽³⁾ *The Order Book of the Appin Regiment*, Lt. Col. C. Stewart Henderson, *The Stewarts* IX, 137 (Edinburgh, 1951).

⁽⁴⁾ *Argyll in the Forty-five*, Sir James Ferguson, (London, 1951).

London, Stonefield was virtually civilian dictator of the county. He worked closely with the Duke's cousin Major General John Campbell of Mamore, military commander in the West Highlands. Throughout the Rising, Castle Stalker was held by a Hanoverian garrison under the Governor, Donald Campbell of Octomore. The castle continued as a military base and prison after Culloden (April 16, 1746).

On April 23, 1746 General Campbell issued an order appointing Castle Stalker as one of five centres at which 'all private weapons' were to be surrendered. By May 11, the General was able to inform Lord Glenorchy that "some of Appin's and Airds' (6) people have delivered their arms to me." But, he added: "The people in this country are very backward in obeying the order given for that purpose but they must and will repent of it soon."

On May 16 General Campbell learned that his order had gone too far: only 'rebel' arms, not those generally in private hands had to be gathered up. Before he left Appin to chase the Prince in the Hebrides, the General ordered that the name and address of anyone bringing in arms was to be recorded; that common people should be allowed to return home and that gentlemen should be kept prisoner.

The ingathering of weapons proceeded fitfully until the beginning of July when urgency was again lent to the business by fresh intelligence received at Castle Stalker about the whereabouts of Stewart of Ardsheal, erstwhile Colonel of the Appin Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel John Campbell younger of Mamore passed the information to his father the General and suggested a further sweep of the Appin district: "Ardsheal is still in that country and some other gentlemen who have about twenty men with them in arms."

It was against this background that the Stonefield list was put together at Castle Stalker — and put together, the detail of the list suggests, by a person or persons having close familiarity with the Appin scene on the basis of information gathered over many months.

The Stonefield list complements the Muster Roll in a number of ways. The Stonefield list gives prominence to the dead, the wounded and to prisoners. The Stonefield list is a list of survivors mostly living at home. More than one third of the Muster Roll names are officers, commissioned and non-commissioned and two thirds of all persons listed are Stewarts. The Stonefield list has only ten Stewarts and all but two of the persons listed are other ranks. (The exceptions are No. 19 'Robert McAllain Stuart, Miln of Cuile, Captain' and No. 5 'Duncan McColl, Tenant, Lagnaha, Sergeant'). The overall picture is of a regiment officered by Stewarts with other names predominating in the ranks.

The frequency of the five most common non-Stewart names in the Stonefield list compares with the frequency of the same names in the Invermahyle list of casualties.⁽⁶⁾

	Invermahyle	Stonefield
McColls	33	29
MacLarens	17	13
MacIntyres	10	6
McCombichs	8	8
Carmichaels	8	5

(5) Donald Campbell of Airds.

(6) *Casualties in the Appin Regiment*, compiled from a manuscript by Alexander Stewart 8th of Invermahyle an officer of the Regiment, *The Stewarts* (Edinburgh, 1931).

The Stonefield list challenges the notion that the MacLarens who fought under the Appin banner were all Balquhither men motivated by a centuries old bond between the clans⁽⁷⁾; the MacLarens in the Stonefield list are local tenants and retainers.

The Stonefield list is arranged geographically by farms or settlements starting with the northernmost of Ardsheal's properties, Lettirmore, and very roughly working south to Loch Creran and then east up Glen Creran to Rannoch Moor. The list includes Stewart properties belonging to the Laird of Appin and the cadet branches of Ardsheal, Achnacone, Invermahyle and Fasnacloich. But the list does not cover the whole parish. There is no reference to the north end of the parish, in particular to the Laird of Appin's lands in Glencoe and the property of Stewart of Ballachulish another cadet branch. There is no reference to Lismore. There is no mention of Campbell of Airds' property which included the farm of Keil and the land to the west of the Strath of Appin. It would be unsafe to assume that all of the omitted places had been disarmed or contained no 'rebels'.

The Stonefield list does include three properties outwith the parish in Campbell country to the south, namely Glenure in Glen Creran, Invercharman in Glen Etive and Ferlochan in Benderloch. The recruits from Glenure must have been motivated by ties which defied their master's interest. Invercharman was a different case. The tacksman 'John Glass' was a Stewart, related to Ardsheal. Tradition records him as joining up against his better judgment.⁽⁸⁾ He was killed at Culloden.

