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(Seventh Volume)

THE DIARY OF SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND
OF HAWTHORNDEN

THE EXILED STEWARTS IN ITALY

THE LOCHARKAIG TREASURE



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Edited by HENRY W. MEIKLE

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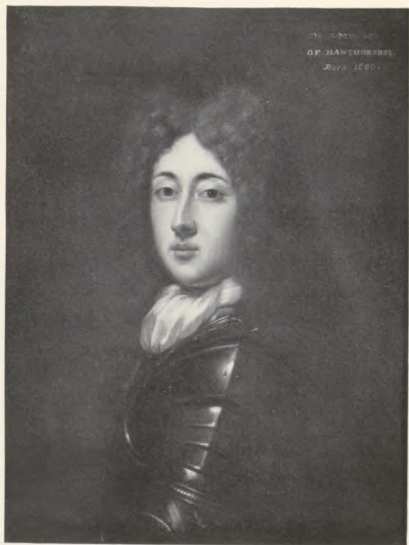
THE DIARY OF
SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND
OF HAWTHORNDEN

1657-1659

Edited by

HENRY W. MEIKLE, M.A., D.LITT.

LIBRARIAN OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND
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SIR WILLIAM DRUMMOND

From the original at Hawthornden

INTRODUCTION

APART from his Diary, now published for the first time, few personal details of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden have come down to us. Born in April 1636, he has hitherto been reckoned the elder of two surviving sons of the poet. The Diary, however, reveals the existence of another, Ludovick ('Lodie'), presumably illegitimate. The references to him all relate to unexplained payments of small sums of money until his death is recorded on 22nd September 1657, and his burial at ten o'clock the next night by torchlight 'accompanied by the neibours a bout.' In all probability William was the Gulielmus Drummond who signed the matriculation roll of the University of Edinburgh in 1652.¹ It was the University which his father had attended from 1601 till 1605 and had enriched by his noble gift of books in 1627. But William, unlike his father, does not appear in the list of graduates. In the same year, 1652, he was served heir to his father.² When he was in his twenty-first year, in 1657, he began the Diary, and for the short period it covers we can become better acquainted with him than with any of his kin. Thereafter we are almost solely dependent on the fitful appearance of his name in official records.

In 1661 he was put on a commission to try witches at Pentland, his colleagues including 'Mr. Thomas Henderson

¹ Transcript in the University Library. Owing to war precautions, the original roll, with signature, was not available for examination. I am indebted to Dr. L. W. Sharp, University Librarian, for this reference.

² *Inquisitiones Generales*, no. 3726.

of Auchindine, Advocat, Jon Denholme of Murrayses, Wm. Rosse in Melvin, Mark Casse of Cockpen and James Raith of Edmestoun.’¹ Another entry in the *Privy Council Register*, dated 30th November 1665, refers to property in Linlithgow which the Diary also shows him to have possessed.² During the administration of Lauderdale, he became a Justice of the Peace—by purchase, if we are to credit Father Hay.³ On 1st April 1678 his name appears in a return made by the Sheriff-Depute at Peebles of those absent from a meeting of proprietors of lands within the shire but not residing ‘within the samyne themselves.’ The purpose of the meeting was the subscription of a ‘band with their own hands for abstaining from conventicles,’ Drummond being summoned for his property of ‘Whitfield’.⁴ His absence probably had no political or ecclesiastical significance, for some time within the next five years he was knighted. It was as ‘Sir William Drummond’ that he was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh on 28th November 1683, and the honour may have been the occasion of the ceremony.⁵ In May 1685 the first Parliament of King James VII., the Parliament of exemplary loyalty, appointed Sir William a Commissioner of Supply for Edinburgh⁶; and until the very beginning of the Revolution he seems to have been on good terms with the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, the head of the Drummond

¹ *Reg. Privy Council of Scot.*, 3rd ser., i. 74.

² *Op. cit.*, ii. 155.

³ See *infra*, p. 6.

⁴ *The Scottish Antiquary*, xi. (1897), 127, 129.

⁵ He was not a knight when he registered his arms some time between 1672 and 1678; so Sir Francis Grant, Lyon King-of-Arms, kindly informs me. So, too, in the earliest known MS. (Nat. Lib. Scot., Ad. MS. 34.3.24) of Wm. Drummond’s (First Viscount of Strathallan) *Genealogy of the House of Drummond*, which was ‘collected in 1681,’ he appears as Mr. William Drummond; see D. Laing’s ed. (Edin. 1831), p. 257. The reason for Drummond’s admission as a burgess may be ascertained from the entry in the Burgh Records when they are again available after the war.

⁶ *Acts of the Parl. of Scot.* (Record Series), viii. 464a.

family. For on 8th March 1689 the Earl wrote from Stirling Castle to Father Innes, Vice-Principal of the Scots College in Paris, commending Sir William's son as a 'loyall honest young man and loves me.'¹ Drummond did not, however, share his chief's fate of imprisonment in the course of the Revolution. On the contrary, we find him reappointed a Commissioner of Supply by the Convention of April 1689²; and his name appears for the last time in the same capacity in the records of the first parliament of the new régime, June 1690.³

As the Diary shows, Drummond had a becoming interest in his father's works and papers, although he had neither the capacity nor the energy to make more of them public; but in his old age he had the satisfaction of placing his father's manuscripts at the disposal of Bishop Sage and Thomas Ruddiman, who published the first collected edition of the poet's works in 1711. Sir William survived until 1713, dying at the age of seventy-seven.

Two estimates of his character are extant. One was contributed in 1798 to Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland* by Bishop Abernethy Drummond. According to this 'family legend,' as Professor Masson called it, Drummond 'inherited his father's principles and virtues and even a portion of his genius, though he published nothing to the world.'⁴ The other is by a contemporary, Father Richard Augustus Hay, in his 'Memoires . . . relating to . . . families of Scotland,' dated 1700, thirteen years before Sir William's death.⁵

¹ Drummond, *Genealogy*, ed. D. Laing, p. 271. ² *A.P.S.*, ix. 69a.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. 137a. Some of his business transactions are referred to in various volumes of the *Index to the Register of Deeds* (Record Series), 1661 *et seq.*

⁴ David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden*, Lond. 1873, pp. 459, 461 n. Bishop Abernethy married the great-granddaughter of the poet and took the additional surname of Drummond. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁵ Cited in Drummond, *Genealogy*, ed. Laing, pp. 269-270. I am indebted to Mr. Robert Aitken, Edinburgh, for this reference. For Father Hay, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

'S^r William [is] eldest sone to Mr. William, poet, as he pretends only representative of the House of Carnock.' A malicious description of his personal appearance follows. 'Sir William,' he continues, 'purchased the title of a Justice of peace by my Lord Lauderdale's favour, a place full of labour, charge, trouble, without any profit to himself, only able to gratifie his own ambition; for he was fitter to set in privat parlors over the glass, whilst healths goe round, and to examine the condition of a pot of ale, which he hath good opportunity to discover, than the circumstances of any debate that comes before him. He married Sophia Auchamouty, daughter to Sir Alexander Auchamouty of Gosford, Master of the Rolls to King James the Sixt and King Charles the First. Upon whom he begot only one daughter, Sophia Drummond, matched with John Murray of Kringelty in Tweddale, eldest sone of the second marriage to Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony, a man of bade shape, crookbacked, unfit for marriage and not without some distemper of spirit. She was divorced from him by law, and afterwards joyned in marriage with Robert Preston, sone to the Laird of Gorton, by his first lady. Sir William had for second wife Barbara Scott, daughter to Sir William Scott of Clerkington, a senator of the colledge of justice. He begot upon her William, Robert, Barbara Lady Abbayhill, Elisabeth, Anna, Margaret, Marie, and Jacobina.'

Another contemporary, Dr. Alexander Pennecuik of Newhall, in facetious verse, again brings Drummond before us as a boon companion. In an 'Inscription to be put at the foot of Jonas Hamilton of Coldcoat's picture' he writes:

'Save Coldcoat, none Dalhousie knew
 Who Jonas could at drink subdue,
 Brave Nicolson, who's in his grave
 Did from him many a parley crave;

Drummond, who's still alive, can tell
How from them all he bore the bell.'

And from a 'Eulogy on the supposed death of . . . Coldcoat' we may infer that Drummond in his later years enjoyed 'ranting' as much as when he was a young man :

'No less for Bacchus shall kind Coldcoat's name
Be mustered in the registers of fame ;
For all that bragged him still the battle lost,
Ask Hawthorn,¹ and strong Dalhousie's ghost.'²

It is evident that Sir William Drummond was a person of no particular distinction of character or ability. Such honours as came his way were due to his social position as a laird of good estate and as the representative of a family of proved devotion to the Crown. Yet it is his comparative insignificance as a public figure which enhances the value of his Diary. 'Roughly speaking,' writes Lord Ponsonby, 'the majority of diaries of eminent people or participants in occurrences of historical moment are less good than the diaries of those who live out of the beaten track in comparative obscurity. . . . And even without being introspective or self-analytical, the writer of a record of quiet days among unknown people can give an atmosphere to his story which the bewildered recorder of great proceedings may be unable to impart to his.'³

In Drummond's Diary we have the record of the everyday life of a young Midlothian laird in the middle of the

¹ Hawthornden, i.e. Drummond.

² J. W. Buchan and H. Paton, *History of Peeblesshire*, iii. (1927), 45-47; Pennecuik's *Works*, new ed., Leith, 1815, pp. 360, 362. The poems were first published in 1715. For Pennecuik (1652-1722), see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Newhall was near Drummond's property of Whitfield in Peeblesshire.

³ A. Ponsonby, *English Diaries*, Lond. 1923, p. 34. In his *Scottish and Irish Diaries*, Lond. 1927, he gives a chronological list of some of the Scottish diaries of the period.

seventeenth century. In brief unstudied scribblings he notes his objective experiences: physical condition, 'solitariness,' philanderings, courtship, and marriage, visits to and from friends and acquaintances, routs and drinking bouts, visits to Edinburgh and farther afield, including visits to friends in prison, attendance at marriages and funerals, amusements and games, reading and versifying, church-going and non-church-going, choosing a minister for the parish, perambulating his marches, developing his coal-mines and dealing with his colliers and tenants. The latter part of his Diary, when he has settled down as a married man, is less varied; we see him more cumbered with business—'botles of straw,' and deals, and kists—than he was in his bachelor days. There is throughout just sufficient reflection to give those touches of egotism which make a diary alive, and the two references to public events, at one of which he was an interested spectator, provide the national background. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of this mid-seventeenth century Diary (though natural in his father's son) is the absence of what theologians call 'experimental religion.' Unlike his contemporary Scottish diarists, Brodie and Wariston, for example, both much older than Drummond, he never stops to take his spiritual temperature. If the Diary has a value as a social, economic, and human document, it also serves as a reminder that even in the Scotland of those days there must have been many, both among Royalists and Covenanters, who were devoid of spiritual fervour.

The Diary is a small leather-bound book measuring $4\frac{9}{16} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches. It may have been one of a series, but if so, none of the others has been traced.¹ In 1937 it was acquired by the National Library of Scotland (MS. 1787).

¹ Sir James Williams-Drummond, Bart., the present laird of Hawthornden, kindly informs me that none is preserved among the family papers.

It will be noted that, in accordance with Scottish custom, Drummond usually refers to his friends and acquaintances by their territorial title. 'Cockpen,' for example, is 'The Laird of Cockpen.' Their personal names have been traced, so far as records are extant for those troublous times, characterised by confiscations and forced sales. The position of their lands is more easily ascertained. Many will be found to lie along, or to be within easy reach of, the valley of the Midlothian Esk, on the north branch of which Hawthornden Castle still stands. As the Diary indicates, it was a district rich in coal then being rapidly exploited.¹

The Notes and Glossary have been placed in alphabetical order at the end of the text so as to avoid repeated explanation of recurring names and words. I am indebted to Mr. Henry M. Paton, Curator of Historical Records, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, and Mr. C. T. McInnes of the same Department for the final collation of the manuscript and other help generously given; as well as to Sir William Craigie, Mr. J. A. Inglis, K.C., King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, and Mr. C. F. M. Maclachlan, W.S.

The portrait of the diarist is reproduced by kind permission of the owner, Sir James Williams-Drummond, Bart., of Hawthornden.

H. W. MEIKLE.

¹ See 'coal' in the notes *infra*.



A BOOKE OF MEMORANDUMS:
FOR THE YEARE 1657:58 PARTLY 59

HAWTHORNDENNE

[1657]

JANUAR. 31 DAYES ¹

1. Thursday: lay in my bed all day makinge 𐤀² lines;
at night R., J., L., my selfe, and man 25 p ale; from
Lodie 2s.

2. Fryday: solitarie; from Lodie 5s.

3. Setterday: I made a speach for Woodhowslie; from
Lodie 6s shoemaker.

4. [Sunday]: I stayed at hom from church and red th[e]
Cyprian Groue; fattall.

5. Munday: solitarie; hansell, a crowen; at night
24 p ale; J. B., some others.

6. Tusday: visit Woodhowslie; at night fatall.

7. Wedensday: solitarie but yet fattall; giuen 23th
which compleat William Soflay's cownt.

8. Thursday: solitarie; Suthhowse visit me, tolld me
Kringiltie was dead, which afterward proue an untruth.

9. Fryday: solitarie.

10. Setterday: solitarie; tennants in Wheitfeellds gaue
me their meales; c[om]pleat Jami Tomsone his cownt
for Oglbye's glakes.

11. Sunday: went to church; spent 13s.

12. Munday: went to Ed^r; sawe 𐤀.

¹ Punctuation is editorial. The use of capitals has been made to conform to modern usage.

² Presumably some favourite lady is indicated by this symbol.

13. Tusday : with the larde of Woulmet in tollbothe ; sawe ʒ.

14. Wedensday : rantinge ; shooke hands with a man that was goinge to be hanged ¹ ; with Woulmet at night ; sawe ʒ.

15. Thursday : cam from the towen ; desierd John Reoke and some others to goe and proue Alexander Knight my seruant ; spent 18th.

16. Fryday : went to Lasswade purposlie to see Margret Ross cowse she was []; ʒ ; delyuered to John Boyd 34th for a cowe ; spent 18s.

17. Setterday : solitarie ; for my horse shoeinge 19s ; from Lodie 6s.

18. [Sunday] : went to church ; spent 15s ; from Lodie 4s.

19. Munday : solitarie.

20. Tusday : visit Glancorss ; griue all night to the reddinge of the sumpholl ; from Lodie 48s.

21. Wedensday : solitarie.

22. Thursday : solitarie.

23. Fryday : visit Woodhowslie ; fattall.

24. Setterday : solitarie ; fatall ; sent a letter to Marie concerninge her mariage.

25. Saboth : solitarie ; from church.

26. Munday : solitarie ; fattall ; Brigglands visit me.

27. Tusday : solitarie ; fatall.

28. Wedensday : solitarie ; twise fatall.

29. Thursday ; went to Edinbrughe ; sawe ʒ ; tryst with Mester Robert Preston concerninge my leuen ; spent 48s ; receiued from Lodi 3th.

30. Fryday : saw ʒ ; a rant with Craigebuii and som others ; spoilld and craisd all my legges ut of a frolicke ; spent 3th 6s ; receiued from Lodi 3th 12s. ; a minut of leuell writen ; to be advic'd upon.

31. Setterday : saw not ʒ ; came from the towen malgré my hart ; spent 3th.

¹ On this day 'ane man hangit at the Castlehill of Edinburgh for murthering of his awin sister.' *Nicoll's Diary* (Bann. Club, 1836), p. 191.

FEBRUAR. 28 DAYES

1. [Sunday]: went not to the church I was so wearie ; from Lodi 12s.

2. Munday : cleard all cownts with James Simsone and me ; owen him for a cownt three score seeuenteen pund to be allowed at ower nixt callculation.

3. Tusday : solitarie ; ordred my bookes.

4. Wedensday : solitarie, but yet fattall : lay in my bed all day.

5. Thursday : solitarie ; receiued from Lodie 36s.

6. Fryday : solitarie ; lent James Synclare Aristotle's *Organ*.

7. Setterday : solitarie ; at night angred by Wilsone.

8. [Sunday]: went to church ; din'd with Preston.

9. Munday : solitarie till ten of the night, at which tim, beinge readinge upon Godfrey of Bulloinge, I was suddenlie surprisd by an impetuous fire in the stable cawsed by the fall of a candle amongst strawe, soe that I thought the whole howse showld haue brunt.

10. Twsday : tooke order with the coillers for driuinge to wide ; spent a marke.

11. Wedensday : solitarie.

12. Thursday : solitarie.

13. Fryday : fattall twise.

14. Setterday : went up to Owlld Awhindinnie, who shew me a way to proue the defferent grownd betwixt my Lord Ramsay and me to be my owen.

15. Sabboth : solitarie ; at home.

16. Munday : Craigebuii and my Lord Ramsayes brother with Cokpen came and visit me ; 36s in ale.

17. Tusday : solitarie.

18. Wedensday : intended to go see Σ but Captan Shae interrupt me with a visit.

19. Thursday : visit my Lord Ramsay ; at night Craigebuii, John Ramsay, Cokpen, Cowlldcott, Sowthhowse, Captan Shae, kepted a rant in Hawthornden.

20. Fryday : those gentlemen and my selfe went to the Howse of Moore and dranke till twelfe a cloke in the night,

at which time we ranted thorowe all the litle towens with a great bagge pipe, to the admiration of all the cowntrie people ; 28s.

21. Setterday : thirre gentlemen went from Hawthornden to there owen homes ; my charges that three dayes 3 pund sterlinge and som od munie—*Sic transit gloria mundi*.

22. Sabbboth : lay in my bed all day beinge so wearie with bearinge those gentlemen companie ; all my legges was craized.

23. Munday : the Larde of Preston and my selfe went to Dallkeith and took order with my coiller for not workinge ; spent 3th ; at night went to Cokpen.

24. Tusday : Cokpen and my selfe rode to Dallkith concerninge my coillers ; spent 3th.

25. Wedensday : rod purposlie with Cokpen towards Winton ; 2nd and abowt those feellds.

26. Thursday : Kokpen and John Ramsay with myselfe rod abowt the feellds ; all night fattall.

27. Fryday : my Lord Ramsay invited me to Dalwossie to my denner beinge at the huntinge ; at night cam from Cokpen to my owen chamber againe where I was entertained with the thowghts of solitarines on my mistres.

28. Setterday : solitarie ; red Ovid's *Ars Amandi* ; there after twice fattall.

MARCH. 31. 1657

1. Sabbboth : went to church ; 18s ; from Lodie 3th.

2. Munday : went to Cokpen abowt a coiller of my Lord Lothian's ; 6s 8 pen.

3. Tusday : came from Cokpen to Hawthornden ; twice fattall.

4. Wedensday : went to Edinbrughe ; had knoledge from a frinde of some untollarable speeches which made me absteen from a visit that I was much inclinde to ; from Lodie 3th ; presented some sower cakes to Craigebui which was taken by the garde as a paket of letters, beinge sighted put the captan of the gard uerie farre owt.

5. Fursday : saw Woulmet in the tollbooth ; fattall.

6. Fryday : Craighui and Captan Sha was set at libertie ; fattall ; came from the towen ; 6th 15s.

7. Setterday : sollitarie but yet fattall ; from Lodie 8s.

8. Sabboth : went to church, but before I hard sermon writ a letter to John Hom in verse ; from Lodie 58s.

9. Munday : I gaue a visit to the Ladie Woulmet ; 18s 4d ; came to my bed at Esterhall.

10. Tusday : went to a mariage ; 3th ; Robin 12s ; from Lodie 36s.

11. Wedensday : fattall twise ; to William Soflay 12s.

12. Thursday : fattall thrise ; solitarie.

13. Fryday : made fowre score of lines before I raise, beinge the answare of a letter.

14. Setterday : my coillers offerd me 20th till Christnmis for my coll in the week, they bearringe all othere charges ; Alexander Sym visit me ; 36s.

15. Sabboth : went to church ; from Lodie 10s ; was blam'd by the minister that I was the cownceller of the Larde of Hermiston to stand owt against him concerninge a set ; 8s.

16. Munday : Charterhall cam to Hawthornden.

17. Tusday : Charterhall went ouer to Cokpen about my leuell and allmost agreed ; my Lord Ramsay and his brother visit me.

18. Wedensday : Charterhall went to the towen ; John Hom visit me with a number of lines.

19. Thursday : I went to the huntinge with my Lord Ramsay and deind with him ; had som speaches abowt the leuell which I showld hau obteend from him ; at night was at Cokpen.

20. Fryday : went to the huntinge where accidentallie Cokpen and I encownterd with Collinton, new com from London in his jurnay towards hom, and tolld us all the newes ; at Dallkeith we dranke wine with him.

21. Setterday : went about the feellds with Cokpen where I tooke a grate pleasure in feiringe whines abowt Southall ; at night cam to Dallwossie where my lord's brother Joh[n], yownge Cokpen, John Hom, and I dranke a hudge ale ; stay'd there all night ; 3th.

22. Sabbath : lay in my bed ; with John Ramsay in Dallwossie till it was 4 howers, and then came to Hawthornden where I was entertain'd with the thoughts of my mistres.

23. Munday : John Home the poet cam to me ; my Lord Ramsay's brother was with me all night.

24. Tusday : in the morninge Cragbui, [and] Cokpen cam to take there liue of me, Craigbui goinge som fortie miles wast ; Robert Dowglas came with a number of gentlewoman to see the coues, his mother beinge a duch woman.

25. Wedensday : solitarie ; with poet Hum in my studie ; fattall twise.

26. Thursday : solitarie ; in my studie with poet Hum ; fattall.

27. Fryday : turn'd ouer a number of bookes [and] papers with poet Hume ; he made som lines upon owr beinge togather.

28. Setterday : he went from Hauthornden to his owen hom ; fattall fowre times.

29. Sunday : at hom.

30. Munday : solitarie ; roded on of my coillers ; fattall twise ; from Lodie 4s.

31. Tusday : solitarie ; fattall.

APRILL. 30 DAYES

1. Wedensday : went to Edinbrugh, came hom at night.

2. Fryday [*sic*]¹ : drew a minut of my coll.

3. [Setterday] : solitarie.

4. Saboth : went to Cokpen church where I was entertain'd with my Lord Ramsay and his ladie verie cowrtiowsly.

5. Munday : Cokpen, Preston, [and] Mest[er] Thomas Lermom came to Hawthorndenn ; went from that to Dallkeith ; stayed all night ; 3th 13s.

6. Tusday : my coossin Collwhalie and Tersapie came to visit me, haueinge a tryst at Lasswade to end the setinge of my coll by subscriuinge the takes ; we went all downen

¹ This should be Thursday. The resulting error continues until the 5th May.

there; soe at our departure we threw ovr hats in the riuer of Eske and drank helthes standinge in the riuer ouer the tops of ovr boots to the admiration of the spectators; lay in Lasswade all night but my frinds went to Edinbrugh; Cowlldcot lay with me; 3th; from Lodie 3 rixe dollors.

7. Wedensday: went to a mariage acompined with gentlewomen; 8 sterlinge; cam hom at night; Cowlldcot in Hawthornden all night.

8. Thursday: solitarie; twise fatall; Hermiston visit me.

9. Fryday: went to Edinb. upon foot; stay'd all night.

10. Setterday: came from the towen but was not able to goe any further then or Kings at Libberton, where I stayed all night with my Lord Toffs his sone; 6th; vext with a turbulent Englishman by his to much clack.

11. Sabboth: cam from Libberton to Hawthornden, my Lord Toffs his son beinge with me and Walter Logan; extream wearie.

12. Munday: fatall twise; a letter from Cokpen in verce; solitaire.

13. Tusday: William Murray my coossin visit me; all frinds in Irland is well.

14. Wedensday: solitarie; mad lines sent to Cokpen.

15. Thursday: solitarie¹; fatall most griuously.

16. Fryday: my Lord Ramsay, [and] the Larde of Whitehill visit me.

17. Setterday: commarads of min owen came to see the coues and accidenttallie encowntred with me; Thomas Heruie came first and gaue me a lesson in arithmeticke; solitarie.

18. Sabboth: went to church; 13s.

19. Munday: went to Ed[inbur]g[h]; a tryst with my Lord Ramsay, the Lard of Charterhall, and Whithill concerninge my leuell; closd ovr tryst by subscriuinge the takes, Cherterhall beinge my reall frinde; 4; spent 3th.

20. Tusday: brought som papers to Charterhall which turnd to nothinge; 4; 26s.

¹ In MS. 'solitarie' precedes 'Thursday.'

21. Wedensday : in Edinbrugh byinge a horse but got non ; all night in tollboth with Woulmet with John Boyd ; receiued som coillers from Woulmet.

