



Vol: XXVII, No. 1, 2024

The Stewarts



The Stewarts



2024

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The Stewarts, Vol. XXVII, No.1 2024

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The Stewart Gathering 2023

Ann Stewart Burns & Paul Thompson

The Stewart Gathering 2023 took place in Scotland's capital, Edinburgh and the headquarters of the Stewart Society. In a departure from the usual late summer schedule the weekend was moved back to 6th-8th October. Not many people actually visit Scotland for the weather, certainly not in October and our ancestral homeland - current home for some of course, did not disappoint, it rained - a lot. However, it was mild enough and the wet failed to dampen spirits.

Reception at The Stewart Society Offices

The first official event was the President's Reception at the Society's office on the Friday evening in George Street. George Street is one of the principal New Town streets, named after King George III and host to many fine sandstone houses, churches and monuments. It was wonderful to see so many familiar faces and a pleasant couple of hours was had by all enjoying canapés and prosecco.

The Palace of Holyroodhouse

Saturday morning dawned with continuing rain and an early tour of the Palace of Holyroodhouse. The 8:30am start allowed us to see rooms not usually open to the public. The guides were all wearing the Stewart hunting tartan so we felt in good company. The origins of what we see today were founded during the reign of David I, King of Scots 1124-1153. It is said that whilst out hunting the King had a vision of a stag, he perceived a cross between the beast's antlers. This inspired him to build an abbey at that location. Holy Rood meaning Holy Cross. The modest Holyrood Abbey became a large religious community over the years and provided considerably more comfortable accommodation for visiting Royals than nearby Edinburgh Castle. These chambers were converted into a palace in 1503 by James IV, for his new wife, Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII of England. This marriage had a huge impact on both nations, resulting in their

great grandson James VI, King of Scots becoming heir to the English throne, eventually becoming James I, King of England in 1603.

In 1528 James V built what is today is the oldest surviving part of the palace. This is now known as Mary Queen of Scots' Chambers. What we mainly see now of the palace was completed by 1679 with a number of subsequent refurbishments and modernisations over the centuries.

The Palace of Holyroodhouse is the official residence of the British Monarch in Scotland and has been so since the 16th century. Few



The authors at the Gathering Dinner.

monarchs used the palace and it was hardly used at all from Charles I in 1641 until George IV in 1822. (except of course for the brief interlude of Bonnie Prince Charlie's stay in the Palace during the '45). For that visit we were told of George IV's request that all the Scots nobility should wear their tartans. Given that most Scots families didn't then have a specific tartan this caused something of a panic and a lot of rushed

work for the Edinburgh textile manufacturers and tailors. And haven't we loved a tartan ever since?

A highlight was Mary Queen of Scots' Chambers and the "bloodstain" purporting to be from the murder of the Queen's private secretary and favourite Rizzo. An early example of manipulation of the truth, one might think, popularising what became a lucrative tourist attraction.

We gathered for cups of tea and short bread afterwards in the cafe, hoping the rain might ease up a little. It didn't.

The Royal Mile and Magdalen Chapel

Next was a walk up the splendid Royal Mile, it was still raining but



The President, the Rt Hon. the Earl of Moray talking about the Moray Estate to gathering attendees.

the brown sandstone buildings somehow suit those conditions.

The Royal Mile runs through the core of the Old Town, somewhat too many tartan shops of mixed quality but many fine pubs, restaurants, cafés - oh and whisky shops. At the end of the walk we arrived at the Magdalen Chapel on Cowgate. We were given an interesting talk of its origins and its place in Scotland's religious reform. It was built in the 1540s as a chantry chapel for Mary, Queen of Scots.

Since the Reformation, it has hosted various Christian creeds - Catholic, Protestant Church of Scotland, Episcopalians,

Baptists, Covenanter Presbyterians, Calvinists, you get the idea. It was a hotbed of reform and is today the home of the Reformation Society.

After lunch, the group split with some people attending an excellent whisky tasting at Whisky and Tobacco in Jeffrey St where they tasted five different whiskies showcasing five different styles from Scotland. It also had the advantage of being inside away from the rain. Others, went back to New Town for a guided walk around the Moray Estate by the Earl of Moray himself - our President, John Stuart. John's ancestor, the 9th Earl of Moray bought the land in the 1780s. In the 1820s the 10th Earl, seeing the encroachment of new housing commissioned an architect to draw up plans for an estate of large town houses. The result was three splendid attached circular terraces with private gardens at their centres. John recounted the problems of building on the side of a hill and the horrendous cost of creating massive retaining walls to prevent everything tumbling into the Water of Leith. This expense more or less absorbed all the profit and having seen its scale makes this very believable. Unfortunately the rain prevented some people from joining us which was a great shame as it was a fascinating walk through a significant part of Edinburgh's New Town development. John was a generous and knowledgeable guide and we were all most appreciative of his time.

The Commissioners' Meeting, AGM and Dinner

The Saturday evening's events took place at the Royal Scots Club. It has been an historic private social club of the Scots Regiment since 1919 or so. The common areas are adorned with artefacts of the militia, numerous portraits and Rolls of Honour while the guest rooms are also casually elegant and well-appointed, each room named after a former member of the regiment. The upstairs includes a beautiful dining room with soaring windows overlooking Abercromby Place while far below ground level, there are conference rooms and a bar for meetings such as ours.

Prior to the AGM and dinner, the Stewart Society Commissioners from around the world met via Zoom (as per usual) but this time, and for the first time, as attendees of the gathering, some shared a computer screen with Sandy Stewart, Commissioners' Secretary. This meeting was particularly poignant as it was Sandy's last meeting as Secretary. He thanked the Commissioners for their work as they thanked him for his leadership. John Lansley, also at the gathering will be filling Sandy's large shoes. Notes on accounts and general business were discussed after a warm welcome to all the attendees from the President.

Whilst the Commissioners were meeting, the rest of us gathered in the adjoining cellar bar where we could admire each other's Highland attire and drink cocktails at the fully stocked bar.

The AGM was held in the large reception room next to the bar which was also the venue for dinner, fine Scottish fare was served along with plenty of wine. A duo sang traditional songs but there was no dancing this year because the room didn't allow for it. We witnessed the Society chain of office being presented to John Stuart, the Earl of Moray as President. Gratitude for the Commissioners' work was expressed by the President, who also recognised and thanked Sandy Stewart of Ardvorlich for his long tenure as Commissioners' Secretary.



L.to R: Paul Thompson, Guthrie Stewart and past President, Lord Stewart at the Gathering Dinner.

Attendees were seated at several round tables where old friends reunited and new members were welcomed to the group. Several countries were represented as well as many branches of Stewarts. As fellow descendants of one of the Stewart family's more notorious characters (Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, known colloquially as The Wolf of Badenoch) Paul was delighted to be sat next to Catherine Maxwell Stuart, our Vice President. Afterwards many met in the club bar and a merry time was had by all.

On Sunday morning, Society attendees were invited to join the Stewart Society President, John and his wife Cathy for worship services at St. Giles Cathedral, the High Kirk of Edinburgh. Standing nearly in the middle of the Royal Mile, its exterior stonework, carvings and steeples indicate a place of history and grandeur but once inside, the interior is at least equally impressive. As guests at the service, along with the congregation, we enjoyed a poignant sermon interspersed with hymns sung by their impressive choir, so well deserving of the acoustics the towering ceilings provide.

Following the service, we were escorted to the private Thistle Chapel in the back of the cathedral. Dark and quiet. If you enjoy the fine art of heraldic achievements, this is the place to be but there is so much to absorb within this small space that it is nearly impossible to feel that you've seen it all. Brightly painted arms of invested knights line the carved oak panels and as you look up, you see extraordinary stained glass, wooden angels with musical instruments (including bagpipes) and a ceiling with too many foliate bosses to count. Nonetheless, so rich in recognisable symbolism, you will easily spot St. Andrew, the Royal Arms of Scotland and beautifully done thistles. Used for services and ceremonies, the tradition of chivalry in Scotland lives on here, where Scotland bestows its highest honour through the ancient Order of the Thistle. Within the chapel walls you can feel the solemnity of history and honours as you gaze up and around.

As we walked through St. Giles, we also had cause to anticipate a personal touch from our President. The Earl gave a presentation of his own ancestral history at the Moray Aisle located within the cathedral. We were enthralled to learn a bit about his direct ancestor and why he was memorialised here. James Stewart who was Mary Queen of Scots' illegitimate half-brother and regent of Scotland (following Mary's forced abdication) played an important part in those tumultuous times in Scottish history. It would not end well. James was shot at Linlithgow in 1570, which gives him the unfortunate distinction as the first political leader in history to be assassinated in this way. James was also a good friend of the religious reformer John Knox and the stained glass in the Moray Aisle depicts both James' murder along with his subsequent funeral presided over by John Knox.



Stewart Society members enjoy the Thistle Chapel.

On Sunday afternoon, several members visited Craigmillar Castle which may be familiar from Games of Thrones but Edinburgh's "other" castle also has important links with Mary, Queen of Scots. An enjoyable finish to the weekend.

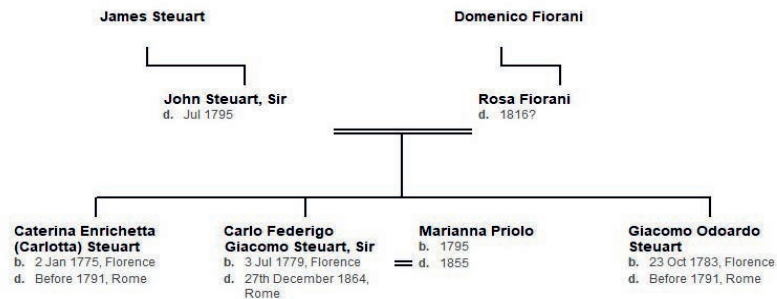
Carlo Stuart: The legacy of loyalty.

Stefano Baccolo

My previous article “Sir John Steuart, Charles Edward Stuart’s faithful Companion” [*The Stewarts*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, 2023, 290] ended by stating that the Jacobite legacy in Rome would live on far into the nineteenth century with John Steuart’s son Carlo. This is the story of Carlo’s life.

Carlo Steuart, the early years

Carlo Frederigo Giacomo Steuart was born in in Florence on 2 July 1779, the second child of Prince Charles Edward’s *major domo* John Steuart and his Italian wife Rosa Fiorani. During his life *major domo* John had used the spelling “Steuart” with increasing frequency. Carlo adopted that spelling and always signed himself “Steuart”. In contemporary printed sources Carlo’s surname is spelled in many different ways—“Stewart”, “Stevvart”, “Stevart”, “Steuart”, “Stuart” and even “Steccart”. The variety of spellings has created confusion and hindered an appreciation of achievements which should properly be credited to Carlo Steuart.



Family tree of John Steuart

Like his siblings Carlotta and Odoardo, Carlo was raised at Charles Edward's Court and lived in the Palazzo Guadagni in Florence until 1784 and then in the Palazzo del Re in Rome until 1788. In 1787 Carlo was admitted to the English College in Rome with a recommendation by Cardinal Andrea Corsini, a friend and supporter of Charles Edward. The recommendation by Corsini suggests that the Stuarts interested themselves directly in Carlo's education. On the death of Charles Edward, John and Rosa decided to remain in Rome and waived their right to the apartment in Florence given to them by Charles Edward. It is assumed that the parents wanted to stay near the College where Carlo was studying and to give him and his siblings the best possible chances for their education and future.

The image displays four handwritten signatures in cursive script. The top-left signature reads 'John Stewart' with a long, sweeping underline. The top-right signature reads 'Jean Stewart' with a similar underline. The bottom-left signature reads 'John Stewart' in a slightly different cursive style. The bottom-right signature reads 'Jean Stewart' with a long, sweeping underline.

John Stewart's signature

Carlo's life was probably much influenced by the Napoleonic occupation of the Holy City. He ended up being enlisted in the *Grand Armée* and took part in the Russian Campaign of 1812, serving in the artillery. The *Yearbook of the Prefecture of Rome* for 1814, at the sunset of the Napoleonic age, found Carlo Stewart assigned as corporal-quartermaster in the infantry company of the French Emperor's Honour Guard.

After Napoleon: the Army of the Papal States

After the fall of Napoleon, Carlo Steuart joined the Papal Army. By 1832 he had become a Major in the Artillery Corps of the Army of the Papal States; and by 1835 he was Lieutenant Colonel and commander of the Corps, being also appointed Knight of the Order of St Gregory the Great. From 1832 onwards he used his influence to persuade the papal authorities under Pope Gregory XVI to reform the Artillery Corps. In 1834, thanks to his efforts, the Papal School of Artillery was re-established with Carlo Steuart as its Director. The school prepared cadets for service in the Artillery and with the Military Engineers. The school, headquartered in the Castle of Sant'Angelo, Rome, became fully functioning in 1835. On 16 July 1839 new regulations were issued for the Papal School of Artillery.

Carlo maintained his own office at 80 Via della Stamperia, working feverishly to improve his Corps, the School, and the technical education of its officers. He distinguished himself for zeal and culture. A fact testifying to his involvement in cultural life is that in 1837 he was named executor of the Last Will of Abbot Angelo Uggeri. Abbot Uggeri was an architect and archaeologist in the first rank of the neoclassical movement in both in Milan and Rome. It is not unreasonable to deduce a close friendship and a relationship of mutual esteem between the two men.

Carlo Steuart was also a pious man and, in 1837, his name appears among the volunteers charged with collecting money for the relief of the orphans left by the cholera epidemic in the parish of Sancti Vincenzo e Anastasio.

In the same year, Carlo published a book of instructions for his troops entitled *Istruzioni provvisorie per il servizio dell'Artiglieria Pontificia*; and, a little later, he also established a library, of which he was the first President, for the use of the Artillery Corps in the Castle of Sant'Angelo.



1910 reconstruction of the uniforms of the Colonel [white horse] and Staff of the Artillery Regiment of the Papal State between 1835 and 1848

From September 1840 to September 1843, Carlo was Special Commissioner for the refurbishment of the fortifications of the strategic port of Civitavecchia. He completely redesigned the defensive system and built the town's fourth fort. By 1841 he had been promoted Colonel; and his work at Civitavecchia earned him elevation to the rank of Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory.

In all these long years of service, Carlo gained recognition in Rome, being generally esteemed and—quite rare at the time—often

praised by the newspapers. So, a vivid portrait of him has come down to us through the pages of the contemporary press, where he is described as “a man great in stature, of sweet but imposing features, whose head rises above any other”, and as “a source of all kindness and knowledge”. He was appreciated and loved by his troops and his subordinate officers. A description has survived of one of the feasts of the Artillery Corps organised for the day of its patron saint, Saint Barbara, during which one of the lieutenants, the Cavalier Francesco Maria Tosi, dedicated a piece of poetry to his Colonel.

In the Year of Revolutions, 1848, Carlo Steuart had a central role in the events which replaced the Papal State with the short-lived Roman Republic. Pellegrino Rossi, the Minister who led the last pre-revolutionary Government, seriously considered Steuart for the Ministry of War. Eventually the Minister appointed him to the Special Commission charged with reconstituting the Papal Fleet and also to three other Commissions, one charged with the compilation of the new regulations for training of Army, the second for reorganizing the officers of Infantry and Cavalry, and the last for reforming the Carabineers Corps. During the popular uprisings of April and May 1848, the Civic Guard of Rome occupied the Castle of Sant'Angelo forcing its Commandant to resign. Then, Pope Pius IX appointed Steuart as the new Provisional Commandant of the Castle, knowing that his reputation as an honest man would appease all the parties in the City and, in fact, Steuart easily obtained the withdrawal of the Civic Guard from the Fort, even before he took possession of his new office.

From his new position Steuart directly witnessed all the major events of the Revolution, being present at the flight of the Pope on the night of the 24 November, at the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly on the 29 December, and at the Proclamation of the Republic on the 9 February 1849.

He remained in direct command of the 1st Artillery Regiment until the 6 December 1848, when he passed that role to Colonel Filippo Lopez, at the same time assuming command of all the Republican

Artillery as “Citizen General”. In the following months Stuart tried to reform the Corps anew, with the objective—in view of the imminent hostilities—of increasing its size from 1,024 to 2,500 men. He met however with obstacles, with recruits coming from the Infantry and the Corps of Volunteers revealing themselves inadequate to their new tasks. Moreover, tensions with the Revolutionary Government started to emerge. The crisis arrived on the 5 April 1849 when one of Stuart’s aides, lieutenant Rota, was robbed and arrested by men of the Civic Guard. Stuart answered firmly. He published a letter of protest addressed to the revolutionary leaders, the Triumvirs, and ordered all his officers to move inside the Castle of Sant’Angelo. As a result, the commanding officer of the Civic Guard was immediately replaced; and Rota was released seven days later. Notwithstanding these troubles, Stuart remained loyal to the Republic and did his best to organise the defences and fortifications of the City against the French forces sent by “Prince President” Louis Napoleon with secret orders to restore papal authority. On 3 July 1849, at the end of the siege, and only after Garibaldi and the other Republican leaders had escaped, did Stuart surrender to the French. The French retained control of Castel Sant’ Angelo until 1864.

With the Restoration of the Papal State, Carlo Stuart became *persona non grata* in consequence of his adherence to the Republic. He was discharged from the Army and exiled from the Papal State, an ironical fate for the son of an exile. Because of this punishment he became even more the subject of admiration. A French chronicler, wrote of him in 1852: “in this way, another stalwart man was added to the company proscribed by the Roman States, a man who [*hitherto*] lacked only the halo of exile to honour him.”

Carlo’s exile however was not for life and, in due course pardoned, he was able to come back to live in Rome, taking up residence at 104 Via Frattina. He lived the following years with his beloved wife, Marianna Priolo. She was the widow of another Colonel of the Papal Army, a man of Polish origins. Carlo had paid Marianna court for long time before obtaining her hand and even if they married

at advanced years, she would nonetheless be his companion for a long time, as her epitaph states, “without ever arguing”.

It was probably during these final years that Carlo permitted the antiquarian James Dennistoun to see his father’s patent of baronetcy, something that Carlo had preserved all along. Carlo let Dennistoun transcribe the document for publication in the *Memoirs* of Robert Strange and Andrew Lumsden.