The large number of recruits from the Laird of Appin's estate⁽⁹⁾ is of interest considering that the Laird himself, though of full age and capacity,⁽¹⁰⁾ did not follow the Prince.

In addition to the names listed, other persons are referred to. Some require comment. No. 6 refers presumably to the tacksman of Lagnaha who may be the Duncan Stewart 'uncle of Ardsheal' killed at Falkirk. 'Auchacharn' referred to at Nos. 17 and 18 is Alexander Stewart of Acharn brother of John Glas Stewart of Benmore referred to above; his servant No. 18 gave fatal testimony against James of the Glen in 1752. The father of No. 21 is entered in the Muster Roll as Sergeant Donald Carmichael. Smith Donald McColl (Nos. 33, 34 and 36) is entered in the Muster Roll. 'The Lady' at No. 47 is the dowager Lady Appin (Anne, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochmell). 'Callum Bane in Portnacros' (No. 49) is the innkeeper Malcolm Bane McColl No. 46 on the Crown witness list at the trial of 1752 (see below). 'Old Saunders Stuart' at No. 63 is probably Alexander Stewart, brother of the Laird of Auchnacone, killed at Culloden. Entry No. 71 is well out of geographical sequence: the brother referred to is likely to be No. 18. 'Duncan Campbell' (No. 83) is the brother of Colin Campbell of Glenure and the half-brother of John Campbell of Barcaldine. 'Charles Stuart' at No. 77 and 'John Glass' at Nos. 86 to 90 are explained above.

(7) Appendix to *Casualties in the Appin Regiment* (*supra*).

(8) *The Dewar Manuscripts* Vol I, Ed. Rev. J. MacKeechie (Glasgow 1964), Chap. 24. In a related context the leasing of land in Glen Etive to Stewarts and their followers over the heads of Campbells is said to have been a source of friction with Colin Campbell of Glenure, as was the fate of John Glas Stewart's cattle, Chap. 29.

(9) Appin's estate included the properties listed as Lagnaha, Miln of Cuile, Taynahishag, Glenuachrach, Glenstockdale, Lettershuna, Auchosragan, Kenlochlaich, Blamalaogh, Finault, Shuna. The *List of Persons* (Note 2 *supra*) records Alexander Stewart of Invermahyle as being "active in raising Appin's Tenents."

(10) *Memorial and Opinion 1762*, Angus Stewart, in *The Stair Society Miscellany III* (Edinburgh, 1992).

Several of the names crop up again in connection with the trial of James Stewart of the Glen in 1752.⁽¹⁾ No. 37, for example, Alexander Stuart, pedlar, is believed to be the same as Alexander Stewart, travelling packman, Crown witness. It is tempting to suggest that No. 94, the last name on the list, is one and the same as Allan Breck Stewart. It is not possible to tell whether the heading 'Ferlochán' is meant to cover this entry or whether the clerk simply added the name at the end because the suspect did not belong to any particular place in the district.⁽²⁾

The Stonefield list is reproduced with the original spellings. These often differ from the usual modern versions. For the purpose of comparison with the Muster Roll the Gaelic names have to be Englished, e.g., Euan becomes Hugh, Sorle becomes Samuel, Callum may become Malcolm, McCannanich is Buchanan, McIlmichel is Carmichael, McInlea is Livingstone.

A 'bowman' can be understood as a profit-sharing stock-manager. A 'herd' is a herdsman. A 'changekeeper' is an innkeeper, a 'miln' is a mill and a 'walk miller' is a fuller. The 'tenants' referred to are 'small tenants' or sub-tenants of whom there might be several per farm.

List of persons within the parish of Lismore & Appin who have not delivered up their Arms.

Islandstalker, July 6, 1746

Lettermore

1. Donald Roy McIlbride, *Ardsheal's Bowman.*

Kenatalen

2. Callum McIlmichal, *Changekeeper and Miller.*

Ardsheal

3. Duncan McColl, *Servant to Ardsheal.*
4. Duncan McChombich, *Servant to Ardsheal.*

Lagnaha

5. Duncan McColl, *Tenant and Serjt.*
6. Donald McChananich, *Servant to Duncan Stuart, in Lagnaha.*
7. Euan Bane McColl, *Cottar.*
8. John Roy McColl, *Ploughman.*

Auchnadarroch

9. John McColl, *an Idle Man.*
10. Allan Stuart, *Ardsheal's Baggage keeper he had a Craft in the Town.*
11. John McChombich, *Drover and Tenant.*
12. Angus McChombich, *Taylor.*
13. John Stuart, *Tenant.*

⁽¹⁾ *Trial of James Stewart*, 2nd Edition, D. N. Mackay, (Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1931).
⁽²⁾ The best account of Allan Breck is given in *The Killing of the Red Fox*, Seamus Carney, (Moffat 1989).