22. Thursday : ʒ ; came from the towen ; 6^h ; all night in Kinges howse ; brekfast with Bellie Dennam ; visit Mortonhall beinge extreamlie an hungred ; went with Sudus to a miller's howse ; receiued refreshment ; the Larde of Sudus distracted ; rent all his cloths to the admiration of the uulgars ; tooke pleasure in an oldd man's danceinge.

23. Fryday : cam from that place to Joh Reok's my owrsman at two acloke in the morninge ; sent my man and horse a way for Doctor Henderson to see my owr'sman ; stay'd in Lonhide all that time ; 20s.

24. Setterday : cam to Hawthornden where I was enamord with the thowghts of my mistres : at night there apeared in Gortowen a great flame as it had been all a fire which turned to nothings.

25. Saboth : Sudus and I went to Libberton church hauinge trysted with Mest[er] Thomas Lermon concerninge a particulare ; was disapointe of a set after noon ; 14s ; went to Woullmet all night.

26. Munday : horst the Ladie Woulmet to Edinbrugh to her husband in prisson for debt ; ʒ ; lay in Archballd Cammel's ; got notice of a silke hat which was stowen from me.

27. Tusday : had notice of some unsuffarable speaches which ware not on[e] I did respect much ; vanquisht my ill humore soe that I had not power to schallenge them, but wau'd them ouer ; cam from the towen ; sumptuouslie entertaind with contemplation of my hunter, beinge at the accomplishment of all my thowghts ; 3^h.

28. Wedensday : went to see Woodhowselie ; there after hade notice that there was on calld the son of a warlocke, but flowinge from the queen of clauers it did not trouble me.

29. Thursday : sollitarie, but yet twice fattall.

30. Fryday : went to the huntinge with the Genarall and my Lord Ramsay to Gledsmoore ; din'd with the Genarall ; 12s.

MAY. 31 DAYES

1. Setterday¹: solitarie.

2. Sabbath: went to Glancorsse church; suped with the Larde of Preston; 12s.

3. Munday: solitarie; fattall.

Frayday showld been the first day of this month, therefore I pass ouer Munday and makes Tusday the fyft day.

5. Tusday: went to Edin; ʒ; an unworthie contest betwixt G. T. [and] my selfe proseedinge from a base mali-tiows jealows humore, which I will neuer forget.

6. Wedensday: Jams Ross visit me, and the Ladie Cowlldcot; fattall thrise.

7. Thursday: solitarie, but yet fattall.

8. Fryday: began first to ride that book which is so much estim'd of, *Arcadia*, out of a curiositie, becawse eueryon was perswaded that it cowl'd not be but I had red it before twentie times; fatall twice.

9. Setterday: solitarie; fattall; from Lodie 18s.

10. Sabbath: there was no preaching in Lasswad, Mr James Farllie beinge seeke; red at hom Donn's *Devotions*.

11. Munday: went to Ed[in]brugh to a buriall; ʒ; 3th.

12. Tusday: solitarie.

13. Wedensday: at Jams Simson's barn's babtisme; cam hom civillie; 3th from Lodi.

14. Thursday; Mester Winsore, an English ferrier, cam and saw me in his jurney towards London.

15. Fryday: went to Ed[in]brugh; stayed all night in Doctor Henderson's; ʒ.

16. Setterday: cam from Edinbrugh beinge accom-pa-nied with the Larde of Gosfoord's brother; came to Edmiston where I encowntred with my Lord Alexander's brother, the Larde of Luggton, Judge Mosslye's brother, and the chamberlen of Ballclugh, where we drank a hudge wine; at owr comminge hom escaped a denger of drowninge by providence; 3th.

¹ This month began on a Friday.

17. Sabbath : Munsie, Ahmutie, and I stayed from chur[c]h, our cloths beinge all spoyld by water.

18. Munday : went to Dalkeith where I encowntred with the taxmen of Chirrahall concerninge my taxmen in Hawthornden ; cam hom withowt concludinge any thinge ; 3th.

19. Tusday : went to Edinbrugh and registrate my coal tacke ; 6th.

20. [Wedensday] : came from Ed. to Edmiston accompanied with the Larde of Whitehill ; 15s ; stayed will it was two howers in the morninge ; to Hawthornden ; the Lady Hermiston in Roslin.

21. Thursday : the taxmen of Chirrahall cam to Hawthornden concerninge my taxmen but did nothinge ; William Synclare visit me.

22. Fryday : went to the huntinge on my foot, which wearied me extreamlie by a paine in my leggs.

23. Setterday : visit the Ladie Hermiston ; the taxmen of Chirrahall came to tryst with me on Munday at Edinbrugh.

24. Sabbath : at hom ; solitary ; Gorge Logan with me.

25. Munday : went to Ed[in]brugh a tryst with Sir John Gillmore and Mester John Scugall concerninge my taxmen but turned to nothinge.

26. Tusday : in Jhon Jonstons at a rant ; cam from the towen ; was browght in admiration of two horses which did many marualows trickes ; cam to Hawthor[n]den ; 6th.

27. Wedensday : went to a meriage ; stayed all night in Nutton.

28. Fu[r]sday : Sir William Muray and som others with my self went to Dallkeith ; hard sermon ; thereafter was extraordinar good companie in a osstage ; 4th.

29. Fryday : beinge with Sir William Murray all night we went to Hawthornden and from thence to Rossline, where a minute of a tack of my coale was drawn up betwixt Sir William Murray and me.

30. Beinge Setterday : we went to Edmiston and subscribed the tackes ; thereafter excellent companie with Sir Tho. Tomson, Craigmillare, Sir Will. Muray, and a number of others.

31. Sabbath : went to Glancorss church.

JUN. 30 DAYES. 1657

Munday first : I went to Sir James Monipennie's burriall where I rancowntred with a number of my father's old acquaintances ; supped with my Lord Dallwossie.

2. Tusday : thrise fattall ; sollitarie ; Sir William Murray visit me in the after noon.

3. Wedensday : was at my footman's meriage in Hawthornden ; 3th ; twise fattall.

4. Thursday : went to visit the Ladie Hermiston's dawghters ; encowntred with my coossin, Alexander Murray, beinge newly com from Irland.

5. Fryday : solitarie.

6. Setterday : visit the Ladie Woudhowslie ; 8 shillinge sterlinge to a shoemaker for shoes.

7. Sabboth : my coossin and I stayed from the church.

8. Munday : went to see my Lord Carre and his brother Sir William at Newbattall.

9. Tusday : solitarie.

10. Wedensday ; solitarie.

11. Fursday : went to Edinbrugh to know why John Maxwell was imprisson'd ; from Lodie a rix dollore ; 3th ; cam hom be Rosline where I fownd Alexander Murray.

12. Fryday : solitarie.

13. Setterday : was perswaded to goe to Lasswade churh by +.

14. Sabboth : Lodie 6th wantinge 2s. ; went to Lasswade churh ; 12s.

15. Munday : the gentlewomen of Hermiston visit my sister ; from Lodie three rix dollores.

16. Tusday : the gentlewoman of Hermiston acompanied with the Larde of Garleton was in Hawthornden in the morninge soon to see the coues, when I was goinge to horse to Edinbrughe with Alexander Murray ; we went to Dallmahoy all that night ; 3th.

17. Wedensday : cam from Dallmahoy to Bayrnoe ; from thence to Edin. concerninge the redinge of som merches betwixt my Lord Ramsay and me ; visit John Maxwell in the Tollbooth with sundrie others ; abowt six

acloke at night as I was a cominge to my horse I rencowntred with som commarads that stayed me in the towen all night ; 6th 10s.

18. Fursday : cam from the towen wher I was entertained with the thought of my mistres beinge solitarie.

19. Fryday : Sir William Murray, Comissarie Stirlinge, Dallmahoy, and myselfe met my Lord Ramsay in the moore of Dallwossie concerninge the merches but cowlld not agree till it cam to a perambulation ; 6th.

20. Setterday ; my sister, Margret Ramsay, and my selfe visit Hermiston dowghters ; in the fornoon had some ancient men lookinge the merches ; 12s.

21. Sabboth : from church ; sollitarie ; 4s ; Lodie 4s.

22. Munday : had Awhindinnie be fowrescore of yeares and 8 looked my merches ; thereafter went to another in Straitinge.

23. Tusday : went in search of men for my merches ; 3th ; from Lodie 54s.

24. Wedensday : subscriued a paper for Johns Maxwell's reliefe for two month in the tollboth of Edinb. ; from Lodi 6th.

25. Thursday : solitarie.

26. Fryday : som countrie men lookinge the merches ; 6s ; ~~26~~.¹

26. [*sic*] ² Setterday : solitarie.

27. Sabboth : went to Lasswade church.

28. Munday : Sir William Murray delyuered me four score a punds, beinge the first months payment of my cole.

29. Tusday : Preston visit me.

30. Wedensday : went to Edinbrughe concerninge my marches to Judge Scugall, Preston, and som others ; stayed all night with the Lard of Haggess and some other gentlemen, where we had Tho. Jonston the valet with us all night ; 9th.

¹ Crossed through.

² The resulting error from this repetition of 26 continues until Wednesday, 15th July.

JULY. 31

1. Thursday¹: in Ede. din'd with those gentlemen; cam from the towen at night to Hawthor[n]den with the 2 Murrayes.

2. Fryday: visit +².

3. Setterday: Sir William Murray in Hawthor[n]den.

4. Sabboth: at Lasswade church.

5. Munday: went to Ed. to giue information for my summonds of molestation; from Lodie a rix dollore.

6. Tusday: in Rossline towr with a number of gentlemen; at night Jams Ahmutie cam to Hawthornden; 8s.

7. Wedensday: A. M., W. M., J.(?) A. all in Hawthornden; owt with John Boyd.

8. Thursday: Ladie Jean Siton with the gentl[e]women of Hermiston accompanied with Garlton visit Hawthor[n]den coues.

9. Fryday: with [deleted] ×³; solitarie.

10. Setterday: James Achmutie went from Hawthor[n]den to Gossfoord; twice fattall.

11. Sabboth: at church; from Lodie 3th.

12. Munday: went to Ed[inburgh]; cam hom at night.

13. Tusday: solitarie; [rest deleted; part reads: fattall fowre [?] times].

14. ⁴ went to Ed[inburgh]; from Lodie 10 shillings sterlinge.

15. Wedensday⁵: the Protector was enowgarat with great solemnitie, Marques of Arguile, Lord Katenes, Lord Ballvarde, the whole cowncell and bellies hauinge there robes on was all upon chires sittinge upon the Crosse; be all the rest it was remarked that my Lord Argile with a great deale of sinceritie lifted his hat and bade God saue the Protector, thereafter went downe with Genarall Munck in a coach, only my Lord Ballvarde was in a coatch his selfe alone, and was sumptuously entertain'd by the Genarall.

¹ The month began on a Wednesday.

² The right arm of the Cross is shaped like an 's.'

³ The arms of this Cross end in hooks.

⁴ The day omitted in MS.

⁵ The day of the month is now correct.

About 10 a cloke the Ladi Hermiston sendinge her dowgthers to confirme her good will to that solemnitie, withere it was the oportunitie of fortune, ore Chirstian Synclare's retalliat-inge the Ladie for what she did to her I know not, but a bout 5 a cloke at night Marieon Sy[n]clare [her: deleted] second dowgther made a pretended visit to Mestres Gillmore, and went deliberatly away with my coosin Alexander Murray to the halfe mark mariage.

16. Thursday: the noyse went throwe the towen that I had put her to her horse; it was remarked the Lady Hermiston lay dead halfe a houre and curst me with the first words she spoke.

17. Fryday: I stayed in town all day for younge Hermiston at the Cross, cawse he tolld on[e] that if he saw me that day at the Cross he woulld [words deleted], but it turned to a hymera.

18. Setterday: I was abused hansomly by the owlld Larde cominge owt of the towen with him; he was havily griued at his son's carriage and his dowgther goinge away, but woulld neuer be perswaded but that I was accessarie to it.

19. Sabbath: satt in Hermiston's set where there was nothing but hauie sighes, the Ladies beinge all at Rossline extreamlie sike for griue of there dowgther; it was remarked by the seruants that the owlld Lard was forbiden to speake to me betwixt sermons, which he obeyed.

20. Munday: I writ an apolligie to the Ladie that I was not accessarie to the takinge away of her dowgther, but she did not only a frunt me by sendinge my letter bake withoutt lookinge upon it, but desired Robert Hamillton e[x]press to com and discharge me the howse of Rossline or Hermiston, which was verie obseruantly obeyed: it was remarked that Sir John took my letter from my man to delyuer and the Lady abused him for his pains; allsoe it is notie'd that when Robert Hamillton had his commisson from Lady, Sir John abstracted som of it and desired him not to show all what the Lady said to him; for he had no great mind to be owt with me unless it ware for a time to satisfie the Ladie and his eldest son.

21. Tusday : all people was so stronge with the spirit of faithfullnes that if they could belue that there were [words deleted] or beinge after this as well as they cowlld perswade themselues with a stronge belue that I was copertner of all my coossin's desinges and intentions for the ravishinge of that gent[le]woman they cowlld not be but saued without prayers : I haue remarked that my coossin's goinge away hath turn'd all the people Athists.

22. Wedensday : I bowght a poynie from James Dinice for 26th and a marke.

23. Thursday : went to Edinbrugh concerninge my marches.

24. Fryday : with Collwhaly and som others.

25. Setterday : som commarads and my selfe went to vew the sitidell of Leath ; thereafter went ouer the water for curiositie ; be [*sic*] we came as farre as the [?] at Leeth [*sic*] the winde cominge in flans and tyde against us, beinge a proud sea, the bot was driuen upon a rocke, and we in danger of owr lifes cust sixe and twentie boords before [we] cowlld come to the nearest herbarie : when we came ashore we went immediatlie to the well, a spa ; there after to Bruntileinge.

26. Sabbath : went to the English church in Bruntileinge and afternoon to the Scots ; wa[l]ked abowt all the forts and walls of Bruntileinge.

27. Munday : beinge the day we cam ouer the water to Edinbrugh with my Lord Morton and some others.

28. Tusday : vext with companie.

29. ¹ Mester Jonh Dicke and past the day of with goinge abowt the fillds.

30. Wedensday : first I rencowntred with Alexander Murray after his mariage.

31. Fursday : a great contraversie with William Dowglas about poesie.

¹ Blank in MS. The 29th was Wednesday.

AGUST. 31

1. Fryday¹ I went down to Leeth to witnes my respect to a coossin of mine who was abused by on Lithell in Lithe; lay all night with my cloths on by reasson we was taken to the garde.

2. Setterday: be sixe a cloke in the morninge I went owt to see a match betwix Comiston and Mr John Dicke; dranke much that night of filthie ale.

3. Sabboth: went to Libberton church; after sermon, some comorads and I reviued owr spirits be som wine that was to be solld at Sant Cathrines; saw the Lady²; went to Bred all night.

4. Munday: went to Craighowse; came to Breds burne; dranke a hudgh ale there; in Brade all night.

5. Tusday: went to Ed.; played at the tinnice with Blackbarronie, Haggs, and some others; thereafter went owt to Woullmet all night.

6. Wedensday: in Edmisston with Sir William Murray; wadgerd with the Ladie a golld watch; lay with Sir William all night in Thomas Hadawayes.

7. Fursday: cam from that to Hawthornden where I was entertaind with my wonted solitarines; from Lodie and Jami Beare 24th, wantinge a grot; spent 3 pund sterlinge.

8. Fryday: solitarie.

9. Setterday: with Sir William Murray endinge cownts concerninge the second fower weekes coll cownt.

10. Sabboth: in Glancorse kirke; payed for a horse; Sir William Murray and Mr John Dicke in Hawthornden all night.

11. Munday: in Dallkithe with the Generall; receiued my bond of a thowsand pund sterlinge from Mester Clarke concerninge the Lard of Woullmet's peaceable behauore; spent 30 shillinge sterlinge, Sir William Murray, my Lord Magumri, Mr Jonh Dicke beinge with me.

¹ The month began on Thursday.

² Initial deleted.

12. Tusday : Mester John Dicke and I went to Edinbrugh ; from Lodie 12th in Sir William's cownt.

13. Wedensday : my prosses was ca'd before the Shirray.

14. Thursday : in Ed. [rest deleted].

15. Fryday : Sir William Murray and som others dranke me full ; visit Hissell side.

16. Setterday : came from the towen to Hawthornden ; sp. 12th.

17. Sabbath : in Ballernoë with Comissarie Stirline.

18. Munday : I went ouer the water with Wallter to see a worke of Captan Ogilbie's.

19. Tusday : in Tillialan with Captan Ogilbie.

20. Wedensday : cam ouer the water to Dollmayhoy and from thence to Hawthornden.

21. Thursday : Craigebuii, Cokpen, Captan Shae cam to Hawthornden.

[SEPTEMBER]

[1-3 wanting.]

4. Thursday ¹ : din'd with Tanochie ; the rest of the day with Mr Joh Dick.

5. Fryday : Bred, Tanochie, and som others with my Lord Murray's brothers din'd at James Dinse's in the Cannigate ; we had a sad scowr in beare glasses ; therafter I cam to Hawthornden wher I was thowght longe for be my bookes ; 6th sp.

6. Setterday : sollitarie.

7. Sabbath : went to Glancorss church to meet Comiston ; 8s.

8. Munday : with Sir William Murray at Hawthornden.

9. Tusday : sollitarie.

10. Wedensday : sollitarie ; Alexander Sym borrowed my mans horse to Heddingtown.

11. Thursday : sollitarie ; Alexander Bilches visit me in the morninge ; I was invited to Robert Dowglasses marriage ; with a horride [?] scowre that I went to Gorton inside of Hawthornden ; 4th.

¹ The 4th was Friday.

12. Fryday : sollitarie.

13. Setterday : went to the huntinge with Preston and Alexander Belches ; extreamlie wearrie at night.

14. Sabboth : sollitarie at hom.

15. Munday : went to Edin. ; brought John Maxwell from the Tollboth ; from Lodie 3th 10s.

16. Tusday : cam to Hawthornden where I found my brother Lodie uerie sike.

16. Wedensday : Lodie beinge better, as I thowght, I went to Gosfoord's dowghter's marriage.

18. Fursday : at that marriage.

19. Fryday : I receiued notice that Lodie would not liue.

20. Setterday : I came from Gosfoord to Hawthornden in a uerie short space, gallopin, where I perceiued nothings but death for my brother Lodie ; all night I sat up.

21. Sabboth : I stayed from church exspecting my brother's departure ; sat up all night.

22. Beinge Munday : abowt 3 a cloke in the morninge my brothere, Lodivick Drummond, departed this lif.

23. Tusday : about 10 a cloke in the night tim my brother Lodie was buried with a number of torches and accompanied with the neibours a bout ; the charges of his buriall 5th sterling.

24. Wedensday : sollitarie.

25. Thursday : sollitarie.

26. Fryday : my man cam from Gosfoord's mariage.

27. Setterday ¹ : sollitarie.

29. [*sic*] Sabboth ¹ : Robert Dowglass sent his man to desire me to accompanie him to the church of New Batle after his mariage ; λ ; horst Sophia Ahmutie to church.

30. Munday : horst Sophia to Edin.

OCTOBER. 31

1. Tusday : cam from Ed. to Hawthornden.

2. Wedensday : cam to Edinbrugh to visit X ² ; all night in Ed.

¹ 27th was Sunday and 29th Tuesday.

² This sign is almost the same as that represented by λ .

3. Wedensday [*sic*]: concluded by the assistance of
[rest deleted. Apparently reads: allmightie providence].

4. Thursday: λ; cam from Ed. to Hawthornden where
I was entertained with the thowghts of my mistres.

5. Fryday: sollitarie.

6. Setterday: solitarie.

7. Sabboth: at Pennicooke church; suped with the
Lard of Owchindinie.

8. [Munday: deleted] went to visit Foollfoord; the
foregoinge dayes of this monthe wronge.

9. Fryday¹: sollitarie; wrote a letter to S[ophia] Auch-
[mutie].

10. Setterday: saw [Marie] [originally represented by
* and Marie, written above, deleted] in Edinbrugh; came
hom with moon light.

11. Sabboth: sollitarie; at hom.

12. Munday: went to Ed. wher unexpectedly I ran-
cowntred with ♁.

13. Tusday: saw ♁.

14. Wedensday: din'd with ♁.

15. Thursday: cam from the towen; fattall in my
chamber at hom.

16. Fryday: sollitarie; Preston visit me.

17. Setterday: sollitarie.

18. Sabboth.

The rest of this month with November and December
was I taken up so bussilie in courtinge of my mistres, she
whom providence ['providence' (?) has been deleted] gaue
to be my wife, that I cowlld not haue time to write anie.

So much for the yeare 1657.

1658. [JULY]

Beginninge the 7 day of Jully vpon a Wedensday: solli-
tarie; the smith Crafoord got 12 [*sic*] for nailes.

8. Thursday: sollitarie.

9. Fryday: sollitarie.

¹ The day is correct.

10. Setterday : went up to Twathell ; Coulldcott and I went to Bruhton all night.

11. Sunday : I was comissionat to heare Mester Robert Brune and harde him at Bruhton ; my judgment is of him that he is a good plaine teacher and might be usfull for the uulgars sort of our parish ; to avoid confussion I could giue my consent thereto.

12. Munday : in Linton with Lady Cathernes Stewart's husband, Coulldcott beinge extreemly drunke ; I lay all night be the way at the wall tower.

13. Tusday : extrame waik and sike but sollitarie.

14. Wedensday : in Edin. ; rancountred with Mester Jhon Moore the poet.

15. Thursday : I gaue in my report to the Pressbitrie of Mester Robert Browne.

16. Fryday : I sent up my man with a warrand to the tennants of Whitfeelld to discharge Jams Symson from eatinge eithere stible of the meadow or craft land.

17. Setterday : sollitarie ; the irne millman got a rixe dollore in parte payment for two quarrell wages beinge 7 pund weight and a quarrel mell beinge 18 pund wight ; the smith's wife got 3th to an count.

18. Sabboth : sollitarie ; at hom.

19. Munday : dined with Preston ; a grate many gentlemen visite me.

20. Tusday : sollitarie ; the smith put on a locke in the brew house dore.

21. Wedensday : [no entry].

[The remaining entries for 1658 are not arranged chronologically.]

The 5 of March 1658 there was gotten from Charls Murray 40 dales. I beliuie they warre rawghteres.¹

October 23, being Setterday, my eldest dowghter on Sophia Awchmuttie was born betwixt on & two in the morninge.

¹ The next entry reads: 'in 5 of Junn [orig. "in Junn"] 1659 I sent down two horse to Sir William Murray and they were loaded with 18 rawghters.'

The 8 of September I receiued from Sir William Murray 15 marchant dales and fiftine single trees and no more.

1658. Upon the 3 of October Jhon Cooke gott a furlet of oates from Jhon Boyd. The 18 of October Jhon Cooke brought a bowell of oates from Jho. Boyd. Vpon the 26 of Nouember Jhon Cooke browght a furlet of oates fro Jhon Boyd.

[JANUARY.] [1659]

[The opening page for the year has been torn out, leaving only the stub.]

19. Nothings.

20. Nothings.

21. Nothings.

22. Setterdai: fower litle windlines; sollitarie; Jhon Meggeitt receiued fue pound sterllinge for mallt; 25th owen him.

23. Sabbath: a most terrible wind.

24. Munday: two bigge windlines; there came from Muscelbrughe threescore eightine dales and threttie single trees; the dales was 9s 6 pennies the pice, and the trees was 12s the pice; sollitarie.

25. Tusday: two bigge botles; sollitarrie; spent 2s Scotts.

26. Wedensday: no botles from Jhon Boyd; in Edin. all night.

27. Thursday: two bigge botles; in Edinbrughe; cam to Hawthornden all night; spent 5th-12-0.

28. Fryday: sollitarie; sent ouere summons to Thomas Niccolson to mak paiment for ten [?] thousand merkes aristed in his hand; receiued a summond for the vickaradge tind of Whitfeelld; nothings from Jhon Boyd.

29. Setterday: receiued from Jhon Boyd fower bigge windlines; sollitarie; my wife went downen to Pendrike; Jams Awh[muttie] came.

30. Sabbath: went to Borthicke to Arniston; James Awchmuttie in Hawthornden.

31. Munday: James Awchmuttie in Haw[thornden]; sollitarie; from Jhon Boyd three litle windlines; to my wife 23s-8-.

FEBRUARIE. 28 DAYES

1. Tusday : sollitarie ; the cradlinge was perfited in the shaft ; two litle botles from Jhon Boyd.

2. Wedensday : Candilmis ; colhewers lay owt ; 4 lod of coals came downen ; from Jhon Boyd two litle windlines ; sollitarrie ; Jean Stewart 3th for fresh meat.

3. Thursday : Robert Dowglasse, Jean, and James Awchmuttie heare ; din'd with Preston and Fullfoord ; fower bigge botles.