In 1855 Carlo became a widower, despite being seventeen years older than Marianna. He died on the 27 December 1864, aged 86, leaving no heirs and giving all his possessions to the poor. He was buried in the basilica of San Lorenzo in Lucina where he lies, side by side with his wife, at the end of the left transept, near the altar. Their tombstones are twin white marble tablets, finely decorated, surmounted by a cross and a coat of arms crowned by a *chapeau* with a feather. The design upon the shields shows two men fighting with swords, one of them resembling a Highlander. The tablets are inscribed with epitaphs in Latin. Carlo’s epitaph describes him as the “*last of that race which, expelled by the English Kings, because of the exile and the following expeditions, resettled among the people of Rome with Charles Edward as master*”.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE BURIAL TABLETS OF CARLO AND MARIANNA
STEUART

A Y Ω

HIC JACET CAROLUS STEUART · ULTIMUS E STIRPE QUAE EXTURBATUS EX
ANGLIA REGES · PER EXILIA ET EXPEDITIONES SEQUUTA · CUM CAROLO
ODOARDO DUCE ROMAE DEMUM CONSEDIT · IN PONTIFICIA MILITIA
BALLISTARIORUM REGIMEN TENUIT · IPSO CURANTE MUNITIONES
CENTUMCELLARUM ADAUCTAE · URBIS ARCI PRAEFUIT · PLURIUM
EQUITATUUM INSIGNIA MERUIT · PATRIMONIO PAUPERIBUS DIUTURNO
FAMULATU SIBI ADDICTIS RELICTO · OBIIT SEXTO KALENDAS JANUARIAS ANNI
MDCCCLXV ANNOS NATUS LXXXVI · CORPUS EIUS VOLUNTATE PROPE ILLUD
PRAEMORTUAE UXORIS HIC POSITUM · IN PACE DOMINI DIEM RESURRECTIONIS
EXPECTAT QUAE

HEIC SITA EST MARIAMNES IO BAPTISTAE F PRIOLO · UCXOR FUIT CAROLI
STEUART V C · QUOCUM ANNOS PLURIMOS FECIT SINE QUERELA · DEUM VIVENS
ENIXE COLUIT OMNES SIBI BENIGNITATE DEVINXIT · FORTIS ET CONSTANS
ADVERSA TULIT · PLACIDO LICET INOPINO EXITU COELUM PETIIT · XVI KAL
MARTII MDCCCLV VIXIT ANNOS PLUS MINOS LX · QUISQUIS PRAETERGREDERIS
ORA PRO EA

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE PATENT OF BARONETCY OF JOHN STEUART

As transcribed by J. Dennistoun. It is unlikely that this manuscript survived until the death of Carlo Steuart, it has not been possible to determine if it might be still extant today. The original had, at the left top of the page, the Royal Seal in wafer.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland and dominions there unto belonging, and Defender of the Faith, To our trusty and well beloved John Stewart, greeting. WHEREAS, we are sensible of the signal services you have done and performed, as well as of your zeal and attachment to us. We therefore, as a mark of our royal favour and esteem have conferred and do hereby confer and bestow on you the title and dignity of a Baronet of our Kingdom of Great Britaine, and which title shall descend to and be enjoyed by the heirs male lawfully procreated, or to be procreated of your body, and to their heirs male precessively: To have and to hold the same, with all the privileges pre-eminences and advantages belonging or known to belong to that dignity, in the same manner that they are held and enjoyed by the ancient Baronets of our said kingdom of Great Britaine. Given at our Court at Florence, the fourth day of November one thousand seven hundred and eighty-foure, in the nineteenth year of our reign. C. R.

Kathleen Stewart 1897—1991

Ann Stewart Burns

The author tells the story of Kathleen Stewart, child prodigy, concert pianist and star of the “Golden Age of Radio”.

Kathleen Stewart—she is largely unknown today: but in her lifetime during the “Golden Age of Radio” Kathleen became a household name and reached the pinnacle of fame as a pianist and pioneer classical music broadcaster.

Kathleen Stewart was born in 1897, the daughter of two industrious British immigrants. Kathleen’s father, William John Stewart, was a Scots Irish native of Corradoeey, County Donegal. One by one, William and seven of his twelve siblings left rural Ireland for a new life in bustling Manhattan. All of them found work as tea and coffee dealers until they made their way to the less crowded suburbs beyond. Kathleen’s mother, Eliza Panting, was born in Brixton, London, the daughter of a coachman. In 1891 the Panting family emigrated to Fairfield, Connecticut, where Eliza’s father continued his trade.

William and Eliza married and settled in the hamlet of Palisades-on-the-Hudson, New York State, just sixteen miles upriver from the heart of Manhattan. They rented a carpentry shop which they converted to a grocery and post office. Whether they were drawn to Palisades because of the idyllic setting close to Manhattan, or because opportunity presented itself there, either way, we can assume it was by luck rather than design that Palisades would turn out to be the perfect place for their child prodigy to be born.

Palisades offered a summer retreat for the wealthy class of nineteenth century Manhattan industrialists. Soon those industrialists would fill the cultural void by encouraging creatives to join them in Palisades. In turn, those first artists who arrived

Palisades offered a summer retreat for the wealthy class of nineteenth century Manhattan industrialists. Soon those industrialists would fill the cultural void by encouraging creatives to join them in Palisades. In turn, those first artists who arrived drew others. Palisades then became an artistic community, in time attracting such luminaries as Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles, and John Steinbeck. The arts were embraced and encouraged in Palisades.



Fig 1: Kathleen Stewart

After Kathleen was born, William and Eliza had three more children and purchased their rented property outright in 1905.

Their grocery business had prospered and the original shop with its exquisite Italianate style was converted to the Stewarts' main home, now listed on the National Historic Register. By all accounts it was a happy and close-knit home.

Child prodigy

Kathleen's musical abilities were recognised by her parents before she was of school age and the Stewarts' success in business provided the means to support her talent. When Kathleen turned five, her mother hired a French-born tutor, Madame Jeanne-Louise Mouquin. Jeanne-Louise had been governess to Lord Frederick Arthur Stanley, later sixteenth Earl of Derby and Governor General of Canada. Jeanne-Louise moved to New York City where she married the Swiss-born and very successful restaurateur Henri Mouquin.

As fate would have it, the Mouquins were passing through Sparkhill near Palisades and spotted a grand Victorian home for sale. The property had room to grow vegetables and magnificent flowers for their restaurants, but it was Jeanne Louise's desire to tutor piano that was fortuitous for Kathleen. The Mouquins were well-connected; and it is likely that Kathleen gained access to the world of professional music through Jeanne-Louise.

At six years old Kathleen made her public debut as a pianist, performing pieces from masters including Bach and Mozart. Special pedals had to be fitted to the grand piano so that her tiny feet could reach. When she was seven she auditioned for Maestro Walter Damrosch, Director of the New York Symphony Orchestra and, along with Andrew and Louise Carnegie, co-founder of Carnegie Hall. When asked in later life whether she had impressed Damrosch, she would recall his advice with a laugh: "Years of hard work!"

“Tall, blue-eyed loveliness”: radio debut and fame

Kathleen took Damrosch’s advice to heart. After years of lessons to perfect keyboard technique, she moved to study harmony under the famed composer Howard Brockway. In time she also mastered the organ, cello and violin. By the age of sixteen she received an offer to become full-time accompanist for a professional singer. Her mother summarily declined the offer, insisting Kathleen should attend college first.

As Kathleen matured, a transformation in radio communications was happening worldwide. David Sarnoff, the former Marconi operator famous for picking up distress signals from the Titanic, pushed the US Congress to open the airwaves for commercial radio. Sarnoff established the National Broadcasting Company [NBC] located at the Rockefeller Center, New York. By the mid-1920s radio had captivated the masses, bringing sports, music and drama to nearly everyone, no matter how rural. This “cultural uplift” was considered so important, that radio ownership was included in the 1930 US federal census.

In 1924, her talent proven and polished, Kathleen summoned the courage to audition for NBC. A stern woman instructed her to simply “sit and play”. Kathleen recalled that the woman walked in and out of the room without even glancing at her and Kathleen became so perturbed, she resolved to continue playing until she was told to stop. She learned later that she had impressed not only the formidable woman but those listening from other rooms as well. She was hired that day and rapidly promoted to full-time NBC Staff Pianist.

Soon Kathleen’s broadcasts were so popular that she became a headliner in North America. Along with her full-time radio schedule, she performed more than 50 live concerts in 1928 alone, gaining lavish praise. A critic who heard her Grieg Piano Concerto in A Minor called Kathleen “*one of the leading women pianists of the world*”. An interview revealed that given a choice:

[*Kathleen*] is happier in broadcasting because she can reach many more people. Then too, her radio fans write in from lonely farms and crowded tenements to tell how much her artistry means to the shut-in and the great mass who have no means of entering concert halls.



Fig 2: Kathleen Stewart's parents – William and Eliza.

NBC purchased insurance on Kathleen and other performers that would total millions of dollars at today's values. Mentions in the press were frequent. A journalist who spotted her having lunch in Central Park, New York, resolved to spend more time there. Many articles were gushing. A piece in 1927 claimed: "Her piano solos have brought almost enough letters and postcards from delighted listeners to enable her to use them in place of wallpaper in her beautiful home-studio at Palisades, New York." Another included the flattering description:

"Kathleen, in her tall, blue-eyed loveliness, makes her Scotch ancestry certain with her almost unbelievable complexion."

Spreading her wings

While Kathleen's most frequent performances were of classical works, she felt it important to understand and educate on the history of music in other cultures. In 1929 she travelled to London to accompany popular diseuse Katherine Tift-Jones performing poetry and stories from the "Old South." Later, she promoted the story of Native Americans to school children through their music.

Kathleen also spread her wings by travelling. From London she went on to perform in Paris and across Europe. The newspapers in North America breathlessly reported her telegrams from abroad and claimed her tour "triumphant." Her London-born mother Eliza accompanied her, perhaps to share her own family roots with Kathleen.

Marriage, public service and private life

Years later, a close friend reminisced that "everyone wanted to marry Kathleen"; and in 1931, investment banker Everett Martine would be the one. They bought a home in Palisades two doors away from Kathleen's widowed mother and two sisters. And while Kathleen assuaged her fans' concerns that the marriage might end her radio career, it appears her professional appearances did indeed slow significantly.

Everett shared Kathleen's passion for classical music and they subscribed to the world-renowned Boston Symphony Orchestra [BSO] which was contracted to make appearances several times a year in New York. One of Kathleen's most prized career mementoes was a complimentary letter she received regarding her cello work from Serge Koussevitsky, esteemed conductor of the BSO and a former cellist himself. Koussevitsky was also the founder of the music school on the Tanglewood estate in the bucolic Berkshires of western Massachusetts. In an interesting coincidence, present Stewart Society member Laurie Stewart Otten, a granddaughter of Kathleen's first cousin, Thomas Stewart, is a soprano with the Tanglewood Festival Chorus, an official partner of the BSO.

As Kathleen's professional life wound down, her musical passion never wavered. She became the choir director and organist at her beloved Palisades Presbyterian Church and she helped the choir to learn a wide range of classics from Bach to Copeland. Her greatest joy was creating elaborate and sophisticated Christmas Eve performances each year.

She continued to perform for social clubs and in small recitals as well but her other passions were finally allowed to flourish. Her home with Everett became an enchanting property and she was particularly proud of the stone wall she herself built. She cultivated unusual plants, flowers and herbs, much like her early tutor, Madame Moquin, and she proudly shared the perfect cuttings and seedlings from French lilacs and climbing roses. She was passionate about animal welfare and Everett directed the local chapter for animal cruelty prevention. They raised honey bees to assist with national food shortages. Indeed, the intense years of public performance gave way to a full life pursuing her many varied interests rather than just one.

“A star reborn for those fleeting moments”

Everett died in 1962 and Kathleen's parents had long departed but her three siblings still lived just doors away in the same Palisades neighbourhood where they were raised. In 1980 Kathleen retired from her position at the church and the congregation made clear their gratitude when a brass plaque was affixed to the organ citing her years of musical devotion.

Afterwards, she performed very occasionally. Her friend Ernest Quick recalled a concert Kathleen gave in her home in her 90s just a few years before she died. The small audience rose to give her a standing ovation. Ernest said

“I'll never forget how she looked when she received her much-deserved accolades, dressed in a purple velvet dress with a lace collar and antique brooch. She was a star reborn, even for those fleeting moments.”

In 1991 Kathleen died at the age of 94 and is buried in a peaceful cemetery in Palisades that includes Everett, her parents, siblings and extended family. Perhaps immortalised now only in obscure annals of radio history and in her beloved church, Kathleen E. Stewart achieved extraordinary success in her life in and out of the limelight.

Ann Stewart Burns is the Stewart Society Commissioner for New York and New England. She is a granddaughter of Thomas Stewart, a first cousin of Kathleen Stewart.

The Lost Kings of Scotland

John Moray

Stewart Society members who visited Holyrood Palace during the 2023 Annual Gathering saw a remarkable series of portraits of Scottish monarchs. The portraits are displayed in the Great Gallery at Holyrood. There are almost 100 portraits going back hundreds of years to Fergus I, legendary founder of the first kingdom of the Scots. The portraits were commissioned by Charles II in 1684 from the Dutch artist Jacob de Wet II. During the two years that de Wet took to complete the commission, he painted 111 portraits, of which 96 continue to adorn the walls at Holyrood.

The lost Kings

Not so well known and possibly even more remarkable is the earlier series of portraits of Scottish monarchs painted for the ceremonial entry of Charles I to Holyrood on 18 June 1633. The occasion was the coronation of Charles with the crown of Scotland which, until 1707, remained a separate kingdom. The portraits were painted by Scottish artist George Jamesone to adorn the ceremonial arches through which the coronation procession passed down Edinburgh's Canongate. There were 109 Jameson images.

After the coronation and the dismantling of the processional arches, the Jameson portraits disappear from the historical record. Jameson's Kings were lost from public view for nearly one hundred years.

It is possible that Jamesone's portraits were retained in storerooms in and around Holyrood. A tantalising hint of their continued existence is evident half a century later in the Jacob de Wet series. The 26 surviving Jameson works offer an opportunity for comparison; and the fact that the de Wet portraits bear

similarities to the surviving Jamesone works indicates that the former were based on the latter.

Jameson's Kings re-emerge

Over subsequent years it seems likely that the Jamesone paintings were left to deteriorate so that by the early eighteenth century only about two dozen were considered worth saving. The earliest reference to the survivors appears around 1720, in an inventory of Newbattle Abbey, home of the Marquis of Lothian. It seems likely that the 26 survivors were acquired by the third Marquis who is known to have been collector of other series of pictures.

That the Newbattle Jamesones were not particularly esteemed by their owners is evident from the locations in the house where they were hung over the years: in 1798 nine were in the Housekeeper's Room, one in the Low Parlour, four in Lord Ancrum's Tool Room and one in the Servants' Hall.

This lack of regard appears to have persisted right up until 2 July 1971 when 21 of the remaining 26 portraits were sold at auction in Edinburgh with "Artist Unknown" accompanying each entry in the auction catalogue. The five pictures not included in the sale comprised the later Stewart monarchs: they were perhaps retained at Newbattle as the only pictures bearing a credible likeness to the sitters.

Ten Kings go over the water and six come home again

An American collector, Mr John Costin of Fayetteville, North Carolina—Fayetteville was originally (until 1783) named Campbeltown for the place in Kintyre from which many of its early settlers came—was rather more aware of the significance of the Jamesones than many in Scotland. He arrived by plane to attend the sale where he succeeded in purchasing ten of the series. Fifty-two years later, in 2023, the Costin Estate resold the pictures through a local saleroom in North Carolina. Emily Walsh of the Fine Art Society, Edinburgh, spotted the sale, recognised its significance, and successfully acquired six of the series.

The Jameson coronation commission

The Aberdonian George Jamesone, perhaps rather charitably dubbed by Horace Walpole “the Scottish Van Dyke”, was commissioned by the Magistrates of Edinburgh to paint the portraits of all Scots monarchs, supposed and actual, starting with the Hibernian Fergus MacErchard, King Fergus I. This first ever King, supposedly a contemporary of Alexander the Great, was considered to have reigned 300 years before the birth of Christ. Owing to the dearth of reliable evidence, modern scholarship exercises caution about putative monarchs before Kenneth Macalpine, under whose rule in the mid-ninth century the Scots and the Picts were united. In addition, no one had a clue what any monarch looked like before James II (d. 1460). However, considering the objectives of the coronation event, none of this mattered in the slightest.

“Ferguse race”

It was vital for Stewart Kings, indeed for all Scottish monarchs from Kenneth MacAlpine, to demonstrate descent from King Fergus as he was considered to have led the Scots from Ireland to establish the Kingdom of Dalriada in Kintyre and Lorn on the west coast of Scotland in the sixth century. The foundation story or myth of the Scots monarchy at points confuses Fergus MacErc, Fergus II, for whom there is some basis in the historical record, with his supposed predecessor, the wholly mythical Fergus MacFerchard, Fergus I, nine centuries before.

An early claim to the antiquity of the independent Scots monarchy, implying descent from Fergus I, is found in the Declaration of Arbroath, 1320, which speaks of Scotland’s “one hundred and thirteen kings of their own royal stock, the line unbroken by a single foreigner”.

James VI of Scotland, I of England, wrote to his wife Anne of Denmark, describing himself as the “happie Monarch sprung of Ferguse race”; and the Irish royalists who welcomed James VII of

Scotland, II of England, at Kilkenny on 22 March 1689 during the Williamite war addressed His Majesty as follows:

We conducted a Fergus to Scotland; we welcome in James... the undoubted heir of Fergus by the lineal descent of one hundred and ten crowned heads, with that boast of antiquity, to which no other monarch of the universe can aspire. We acquit Scotland for the principal and interest of thirteen hundred years by receiving your Majesty, in whose person we consider no stranger, we behold no conqueror, but our own blood restored to us after the absence of so many centuries, a son of Fergus, King of Ireland, and actually present in Ireland, which verifies an old proverb of ours that avereth we should have about this time a King of our own, and continue under him and his issue a most happy nation for ever.

The surviving images are sufficient to give an impression of Jamesone's approach to his subject matter. For the earliest 90 or so Kings, Jamesone could indulge in wild flights of fancy and conjecture—scary tribal figures with billowing cloaks and staring eyes, taciturn profiles in spurious-looking classical armour. Fortunately, Jamesone's portrait of the semi-legendary Fergus MacErc, Fergus II, survives.

