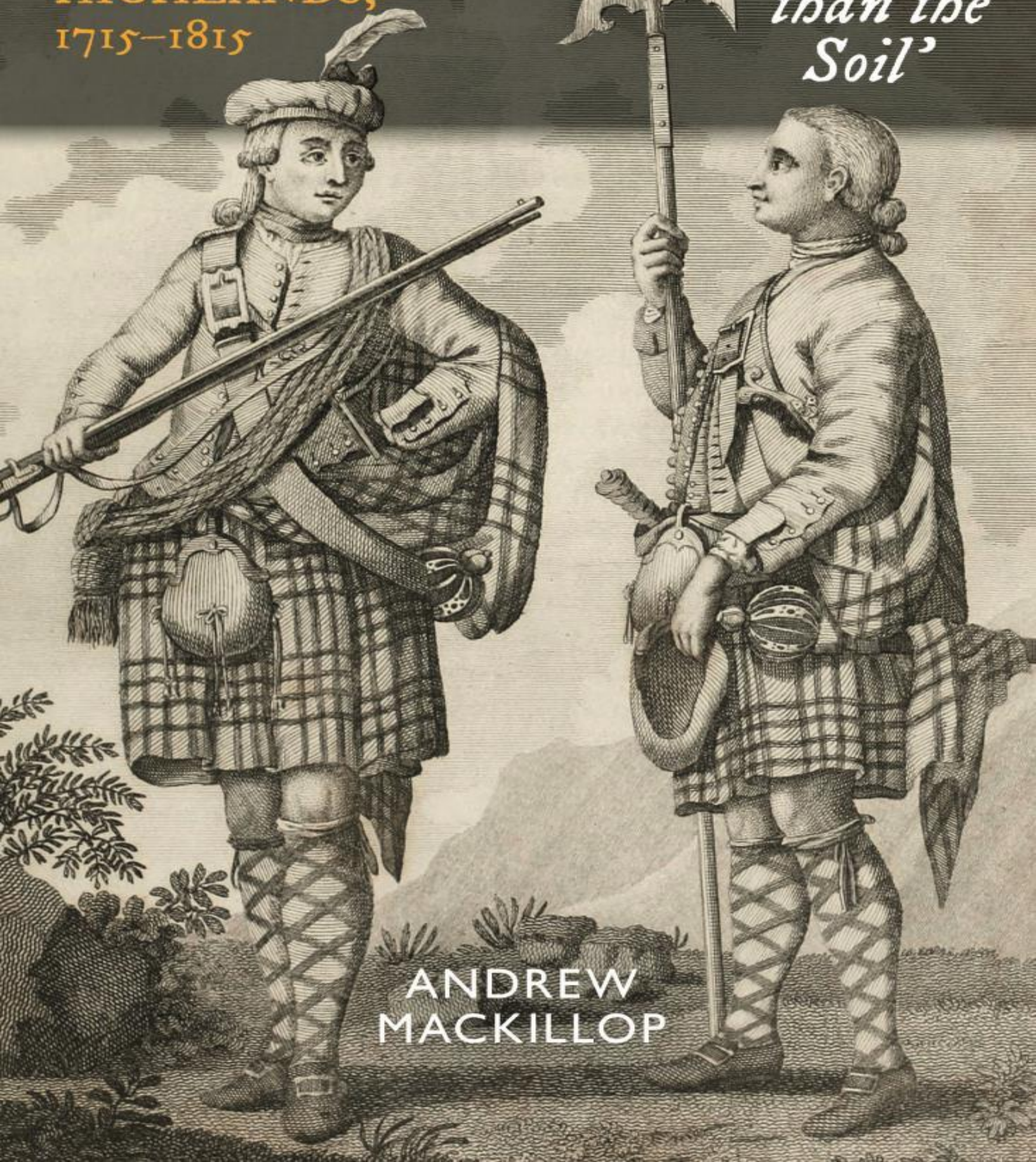


ARMY, EMPIRE
and the SCOTTISH
HIGHLANDS,
1715-1815

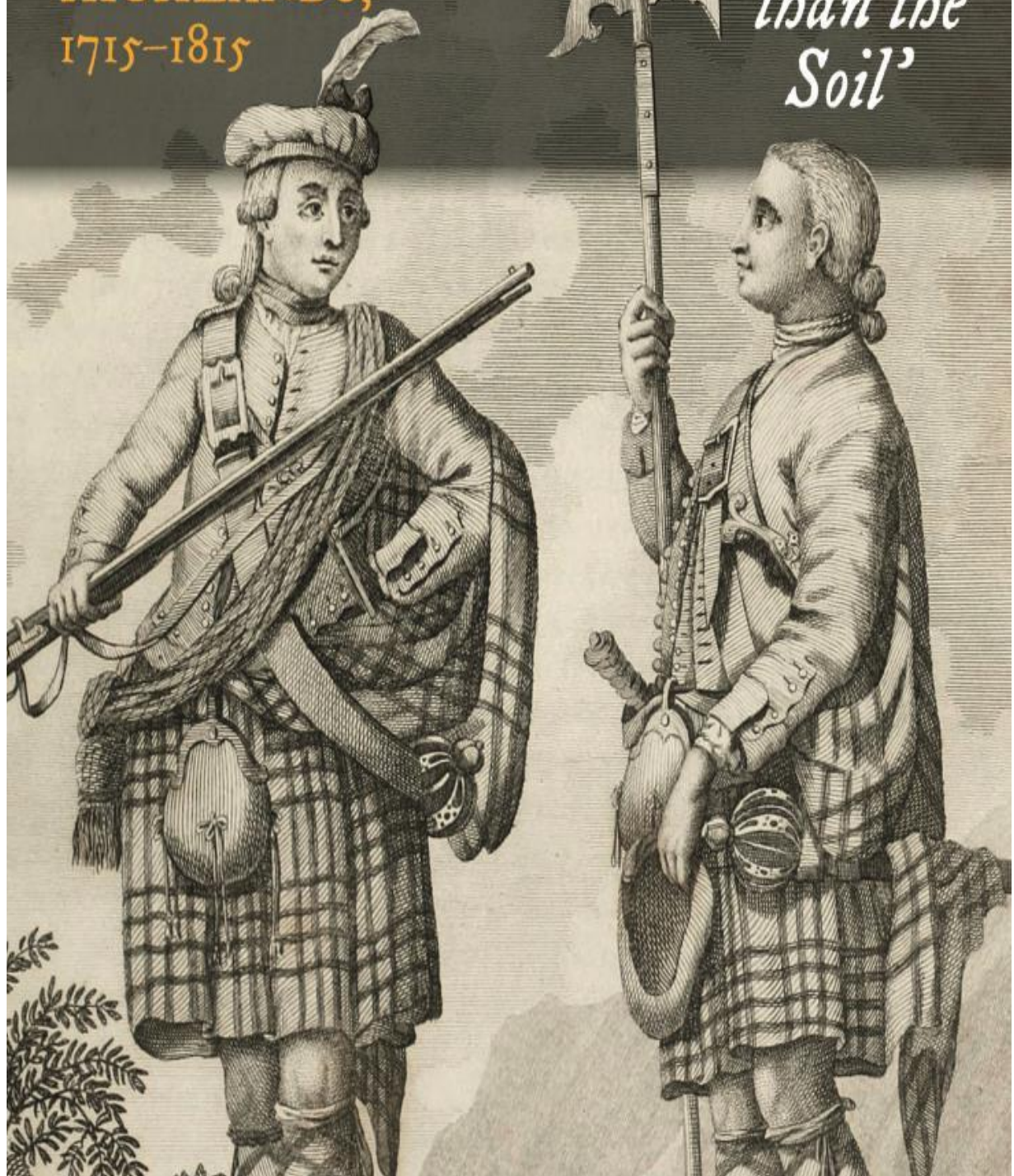
*'More
Fruitful
than the
Soil'*

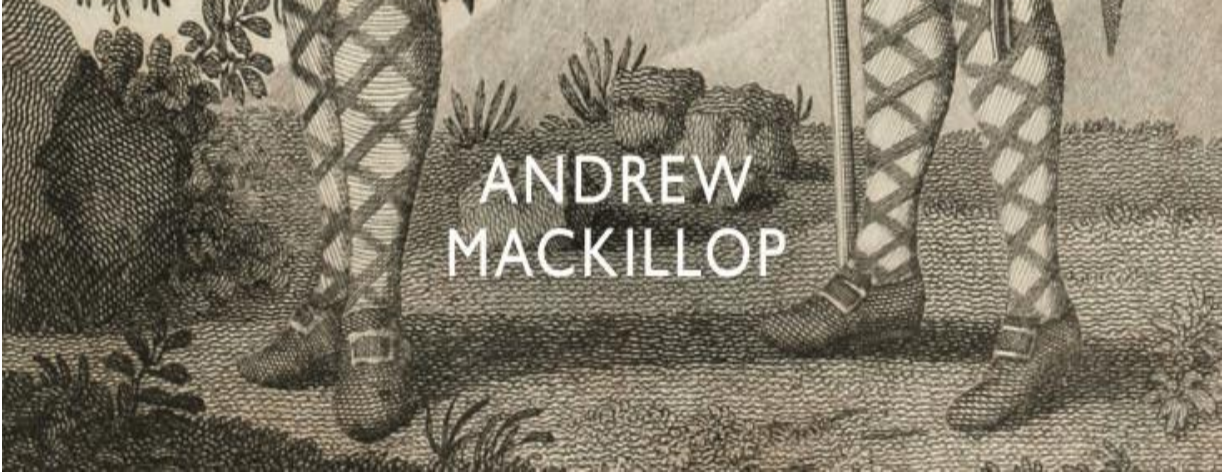


ANDREW
MACKILLOP

ARMY, EMPIRE
and the SCOTTISH
HIGHLANDS,
1715-1815

*'More
Fruitful
than the
Soil'*





‘MORE FRUITFUL THAN THE SOIL’

‘MORE FRUITFUL THAN THE SOIL’
Army, Empire and the Scottish Highlands,
1715–1815

ANDREW MACKILLOP



This eBook was published in Great Britain in 2021 by John Donald,
an imprint of Birlinn Ltd

Birlinn Ltd
West Newington House
10 Newington Road
Edinburgh
EH9 1QS

www.birlinn.co.uk

First published in 2000 by Tuckwell Press

Copyright © Andrew Mackillop, 2000

eBook ISBN 9781788853927

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available on request from the British Library

The right of Andrew Mackillop to be identified as the author of this work has
been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patent Act
1988