4. Fryday : Robert Dowglasse and his wife heare ; James Awch. away ; from Jhon Boyd fower bigge botles.

5. Setterday : Robert Dowglasse heare and his wife ; from Jhon Boyd fywe litle botles ; sollitary.

6. Sabboth : at Newbatle kirke with Robert Dowglass and his wife ; satt in W. Bruns ; the first sermon we could not haue a sett ; afternone at church ; spent 1th 13s 4d.

7. Munday : sollitarie but fattall ; my wife in Pendrike at oats dightinge ; on botle from Jhon Boyd.

8. Tusday : sollitarie ; from Jhon Boyd two botles ; Gorge Murray in Haw[thornden].

9. Wedensday : sollitary ; Gorge Murray went away ; from Jhon Boyd two bigge botles ; James Dowglasse mended the great oake kist.

10. Thursday : sollitarie ; there came from Andra Lawtheres mill sixtine bowels of mile and a halfe ; halfe a bowll of grae mile ; halfe a bowle of groates ; three furlets of sown seedes ; from Jhon Boyd three litle botles ; payed Jhon Symsons messenger.

11. Fryday : sollitarie ; from Jhon Boyd on bigge botle ; the arke came from Newebatle ; ovr best ale was perst.

12. Setterday : sollitarie ; turn'd ouere papers of my fateres ; from Jhon Boyd fower verie litle botles at the count.

13. Sabbothe : at home ; sollitarie ; my wife her &c.

14. Munday : sollitarie ; agreed with Jams Willsons for furnishing me coales to my owen house ; from Jhon Boyd three very litle windlines ; sold Thomas Cochren two tries ; pay'd Symson the messenger.

15. Tusday : sollitarie ; the iyron millman completely payed ; from Jhon Boyd two bigge botles ; my wife supposed.

16. Wedensday : sollitarie ; Jhon Boyd receiued a war-rand for ventinge the drinke ; three bigge windlines.

17. Thursday : sollitarie ; Jhon Mane write to me for my wife's howse meale ; from Jhon Boyd two bigge windlines.

18. Fryday : sollitarie ; three litle windlines ; the glasine wright came upe ; Jams Douglass mended the arke.

19. Setterday : sollitarie ; from J. B. fower bigge botles ; took out the stane.

20. Sabboth : sollitarie ; from the church.

21. Munday : the stane putt in by James Tomsone ; three windlines, but litle, from Jhon Boyd.

22. Tusday : sollitarie ; my mothere in Hawthornden din'd with us ; from Jhon Boyd three litle botles.

23. Wedensday : sollitarie ; there was gotten from two men in the West houses eightine lod of lime at twa grots the lod the 18 of Junn 1658 ; Allexander Brun in Edinr. all night ; no straw from Jhon Boyd.

24. Thursday : sollitarie ; Drume visit me ; Allexander Brun not com home ; no strawe.

25. Fryday : sollitarie ; my mothere quitt her lifrent of the house of Hawthornden and all the yeareds, parkes, or in closeter [*sic*] ; Allexander Brune not com hom ; no straw.

26. Setterday : sollitarie ; Allexander Brun came hom ; Patricke Dowglass burried ; from Jhon Boyd 6 litle botles.

27. Sabbothe : at Lasswade church ; hard a minister who was supposed.

28. Munday : my mothere went to Edin. ; no straw from J. B.

MARCH. 31 DAYES

1. Tusday : sollitarie ; from Jhon Boyd 3 litle windlines.

2. Wedensday : reded the close ; no strawe ; my horse steru'd ; 10 bouls of mallt from Jhon Meggett.

3. Thursday : at a mittinge with the Heritors and Elders concerninge the plantinge of the church ; from Jhon Boyd 3 bigge botles.

4. Fryday : sollitarie ; 2 bigge botles.

5. Setterday : solitarie ; 4 bigge botles.

6. Sabbath ; at Lasswade ; harde Mester Jams Cuningghame preache.

7. Munday : Mester Jams Cuningghame in Hawthornden all night ; din'd with Preston ; 2 litle botles.

8. Tusday : at mittinge concerninge the plantation of owr church ; went to Edinbrughe therafter ; no strawe.

9. Wedensday : in Edinbrught ; 3 litle botles ; Jams Awchmuttie din'd with us.

10. Thursday : in Edin. ; my wife her, &c. ; confused with bussines ; 2 litle windlins.

11. Fryday : she [?] [?] golld watch and en hinger ; P., J., W. ; Jhon Mean payed for his house meale ; no botles at all.

12. Setterday : cam from Edin. to Hawthornden ; 4 litle botles from Jhon Boyd ; spent 24th.

13. Sabbath : at Lasswade church ; hard Mester Adam Penmand ; gaue Mester Jams Cuningghame en call to be ower minister at Lasswade ; spent 0th—12s—0.

14. Munday : sollitarie ; Allexander Brun in Ed. for my mothere ; stayed all night ; no straw from J. Boyd.

15. Tusday : sollitarie ; two botles from J. B. ; my mothere cam to Hawthornden ; William Hamillton payed for his wine, beinge 12th—19s.

16. Wedensday : sollitary ; the irron millman brought en collrake, en pare of tonges, en paden iron, en fleshcrooke ; the price of them all is 3th—18-0 ; two bigge botles J. B.

17. Thursday : sollitary ; my horse steru'd for want of strawe ; brewed.

18. Fryday : sollitarie ; 4 rathere wispes then botles.

19. Setterday : sollitary ; tooke up the lassine of my motheres chair here.

20. Sabbath : at hom ; no preachinge ; 4 litle botles ; write to Lidees Reide.

21. Munday : sollitarie ; my horse starued ; no strawe.

22. Tusday : sollitarie ; two litle botles ; Jean Stewart fyed ; 6s of arles.

23. Wedensday : my horse sterued ; on bo[t]le of strawe ; agreed with Jhon Symson to dresse the yeard at halfe a marke a day.

24. Thursday : sollitarie ; two botles but litle.

25. Fryday : sollitarie ; two litle botles.

26. Setterday : Jams Symson in Hawthornden ; spent 12s ; John Boyd in Twathell ; my horse sterued.

27. Sabboth : at hom ; Mester Jams Cuningham preacht ; my horse sterued ; my Lord Traquare dyed suddenly at Traquare.

28. Munday : sollitarie ; mended the yeats ; my horse steru'd ; eat pease straue of Allexander Brun's ; bowght a shoole 1¹0-0 from Thomas Crae.

29. Tusday : sollitarie ; two botles from J. B.

30. Wedensday : sollitarie ; my horse sterued ; a Locke pise strawe ; craued for Lodie's debt.

31. Thursday ; sollitarie ; summond for the same ; from Jhon Boyd two bigge botles.

APRILL. 30 DAYS

1. Fryday : sollitarie ; visit Awchindinnie ; my horse sterued ; on botle from J. Boyd ; my mothere went away.

2. Setterday : sollitarie ; sixe litle botles.

3. Sabboth : sollitarie ; at hom ; a peck of wake oats from Jhon Boyd.

4. Munday : sollitarie ; my mothere came to Hawthornden againe out of Estraw ; 3 litle botls from Jhon Boyd.

5. Tusday : sollitarie ; 2 botls from Jhon Boyd.

6. Wedensday : sollitarie ; 2 peckes of oats from Jhon Boyd ; 2 botls of pise strawe.

7. Thursday : at Dallkeith countanancinge Mester Jams Cuninghame his call to Lasswade ; 3 windlins.

8. Fryday : went to Linlithgow ; my horse in Kingfeeld.

9. Setterday : the Prouist and Rickerton welcom'd me to the townen.

10. Sabbath : in Lithgowe church ; made very wellcom by the minister and othere gentlemen.

11. Munday : tooke course with my tennants they beinge wawaird.

12. Tusday : in Linlithgowe ; receiued from my tennants 100th.

13. Wedensday : the Prouest and I not like to end our counts without much strife ; write for Rickerton Drummond ; receiued from the townen 50th ; Jams Crawford payed.

14. Thursday : Rickerton Drummond came in to Lithgowe to agree me and the townen ; we greeed and thereafter I was made burges of the touen with great solemnitie and my man allsoe.

15. Fryday : came from Riccerton his house in the Bins to Sir Robert Drummond of the Midope out there ; I went to Callderhall ; all night there.

16. Setterday : went from Callderhall to Berno owt there to Hawthornden where I was entertained with my wonted sollitarines ; from J. Boyd two botles but litle.

17. Sabbath : was weirie ; at home ; 3 litle botles.

18. Munday : in Hawthornden ; sollitarie ; red the close ; from Jhon Boyd on great botle ; Preston visit me ; millman payed wobster.

19. Tusday : sollitarie ; from Jhon Boyd 3 litle botles.

20. Wedensday : sollitarie ; from Jhon Boyd two litle botles.

21. Thursday : sollitarie ; on bigge botle.

22. Fryday : sollitarie ; my horse sterued all night.

23. Setterday : John Boyd woulld giue me no more straue cause he had non.

24. Sabbath : at church ; hard Mr Jhon Cunninghame preache ; spent 10s.

25. Munday : bowght a paire of glouds [*sic*: gloues?] 8s ; from Jams Symsons I receiued a thraue of oat strawe.

26. Tusday : exspected Riccerton ; my horse in Edin.

27. Wedensday : my sister here ; sollitarie.

28. Thursday : sollitarie ; my wife in Edin. ; golld lace from Jams Crae.

29. Fryday : in Awchindinnie ; the Lady in Hawthornden.

30. Setterday : the Lady Awhindinnie and her dowghter in Southside.

MAY. 30 [*sic*] DAYES

1. Sabbath : my horse putt forth to grasse ; from church.

2. Munday : sollitarie.

3. Tusday : sollitarie ; my man, Allexander Brune is fied againe for a yeare for three pund sterlinge and two pare of shoes ; my mothere cam to Hawthornden.

4. Wedensday : sollitarie ; Allexander Brun in Edin. ; no horse.

5. Thursday : sollitarie ; John Scott, my coossin his son, in Hawthornden ; raked the parke.

6. Fryday : sollitarie.

7. Setterday : sollitarie ; the water men not well payed by Sanders Brun ; to Jhon Locke 12s Scotts.

8. Sabbothe : att hom.

9. Munday : in Lasswad ; the wrights entred first to the makeinge up of my lafft.

10. Tusday : Gorge S[c]jott the cowner greed with me for 3th-12s-0 to dresse a pice of the church and to make a window in Hawthornden watter tight ; bowght a tree from R. Seaton for my seat for —

11. Wedensday : my wife in Edin. ; panded her two ringes and en armelett for 30th Scotts ; in Lasswade ; spent 12s.

12. Thursday : sollitarie.

13. Fryday : sollitarie.

14. Setterday : in Lasswad with Lard Meggett ; the wrights gott 12th-0-0.

15. Sabbath : att Glancorse church with Will Puruus where I gott first news thatt the Protector was displactt and the kingdoms gouernd by a comman wealth.

16. Munday : I was summond before the justice of peace for [to] giue my oath concerninge a bussines of Lard Meggett's.

17. Tusday : sollitarie ; Rossline visitt me ; Jams Willsonsone imprisond.

18. Wedensday : sollitarie.

19. Thursday : sollitarie ; Bellie Dennem visit me ; spent 20s.

20. Fryday : my wife in Ed.

21. Setterday : sollitarie.

22. Sabboth : at hom.

23. Munday : sollitarie.

24. Tusday ; my wife in Sir William Murray's ; visit Sir Jhon Niclsone of Laswade ; Patricke Maxwell here ; my mothere went to liue be her selfe in her noo chambers ; spent 12s.

25. Wedensday : sollitarie ; my wiff not well ; Patricke Maxwell away.

26. Thursday : my wife & I cam to Ed.

27. [Fryday] : in Ed. ; my wife drew seuen unces of blood ; Doctor Henderson dind with me ; after denner she was soe unwell thatt I exspected no life for her ; en consultation of doctors.

28. Setterday : she was better againe.

29. [Sunday] : went to Mester Robert Lourie's church.

30. Munday : in Ed. ; my wife better.

JUN. 31 [*sic*]

1. Tusday ¹ : my wife worse againe.

2. Wedensday : my wife parted with chilld to the hazard of her life.

3. Thursday : in my chamber all day ouere.

4. Fryday : in my chamber all day till night and then I dra[n]ke coffie win from a Turcke.

5. Setterday : my horse came and I went to Lasswade and complittly payed the wrights for makeinge of my laft in the church, which cam to 24th-18s-4.

6. Sabboth : the communion giuen in Ed. ; I went to Leath church with the Dallmahoyes.

¹ Tuesday was the 31st May.

7. Munday : in Ed. ; my wife worse againe.
8. Tusday : in Ed. ; my wife extreamly sike.
9. Wedensday : att the bullerts all day with Illistone and the Dallmahoyes.
10. Thursday : att a meetinge of the Presbatrie in Lasswade.
11. Fryday : in Leeth att Captan Newman's but dissappointed of my intentions.
12. Setterday : with Illistone.
13. Sabbothe : stayed from church ; my wife was neare deathe ; doctors brought from church ; Jhon Kennady apothicarie under [page torn] . . .
16. Wedensday : in Ed.
17. Thursday : in Ed.
18. Fryday : in Edin.
19. Setterday : cam to Hawthor[n]den with my wife againe.
20. Sabboth : at Lasswade church.
21. Munday : when I had layed ouere my counts there was 500th spent in Edin. the time my wife was sike.
22. Tusday : att Lasswade [page torn]. . .
23. Wedensday : Mester Jams Cunningham was placed minister [of] Lasswade with great sollemnatie.
24. Thursday : the minister went to Ed. and Jhon Awhmuttie and Allexander Trotter with him.
25. Fryday : Jhon Awhmuttie went away and Mester Robert Scott, minister of Edelston came.
26. Setterday : Mester Robert Scott and I waked throw the feellds.
27. Sabboth : att church of Lasswade ; our minister preacht ; spent 10s.
28. Munday : Mester Robert Scott went away and I visit Clerkenton.
29. Tusday : sollitarie ; tormented with visits from all parts.
30. Wedensday : went to Robert Dowglasse his child's burriall ; spent 5th-0-0.
- Thursday : sollitarie ; this month is miscounted on day.

JUN [*sic* JULY]. 30 DAYES

1. Fryday : sollitary ; went to Soutsied ; dranke all night with Robert Dowglasse and Andrau Ritherefoord of the Townhead en impertinent feillow.

2. Setterday : cam from Soutsied ; with my wife to Hawthornden ; spent 1-0-0.

3. Sabbothe : went to church but Mester Oliver Coullt disaponted us of a sermon ; spent 0-4-0.

4. Munday : Jhon Boyd, merchant, came to Hawthornden ; stayed all night ; spent for ale 1-0-0.

5. Tusday : Jhon Boyd went away to Edinbrughe and I caud thike the stable before he went away.

6. Wedensday.

The ende of this Booke.¹

¹ The remaining nine pages at this end of the MS. contain odd jottings. Some refer to the perambulation of his marches (see *supra*, p. 22), e.g. 'John Dobie in Gowrlaw saw the merch stons laide'; 'James Hastie in Gillmorton Edge will giue his oath that the collhills is mine.' Others record payments to or from individuals including purchases of 'a pint of wine,' 'a quart of white wine and fiue shoppens of clarett.' There are also two pages of names, etc., at the other end of the MS.

NOTES

Ahmutie : see Auchmutie.

Arcadia : by Sir Philip Sidney. There were numerous editions of this popular work in the seventeenth century.

Arguile : Marquess of Argyll. At the proclamation of the Protectorate in Edinburgh 'not one Scotchman open his mouth to say "God bless my Lord Protector."' *Scotland and the Protectorate*, ed. Firth (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1899, p. 362. Argyll was evidently an exception (*ante* 15 July 1657). His presence on this occasion formed part of the indictment at his trial in 1661. 'He explained [it] to have been accidental and unpremeditated. He happened to be in Edinburgh and "was commanded by General Monck to wait on the Council before he knew any intention of such a proclamation." This statement of his was confirmed by a letter of Monck's specially written to testify to its truthfulness.' J. Willcock, *The Great Marquess* (1903), p. 316.

ark : large wooden chest for holding meal, flour, etc.

arles : money paid as an earnest ; given to a servant on engagement.

Arniston : in Borthwick and Temple parishes, Midlothian, an estate belonging to the family of Dundas.

Auchmutie : see Goosfoord.

Awhindinnie, Owchindinie : Auchindinny, an estate on the boundary between the parishes of Lasswade and Glencorse, Midlothian. In 1650 John Vernour, the 'Owld Awhindinnie' of the Diary (14 Feb. 1657), resigned his feu to his superior, George Preston of Gorton and Craigmillar. From 1653 to 1664 it was feued to Mr. Thomas Henderson, Advocate, who was the laird during the period of the Diary. John A. Inglis, *The Family of Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall*, Edin. (1914), p. 26.

Balclugh : Buccleuch.

Balvarde, Lord : David, second Lord Balvaird. *Scots Peerage*, ed. J. Balfour Paul, viii. 203.

Bayrnoe : Balerno, a village on the Water of Leith, 7 miles SW of Edinburgh.

bellies : bailies.

Berno : see Bayrnoe.

Bins : Binns, 4 miles NW of Linlithgow. The laird, Thomas Dalyell of Binns, afterwards the notorious general of Covenanting tradition, in 1648 conveyed his estates to his brother-in-law, Wm. Drummond of Riccarton, who was living at Binns during the period of the Diary (15 April 1659). Thomas Dalyell was then in the service of the Czar of Russia. *The Binns Papers* (Scot. Record Socy.), 1938, pp. vii-viii.

Blackbarronie : Sir Alex. Murray, laird of Blackbarony in the parish of Eddleston in Peeblesshire. J. W. Buchan, *Hist. of Peeblesshire*, ii. (1925), 474-80.

Borthicke : Borthwick, a parish some 5 miles SE of Dalkeith, Midlothian.

bottle : bottle of straw, straw bundled up for fodder.

bowell : boll, a measure of capacity.

Brade : the Laird of Braid, now a part of the southern suburbs of Edinburgh, was the famous Sir Wm. Dick from 1631 to 1655. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He was succeeded by his grandson, William. He was laird only in name. 'He inherited only his grandfather's liabilities, together with a lengthy imprisonment in the Tolbooth for debts which he never incurred.' *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. xi. (1922), App., p. 14.

Bred : see Brade.

Breds burne. The burn flows through Braid.

Brigglands : probably Bridgeland, in the parish of Dalkeith.

Bruhton : Broughton, in Peeblesshire.

Brune, Mester Robert : Robert Brown, minister of Broughton in Peeblesshire. Hew Scott, *Fasti Eccles. Scot.* (new ed.), i. 241.

Bruntileinge : Burntisland, on the coast of Fife; the 'English church' was presumably that of the English garrison of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.

bullerts : billiards. See Craigie, *Dict. of the Older Scot. Tongue*, s.v. 'bulzard,' with the variant 'bulliert' in 1647.

Callderhall : in the parish of Kirknewton, Midlothian.

Carre : Robert Ker, Lord Ker of Newbattle, son of the 3rd Earl of Lothian. He succeeded his father as Earl in 1675, and was created Marquess of Lothian in 1701. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, v. 475-8.

Charterhall : in Fogo parish, Berwickshire. The laird was George Trotter. *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot. 1652-1659*, no. 65; 1660-1668, no. 264.

Chirrahall : Sheriffhall, in Newton parish in Midlothian. Giffert or Giffart (Gifford) was the name of the lairds. Cf. *Inquisit. Speciales*, Edin-

burgh, nos. 776, 1635. James Giffart, sculptor in West Linton, described himself in 1660 as brother of Sheriffhall. *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiquaries of Scot.*, xxxiii. 147.

civillie : in a well-ordered manner ; sober.

clack : chatter.

clavers : idle or foolish talk.

Clerkenton : Clerkington, 'in the parish of Temple at the N end of the Moorfoot hills, and about twelve miles SE of Edinburgh.' The laird was Sir William Scott, whose forensic title was Lord Clerkington. His daughter Barbara was Drummond's second wife. J. A. Inglis, *The Monros of Auchinbowie and Cognate Families*, Edin. (1911), pp. 177-8, 183-4.

close : enclosure, court or courtyard.

Coal : 'The country between Edinburgh and Haddington undoubtedly remained the chief centre of the Scottish mining industry. All through the valley of the Esk, inland beyond Dalkeith and Lasswade, hamlets that had once consisted almost entirely of hovels . . . became busy mining villages. . . . In 1548 a special messenger had to be sent to Lasswade, Dalkeith, Musselburgh, Newbattle, Inveresk, Edmonstone, Whitehill and Cockpen to order that coal be dug to supply the French army. Fifty years later there was a regular trade in coal all through East and Mid-Lothian. . . . The growth of the market at Edinburgh, where the demand for coal presumably increased in each succeeding decade of the 17th century, had led to the development of a dozen or more "land-sale" collieries on the western side of the Esk valley, e.g. at Ormiston, Carberry, Southside, Cockpen, Clerkington, Lasswade, Wolmet and Arniston.' J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, Lond. (1932), i. 46-7 and n.

coillers : colliers.

Cokpen : Cockpen, a parish in the E of Midlothian, near Dalkeith. The laird was Mark Carse or Cass. According to tradition, he was 'The Laird of Cockpen' of the song. J. C. Carrick, *Around Dalkeith* (1904), p. 72. 'Young Cockpen' was also called Mark. *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Index, s.v. Cass ; P. Mitchell, *The Parish of Cockpen* (1881), p. 31.

Collinton : Colinton, on the Water of Leith to the SW of Edinburgh, in which it is now incorporated. The laird was Sir Alexander Foulis. G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, ii. 401.

collrake : a rake for coals.

Collwhalie : Colquhalzie, in Trinity Gask parish, Perthshire. The lairds were Drummonds. *Gen. of the House of Drummond*, ed. Laing (1831), p. 263.

Comiston : W of the Braid Hills, in the southern suburbs of Edinburgh. Walter Porterfield of Comiston died 2 Nov. 1664. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh Testaments, vol. 72, 24 June 1665.

coues : the famous caves at Hawthornden, described in the *Proceedings of the Socy. of Antiquaries of Scot.*, vol. 45 (1910-11), pp. 278-291.

Coullt, Mester Oliver : Oliver Colt, minister of Inveresk. Hew Scott, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 325.

Cowlldcott : Coldcoat (now Macbiehill), in the parish of Newlands, N. Peeblesshire. The laird was Jonas Hamilton. See *ante*, p. 6. Lady Cowlldcott was either his mother or his wife, 'Lady' being the feminine of 'Laird.'

cowner : cowaner, a mason who builds dry-stone dykes.

count : account.

cradlinge : fitting with a surround or lining. Craigie, *Dict. of the Older Scot. Tongue*.

Craigebuti : the only place of this name that has been traced is in the parish of Portpatrick, Wigtownshire. It belonged to the Hannays of Sorbie. P. H. McKerlie, *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, 2nd ed. (1906), i. 386. See also *Parish Lists of Wigtownshire and Minniegaff*, 1684 (Scot. Rec. Socy.), 1916.

Craighouse : on the NE slope of Craiglockhart Hill, near Edinburgh. The laird was Andrew, afterwards Sir Andrew, Dick, son of Sir William Dick of Braid. G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, vi. App. p. 74.

Craigmillar : in the parish of Liberton, Midlothian. On 20 Oct. 1660, a charter was granted confirming a disposition by George Preston, formerly of Craigmillar, to Sir John Gilmour, now of Craigmillar. *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot.*, 1660-1668, no. 20. For Sir John Gilmour, who became Lord President of the Court of Session in 1661, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

craised : hurt ; injured.

Cuninggham, Mr. James : minister of Lasswade. Called 'John' in error on 24 April 1659. Hew Scott, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 329.

Cyprian Groue : his father's *Cypresse Grove* printed in 1623. *Poetical Works of William Drummond*, ed. L. E. Kastner (Scot. Text Socy.), 1913, ii. 67 *et seq.*

Dallmahoy : the laird was Sir Alex. Dalmahoy of that Ilk. Douglas, *Baronage*, p. 550 ; *Acts Parl. Scot.* (Record Series), Index, *s.v.* The barony was in Ratho parish, Midlothian.

Dallwossie : Dalhousie in Cockpen parish, Midlothian. See Ramsay.

Dennam (Dennem), Bellie: Bailie John Denholme, an active member of Edinburgh Town Council. See *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1642-1665*, ed. M. Wood, Index, s.v. Denholme, John.

dightinge: dichtung, separating grain from chaff; to sift meal.

Donn's devotions: Devotions upon Emergent Occasions . . ., by John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's. First published in 1624. There were seven issues between 1624 and 1638.

dresse the yeard: put the garden in order.

Drume: 'The Drum' in Liberton parish, Midlothian, SE of Gilmerton. The laird of Drum was James *de jure* ninth Lord Somerville. In 1658 he removed from Drum to Edinburgh, where he spent the rest of his life. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, viii. 28-29. See also Hamilton More Nisbett, *Drum of the Somervilles*, Edin. (1928).