The first Stewart portraits

The next monarchical portrait of interest to Stewarts is Robert II, the first Stewart King, who reigned from 1371 to 1390. The King wears an ermine-fringed cloak under a thistle motif pendant brooch which is suspended from a gold chain. On his head the King wears a matching ermine-fringed cap.

By the time the portraits reach the period of King Robert II, Jamesone had more source material to work from. This gives the appearance of his Kings some credibility—the artist could draw on prints derived from devotional portraits, contemporary descriptions, coins, and portrait medallions of continental rulers.



George Jamesone c.1587-1644 King Kenneth, c.1633 inscribed top left 'KENNETHVS/Anno 970' in gold and the same in white below (later); signed and inscribed lower left 'Jamesone/No.81.' in gold and numbered 81 twice (later), oil on canvas. Courtesy of The Fine Art Society Ltd

As a result, King Robert's attire, flowing locks and swept moustache are credible, even if substantially a seventeenth century perception of a fourteenth-century ruler.

For the portraits of the later Stewart monarchs Jamesone jettisoned—perhaps with relief, perhaps with regret—his flights of imagination in favour of images that bore increasingly credible likenesses to their respective subjects.

For the portraits of James I (d. 1437) and James II there were sixteenth century templates, such as the panel portrait of the former currently in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, and the image of the latter in the "Seton Armorial", though whether either

portrait bares any true likeness to the respective Kings is open to doubt.

Credible likenesses

With the portrait of James III (d. 1488) we finally have a truly credible likeness. As conveyed to the writer of this article by the late Lord Stewartby—former President of the Stewart Society and expert numismatist—James III was the first European monarch north of the Alps since Roman times to have his true likeness minted on a coin, this being the heavy groat of ca. 1475. The similarity of the Jamesone portrait to the coin is clear. The artist may also have drawn on other images such as that of the King as donor in the Trinity Altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes, currently displayed in the National Gallery of Scotland.

While the James IV portrait is sadly missing, that of his son James V and that of his granddaughter Mary Queen of Scots are, like James III, perfectly credible likenesses based on earlier sixteenth century precedents.

It is interesting to note that only one non-royal is included in the series, namely William Wallace. That Wallace won a place is testament to his unique position in Scottish history and demonstrates his status over 200 years before his Victorian “revival”, as expressed, for example, in the Wallace Monument (1869).

End of an odyssey?

After extensive cleaning and restoration, the six Jameson portraits acquired from the Costin Estate by the Fine Art Society formed the core of an exhibition of eleven held in Edinburgh 22 September—4 November 2023, the remaining five being lent from private collections. Of the six Costin portraits, King Kenneth McAlpine was purchased by The City Arts Centre, Edinburgh, and Kings Alexander III and Robert II by the National Galleries of Scotland, while Kings Fergus II, Duffus and Alexander II were purchased by

a private Scottish collector. Thus, what is possibly the final chapter in the odyssey of Jamesone's Kings comes to an end.



George Jamesone c.1587-1644 King Robert II, c.1633 inscribed top left 'ROBERTVS STVARTVS.I./Anno 1370.' in gold and the same in white below (later); indistinctly signed and inscribed bottom left 'Jamesone/No. 71.' in gold and numbered 71 twice (later).
 Courtesy of The Fine Art Society Ltd

The real James of the Glen?

Angus Stewart

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This article re-opens the question whether the Jacobite prisoner James Stewart, sometime paymaster or quartermaster of the Appin Regiment, who was transferred from Tilbury Fort to the New Gaol, Southwark, on 24 April 1747, was one and the same as James Stewart in Acharn, known as “James of the Glen”, who was convicted as accessory to the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure and executed at Ballachulish on 8 November 1752.

The question arises because both “manifestations”, if that is the right word, were called “James Stewart”, because both were officers in the Appin Regiment, and because both were described at the time as “*natural brother of Charles Stewart of Ardsheal*”, Ardsheal being Colonel of the Appin Regiment 1745—1746.

Conventional wisdom

The question was thought to have been settled in 1928 with the publication by the Scottish History Society of *Prisoners of the '45*, edited from the State Papers by Sir Bruce Gordon Seton and his daughter Jean. In Volume III at pages 345—346 it is said of Southwark James: “*It was first decided that he must take his trial in Scotland; but this was over-ruled, and he was ordered to be transported.*”

It has been assumed that Southwark James *was* transported; and the conventional wisdom is that Southwark James and Acharn James must be different people. For example, in C Stewart Henderson, “The Order Book of the Appin Regiment”, *The Stewarts*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1952, 137 at 169, it is stated of Southwark

James: “*Ultimately transported. Several writers have confused him with James of the Glen.*”

The release of Southwark James

In fact, Southwark James was *not* transported: he was released from the New Gaol at the beginning of June 1747. The *Caledonian Mercury* of 9 June 1747, page 2, reported:

On Monday was releas’d out of the New Goal [sic], Southwark, by a Warrant of the Duke of Newcastle, James Stewart, one of the six Gentlemen Rebel Prisoners brought from Tilbury-Fort.

There is no doubt that the James Stewart referred to in this and other press reports is Southwark James, one of the “six Gentlemen Rebel Prisoners”.

The “six Gentlemen Rebel Prisoners”

The “*six Gentlemen Rebel Prisoners brought from Tilbury Fort*” were on the agenda for the Cabinet meeting of 25 May 1747.¹ We have what looks like a briefing paper for the meeting. The backing reads: “*Short Account of the Six Rebels committed to the New Prison upon the 24th of April 1747 in order to be tried for High Treason*”.²

Four of the six, namely the Laird of McKinnon, John McKinnon of Elgol, Allan McDonald (said to be a Jesuit priest) and Southwark James, written down as “*James Steuart, Natural Brother of Ardshiels*”, had been brought to the Thames by the Royal Navy the previous autumn.³⁴ The other two, Gibbon and Caw, were already at Tilbury. The prisoners, whatever the nuances, qualified for the description “gentlemen” for the reason that they had been denied the option available to “common men” of drawing lots for trial or transportation.

The case against Southwark James

The “Short Account” summarises the case against Southwark James as follows:

was a Quarter Master of Ardshiel’s Regiment. Is a man of no consequence nor Fortune. He surrendered his arms to General Campbell [sic] after the Battle of Culloden & was thereupon released

but afterwards he was taken up on Suspicion of having assisted Mr Murray [John Murray of Broughton] & Charles Steuart [of the Fasnacloich family] Pay Master of the Rebel army to make their escape from a Place in the Highlands, which is not true. This Man was an Instrument of saving the life of Capt. Campbell of the Argyleshire Militia, who had the misfortune to be taken by the Rebels and in general is said to have acted a very humane Part by such of the King's Troops, as fell into the hands of the Rebels.



This sketch depicts the ferry at Ballachulish in northern Argyllshire, it centres on the hanged body of James Stewart. The Ferry of Ballachulish, from an album of drawings by John Clerk of Eldin

Alongside the case summary is the following assessment:

The evidence against this man is not strong, & will hardly be sufficient to convict him, & if he be tried, he must take his trial in Scotland. He will be able to prove that after the Battle of Culloden he surrendered pursuant to the Duke of Cumberland's Proclamation.

Southwark James had surrendered to General Campbell and handed in his arms as a “common man”. The surrender, being in terms of the Duke of Cumberland’s Proclamation of 24 February 1746, relieved James of the pains of the criminal law. He had a receipt for his arms; and he had a certificate from Colonel John Campbell to confirm the terms of the surrender.⁵

By May 1747 the emergency treason legislation had expired and, as the Law Officers explained, it was no longer competent to try Southwark James and his co-detainees for treason at the Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, St Margaret’s Hill, Southwark.⁶ It seems to have been accepted that Southwark James, as he himself claimed, had not accompanied Prince Charlie’s army into England.⁷ If he were to be tried, he would have to be tried where the alleged offence or offences had occurred, namely in Scotland, and by a Scots jury. While the “Short Account” notes the names of witnesses against the other five, the authorities did not—possibly could not—identify any witnesses to support a case against Southwark James; and, in any event, the “Short Account” states that the allegation against Southwark James of helping wanted persons to escape “is not true”.⁸

Why was Southwark James released?

Clearly it would have been pointless to send Southwark James back to Scotland for trial. The decision of the Cabinet, endorsed on the backing of the “Short Account” reads:

*Old Laird of MacKinnon to be sent to Carlisle & tried.
The rest to be pardon’d upon condition of transportation.*

Possibly advice from the Solicitor General (William Murray of the Scone family, later Lord Chief Justice Mansfield) persuaded the Duke of Newcastle after the Cabinet meeting that it would be a travesty to transport James. Maybe the Duke of Argyll also had a say: James claimed that after his surrender he had worked for the Duke’s factor, Donald Campbell of Airds, levying the Duke’s rents in Morven. James had also been “serviceable” to General Campbell; and he had a testimonial to the effect that in January 1746 he

helped a redcoat prisoner, Lieutenant (later Captain) Patrick Campbell of the Argyllshire Militia, who had been on a spying mission, to escape from the Prince's headquarters at Bannockburn. Southwark James stated that he had deserted Prince Charlie's army twice. Possibly it was thought that James would be more useful to the authorities at home than in the colonies.⁹

Within a week or so of the Cabinet decision, Southwark James was set free, unconditionally; and then, by the General Pardon Act, 17 June 1747, he was "restored to the state of an innocent man".¹⁰

21 April 1747

SEAL OF THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN

According to your desire the following is
a list of the Rebel prisoners here having
their countries and Qualities

The New Goal	1	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of Mr. Cannon's Laird	
No	2	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of Mr. Cannon's Laird	
No	3	Allan M. Donald	Lieut. of West	Scottish
Prisoners	4	John M. Donald	Lieut. of West	Scottish
	5	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
	6	John M. Donald	Lieut. of West	Scottish
Prisoners	7	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
No	8	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
No	9	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
No	10	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit	11	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit	12	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit - x	13	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit	14	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
Silbury x	15	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit - x	16	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
Silbury x	17	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit - x	18	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit - x	19	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit - x	20	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish
dit - x	21	To Mr. Cannon	Lieut. of West	Scottish

I took this Acc^t from their own Mouths
Thus am pr

Your most humble Servant
William Johnston

James Stewart's name can be seen on this list of 'rebel Prisoners with their countries and qualities.

Confusion and clarification

There is confusion around the designation of Southwark James. James stayed—since when is not known—at Glengalmadale in Kingairloch, on the west side of Loch Linnhe. Geographical Appin [“the Appin heartland”], is on the east side of Loch Linnhe.

Consequently, it has been asserted that Southwark James cannot be the James who was designated by the authorities as coming from Appin.¹¹ This is mistaken on two counts.

The parish—since 1661 the re-united Parish of Appin and Lismore or Lismore and Appin—extended to and included a detached part, namely Kingairloch, on the west side of Loch Linnhe;¹² and “Parish” was a designation of location or abode favoured by officialdom, for example in the returns published as *A List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion: Transmitted to the Commissioners of Excise by the Several Supervisors in Scotland... 1746*.¹³ Though Kingairloch was part of the Parish of Appin and Lismore, the Chief of Appin had no tenurial interest there.

Separately, in the case of Southwark James, an explanation for writing down his abode as “Appin” in *The List of Persons* is that he had served with the Appin Regiment, and that when he surrendered, he did so in the Appin heartland.

Confusion has also been caused by the designation of Southwark James, in an application for his release from Tilbury, as “of Glengalmadill in Kingairloch”.¹⁴ It is certain that Southwark James was not “of” anywhere in the sense of having a heritable title to property. He is described by the authorities as being “a man of no estate” and he called himself “never nothing but a common man”. Initially he was listed on arrival in the Thames, correctly, as “James Stuart in Glengalmadale”, i.e. a tenant.¹⁵ The designation “of” seems to have crept in with a formula used for listing prisoners at Tilbury “who were not admitted to Lot”: they were typically designated “of”, for example William Watt “of Kirkwall”; John Rhind “of Findorn”; John Harpur “of Inverness”, and so on. Southwark James was entered as “of Glengalmadale”.¹⁶

The Tilbury authorities accepted that Southwark James was an Appin man. By way of context, we know that Southwark James had cattle, because he complained about the redcoats driving them off when he was arrested. Consequently, there should be no doubt that Southwark James was the “James Stuart” who, at Tilbury in

April 1747, declared himself, as to abode and occupation, “Appine, Argyll, Grazier”. Indeed, there *is* no doubt, because the entry was subsequently annotated “New Goal [*sic*]” to indicate a prisoner who had been sent to Southwark.¹⁷

The missing years

At his trial in 1752 it was said that Acharn James had been a tenant in Glenduror on his brother’s Ardsheal estate but had been removed by his brother “several years ago”.¹⁸ Acharn James is not heard of again in the heartland of Appin until he reappears as tenant in part of Auchindarroch and in the Sheiling of Glenduror in 1748.¹⁹ Were the “missing years” spent at Glengalmadale, with the Appin Regiment, and in captivity?

Although Acharn James was said, at his trial, to have been involved in the Rising, there is no definite evidence in contemporary records of his participation as a person distinct and separate from Southwark James. A possible explanation, obviously, is that the two manifestations were the same person. This hypothesis receives support from the records relating to involvement in the Rising.

Involvement in the Rising

Within a few weeks of Culloden, the Chief of Appin drew up lists purportedly showing every man of arms-bearing age in the district of Appin, those who had stayed at home and those who were away “in the present Rebellion”.²⁰ Some cross-checking is possible using Stewart of Invernahyle’s list of casualties.²¹ The absence from Appin’s lists of James Stewart, natural brother of Ardsheal, implies that this description of person resided outside the Appin heartland, in a place where the Chief of Appin had no tenurial influence. Kingairloch was such a place.

A slight inference is available from the fact that there is no James Stewart, natural brother of Ardsheal, in Invernahyle’s “Wounded” column. This fits with Southwark James’s story that he deserted before Culloden. Had he taken part in that final battle, his chances of surviving unscathed—as an Appin Regiment officer leading from the front—would have been less than even.

On the Government side we have Campbell of Octomore's list of 94 persons "in the Parish of Lismore and Appin" who had *not* delivered up their arms by 6 July 1746, almost three months after Culloden.²² We should not expect to find Southwark James on this list—he had already surrendered. In fact there is nobody called James Stewart in Octomore's list.

In the *List of Persons engaged in the Rebellion* compiled for the Edinburgh authorities in the summer of 1746 by James MacPhun, Collector of Customs for the Argyll North Division, there is only one relevant entry. The entry (as published under four column headings) reads: "Names: *James Stewart*—Designation or Abode: *in Appin, Ardsheel's brother*—Acts of Rebellion and Circumstances: *was an officer in do.* [i.e. the Rebel Army]—Where they now are: *not known*".²³ Let me emphasise: there is only one James Stewart, natural brother of Ardsheel, in Collector MacPhun's list. If there had been two such persons, each of some prominence in Appin society, we should have expected to find both listed. For the reason which follows, it seems to me that the person listed is the manifestation who became Southwark James.

The instruction for lists to be drawn up was issued on 7 May 1746. At some time in the following two to three weeks, General Campbell received Southwark James's surrender. Given what we know of the General's movements, this must have happened in the heartland of Appin, most likely at Castle Stalker.²⁴ It is barely conceivable that the details were not shared with Collector McPhun.

Again, a slight inference might be drawn from the fact that the subject is listed by Mr McPhun as "an officer", rank unspecified. Southwark James insisted that "he never had a Commission any further than being paymaster to the Steuarts of Appin", words calculated to suggest, it may be thought, that he did not have a command position and was not a fighting man.²⁵

Such evidence of participation in the Rising as does exist tends to point to there being only one James Stewart, natural brother of

Ardsheal. This proposition is supported by what we know of the personal profiles of the two manifestations.

Similar Profiles

Some readers may think that it is stretching credulity to believe that Ardsheal had two illegitimate brothers called “James Stewart”. Beyond the fact that both manifestations were called “James Stewart” and the fact that both were illegitimate brothers of Ardsheal, there are other points of similarity in their profiles. The manifestations seem to have been about the same age. Both served in the Appin Regiment. Both were married. In 1747 Southwark James had eight or nine apparently dependent children.²⁶ Five years later James Stewart in Acharn is deduced to have had five dependent children and at least two adult children.²⁷ Both manifestations were apparently numerate, fluent and literate in English, not common accomplishments among the Appin population. Traditions about Acharn James running a provisioning business would fit with the idea that during the Rising he had served as a quarter master.

Acharn James was entrusted with the collection of rents for the Ardsheal family; and, to begin with, after the Ardsheal forfeiture took effect in 1748, the government factor, Colin Campbell of Glenure, trusted him to manage the tenants on the Ardsheal estate. Similarly, Donald Campbell of Airds trusted Southwark James to collect the Duke’s rents in Morven in 1746.²⁸ (It may be significant that the same Campbell of Airds immediately gave James Stewart a lease of Acharn when Glenure evicted him from the Ardsheal tenancies in 1751.)

The real James of the Glen?

What is written above is not necessarily conclusive as to the identity and back story of James Stewart in Acharn, known as “James of the Glen”.²⁹ It is enough if it re-opens the question: who was the real James of the Glen

¹ National Archives, Kew, State Papers [SP] 36/97/1/95-97; Treasury Solicitor [TS] 20/42/8B.

² SP 36/96/1/137-138; also SP 36/104/1/98-103.

³ SP 36/96/1/137-138; also SP 36/104/1/98-103.

⁴ SP 36/92/1/24 at 26, also TS 20/85/2; SP 36/87/2/71; SP 42/31/60.

⁵ SP 36/99/1/45-48.

⁶ The legislation did not apply for committals after 31 December 1746: SP 36/97/1/25.

⁷ SP 36/99/1/47.

⁸ Cf. Broughton's account in R F Bell (ed), *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*, The Scottish History Society, Vol XXVII (Edinburgh, 1898), 289-291—for "Argower" read "Ardgour". Working back from the known date of Broughton's arrest, he and others evaded capture by crossing Loch Linnhe from Kingairloch to Ballachulish on or about 3 June 1747.

⁹ SP 36/99/1/44-50.

¹⁰ Cf. Address to the prisoner by the Lord Justice General, the Duke of Argyll, in D N Mackay, *The Trial of James Stewart* (Glasgow, 1907), 289 at 291.

¹¹ D Stewart Linney, "Two Jacobite Prisoners", *The Stewarts*, Vol IX, No. 4, 1954, 341; R M Stewart QC, "The Stewarts of Glengalmadale, Cadets of Ardsheal", *The Stewarts*, Vol XIII, No.1, 1968, 20.