28. Euan Roy McIlmichel, *the same as the former, he deserted thrice from his Majesties Service.*
29. Sorle More McColl, *Cottar.*
30. Gilbert McIntyre, *Cottar.*
31. John Dou McIntyre, *his Son.*
32. Duncan McIntyre, *Taylor.*

Auchacharr

33. John McColl, *Son to John McColl Eldr., Smith.*
34. Sol McColl, *his Brother they live in their Father's house.*
35. Duncan McColl, *Cottar.*
36. Euan McColl, *a Brother's Son of John McColl Eldr., the Smith and who was post between this Country and the Rebel Army.*
37. Alexander Stuart, *Pedlar.*

Auchiblair

38. Lachlan McLearn, *Tenant.*
39. Euan McLearn, *Tenant.*
40. Duncan McLearn, *Tenant.*

Glennachtrach

41. Lachlan McLearn, *Doctor.*
42. Duncan McColl, *his Servant.*
43. Donald McLearn, *also his Servant.*
44. Learn McLearn, *also his Servant.*
45. McLan vic Euen vic Lachlan, *the Doctor's herd.*
46. John McLearn, *Boat Carpenter.*

Glenstockdale

47. John McArthur, *Son to Alexr. McArthur the Lady's Bowman and now young Invernahyle's Servant.*

Lettershuna

48. Euan McColl, *Appin's herd.*
49. Paul More McColl, *Appin's Servant. This Man was a Gun Mercht., he dealt with Callum Bane in Portnacross and always sold him the arms he brought home.*

Auchosragan

50. John Bane McIlmichel, *Boat Carpenter.*
51. Donald McDonald, *Servt. to Angus McDonald, Walk Miller.*
52. John McDonald, *The Walk Miller's Son in Law.*

Kenlochlaich

53. Alexander Stuart, *Tenant.*
54. Donald Stuart, *his Son.*
55. Donald Stuart in Taychaman, *Tenant and Changekeeper.*
56. Sorle McColl, *Son to Donald McColl, an Idle Man.*

57. John McColl, *Son to Sorle McColl, Tenant and now prisoner in Islandstalker.*

58. Duncan McColl, *his other Son.*

59. John McColl, *Fidler Tenant.*

60. John McIntyre, *Tenant.*

61. Donald Mellmichel, *Weaver in Annaid of Kenlochlaich who was a post between the Rebel Army and this Country.*

Auchnacone

62. Duncan McColl, *Auchnacone's present herd.*

63. Duncan Bane McIntyre, *Old Saunders Stuart's herd.*

Arivean

64. John McInlea, *young Invernahyle's Bowman.*

Garrachoran

65. Sorle McColl, *Son to Euan McColl, old Invernahyle's Bowman.*
66. Donald McColl, *his Brother, he served his father as a herd.*

Blarnalaogh

67. John Bane McLearn, *Servant to old Lachlan McLearn, Tenant there.*

Finault

68. Angus McDonald, *young Invernahyle's herd.*

Invernahyle

69. Donald Stuart, *herd to old Invernahyle.*

70. John Mellmichel, *herd to old Invernahyle.*

Glenduror

71. Euan Roy McColl, *he lives with his Brother John Dou McColl and has no Business.*

Crigan

72. Donald McIntyre, *Tenant.*
73. John More McIlchattan, *Tenant.*

Daniel Stewart: Benefactor of Daniel Stewart's College (1741-1814)

By Alasdair Stewart Seal

Daniel Stewart was born on a croft in Perthshire; on high land with consequently poor quality soil. He worked hard throughout his, for the time, long life of 73 years and spent a considerable amount of time in India. Not much is known about the nature of his employment but he did work for at least one of the various trading posts of the East India Company and it was here that he amassed his wealth.

Quite simply, his endeavours and skilfully applied talents were rewarded by his employers—not only with an excellent salary but also with a substantial legacy. This enabled him in turn to leave an important bequest to provide not only, as is commonly thought, one school but two. On the death of his niece, the trustees, who incidentally were instructed to dine annually at his expense, had accrued £80,000 for the building of the schools. The first Daniel Stewart's School was opened early in the nineteenth century in his home village of Logierait and the rather more famous Daniel Stewart's College was opened in 1855 on a site in Queensferry Road in Edinburgh.