Drummond, Sir Robert: the laird of Midhope, in Abercorn parish, Linlithgowshire. W. Drummond's *Genealogy*, ed. Laing, p. 73.

Edmiston: Edmonstone in Newton parish, Midlothian, 3½ miles SE of Edinburgh. The laird was James Raith. *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot., 1652-1659*, no. 493.

en: a, one.

Esterhall, Estraw: probably Eister Haill, in the lordship of Musselburgh, Midlothian, mentioned in *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot., 1652-1659*, no. 225.

Farrlie, Mr. James: James Fairlie, minister of Lasswade. Hew Scott, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 329.

fatall: [?] mortally drunk. Sir Wm. Craigie kindly informs me that this is the only instance he knows of the use of the word in this sense.

fied, fyed: engaged as a servant.

flans: blasts of wind.

fleshcrooke: a large iron hook for hanging meat on.

Foollfoord, Fullfoord: Fulford. 'Fulford Tower is incorporated in the modern mansion of Woodhouselee . . . ⅔ of a mile WNW of the hamlet of Easter Howgate.' *R. Com. on Ancient and Hist. Monuments, Midlothian and West Lothian*, Edin. (1929), p. 72. The ruins of the old castle of Woodhouselee are situated on the left bank of the N. Esk some 3 miles away. Wm. Purves of Abbeyhill got sasine of Fulford on 5 July 1657. H.M. Register House, P.R.S., Edin., vi. 19. He obtained a charter under the Great Seal, dated 17 Aug. 1657, in favour of himself in liferent and his son Alexander in fee. *Ibid.*, vi. 402. 'Purves soon afterwards took up his residence at Woodhouselee . . . of which he had Charter under the Great Seal on 31 Dec. 1658.' Sir Wm. Purves, *Revenue of the Scottish Crown*, 1681, ed. D. Murray Rose, Edin. (1897), p. xxi. On 20 July 1665 a Crown Charter was granted to Wm. Purves of Abbeyhill, 'erecting

certain lands, including Woodhouselee, into the barony of Woodhouselee.' *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot., 1660-1668*, no. 462. 'He repaired Fulford Tower as a residence from the materials of old Woodhouselee and transferred that name to the Tower.' *R. Com. on Anc. Mons., op. cit.*, p. 73. He was created a knight baronet in July 1665. G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, iv. 244. He thereafter appears in the records as 'of Woodhouselee,' but once at least, in 1668, as 'of Foulfoord.' *Cal. of Laing Charters*, ed. J. Anderson, Edin. (1899), no. 2639.

furlet : firilot, a corn measure.

Garleton : in Haddington parish, East Lothian. The laird was John Seton of Garleton, created a baronet in 1664, son of the third Earl of Winton by his second marriage. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, viii. 596.

Genarall, the : General Monck, who occupied Dalkeith Palace during the minority of Mary Scott, Duchess of Buccleuch. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, ii. 236.

Gillmore, Sir John : see Craigmillar.

glakes : [?] glaiks, [?] cheating ; or [?] puzzles. See *Oxford Eng. Dict.* s.v. 'glaik,' sb. 1 and 3.

Glancorss : Glencorse, a parish some eight miles S of Edinburgh.

Gledsmoor : Gladsmuir in the W of East Lothian.

Godfrey of Bulloigne : probably either Richard Carew's *Godfrey of Bulloigne or the Recouerie of Hierusalem* (1594), or Edward Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1599 and 1624), both English translations of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

Goosfoord : Gosford, in the parish of Aberlady, East Lothian. Sir Alexander Auchmutie, whose daughter, Sophia, Drummond married, was the laird.

Gortowen, Gorton : George Preston was laird of Gorton and Craigmillar. Gorton is half a mile SW of Hawthornden. See Awhindinnie.

griuie : grieve, head workman on a farm ; 'griuie all night,' [the] grieve [employed] all night [on].

Hagges : Alexander Hamilton, knighted c. 1662, and created a baronet in 1670, was laird of Haggs (afterwards called Rosehall) in Old Monkland parish, Lanarkshire. Geo. Hamilton, *A History of the House of Hamilton*, Edin. (1933), p. 440.

halfe marke marriage : clandestine marriage.

hansell : handsel, a gift at a particular season. Thus Drummond gave a crown on Handsel Monday, the first Monday of the New Year (5 Jan. 1657).

Henderson, Dr. : Drummond's sister Eliza married ' Mr. Henri Hendersone, a famous doctor of physick in our time.' He was physician to the Earl of Perth. *Genealogy of the House of Drummond*, ed. D. Laing (1831), pp. 74, 308.

Hermiston : see St. Clair, Sir John.

hinger : a pendant, a necklace.

Howse of Moore : House of Muir, a hamlet in Glencorse parish, Midlothian.

hymera : chimera.

Illistone : Eleistoun. Sasine, 24 March 1658, to Mr. John Eleis, Advocate, of the lands of Eleiston, in the lordship of Kinpont, sheriffdom of Linlithgow, on disposition by James Hamiltoun, eldest lawful son and apparent heir of Sir Wm. Hamiltoun of Eleistoun. H.M. Register House, P.R.S., Edin., vi. 380. Cf. *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot.*, 1652-1659, no. 256.

Justice of peace : Justices of the Peace were re-introduced into Scotland by the Cromwellian Government in November 1655. *Minutes of the Justices of the Peace for Lanarkshire*, ed. C. A. Malcolm (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1931, p. xxi.

Katenes : George, sixth Earl of Caithness. At the proclamation of the Protectorate (*ante* 15 July 1657) he was with the Marquess of Argyll, to whose second daughter he was ' contracted.' *Scotland and the Protectorate*, ed. Firth (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1899, p. 362.

Kokpen : see Cockpen.

Kringiltie : Cringletie, in the parish of Eddleston, Peeblesshire. William Burnet was laird from 1633 to 1664. The property was then acquired by Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony, whose son, John Murray of Cringletie, married Sophia, daughter of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden. J. W. Buchan, *History of Peeblesshire*, ii. (1925), 469, 493-4.

laftt : gallery.

lassine : [?] lacing, perhaps for a leather-covered chair.

Leith : see ' sitidell.'

leuell, leuen : ' Levels . . . are nothing else but conduits or gutters made underground for conveying of the water from the coal and so rendering it workable.' George Sinclair, *The Hydrostaticks . . . with a Short History of Coal* . . . Edin., 1672.

locke : ' a locke pise strawe,' a small quantity of pease straw.

Lodie : Ludovick Drummond, brother of Sir William. See *ante*, p. 3.

Lonhide : Loanhead, in Lasswade parish, Midlothian.

Lothian, Lord: William Ker, third Earl of Lothian. His father was a friend of the poet Drummond. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, v. 468.

Lourie, Mester Robert: Robert Laurie, minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh. Hew Scott, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 135.

Luggton: Lugton, in Dalkeith parish, Midlothian. The barony was held by Sir David Crichton. *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot., 1652-1659*, no. 287; *Index to Register of Deeds*, ii. (1662), 134.

Magumri, Lord: Hugh Montgomerie, afterwards seventh Earl of Eglinton. He was excepted from Cromwell's Act of Grace and Pardon, 1654. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, iii. 450-1; W. Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, i. 83-93, 96.

martches, merches: marches, boundaries.

meales: meals, mails, rent.

Meggett, Lard: [?] Wm. Meggat of Mastertoun, who as son and heir of the deceased Thomas Meggat of Mastertoun, got sasine of the lands of Mastertoun in the lordship of Newbotle, 12 April 1658. H.M. Register House, P.R.S., Edin., vi. 418.

mell: large wooden hammer.

merkes: marks, i.e. the coins formerly valued at 13s. 4d. Scots.

Midope: Midhope; see Drummond, Sir Robert.

mile: meal.

minut: minute, first draft of a written agreement.

Monipennie: Sir James Monipenny, knighted at Dunfermline, 5 July 1633, on the creation of the Earl of Ancrum, another of the poet Drummond's friends. W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, i. lxii.

Mortonhall: on the southern outskirts of Edinburgh, W of Liberton. The laird from 1652 to 1665 was John Trotter, a great traveller. Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 207.

Mossleye: Edward Mosely, one of the Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Scotland. Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, Edin. (1836), p. 346; Firth, *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1899, pp. 214, 385-7.

Murray, Sir Wm.: laird of Newton, near Dalkeith, Midlothian. G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, ii. 375.

Newbattall, New Batle: Newbattle, a village one mile S of Dalkeith; also Newbattle Abbey, the seat of the Earls of Lothian.

Nic[ol]sone, Sir John : second Baronet of Lasswade, on the N. Esk, 9 miles SE of Edinburgh. G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, ii. 363.

Nutton : Newton ; see Murray.

on : one.

ordred : set in order.

osstage : hostage, inn.

Ouchindinie : see Awhindinnie.

owen : owing.

owersman : overseer.

paden iron : [ɹ] paddle, a long-handled spud for cutting thistles, weeds, etc.

panded : pawned.

Penmand, Mester Adam : Adam Penman, minister of Cockpen. Hew Scott, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 307.

perambulation : 'The action or ceremony of walking officially round a territory . . . for the purpose of asserting and recording its boundaries.' *Oxford Eng. Dict.*

pise : pease.

plantation, planting : choosing a minister for the Church.

Preston, Mr. Robert : probably Mr. Robert Preston of Uttershill, who was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1651. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, ed. C. H. Firth (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1899, p. 312. Uttershill adjoined Auchindinny. J. A. Inglis, *The Family of Inglis of Auchindinny and Redhall*, Edin. (1914), p. 22.

Preston : Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas, Hamilton was laird of Preston in the parish of Prestonpans, East Lothian. Geo. Hamilton, *A History of the House of Hamilton*, Edin. (1933), pp. 699-700.

quarrel : stone quarry.

Ramsay, Lord : George Ramsay, Lord Ramsay, son and heir of William, first Earl of Dalhousie (d. 1672). *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, iii. 100.

rantinge : revelling.

raughters : rafters.

red, reddinge : tidy, clean up ; adjusting.

Rickerton Drummond : see Bins.

roded : [ɹ] gave him the road, i.e. dismissed.

St. Clair, Sir John, of Herdmanston (Hermiston) : he held the lands of Roslin, in Lasswade parish, Midlothian, from 1652, on the resignation of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, vii. 584. From the Diary it appears that he resided in Roslin Castle.

Scott, John, my cousin his son: probably a Scot of Scotstarvet, Sir John Scot having married Anne, sister of the poet Drummond. Douglas, *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 223.

Scott, Mr. Robert: minister of Eddleston. He had been deposed on the 5th May 1659 for 'offensive expressions, etc.'; afterwards minister of Tweedsmuir. Hew Scott, *Fasti* (new ed.), i. 271.

Scour: drinking-bout.

Scugall, Judge: John Scougal of Humble, one of those nominated to be a Commissioner for the Administration of Justice in Scotland. According to Nicoll (*Diary*, Bannatyne Club, 1836, p. 279), he never sat as he was not nominated until March 1660. Drummond, however, calls him 'Judge' in 1657.

set: seat in the church.

shirray: sheriff.

shoole: shovel.

shoppens: chopin, a Scotch measure containing about an English quart.

sitidell of Leith: the citadel or fort of Leith was erected during the Cromwellian occupation. It was begun on 26 May 1656. On 11 July 1657 (Drummond saw it a fortnight later) Monck wrote to Cromwell that £17,000 had been spent on it, and that it would cost £12,000 more. *Scotland and the Protectorate*, ed. C. H. Firth (Scot. Hist. Socy.), 1899, pp. xlix-li.

Siton, Lady Jean: Seton, Lady Jean, daughter of the third Earl of Winton. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, viii. 601.

Soutsied: James Eleis of Southsyde was served heir to the third part of the lands of Southsyde within the lordship of Newbattle, 29 Dec. 1652. *Inquis. Speciales*, Edin., no. 1033.

sowen seeds: seeds or husks used in making sowens ('a dish made by steeping the husks and siftings of oatmeal in water,' Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*).

spa: at Kinghorn in Fife. Dr. Patrick Anderson, 'inventor of the pills that still go by his name,' wrote a treatise concerning it—*The colde Spring of Kinghorne Craig, his admirable and new tryed properties*. Edin., 1618. *Stat. Account of Scotland.*, xii. (1794), p. 233.

Stirling, Commissarie: John Stirling of Orcherfield, Commissary of the Commissariat of Wigtown from 1635. The appointment was confirmed by Parliament in 1661. *Acts Parl. Scot.*, vii. 210. On 13 Sept. 1639 he was served heir to the lands of Townhead in Balerno and the lands of Orcherfield 'near the Castle of Edinburgh.' *Inquisit. Speciales*, Edin., no. 843.

Straitinge : Straiton ; see *Suthhowse*.

Sudus : Southhouse ; see *Suthhowse*.

sumpholl : sump-hole, cesspool.

supposed : (1) ' my wife supposed ' (15 Feb. 1659), [?] with child ; (2) ' a minister who was supposed ' (27 Feb. 1659), [?] took the place of the minister of the church ; substituted.

Suthhowse : Southhouse, Alexander Straiton on 18 Oct. 1631 served heir to the house and lands of Straiton and Southhouse. *Inquisit. Speciales*, Edin., no. 687. See also no. 1150. The village of Straiton is 5 miles S of the centre of Edinburgh, and now within the city boundary.

takes : tacks, leases.

Tanochie : Tannachy, in Rathven parish, Banffshire. The lairds were Tullochs. R. Young, *Annals of . . . Elgin*, pp. 665-7.

taxmen : holders of a tack or lease.

Tersapie : Tersappie, in the parish of Perth. *Rentall of the County of Perth . . . 1649*, Perth, 1835. The laird was Wm. Blair, his brother Alexander being his heir in 1661. *Inquisit. Speciales*, Perth, no. 676, 10 July 1661. See also *Reg. of the Great Seal of Scot., 1660-1668*, no. 498.

thike : thatch.

thraue : twenty-four sheaves.

Tullialan : Tulliallan, a barony and parish on N shore of the Forth adjoining Culross.

tind : teind, tithe.

Tofts, Lord : Sir Alexander Belches of Tofts, whose forensic title was Lord Tofts. Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice of Scotland*, pp. 320-1.

Tomson, Sir Thomas : Sir Thomas Thomson, as a Royalist, was excepted from the Cromwellian Act of Pardon, 1654. *Acts Parl. Scot.* (Record Series), vi. Pt. ii. 818a. See Index, *s.v.*

Traquare, Lord : John, first Earl. The ' beggar Earl,' his last days were spent in poverty and obscurity. *Scots Peerage*, ed. Balfour Paul, viii. 404.

tryst : an appointment to meet ; *trysted* : engaged to meet.

Twathell : Tweeddale, Peeblesshire.

ventinge : selling.

wages : wedges.

warlocke : wizard.

Wheitfeelds : Whitfield, consisting of Over and Nether Whitfield, was Drummond's property. It lies 2 miles S of Carlops in NW. Peeblesshire. J. W. Buchan and H. Paton, *History of Peeblesshire*, iii. (1927), 173-4.

whines : whins, furze.

Whitehill : James Ramsay, created a baronet in 1665, was laird of Whitehill in Carrington Parish, Midlothian. Riddell, *Baronetage of Scotland*, v. 485, Nat. Lib. Scot., Adv. MS. Coal had long been mined in the barony.

will : while, until.

windlines : windlins, windlings, a ' bottle ' of straw, i.e. straw bundled up for fodder.

Winton : in Pencaitland parish, East Lothian.

Woodhouslie : see Foollfoord.

Woulmet : Woolmet, 2½ miles NW of Dalkeith. The lairds were Edmonstones. On 24 March 1658 James Edmonstoun of Wolmet disposed of the lands of Wolmet, etc., to Major John Biggar, his brother-in-law, who is described as ' of Woolmet ' in 1662. H.M. Register House, P.R.S., Edin., 2nd series, vol. 6, f. 439 ; Deeds (Mackenzie), 31 Dec. 1662 ; cf. Book of Debts, 10 July 1656.

yeats : gates.

THE EXILED STEWARTS
IN ITALY

1717-1807

Edited by

HELEN CATHERINE STEWART

HON. SERVING SISTER, ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM



JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STEWART

Original in Palazzo Doria, Rome

Photo by Alinari

INTRODUCTION

MUCH has been written about the flight of King James II. and his family from England in 1688 and the kindly reception they were given at the Court of Louis XIV., but not so well known perhaps is the life of the Chevalier de Saint Georges, the only son of King James and Mary of Modena, after he left France. He was of course *de jure* James III. and VIII., and as such was always acknowledged by the reigning Popes until his death in 1766. He went to Urbino in 1717 at the express invitation of Pope Clement XI., a member of the well-known family of Albani, settled for hundreds of years in Urbino, where their fine old palace may still be seen.

Clement XI. was a clever and cultivated man, generous, interested in art, a keen churchman as well as a far-seeing statesman. He always acknowledged the Chevalier as King James III. of England and was anxious that he should spend some time in Urbino, not only as a refuge for himself, but because of the satisfaction it would give the Urbinati to have a Court once more in the great palace. This residence had been disused since the abdication of the feeble Duke Francesco della Rovere nearly a hundred years earlier, when the Duchy of Urbino passed into the hands of the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII., as a fief of the Papal States.

The palace is a magnificent building of the early fifteenth century, standing on an isolated hill in the centre of the town, which dominates the surrounding country. The air

is fresh and invigorating, and in the summer James went out riding and amused himself 'by hunting the hare with his clever little Danish dogs.' In the winter he evidently was not so happy, and he felt the cold so much that he sent to England for a grate to burn coal in the beautiful seventeenth-century fireplace of a room which is to this day known as 'The Room of the King of England.'

There are various manuscripts both in Urbino and Bologna relating to the stay of James in the district, the earliest, which describes his arrival at Piacenza, being in the University Archives at Bologna. The first of those given below consists of Notes by a certain Canonico Ghiselli.¹ They are sadly disconnected, and do not give us much information beyond a scanty list of the courtiers.

There are also a few references in the papers of Cardinal Ruffi,² who was a good friend to James and many years later succeeded in reconciling James to Clementina after one of their periodical disputes. The story attributing to Lord Peterborough the idea of assassinating James was a fabrication, and Cardinal Ruffi showed his good sense by the way in which he treated the poor nobleman.

In Bologna also, but in the Royal State Archives, is a very interesting book of miniatures relating to important events connected with the history of the city.³ In this book are various illustrations of James and his family with apposite allusions, and it is clear that they kept up their connection with Bologna for many years. James was certainly living there in 1728.

Another city where much of interest no doubt still remains to be found with regard to Jacobite history is Urbino; but since the Library of the University was being reorganised when the writer was there, it was only after a

¹ See p. 69.

² See p. 71.

³ See p. 73.

long search that some notes on the marriage of James and Clementina were found in a history of the town by the Abbé Ricciardelli, with some account of the Bishop of Montefiascone, who performed the ceremony.¹ Evidently James had known this Monsignor Bonaventura two years previously, and this explains, what at first sight seems difficult to understand, why such a small out-of-the-way place as Montefiascone should have been chosen for the marriage.

We glean something of James's sojourn in Urbino from a manuscript book, which belongs to the Bishop's Library but which was actually shown to the writer by Professor Renzetti, the Director of the Museum and Picture Gallery. It contains part of a diary, dated 1718, and is headed 'Diario delle Cose di Urbino dall' anno 1718 di Giovanni Fortinario Gueroli Pucci d'Urbino sulla venuta, permanenza e partenza del Re dalla Gran Bretagna Giacomo III. Stuarda in Urbino e quindi anche il rittorno del detto Monarca in Urbino con Clementina Sobieski sua sposa ma di passaggio.'² Unfortunately this is but a copy of an older book, and suffers from various erasures and mistakes, such as '1718' instead of '1717' for the year of James's residence in the town. It is impossible to identify some of the persons referred to in the list of members of the Court; others again are quite comprehensible. The gentleman called 'Conte Metellan Lauderdale' was Alexander Maitland, a kinsman of Lord Lauderdale, and evidently a general favourite, as may be gathered from the mention of him in various letters among the Stuart Papers at Windsor. He died at Urbino; and there is an inspiring inscription to his memory in a corridor of the Seminary opposite the Ducal Palace.³

James apparently kept his Court at Urbino till the end of 1718. Early in the next year we know that he was in

¹ See p. 77.

² See p. 79.

³ See p. 87.

Spain, where his half-brother, the Duke of Berwick,¹ was in command of the French troops, while his nephew, the Duke of Liria,² was fighting on the other side.

In Rome the Vatican Archives contain a letter from George I. to the Emperor Charles VI., undated but presumably written in 1719, when George paid a visit to his German dominions. It shows his indignation at the escape of Clementina Sobieska from Innsbrück and his fear of a rising in favour of the exiled Stewarts. The heading of the letter is a silent testimony to the attitude of the Papal Court, disclosing on which side lay its sympathies.³

On Clementina's arrival in Rome she stayed at the Convent of the Ursuline Nuns in the Via Vittoria, which some seventy years later gave refuge to other royal ladies, the French princesses, 'Mesdames Victoire et Adelaide, Tantes du Roi,' when they fled from the fury of the French Revolution, and in which they studied Italian with the famous playwright Goldoni.

Maria Clementina, the bride chosen for James, was the youngest daughter of Prince James Sobieski, who, but for the machinations of his mother, might have succeeded his father, the celebrated warrior and defender of Vienna, as King of Poland. As it was, he never became king, but lived in exile with his family at Ohlau.

¹ In 1937 an American lady found in an antiquity shop in Rome a set of twelve beautiful Jacobite wine glasses, engraved with the portrait of Prince Charles Edward and the Rose and Thistle. She bought them and with them was given a note declaring that they were genuine and had always been in the writer's family. The owner was a certain old lady, Signora Sindaci-Steuart, aged nearly ninety, who died in 1938 and is said to have been the 'Nipote' (which may mean either niece or granddaughter) of the Duke of Berwick, but it was not possible to find out anything more definite about her antecedents.

² James Francis, Duke of Liria (b. 1696, d. 1738) was the only child of the Duke of Berwick by his first wife, Honora de Burgh, daughter of William, second Earl of Clanricarde. He was in Scotland with his uncle, James Edward, during the 'Fifteen.

³ See p. 88.

We know that James and Clementina did not actually meet until their marriage, which took place in the great hall of the Episcopal Palace at Montefiascone, on September 1, 1719, 'at Ave Maria, that is the twenty-fourth hour by the Roman Italic clock,' as is the wording of the Register still preserved in the Bishop's Palace. Monsignor Sebastiano Pompilio Bonaventura received special permission of Pope Clement xi. through the Cardinal Secretary of State Paolucci to perform the ceremony, and the witnesses were 'Giovanni Hay, Jacomo Murray, Carolus Wogan, Giovanni O'Brien.' There were also present Sebastiano Antonino, Vicario Generale, and Father Brown, Confessor of the King.¹

It is very unfortunate that this fine hall has been divided and now has a large glass screen right across it. The inner portion is used as an office, and in this part is the tablet commemorating the marriage, with a smaller one affixed to the original, which records the baptism in Rome a year later of the son of the royal couple and the fact that Bishop Bonaventura was summoned to Rome for the occasion. The King and Queen sent him, as an offering after the ceremony, a magnificent 'Paliotto' (altar frontal), which is most carefully preserved in the palace. It is embroidered in gold and silver thread with the royal arms of England in the centre, and is a very fine piece of work. The chaplain (Don Tomaso Leonetti) emphasised to the writer the fact that the royal marriage did not take place in the cathedral, as is sometimes stated, but in the hall referred to above, and that the chapel of to-day was then the royal bedchamber, and as such was blessed by the Bishop.

¹ The account from which the above is taken is in the Diocesan Register and is partly in Italian and partly in Latin. It is said that the vows were exchanged in French, although the King and Queen signed their names and titles in Latin at the end of the document.

Montefiascone is a little town about sixty miles from Rome, perched on a high hill overlooking the beautiful Lake of Bolsena. James and Clementina spent a short time there, and then settled down in the Palazzo Muti, which had been prepared for them by order of the Pope, who also provided a guard of honour. Not only Clement XI. but also his successors, Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., Benedict XIV., and Clement XIII., all acknowledged James as lawful King of England, but when it came to the turn of Charles Edward, Clement XIII. refused to admit his claim, diligent though 'Prince Charlie' was in pressing it, and he was always called 'Royal Highness' by the Vatican Court. There was much friction between James and Clementina, partly on account of members of their Court, but also because the Polish princess was much more bigoted than her husband, who, although very staunch in his religious views, was broad-minded enough to allow the service according to the rite of the Church of England to be held in the Palazzo Muti every Sunday.

There are two Stewart portraits in the Convent of San Clemente in Rome, which the Dominican Fathers allowed the writer to photograph, the one an unprepossessing likeness of Prince Charles Edward as an elderly man; the other of Clementina as an old, pathetic-looking woman.