¹² National Library of Scotland [NLS], W Macfarlane, Notebook, Adv Ms 31.6.6(1), ff 34 and 38v; National Library of Scotland [NLS], W Macfarlane, Notebook, Adv.MS 31.6.6(1), ff.34 and 38v; Rev. D. McNicol, "United Parishes of Lismore and Appin", in Sir J.Sinclair, *The Statistical Account*, (Edinburgh, 1791), Vol. I, 482 at 483.

¹³ Rev W MacLeod (ed), *A List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion transmitted to the Commissioners of Excise etc*, The Scottish History Society, Vol VIII (Edinburgh, 1890).

¹⁴ SP 36/99/1/45.

¹⁵ SP 42/31/60.

¹⁶ SP 36/88/1/186-187.

¹⁷ List dated at Tilbury Fort, 9 Apr 1747, SP 36/96/1/50. See also SP 36/96/1/146 dated 27 Apr 1747, showing that "James Stewart, natural brother of Ardshiel" had been transferred from Tilbury to Southwark.

¹⁸ Mackay, *The Trial of James Stewart*, 153.

¹⁹ Deposition of James Stewart in Auchindarroch in Exchequer Records, Inquisition of Tenants and Possessors of Ardsheal Estate, 12 Sept 1748, National Records of Scotland [NRS], E737/1/1-3. The deponent said that he had "been from home" when his wife took a lease of Auchindarroch at Whitsunday 1746. He took entry to the Sheiling of Glenduror in person at Whitsunday 1748.

²⁰ A Stewart, "Appin's List", *The Stewarts*, Vol 20, No. 3 (1998), 162.

²¹ "List of killed and wounded of the Appin Regiment at the battle of Culloden, copied from MS left by Alexander Stewart, Eighth of Invernahyle" in J H J Stewart and Lt Col D Stewart, *The Stewarts of Appin* (Edinburgh, 1880), 209.

²² A Stewart and A I B Stewart, "The Appin Regiment", *The Stewarts*, Vol 19, No. 2 (1993), 75.

²³ MacLeod, *A List of Persons*, 288-289.

²⁴ Sir J Fergusson of Kilkerran, *Argyll in the Forty-five* (London, 1951), 194-205.

²⁵ Petition of James Stewart, SP 36/99/1/47.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Anon, *Supplement to the Trial of James Stewart* (Edinburgh, 1753), discussed in Mackay, *The Trial of James Stewart*, 3.

²⁸ SP 36/99/1/47.

²⁹ The Surrey Archives have been searched for relevant New Gaol records. Neither the Newcastle archives nor the Inveraray archives have been consulted.

The Keeper of Inchmahome

*Stuart Mitchell**

On 16 August 2021 the Stewart Society Council unanimously resolved to create the honorary office of Keeper of Inchmahome, to apply to the Lord Lyon for a grant of arms for the office of Keeper of Inchmahome and to appoint a suitable person to the office. On 17 October 2022 the Council resolved to appoint Stuart Mitchell as Keeper.

I am delighted to have been appointed by the Council of the Stewart Society as Keeper of Inchmahome; and I welcome this opportunity to tell Members about myself and my family and our connection with Inchmahome.

Inchmahome, the Stewart Society and Uncle Henry

Inchmahome is an island in the Lake of Menteith, Stirling District. The island is reached by boat from the Port of Menteith. Inchmahome is known for its ruined medieval priory containing the grave of Sir Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, and his wife Mary, Countess of Menteith, an outstanding example of thirteenth century funerary sculpture.

The island came into the ownership of the Stewart Society in 1949 by the generosity of Alexander Stewart of Inchmahome. My great-aunt Helen Mitchell was married to George Clerk Stewart, brother of Alexander. When Alexander died the name and designation “Stewart of Inchmahome” passed to Alexander’s nephew, my father’s cousin, Major Henry Stewart of Inchmahome MC, DL, President of the Stewart Society, and then to his sister Anne Stewart of Inchmahome, Member of Council. I knew Anne and Henry as “Aunt Anne” and “Uncle Henry”. Aunt Anne survived Uncle Henry and when she died, I inherited Uncle Henry’s medals and other memorabilia and mementoes.

Upbringing and career

I was brought up in Linlithgow (20 minutes away from Uncle Henry) and educated at Fettes College, and at the University of St Andrews, where I read Medieval History. Later I studied at Harvard Business School. After coming down from St Andrews, I began my working life at the merchant bank Morgan Grenfell in London. I started, like many others, as an analyst, after some years becoming a European equity fund manager. I left Morgan Grenfell to become a partner at J O Hambro, eventually setting up my own company S W Mitchell Capital in 2005. We are fund managers specialising in European equities.

Outside business, my passions are my family, mountain climbing and the piano.

Family

My wife Geraldine is Dutch and studied History of Art at the University of Utrecht before training as a painting conservator at the Courtauld Institute. She then worked at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Mauritshuis in The Hague, the Hamilton Kerr Institute in Cambridge and the Royal Collection before studying at City and Guilds and returning to her real passion, painting.

Geraldine and I have three children: Iona, Calla and Jamie. Iona has just left St Andrews, where she studied German and Medieval History. She is currently doing a Master's in International Relations in Historical Perspective in Utrecht. Calla has followed Iona to St Andrews and is currently studying History of Art and English. Jamie is about to take his GCSEs at Winchester.

The family divides its time between London and the Isle of Skye where we have a house. On Skye I do my best to try and speak as much Gaelic as I can.

The Keepership

I shall bear with pride on all proper occasions the “ensigns armorial” which the Lord Lyon has granted to the Society for the use of the Keeper of Inchmahome.

My duties as Keeper consist of making a visitation to Inchmahome once a year and of reporting in writing to the Council of the Society on the state of the Island, the Priory of Inchmahome, the Inchmahome Mausoleum and all other structures on the Island of Inchmahome. The Council has resolved that the Keeper’s visitation “shall be attended by such ceremonial and festivity as may be approved by the President and Vice President in consultation with the Keeper”. I very much hope that we can look forward to some “ceremonial and festivity” in coming years to mark my visitations and to celebrate the extraordinary generosity of Uncle Henry by which the Island of Inchmahome came into the ownership of the Society.

* Stuart Mitchell is the Managing Partner and CIO of S W Mitchell Capital and the Investment Manager of the SWMC European Fund.

John Roy Stewart and his genealogical legacy

Graham Holton

Introduction

Close to the Boat of Garten in Strathspey, a monument to John Roy Stuart (or Stewart) summarises his life in the following terms – *“Born and raised near here was the celebrated Gaelic poet John Roy Stuart, one of the most heroic figures of the ‘45 Rising. A devoted Jacobite, John Roy raised the Edinburgh Regiment which also included men from Strathspey. He won great acclaim for his bravery at Prestonpans, Falkirk and Culloden.”*¹

A Colonel in the army of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, during his ill-fated attempt to restore the Stuart dynasty to the throne, John Roy was certainly one of the colourful characters who featured in that campaign. An interesting account of an incident involving him shortly before he joined the forces of Prince Charles is recounted in *The letter-book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness*. The wife of Lieutenant Menzies of the Highland Regiment abroad was in Ghent when it was taken by the French *“and being attacked in her Lodging by some French soldiers who wanted to plunder her, had the good fortune to light by accident on our acquaintance John Roy St[ewart] who got her immediatly rid of the Plunderers, showed her great civilities, and procured her letters of safe conduct to go to England, or where she pleased. John was in Highland Dress when this happened.”*²

Although a number of accounts of his exploits have come down to us, the earlier and latter parts of his life are obscure. He has left a legacy in story and poetry but has he also left a legacy of living descendants? This article attempts to discover whether this may be the case.

John Roy Stewart's immediate family – the evidence

John Roy Stewart died in 1747³, sometime before 30 August. On that date his widow, who signed herself as Sarah Stuart, wrote to James Edgar (Secretary to James Francis Edward Stuart, 'the Old Pretender') from Boulogne.⁴ We know that she and her daughter were left in poverty and were given financial support by 'the Pretender'. This is confirmed by a letter from him, dated 7 November 1747⁵ and one of James Edgar dated 31 December 1748.⁶ As mentioned earlier, John Roy was a significant Gaelic poet and one of his poems, known as John Roy's lullaby, is to his baby daughter.

There is also evidence that he had at least two other children. David Stewart of Garth's important work *Sketches of the character, manners, and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland*, first published in 1822, lists Charles Stewart, a son of Colonel John Roy Stewart, as a lieutenant, in the 78th Regiment of Foot also known as Fraser's Highlanders. His list is stated to be of officers whose commissions were dated 5 January, 1757.⁷ The regiment was raised in Inverness by Simon Fraser of Lovat, initially as the 2nd Highland Battalion, under the name the 62nd Regiment of Foot, being re-designated the 63rd Regiment later in 1757 and then in June 1758, the 78th Regiment of Foot or Fraser's Highlanders.⁸ The Army lists for 1757 and 1758 do not appear to list Charles Stewart, but an annotated copy of that for 1759 lists a Stuart (no first name) as an Ensign⁹ and those for 1760¹⁰ and 1761¹¹ a Charles Stuart as a Lieutenant, all in the 78th Regiment of Foot, which in 1760 took part in the Siege of Quebec, providing good supporting evidence for the main substance of Stewart of Garth's information. This evidence also confirms that Charles was fighting for the British, not the French, as has been suggested.

Charles was wounded in the Battle of Sainte-Foy, sometimes known as the Battle of Quebec, which took place on 28 April 1760.¹² A victory for the French, both sides suffered severe casualties. Fraser's Highlanders were particularly hard hit, with three quarters of its officers being either killed or wounded. According

to David Stewart, Charles was seriously injured in the Siege of Quebec, which actually began immediately following the Battle, and he also claims that Charles had previously fought and been wounded at the Battle of Culloden (1746).¹³ This would be unlikely, since, if a son of John Roy Stewart, Charles would probably not have been old enough at that date. He might well, however, have reminisced about his father's role in the Battle.

Although still listed as an officer in the 78th Regiment in 1762,¹⁴ 1763 saw him recorded as a 2nd Lieutenant in the Marines, with a date of commission as 1 December 1761,¹⁵ apparently too late to be included in the Army list for 1762.

Some light is thrown on his subsequent career in a newspaper report of his death, which states that "During a considerable part of the American war he held a commission in a Colonial Regiment, and was present at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, as well as at several other engagements; and at the peace he rejoined the Marines."¹⁶ It is difficult to establish details of his involvement in the American War of Independence. Although a Major Charles Stewart led the 63rd Regiment of Foot in the Battle of Eutaw Springs on 8 September 1781,¹⁷ this does not seem to be the same individual, since a Charles Stewart appears as an officer in the Army lists in both the 63rd Regiment and the Marines throughout 1779-1782.¹⁸

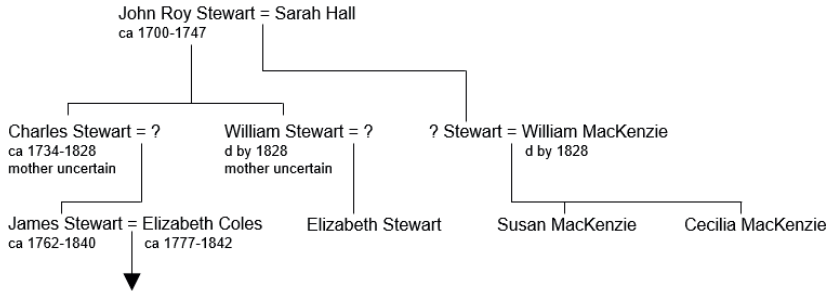
Charles Stewart is recorded as having been commissioned as a Captain in the Royal Marines on 19 May 1779¹⁹ and there is a record of his promotion to Major on 1 March 1794.²⁰ It is clear that this is the same individual as Major Charles Stewart, late of the Royal Marines, who died on 9 November 1828²¹ and whose Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, London on 15 November 1828.²²

He was buried in Lambeth, Surrey, on 13 November 1828, aged 94.²³

	Rank	Date commissioned
78 th Regiment of Foot	Ensign	25 September 1759 ²⁴
	Lieutenant	23 July 1760 ²⁵
Marines	2 nd Lieutenant	1 December 1761 ²⁶
	1 st Lieutenant	9 March 1774 ²⁷
	Captain	19 May 1779 ²⁸
	Major	1 March 1794 ²⁹
	Major (retired on full pay)	1798 ³⁰
Charles Stewart was also described as holding a commission in a Colonial Regiment during the American War of Independence, being present at the Battle of Bunker Hill (1775). ³¹		

Military career of Charles Stewart

The Will names his son, James, British Consul at New London, America, and also three nieces, Susan and Cecilia Mackenzie, daughters of the late Mr William Mackenzie, and Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of the late Captain William Stewart. No further information on the nieces and their fathers has been confirmed so far, but this is consistent with Charles being a son of John Roy Stewart, since we know that John Roy had a daughter.



There is a possible baptismal record for Charles, dated 4 August 1732, in the Parish Register of St Botolph without Aldersgate, London, son of John and Sarah Stewart. ³²

The details that are not fully substantiated by this documentary evidence are whether Major Charles Stewart of the Royal Marines was the same individual as the Charles Stewart/Stuart who served in the 78th Regiment of Foot, whether the latter was a son of John Roy Stewart and whether the baptismal record of 1732 refers to Major Charles Stewart.

It would seem a likely course of events that Charles Stewart/Stuart of the 78th Regiment would have returned to Britain, taking up a military role with the Royal Marines.

The statement by David Stewart of Garth that the Lieutenant in the 78th Regiment of Foot was a son of John Roy Stewart is likely to be reasonably authoritative, being made around 60 years after the events being described, by an author with considerable knowledge of the personnel of the Highland regiments of the time. Additional credence can be given to this since, as will be seen below, it also appears that Stewart of Garth knew Charles Stewart. The baptismal record does occur approximately at the appropriate date to be that of a son of John Roy Stewart, with the expected parents' names.

The lack of any apparent inconsistencies in this suggested course of events provides a reasonable case for Major Charles Stewart as a son of John Roy Stewart, but there is also circumstantial evidence which strengthens the case further.

In Vol. 1 of *The Stewarts*, the journal of the Stewart Society, published in 1907, there is a letter from Henry Stewart of New York, dated 2 November 1906,³³ in which he claims to be a great-great grandson of John Roy Stewart. He quotes the family tradition about his great-grandfather Charles Stewart as follows – “The family story is that he was an officer in one of the Highland regiments that fought at Quebec in 1760, and was severely wounded there in an attack rashly ordered by a General Murray on a greatly superior French force. And our story goes that, lying on the field, he ejaculated, “From April battles and Murray Generals, Good Lord deliver us.” The remark had a double allusion, referring not only to Quebec, but to the battle of Culloden, likewise fought in the month of April and under a Murray General – Lord George Murray.” He points out the fact that David Stewart of Garth includes the same story in his *Sketches of the character, manners, and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland* and also that the author had presented his grandfather James, with a copy of the book, in which his father Charles Stewart’s name was marked with a cross. It would therefore seem likely that the author had heard the story from Charles himself. As Henry Stewart further notes, there is a possible discrepancy in the account by Stewart of Garth, which states, as mentioned above, that Lieutenant Charles Stewart had also fought at Culloden. However, there is also a story concerning “a natural son of his, by name Charles Stuart (afterwards an officer in the English army), [who] brought him his victuals daily” to a cave near Rothiemurchus, where John Roy was sheltering following the Battle of Culloden. This version is taken from the collections of John Anderson, W.S., made from personal researches and observations and quoted in Charles Fraser-Mackintosh’s *Antiquarian Notes, Historical, Genealogical and Social, (Second Series) Inverness-Shire, Parish by Parish*.³⁴ It would appear from this that Charles may have been an illegitimate son of John Roy Stewart. Another very similar version is reported in an American newspaper in 1822.³⁵

Another extract from Henry Stewart's letter refers to a connection with Kincardine in Strathspey, of which John Roy Stewart's ancestors were Barons.

"I remember perfectly seeing amongst some old papers a letter to my father, addressed from Kincardin and signed Charles Stewart, in which the writer stated that he was then visiting the ancestral estate, and urged my father to come and see him before he died. And my father frequently told me of his visiting his grandfather in London, and how the old soldier, then nearly 94, would stand up and show him the use of the Scottish broadsword. The visit to Kincardin to see the old property seems to have led to an attempt to recover the estate, as I well remember a letter to my grandfather in which the writer – Grey, I think, was the name – intimated that the Privy Council had decided that, owing to the lapse of time, the estate could not be restored." ³⁶

James Stewart (ca1762-1840), British Consul at New London, Connecticut

There is no evidence regarding the name of Charles' wife or that they had any children other than James, however, as was mentioned earlier, James was the British Consul at New London.

Like his father and probable grandfather, he had a colourful career. No record of his birth has been located so far, but his age recorded on his death certificate indicates a probable birth date of around 1762. ³⁷ It is also uncertain whether this took place somewhere in North America or in Britain, although in 1812 it was stated that he had lived in the United States for 35 years. ³⁸ It has been suggested that James was a merchant on Grenada, although this is probably speculation, however, in 1798 he married Elizabeth Coles at New London, Connecticut. ³⁹ Elizabeth was the daughter of John Coles, a British merchant and had been born in England about 1777. They went on to have a family of eight children. ⁴⁰

The Stewarts' residence was the substantial Winthrop Homestead, which had been built in the 1750s by descendants of John Winthrop, junior, the founder of New London. ⁴¹ It was subsequently bought by John Coles and when he was forced to sell it, due to financial difficulties, it was bought by his son-in-law, James Stewart, around 1810. ⁴²

James was appointed as the British Consul in New London in 1811, ⁴³ which put him in an 'interesting' position when the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain began.