Typeset by Hewer Text Ltd, Edinburgh

Contents

Tables

Abbreviations

Glossary

Acknowledgements

Introduction

1. The Emergence of a British-Highland Military, 1715–46
2. Imperial Specialisation: the British-Highland Military, 1746–1815
3. The Annexed Estates: Improvement, Recruitment and Re-settlement, 1746–1784
4. The Campbells of Breadalbane: Recruitment and Highland Estate Management, 1745–1802
5. Military Recruiting and the Highland Estate Economy, 1756–1815
6. The Military and Highland Emigration, 1763–1815
7. Military Service and British Identity in the Highlands, 1746–1815

Conclusion

Appendices

Bibliography

Index

Tables

1. Military Officers, their Relations and the Scottish County Electorate, 1788
2. Officers and Half-Pay Officers of Highland Regiments, 1740-1784
3. Origin and Social Profile of Military Personnel, Annexed Estates, 1763-4
4. Social and Tenorial Origins of Glenorchy and Netherlorne Recruits, 1759
5. Percentage of Hired or Family Recruits, Perthshire Estate, 1795
6. Relative Cost of Rent and Hired Recruits, Breadalbane Estate, 1793-5
7. Structure of Perthshire Estate, 1793 and Social Origins of Recruits, 1793-5
8. Structure of Argyll Estate, 1788 and Social Origins of Recruits, 1793-5
9. Lewis Kelp Production, 1794-1799
10. Impact of Recruiting upon Manpower and Farm Structure, 1778-1799
11. Social Origins of Recruits from Atholl and North Uist Estates, 1778-1799
12. Half-Pay Officers on Highland Estates, 1768-1804
13. Military Officers and the Sutherland Estate, 1802
14. Chelsea Pensioners from Highland Counties and Battalions, 1740-1800
15. Chelsea Pensioners and Highland Estates, 1764

16. Military Earnings Relative to Rent, Lochbuie Estate, Mull, 1795-1796
17. Volunteer Pay Relative to Rent in the West Highlands and Islands, 1795-1802
18. Type of Land Promise to Highland Soldiers, 1790s
19. Half-Pay and Exchange Rates, 1766
20. British and Highland Half-Pay Officers Reduced in 1763
21. Men Raised in England, Ireland and Scotland under the Additional Act and Enlisting in the Regular Army, June 1804-December 1805

Abbreviations

A.U.L.	Aberdeen University Library
B.A.M.	Blair Atholl Muniments
B.L.	British Library, London
C.D.T.L.	Clan Donald Trust Library, Armadale, Skye
D.C.M.	Dunvegan Castle Muniments
D.H.	Dumfries House
F.E.P.	Forfeited Estate Papers
G.C.A.	Glasgow City Archive
G.U.B.R.C.	Glasgow University Business Records Centre
G.U.L.	Glasgow University Library
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
H.R.A.	Highland Regional Archive, Inverness
J.R.L.	John Rylands Library, Manchester
M.L.	Mitchell Library, Glasgow
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Kew, London
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (now National Archives of Scotland)

Glossary

<i>Baile</i>	A farm township
Bolls	A Scottish weight measure not exceeding six bushels
<i>Duthchas</i>	The heritage of a clan, usually conceived of as favourable access to land and resources
Fencible regiment	Unit raised for service only within Scotland. After 1794 extended to Ireland and Europe
Grassum	Customary one-off payment by tenants over and above annual rents to the landlord upon receiving or renewing a tack
Line regiment	Regular army unit with no geographic restrictions on service destination
Mail land	Unit assessing farm productivity and rent levels
Merkland	Unit of land assessed for taxation purposes at 13 shillings 1/3d sterling.
<i>Na Daoine</i>	'The Men'. Lay religious preachers
Off reckonings	Payments made to a regimental colonel for recruiting and maintaining his men
Rouping	An auction
Steelbow	Credit, often in the form of seed, stock or farming equipment, from landlord to tenant
Souming	Assessing or fixing the number of tenant

Wadset

stock on a farm's common grazing
A mortgage - a farm and rental assigned
to a creditor as method of interest
payment

Acknowledgements

In writing this work I have become indebted to a significant number of people and institutions. As the bulk of my research was completed at these two repositories I would first like to register my sincere appreciation to the staff of the National Archives of Scotland (formerly the Scottish Record Office) and National Library of Scotland. I would also like to thank the following people or institutions for allowing me access to the collections in their possession: Atholl Estates, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Dumfries family, Mr. John Macleod and the Clan Donald Trust. I would especially like to thank Mr Donald Stewart, until recently archivist at Dunvegan, for his friendly welcome and extremely helpful approach to my requests for documents.

This work is an extended version of my thesis on Highland recruitment, which I completed at the Scottish History Department at Glasgow University. Ironically, I was first nudged towards this subject by Dr. Lionel Glassey of the Modern History Department. In helping me decide that recruiting, or, to be more precise, its socio-economic effects, was an obviously neglected area worthy of examination, Dr Glassey not only spared himself the ordeal of perhaps having to tutor me but unselfishly provided a rather unfocused student with some sense of purpose. When I first started my research I benefited from the expertise of Allan Macinnes, who not only brought home to me the worth of Highland history within a Scottish context, but also encouraged me to view the region as very much a

part of the evolving British Empire. Despite his departure to Aberdeen he was good enough to review certain aspects of the last chapter and suggest some additional lines of argument, for which I am grateful. Dr. Colin Kidd was typically generous not only in offering general support and friendly criticism, but also in immediately suggesting appropriate articles for many of my queries, no matter how apparently obscure. Similarly, I would like to express my warm thanks to the external examiner of my thesis, Don Withrington, who characteristically dissected the all-too apparent weaknesses in my work. A special thank you is also required to Professor Ted Cowan, who supervised the final years of my Ph.D. As well as providing much needed criticism and review of my work, his mixture of forthright encouragement, broad contextual analysis and injections of humour helped me enormously. I do hope I have persuaded him that the issue of recruitment entails more than 'buttons and brass' military history.