The writer thought that there might have been a few manuscripts to be found in the Convent of the Irish Church of Sant' Isidoro in Rome, as Prince Charles Edward's confessors, James and Michael McCormick, were Franciscans from that convent, but the Prior was certain that all papers of any interest or value had been sent to Dublin in 1870, when the papal authorities were afraid of what Victor Emmanuel might do to the convents. These two brothers were with their royal master up to the last and

were both distinguished men : James became Head of the convent and died in 1818 ; Michael, who was a brilliant linguist, died at Naples in 1820.

From time to time James went to Bologna, as we learn from various records ; but latterly he does not seem to have journeyed beyond the Castelli Romani, as the villages and little towns in the Alban Hills are called. At Albano he stayed at the Palazzo Savelli, now the Municipio, and at Frascati he sometimes spent a few days at the Villa Rocchi (now Villa Muti), which belonged to Monsignor Cesarini, the chaplain and devoted friend of the Cardinal of York.

James and his sons considered themselves able by divine power to heal those afflicted by the disease known as the King's Evil. The writer owns two touchpieces, one bearing the inscription ' JAC. III. D.G.M.B.F. ET H.R.,' the other ' CAR. III. D.G.M.B.F. ET H.R.,' both in silver instead of the gold which was always used in England. That of Charles is slightly the larger, and the angel is head down and the tail of the dragon is rather longer. On each medal are the words *Soli Deo Gloria*.

In the Pilgrim's Book of the English College in Rome there are various references to this gift of healing. For instance, here is an extract dated July 15, 1722 : ' 'Twas about this time that Henry Clark, watchmaker, came with a little boy about ten years of age who had to a great degree the King's Evil. His first design was only to enquire how he might get his little boy touched by his Majesty, but this was not the only effect ; for by God's Divine Providence his soul was illuminated and instead of his corporeal sight, which he had lost in Spain by a flash of lightning, he received, I hope, one far more estimable : his little child also was cured of his distemper.'

On August 21, 1749, in the same record, there is mention of a certain Peter Whittel,¹ 'a Roman Catholic, a watch-maker by trade,' who after many adventures both at home and in Spain came at last to Italy, 'teized and plagued' to do so by his wife, an Italian. Alas! the Italians treated him badly and he reached Rome penniless; however, the writer says: 'I made a memorandum for him to his Majesty, who was so good as to give him three Zecchines. This man had suffered much on account of his being so stiff a Jacobite, as likewise had all his family, and once his father drunk openly in ye Old Bailey ye health of his Royal Majesty King James, for which impudent action he was forced to pay 600 Pounds and put to a great deal of trouble likewise.'

The next section consists of letters from James and from Clementina, taken chiefly from the Vatican Archives.² The Royal Stewarts were evidently on friendly terms with many of the noble Roman families, for we know that in addition to the Albani they visited the Piombino, Patrizi, Bolognetti and Doria Palaces. In 1739 Prince Doria gave a grand ball in their honour, at which Prince Charles Edward appeared in a kilt of his own tartan. The traveller Charles De Brosses mentions that both brothers were musical, the elder playing particularly well on the violoncello.³ In the private rooms of the Doria Palace there is an attractive portrait of James III. as a young man by La Belle, which is reproduced in this volume by the kind permission of Prince Doria.⁴

The will of James III., which is in the Vatican Archives, is dated November 21, 1760, and in it he mentions that,

¹ Peter Whittel may have been of the same family as Ebenezer Whittel, who was the Duke of Mar's valet.

² See pp. 93-117.

³ *Lettres écrites d'Italie 1739-40.*

⁴ Facing p. 55.

‘whereas in the beginning of the year 1744, when the Prince left Rome, we had a great number of papers, . . . we have already deposited the said papers in the English College of this City . . . and in the Monte di Pietà a box of jewels.’ It is not unlikely that these jewels may have been those worn by Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, in after years, for there are various references to her appearing in public ‘royally apparelled’ when she was living with her father in Rome.

The two letters¹ found in that part of the National Library which was taken over from the Jesuits after the Unification of Italy show that Prince Charles Edward was keenly anxious that the Pope should acknowledge his claim to the throne of his fathers. The humble attitude of mind cultivated by the Cardinal towards his elder brother is shown in the letter to their father about ‘the Townhouse of Paris,’ dated 1751.²

In the print room of the Corsini Gallery in Rome there are many interesting portraits of the Royal Stewarts: several of Mary Queen of Scots; one of Mary of Orange on horseback with a flourishing thistle growing out of a rose; several of James III., generally called the Chevalier de Saint Georges; and a copper engraving of Charles Edward by Nicholas Poilly, which represents the Prince standing on the shore and gazing at ships at sea, with this verse below:

‘Edouard presque seul vole vers ses Etats
Ses fortunes et ses droits accompagnent ses pas :
Quel Prince mieux que lui pretend a la Couronne,
Si le Sang la transmet, si la vertu la donne.’

(Vend a Paris 1747.)

¹ See p. 118.

² See p. 116.

Prince Charles Edward had an unhappy married life both in Florence and in Rome, but his last days were soothed by the care and attention of his daughter. The weather-vane of the Palazzo San Clementi (formerly Guadagni) where they lived in Florence still bears the royal initials 'C. R.' In 1786 they moved to Rome and settled in the Palazzo Muti in the Piazza S.S. Apostoli. In 1787 Charlotte was given entire charge of her father's affairs.¹ He had one faithful friend, 'John Stewart, an Athol man,'² who re-

¹ See p. 129.

² John Stewart (whose father's name was James) is called by Prince Charles Edward in his will his 'Maestro di Casa,' and the bequest is made to him of one hundred 'Scudi Fiorentini' a month, as well as a pleasant and convenient apartment in the Florentine palace, in recognition of his faithful and assiduous service. John Stewart married a Roman, Rosa Fiorani, and in 1787 their son Charles sought admission to the English College in Rome, his 'Protettore' being Cardinal Corsini.

When working in the Vatican during 1938 the writer was able to follow up the career of this Charles Stewart through the publication of a new pamphlet (not yet put into the library) relating to the Castellans of the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Charles became an officer in the Papal Army and rose to be Director of the Artillery School. He was generally esteemed, of an imposing figure, dignified yet simple. Pius IX. made him provisional Commandant of Sant' Angelo, and he was present when the Pope fled to Gaeta in 1848 and at the proclamation of the Republic. He remained in command until the French took the castle on July 3, 1848. He died at 104 Via Frattina, Rome, on December 27, 1864, and lies buried in the parish church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, in the left transept of which there are marble tablets to his memory and that of his wife, Marianna Pioli. The inscription to him is as follows:—

HIC JACET CAROLUS STUART
 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 EQUITATUM INSIGNIA MERUIT
 PATRIMONIO PAUPERIBUS DI TURNO FAMULATU SIBI ADDICTIS RELICTO
 OBIT SEXTO KALENDAS JANUARIAS ANNI MDCCCLXV ANNOS NATUS LXXXVI
 CORPUS EIUS VOLUNTATE PROPE ILLUD PRAEMORTUAE UXORIS HIC POSITUM
 IN PACE DOMINI DIEM RESURRECTIONIS EXPECTAT

mained with him to the very end and was with him when he died on January 30, 1788. After his death six altars were set up in the palace and two hundred masses were said during the thirty hours that elapsed before the body of Charles Edward Stewart was transferred in a horse litter to Frascati, where he was buried in his brother's cathedral.

Henry, Cardinal of York, evidently made himself much beloved in his diocese, and it is touching to find that even now there is a feeling of reverence and affection for him—more than a hundred years after his death. Pope Benedict xiv. decreed that he should be known as ‘Serenissimus Cardinalis Dux Eboraci.’ He restored the ancient fortress at Frascati, called the ‘Rocca,’ which had been presented to the see a few years previously by Benedict xiv. The Cardinal made it his episcopal palace and had many of the rooms painted by the Polish artist Thaddaus Kuntz (Taddeo Cunz), who also decorated the seminary at Frascati with frescoes depicting the life of the Virgin. Some of the Cardinal’s furniture still remains, including a set of very fine leather chairs with his coat of arms. On the staircase an inscription recounts the fact that in October 1802 Pope Pius vii. ‘showed his great benignity by being the guest of Henry, Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati, called the Duke of York. At dinner the Pope was seated between the Cardinal and Charles Emanuel iv., King of Sardinia, then in exile.’¹

In the latter part of the eighteenth century it was said in Rome that in the house of the Cardinal of York one could always be sure of a welcome and hospitality. On

¹ See p. 122. Charles Emanuel, as great-grandson of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, was, after the Cardinal of York, the heir *de jure* to the throne of Britain. Henrietta, known as Minette, was the favourite sister of Charles II.

one occasion, at least, the Cardinal and the Duke of Sussex, son of George III., had a pleasant meeting, as we gather from the account given by an unknown witness and found by the writer in the Vatican Archives.¹ The Cardinal began to form his famous library while he was still in the Cancelleria in Rome. When he was transferred to Frascati, he naturally took it with him; and there he had the very fine bookcases made which still adorn the seminary. They are of good architectural design, suited to the large hall, and they contain about fifteen thousand books, some of them of great value. There is a large collection of Bibles in many languages and numerous classical works as well as English books of that date, many of the latter untouched since the death of the Cardinal. His beautiful missal may be seen, bound in red velvet, with an artistic 'H' on the outside in blue and gold; also a charming Book of Hours bound in grey velvet with silver clasps and monogram, which had once belonged to Catherine de' Medici. There is an interesting old genealogical tree of the Stewart family, and there are a few old maps. The books bound in vellum are in fairly good condition, but those in leather are sadly in need of restoration. The fund created by the Cardinal for the maintenance of the library is no longer to be traced, and indeed may quite possibly have vanished when he had to flee to Naples and afterwards to Venice at the time of the French occupation of Rome in 1798.

A marble bust of the founder stands in the centre of the library; there is an attractive easel picture by Kuntz of the Cardinal's patron saint, Henry, the Bavarian king who christianised Poland at the end of the tenth century.

¹ See p. 124.

Monsignor Angelo Cesarini, Titular Bishop of Milevi, the devoted friend and chaplain of the Cardinal of York, who made him executor of his will, evidently did his best to carry out his patron's wishes ; but it seems that while he was ill some of the precious papers and documents were lost, and certainly they did not all come to England as the Cardinal desired. The charming Villa Muti (then called Rocchi) belonged to Monsignor Cesarini. The garden is delightful with its low box hedges cut in elaborate geometrical patterns ; in the house itself is an interesting portrait of a cavalier in armour, holding a field-marshal's baton. Marchesa Muti says that this picture has always been called James II. of England, but it does not seem to resemble other portraits of him and there is no record of its provenance.

In the cathedral at Frascati are carefully preserved some magnificent vestments owned by the Cardinal and embroidered in gold and silver. They are of somewhat the same style as the Paliotto at Montefiascone, and are only shown by special permission in the presence of two priests.

Henry Benedict, the last of the Royal House of Stewart, died at Frascati, on July 13, 1807. When his funeral took place in Rome, the body of Prince Charles Edward was removed from Frascati, and the two brothers were buried in the crypt of St. Peter's next to each other and beside their father, in a temporary tomb of concrete. In 1939 a stately tomb of *breccia rosario* was erected, with the Royal Crown in bronze. It was dedicated on March 17 by Cardinal Hinsley. Monsignor Budelacci, the Auxiliary Bishop of Frascati, who saw the coffins when they were being transferred, told the writer that the original inscriptions were perfectly legible, each on its own plate, recording names and titles, and the seals with the Royal Arms were intact.

‘ La race des Stuarts a mis cent dix neuf ans à s’éteindre après avoir perdu le trône qu’elle n’a jamais retrouvé. Trois prétendants se sont transmis dans l’exil l’ombre d’une couronne ; ils avaient de l’intelligence et de courage, que leur a-t-il manqué ? ’—(CHATEAUBRIAND).

HELEN CATHERINE STEWART.

NOTES FROM THE CHRONICLE OF THE
CANONICO GHISELLI

In the University Archives at Bologna

Piacenza il di 2 Marzo (1717). Il Principe Cavalier di San Giorgio stette la sera fuor di Piacenza e il Principe Duca di Parma andò a visitarlo ; parlavano Francese.

Arrivo in Bologna, Dimorra e Partenza di Giacomo Stuardo Principe di Galles, 13 Marzo 1717, incontrato di Don Carlo Albani.

È un bel Monarcha, piuttosto alto che basso, e ha molto sommigianza col fu Duca Francesco suo zio.

Ruolo delle Persone, Treno ed Equipaggio della Maestà di Giacomo III. di Casa Stuarda, Re d'Inghilterra sotto nome di Cavaliere di San Giorgio.

Prima il Cavaliere di San Giorgio

il Milord Duca di Ormond

Landon

Ten. Gen.

il nipote di Ormond

monsu Bouro

„ Hond

„ Venn

Seg. di Gabinetto

„ Guidi

„ Hoc

Scudiere

„ della Torre

„

Memoria—Un appartamento per il Re, in quel medesimo sia un Gabinetto ed una scala segreta ed una camera per li paggi al paso del medesimo. Il secondo appartamento deve servire per il Duca d'Ormond. Il Duca del Mar piu vicino che sia possibile all'appartamento del Re.

Una o due per i paggi, una per il Maestro di Casa, non importa che le Famiglie siano fuori.

Lista dei Cavalieri a tavola—non si trova tra questi il Marchese del Maar, ma si è fermato a Sciambere (Cham-béry) con voce di pigliare certe acque.

Ormond	
Seldon	Ten. Gen.
Nipote del Ormond	
. . . . (illegible)	
. . . . "	
Venn	Seg. di Gabinetto
Hoc	Scudiere
de la Torre	"
Guidi	Seg. di Ormond
Vadesor	

Il Duca di Ormond andò a vedere diversi Portici, e San Michele. Dicono tutt'essi Inglesi che si figuravano essere piu bella Bologna che Pesaro.

In Modena il Duca incontrò il Re.

La Duchessa d'Annover,¹ parente del Re inglese usurpatore regnante, fece gran complimenti al Re Giacomo, che con volto sereno le disse che non si affaticasse perchè non ha luogo di prestarvi fede.

(Translation)

Piacenza 2 March (1717). The Chevalier de Saint Georges spent the night outside Piacenza; the Duke of Parma visited him; they spoke French.

Arrival in Bologna, stay and departure of James Stuart, Prince of Wales, 13 March 1717, met by Don Carlo Albani.

He is a handsome monarch, rather tall than short and bears a great resemblance to his late uncle Duke Francis.

List of persons and retinue of His Majesty James III. of the House of Stuart, King of England, under the name of Chevalier de Saint Georges.

[The names follow.]

¹ 'La Duchessa d'Annover' may have been the sister of George I., or his daughter, both named Sophia, or, more probably, the Duchess of Brunswick, mother-in-law of Rinaldo, reigning Duke of Modena.

Note : An apartment for the King, in which must be a cabinet and a secret stair, and a room for the pages quite near. The second apartment is for the Duke of Ormond. The Duke of Mar as close as possible to the King's apartment.

One or two for the pages, one for the Master of the Household ; no matter if the Servants are outside.

List of Courtiers at table ; the Marquis of Mar is not here, he has stopped at Chambéry, rumour says to take certain waters. [The names follow.]

The Duke of Ormond went to see several arcades and also San Michele. All these English say that they considered Bologna to be more beautiful than Pesaro.

In Modena the Duke met the King.

The Duchess of Hanover, a relation of the reigning usurper King of England, paid great compliments to King James, who with a serene expression told her that she need not trouble herself, because he was not inclined to believe her.

NOTES FROM THE PAPERS OF CARDINAL TOMMASO RUFFI, BISHOP OF FERRARA AND OF THE CITY AND DISTRICT OF BOLOGNA

In the University Archives at Bologna

1717 *Sett. 19 Sabato*. Questa mattina vi è stato all'udienza di S.E. il Cavaliere Spedizionario dal Re d'Inghilterra da Urbino, trattato da S. E. a colazione.

1717 *Ott. 17 Domenica*. Milord Peterburgo¹ questa mattina, dopo essere ritornato ieri sera dal Forte Urbano dove era stato condotto per il sospetto anno che potesse machinare la morte al Re d'Inghilterra che sta ad Urbino, è stato a visitare S. E. che l'ha trattato conforme il Gonfaloniere con darle Udienza sotto il Baldachino, e l'ha fatto servire d'una carrozza, ed è stato a pranzo con S. E.

¹ Charles Mordaunt, 3rd Earl of Peterborough, had commanded the Allied army in Spain, 1705-7, where he fought against the Duke of Berwick. He died at Lisbon in 1735.

1727 *Giugno 26.* Sua Eminenza è stata al Palazzo Alamandini dal Re d'Inghilterra.

1727 *Giugno 27.* Questa mattina S. E. è stata alla rigita (?) del Re d'Inghilterra, avendo concluso l'accomodamento tra il Re e la Regina.

1727 *Luglio 4.* Dopo pranzo essendo S. E. a camminare sotto gli Portici di San Luca, il Re è stato a ritrovarlo ad un'ora di notte, è partito dicesi andare incontro alla Regina sua Consorte che si porta a Bologna.

1727 *Luglio 12.* Sua Maesta a ore 5 è giunta alla Villa Degli Alamandini alla Croce di Biasco, senza nessun ricordo.

(Translation)

1717 *Sept. 19 Saturday.* This morning His Eminence received in audience the Commissioner of the King of England from Urbino, and he remained to luncheon.

Oct. 17 Sunday. This morning Lord Peterborough came to visit His Eminence, having returned yesterday evening from the Forte Urbano, where he had been taken on suspicion that he was plotting the death of the King of England who is at Urbino. His Eminence treated him according to the wishes of the Magistrates, giving him audience under the Baldachino, and after he had dined with His Eminence the Cardinal provided him with a carriage.

1727 *June 26.* His Eminence went to visit the King of England at the Alamandini Palace.

June 27. This morning His Eminence went to the reception of the King of England, having concluded the reconciliation between the King and Queen.

July 4. After dinner as His Eminence was walking under the Arcades of San Luca the King came to visit him at one o'clock, and left, it is said, to meet the Queen his Consort who was arriving at Bologna.

July 12. At five o'clock His Majesty arrived at the Villa Alamandini, but left no message.

BOOK OF MINIATURES RELATING TO THE ROYAL
STEWARTS TAKEN FROM 'INSIGNIA DEGLI ANZIANI,'
VOLUME XIII

In the State Archives of Bologna

1717 *Marzo-Aprile*. Ricevimento solenne alle confine dello Stato Pontificio del pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra, Giacomo III., da Carlo Albani, nipote del Papa.

(Solemn reception at the frontier of the Pontifical State of the Pretender to the throne of England, James III., by Carlo Albani, nephew of the Pope.)

The picture shows a group of cavaliers landing from a boat. James is dressed in grey with a small black hat and a cane, his shoes are tied with scarlet and he wears a flowing wig; he is received by Don Carlo Albani in bright blue with a gold waistcoat who is handing him a paper. An angel in yellow in the sky holds two flags, one with the Royal Arms of England, the other with the crest of the Albani family; cherubs are bearing aloft a cardinal's hat; to the right is another group and a red silk tent with a coach beyond and two buglers on horseback.

JACOBI III MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGIS
ADVENTUS A CAROLO ALBANI NOMINE PONTIFICIS
IN FINIBUS BONONIENSIVM EXCEPTI

1721 *Gennaio-Febbraio*. La moglie di Giacomo III. pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra offre il primogenito neonato a tre cardinali per la conversione alla fede cattolica. Due gruppi di complessamente 18 persone.¹

¹ This is reproduced in Edith E. Coulson James: *Bologna* (London, 1909).

(The wife of James III., Pretender to the throne of England, offers her firstborn to three cardinals for his conversion to the Catholic Faith. Two groups of altogether 18 persons.)

A room with red damask walls, four candelabra with three candles lighted ; in the centre Clementina, in pale green and gold with flowing sleeves, holds the baby (who is swaddled and wears a cap) towards a cardinal wearing a long grey robe with a red cap, cloak and stockings and black shoes. One lady is in blue with a cross on a chain round her neck. The King is in red with a sword and his hat under his arm ; there are various courtiers.

SERENISSIMO JACOBI ANGLIAE REGIS

AD NOVUM ORTHODOXAE FIDEI AUGMENTUM ET DECUS
PRIMOGENITO

COLLAETANTUR ANTIANI CONSULES PRIMI BIMESTRIS
ANNI 1721

1725 Battesimo del secondogenito del pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra Giacomo III. e di Clementina Sobiesky nella cappella di Santa Marta da Papa Benedetto XIII.

(Baptism of the second son of the Pretender to the throne of England, James III., and of Clementina Sobieska, in the chapel of Santa Marta, by Pope Benedict XIII.)

This picture shows a church with a painting of the Virgin and Child over the altar and a praying saint. A lady in blue with a white cap is offering the baby to the Pope, who is dressed in white edged with lace and wears red shoes ; his cope is gold lined with green, and his cap is a close red one ; he pours water from a shell on the baby's head over a large blue vase. Some cardinals and a few courtiers are present, and Charles Edward, a little child in a long blue frock, is being held by a gentleman in brown who, bending down, points to the Pope ; James and Clementina, arm in arm, enter the room, she in green, he in brown.

Gli Anziani del secondo bimestre dell'anno 1725 hanno creduto degno di Memoria il felice Successo del Parto

d'un secondogenito dato in luce alli 6 di Marzo dalla Maesta della Regina Brittanica Clementina Subieschi, e nello stesso giorno, fu dalla Santità del Regnante Pontefice Benedetto XIII. Battezzato nella Cappella di S. Marta con li nomi di Enrico Benedetto Maria, e nella stessa Occasione fece il Papa le solenni Cerimonie della Chiesa sovra il Regio Principe di Galles Primogenito del Re Giacomo III. d'Inghilterra cui da Monsignore Bonaventura Vescovo di Montefiascone era stata data l'Acqua del Battesimo nel Suo Nascere. Così Dio felicitò i comuni desiderii nel Conseguimento della perduta Corona pel Trionfo maggiore della nostra Santa Religione.

(The Councillors for the second two-monthly period of the year 1725 have thought worthy of memory the happy event of the birth of a second son born on the 6th of March to Her Majesty the British Queen, Clementina Sobieska, and baptized on the same day by the reigning Pontiff Benedict XIII. in the Chapel of Santa Marta. On the same occasion the Pope performed the solemn ceremonies of the Church upon the Royal Prince of Wales, the firstborn of King James III. of England, who had been baptized at his birth by Monsignor Bonaventura, Bishop of Montefiascone. Thus may God give happy effect to our common desire in the recovery of the lost Crown for the greater triumph of our Holy Religion.)

1726 *Settembre-Ottobre*. Gli Anziani si congratulano dell'arrivo dei predendenti al trono d'Inghilterra.¹

(The Councillors welcome the Pretenders to the throne of England on their arrival.)

James is in brown with the ribbon of the Garter and a black hat, and is received by eight gentlemen in black, all with long white wigs; the walls of the room are hung with red damask. The little Prince is in scarlet with a black hat, and

¹ Reproduced in Edith E. Coulson James: *Bologna* (London, 1909), where the lady is said to be 'the Contessa Pepoli, the bride of the occasion' (p. 87).

Clementina, who wears blue, is holding the baby.
The Fleur-de-Lys is painted in the centre and at
one side the British Royal Arms with the words :

REGALIS ANGLIAE FAMIGLIAE ADVENTUM
GRATULANTUR S.P.Q.B.

1726 *Novembre-Dicembre*. Festa da ballo con il Principe di Galles e il pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra.

(A ball, with the Prince of Wales and the Pretender to the throne of England.)

James, seated on a throne in the midst of courtiers, watches the Prince, who wears red, dancing with a lady in blue.

1729 *Maggio-Giugno*. Il Pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra riceve in un salone drappeggiato di rosso i legati bolognesi prima del suo viaggio per Roma.

(The Pretender to the throne of England receives the Legates of Bologna in a saloon hung with red before his departure for Rome.)

James and Clementina are standing to receive the Councillors and are attended by five ladies and one man.

FELICISSIMUM ITER ROMAM VERSUS
REGINAE BRITANNIAE
BONONIENSES LEGATI INAUGURANTUR

ESTRATTO DELLA STORIA D'URBINO
DELL' ABBATE RICCIARDELLI NEL-
L'ARCHIVIO DELL' UNIVERSITÀ D'URBINO

Sebastiano Pompilio, nato 1660, fratello di Alessandro Bonaventura :

Alessandro VIII. Papa, lo creò vescovo di Gubbio 1690 ; Clemente XI. nel 1706 lo pose al governo di Montefiascone e Corneto. Questo Vescovo infra tant'altri dallo stato ponteficio, ebbe l'onore d'essere traelto per la solenne funzione di sposare Giacomo Re d'Inghilterra a Maria Clementina Sobieski, il che fece con gravissima pompa nella cappella del suo vescovado di Montefiascone e contestano exter-nando un tal fatto due iscrizioni lapidarie che leggonsi nella sala dell'avida sua abitazione e nell'Episcopio di Montefiascone ; e l'anno venturo fu chiamato a Roma il detto vescovo per battezzare il reale germe frutto di queste eseguite nozze, il qual Re Giacomo da Roma venendo in Urbino fu accolto per via in Soriano dal nostro Cardinale Annibale e dai due fratelli Carlo e Alessandro Albani.