Stewart was ordered to leave New London in June 1813, the suspicion being that he was feeding information to the British about developments onshore. Following his refusal, he was forcibly removed to Tolland. ^{44 45}

The naval historian James Tertius de Kay states that "After the abrupt departure of Mr. Stewart, Mrs. Stewart took over his position as spy master, and she and her agents made New London the conduit for an almost endless stream of American intelligence reaching the entire [British] fleet." ⁴⁶ This account is supported by Captain Thomas Hardy, who, in supporting the Stewarts' later claim for a pension, vouched for her as having provided "very important and correct information of the enemy's movements". ⁴⁷ James was allowed back home for the birth of a son in September, and claimed that soon after, he was handed over to the British, taking ship to Halifax, Nova Scotia. The ship was wrecked off Halifax, but fortunately all the occupants were saved. ⁴⁸

In August 1814, during James's absence, the Battle of Stonington took place. Four ships of the British Navy arrived off the coast at Stonington, located close to New London, commanded by Captain Thomas Masterman Hardy. ⁴⁹ Hardy is chiefly remembered as the Captain of Admiral Lord Nelson's flagship HMS Victory at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. A bombardment of the town began, but in a brief cessation of the attack, Hardy sent a letter ashore. He had concerns about the safety of Mrs Stewart and her children, whose husband James was now on board his ship, and had asked that his family be allowed to join him. Hardy's letter requested that she and her children be sent out to his ship and that if this condition

was not complied with, he would recommence the bombardment of the town. ⁵⁰ The request was not met and the bombardment resumed, damaging a good number of buildings. The attack resulted in no loss of life except on the British side, of whom a number were killed. A little later, Elizabeth Stewart was eventually allowed to rejoin her husband. ⁵¹ During his absence he had become involved in various intrigues, involving trading deals, but within a matter of weeks after being reunited with his family, he fell into the hands of the American authorities. ⁵² In early 1815, with the ending of the War of 1812, the Stewarts, now together again, returned to their home in New London and James resumed his position as British Consul. ⁵³ Family tradition supports the fact that James was the same individual who around 1822 formed James Stewart and Company, in partnership with Thomas Nisbet. Trading in British and East Indian goods, the company had a store on St John Street, St John, New Brunswick, Canada, but the partnership ended in 1828. This identification is supported by the fact that in 1835, Nisbet became one of the leading founders of the St John Mechanics' Whale Fishing Company, set up following the successful voyage of the *James Stewart*, the city's first whaler. The ship was owned by Charles Coles Stewart, son of James, the British Consul. ⁵⁴ In 1832, the Consulship was abolished and James and Elizabeth returned to England, selling their residence to their son-in-law Noyes Billings. ⁵⁵ James Stewart's wooden sea chest is still preserved in the New London County Historical Society Museum in New London. ⁵⁶

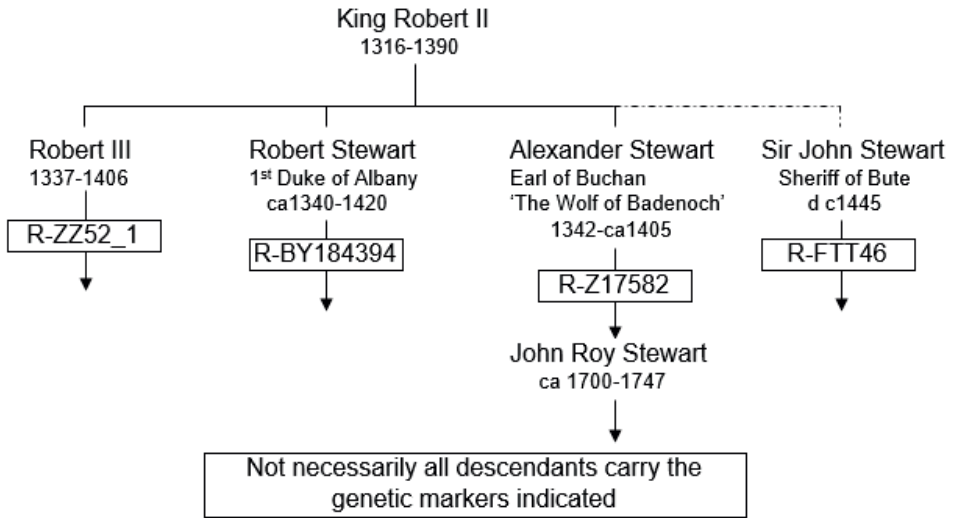
James received a half-pay pension from the British Government ⁵⁷ and died at Cheltenham in 1840, ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ with Elizabeth dying in 1842.

⁶⁰ ⁶¹

DNA evidence

As an addendum to this account there should be some mention of related genetic genealogy research, since this acted as the motivation for the research into the descendants of John Roy Stewart.

The fact that John Roy is recognised to be a descendant of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, commonly known as ‘The Wolf



of Badenoch’, is very significant in the quest for an identifiable genetic marker for descendants of ‘The Wolf.’ He was a son of King Robert II of Scotland, and already, genetic markers for descendants of three of his brothers had been identified.⁶² There are significant numbers of Stewarts who believe they are descended from ‘The Wolf’ and confirmation of this using Y-DNA testing would be welcomed. Research by the University of Strathclyde has identified the genetic marker R-Z17582 carried by a descendant of Major Charles Stewart, whom we believe to be a son of John Roy Stewart. The fact that this DNA test taker does not carry any of the three markers currently known to indicate descent from brothers of ‘The Wolf’, but does carry markers proving descent from Robert II, provides yet further evidence for the validity of this line of descent.

Slightly surprising is the fact that currently only four other Y-DNA test takers have been found to carry the R-Z17582 marker.⁶³ It is very likely that one or more further markers remain to be discovered for ‘The Wolf’ line and there are potential

technological developments which may allow this issue to be resolved.

Conclusion

The evidence as assembled makes a strong case for the identification of Charles and James Stewart as son and grandson of John Roy Stewart and I believe that we can now be confident in accepting this as an authenticated line of descent.

¹ Nevin, Michael. (2022) *John Roy Stuart*. Talk given at the Scottish Poetry Library. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Zu6NxxgZfI>

² Steuart, Bailie John. (1915) *The letter-book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness, 1715-1752*. Edited by William Mackay. Edinburgh: printed by T. & A. Constable, for the Scottish History Society. p. 454.

<https://archive.org/details/letterbookofbail92steu/page/454/mode/2up>

³ *Derby Mercury*. (1747) Scotland. 27 November. p. 1b. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

⁴ Tayler, Henrietta. (1941) *Jacobite epilogue*. London: Thomas Nelson. pp. 257, 258.

https://books.google.co.uk/books?redir_esc=y&id=nYCAAAAMAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=sarah

⁵ Tayler, Alistair and Tayler, Henrietta. (1939) *The Stuart papers at Windsor*. London: John Murray. p. 213.

<https://archive.org/details/stuartpapersatwi0000tayl/page/n7/mode/2up>

⁶ *Ibid*. p. 216.

⁷ Stewart, David. (1822) *Sketches of the character, manners and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland: with details of the military service of the Highland regiments*. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: printed for Archibald Constable & Co. p. 66.

<https://archive.org/details/sketchescharact03stewgoog/page/66/mode/2up>

⁸ Fraser's Highlanders [71st & 78th Regiment of Foot] (2004)

https://web.archive.org/web/20050207170328/http://www.regiments.org/regiment_s/uk/inf/078fraser.htm

⁹ War Office (Great Britain). (1759) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/7_2. p. 133. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431870>

¹⁰ War Office (Great Britain). (1760) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/8_2, p. 136. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431871>

¹¹ War Office (Great Britain). (1761) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/10_1, p. 141. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431872>

¹² *Oxford Journal*. (1760) Thursday's post. London, June 19. 21 June. p. 2a. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

¹³ Stewart, David. (1822) *Sketches of the character, manners and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland: with details of the military service of the Highland regiments*.

Vol. 1. Edinburgh: printed for Archibald Constable & Co. p. 319.

<https://archive.org/details/sketchescharact01stewgoog/page/318/mode/2up>

¹⁴ War Office (Great Britain). (1762) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/11_2. p. 75. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431874>

¹⁵ War Office (Great Britain). (1763) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/13. p. 139. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431876>

¹⁶ Death announcements. (1829) *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*. 10 January. STEWART, Charles. p. 2c. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

¹⁷ Lewis, J. D. (2017) *The American Revolution in South Carolina*.

https://www.carolana.com/SC/Revolution/revolution_battle_of_eutaw_springs.html

¹⁸ War Office (Great Britain). (1779) *Army list*. QLIB 2/19_3, pp. 130, 243. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349212>

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<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349213>

War Office (Great Britain). (1780) *Army list*. QLIB 2/20_3, p. 317. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349213>

War Office (Great Britain). (1781) *Army list*. QLIB 2/21_2, p. 137. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349214>

War Office (Great Britain). (1781) *Army list*. QLIB 2/21_3, p. 292. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349214>

War Office (Great Britain). (1782) *A list of the officers of the Army and of the Corps of Royal Marines*. p. 137.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b2997875&view=1up&seq=5&skin=2021>

War Office (Great Britain). (1782) *A list of the officers of the Army and of the Corps of Royal Marines*. p. 292.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b2997875&view=1up&seq=5&skin=2021>

¹⁹ War Office (Great Britain). (1779) *Army list*. QLIB 2/19_3, p. 243. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349212>

²⁰ War Office (Great Britain). (1795) *A list of the officers of the Army and of the Corps of Royal Marines*. p. 28.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076639072&view=1up&seq=34&skin=2021&q1=stewart>

²¹ Death announcements. (1828) *Morning Post*. 13 November. STEWART, Charles. p. 4c. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

²² Testamentary records. England. 15 November 1828. STEWART, Charles. Will. Prerogative Court of Canterbury. PROB 11/1748/212. The National Archives, Kew, England. <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>

²³ Burials (PR) England. Lambeth, Surrey. 13 November 1828. STEWART, Charles. Age 94. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-89X7-XN9Y?cc=2475028>

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- ²⁴ War Office (Great Britain). (1759) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/7_2. p. 133. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431870>
- ²⁵ War Office (Great Britain). (1760) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/8_2, p. 136. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431871>
- ²⁶ War Office (Great Britain). (1763) *War Office: printed annual army lists*. WO 65/13. p. 139. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C4431876>
- ²⁷ War Office (Great Britain). (1778) *Army list*. QLIB 2/18_4, p. 211. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349211>
- ²⁸ War Office (Great Britain). (1779) *Army list*. QLIB 2/19_3, p. 243. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349212>
- ²⁹ War Office (Great Britain). (1795) *A list of the officers of the Army and of the Corps of Royal Marines*. p. 28.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015076639072&view=1up&seq=34&sk=2021&q1=stewart>
- ³⁰ War Office (Great Britain). (1798) *Army list*. QLIB 2/38_4, p. 387. National Archives (Great Britain), Kew, England.
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C15349231>
- ³¹ Death announcements. (1829) *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*. 10 January. STEWART, Charles. p. 2c. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>
- ³² Baptisms (PR) England. St Botolph, Aldersgate, London. 4 August 1732. STEWART, Charles. <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>
- ³³ Stewart, Henry. (1907) Colonel John Roy Stewart of Kincardin. *The Stewarts*, vol. 1, pp. 371-374.
- ³⁴ Fraser-Mackintosh, Charles. (1897) *Antiquarian notes, historical, genealogical and social, (Second Series) Inverness-Shire, parish by parish*. Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie. p. 418. <https://archive.org/details/antiquariannotes00fras/page/418/mode/2up>
- ³⁵ *Alexandria gazette & daily advertiser*. (1818) Female presence of mind. 29 June. p. 2c. Collection: Chronicling America.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83026170/1818-06-29/ed-1/seq-2/>
- ³⁶ Stewart, *op. cit.* pp. 373-374.
- ³⁷ Deaths (CR) England. Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. 19 November 1840. STEWART, James. Entry no. 390.
- ³⁸ War of 1812 Papers, U.S. Marshals' Returns of Enemy Aliens and Prisoners of War, Part II. General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59. National Archives and Records Administration (United States), College Park, Maryland, USA.
<https://www.ancestry.co.uk>
- ³⁹ Marriages (PR) USA. New London, Connecticut. STEWART, James and COLES, Elizabeth. 10 October 1798. New London Vital Records 1646-1854, v. 3, p.237. Collection: Connecticut, U.S., Town Birth Records pre-1870 (Barbour Collection)
<https://www.ancestry.co.uk>

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- ⁴⁰ Births (PR) USA. New London, Connecticut. STEWART, James and COLES, Elizabeth. 10 October 1798. New London Vital Records 1646-1854, v. 3, p.237. Collection: Connecticut, U.S., Town Birth Records pre-1870 (Barbour Collection) <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>
- ⁴¹ Slosberg, Stephen. (2021) *Site lines: the mysterious blue lights*. <https://connecticuthistory.org/site-lines-the-mysterious-blue-lights-2/>
- ⁴² German, Andrew W. (2012) *Mrs. Stewart's situation*. New London, Connecticut: New London County Historical Society. <https://web.archive.org/web/20191109124852/http://warof1812ct.org/mrs-stewarts-situation/>
- ⁴³ *Morning Post*. (1811) Foreign Office, April 26, 1811. 1 May. p. 2d. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>
- ⁴⁴ Fairchild, Robert. (1814) To James Madison from Robert Fairchild, 3 January 1814. In: *Founders Online*. College Park, Maryland, USA: National Archives and Records Administration (United States). <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/03-07-02-0138>
- ⁴⁵ German, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁶ DeKay, James Tertius. (1990) *The Battle of Stonington: torpedoes, submarines, and rockets in the War of 1812*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press. Chapter 6 [unpaginated]. <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7fY6AAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover>
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ German, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁹ *Rhode-Island Republican*. (1814) War events, &c. 24 August. p. 1b-d. Collection: Chronicling America. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025561/1814-08-24/ed-1/seq-1/>
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ German, *op. cit.*
- ⁵² *The enquirer*. (1814) Confirmation of the capture of Mr. James Stewart, late British Consul at N. London. 1 October. p. 3e. Collection: Chronicling America. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84024736/1814-10-01/ed-1/seq-3/>
- ⁵³ German, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁴ Dilworth, T. G. (1988) Nisbet, Thomas. In: *Dictionary of Canadian biography*, vol. 7. Toronto; Quebec: University of Toronto/Université Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/nisbet_thomas_7E.html
- ⁵⁵ German, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁶ *Sea chest of James Stewart, British Consul at New London during start of War of 1812, at Shaw Mansion. New London, CT*. <http://travelphotobase.com/v/USCTX/CTNW35.HTM>
- ⁵⁷ German, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁸ Deaths (CR) England. Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. 19 November 1840. STEWART, James. Entry no. 390.
- ⁵⁹ Death announcements. (1840) *Cheltenham Journal and Gloucestershire Fashionable Weekly Gazette*. 30 November. STEWART, James. p. 2c. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>
- ⁶⁰ Burials (PR) England. Holy Trinity, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. STEWART, Elizabeth. 26 December 1842. Collection: Gloucestershire, England, Church of England Burials, 1813-1988. <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>

⁶¹ Death announcements. (1842) *City chronicle*. 27 December. STEWART, Elizabeth. p. 16c. Collection: British Newspapers. <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

⁶² University of Strathclyde. Centre for Lifelong Learning. *Key conclusions on SNPs*. <https://www.strath.ac.uk/studywithus/centreforlifelonglearning/genealogy/snpsdating/keyconclusionsonsnps/>

⁶³ *Ibid.*

A Commentary on The Roehenstart Family and The Death of Victoire Adélaïde d’Auvergne née Roehenstart by Marie-Louise Backhurst

(The Stewarts, Vol: XXVI, No. 3, 2022 and Vol: XXVI, No. 4 2023)

Peter Pininski

The two articles by Mrs Backhurst provide important new evidence concerning one of the candidate children of Charlotte Stuart, Duchess of Albany. The term ‘candidate’ is used, because there is no direct evidence to prove that any of them actually were Charlotte’s secret illegitimate children by Prince Ferdinand de Rohan, the Roman-Catholic Archbishop of Bordeaux and Cambrai. Either no register of birth exists or the parentage given is false.

Because the family of Bonnie Prince Charlie’s only surviving child Charlotte was a strict secret, it was long believed she had no children. Then, Henrietta Taylor’s mid-twentieth century research suggested that she had two daughters and a boy. Evidence indicated one was called Marie or Victoire (undoubtedly the same person – this author calls her Marie Victoire), and that she was the same as a daughter called Victoire Adélaïde. The other daughter was named Charlotte and the son Auguste Maximilien or Charles Edward (but undoubtedly the same person).

On the basis of new evidence Mrs Backhurst concluded that Marie Victoire was not the same person as Victoire Adélaïde. By accepting that Charlotte Stuart had only three children, she concluded that Marie Victoire was not Charlotte’s daughter. The present author would like to congratulate Mrs Backhurst on



Figure 1 Prince Charles Radziwill (1734-1790). He and his father Prince Michael were the closest Polish cousins of the Stuarts . In 1746 Bonnie Prince Charlie suggested one of the Radziwill daughters as a bride for his brother Henry. It was the Radziwil who bought the vast Zolkiew estate near Lwow in 1739 which had belonged to King James VIII/III's father-in-law. Later, Pope Benedict XIV's correspondence records that Prince Charles Edward was staying with the Radziwills on their country estate in May 1752 (E. de Heeckeren, vol. 2, 1912). Close friends of the Stuarts' trusted adviser Bishop Giorgio Lascaris, the Radziwills were intimately connected to the Warsaw bankers Fergusson-Tepper, in the private household of whose client, the Prince of Württemberg, Charlotte Stuart's son Charles was found a privileged position in 1807. The Radziwills were equally intimate with the Lwow bankers Nikorowicz, who also knew Lascaris, from whom a rich though elderly husband was found for Marie Victoire in 1803. (With thanks to the National Museum in Warsaw).

discovering important new material and this Commentary is to demonstrate: that no document concerning Charlotte's children can be taken at face value, that Mrs Backhurst's case is strong but not watertight, that Taylor's belief that Charlotte had only had three children was based on a false assumption, that in not questioning this Mrs Backhurst overlooked two significant bodies of evidence, that if Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde are different people it does not follow that Marie Victoire was not Charlotte's daughter. All facts referred to have been previously published by the present author and readers wishing more information or to verify sources may easily access them.¹

That Evidence Cannot be Taken at Face Value:

After Charlotte's parents' relationship broke up in 1760, her father refused to recognize or support her. In 1775 he ordered her not to become a nun or marry. She fell into despair. In 1776 she met Prince Ferdinand de Rohan who had been entered into a church career as a youngest son. They fell in love and began a secret family. Had their children been discovered, Charlotte's chances of recognition by her father would have been ruined and Ferdinand's career destroyed. They did everything to hide their children's existence. Consequently, direct proof of their parentage does not exist.² All evidence concerning the children's parentage and their relationship as siblings is circumstantial, containing false and contradictory information intended to conceal and mislead. This was nothing new. For himself and Clementina Walkinshaw, Bonnie Prince Charlie's invented alter egos including the Chevalier John Douglas, Seigneur William Johnson and Dame Charlotte Pitt, as well as Dr and Mrs Thompsom. At birth in 1784 Charlotte's son's was registered as Auguste, his father as Maximilien Roehenstart and his mother as Clementine Ruthven, both spurious. When in 1816 that son wrote his *Memorial* to the Prince Regent, he invented a Swedish 'great-grandfather, Baron Roehenstart, Count of Korff, who came over to England in the year 1715 and served in the English Army [and afterwards] married Miss Sophia Howard'. To it he attached a forged marriage certificate for his mother and a fictitious Baron August Maximilian Roehenstart. Charlotte's children clearly reveal that the 'Rohan Stuart Conspiracy' did exist. When one of her daughters wrote to her confidant General Prince Louis de Rohan, she referred to 'my Secret' in the context of 'the love affairs of the Stuarts and Rohans'. Charlotte's son wrote of his '*history kept so strictly secret both by my father and grandmother, that it appears indeed difficult to explain this enigma [and that due to] the very peculiar and extraordinary situation of all the parties, the history of this family has been shrouded by a thick veil, which circumstances rendered impervious*'.