A three-year postdoctoral research fellowship at the Scottish History Department at St Andrews provided me with invaluable time and material security to mull over and develop some wider ideas regarding the role of the Highlands within the eighteenth-century British Empire. I would like to express my thanks not only to my departmental colleagues there, but also to Grant Distillers and Dr. Sandy Grant-Gordon, in particular, for providing me with that opportunity. Regrettably, it appears I was the last Glenfiddich Research Fellow in Scottish History, and I, as much as the Department at St Andrews, regret the loss of a research post that provided one of the few means whereby those studying Scottish history could go on to broaden their areas of knowledge and interest. [I would, moreover, like to express my appreciation to John and Val Tuckwell for agreeing to tackle the whole sordid story of the Highlands and The 'Fiscal-Military State']

I would also like to say cheers to the following people who made the experience of studying Scottish history at Glasgow so intellectually rewarding and enjoyable: Ronnie, Fiona and John for providing what I can only describe as the very best in pub argument, friendly support and commentary. Similarly, my deepest thanks to Ewen Cameron, who also ploughs the furrow of Highland history, for his advice, encouragement and considerable support, which I have deeply appreciated. Outside of history I feel I must mention: Nom', Murch, James, Calum, Pick, Wilbur and Joe for reminding me that reading the private mail and affairs of people who have been dead for several hundred years does not necessarily constitute, to external observers at least, a particularly useful or even reputable career. I shall in light of their advice, often expressed in distinctly unchristian and drunken language, remember that all historians are apparently little better than 'jumped up story tellers'. I would also like to especially thank Moira, my mother, Neil and Norman my brothers, and Morag my sister for their support and encouragement, despite obvious concerns that I apparently appeared happy to remain a student for the rest of my life. Finally, my deepest debt and thanks go to Carol, whose very real and significant sacrifices in her own career, not to mention near-suicidal trips driving back and forth along the M8, enabled me to stick with history and complete this work. Having now finished it, all I can really do is express my deepest gratitude and all my love.

Introduction

The impact of British army recruiting within the Scottish Highlands during the period from approximately 1715 to 1815 has been described by a prominent commentator in the following terms: 'The issue was perhaps the most explosive single element in the entire history of the Highland clearances'.¹

Despite the importance attributed in that instance to such military activity, there has been curiously little in-depth analysis of the motives for and impact of regiment raising in the region. Any attempt to explain why there has been such a dearth of academic study of this particular subject needs to bear in mind the present image and reputation of Highland regiments. They constitute in many respects one of Scotland's most immediately recognisable but controversial cultural icons. To some they represent a distorted and, indeed, distastefully jingoistic hangover from Scotland's imperial past. More crucially, they also appear to be of little or no actual relevance to the wider processes which shaped modern Scotland, be it demographic, industrial, or agricultural change. Partly for these reasons the academic community seems to have concluded that the examination of Scotland's distinctive contribution to Britain's imperial military is somewhat politically incorrect, and best left to purely military historians and antiquarians. Indeed, whatever the validity of claims voiced by one English historian regarding Ireland's historiographic blindness to its role within eighteenth- and early

nineteenth-century British imperialism, it is an accusation that undoubtedly has a ring of truth with respect to Scotland.² One specific result of this situation has been that these regiments and the processes that created them have been all but buried under a whole corpus of material from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which can generally be described as regimental histories. This literature has overly romanticised such levies; indeed, in the case of some Victorian examples it descends into almost racial stereo-typing of the Gael as an enthusiastic, undisciplined warrior whose natural fighting genius only found full expression once contained within the disciplined framework of the British army. Generally, this genre emphasises the direct Highland connections and traditions of such regiments and ensures that the whole issue is represented largely from the army's perspective, with little or no reference to the wider social and economic context. Often written by army or ex-army officers, such regimental histories continue to reinforce an interpretation that many would describe as at best historically inaccurate and, at worst, as conveying a false and twee image of the Highlands and Scotland as a whole.³

This book, then, is an attempt to rectify the lack of a broad political, socio-economic study of recruitment in the Highlands. Its aim has been to try and understand its origins and impact and to examine the process through all its stages, from its role within eighteenth-century British imperialism to its consequences for the various tenant groups residing upon Highland estates. The approach has been to examine as wide a variety of sources as possible. Highland history has traditionally been dogged by controversy over the extent to which reliance upon one particular source, be it estate records or Gaelic poetry, somehow invalidates the findings of those who use it.⁴ The book makes no apologies for deploying government and,

above all, estate records in an effort to understand why recruitment occurred to the extent it did. Yet, in order to understand how estate populations reacted to their involvement, whether voluntary or otherwise, in this process, a deliberate research strategy has been to examine tenant petitions and memorials in an attempt to shed some light on what the expectations and agenda of Gaels actually were. Obviously, such a source is far from perfect: petitioning inevitably involved tenantry deferring to proprietary authority and tempering their opinions in order to avoid alienating either the factor or the laird. Nonetheless, such material provides an invaluable insight into the actual, specific demands of individuals, and has the additional benefit of not being influenced by hindsight. Above all, this study is based upon what seems, to its author at least, the common sense premise that particular sources are best used when they appear to be most appropriate. Thus, for example, government and estate records form the bulk of research material for chapters on the origin and tenurial consequences of military recruiting, while Gaelic poetry forms part of the assessment of how if at all military service moulded the Gaels' sense of their own identity.