(Translation)

Sebastiano Pompilio, born 1660, brother of Alessandro Bonaventura :

Pope Alexander VIII. created him Bishop of Gubbio 1690 ; Clement XI. in 1706 put him to govern Montefiascone and Corneto. This bishop, amongst many other honours from the Pontifical State, had that of being chosen for the solemn function of marrying James King of England to Maria Clementina Sobieska, which he did with great pomp in the chapel of his Episcopal Palace at Montefiascone, and this event is attested by two lapidary inscriptions which may be read in the hall of his family dwelling and in the Bishop's Palace at Montefiascone ; and the following year the said Bishop was

called to Rome to baptize the royal issue of the marriage. The said King James coming to Urbino from Rome was met on the way at Soriano by our Cardinal Annibale and by his two brothers, Carlo and Alessandro Albani.

INSCRIPTION IN THE EPISCOPAL PALACE AT MONTEFIASCONI.

AUTHORITATE ET AUSPICIIS
 CLEMENTIS XI PONT MAX
 IN HOC CUBICULO
 SEBASTIANUS POMPILIUS BONAVENTURA
 MONTIS FALISCI ET CORNETI EPISCOPUS
 SACRO ECCLESIAE RITU
 JACOBUM III BRITANNIAE REGEM
 ET MARIAM CLEMENTINIAM SOBIESKI
 INCLYT MEM JOANNIS III POLONIAE REGIS
 EX JACOBO FILIO NEPTEM
 CONNUBIO IUNXIT
 KALENDIS SEPTEMBRIS ANNO SAL MDCCXIX
 ATQUE AD PERENNEM REI GESTAE MEMORIAM
 MONUMENTUM POSUIT

EURUNDEM REGIORUM CONIUGUM
 FILIUM PRIMOGENITUM
 PRAEDICTUS EPISCOPUS
 INTER EFFUSAS EXULTANTIS POPULI GRATULATIONES
 IN ALMA URBE
 SACRIS BAPTISMI AQUIS ABLUIT
 POSTREMA DIE ANNI MDCCXX

ESTRATTI DAL DIARIO DELLE COSE DI URBINO DALL'ANNO 1718 DI GIOVANNI FORTINARIO GUEROLI PUCCI D'URBINO SULLA VENUTA, PERMANENZA E PARTENZA DEL RE DALLA GRAN BRETAGNA GIACOMO III. STUARDA IN URBINO E QUINDI ANCHE IL RITORNO DEL DETTO MONARCA IN URBINO CON CLEMENTINA SOBIESKI SUA SPOSA MA DI PASSAGGIO.

Giacomo III., Stuardo, di già succeduto nelle raggioni sulla Gran Bretagna a suo Padre Giacomo II. morto li 16 Settembre del 1701 in Francia ove erasi rifugiato colla Reale sua famiglia ne grandissime torbidi del proprio Regno e dove venne da Luigi XIV. accolto ed assistito colle potente sue forze fino li primo Novembre del 1715 (quando ?) cesso il monarca francese di vivere ; finalmente cosi volendo le imperioze politiche circostanze dovette il detto Giacomo III. ne primi anni del Regno di Luigi XV. partirsene dalla Francia, e ricovrarsi in Italia, dove dal Papa Clemente XI. chiamato ed accolto con paterno amore in Roma, gli offerse Urbino sua Patria a maggior sicurezza dalla Reale Sua Persona, quale offerta il Re Giacomo ben volentieri avendo accettato se ne venne ad abitare in Urbino e qui incomincia il Diario del sopradetto Gueroli Pucci.

Li 11 Luglio 1718 (1717) giorno di Domenica solenizzandosi dalle moniale di Santa Chiara di Urbino la festa di Sant'Amadeo giunse nella detta citta di Urbino la sacra maestà di Giacomo III., Re dalla Gran Bretagna, il quale fin da fanciullo esule dal suo Trono fu portato in Francia

appresso Luigi XIV. da cui sempre con sovrano cordiale affetto assistito avendo tentato tutto il possibile per ristabilirlo sul Trono, sebbene in vano, convenneli dopo la morte di quel monarca francese allontanarsi e partire di Francia, onde togliere ogni gelosia a Giorgio I. d'Annover usurpatore del paterno suo Regno, il quale fino dalli 31 Ottobre del 1714 ne fu connalto (?) Re e dovette riconoscerlo anche la Francia, giusta il trattato d'Utrecht. Sicche Giacomo III. si ritirò in Avignone ove venne accolto con tutta la magnificenza per ordine del nostro Pontefice Clemente XI.; ma poichè le turbolenze continuavano in Inghilterra, ed anche il Re Giorgio vi è più posto in aggressione prendene maggior merte occasione di perseguitarlo onde assicurarsi sul rapito Trono Britannico e ben ravisando la Santità di Nostro Signore il gran Pericolo di questo sventurato sovrano, gli propose lo Stato Ecclesiastico nel quale si elegesse egli per suo soggiorno qualunque città più le fosse piaciuto, consigliandolo però ad appigliarsi allo Stato d'Urbino per maggiormente allontanarsi e per procurargli ad una maggior sicurezza, sicchè per incontrare il Genio della Santità Sua e per insieme dimostrarne il suo gradimento, scelse la maestà sua per soggiorno la stessa città d'Urbino, onde per tal circostanza il Santo Padre spedì da Roma ad incontrarlo il suo degnissimo nipote Don Carlo Albani ai confini dello Stato Ponteficio, il quale pertanto si trattenne in Urbino finchè ebbe la nuova del avvicinanza ai detti confini dalla sudetta Reale Maestà, e al tempo stesso per ordine del Papa licenziò da questa Legazione l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Bavia Bolognese che ne era Legato, dichiarandolo Legato di Romagna.

* * *

Giunse S. M. in Pesaro li 11 Luglio 1718 (1717) accompagnato dall'Ecc.mo Signor Don Carlo Albani, dalli Signori Duchi d'Ormond, di Mar, di Pert, ed altri Milordi e Signori Inglesi e Cavalieri tutti quasi Scozzesi. Il Signor Don Carlo Albani poi si licenziò dalla Sua Maestà e si venne in Urbino. Sua Santità aveva già mandato da Roma

in Urbino tutto il bisognevole per bene addobare il Palazzo Ducale Apostolico come si effettuò coll'assistenza del detto Principe Don Carlo Albani, poichè erano venuti da Roma anche due Apparatori.

Fra tanto la Maestà Sua volle trovarsi in Roma per la festa di San Pietro come già si effettuò dalla medesima in privata forma sotto il nome di Cavaliere di San Giorgio; ciò nonostante fu egli ricevuto, trattato, e riconosciuto dal Santo Padre per quello che egli era.

Dopo la sudetta Festa di San Pietro il detto Monarca se ne venne a stare in Urbino ove giunse (come sopra dicemmo) il 11 Luglio 1718 (1717) essendo giorno di Domenica sulle ore 22 (?) in privata forma ricusando ogni fastigioso incontro. Giunse egli adunque in Urbino in un legno svimmero tirato da tre cavalli, in compagnia di un suo confidente. Fu per altro incontrato al Portone del Palazzo Ducale da Monsignor Presidente Salviati e da tutta la nobiltà Urbinate abbenche fosse stata quasi improvvisa la sua venuta, ed accompagnato ch'egli fu al nobilissimo appartamento ritirasse nelle sue camere.

Il dì seguente 13 (12 ?) Luglio Sua Maestà sorti in carrozza accompagnato sino al Portone del Palazzo Ducale dalla Nobiltà tutta di Urbino, e dopo l'ossequi la sua Nobiltà a cavallo accompagnandola ovunque si fosse recato, e così ogni giorno facevasi, andando la Maestà Sua al passo che era sulle ore 22.

* * *

Ogni mattina la Maestà Sua si e portata al detto corretto in Duomo udir la Messa e sempre vi è andata la nostra Nobiltà a servirla con questo ordine—quella della città andando avanti alla Sua Maestà e dietro a quella li propri cavaglieri, e quei che non erano Catolici si restavano nella Sala del Magnifico.

* * *

Il più delle sue gite erano ai Capuccini ove si divertiva nel Orto superiore colla caccia di Lepre con li suoi piccoli ma bravi cagnolini Danesi. Se ne andava talvolta anche

al Convento dei Padri di san Bernardino fuori di città anch'esso. Qualche volta si portò a quello dei Padri Carmelitani, e quando si sentiva genio di cavalcare se ne andava verso Chamoscione, sortendo per Porta Santa Lucia.

* * *

Il dì di 30 (Novembre) Sua Maestà si recò alla Benedizione alla chiesa di Sant'Andrea Apostolo per esservi stato invitato da Signor Rossi. Siccome la mattina di detto giorno era il dì festivo del detto Santo Apostolo e la sudetta Maestà aveva fatte le sue divozioni, sendo il detto Santo Protettore della Scozia, la detta sera non andò a Conversazione.

* * *

In queste note in carta volante trovata in un libro da decreti nell' archivio dalla nostra città sonovi alcuni linea di carattere del Padre Vernaccia chi scrisse queste note ; certo non le ha scritte con la debita ortografia.

(Translation)

Extracts from the Diary of the Affairs of Urbino for the Year 1718 of Giovanni Fortinario Gueroli Pucci of Urbino about the Arrival, Stay and Departure of the King of Great Britain James III., Stuart, in Urbino and also the return of the said Monarch to Urbino on a visit with his wife Clementina Sobieska.

James III., Stuart, having already succeeded to the legal rights over Great Britain of his father James II., who died on September 16, 1701, in France, where he had taken refuge with the Royal Family in the midst of the great disturbances in his own Kingdom, was received and assisted by Louis XIV. with his powerful forces, until the death of the French King on the 1st of November 1715 ; finally, owing to the pressure of political circumstances, the said James III., in the first years of the reign of Louis XV., had to depart from France and take refuge in Italy, where Pope Clement XI., having summoned and received

him with paternal love in Rome, offered him his native town of Urbino for the greater security of his Royal Person, which offer King James having willingly accepted, he came to live in Urbino, and here begins the Diary of the aforesaid Gueroli Pucci.

On Sunday July 11, 1717, when the Feast of Sant'Amadeo was being celebrated by the nuns of Sta. Chiara in Urbino, the Sacred Majesty of James III., King of Great Britain, arrived in the said city of Urbino ; since childhood he had been an exile from his Throne, living in France under the protection of Louis XIV., who had always treated him with royal and cordial affection, and tried every possible means to restore him to his Throne, but in vain ; it was necessary for him after the death of the French Monarch, to absent himself and quit France, in order to remove any jealousy from George I. of Hanover the usurper of his paternal Kingdom, who, from the 31 October 1714 was known as King and was recognized as such, even by France, according to the Treaty of Utrecht. So that James III. retired to Avignon where he was received with all magnificence by order of our Pontiff Clement XI. ; but as the disturbances continued in England, and also King George became more aggressive, taking every occasion to persecute him in order to secure himself on the British Throne, which he had ravished, our Lord the Pope, well realizing the great peril of this unfortunate sovereign, therefore offered him a residence in whichever of the Papal States he might choose and in whatever city pleased him best, advising him however to establish himself in the State of Urbino to put himself at a greater distance and to procure greater safety. Therefore to meet the wishes of His Holiness and at the same time to show his pleasure, His Majesty chose for his stay this same town of Urbino where the Holy Father sent his most worthy nephew Don Carlo Albani for this reason to the frontier of the Pontifical State to meet him, who however remained in Urbino until he had news of the near approach to the frontier of the above mentioned Royal Majesty, and at the same time by order of the Pope he dismissed from this Legation the most Eminent Cardinal Bavia Bolognese who had been Legate there, making him Legate of Romagna.

* * *

His Majesty arrived in Pesaro the 11 July 1718 (1717) accompanied by the most excellent Don Carlo Albani, by the Dukes of

Ormond, of Mar, of Perth, and by other English Lords and gentlemen, nearly all of them Scottish. Don Carlo Albani then took leave of His Majesty, who came to Urbino. His Holiness had already sent from Rome to Urbino everything necessary to furnish the Ducal and Apostolic Palace, which was accomplished with the help of the said Prince, Don Carlo Albani, for already two house-decorators had come from Rome for the purpose.

As His Majesty wished to be in Rome for the Feast of St. Peter, he did this privately under the name of Chevalier de St. Georges; notwithstanding this, he was received, treated and recognized by the Holy Father for what he really was.

After the above mentioned Feast of St. Peter the said Monarch came to live in Urbino, where he arrived (as we said before) on the 11 of July 1718 (1717), being a Sunday, at the hour of 22 o'clock, very quietly, refusing a State reception. He came to the city then in a carriage drawn by three horses accompanied by a confidant of his. He was met at the door of the Ducal Palace by Monsignor Salviati and by all the Nobles of Urbino, although his arrival was almost unexpected, and they escorted him to the fine apartment and he retired into his own rooms. The following day 12 July His Majesty drove out in a carriage, accompanied by all the Nobles of Urbino as far as the principal doorway of the Ducal Palace, and after they had paid their respects, he was accompanied by his own Courtiers on horseback wherever he went, and this happened every day, His Majesty going out always at the same hour.

* * *

Each morning His Majesty was carried to the Choir in the Cathedral to hear Mass and our Nobles always went to serve him in the following order: those of the city going before His Majesty and his own gentlemen behind him, whilst those who were not Catholic remained in the 'Hall of the Magnificent.'

* * *

His most usual expedition was to the Cappuccini Monastery, in the orchard of which he amused himself hunting the hare with his two clever little Danish dogs. Occasionally also he went to the Convent of the Bernardini Fathers, which was also

outside the town, or else to that of the Carmelite Fathers, and when he felt in the mood for riding he chose the road towards Camoscione, leaving Urbino by Porta Sta. Lucia.

* * *

On the 30th day of November His Majesty went to Benediction at the church of St. Andrew Apostle, having been invited there by Signor Rossi. As the morning of that day was the Festival of the said Apostle and His Majesty had made his devotions, because the said Saint is the Protector of Scotland, that evening he did not hold a reception.

* * *

These notes on a fly sheet were found in a book of decrees in the archives of our city. There are some lines in the characters of Father Vernaccia who wrote these notes. Certain it is that he did not write them in the proper spelling.

LIST OF THE LORDS AND GENTLEMEN WITH JAMES III. AT URBINO IN 1717-1718

Duca di Mar	Segretario di Stato
Duca di Pert (Perth)	Maggioredomo Maggiore
Milord Delmur	del Seguito
„ Clermont	„ „
„ Nisdel (Nithsdale)	„ „
„ Chiston	Cavaliere di Guerra
„ Glisson	del Seguito
„ Odoardo	„ „
„ Witton (Wintoun)	„ „
„ Ghilsero	„ „
„ Sothesch (South- esk)	„ „
„ Dewenhier (Der- wentwater)	„ „
Mons. E.G.	Scudiere

Chev.	Giovanni Preston	Consigliere
Mons.	Kambron (Cam- eron)	Colonello
„	de Futtre	Cavallerizo
„	Schildon (Sheldon)	Maestro di Stalla
„	Merni	Seg. di Gabinetto
„	Damooss	„
„	Cliss	Cav. Tesoriere
„	Eschin	del Seguito
„	Bout	Mag. domo e Spedizionere
„	Macmar	del Seguito e Colonello
„	Lambert	„ „
„	Forster	Generale di mare e di terra
„	Bavamo	Amministratore
„	Karneghe (Car- negie)	del Segretario
Col.	Stuarda (Stewart)	„ „
Mons.	Mospan	„ „
„	Filbert	„ „
„	Crem	„ „
„	Strindam	Spediz. di S. M. B.
Capt.	Oubrioni (O'Bryen)	del Segretario
Col.	Broke	„ „
Mons.	Bolmer	„ „
„	Vornus	„ „
„	Bricton	Dottore
„	Mor (Moir)	del Seg. e Confidente del Re.
„	Luigi	Segr. del Duca di Mar.
La moglie di Milord Nisdel (Lady Nithsdale)		
La moglie di Mons. C. S.		
Mons.	Sceldon (Sheldon)	Ajo del S. M. B.
Conte	Metellan Lauder- dale (Maitland)	(mori in Urbino)
Mons.	Luigi Nerni	Figlio di Seg. di Gabinetto
Padre	Maestro le Brun (Brown)	Domenicano, Confessore di S. M. B.

INSCRIPTION IN A CORRIDOR OF THE SEMINARY
AT URBINO

HIC SITUS EST.

ALEXANDER METELANUS SCOTUS EX COMITIBUS DE
LAUDERDALE QUI JACOBI III M. BRITANNIAE REGIS
CAUSAM FORAS FORTUNAM AMPLEXUS FRATER TERTIUS
IN EXILIO OBIIT VII SEPTEMBRIS MDCCXVII VIXIT
ANNOS XLVII MENSES X DIES III
ET PIUS IN PATRIAM FIDUS REGIQUE DEOQUE MENTE
MANUQUE CELER HIC METELANUS ADEST PRO PATRIA
HAUD PAUCOS FORTI PRO REGE LABORES PECTORE
SUSTINUIT FIDUS ET EXUL OBIT PRO SIMILI CAUSA
PRO TANTO REGE VIATOR OPTARES FRUSTRA VIVERE
SIVE MORI ¹

¹ Alexander Maitland was the fifth son of Charles, third Earl of Lauderdale. (*Scots Peerage*, v. 308.)

LETTRE DU DUC D'HANNOVER A L'EMPEREUR ¹ SUR
L'EVASION DE LA REINE D'ANGLETERRE

La bonne foy avec laquelle je traite avec Votre Majesté devait me meriter ce semble quelque avis sur la fuite de la Princesse Sobieski d'Ispruch. J'ai été un des derniers de Londres a l'apprendre. C'était il impossible de m'envoyer un courier en Hollande ? V. M. sait pourtant bien que le mariage du Pretendant n'est pas une chose indifferente pour moy et pour mes alliez et l'on ne doit l'envisager a Vienne que sur ce pied là, il y a de moments dans les affaires qu'on neglige qui ouvrent un chemin a bien des entreprises aux quelles il n'est plus bien de remedier comme il arrive dans celle cy.

Le Pretendant passe les Montagnes et les Mers par le secour de ses alliés avec une facilité qui peut deconcerter nos mesures, et les miennes, il est aisé de voir qu'il ne s'endort pas sur ses interets : rien ne me doit enfin et ne peut me toucher de plus prest que ce Mariage qui trouble tout le repos de'Angleterre. J'en doist prevenir le suite dangereux.

Ce Royaume qui est partagé entre luy et moy peut allumer un feu que votre prudence et la mienne auront bien de la peine à l'eteindre L'Angleterre est un theatre sanglant où les factions se reveillent souvant et ces peuples ayment à changer de maitre ainsi V. M. doit prévoir qu'il arrive des choses que la sagesse des conseils ne peut pas toujours mettre d'accord.

S'il arrive quelque changement dans l'Etat par ce mariage V. M. apercevra trop tard que je ne luy etais plus

¹ George I. to Charles VI.

utile a Londres qu'à Breme.¹ Il y a au reste une belle confusion dans la fuite de la Princesse Sobieschi que je ne sçais de quel côté je la puis prendre. Il n'y a qu'un milieu pour détromper l'Angleterre, qui est de chasser de vos états le Prince Jacques Sobieschi. Vos ordres ont déjà à ce que je crois, prévenu sur cela mes desirs. C'est un affaire qui ne souffre aucun delay, n'y aucun temperament.

L'Espagne paraissait abattue par ces pertes de la campagne passée,² il avait semblait qu'on aurait du bon marché avec les espagnols, mais l'armée du Marquis de Lède, qui subsiste auprès de Melazzo a trouvé le secret de diminuer celle de V. M. Tout cela laisse l'Europe dans l'incertitude de ce qui peut arriver entre votre couronne et celle d'Espagne. Le succès des armes élève et abaisse et on ne peut qu'imprudamment conter sur les événements. Le Ministre³ du Roi Philippe est vif ardent. C'est un homme qui a passé par tous les degrés de la fortune, il s'élève et devient toujours plus inaccessible au Ministre qui lui propose la paix.

L'Arrivée du Pretendant en Espagne a grossi les espérances. Les Rebelles d'Ecosse lèvent la tête malgré les soins que j'ai toujours pris de les abattre.⁴ Ils espèrent et j'apprens que les contenance sont déjà changée depuis que le Prince est sur les confins de la Galicie, et que la Princesse qui lui est destinée est échappée d'Ispruch. J'avais toujours souhaité qu'elle retournât en Silesie. V. M. m'avait fait sur ce point une promesse solennelle. Dillon⁵ aurait vu avorter ses pratiques, ou serait plus tranquille. Je ne doute point que des menées de la Cour

¹ Hanoverian troops had occupied Bremen in 1715 and by the Quadruple Alliance of 1718 the Emperor had guaranteed George's possession of it.

² A French Army invaded Spain in April 1719. Philip V. had not troops to oppose it, for many of his soldiers were in Sicily. The Spanish forces in Sicily were commanded by the Marquis de Leda, who defeated the Austrians at Francavilla on June 27th.

³ Cardinal Alberoni.

⁴ They were beaten at Glenshiel a few weeks later. See *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, edited by W. K. Dickson (S.H.S., 1895).

⁵ Arthur Dillon (1670-1733) was the agent of James Edward at Paris.

de Rome pour la consommation de ce mariage, elle a déjà beaucoup gagné puis qu'elle tient en depot cette Princesse qui ne manque ni d'esprit n'y d'adresse pour faire reussir ses desseins. On scait qu'elle avait bien regler les pas de la sortie d'Ispruch.

Tous ces maux qu'on craint viennent du depart du Pretendant de Rome. Il ne devait jamais passer sous les yeux de vos Ministres, pour aller en Espagne comme il a fait, il fallait veillir à la fuite. En cela V. M. a été mal servi et ses ordres mal executés. Il est vrai qu'il est dans l'innaction sur les confins de l'Espagne mais les partisans ne le sont pas sur les trames, et les complots qui se forment icy pour inquieter le dedans du Royaume. Le Regent de France fait des efforts considerables pour V. M. et pour le repos de ma couronne, mais il a des ennemis. L'Espagne lui en suscite tous les jours, muets et impuissants jusqu'à present ; mais l'Etat qu'il renverse indispose les peuples. Il y a tout a apprehender, une étincelle peut allumer un grand feu, il n'a pas tenu au Cardinal Alberony que la chose ne soit pas déjà arrivée. V. M. trouvera que je pousse mes reflections assez loin, je me fais un plaisir de vous l'exposer, quelque sujet que j'aye de me plaindre de la negligence de vos Ministres. Je suis toujours dans la resolution de ne rien changer au plan de l'alliance contractée avec V. M. à ordre de vous donner part de mon voyage dans mes états.

Je conserverai toujours pour V. M. Imperiale l'attachement le plus inviolable. Je finis en l'assurant de ma parfaite amitie ; et je suis de V. M. Imperiale

GEORGE ROY.

Dans mon passage de Hollande.¹

(Translation)

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF HANOVER TO THE EMPEROR
REGARDING THE ESCAPE OF THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND

It seems to me that the good faith with which I treat with

¹ This must have been written within a few days of May 11, 1719, when George left England for Hanover.

Your Majesty should have deserved some news about the flight of the Princess Sobieski from Innsbrück. I was one of the last in London to hear of it. Was it impossible to send a courier to me in Holland? Your Majesty knows well that the marriage of the Pretender is a matter far from indifferent to me and to my allies, and at Vienna it should be considered only in this light; there are neglected moments in public affairs that open the way to many enterprizes for which there may be no remedy, as in this present case.

The Pretender passes mountains and seas by the help of his allies with a facility which may baffle our measures, and it is easy to see that he is not blind to his own interests; nothing can or ought to touch me more closely than this marriage, which troubles the repose of all England. I must foresee the dangerous consequences of it.

This Kingdom which is divided betwixt him and me may light a fire that both your prudence and mine would have great difficulty in extinguishing. England is a bloody theatre where factions often arise and these peoples love a change of master, thus Your Majesty may anticipate that something may happen which wise advice may not be able to adjust.

If some change in the State should take place through this marriage Your Majesty will perceive too late that I was more useful to you in London than at Bremen. There is after all so much confusion concerning the flight of the Princess Sobieski that I hardly know how to take it; there is only one way to undeceive England, which is to chase from your dominions Prince James Sobieski. Your orders will already I trust have anticipated my desires. It is an affair which brooks of no delay nor of any temporizing.