This brief glimpse demonstrates that Charlotte, Ferdinand and their children practiced deception, used alter egos, lied, created false documents and had the strongest of motives for so doing. That is why no evidence can be ignored and no document accepted at face value. Such obfuscation is why Mrs Backhurst's case that Marie Victoire was not the same person as Victoire Adélaïde, though strong, is not completely watertight. Because residual evidence remains which is hard to reconcile, unless Marie Victoire was an incarnation for the Austrian Empire and Victoire Adélaïde an alter ego for a double life in France. Unlikely though this may seem, with a conspiracy to deceive, nothing can be ruled out whilst unreconciled evidence remains. It is summarized in the Postscript of this author's 2022 book (pages 214-219), in End Note 3 of this Commentary, and the End Notes of the 2024 Paper given in Falkirk (End Note 1.g. of this Commentary).³ This having been said, the balance of probability is now in favour of Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde being different people.⁴



Figure 2 Archbishop James Augustynowicz (1701-1783), the Armenian-Catholic Archbishop of Lwow, was close to the Stuarts' confidant Bishop Lascaris who spent a decade with him there. Lascaris' principal interest as a Theatine was the small but rich Armenian-Catholic community there, at the head of which stood the Augustynowicz and Nikorowicz families. Lascaris and Archdeacon Deodat Nikorowicz even lectured together to Lwow's Armenian-Catholic Benedictines. When married into the Nikorowicz family, Charlotte Stuart's daughter Marie Victoire acquired no fewer than three Augustynowicz in-laws. (With thanks to the Armenian-Catholic Parish, Armenopolis, Romania, inv. no. VIII.13.00.112.)

Concerning the number of children Charlotte had:

Taylor's suggestion that Charlotte Stuart had three children is based on oblique references, code words and allusions in her letters to her mother, used to disguise her children's existence.

Nowhere does Charlotte say how many children she had and, given the conspiracy to deceive, would we believe her if she did? Taylor's interpretation is based on hints such as Charlotte's letter sending 'four fervent kisses, because you have three to pass on'. The implication that this indicates three children falsely assumes the children were always together. But they were not. For example, on 25 March 1785, Charlotte wrote to her mother that, 'He who is in the country will no doubt soon be returning to the city, and it is quite time that he did so. I count on you, dear Mama, to watch over his health and see that he wants for nothing.' This is accepted as a reference to her son who had been sent away from Paris to be wet-nursed. And because he was born weak, as evident from his register of birth, he would have spent regular periods away from the city's unhealthy air.

Relating to this are the memoirs of Abbé Barnabé of rural Veigné near Tours which describe a boy corresponding to Charlotte's son who was to have been christened as the illegitimate child of Ferdinand's eldest brother, Jules-Hercule, Duke of Montbazou, as successfully done by him in that parish for Marie Victoire in 1779. However, the abbé had evidently caught on, refused, and in outrage accused Jules-Hercule of 'intrigue!' This was an astonishing act by a local priest, given that Jules-Hercule was one of the most powerful men in France. It emphasizes how certain the abbé was, that the boy was not his son. Had the baptism gone ahead, legitimization by Ferdinand's brother would have brought Charlotte's son into the family of his biological father, alongside Marie Victoire, and given him the Rohan name and real people as legal parents.

Subsequent to Taylor, writers have stated that her daughters were referred to as Marie, Aglaë, V and M-V, the name Aglaë remaining unexplained.

For both Marie Victoire and Charles there is a record of birth, death and a grave. But for Charlotte junior and Victoire Adélaïde there is no record of birth, only of death, and no known grave. The earliest candidate child is Marie Victoire, baptized in June 1779.

The second is Charlotte junior, described on her death certificate as about twenty six in November 1806, therefore born between late 1780 and 1781. However, Charles was not born until May 1784. Charlotte Stuart met Ferdinand de Rohan in 1776. Marie Victoire was conceived in 1778. Charlotte left Paris in September 1784 to be with her father in Florence. So no child could have been born before Marie Victoire in 1779, nor after Charles in 1784. A noticeable gap exists between the end of 1781 and Spring 1783. And that is when Victoire Adélaïde would have been born.

Two Bodies of Overlooked Evidence:

In not addressing the question, did Charlotte Stuart have had four children, two bodies of evidence were overlooked by Mrs Backhurst. Their significance is hard to overstate. The first concerns Marie Victoire's birth and baptismal legitimization in June 1779 by Ferdinand's eldest brother Jules-Hercule (a good time of the year for Charlotte to discreetly give birth in the country, far from Paris' prying eyes). The mother is given as the daughter of Jules-Hercule's secretary at his château de Couzières in the Parish of Veigné near Tours. She was Marie Grosset, paid off in a notarial deed of 1782 signed at Jules-Hercule's château d'Ussé for 'services rendered'. In it no daughter is mentioned. By not questioning the number of children Charlotte had, Mrs Backhurst dismissed Marie Victoire as Charlotte's daughter, accepting at face value the parentage given on the baptismal entry. Conversely, she did not accept at face value the parentage on the 1784 Paris register of birth for Charles, given as Maximilien Roehenstart and Clementine Ruthven, and simply stated that he was Charlotte's son.

Space does not permit a description of the overlooked evidence. However, it is contained in this author's publications and a précis is in *The Jacobite*, No.173, 2023, pages 62-64. Its key conclusions are: that the elderly Jules-Hercules and humble Miss Grosset were not Marie Victoire's parents, that she was clearly an infant of great importance, that no other illegitimate child fitted the bill except Charlotte's daughter, that as an adult she used a coat of arms based on the Stuart family arms designed by Charles, that he designed an

analogous one for himself (both described and illustrated in this author's publication of 2022, pages 195-198), and that Jules-Hercule, being long-deceased, did not arrange Marie Victoire's marriage in 1803, whereas Ferdinand surely did.

This leads to the second body of overlooked evidence. Mrs Backhurst describes Marie Victoire's first husband in just three words: 'a Polish nobleman'. All information about him is passed over in silence. Yet the choice of husband for Marie Victoire is of great significance. He was the rich landowning chevalier Paul de Nikorowicz. His family had no links to the Rohans, but they most certainly did to the Stuarts. The evidence for this was described in this author's 2002 publication, in *The Stuarts*, Vol: XXVI, No. 3, 2022, pp. 214-231, and in *The Jacobite*, No. 173, 2023, pp. 47-62.

Space limitation permits only headline conclusions: that throughout most of the 18th century Marie Victoire's husband Nikorowicz and his family were linked to the Stuarts via their intimate relationship with Prince Michael Radziwill and his son Prince Charles for whom they were their trusted Lwow-based merchant-bankers, the Radziwills being the Stuarts' closest Polish cousins. The Nikorowicz family were also colleagues of the Radziwills' Warsaw-based merchant-bankers, the Fergusson-Teppers, through whom Charlotte's son Charles was found an initial position in life with Prince Alexander of Württemberg whose family were their clients. Marie Victoire's husband Nikorowicz also had a second link to the Stuarts. This via his family's relationship with Bishop Giorgio Lascaris, dating from the mid-1730s. Lascaris not only knew the Nikorowicz family in Lwow from his decade there, but became a close friend of the Radziwills and in Rome was the trusted confidant of King James VIII/III, Cardinal Henry Stuart and Charlotte. Ferdinand surely met him when both were there during the French Revolution and he needed to secure the future of Charlotte's children in his time of exile and financial difficulty. Therefore, through the Radziwills and Lascaris, the Nikorowicz family had long-standing ties of loyalty to the Stuarts and the motive to help Ferdinand, who was in Poland when Marie Victoire's marriage was arranged, because

Charlotte was a Stuart, a cousin of the Radziwills and a confidant of Lascaris

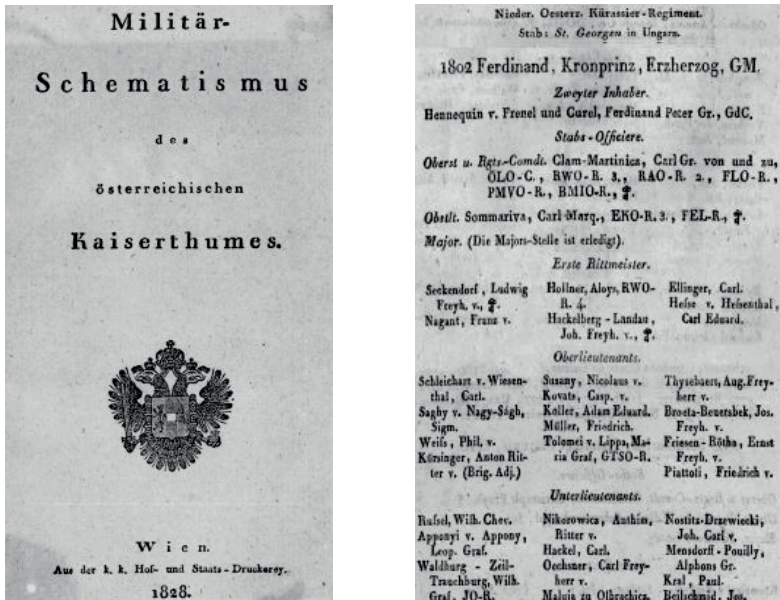


Fig.4: The 1828 Austrian Army List for Crown Prince Ferdinand's 4th Cuirassiers is just one illustration of the fact that Marie Victoire and Charles' lives were closely paired. At the top is the deputy colonel-in-chief Count Ferdinand Hennequin de Frenel et Curel. He was Marie Victoire's French émigré royalist 'courtier' in Lwow. Beneath is the commanding officer Count Carl Clam-Martinitz. His brother-in-law's close colleague Ambassador Sir Charles Stuart helped Charles when Lord Sidmouth tried to extradite him from Paris on a false charge of treason. Low centre is the Chevalier (Ritter) Antime de Nikorowicz. He was Marie Victoire's son. To his right is Count Alphons Mensdorff-Pouilly. His aunt Princess Antoinette of Württemberg arranged for Charles to marry Marianna Romejko-Hurko, the Württembergs being key clients of the Warsaw bankers Fergusson-Tepper who purportedly adopted Marie Victoire and Charles, and were colleagues of the Lwow bankers Nikorowicz, both having been the principal bankers of the Stuarts' closest Polish cousins the Princes Radziwill. (Source:https://library.hungaricana.hu/en/view/MilitarAlmanachSchematismus_18 28 pp.1,274-5, accessed 27.11.2023)

Further Considerations and Conclusion:

Did Charlotte have four children, split into two groups during the French Revolution? Charles wrote from Munich to his *'tendre Papa'* in 1800 when at least one sibling was with him, begging for a *'letter which will give us a lot of pleasure and will give us joy ... you cannot doubt our sentiments for you. Your kindness will forever be engraved upon our hearts'*. He also wrote of *'so long a separation'*, and *'until we are all reunited'*.⁵

Charlotte junior and Victoire Adélaïde's early lives are similar. For neither is there a record of baptism nor evidence of an attempt to legitimise them into the Rohan family.

In 1804 both were living on the rue Helvetius in Paris, both married middle class Frenchmen, neither mixed in aristocratic circles, and neither had any connection with Eastern Europe or Poland.

However, the early lives of Marie Victoire and Charles run in clear parallel. Marie Victoire's birth was recorded in 1779 when legitimised into the Rohan family by Jules-Hercule at Veigné. No illegitimate girl is mentioned as Jules-Hercule's daughter in any genealogy of the Rohans. She was in exile during the French Revolution, then in Eastern Europe where she married the rich Polish noble Paul Nikorowicz in 1803. His family were for decades the trusted bankers of the Radziwills who were the Stuarts' closest Polish cousins and friends of the Stuarts' confidant Lascaris, like the Nikorowicz family. They were also colleagues of the Radziwills' other bankers, Fergusson-Tepper. Marie Victoire moved in anti-Napoleonic aristocratic royalist circles and had a coat of arms based on the family arms of Stuart.

Charles' birth was recorded in 1784 in Paris with fictitious parents. He was 'in the country' in March 1785 when Jules-Hercule tried to legitimize a baby boy into the Rohan family at Veigné. No illegitimate boy is mentioned as Jules-Hercule's son in any genealogy of the Rohans. He was in exile during the French Revolution, then in Eastern Europe where he was to have married

the rich Polish noble Marianna Romejko-Hurko. In 1807 he joined the household of the Prince of Württemberg, clients of the Fergusson-Teppers. For decades they were the trusted bankers of the Radziwills who were the Stuarts' closest Polish cousins and friends of the Stuarts' confidant Lascaris. They were also colleagues of the Radziwills' other bankers, Nikorowicz. Charles moved in anti-Napoleonic aristocratic royalist circles and had a coat of arms based on the royal arms of Stuart.

Only once did Charles openly refer to a sibling. From New York in December 1813 he wrote to Mrs Chapus that: 'I will give you against all risks a letter of charge on my sister'. That sister could not have been Charlotte junior, for she died in 1806. Nor is it likely he meant Victoire Adélaïde, for she, as Mrs Backhurst notes, had few resources of her own, and was married to a French military doctor who in 1812 had been made a prisoner of the Russians. However, Marie Victoire was a rich widow in 1813, her wealthy husband Nikorowicz having died in 1810.

That Marie Victoire and Charles had parallel lives matters, because Charles was confirmed as Charlotte's son by Lord Sidmouth's secret service in 1816.⁶ Consequently, greatest certainty that they were Charlotte's children relates to Marie Victoire and Charles. In the last century G. Martin's *Histoire et Généalogie de la Maison de Rohan* emphasized this by stating there were two children 'of the last of the Stuarts (one named Charles Edward), of whom posterity, whose descendants would today be Polish'. That is consistent with Marie Victoire's posterity. Moreover, Iain Gordon and a man signing himself 'Morvern' corresponded with the *Oban Times* on 15 April and 5 August 1939, eighty five years after Charles' last visit to friends living nearby, presumably relatives of their ancestors. The essence of what they wrote is that Charlotte Stuart had a daughter called 'Marie', of 'Roehenstart's sister Marie Stuart Roehenstart', that two of Charlotte's children were 'secretly adopted by a family in Warsaw named Fergusson-Tepper', and that 'Marie was early left a widow' with one child. That is again consistent with Marie Victoire, whose first husband died when their son was six.

Mrs Backhurst's new evidence is welcome and important, precisely because this is not family genealogy in which documents can be trusted, but a conspiracy by scandalously compromised aristocrats designed to mislead. Interpretation is therefore treacherous. The opinion of Professor Edward Corp is that 'the evidence provided by Mrs Backhurst strongly indicates that Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde were separate people, whereas the evidence that Charlotte and Ferdinand were Marie Victoire's parents is overwhelming, thereby implying that Charlotte had four, not three, children. Given the available evidence, I find the argument that Jules Hercule and Marie Grosset were really the parents of Marie Victoire to be completely untenable'.⁷

About the author: Peter Pininski was born in London in 1956 and lives in Warsaw, Poland. A graduate of Sotheby's Institute of Art, he has lectured on the last Stuarts for institutions such as the National Trust for Scotland and been a guest speaker at the Edinburgh International Book Festival. He is the president of the academic charity The Lanckoronski Foundation, Liechtenstein, a member of the advisory board of the Lviv National Art Gallery in the Ukraine, an adviser to the Ossolineum National Institute in Poland, a member of the Biography Committee of the Polish Academy of Learning, and the author of various publications on the last Stuarts.

End Notes:

1. The present author's most relevant publications are:
 - a. *The Stuarts' Last Secret – The Missing Heirs of Bonnie Prince Charlie*, Tuckwell Press 2002.
 - b. *The Stuarts' Last Secret: The Children of Charlotte, Duchess of Albany*, in *The Stuart Court in Rome, The Legacy of Exile*, Prof. E. Corp (ed.) Ashgate Publishing 2003.
 - c. *Bonnie Prince Charlie – A Life*, Amberley Publishing 2010 and 2012 (revised).
 - d. *Bonnie Prince Charlie – His Life, Family, Legend*, National Museums Scotland Publishing 2022.
 - e. *Bishop Giorgio Lascharis (1706-1795), Stuart Emissary in Poland*, in *The Stuarts*, Vol: XXVI, No. 3, 2022.

f. *Bishop Giorgio Lascaris and the Stuarts*, in *The Jacobite*, Journal of the 1745 Association, No. 173, 2023.

g. Battle of Falkirk Muir Conference, 2024, The Battle of Falkirk (1746) Trust, www.falkirkmuir1746.scot (The Falkirk Muir Papers, see: Peter Pininski).

2. DNA testing can also prove parenthood. However, as page 220 of this author's 2022 book explains, it is not possible in this case, because the available genetic material is not in the unbroken female line (mitochondrial DNA), nor the unbroken male line (Y chromosome). Only kinship testing is possible. But the available genetic material is separated by too many generations for this to produce a definitive result.