Nothing better illustrates the need for a fuller understanding of military recruitment than the importance accorded to it in the historiography of the Highland Clearances. The publication of David Stewart of Garth's *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, and, later, the deeply influential *Gloomy Memories* by Donald Macleod helped ensure recruitment emerged as a vital component within the wider high-profile debate surrounding land and population in the region. In what was for the Victorians one of the most emotive and cogent arguments against the estate management policies of Highland proprietors, Macleod contended that: 'The children and nearest

relations of those who sustained the honour of the British name in many a bloody field – the heroes of Egypt, Corunna, Tolouse, Salamanca and Waterloo – were ruined, trampled upon, dispersed, and compelled to seek an asylum across the Atlantic’.⁵

There is little doubt that the recruitment issue intensified dispute over the status and rights of Gaels. It insured the profound sense of betrayal, absent with respect to the rest of Scotland, that characterised discussion of land use and agricultural change in the region. Its impact upon perceptions of the Sutherland Clearances is typical in this respect. The mass evictions in Sutherland in the first two decades of the nineteenth century have for some time been accepted as unusual in terms of the numbers involved and amounts of capital deployed. Yet it is not merely the matter of scale that explains the unusually intense passions aroused by the Sutherland Clearances. The Sutherlands were in fact the last landlord family from the region to raise a proprietary regiment for the British army, and that fact alone goes a long way towards explaining the particularly bitter folk memories associated with them. In Alexander Mackenzie’s immensely popular book, *The History of the Highland Clearances*, first published in 1883, particular attention was paid to the irony of military service and British patriotism being rewarded with eviction. Mackenzie’s book gave detailed accounts regarding the lack of Highland men for the Crimean War. He directly contrasted this poor response to the large number of men that late Victorian society firmly believed had been recruited under the clan system during the French and Napoleonic period.⁶ This military dimension to the wider debate on the Highlands thus proved vital in the development of popular views of the region in the second half of the nineteenth century. Above all, it ensured that, unlike other areas such as Ireland, Highland depopulation

came to be seen as a matter of British national interest. The betrayal of a people that many firmly believed to be the nation's finest soldiers moved the debate onto an entirely different level, away from property and legal rights, and onto moral and even patriotic grounds. Furthermore, it undoubtedly assisted the process whereby landlords were put on the moral and political defensive by the 1880s. It was thus noted of the region's proprietors:

Alas, for the blush that would cover their faces if they would allow themselves to reflect that, in their names, the fathers, mothers, brothers, wives, of the invincible '78th' had been remorselessly driven from their native soil. But we tell Highland proprietors that were Britain some twenty years hence to have the misfortune to be plunged into such a crisis as the present, there will be few such men as the Highlanders of the 78th to fight her battles [and] if another policy towards the Highlanders is not adopted, that sheep and deer, ptarmigan and grouse, can do but little to save it in such a calamity.⁷

In essence, the landlords stood accused of acting against the nation's defence and security interests. It is worth noting at this point that such an analysis was in fact a substantial distortion of Britain's real military situation in the 1880s. Though the number of Highlanders recruited had been prone to exaggeration during the eighteenth century itself, it was even more the case that by the last decades of the nineteenth century Gaels could in no way be described as a vital element in Britain's recruiting strategy or a decisive factor in her military strength. Indeed, contrary to popular understanding, Highlanders, and Scots in general, did not make up a particularly strong numerical element within the British army after the 1830s. They were, for example, proportionally outnumbered by the Irish, who

undoubtedly constituted the best British recruiting ground relative to population.⁸ However, the legends surrounding Highland regiments ensured that recruiting retained its position as an important issue determining wider attitudes to the region. Indeed, military service had given additional legitimacy to the land claims of Highland populations since before the beginning of the nineteenth century. That this moral aspect had been noticeably unsuccessful until the 1880s should in no way detract from the fact that it consistently formed a sub-theme within the whole question of land and population in the region. Thus it was that in the spring of 1813, in one last attempt to avoid removal, the population of Kildonan in Sutherland deployed the military card. They stated 'that they were *loyal* men, whose brothers and sons were now fighting Bonaparte and they would allow no sheep to come into the country'. Even more telling was the fact that when the tenantry organised a petition to Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, they deliberately chose William Macdonald, a pensioner from the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders. By choosing an ex-soldier the population were attempting to create a context where the reality of their economic redundancy was clouded, and former obligations to them were suddenly remembered.⁹

The influence of the military dimension in broadening the scope of the land question can thus be traced to within the period of first-phase clearance itself. However, it was during the time of the Napier Commission that the true legacy of the whole historiographical treatment of the recruiting issue can be seen at its most important. During the inquiry into conditions in the Highlands, the liberal character of the government produced ideological anxieties over what amounted to intervention in the property rights of landlords. It became necessary, therefore, to construct unique characteristics for Highland society that justified such interference. The result was that the Commission

sought to clarify the issue of how, and by what means, land came to be held in the region.¹⁰ It was at this particular juncture that recruiting assumed an importance that belied its rapid decline in the region seventy-odd years previously. In Assynt the commission was informed of the betrayal of tenurial security and legitimacy won through military service:

The great majority joined the army on the distinct understanding that the parents would be kept in their holdings; but upon the return of the survivors, they found their parents huddled together on the seashore and their former holdings converted into so many sheep walks. I have seen some of the soldiers when they came home going to the stances where their fathers lived and shedding tears and saying they would go and pull down Dunrobin castle.¹¹

This tradition, the Commission noted, had also been cited in Lewis and Skye. On the latter island the question was put directly as to why government should intervene in the area. Crofters replied that favourable government protection would bring about a return of the large-scale recruiting which had been evident during the wars of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Commissioners noted that the concept of sons for land was an 'extremely interesting one' – betraying, perhaps, their desire to find a legitimate excuse for their involvement. That the question of recruitment played a part in justifying intervention can be seen from the comments of the *Highlander* newspaper ten years after the commission had sat. In May 1893 the paper published original judicial documentation from a 1790 case regarding the Macleod estate in Skye. They charted the contested eviction of soldiers who had enlisted for Lieutenant Colonel Norman Macleod of Dunvegan during the American War of

Independence. The case of these soldiers, the paper argued, 'Provide[s] what Lord Napier and Ettrick was so anxious to find proof of, namely, that the land in the Highlands was largely held for military service rendered by the people to their chiefs'.¹²

Although recruiting was vital in determining external attitudes to the region, it is also the case that much of the historiography respecting the development of Highland regiments exhibits major flaws and weaknesses. One such example is the tendency for military recruiting to be seen as a direct extension of the culture and social norms of pre-1745 Highland society. This presumed link between British military service and clanship has proved so durable because it actually emerged very early on in the evolution of Highland regiments. During the 1745 Jacobite uprising, Adam Ferguson, chaplain to the 42nd Highland Regiment, preached a sermon best remembered as an exhortation to its soldiers to 'play the men for our people'. In one sense the troops were being assigned a role which has been ascribed to Highland soldiery ever since. In essence, they were to represent the cutting edge of the region's reconciliation with the wider British union. Yet more subtle still is the impression given by Ferguson's sermon that these men were innately representative of Highland society, and that as regular, full-time soldiers of the British Crown they were involved in an activity which was both a privileged and yet entirely natural function of a militaristic northern population.¹³

Regimental histories have reinforced the idea that the continuance of military service through the medium of the British army was based on old clan values and attitudes. Perhaps the most important work in this respect is that of David Stewart of Garth. In his book, published in the early 1820s, Stewart explicitly linked the series of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Highland battalions to the

influence of residual clanship. He argued that these regiments were a product of a unique set of social arrangements. Indeed, Stewart constructed a whole socio-cultural framework to explain to his wider British readership what the French wars had largely confirmed for them: namely, the supposedly innate bellicosity of the Highlander. He argued that 'In forming his military character the Highlander was no more favoured by nature, but by the social system under which he lived'.¹⁴ The substantial nineteenth-century expansion in regimental histories merely served to consolidate this analysis. Though for obvious reasons they tended to concentrate on the operational histories of their respective regiments, devoting only a few pages in the opening chapter to the actual process of obtaining men, the impression given by such literature was that recruitment in the post-Culloden period was completed by the same means and under the same conditions as had been evident prior to 1746. Thus, in 1800 the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders were raised by 'clan attachments and through this instinct'. The Reay Fencibles were similarly raised when the government 'made appeals to their noblemen to arm their clansmen'.¹⁵

However, such analysis manifestly fails to explain why the region's militarism continued and, indeed, expanded while clanship itself rapidly collapsed. Another reason to be cautious of suggestions that large-scale British army recruiting can be explained in such terms lies in the fact that clanship's military *raison d'être* has itself been somewhat prone to exaggeration. It has been noted, for example, that in the first half of the eighteenth century there were 'large numbers of clansmen, many of whom knew little else but making war'. This modern scholarly quote is indicative of a general trend which, until recently, disregarded the noticeable commercial changes in early eighteenth-century Highland society and their effects upon

clan militarism. The last military action arising from an essentially private clan feud was in fact fought in August 1688 at Mulroy in Lochaber, and only took place because one side – the Mackintoshes – had government troops amongst its ranks. Likewise, a list of manpower in Blair Atholl and Glen Tilt from as early as 1702 shows that only 46% were armed in some way, while only one in five was equipped with both a sword and musket. A similar list from 1705 detailing a total of 649 men from the Grant estate in the parishes of Cromdale, Inverallen, Duthill, Abernethy and Rothiemurchus shows that only 36% had a weapon of any kind, while a mere 12% had the full accoutrements of sword and gun. Clearly, the military aspects of clanship had been in long-term decay since well before the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁶ This does not mean, however, that the military capabilities of the region should be underestimated: many clansmen had, for instance, received training in the armies of France and the Dutch Republic. Moreover, in an ironic twist, the growing British army presence in the region between 1715 and 1745 helped to externally buttress the military capability of certain clans. The presence of independent companies in the region, especially after 1725, allowed chiefs like Simon Fraser of Lovat, by rotating service amongst his ordinary tenantry, to build up large numbers of clansmen with a working knowledge of up-to-date military techniques and hardware. Thus, while the Highlands undoubtedly maintained considerable military potential, it is important to clarify the precise nature of the processes that preserved militarism in the region. In a sense, army employment and, in the case of Jacobitism, state-sponsored insurrection, helped disguise the fact that privately motivated clannish violence was largely a thing of the past by the Act of Union.¹⁷