West Toberandomich is quite a large croft, as is common with those situated on higher land, in a most attractive part of the valley with commanding views over Logierait, Balnaguard and Ballinluig. The quality of the soil is poor and though worked hard by Daniel, his brother and his parents was not able to support the family. His mother, a local girl, arranged for him to be awarded an apprenticeship, to a wig maker in Edinburgh and it was here that he met the man who later took him to India and to his fortune.

His first job was as a valet for a wealthy merchant who was involved with the East India Company. In those days it was not as fashionable to venture to the sub-continent as it became later in the century, and certainly those who found wealth there were few and far between. Indeed Daniel Stewart seems to have gone to some lengths to endeavour to hide his wealth; on his return to Edinburgh he took up a job as a clerk in the forerunner of the Inland Revenue. His ability was again recognised and he was promoted regularly in his career, finally becoming a Mercer in the Court of Exchequer.

Daniel Stewart lived in a variety of small flats in the Old Town of Edinburgh and certainly for several years on the Royal Mile itself, in the Canongate; this being about 1790. They say that in today's life wealth is difficult to hide and one of the better ways is to hang it on the wall; in the form of portraits and paintings. Perhaps this was fashionable then too, as he ran to the considerable expense of having a life-size portrait painted by Sir Henry Raeburn to celebrate his 70th birthday. One hundred guineas was certainly beyond the means of a man living purely on the salary of a tax official, even as he was by then the exalted deputy court marshal. The portrait hangs in the Merchant Company Hall in Hanover Street, where it can be viewed by appointment. A stunning full-size reproduction hangs proudly in the school, from where Daniel Stewart watches over his domain.

The two schools were specifically noted in his will and the Logierait Daniel Stewart's school was opened in 1819, while the college in Edinburgh took a little longer to establish

74. Angus Mellechattan, his Brother and Servant to John Roy Mellechattan.
Salachule
 75. John McColl, Son to Euan McColl, Workman to Fasnacloich he has a fine Gun.

- Fasnacloich**
 76. John McInnish, Servant to young Fasnacloich.
 77. John McKenzie, Sailor and Serv. to Charles Stuart, Notar.

78. Callum McInnish, Shoemaker.
 79. Donald McInnish, Serv. to Old Fasnacloich.

80. Donald McLearn, his other Servant.
 81. Euan McLearn, Miller.

82. John McIlhavish, Son to Neil McIlhavish, Miller, an Idle Man.

- Gleneure in Ardchattan parish**
 83. Euan Bane McLearn, Servant to Duncan Campbell Barcaldine's Brother.

- Shuna**
 91. Duncan McColl, he has a Croft.
 92. Donald Bane McIlmichel, Sailor.

- Ferlochian**
 93. John McColl, Serv. to William Stuart, Ardsheal's Cousin.
 94. Allan Stuart, who deserted from Cope's army and now with Ardsheal.

84. Duncan McLearn, his other Servant.
 85. John McLearn, Brother to the above Duncan, an Idle Man.

- Innercharnan**
 86. Euan McColl, herd to John Glass.
 87. John McColl, his Son another of John Glass's herds.

88. Sorle Roy McColl, Servant to John Glass.

89. Duncan McEuen dou McColl, herd to John Glass.

90. Euan McCallum vic Euen vic Ian Roy McColl, in Glenetive, an Idle Man.

- Stuna**
 91. Duncan McColl, he has a Croft.
 92. Donald Bane McIlmichel, Sailor.

- Ferlochian**
 93. John McColl, Serv. to William Stuart, Ardsheal's Cousin.
 94. Allan Stuart, who deserted from Cope's army and now with Ardsheal.

The Settlements of Western Perthshire

by James Stewart

Pentland Press Ltd., £17.50

This book is the result of ten years research into the history of the western corner of Highland Perthshire. It embraces the country of Loch Lubnaig, Strathlyre, Balquhider, Loch Voil and the western end of Loch Earn. The study concentrates on a zone beyond the Highland Line where tribal and feudal cultures met and merged.

The book traces the early history of the region and also reconstructs the eventual process of disintegration, which began with overpopulation and land shortages in the eighteenth century. The opportunities offered overseas, in professional and military service and in the new textile mills after 1780, combined with local poverty, resulted in voluntary depopulation. The glens are rich in ruins of clachan townships and their shielings. Their names and the families which lived and worked in them are traced back into the mists of the medieval landscape. The complex community which emerges indicates a society much more ordered and stable than popular mythology would suggest.