3. Pages 209-10 of the present author's 2022 publication describe Dr Jonas Asplin's diary and the correspondence of Gabriel de Froment, Baron de Castille with Prince Charles Edward Stuart's widow Princess Louise zu Stolberg-Gedern. They indicate that the Victoire who wrote letters to General Prince Louis de Rohan signed Roehenstart and d'Auvergne was Victoire Adelaïde, the apparent wife of Dr Saint-Ursin. This is fundamental when asking: apart from Charlotte junior, did Charlotte Stuart have two daughters, Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde, or was Victoire Adélaïde an alter ego used by the Austrian-domiciled Marie Victoire for a double life in France? And whilst marriages or becoming a godparent may occur by proxy, a comparison of the dates and places where Marie Victoire appears as de Thorigny, Nikorowicz or de Pauw, and Victoire Adélaïde as Roehenstart, Saint-Ursin or d'Auvergne, shows that they do not appear in different places at the same time. Marie Victoire was in Paris writing to Charlotte and her children's friends, the lawyers Berryers, in 1825; in Lwow when Count Louis Jablonowski's memoirs recall his months spent living in her house in 1826; in Vienna at her son's wedding in October 1829; in Lwow at her first grandson's baptism in November 1830; on her son's estate of Grzymalow for her second grandson's baptism in January 1832; and in Vienna in April 1836 when she died. And though the list of fifty two problems concerning this question, described in this author's 2022 publication (pp.214-219), becomes much shorter if Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde are separate people and both

daughters of Charlotte (because both might have corresponded with Louis de Rohan and both been friends of the Berryers), nevertheless, problems which remain unreconciled include:

- a. If they were not written by Marie Victoire, but by Victoire Adélaïde, why was one of the Roehenstart/d'Auvergne letters to Louis de Rohan sealed with the monogram 'M R' (i.e. Marie Rohan/Roehenstart)?
- b. If the letters to the Berryers from Marie Victoire (signed de Thorigny) and to Louis from Victoire (signed Roehenstart or d'Auvergne) are not from the same person, why is the writing so similar, possessing a wide range of identical and unusual graphical idiosyncrasies and other common characteristics, as well as the same grammatical style, page and line usage, and rushed form of expression?
- c. Why were Marie Victoire's letters to Berryer (signed the 'Countess de Thorigny', 'V. de Thorigny', and stamped in black wax 'N T' for Nikorowicz Thorigny, of which the N is identical to the N engraved on the Nikorowicz silver) written on the same black-edged paper of mourning as the last five letters to Louis, signed d'Auvergne? Though Marie Victoire's letters to Berryer are undated, they are addressed to Berryer jnr. Written during mourning, the question is, for whom? If Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde were not the same person, then the mourning letters to Berryer could only be from 1810, when Marie Victoire's husband Nikorowicz died. Yet that is not possible, because Berryer jnr was too young then for such a letter. And as her last husband de Pauw outlived her, she was never in mourning for him. Therefore, when Marie Victoire wrote the letter to Berryer on mourning paper, she had no husband to mourn, unless she was the same person as Victoire Adélaïde and in mourning for d'Auvergne who died in 1825.
- e. As stated, Asplin's diary and Castille's letters indicate that the woman using the Saint-Ursin guise is the same as the Roehenstart/d'Auvergne author of the letters to Louis, (i.e. Victoire Adélaïde). In one she writes that her husband 'died in the service of the King' (i.e. Louis XVIII). But Saint-Ursin was in Napoleon's service whom he ostentatiously supported. Nor could this refer to the British naval captain d'Auvergne. However, the

Nikorowicz family was in the service of Louis XVIII's family during their exile in Warsaw (see this author's publications of 2010, 2012 and 2022), implying that Marie Victoire was the author of that letter.

f. If Victoire Adelaïde was the author of the letters to Louis and not the same person as Marie Victoire, then his replies could not have belonged to Marie Victoire's son Antime and his descendants at their Castle of Grzymalów. But they did.

g. If Marie Victoire and Victoire Adelaïde were separate people and sisters who both corresponded with Louis, then the Rohan archives from Sychrov should have one set of letters to Louis signed Roehenstart/d'Auvergne, and another signed de Thorigny/Nikorowicz. But they do not.

h. Victoire Adelaïde was the apparent Victoire of the Roehenstart/d'Auvergne letters to Louis. In one, postmarked 1820, unsigned, the author wrote that 'it will perhaps be given to me to choose a Chevalier from amongst the Veterans of the Army of de Condé'. In 1823 Victoire Adelaïde married d'Auvergne, to whom the author was not referring in this letter as d'Auvergne was a British naval captain. He then died in 1825. Next Marie Victoire appears in Lwow married to the exiled French royalist cavalry veteran of the Army of de Condé, Captain Jean de Pauw. This implies that the author of the 1820 letter to Louis was Marie Victoire, accurately describing de Pauw. Yet though the letter is unsigned, the handwriting seems the same as the other letters to Louis signed Roehenstart and d'Auvergne. Is it credible that Marie Victoire and Victoire Adelaïde had handwriting so similar as to be indistinguishable, and that the 1820 letter was written by Marie Victoire whilst the others were by Victoire Adelaïde?

i. In the same letter of 1820, the author writes of 'ten years during which I have conserved my liberty'. This seems a clear reference to the ten years since the 1810 death of Marie Victoire's first husband Nikorowicz. In another of c.1815/16 signed Roehenstart, without a Christian name, the author describes herself as a 'widow'. As Saint-Ursin did not die until 1818, the implication is that both were written by Marie Victoire. Why then, is the handwriting indistinguishable from the d'Auvergne letters to Louis, apparently by Victoire Adelaïde?

j. In Charles' *Memorial* of 1816 to the Prince Regent, he wrote that his mother 'had two daughters and a son'. As he lied elsewhere in the document, this statement should be treated with scepticism. Moreover, he might have meant that in 1816 his mother had two daughters, not including Charlotte junior who died in 1806.

k. Mrs Backhurst quotes Louise zu Stolberg-Gedern's letter of 1821 in which she states that by comparison with Charles Roehenstart 'his sister was much happier'. If that sister was Victoire Adelaïde, she was the widow of Dr Saint-Ursin who had gone to Moscow with Napoleon in 1812, worked in Vilnius, been taken prisoner, went to St Petersburg, then died in 1818 after returning to France. The description 'much happier' seems inappropriate. By comparison, Marie Victoire was a wealthy person living in much happier circumstances than Charles in 1821.

Mrs Backhurst's articles fail to address the question: why, before her 1823 marriage to d'Auvergne, when Victoire Adelaïde was the supposed wife, then widow, of Saint-Ursin, her letters to Louis de Rohan were signed Roehenstart, not Saint-Ursin, and their content and style is in stark contrast to the passion with which she writes of d'Auvergne's life and death, insofar as they never mention Saint-Ursin or his life and death? That the Saint-Ursin marriage may have been a sham associated with a double life in France led by Marie Victoire, is supported by the fact that Charles never mentioned Saint-Ursin in any of his documents, but did mention d'Auvergne several times.

m. Mrs Backhurst describes the life of Victoire Adelaïde's son Théodore. In this author's 2022 publication (Note 50, pp. 207-211) and in the 2024 Paper described in 1.g. (End Note 2.n.) is described the uncanny mirror image of this son's life, when compared with that of Marie Victoire's stepson (or possibly son) Zenon, a name, like Théodore, meaning 'Gift of God'. She also describes a property record suggesting that Théodore lived at Saint-Pons-de-Thomières near Castres and that in 1840 his mother gave property inherited from him to a young priest of that town called Father Jean-Rémy Boisseaux (1803-1876). The property record was signed 'V. A. de Roëhenstart d'Auvergne'.

Marie Victoire died in 1836 and could not have signed it. Mrs Backhurst takes this as evidence that Marie Victoire and Victoire Adélaïde were different people. However, the signature differs from those in the letters to Louis, apparently from Victoire Adélaïde. Consequently, this is not evidence they were not the same person, because someone else seems to have signed that property record. The differences are visually illustrated in the End Notes of the 2024 Paper described in 1.g, and are: in contrast to the property record, the letters to Louis are never signed with an initial, nor a second name beginning A, never have an umlaut over the e of Roehenstart, which is never preceded by de. The V is different to the V in the letters to Louis. The initial A and capital of Auvergne are different to the A in the letters to Louis. The letters d, r and v are different. The s of Roehenstart is small, but tall in the letters to Louis. The finial after Roehenstart loops up and back to cross the two t's, but in the letters to Louis is a downward arabesque and the two t's are crossed with a long firm horizontal line. Roehenstart tilts down to the right, but in the letters to Louis it tilts up. Auvergne is finished with a swirl, but in the letters to Louis it is not.

4. Mrs Backhurst's articles contain mistakes, omissions and areas requiring clarification. Space does not permit their description here. However, they can be found in End Notes 2.a. – n. of the Paper in 1.g above.

5. Pininski 2002, p. 185.

6. Pininski 2022, illustration 115, p.171.

7. Corp, Professor E., correspondence with the present author, 28.08.2023. Professor Corp is a recognized authority on the last Stuarts and the author of many works on the subject, including *The Stuarts in Italy 1719-1766, A Royal Court in Permanent Exile*, Cambridge University Press 2011, and *Sir David Nairne, A Scottish Jacobite at the Court of the Exiled Stuarts*, Peter Lang 2018.



Figure 3: The top signature is from the property record of 1840. The others are from the letters to Louis de Rohan. The article under review presumes them to be by the same hand, but the top one differs in several ways: the letters to Louis are never signed with an initial, nor a second name beginning A, never have an umlaut over the e of Roehenstart, which name is never preceded by de. The top initial V is different to the V of Victoire, Virginie and Victory. The top initial A and capital of Auvergne are different to the A in the letters to Louis. The letters d, r and v are different. The s of the top Roehenstart is small, but tall in the letters to Louis. The finial after the top Roehenstart loops up and back to cross the two t's, but the finial in the letters to Louis is a downward arabesque and the two t's are crossed with a long firm horizontal line. The top Roehenstart tilts down to the right, but in those to Louis it tilts up. The top Auvergne is finished with a swirl, but those to Louis do not.

Stewart Society London Dinner 2024

Andrew J. Lewis.

The evening got off to a cracking start with a steady arrival of diners in the pre-dinner drinks anteroom from 6pm. Animated discussions were heard all around as old friends renewed contact and newbies like myself made new ones. A splendid array of tartan was on show and the assembly was mustered at the end of the room for a group photograph of record before we all made our way to the Stewart Room for dinner at around 6.30pm.

To begin proceedings, John Lansley stood and said Grace. The first course began to arrive and lively chatter began again. Seated to my left was Mrs June Moody-Stuart, a historian, and to my right was Mrs Natalia Zavacki. Opposite were Sue and John Lansley. Our conversations included background to Stewart and Stuart history, and computer programming.



The first course was an unfamiliar yet delicious vegetarian option, and the main course arrived and was also most welcome. It was lovely to meet and discourse with sister and brother visitors Miss Margaret and Mr Robert Boswell of Auchinleck, both resplendent in their tartan.

Then came the highlight of the evening – “Jenn’s talk”, illustrated by slides on a screen. In a fascinating talk which touched on several aspects of Highland Life in the late Middle Ages, Jenn observed that:

- few people wore hats in contrast to the rest of Europe
- Gallowglass warriors dyed their clothes yellow with expensive saffron.
- The first tartan as we would recognise it appeared in the mid-16th Century. Jenn then took questions and was thanked for her rather splendid and animated presentation. Beatrix Stewart then gave an impromptu and terrific rendition of “Road to the Isles” with the assembly joining in during the chorus. There was genuinely enthusiastic applause.



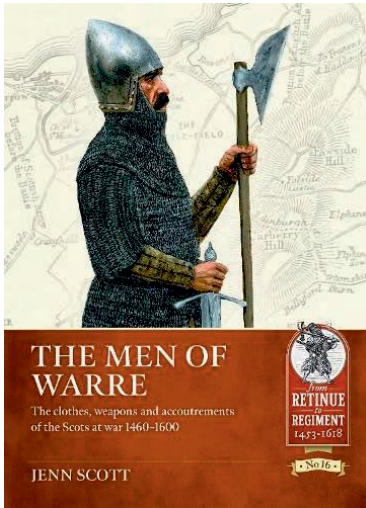
John Lansley then gave a description of Beatrix’s service to the Society and announced that this dinner was probably the last one she would organize. Jenn presented Beatrix with a bottle of Speyside gin. The Cranachan dessert was delightful and after coffee the assembly said their farewells and gradually headed off into the night.

Reviews

The Men of Warre: The clothes, weapons and accoutrements of the Scots at war 1460-1600

Jenn Scott (Helion & Co, 2023)

This is a delightful almost poetic book of 101 pages part of Helion and Co's series from Retinue to Regiment 1453-1618. Retinue being a Lord and his supporters, Regiment, a French term for troops in formation. The subtitle is 'The clothes,



weapons and accoutrements of the Scots at war 1460-1600'. The author (none other than the loyal Secretary and Archivist of the Stewart Society) sticks to her subject. A useful historical introduction ends with the comment 'they spend all their time in wars and when there is no war they fight each other'. Plus ca change you could say. Feudal service and wappenshaws (weapon - showing) were still in vogue and the Lordship of the Isles was not finally forfeited until around 1500. Lions and unicorns are ever present in heraldic

devices and elite men - as the author describes them - wore fabulous hose and taffeta doublets, pearls and passementerie, silks, circular cloaks of velvet and satin, poulaines, sabatons, brodikins (high boots), kersey, camlet, and just plain linen - the last produced locally. This certainly does not sound much like the dark brutish period of Scottish history we are familiar with.

The notes and the glossary are comprehensive. Lowland perceptions of Highland Scots as being hairy and uncouth prove ' a calumny that has been difficult for the Scots to shake off for the last 600 years' the author drily observes.

Then of course there are the fearsome weapons and the ever present hounds. Hunting was of course a way to practice war. Darts and spears, stones and gallowglass axes. A polished white helmet for the King, bascinets, mail shirts, claymores, aventails, crossbows, and guns. And then the ships. The Scots Birlinn – thought to have been derived from the famous Viking longboat – could have oars from 12 to 18. The Galley from 18 to 24. The Scots never had enough warships. It brings to mind the comment of my friend Jimmie Buchan the famous TV trawlerman – that the future Scots Navy will be his wee trawler with a gun on the front. The great Michael launched in 1511 was an exception. She had a length of 240 feet and a beam of 35 feet with timber from Fife and Darnaway. There were perhaps 300 sailors and a 100 odd gunners were on board although these numbers do seem unlikely.

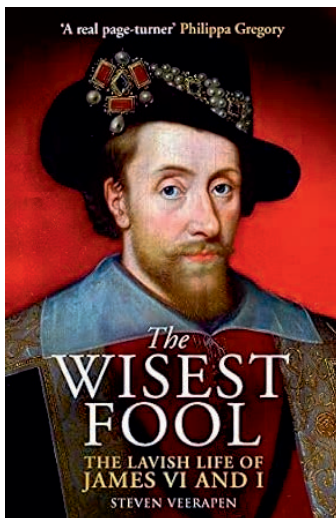
Scots Kings had always favoured artillery for both status and projection of power and some big pieces held special resonance such as the Tabard, Gun of Threave and Mons Meg. The penultimate chapter is on the lawless Borders (uncontrolled until the reign of James VI and I). Some local villains are asked '*Are there no Christians in Liddesdale ? Na we's all Elliots and Armstrongs*' was the reply. This is a most informative summary of the clothes, weapons and ships of Scots soldiers over 150 years between 1460 – 1600.

GBS April 2024

The Wisest Fool: The lavish life of James VI and I

Steven Veerapen (Birlinn Ltd)

Steven Veerapen has written an exhaustive life of the first Stuart Monarch. It entirely lacks generosity and decency in dealing with this complex man. It fails to acknowledge the extraordinary achievements of the most successful of all the Stuart Monarchs. He survived and died aged 59 – astonishing in itself. From a very young age he was never to see his mother again. His ghastly tutor George Buchanan – a reactionary old cleric and intellectual – indoctrinated him with the ridiculous notion that his mother was a very bad woman. No – she was Catholic and was



thrust from the bright and sophisticated French renaissance court into the nightmare of Calvinist murder and mayhem in mediaeval Scotland. He succeeded in uniting two ancient quarrelsome enemies under the Crown. His vision of a United Kingdom was realized a century later – only to be smashed up by Mr Blair four centuries later. He was a genuine pacifist – he kept Britain out of European religious wars. He gave the Borders their first taste of peace. He published the King James Bible in English and masterminded that most elegant and near perfect work the King

James Book of Common Prayer. He was an intellectual and theologian – the author of several books. Was this the reason history has judged him so harshly? Weldon – a quondam courtier who produced the phrase of this inadequate yet interesting book – actually said ‘*wise in small things, but a fool in weighty matters*’. In truth – the exact opposite was the case.

His need for a family and love never left him, orphan as he was. His admirable Danish wife remained a central part of his life and kingship until she died. The author's subsidiary title - *The Lavish Life ...* hardly in the 1600s with an inadequate diet, ever-present cold in the Little Ice Age, poorly heated houses, no fruit and vegetables, difficult conditions for travel etc. The author has a poor grasp of the realities of the 17th century.

As is customary your reviewer has connections to this gripping story. My ancestor one Robert Stewart of Kilcoy – he built his wee castle in the Black isle in 1588 – was left behind in the Highlands when his pal / kinsman James set off in April 1603 for London and his new lush life. He left behind Anna and the children. Henry aged 9, Elizabeth aged 6 and Charles aged 3. Anna, as was her custom, decided this was a bad idea and contrary to his wishes appeared in London in 1604. James had undoubtedly wanted a free hand to conduct his many affairs of the heart, often with handsome young men in his Court.

This is the real problem with this impressively researched book. The author spends too much time exploring the sexual peccadillos and mores of James and his courtiers. He is unable to drop his evident fascination for the endless sexual affairs and politicking. Often lovers became big political players. But it worked and the likes of Buckingham were clever politicians. This was the 17th century and not the 21st century. The latter third of the book is almost unreadable and the author can never resist using four adjectives when one will do. Only reluctantly at the conclusion does he make amends and describe this most successful, underestimated and visionary of monarchs as husband, lover, father, military leader, theologian and statesman.

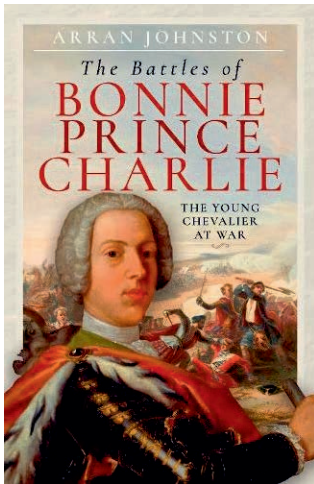
GBS April 2024

.The Battles of Bonnie Prince Charlie :The Young Pretender at War

Arran Johnston (Pen & Sword, 2023)

Arran Johnston – a good friend to the Stewart Society – has written an admirable account about the Young Pretender and the three major engagements of his ill-fated attempt to put his father James VII and II back on the British Throne. In an honest and dispassionate account he relates the huge challenges Bonnie Prince Charlie (BPC) faced with very few regular troops, little materiel of war and no single military leader. There is still much partisan debate about why this unlikely adventure did so well but ultimately failed.