Appreciable decline in clan militarism warns against the assumption that the later high-profile Highland presence

within Britain's imperial military was in some way natural and inevitable. Reinforcing this is the fact that clanship was not structurally designed for the constant large-scale wars in which Highland regiments later took part. At the turn of the seventeenth century the Macleods of Dunvegan and Macdonalds of Sleat engaged in a protracted feud which, given their close proximity, forced the constant retention of military manpower to secure their agricultural sectors from raiding. These powerful clans found that within three years their struggle could not be sustained because of the needs of the labour-intensive arable sector. Likewise, devastation inflicted during the Covenanting era upon clans like the McLeans of Duart meant that, even after a generation, almost 25% of their arable resources could not be cultivated because of a lack of manpower. The Macleods of Dunvegan suffered hundreds of casualties at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, which produced a legacy of military caution that survived until 1745. Even where the military characteristics of clanship were retained in a permanent way, as in the case of the Camerons of Locheil, it was usually in order to protect vital agricultural resources and farms.¹⁸ Military activity under clanship was in fact designed primarily to complement and buttress the agricultural sector. The influence of continental techniques and logistics, while allowing clans to retain themselves in the field for increasing periods of time, was nonetheless undermined by the overriding priority given to agrarian concerns. After Prestonpans in 1745, for example, desertion from the Jacobite army increased significantly. This was by no means a demoralised force, yet to many rank-and-file the campaign had been completed. Meanwhile, the harvest cycle was well advanced and the needs of domestic economy began to take precedence over notions of sustained and prolonged military campaigning.¹⁹

- peace negotiations with Britain and France, 88
- Spanish War of Succession, recruitment during, 107
- squadron volante, political faction, 13, 26–27
 - hostility to argathelians, 27
- Stair, Earl of, *see* Dalrymple, John
- Steuart, James, of Dalguise, 21
- Stewart, Rev. Alexander, evangelical minister, 211–212
- Stewart, Lieutenant Allan, organises emigration from Appin, 188
- Stewart, David, of Garth, 3, 6
 - Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 3
- Stewart, John, of Invernahyle, 104
- Stewart, Peter, provost of Campbeltown, 94, 97
 - calls for abandonment of traditional agricultural practices, 97
- Stewart of Appin,
 - alienation of wadsetting rights on property of, 32
 - enlistment from, 140
 - Jacobitism of, 140
- Stewart of Ardsheal, estates of, 79
- Stirlingshire, watch in, 38
- Stornoway, wage increases in, 156
- Strath, economic prominence of army pensioners in, 151
- Strathavon,
 - impact of recruitment on economy of, 156
 - tacksman responsible for bounties of men levied in, 144
- Stratherrick,
 - farms in recolonised from Argyll and Strathspey, 87
 - land in, lying waste, 107
 - riots provoked by presentation of minister in, 211
 - subtenantry in, removed, 87, 96
- Strathnaver, intimidatory recruiting in, 159
- Strathspey,
 - agricultural colonists from, 87
 - economic status of half-pay officers in, 148, 149
 - Grant rentals from, 137
 - recruitment in, 140
 - reorganisation of tacksman farms in, 171
- Strelitz, 91
- Stronmilchan, farm of, proposed subdivision of for military tenants, 111
- Strowan, 91, 94, 95
 - consolidation of tenancies at, 95
 - recruitment from, 140
- Stuart, John, Lord Mountstuart,
 - lobbies for formation of militias, 53
 - political influence of, 52–53
- Stuart-Mackenzie, Sir George, improver, 224
- Sutherland, 134, 139, 141, 143

93rd Sutherland Highlanders, [4](#), [7](#), [141](#), [147](#), [155](#), [159](#), [243](#)
 enlistment into linked to grant of leases, [147](#)
 pensioners from, [150](#)
 Clearances in, [3](#), [4](#), [147](#)
 folk traditions relating to, [3](#)
 Commissioners of Supply in, [38](#)
 raise funds for watches, [38](#)
 Earl of, *see* Gordon, William
 election in (1761), [51](#), [105](#)
 estates,
 contribution of army pay to income of, [153](#)
 enlistment from, [140](#), [158-159](#)
 evictions from, [147](#), [243](#)
 half-pay officers holding most valuable tenancies on, [149](#)
 land on offered to demobilised men, [157-158](#)
 rent arrears on, [134](#)
 restructuring of tenurial patterns on, [157-158](#), [166](#), [170](#), [171](#), [172](#)
 Elizabeth, countess of, [4](#), [54](#), [139](#), [141](#), [153](#), [172](#)
 opponent of Dundas, [54](#)
 family, [3](#)
 raises proprietary regiment, [3](#), [141](#), [243](#)
 recruitment by, [61](#), [131](#)
 inactivity of senior tenants in support of, [155](#)
 stipulations concerning land for service, [147](#)
 fencible regiment, [51](#), [54](#), [73](#), [102](#), [140](#), [143](#), [147](#), [156](#)
 demobilisation of, [157](#)
 recruitment strategy for, [143](#)
 George Mackay, MP for, [51](#)
 run-down of volunteer military service in, [200](#)
 volunteer establishment in, [227](#), [231](#)
 Sutherland, Captain James, estate factor, [172](#)
 Swedish East India Company, as military recruiter in Scottish Highlands, [21](#)
 Swordly, farm, [153](#)

tacksmen,
 entering army, [86-87](#), [177](#)
 re-entering, [172-174](#), [177](#)
 erosion of status of, [86](#), [154](#), [158](#), [169-171](#), [177-178](#), [208](#), [243](#)
 impact of recruitment on, [154-157](#), [158](#)
 landlord hostility towards, [155](#), [170](#), [171](#)
 military role, [154](#), [155](#)
 ‘oppression’ by, [171](#)
 relationship with small tenantry, [158](#), [171-172](#)
 responsibilities and role of, [154-155](#), [157](#), [171](#), [208](#)
 role in emigration, [171](#), [172](#), [187](#)
 tenurial security of, [78](#), [155](#), [170](#), [177-178](#)
 Taybridge, Independent company troops at, [37](#)
 Taymouth, [114](#)