Spain seemed beaten by these losses of the past campaign and one might have made a good bargain with the Spaniards, but the Army of the Marquis de Lède, which is in force near Melazzo, has found the secret of decreasing the Army of Your Majesty. All this leaves Europe in uncertainty of what may happen between your crown and that of Spain. Success of Arms rises and falls, and it would be but imprudent to count on the issue. The Minister of King Philip is alert and ardent; he is a man who has passed through all phases of fortune; he is asserting himself and becomes ever more inaccessible to the Minister who proposes Peace to him.

The arrival of the Pretender in Spain has raised hopes. The

Scottish Rebels lift their heads notwithstanding the care I have always taken to put them down. They are still hoping, and I learn that their demeanour has changed since the Prince is on the borders of Galicia and the Princess destined for him has escaped from Innsbrück. I had always hoped that she would return to Silesia. Your Majesty had given me a solemn promise on this point. Dilon would have seen his dealings miscarry or he would be more tranquil. I do not doubt that by the intrigues of the Roman Court for the consummation of this marriage it has already gained much, for it holds in trust this Princess who is not wanting in wit nor in cleverness in order to make her designs succeed ; we know that she had already well planned her departure from Innsbrück.

All these evils have happened since the Pretender left Rome, he ought never to have passed the eyes of your Ministers to go to Spain as he has done, the flight should have been guarded against. In this Your Majesty has been badly served and your orders badly carried out. It is true that he is inactive on the borders of Spain, but his partizans here are not so in the hatching of plots to upset the internal affairs of the Kingdom. The Regent of France makes considerable efforts for Your Majesty and the peace of my Crown, but he has enemies. Spain instigates them daily, mute and powerless at present, but the State which he overthrows estranges the people. Everything is to be feared ; a spark may light a great fire ; it is not due to Cardinal Alberoni that this has not yet happened.

Your Majesty will find that I press my reflections very far. I do myself the pleasure of exposing to you any matter concerning which I have to complain of the negligence of your Ministers. I am always resolved to change nothing in the plan of the alliance contracted with Your Majesty in order to keep you informed of my journey through my states.

I shall always keep for Your Imperial Majesty the most inviolable affection. I close with the assurance of my perfect friendship, and I am of Your Imperial Majesty

GEORGE R.

During my passage through Holland.

LETTERS OF JAMES AND CLEMENTINA
MOSTLY FROM THE VATICAN (ARCHIVIO SEGRETO)

Of the following fifteen letters thirteen have been chosen from about twenty-five found in the Vatican Archives as being of a wider interest than the remainder and showing something of the concern of James in Church affairs, and his intense gratitude to each succeeding Pope. It will be observed that there are various errors in spelling both in Italian and in French, although these are more noticeable in the letters of Clementina. Of hers, one that is included was copied from the Archives of Prince Orsini and another from the English College in Rome ; the latter was presented to the College a few years ago, together with a relic. All are original autograph unless otherwise stated. They are here arranged chronologically.

JAMES TO CLEMENT XI.

Très Saint Père

Ny ma vive douleur ny un sentiment de vive peine que j'ay eu ce matin ne peuvent m'obliger de differir un moment annoncer a Votre Sainteté la cruelle perte que je viens de subir (?) d'une mère qui meritait toute ma tendresse et qui a toujours été si attachée au Saint Siège et a la Personne sainte de Votre Sainteté. C'est d'elle après Dieu que j'attend ma plus grande consolation dans une conjuncture si triste pour moy en toute manière rempli de confiance dans la bonté vrayment paternelle pour moy, et osant tout esperer d'elle, j'implore très humblement le secours de Votre Sainteté, puis pour l'âme de la Reine ma

mère et pour moy et en luy renouveler les protestations de ma soumission et attachement inviolable luy demande avec une bonne foi (?) la benediction Apostolique etant

Très Saint Père

De Votre Sainteté Le très devot fils

JACQUES R.

D'Urbino ce 19 May 1718

(PRINCIPI E TITOLATI 179)

(*Translation*)

Most Holy Father

Neither my great sorrow nor a feeling of intense pain which I had this morning can allow me to defer for a moment the announcement to Your Holiness of the cruel loss that I have just suffered of a mother who deserved all my tenderness and who has always been so attached to the Holy See and to the holy Person of Your Holiness. After God it is from You that I expect my greatest consolation in a moment so sad for me, being filled in every respect with confidence in your truly paternal goodness for me and venturing to hope everything from you, I very humbly implore the help of Your Holiness, both for the soul of the Queen my mother and for myself, and in renewing to you the protestations of my submission and inviolable attachment, I beg in all sincerity the Apostolic blessing, being

Most Holy Father

The most devoted son of Your Holiness

JAMES R.

Urbino 19 May 1718

JAMES TO CLEMENT XI.

Très Saint Père

La crainte d'importuner trop souvent Votre Sainteté par mes lettres m'a imposé silence pendant quelques jours, mais la tendresse vrayment filiale que je conserve pour Sa Personne sacrée, ne me permette pas d'être plus longtemps sans luy donner avis moy meme, de l'accomplissement de mon mariage,—les ordres de Votre Sainteté y ont été suivies a la lettre, et l'Eveque

qui nous faits mils bonnetés a fait luy meme la ceremonie.

Nous aurons bientot l'honneur d'assurer Vostre Sainteté de vive voix de nos sentiments pleins de reconnaissance et de soumission envers elle, et en attendant, je la supplie de m'accorder la benediction Apostolique e d'être persuadé de la veneration et du respect avec lesquels je suis

Très Saint Pere

De Vostre Sainteté

Le très devot fils

JACQUES R.

De Montefiascone

Ce 9 Septembre 1719

(P.T. 179)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

The fear of disturbing Your Holiness too often by my letters has imposed silence on me for a few days, but the truly filial affection that I bear for Your sacred Person does not permit me to be any longer without informing you myself of the accomplishment of my marriage—the orders of Your Holiness were followed to the letter, and the Bishop, who has shown us a thousand kindnesses, himself performed the ceremony.

We shall soon have the honour of assuring Your Holiness in person of our feelings full of gratitude and submission towards you, and in the meantime I implore you to bestow on me the Apostolic blessing and to be persuaded of the veneration and respect with which I am

Most Holy Father

The most devoted son of Your Holiness

JAMES R.

Montefiascone

September 9 1719

CLEMENTINA TO CLEMENT XI.

Très Saint Père

Je ne pui m'empêcher d'avoir l'honneur de marquer moy même a Votre Sainteté que notre Mariage soi fait en arrivant jdy dans les formes comme elle la souhaité et par

se moi en je me donne aussi l'avantage de supplier V.S. de
me vouloir bien accorder Sa Benediction Apostolique
etant avec un respect sans bornes

Très Saint Père

De Votre Sainteté

La très dévot fille, CLEMENTINE R.

De Montefiascone

le 9me Sepe. 1719

(P.T. 179)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

I cannot deprive myself of the honour of personally
informing Your Holiness that our marriage took place on arrival
on Thursday in the form as you desired and by this means I
also take the advantage of begging Your Holiness to bestow
on me your Apostolic Blessing being with boundless respect

Most Holy Father

The most devoted daughter of Your Holiness

CLEMENTINA R.

From Montefiascone

Sept. 9 1719

JAMES TO INNOCENT XIII.

Beatissimo Padre

Nel atto di partire di questa Città, credo il mio
preciso dovere di autenticare di nuovo alla Santità Vostra
la mia somma ed immutabile ubbidienza, venerazione e
gratitudine verso la Santa Sede e la sua sagra persona,
supplicandola vivamente di pigliare il mio figlio sotto il suo
altissimo e venerato patrocinio unitamente con li altri miei
fedeli sudditi che lasciò in Roma ove—nonostante le voci
sparsi e tanti varij discorsi—piacendo a Dio mi ristabilirò
avanti li Santi avvisando la Santità vostra che questo mio
viaggio non porta seco mistero niuno, e che non ha altro
oggetto che la mia giusta sollecitudine ed inquietudine per
la salute della Regina, ed il motivo di pigliare un poco di
moto, con mutazione d'aria per la mia propria salute.

Iddio prosperi e conservi la Santità vostra per il bene e
consolazione della chiesa, a questa fine saranno sempre

indirizzati i miei continui e più fervosi voti (?), e prostrandomi alli sagri piedi della Santità vostra chieggo humilissimamente la sua santa ed apostolica benedizione, pregandola di credermi in continua mia ubbedienza, e di comportarmi la continuazione delle sue ameni (?) e venerate gratie mentre mi confermo con insigne humili soumissione

Beatissimo Padre
della Santità Vostra il div^{mo} figlio
GIACOMO R.

Di casa alli 7 Agosto 1722
(Bagni di Lucca)
(P.T. 222)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

On the point of leaving this town, I feel it my clear duty to express once more in writing to Your Holiness my decided and unchanging obedience, veneration and gratitude towards the Holy See and your sacred person, heartily beseeching you to take my son under your most high and venerated patronage together with my other faithful subjects whom I have left in Rome, where—notwithstanding rumours and talk—I hope, please God, to re-establish myself before All Saints' Day, informing your Holiness that this journey of mine carries with it no mystery, and that it has no object beyond my just solicitude and anxiety for the health of the Queen, and the motive of taking a little exercise with change of air for my own health.

May God prosper and preserve your Holiness for the good and consolation of the church, to this end my continuous and most fervent vows will be directed, and prostrating myself at the sacred feet of your Holiness, I most humbly beg your holy and apostolic blessing, praying you to believe in my lasting obedience and to support me with the continuance of your kind and venerated favour, whilst I sign myself with very humble submission

Most Holy Father
of your Holiness the most devoted son
JAMES R.

From Home 7 August 1722
(Baths of Lucca)

JAMES TO INNOCENT XIII.

Beatissimo Padre

Ricevo con uguali consolazione riconoscimento e rispetto li nuovi contrasegni d'un suo paterno affetto verso tutta la mia famiglia, che la Santità Vostra si è degnata comportarmi nel Suo venerato foglio del 15 del passato mese e mi mancano le parole per autenticare alla Santità Vostra li veri sentimenti del mio cuore in questa congiuntura, supplicandola humillissimamente d'essere persuasa che corrisponderanno sempre a tanti Suoi favori, ed al singolare ed affettuoso ubbidienza ed attaccamento ch'è sarà sempre professato verso la Santa Sede e la Sua sagra persona.

Non posso che porgere il mio figliuolo sotto la grazia cura e protezione della Santità Vostra, così continuate e generosamente esercitate verso di lui e benché per ancora non possa brame (?) alcuno nuovo personale non dubito che quando giungerà al tempo del uso dello sapere, non sia per indovinare tutte le mie premure a rendersi degno della continuazione di essa.

Rieschono assai confacevoli alla salute della Regina l'uso di questi bagni, li quali sarà credo per continuarvi ancora qualche poco tempo, doppo di che, piglioremo la strada di Roma, ma non hò per hora dilleminato se sarà per Bologna, ò in dirittura, ardisco ragguagliarvi la Santità Vostra di questa particolarità, ed in ogni modo spero posarmi ai suoi piedi dentro il mese d'Ottobre.

Le nostre cose d'Inghilterra sono sempre nell' istesso stato, questa pretesa congiuncatione e sempre più posta individuirlo da ogni uno, l'odio della nazione verso di chi la governa cresce al maggior segno, come fa ancora la Sua propensione à prò mio, ed è un vero niente che solo manca per condurre il tutto al bramato esito.

Riceviamo di questa Repubblica continui servizi, ed essa si è condotta verso di noi con una disinvoltura di gran Principe più che da piccolo Stato che naturalmente dovrebbe pigliare ombra di tutti.

Il Gran Duca¹ ancora ci da replicate testimonianze del suo buon cuore per noi in questa nostra vicinanza al di suo Stato.

Supplico la Santità Vostra di condonar la lunghezza e tutte le altre improprietà di questa lettera, la mia inclinazione ancora più che il dovere mi eprova a renderla consapevole di tutto quello nei (?) ci riguarda, e sperando un benigno perdono della Sua clemenza con un cuore veramente filiale imploro la Sua Santa ed Apostolica benedizione, rassegnandomi con il dovuto rispetto, Santissimo Padre

Della Santità Vostra

Il devotissimo figlio

GIACOMO R.

A li Bagni di Lucca

alli 23 Agosto 1722

(P.T. 221)

(*Translation*)

Most Holy Father

I receive with equal consolation gratitude and respect the fresh signs of your paternal affection towards my whole family which Your Holiness has deigned to convey to me in your revered note of the 15 of last month and words fail me to express to Your Holiness the real sentiments of my heart at this juncture, humbly begging you to be persuaded that they will always correspond to your many favours, and to the singular and affectionate obedience and attachment which I shall always maintain towards the Holy See and to Your sacred person.

I can but place my son under the favour care and protection of Your Holiness, so continuously and generously exercised towards him, and although for the present he cannot show forth anything in person, I do not doubt that when he arrives at the time of using his knowledge, he will then understand all my anxiety and render himself worthy of the continuation thereof.

The use of these baths has been very successful and comforting to the health of the Queen, who will continue them I think for some little time further, after which we shall take the road for Rome, but I have not yet decided whether it will be

¹ Giovanni Gaston de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

by Bologna, or the direct way. I venture to advise Your Holiness of these particulars and in any case I hope soon to place myself at your feet during the month of October.

Our affairs of England are always in the same state : this pretended combination is always more grudgingly taken by everyone, the hatred of the nation towards him who governs increases visibly as does your partiality on my behalf, and practically nothing is lacking to conduct the whole to the wished-for issue.

We receive from this Republic continual help and it has behaved towards us with the graciousness of a great Prince rather than that of a small State which naturally would be dubious of all.

The Grand Duke still gives us repeated testimony of his good heart towards us in this our vicinity to his State.

I beg Your Holiness to forgive the length and all the other improprieties of this letter, my inclination even more than my duty compels me to let you know all that concerns us, and hoping for a kind pardon of your clemency, with a truly filial heart I implore Your Holy and Apostolic blessing, signing myself with due respect, Most Holy Father

The most devoted son of Your Holiness

JAMES R.

At the Baths of Lucca

23 August 1722

JAMES TO CARDINAL GUALTERIO ¹ OR CARDINAL LERCARI ²

Avignone alli 16 Ottobre 1727

Da quello che sento da questo Mgr. Vicelegato e dalle mie notizie da Parigi scorgo con uguale giubilo e riconoscenza la bontà della Santità Sua verso di me in occasione della mia dimorra in questo Stato ; non ho mai potuto

¹ Cardinal Gualterio had been Papal nuncio in Paris and was present at the death-bed of James II.

² Cardinal Lercari was a faithful friend to James, thoroughly straightforward ; he was Secretary of State for over thirty years.

dubitare della clemenza del Papa verso di me, ma adesso arderei muovere la dovuta fiduccia in essa di differirsi maggiormente a far venire la Regina apresso di me per avere la consolazione di godere insieme in questo Stato della benevolenza benefica verso di noi. La tenera età delli miei figliuoli non mi permette di lasciarli in viaggio in questa stagione e così resteranno in Bologna sino alla primavera, ove spero che la Santità Sua vorrà continuare verso di loro la sua solita bontà.

Non ardisco incomodare la Santità Sua con una mia lettera maggiormente in questo tempo di villeggiatura, pregandola di portarle li miei humillissimi rispetti e di attestarla della mia immensa gratitudine per tante sue grazie.

Resto gratissimo delli attenzioni e della premura con li quali si operi in ogni occasione si tratta delle miei interessi e devo rendere giustizia a questo degno Vicelegato che non manca a merite ove può mostrarci il suo zelo ed affetto cooperando di buon cuore alle di lei intenzione ed amicizia verso di me, non mi resto altro a l'aggiungere per il presente che di pregarla di continuarmi la sua stimata amizicia e di ricevere della mia

GIACOMO R.

(P.T. 144)

(Translation)

Avignon 16 October 1727

From what I hear from this Monsignor the Vice-Legate and from my news from Paris, I perceive with equal joy and gratitude the goodness of His Holiness towards me on the occasion of my residence in this State. I have never doubted of the clemency of the Pope towards me and now I dare place my faith in it [not] to postpone any longer the coming of the Queen, that we may have the consolation of enjoying together in this State his kind benevolence towards us. The tender age of my sons does not allow me at this season to permit them to make a long journey; they will therefore remain in Bologna until the Spring where I hope that His Holiness will continue his usual kindness towards them.



I do not venture to trouble His Holiness any further with a letter from me in this holiday season, praying you to present to him my humble respects and to impress upon him my immense gratitude for all his favours.

I am most grateful for all the attention and care which he shows on every occasion when my interests require such help, and I must pay tribute to the worthy Vice-Legate who does not fail to show us his zeal and affection co-operating heartily with your intentions and friendship towards me. It now only remains for me to implore you to continue towards me your valued friendship and to receive mine.

JAMES R.

JAMES TO CARDINAL LERCARI

Bologna alli 27 Aprile 1728

Mando con questo al Cardinale Davia ¹ le solite lettere credenziali in suo favore, non dubitando che il suo distinto merito non sia per essersi gradito dalla Santità Sua ² in qualita di mio Ministro e che non avra anche nueva induggio conferirle le facoltà di Protettore del Regno e Colleggio d'Inghilterra secondo le mie humillissime e sinceri istanze; pregandola di appoggiare questa mia brame appresso la Santità Sua con la solita amicizia della quale come ancora della benignità Pontificia ho ricevuto un insigne contrasegno nel essere la Santità Sua nell'affare delle Pensioni di Spagna ³; la prego di rinnovare ad essa li attestati della mia somma riconoscenza e di rimanere persuasissima delli sentimenti di Stima e di gratitudine che professo a lei per la continua parzialità che esercita verso di me.

GIACOMO R.

(P.T. 145)

¹ Cardinal Davia was a native of Bologna; a wise man, highly esteemed. Was a favoured candidate for the Papacy in 1730. As a soldier in the Venetian Army he had fought against the Turks.

² Benedict XIII.

³ Spain was still giving money to James in the hope of his restoration.

(Translation)

Bologna 27 April 1728

With this I send to Cardinal Davia the usual credential letters in his favour, not doubting that his obvious merit will make him acceptable to His Holiness in the position of my Minister and that there will be no new delay in conferring on him the faculty of Protector of the Kingdom and College of England, according to my humble and devout solicitation; praying you to forward this my ardent desire to His Holiness with the usual friendship, from which as ever I have received a signal example of the pontifical benignity in the interest of His Holiness in the affair of the Spanish Pensions. I beseech you to renew to him the testimony of my deep gratitude and to be persuaded of the sentiments of esteem and gratitude which I owe to you for the continued partiality which you exercise towards me.

JAMES R.

JAMES TO CARDINAL LERCARI

A mon Cousin le Cardinal Lercari (dictée)

Mon Cousin

Cellecy est pour vous donner avis que nous avons crü ne pouvoir mieux faire que de choisir le Cardinal Davia pour avoir soin de nos affaires a Rome, l'ayant déjà nommé au Protectorat d'Angleterre, dont nous attendons avec impatience l'agrément de Sa Sainteté. Nous vous prions cependant de lui donner une entière creance en tout ce qu'il vous dira de notre part, et de lui accorder vos bons offices aupres du Saint Père lorsqu'il aura quelque chose a lui représenter concernant nos interets. Vous nous obligerez sensiblement si vous en conserverons (?) une parfaite gratitude. Sur ce nous prions Dieu qu'il vous ait, mon Cousin, en sa sainte et digne garde.

Votre affectionné Cousin

JACQUES R.

A Bologne ce 27 Avril 1728

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

To my Cousin Cardinal Lercari (dictated)

My Cousin

This is to advise you that we have not thought it possible to do better than to choose Cardinal Davia to take charge of our affairs in Rome, he being already nominated Protector of England, for which we still await with impatience the assent of His Holiness. We pray you however to trust him entirely in all that he may say to you on our behalf, and to accord him your good offices with the Holy Father, when he may have something to say concerning our interests. You will oblige us greatly if you will rest assured of (?) our deep gratitude. With this we pray God to hold you in His holy and safe keeping.

Your affectionate Cousin

JAMES R.

Bologna 27 April 1728

CLEMENTINA TO BENEDICT XIII.

Très Saint Père

J'ay resceüs avec tout le respect et la veneration que je devais le Bref que V. Ste. a daigné m'ecrire par le Ro. Père Antujar a l'occasion de la Berette que V. Ste. a envoyé au Cardinale Gotti, à la promotion duquel jay pris tout la part que merite un sujet si digne du choix de V. Ste. et qui fera certainement beaucoup d'honneur à la Religion par ses hautes vertus et par son grand merite ; j'espere Très S. Père que V. Ste. me rendara la justice d'etre persuadé que c'était une grande consolation pour moy de savoir encor dans le souvenir de V. Ste. avec les assurances qu'elle me doñe de la continuation de ces bontés à mon egard que je tacherais toute ma vie de meriter et ne cesserais de faire des ardens vœux au Ciel pour la conservation de V. Ste. aux

pies duquel je me prosterne avec mes enfants pour implorer
la Ste. Benediction avec toute la soumission et veneration
possible Etant sincerement comē je dois etre

Très Saint Père

De votre Saintete

La très humble très

obeissante et très obligée

filie

CLEMENTINE

De Boulogne le 11 May 1728

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

I have received with due respect and veneration the
Brief that Your Holiness has deigned to write me through the
Rev. Father Antujar on the occasion of the Biretta which Your
Holiness has sent to Cardinal Gotti, in whose promotion I have
taken part as merits a subject so worthy of the choice of Your
Holiness and one who will certainly do honour to Religion by his
high virtues and by his great merit. I hope, Most Holy Father,
that Your Holiness will pay me the justice of believing that it
was a great consolation to know that I was still in Your re-
membrance with the assurance that You will continue to me
Your goodness which I shall try to merit throughout my life,
and I shall never cease to make ardent prayers to Heaven for the
preservation of Your Holiness, at whose feet I prostrate myself
with my children, imploring the holy benediction with all
possible submission and veneration, and remain sincerely as
I should be

Most Holy Father

Of Your Holiness

The most humble most

obedient and most obliged

daughter

CLEMENTINA

Bologna 11 May 1728

JAMES TO CARDINAL LERCARI

De Bologne Ce 20 May 1728

Le Prince Jacques ¹ mon beau-père ayant toujours eu beaucoup de tendresse pour la Reine et desirant en faire ressentir les effets a nos enfants il a dessein de tacher de les faire naturalisés en Pologne meme (?) quoy ils ne pourraient jouir d'aucune bien dans ce Royaume. J'ose donc supplir très humillement Sa Sainteté par notre Cardinal de vouloir bien envoyer au Roy de Pologne ² dans les senses les plus pressents pour l'induire a y porter toutes les facilités qui dependent de luy, et en meme temps d'envoyer des ordres au Nonce afin que de contenance le Prince Jacques, il puisse luy donner tout le secours possible a cet effet, soit aupres des Eveques ou autres qui ont voix en pareilles manières. Sa Sainteté verra aisement de quelle importance cette affaire est à ma famille et ainsi j'ay une confiance qu'elle daignera m'accorder les recommandations que j'ose luy demander. Votre constante amitie pour moy m'assure de vos offices aupres du Pape en cette occasion et je vous les demande avec instance en vous assurant de ma parfaite gratitude et amitie.

JACQUES R.

Je vous prie d'obtenir de Sa Sainteté que les lettres au Roy de Pologne et au Nonce puissent m'être envoyé, afin que je puisse m'en servir avec plus d'avantage ; le secret est aussi très nécessaire dans cette affaire afin qu'elle soit terminée en Pologne avant que le Cour d'Hannover en soit informé et y pourrait y apporter aucune obstacle.

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

Bologna 20 May 1728

My father-in-law, Prince James, always having had a great affection for the Queen and desiring to show this also to our

¹ Prince James Sobieski, father of Clementina. He died in 1737, leaving jewels worth 103,000 scudi 'besides rubies' and 100,000 scudi in money to these grandsons.

² Augustus II., Elector of Saxony from 1694, and King of Poland from 1697. Died 1733.

children, has an idea of having them naturalized in Poland, although (?) they could never enjoy any property in that kingdom. I venture therefore very humbly to ask His Holiness through our Cardinal to be good enough to send most urgently to the King of Poland to induce him to grant all facilities which depend on him, and at the same time to give orders to the nuncio that he may give all the help possible to Prince James, be it through the bishops or others who may help in such matters. His Holiness will plainly see of what importance is this affair to my family and I am confident that he will deign to give me the recommendation that I venture to ask. Your constant friendship for me assures me of your help with the Pope on this occasion and I earnestly ask it, assuring you of my gratitude and friendship.

JAMES R.

I pray you to ask His Holiness to send me the letters for the King of Poland and the nuncio, so that I may use them to the best advantage; secrecy is also very necessary in this affair so that it may be completed in Poland before the Court of Hanover is informed and raises any obstacle.