The author - by sticking to his declared subject and remaining largely unbiased - has produced a very useful addition to the huge number of books on the last great romantic episode in British History – the attempt to regain the throne for the Stuarts. Our



sovereign today, who has a genuine interest in his Stuart ancestors, would be Charles IV. I along with many think the continuous assault on our sensibilities of the Tudors in endless TV and other media has gone on too long. The Stuarts deserve their turn in the media spotlight. BPC comes over as a born leader with boundless charm and a striking physical appearance. Always well turned out and conscious of his appearance. Only during his 5 months on the run in Western Scotland in the summer of 1746 was this not the case.

His limited military experience – a few weeks at the siege of Gaeta near Naples as a teenager – means he often defers to his more experienced supporters. Often his intuitive views were of considerable value but overruled. These were men from the Scots and Irish Catholic Diaspora. Happily we have little religious conflict to deal with in this excellent book. BPC undoubtedly had a strategic understanding of his always perilous situation. The slow but steady recovery of the well-oiled Hanoverian Government – after 31 years as rulers – with the tacit but quiet support it must be said of the majority of the population - meant the '45 could probably never have succeeded.

The author gives excellent accounts of Prestonpans, Falkirk and Culloden – often very much from the soldier's perspective on the battlefield itself. We smell the cordite, the smoke, we feel the rain and sleet, we hear the crash of the musket volleys and the cries of the wounded and dying. It is admiring of BPC without idolizing him and both the Foreword and Epilogue deal admirably with one of the most astonishing and enduring episodes in our long and marvelous Island Story. Highly recommended.

GBS April 2024

Obituaries

Del Paten

Del was tremendously proud of her Stewart and wider Scottish heritage. Her mother was a Stewart, whose family had migrated from their native Scotland to Australia in the 1870s, settling in Brisbane in the then colony of Queensland. Through her mother, she traced her ancestry to three highland Perthshire Stewart families, two of which, the Stewarts of Fincastle and Bonskeid, once held vast landed estates in Atholl. Through her 4 x g. grandfather, Gilbert Stewart, 11th Laird of Fincastle, she was the fifth cousin of the late Rev. Professor Robin Barbour of Bonskeid, a former Moderator General of the Church of Scotland, and of Gilbert Robertson of Struan, current Chief of Clan Donnachaidh. Fincastle and Bonskeid traced their roots back to the old High Stewards of Scotland through the illicit liaisons of Alexander, the Wolf of Badenoch, a son of Robert II, King of Scots.

Del attended her first Stewart gathering at Glamis in 1984, on her first visit to Scotland, as a guest of Douglas Stewart, then Secretary of the Society and Editor of its journal. Most of her many subsequent visits to Scotland and beyond were arranged around the dates of the Gatherings. She became a member of the Society in 1990 and was appointed its Commissioner for Queensland and the Northern Territory in 1996. She filled this role for almost twenty-one years, before retiring formally in 2017 due to ill health.

She made many friends, both at large and in the Society, during more than thirty years of visiting Scotland. So far as the latter was concerned, she valued particularly her friendship with aforementioned Douglas Stewart and his wife Catherine, Muriel Walker, Douglas' successor as Secretary, and the Commissioner's Secretary Sandy Stewart of Ardvorlich and his wife Ginnie.

Among the many highlights of her Stewart gatherings were the Centenary gathering at Stirling in 1999, the meeting of the Swedish Stewarts in Stockholm after the 2009 gathering, Ballone Castle in 2014 and her final foray, Aubigny-sur-Nere in France in 2016.



2016 Stewart Dinner, Aubigny-sur-Nere. From left: Del Paten, Sandy Stewart of Ardvorlich, Dick Paten.

Del contributed several short articles to The Stewarts over the years, about gatherings she had attended. A much longer article, published in 2013, accounted the life of her 3 x g. grandfather, Captain James Stewart, a younger brother to the 12th of Fincastle.

Del was widely respected within the local 'Scottish' community. In 2013 she was awarded the Celtic honour D.Ua (honoured person), by the Celtic Council of Australia (Queensland), to acknowledge her contribution to local 'Scottish' affairs. Of note was her convenorship of several successful Clans' Congress annual ceilidhs. More particularly, for over a decade she

convened its annual Kirkin' o' the Tartan service, held at the historic St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Brisbane. The Governor General of Australia was the guest of honour in 2009 and the Earl and Countess of Dunmore and the (Stewart) Queensland Commissioner of Police in 2013.

On 24 November 2023, Del succumbed in a mercifully brief, but nonetheless traumatic, battle with cancer. Her funeral, attended by more than a hundred and thirty friends, was held at St Pauls Presbyterian Church, the centre of her spiritual faith, and where she had married sixty-three years before. It was a fitting tribute to a life well lived.

Del Paten April 2024

Arthur Patrick Avondale Stuart, Eighth Earl of Castle Stewart, 1928–2023

Born on the 18th of August, 1928, he was the child of Arthur Stuart, Seventh Earl Castle Stewart, and Eleanor May Guggenheim.



His early education was at Eton College, Windsor, Berkshire, before undertaking military service where he achieved the rank of Lieutenant in the Scots Guards in 1949. His academic pursuits culminated in a Bachelor of Arts degree from Trinity College, University of Cambridge, in 1950.

Succeeding to his ancestral titles and estates on the 5th of November, 1961, the Earl was not only a custodian of his lands but also an exemplary farmer. His dedication to the advancement of agriculture was paralleled by his commitment to the management profession, being invested as a Fellow of the Institute of Management in 1978.

The Earl's later years were spent at Stuart Hall, Stewartstown, County Tyrone, Ireland, having previously resided at Manor Farm, Babcary, Somerton, Somerset, England.

He leaves behind his wife, Gillian Countess Castle Stewart; his son, Andrew Richard Charles Stuart, now the Ninth Earl Castle Stewart; a daughter; and two grandchildren. The late Earl was also an Honorary Vice President of the Society, and a senior member of the royal Stewart family, directly descended from King Robert II of Scotland.

Lady Prudence Penn, 1926–2023



Born Prudence Hilary Wilson in 1926 in Australia, Lady Penn shared her birth year with her lifelong friend, Queen Elizabeth II. Her early life was marked by the distinguished legacy of her father, Aubyn Wilson, and her mother, Muriel, who was later known as Mrs. Stewart-Stevens, the 10th Lady of Balnakeilly, Perthshire. The fortunes of her family were significantly enhanced by her paternal grandfather's success in the Australian goldfields, an achievement that eventually led to his role as a Member of Parliament for Portsmouth in the United Kingdom.

With the shadows of World War II gathering, her family returned to Britain, where Lady Penn's remarkable career began at the Foreign Office and later, in MI6. During this period, she became acquainted with Kim Philby, a relationship that would be remembered against the backdrop of his notoriety as a double agent for the KGB.



Her personal life took a joyous turn in 1946 when she met Eric Penn, a distinguished officer in the Grenadier Guards, at a dance. Their marriage saw him rise to become Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, a testament to their shared dedication to public service.

Lady Penn was a member of the Royal Victorian Order since 2011, honoured with the title of Lieutenant (LVO) in the 2002 Demise Honours List. Her passing marks the end of an era, defined by unwavering loyalty to the Crown and an extraordinary personal history that bridged continents.

She leaves behind a legacy through her two sons and a daughter, embodying the spirit of dedication and service that marked her remarkable life.

Rena Stewart, 1922–2023

Rena Stewart on the 11th of November, 2023. A scholar of languages and a servant of her nation, Stewart's life was a tapestry of dedication, intellect, and cultural enrichment, beginning with her studies in French and German at the prestigious University of St Andrews.

Her commitment to the Allied effort during the Second World War saw her enlist in the Auxiliary Territorial Service, the valiant female corps of the British Army. In the pivotal year of 1944, she was stationed at Bletchley Park, the nexus of British cryptographic endeavours, a testament to her intellect and trustworthiness. Her post-war assignment in Germany involved the delicate task of translating Adolf Hitler's will into English, a role that underscored the significance of her linguistic skills and her contribution to historical scholarship.

Stewart's post-war career transitioned from the military to the vanguard of international communication as a senior producer with the BBC World Service. Her retirement in 1983 did not diminish her zest for life; it merely redirected it towards the arts and community service. She found joy in attending the theatre, immersing herself in the profound emotions of German lieder, and serving as an elder at St Andrew's United Reformed Church in Ealing, West London. Here, she not only edited the church magazine but also ran a Scottish country dance group and organised the annual Burns Night dinner, celebrating Scotland's beloved bard.

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PUBLICATIONS

Editor, *The Stewarts*, Geordie Burnett Stuart

Editor, *The Newsletter*, Jenn Chamberlain

The Stewarts

For next year's edition of *The Stewarts*, 2025, contributions or ideas for contributions should be submitted by 30 April 2025. Contributions to *The Stewarts* are welcome on all topics with a Stewart/ Stuart/ Steuart connection—family histories, family trees and family research; prominent characters in the past and in the present day; places, buildings, works of art, objects, literature, folklore, music and tartans; historical events and historic anniversaries. Both academic and non-specialist articles are accepted.

Before sending your article, please contact the Editor at info@stewartsociety.org to check suitability, technical details and length—something in the range 750 to 2,000 words is ideal. Longer pieces may be split into instalments over two or more issues

Contributions should be submitted in typescript, electronic format, Microsoft Word. References, if required, should be presented in end notes. Illustrations are not essential but are very welcome, either black and white or colour. Images for publication should be presented with the permission of rights-holders if subject to copyright. The Editor will advise on the required quality for reproduction at final print size. Articles submitted for publication will be copy-edited for readability and to bring material into line with the house style. Contributors will have an opportunity to revise and approve the edited typescript and the first proof.

The Stewarts also welcomes advertising. There are very reasonable rates for half and full page adverts. If you wish to advertise or you know of a business or organisation that might wish to do so, please contact the Editor at info@stewartsociety.org to discuss

Minute of the Annual General Meeting of The Stewart Society 2023

Saturday 7 October 2023 at 6.30 pm
in the Royal Scots Club, 29—31 Abercromby Place, Edinburgh

Sederunt

The Earl of Moray (President, in the Chair), the Countess of Moray, Paul Thompson, Magnus Stuart, Suzanne Stuart, Colin Laurie, Caroline Hill, Mary Kent, Richard Stewart, David Stewart of Achara, Kim Stewart of Achara, the Countess Castle Stewart, Carol-Lynn Sappé-Stewart, Hermann Sappé, Michael Templeton, Catherine Templeton, Stephanie Templeton, John Templeton, Grace Templeton, Victoria Fletcher, Kristina Gavelius, Martin Gavelius, Jennifer Dowager Marchioness of Bute, Catherine Maxwell Stuart of Traquair, Helen Holland, Ryann Clinne, Lachlan Stewart, John Lansley, Sue Lansley, Guthrie Stewart, Alexander Stewart of Ardvorlich, Ginny Stewart of Ardvorlich, Fiona Stewart, Lord Stewart, Flora Stewart, Daniel Stewart.

In attendance, Jenn Chamberlain, Secretary

Apologies for Absence

The Earl of Galloway, Geordie Burnett Stuart of Crichtie, Walter Stewart, June Moody Stuart, Charlotte Stuart, Charles Steuart Fotheringham of Achnacone, Lorine Petkau, Beatrix Stewart, David Stewart Howitt of Kinlochmoidart, Magnus Stuart, Pedro Perez Stewart, Count Peter Pininski, Lady Stewartby, Jamie Stewart yr of Ardvorlich.

Minute of the Annual General Meeting of 6 September 2022

The Minute was approved, proposed by Carol-Lynn Sappé-Stewart and seconded by Ann Stewart Burns.

1. Matters Arising

There were no matters arising.

2. President's Report

The President, the Rt Hon Earl of Moray, welcomed everyone present and said that he felt his first year had been a successful one. The membership of the Society was currently at 640 and he urged everyone present to encourage Stewart/Stuart relatives to join.

It had been good to be able to meet the recipients of the Benevolent Fund bursaries at St Andrews University in February. Cathy Stuart, the Countess of Moray, John Lansley and Jenn Chamberlain, the Secretary, had also attended the reception at the Student Union in St Andrews. The internship had resumed over the summer and attendees at the President's reception last night had seen the mini exhibition on the past dinner menus for Stewart AGMs and other gala dinners curated by the 2023 intern Louis Muller Stuart

Stuart Mitchell had been appointed Keeper of Inchmahome thanks to the hard work of Lord Stewart. The Society had benefitted from a generous donation from Mr. Mitchell.

The President thanked Jamie Stewart yr of Ardvorlich for continuing to act as the Honorary Treasurer and Jenn Chamberlain for her work as the Secretary and Archivist of the Society. He also thanked the former President, Lord Stewart and the Vice-President, Catherine Stuart Maxwell, for their support. The President brought to the attention of the AGM the fact that there was a continuing search for a tenant to occupy the offices in the property at 53 George Street and that consequently there continued to be a loss of income to the Society.

3. Treasurer's Report

In the absence of the Hon Treasurer his written report was tabled. The draft accounts for 2023 had been made available in advance of the meeting. Normally approval of the draft accounts would be sought at the meeting but in the Hon Treasurer's view the accounts were not yet in a state to be submitted for approval, substantially because the Society had changed accountants in

2023. Any queries about the accounts should be emailed directly to the Hon Treasurer.

Overall the financial picture remained broadly as previously and the Hon Treasurer's comments were similar to what Members had heard several times before. The Benevolent and Heritage Funds had substantial investments which had generally performed well providing income sufficient to cover all expenses of the respective funds. The General Fund continued to be more of a struggle. Annual expenditure had again exceeded normal annual income. The General Fund's investments were limited and the fund was unable to generate sufficient income to cover expenditure. As previously stated by the President, in 2022, Stuart Mitchell made a generous donation to the society of £55,000 which changed the complexion of the General Fund accounts for the year but that was a one-off item. Rental income for 2022 was very low, a replacement commercial tenant not yet having been found for the vacant office at 53 George Street. The Benevolent Fund had taken over the tenancy for the short term but this was not a desirable position and the search for a new commercial tenant was continuing. Consideration of the 2022 accounts for all Funds was continued until the next AGM.

4. Commissioners' Secretary's Report

The Commissioners' Secretary, Sandy Stewart of Ardvorlich, stated that the virtual meeting by Zoom which took place just before the Meeting had been very successful and should be repeated. Seven Commissioners participated remotely and two had been able to attend in person. At the invitation of the Commissioners' Secretary the Meeting confirmed Randall Stewart as the Commissioner for British Columbia, Yukon & NW Territories, Canada.

The Commissioners' Secretary stated that after many years' service he had decided that the time had come to retire. The President and all those present at the AGM thanked Sandy Stewart for his work over many years. At the suggestion of the retiring Commissioners' Secretary, the Meeting approved the appointment of John Lansley as his successor.

5. Secretary's Report

The Secretary reported that membership at 640 was slightly down from 2022. Using PayPal for payment of subscriptions online it was easier for Members to join particularly those from the USA so it was expected that the downturn would soon be remedied. The Society now had its own Instagram accounts in addition to its existing Facebook pages and Facebook group.

The Secretary had been able to represent the Society at a few Highland games in 2023, notably Inverness and Lochearnhead, at which she had been fortunate to meet several Society Members as well as enjoying the hospitality of the Stewarts of Ardvorlich. She also noted that several of the Commissioners had attended Highland Games for the Society in their respective Territories in 2023.

6. Amendment of Clause 10 of Benevolent Fund Constitution

The President explained that Clause 10 of the Benevolent Fund Constitution currently read: "The Trustees shall submit a report of their proceedings and audited accounts for the approval by the Annual General Meeting of the Society." On the advice of the new accountants, it was appropriate to amend the Constitution of the Benevolent Fund to dispense with the requirement for the audited accounts and to adopt in its place a requirement for independently examined accounts in accordance with the accounting procedures for Scottish Charities recommended by the by the Charities Regulator [OSCR]. The Meeting unanimously agreed to give effect to the proposal by amending Clause 10 of the Constitution by deleting the word "audited" and substituting the words "independently examined".

7. Election of Council Members

The President explained that Beatrix Stewart and Magnus Stuart would retire from the Council. Colin Laurie was elected as a Member of the Council, proposed by David Stewart of Achara and seconded by John Lansley; Geordie Burnett Stuart of Crichie was elected, proposed by Carol-Lynn Sappé-Stewart and seconded by Lachlan Stewart; Charlotte Stuart was elected, proposed by Magnus Stuart and seconded by Sandy Stewart of Ardvorlich.

8. Election of Benevolent Fund Trustees

No Trustees were due to retire and there was no need for elections.

9. Election of Heritage Trust Trustees

Guthrie Stewart retired as a Trustee of the Heritage Trust.

10. Date and Place of AGM and Annual Gathering 2024

The President stated that he would announce the date and place of the AGM and Annual Gathering 2024 as soon as possible.

11. AOCB

Carol-Lynn Sappé-Stewart proposed for consideration by the Council that there should be a class of membership for grandchildren; and that the Society should send grandchild members a birthday card each year till the age of eighteen.

There being no other competent business, the Meeting was adjourned.

St Andrews University Stewart Benevolent Fund 2023/24



Back row - the St Andrews students. Front Row: Left to Right Colin Laurie, Annie Stewart, Lachie Stewart, Earl of Moray, Countess of Moray, Geordie Burnett-Stuart

The President, his wife, Benevolent Fund Trustees and Council members as well as the Society Secretary, Jenn Chamberlain met some of the recipients of the Stewart Benevolent Fund bursary at the Students' Union in St Andrews in March 2024. The current St Andrews bursars are - Ian Stewart, Hannah Stewart, Hannah Stewart, Tom Stewart, Tabitha Stuart, Matilda Stewart, Finlay Stewart, Megan Stewart, Ren Stewart, Skye Stewart, Charlotte Muller Stuart, Laura Stewart, Julia Stewart, Mia Stewart, Bridget Stewart-Blacker, Megill Stewart, Gail Stewart, Sophie Stewart, Amy Stewart and Rory Fleming Stuart



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