Telford, Thomas, [197](#)
Thom, Rev. William, promotes emigration from Highlands, [187](#)
Thomson, Alexander, improving tenant, [122](#)
Ticonderoga, award of lands around to soldiers of [42nd](#) and [77th](#) Regiments, [186](#)
Tiree, wage increases in, [156](#)
Tobermory, value of naval pensions at, [235](#)
Tommachrocher, croft, [124](#)
Townshend, George, [4th](#) Viscount Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, [67](#)
transhumance, calls for prohibition of, [97](#)
Trotternish, [152](#)
Trustees for the Improvement of the Manufactures and Fisheries, [157](#)
Tullichglass, consequences of loss of shelling lands at, [125](#)
Tweeddale, Marquis of, *see* Hay, John

Ullapool, [81](#), [92](#), [96](#)
Union,
 Act of, [8](#), [13](#), [14](#)
 and nationalism, [13](#)
 role of manager as barrier to complete Union, [56](#)
 stimulates support for Jacobitism, [13](#)
United States, threat to Canada from, [182](#)
Urquhart,
 emigration from, [189](#)
 enlistment from Grant lands of, [143](#)
 socio-economic consequences of, [166](#)
 minister of involved in recruitment process, [210](#)
 reactions in to minister's reluctance to catechise, [208](#)
 resistance to recruitment in, [155](#)
 settlement of half-pay officers in, [149](#)
 social profile of, [143](#)
 wage increases in, [156](#)

Wade, George, general, [16](#), [20](#), [23](#)
 garrison policy of in Highlands, [27](#), [35](#)
 collapse of, [35](#), [36](#)
 and Malt Tax riots, [17](#), [21](#)
 proposed regularising of Independent companies by, [21](#), [25](#)
 removes clan weaponry, [35](#)
wadset, [170](#)
 alienation of capability to, [32](#)
wadsetter class, [172](#)
Wales, Marches of, martial tradition in, [41](#)
Walker, Rev. John, [217](#)
 condemns emigration, [191](#)
Walpole, Sir Robert, prime minister, [24](#)
 peaceful strategies of, [40](#)
 relationship of with Earl of Ilay, [48](#)

War Office, [48](#), [85](#), [113](#), [182](#)

petitions to, [63](#), [175](#)

War, Secretary of, *see* Barrington, Lord; Dundas, Henry

wars,

American Wars of Independence, [5](#), [55](#), [59](#), [62](#), [66–67](#), [68](#), [77](#), [118](#), [131](#), [156](#), [169](#), [177](#), [221](#)

balance of professional and proprietary recruitment for, [71](#), [243](#)

deployment of Highland regiments in, [59](#)

implications of absence of Scottish manager during, [54](#)

mercenaries deployed by British in, [66](#), [68](#)

recruiting proposals for, channelled through Dundas, [53](#)

recruitment of Highland regiments for, [61](#), [65](#), [73](#), [75](#), [112](#), [122](#), [142](#), [147](#)

sheep-farmers in Argyll bankrupted by, [135](#)

stimulate credit drain, [136](#)

Austrian War of Succession, [26](#), [42](#), [215](#), [237](#)

as catalyst for 1745 Jacobite rising, [26](#)

British imperial, Scottish attitudes towards, [44–45](#), [46](#)

French Revolutionary, [71](#), [73](#), [76](#), [106](#), [112–113](#), [198](#), [204](#), [225](#)

invasion crisis of 1798, [228](#)

stimulates credit drain, [136](#)

Napoleonic Wars, [65](#), [73](#), [197](#), [198](#), [204](#), [225](#), [242](#)

Seven Years War, [44](#), [50](#), [76](#), [83](#), [87](#), [93](#), [103](#), [157](#), [169](#)

impact of recruitment for on estate incomes, [107](#)

military emigration during, [183](#), [185–186](#)

pattern of recruitment established during, [50](#), [59](#), [75](#), [83](#), [225](#)

re-emergence of mass Highland recruitment during, [44](#), [60](#), [75](#), [84](#), [131](#), [205](#), [215](#), [236](#), [237](#), [240](#)

stimulates credit drain, [136](#)

Spanish War of Succession, recruitment during, [107](#)

watch commissions,

as alternative to Independent companies, [37](#)

organised by Macpherson of Cluny, [38](#)

Waterloo, battle of, [12](#), [204](#), [234](#), [244](#)

Watnish, enlistment from Macleod estates of, [140](#)

weaving, [141](#)

Weem, [26](#)

West Indies,

Cathcart's expedition to, [29](#)

economic links with Lowland Scotland, [241](#)

negative attitude of Highland gentry towards service in, [31](#)

Wester Borlum, scarcity of labour at due to military recruitment, [86](#)

Wester Ross,

economic condition of, [173](#)

introduction of sheep-farming in, [160](#)

kin-based protection schemes in, [38](#)

resistance to militia service in, [231](#)

Western Fencibles, [142](#)

Western Isles, elite tenantry in, [148](#)