CLEMENTINA TO CARDINAL LERCARI

Le 5 Decembre 1729

Mon Cousin

La devotion que je professe a St. Francois de Sales m'a fait desirer de promouvoir la cause de son illustre Disciple la V. Me. de Chantae et m'etant informe du postulant de ce qu'il y avait a faire, il m'a donné le placet c'y joint que je vous prie de presenter de ma part a Sa Sainteté en me mettant a ses piés, et je me flate que de votre cote, vous ferez tout votre possible pour faciliter une affaire qui me tient si fort a cœur, et dont je vous aurais beaucoup d'obligation, et sera une augmentation aux autres que je vous ay; soyez aussi je vous prie persuadé de la parfaite estime et amitie que j'aurais toujours pour vous, etant sincerement

Votre affect. Cousine

(P.T. 145)

CLEMENTINA R.

(Translation)

December 5 1729

My Cousin

The devotion that I feel to St. Francis de Sales makes me wish to forward the cause of his illustrious disciple the V. Me. de Chantae and being informed by the postulant of what is necessary, he has given me the 'placet' enclosed which I pray you to present on my behalf to His Holiness, laying me at his feet and I flatter myself that on your side you will do all that is possible to facilitate a matter which I have so much at heart, and for which I should be under much obligation to you and will be an addition to the others which I owe you. Believe also I beg you in the great esteem and friendship which I should always have for you, being sincerely

Your affect. Cousin

CLEMENTINA R.

CLEMENTINA TO CARDINAL ORSINI

ON THE DEATH OF HIS UNCLE POPE BENEDICT XIII.¹

Mon Cousin

Je suis trop sensible a la grande perte que nous avons faite, vous et moy, aussi bien que toute l'Eglise, du Saint Pontife votre Oncle de très glorieuse memoire, pour vous ne point manquer combien j'entre dans la juste douleur que ce triste événement vous cause. J'ay perdu en Luy un très digne Pasteur qui avait pour moy beaucoup de bontés et une affection véritablement Paternelle, vous jugez donc bien que je prens toute la part possible a votre affliction où je vous souhaite toute la consolation que vous est nécessaire, vous priant d'être persuadé des sentiments plein d'estime et de considération avec lesquels je suis, Mon Cousin,

Votre Affec. Cousine

CLEMENTINA R.

1 Avril 1730.

¹ From the Archives of Prince Orsini.

(Translation)

My Cousin

I am too sensible of the great loss that we have suffered, you and I, as well as the whole Church in the death of the Holy Pontiff, your uncle of most glorious memory, to fail to join with you in the distress caused by this sad event. I have lost in him a very worthy Pastor who showed me many kindnesses and a truly paternal affection. Judge then how I take all possible share in your affliction in which I wish you all the consolation that you need, begging you to believe the sentiments full of esteem and consideration with which I am, My Cousin,

Your Affect. Cousin

CLEMENTINA R.

April 1 1730

CLEMENTINA TO PRINCESS DOWAGER OF LA ROCCELLA ¹

THIS LETTER, ACKNOWLEDGING THE GIFT OF A RELIC, IS IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE IN ROME, HAVING BEEN SENT THERE IN 1923 BY TWO SISTERS, THE SIGNORINE TOMMASINI, FROM REGGIO CALABRIA. THE SUPERSCRIPTION IS AS FOLLOWS: (IT IS ACCOMPANYING A RELIC)

1737

Lettera della Gran Serva di Dio Clementina Regina d'Inghilterra moglie di Giacomo Re d'Inghilterra, morta in Roma in concetto di santità avendo fatto molti miracoli.

Rome le 7e Juin 1731

Ma Cousine

Je ne puis fair moin que de vous remercier pour la belle tabacière que vous m'avez envoie par le Roy avec la

¹ This Princess was Ippolita Cantelmo Stuart, the last of her family, said to be descended from Duncan, King of Scotland. She married in 1696 Vincenzo Caraffa, Principe di Roccella, and the family then took her name in addition to their own.

Relique de St. Janvier qui m'est un don fort pretieux, ayant pour ce grand Saint la Veneration que je dois avoir ainsi je vous en sois bien obligee ; et de l'attention que vous avez eu a me fair ce plaisir, je souhaiterai pouvoir de mon coté vous en fair aussi et vous prouver la juste estime et consideration que j'ay pour vous ma Cousine

Votre affectionnée Cousine

CLEMENTINA R.

P.S.

Je vous prie de fair mes compts. à la Psse. de Montemilete, et lui souhaite de tous mon cœur que sa Santé se retablisse en parfaite etat.

A Ma Cousine

La Princesse Douairrière de La Roccella.

(Translation)

A Letter from the Holy Servant of God Clementina Queen of England wife of James King of England who died in the odour of sanctity having performed many miracles.

Rome June 7th 1731

My Cousin

I cannot do less than thank you for the beautiful snuff-box that you have sent me by the King with the relic of St. Januarius, which is a most precious gift. Having the veneration for this great Saint which I ought to have, I am most grateful to you for your thoughtfulness in giving me this pleasure. I shall hope for my part to be able to do something for you also and to prove to you the real esteem and consideration that I have for you my Cousin.

Your affectionate Cousin

CLEMENTINA R.

P.S.

I pray you to present my compliments to the Princess of Montemilete and say that I wish from my heart that her health may be perfectly restored.

To my Cousin

The Dowager Princess of La Roccella.

JAMES TO CLEMENT XII.

Roma alli 21 Febraio 1739
(dettatta)

Beatissimo Padre,

Non avendo Io incomodato La Santità Vostra con raccomandarle alcun soggetto per esser promosso al Cardinalato in congiuntura nella passata promozione delle Corone, ed avendo in oltre i Nunzij già conseguito il premio avuto a loro meriti, Ardisco ora porgere le mie umillissime suppliche in favore di Monsignor Pietro Guérin de Tencin ¹ Archivescovo d'Embrun, il quale raccomando e nomino alla Santità Vostra per essere creato Cardinale. Faccio questo con tanto maggiore fiduzia quanto che non solamente ha egli sempre professato verso la mia persona e causa un singolare attaccamento e zelo, ma di piu ha dato, come ben sa Vostra Santità ed il mondo tutto segnalate riprove dell'ardente suo zelo verso la Santa Sede, ed in difesa dalla sana Dottrina, e che in oltre si ritrova attualmente in istato di rendere alla nostra Santa Religione i piu utili servizij come non dubito che non sia sempre per fare con tutto l'ardore del animo suo. Spero dunque che la Santità Vostra vorrà benignamente condescendere alle mie umillissime suppliche ed in tanto prostrato alli suoi sacri piedi supplico la Santità Vostra a concedermi la Sua Santa ed apostolica Benedizione, mentre che con il maggiore rispetto mi rassegno

Dalla Santità Vostra
Il devotissimo Figlio

(P.T. 146)

GIACOMO R.

(*Translation*)

Rome 21 February 1739
(dictated)

Most Holy Father

Not having disturbed your Holiness by recommending any subject for promotion to the Cardinalate on the occasion

¹ Monsignor Guérin de Tencin was the brother of Claudine, who played an important part in Jacobite intrigues in France.

of the late bestowal of the Hats, and the nuncios having already received the reward due to their merits, I now venture to place before you my humble supplication in favour of Monsignor Pietro Guérin de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, whom I recommend and name to your Holiness for creation as Cardinal. I do this with all the greater confidence, as not only has he always professed a singular attachment and zeal to my person and my cause, but as your Holiness and all the world knows, he has given repeated signs of his ardent zeal towards the Holy See and in defence of sound doctrine, and in addition he finds himself in a condition to render the most useful service to our Holy Religion, which I have no doubt he will do with all the ardour of his soul. I hope therefore that your Holiness will graciously condescend to my humble supplication, and in the meantime, prostrating myself at your sacred feet, I pray your Holiness to bestow on me your Holy and Apostolic benediction, whilst with the greatest respect, I sign myself of your Holiness the most devoted son

JAMES R.

JAMES TO CARDINAL VALENTI¹

Albano 22 7bre 1755

Ho ricevuto la settimana scorsa La di Lei lettera del primo del 7bre e gradisco al maggior segno la di lei premura a pro. del Cardinale mio Figlio, e La di lei attenzione in parteciparmi li passi da Lei già fatti. E sempre molto che si mostrano favorevole M. de Rouilli² ed il Cardinale della Rochfoucault : ho già scritto a quest'ultimo la settimana passata, ed ho veramente una gran fiducia nella di lui amicizia verso di Noi ; ma se non ottenessimo niente prima della Promozione, fatta questa m'indirizzerò in dirittura a Madame la Delfina, di maniera che in un modo o in un altro mi pare aver fondate speranze di potere alfine riuscire, e nel mentre La prego di continuare li di lei uffizi anche in nome del Papa a quest'effetto. Abbiamo stentato, è vero, ma se Io potessi una volta ottenere un'altro buon Benefizio

¹ Cardinal Valenti was chamberlain to Benedict XIV. and later was Secretary of State. James must have known him when he was papal legate at Bologna. He died in Rome in 1763.

² French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

per il mio Figlio, la Corte resterebbe libera per sempre dalle nostre importunità in simile materie, ed avrei Io la consolazione prima di morire di vederlo sufficientemente provveduto. Intorno al Monaco Benedettino Scozzese non è questo certamente il tempo di parlarne al Cardinale de Rochfoucauld ma se Ella ne avesse l'occasione potrebbe informarsi da qualched'uno pratico di queste materie, se la Grazia che si desidera sia cosa praticabile, poichè se non la fosse, non bisognerebbe più pensarci, e ne informerei il Monaco il quale prenderebbe in conseguenza la sua risoluzione. Sto in grandissima pena per queste cose Ecclesiastiche di Francia, bisognerebbe essere non buon Cattolico per essere indifferente in una simile congiuntura. Per gli affari politici, per me considero la guerra come indubitata, e pochissimo tempo probabilmente sciarirà questo punto. Naturalmente un simile avvenimento dovrebbe essere avvantaggiato per la Casa mia, ma so veramente ne che pensare, ne che desiderare nella totale oscurità, dove tuttavia mi ritrovo, degli affari del Principe, ne non so ne meno dove sia, ne dove sia stato da più da sei anni in quà. Mi continui sempre gli efforti da lei buon Cuore verso di Noi, con restare purché persuasa della mia sincera gratitudine ed amicizia verso di Lei.

Affezionato cugino

GIACOMO R.

(Inghilterra 25)

(*Translation*).

Albano 22nd September 1755

Last week I received yours of the 1st of September and I am pleased at the signs of your exertions on behalf of my son the Cardinal and your attention in informing me of the steps you have taken. It is already much that M. de Rouille and Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld have shown themselves favourable. I wrote to the latter last week and I have really great faith in his friendship towards Us, but if we do not obtain anything before the Promotion, when this is over I shall write directly to Madame la Dauphine so that in one way or another, it seems to me I have well-founded hopes of succeeding, and in the meantime I pray you to continue your good

offices, also in name of the Pope, to this effect. It is true that we have had difficulties, but if I could once obtain another good Benefice for my Son, the Court could be free for ever of our importunity in such matters and I should have the consolation before I die of seeing him adequately provided for.

Regarding the Scottish Benedictine Monk, this is certainly not the time to talk of it to Cardinal de Rochefoucauld, but if you have the chance you might inform yourself, from an expert in these matters, if the Grace desired is feasible, because if it is not, we must not think of it any more and I should inform the Monk, who would in consequence make his own decision. I am in great trouble about these Ecclesiastical matters of France,—one would have to be a bad Catholic to be indifferent in such a crisis. As to political affairs, for my part I consider War as indubitable and a very short time will probably clear up this point. Naturally such an event would be advantageous for my House, but I really do not know what to think nor what to desire in the total obscurity in which I find myself about the affairs of the Prince ; I do not even know where he is, nor where he has been for more than six years.

Ever continue towards Us the efforts of your kind heart, and be always persuaded of my sincere gratitude and friendship for you.

Your affectionate cousin

JAMES R.

JAMES TO LOUIS XV. (Copy)

Monsieur mon Frère et Cousin

Accablé d'infirmities qui vont tous les jours en augmentant, et qui me decouvrent l'approche de l'Eternité ¹ j'ai cru avant ce peinible mais necessaire passage devoir temoigner à Votre Majesté pour la derniere fois tous les sentiments de respect, d'attachement et de reconnaissance dont mon cœur a été penetré pour elle pendant tous les cours de ma vie. Je meurs avec les memes sentiments en offrant des vœux au Ciel pour la conservation de sa precieuse vie, pour sa prosperité et celle de son auguste famille.

¹ James died on January 1, 1766.

Mes jours ont été vissus de malheurs et d'afflictions et j'espère dans les souffrances de Jesus Christ que le Tout Puissant m'en tiendra conte, mais j'avais trouvé dans Votre Majesté un genereux Bienfaiteur toujours pret à me secourir et à adoucir mes peines par des soins et des attentions que le souverain Remunerateur de la piete et de la vertue ne laissera pas sans recompense.

Je laisse deux Fils chers objets de ma tendresse que je recommande affectueusement à la protection de Votre Majesté dans la confiance qu'elle voudra bien les envisager comme les enfants d'un père qui Lui a été dans tous les tems fidelement et invariablement attaché.

La triste situation où se trouvent mes pauvres sujets qui resident en France et qui souffrent pour leur fidelité me touche extremement, quand les petits secours que j'étais en etat de leur fournir leur manqueront, que deviendront ils ? Il n'y a que le bienveillance et la protection de Votre Majesté qui me tranquillisent sur leur sort par la confiance que j'ai qu'elle voudra bien se souvenir de moi toutes les fois que leurs misères ou besoins les presseront d'y avoir recours.

J'ai donné ordre qu'on attendit qu'il ait plu a Dieu de me rappeler de cette vie avant que de faire partir cette lettre, où j'ai pris la liberté de verser dans le sein de Votre Majesté mes plus chers interets temporals dans l'intime persuation qu'elle voudra bien agréer ma confiance en elle ainsi que l'attachement aussi respectueux qu'inviolable avec laquelle j'ai toujours vecu et avec lequel je meurs.

Monsieur mon frère et cousin

5 Mai 1763

(Inghilterra 25)

(Translation)

Sire my Brother and Cousin

Overwhelmed by infirmities which increase every day and which inform me of the approach of Eternity, I have thought well, before this painful but necessary passage, to testify to Your Majesty for the last time all the feelings of respect, attachment and gratitude with which my heart has

been filled during the course of my life. I die with these same sentiments, offering prayers to Heaven for the preservation of your precious life, for your prosperity and that of your august family.

My days have been full of troubles and afflictions and I hope through the sufferings of Jesus Christ that the Almighty will remember this, but I have always found in Your Majesty a generous benefactor, always ready to help me and to soften my troubles by your care and attention, which the sovereign Rewarder of piety and virtue will not leave unrewarded.

I leave two sons, dear objects of my love whom I recommend affectionately to Your Majesty's protection in confidence that you will look upon them as the children of a father who has at all times been faithfully attached to you.

The sad situation in which my poor subjects find themselves who are resident in France and who are suffering for their fidelity, touches me extremely; when the slight help that I am able to give them is wanting, what will happen to them? Only the kindness and protection of Your Majesty calm me regarding their fate by the confidence I have that you will be willing to remember me every time that their misery or need compels them to have recourse to you.

I have given orders that this letter should not be sent until it shall have pleased God to call me from this life, for in this I have taken the liberty of confiding to Your Majesty my dearest temporal interests in the sure persuasion that you will accept my confidence, as also the respectful and unchangeable attachment with which I have always lived and with which I die.

Sire my Brother and Cousin

5 May 1763

HENRY, CARDINAL OF YORK, TO HIS FATHER (Copy)
Sir

Tho' the Prince's behaviour towards me for some years past is a subject of great affliction to me and that your Majesty knows how little I deserve it from him, yett nothing can ever alter my respectfull attachment to him nor my ardent desire of giving him constant proofs of it and therefore I am far from disapproveing or anywise opposing

the view your Majesty has of leaveing by your last Will and Testament to the Prince all the perpetuall Rents you now enjoy in France, and to a share of which I might perhaps have a just Claim ; but the Prince may be assured that I shall never give him any trouble in that respect. And whereas I have a small rent on the Townhouse of Paris, of which you have hitherto enjoyed the rent, tho the property belongs to me, I shall be ready and willing upon your Majesty's decease, to make over to the Prince the right and property of the saide perpetual rent, by which means the Prince will be in possession of all the rents you have hitherto enjoyed on the Townhouse of Paris. I hope in time I shall be completely provided for in Church Benefices, and therefore I only regret that what I may hereafter give the Prince is such a trifle, it being I think about 6000 Livres a year of perpetuall rent, but it is all I am master to dispose of, and had I more I would with pleasure make the same use of it.

Would to God it were in my power to give him the most essential proofs of my affection, as your Majesty will allwise find me ready to concurr with you to the utmost of my power to whatever may now or hereafter contribute to the Prince's advantage and satisfaction.

HENRY, Cardinal.

Rome April ye 10th 1751

(Inghilterra 25)

TWO LETTERS FROM PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD TO
THE CARDINAL OF YORK

FOUND IN THE BIBLIOTECA VITTORIO EMANUELE ROME
FONDO GESUITICO

A mon cher frère le Cardinal.

Mon cher Frère

Dans la triste situation dans laquelle le Roy mon Père se trouve reduit depuis si longtemps par son grand age, et ses maladies qui le mettent hors d'état de recevoir aucunes lettres, je l'aurais prié de presenter a Sa Sainteté ¹ les assurances de la profonde veneration que j'ay pour elle ; je vous serai donc obligé de vouloir bien etre mon interpret à cet égard et de Luy demander a mon nom la continuation des attentions que Luy et ses predecesseurs ont successive-ment eues pour notre Famille, et que dans le cas, ou nous aurions le malheur de perdre le Roy notre Père avant que mes affaires me permissent de moy rendre dans le pays, jesper que Sa Sainteté voudra bien donner ses ordres pour que les choses restent sur le meme pied, qu'elles sont à present, afin que je puisse paraitre avec la dignité que mon rang exige. Je vous donne tous les pouvoirs necessaires pour faire les demandes que vous croyez convenables a ce sujet. Je les ratifierai avec plaisir comme je n'ay aucun doute sur la facon de penser de S. Se ; je vous prie d'abord que vous aurez les assurances positives, que tout se passera au gré de vos desirs et des miens, de m'envoyer une personne de confiance en courier par la voye la plus courte ; vous l'adresserez à Ml. Thibault President de la Cour souveraine à Bouillon ² près Sedan a Nardainne avec les

¹ Pope Clement XIII.

² Bouillon was where Prince Charles Edward had been living for some time with Clementina Walkinshaw. His mother's sister, Maria Carlotta Sobieska, was the Duchesse de Bouillon.

passesports que vous croierez nécessaires et des instructions sur la route la plus sûre que je pourrai prendre. Comme j'ai appris il y a quelques années que M. le Cardinal Torrigiani ¹ nous était attaché, marquez Luy dans l'occasion combien j'y ai été sensible. Ménagez toutes les personnes que vous savez être dans nos intérêts, mais ne communiquez mon projet de mon voyage qu'à celles que [vous] jugerez indispensablement nécessaires en Leur recommandant le plus grand secret jusqu'à mon arrivée.

Je suis avec l'amitié la plus tendre, la plus inviolable,
Votre très cher frère

CHARLES P.R.

Le 3 8bre. 1765

Vous voyez par ma lettre que j'ai reçu la votre du 10 7bre.

(Translation)

To my dear brother the Cardinal.

My dear Brother

In the sad state to which the King my father now is reduced during some time past by his great age and his illness which prevent his receiving any letters, I should have asked him to present to His Holiness my profound veneration for him ; I shall therefore be obliged if you will be my interpreter in this respect and ask His Holiness in my name to continue those attentions which he and his predecessors have successively shown to our Family and in case we should have the misfortune to lose the King our Father before my affairs permit me to arrive in the country, I hope that His Holiness will give orders that things should remain as they are at present, so that I may appear with the dignity which my rank demands. I give you all the necessary powers to make the requests that you think suitable on this subject. I shall ratify them with pleasure as I have no doubt of the views of His Holiness. I ask you as soon as you have a positive assurance that all will be according to your wishes and mine, to send me as courier a person of confidence by the quickest route. Send him to M^r. Thibault President of the Supreme Court at Bouillon near Sedan at Nardainne

¹ A favourite minister of Clement XIII. ; both supported the Jesuits.

with the passports that you think necessary and instructions on the safest way that I should take. As I have learnt that Cardinal Torrigiani has been attached to us for some years, tell him how much I appreciate this. Take care of all those that you know to be in our interests, but only communicate my projected journey to those that you consider indispensably necessary, recommending them the greatest secrecy until my arrival.

I am with unchanging tenderest friendship,
Your dearest brother

CHARLES P.R.

3 October 1765

You see by my letter that I have received yours of 10 Sept.

Bouillon Ce 18 9bre 1765

Votre lettre du 30 8bre dernier mon cher Frère, et celle qu'y etais jointe m'ont été remises. J'ay veu avec la plus grande sensibilité toutes les marques de votre bon cœur, et de vos attentions pour mes interets, soyez persuadé du retour le plus parfait, et de toute la tendresse de mon amitié. Je ne saurais trop vous esprimer combien J'ay été penetré des sentiments de Sa Sainteté de ses expressions, et de ses offres obligeantes sur les propositions que vous luy avez faites de ma part ; soyez l'interprete de mes sentiments de veneration, et de reconnaissance aupres d'elle, en attendant que je puisse m'en acquitter moy memé, dites aussi mille choses de ma part a Mr. le Cardinal Albani ¹ et a toutes les Personnes, qui nous sont attachées, j'esperd au moment de vous embrasser, ce qui sera le plutot possible. Je ne perdrai pas instant sur les preparatif de mon depart, j'espere vous trouver en aussi bonne santé qu'on me la avancé. J'en etais vaisi (?) de ma lettre que je recois la votre du 6 du courant. Je ne puis que vous repeter, que j'ay la meme impatience de vous rejoindre. Si j'avais les ailes d'un oiseau, nous serions bien tost satisfaits.

Votre très affectionné Frere

CHARLES P.R.

¹ Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, great-nephew of Clement xi.

(*Translation*)

Bouillon 18 November 1765

Your letter of the 30th October my dear Brother and the enclosure have been handed to me. I see with tender feeling all the signs of your kind heart and of your attention to my interests, be persuaded of an equal return and of all the fondness of my love. I cannot express to you how much impressed I am by the sentiments of His Holiness and his obliging offers on the propositions that you have made on my behalf; be the interpreter of my feelings of veneration and of gratitude to him, until I can express them myself. Say also kind things from me to Cardinal Albani and all those attached to us. I look forward to the moment of embracing you, which will be as soon as possible; I shall not lose a moment on the preparations of my departure. I hope to find you in as good health as I have been told...? ... my letter that I receive yours of the 6th instant. I can only repeat to you that I have the same impatience to rejoin you. If I had the wings of a bird, we should soon be satisfied.

Your very affectionate Brother

CHARLES P.R.

LETTER FROM THE CARDINAL OF YORK TO
CARDINAL GIOVANNI ALBANI ¹

Frascati
29 8bre 1765

Il cardinale Duca di York pieno de suoi inalterabili sentimenti verso di V. E. accusa il di lei pregiatissimo biglietto di ieri, e siccome contiene intorno al noto affare le deliberazioni della Santità di Nostro Signore alle quali lo Scrivente si preggia di non opporsi giammai ; perciò non resta altra a chi scrive se non che di supplicare l'E. V. a porgere i Suoi piu umili ringraziamenti al Santo Padre per le generose e benigne espressioni cosi autenticamente manifestategli tanto verso il principe di Gallia suo fratello, quanto che di tutta la casa del scrivente, e pieno di fiducia che simili espressioni debbeno escitare nel animo del sudetto principe suo fratello, sentimenti corrispondenti di filiali osservanza e gratitudine, colla solita invariabile stima e cordialità si protesta.

(Copia)

(Inghilterra 25)

(Translation)

The Cardinal Duke of York, full of his inalterable feelings towards Your Eminence acknowledges your esteemed note of yesterday, and as it contains the deliberations of His Holiness Our Lord with regard to the well-known affair, which the writer has the honour never to oppose, there is thus nothing remaining to the writer but to implore Your Eminence to present

¹ Cardinal Giovanni Albani was a nephew of the former Cardinal Annibale and was a great friend of the Cardinal of York, who succeeded him as Bishop of Ostia in 1803.

his most humble thanks to the Holy Father for the generous and benign expressions thus genuinely shown, as much towards the Prince of Wales his brother, as to the whole House of the writer, and full of confidence that similar expressions must excite in the mind of the Prince his brother corresponding feelings of filial observance and gratitude, he declares himself with the usual constant esteem and cordiality.

(Copy)

DESCRIPTION OF A MEETING BETWEEN HENRY,
CARDINAL OF YORK, AND AUGUSTUS, DUKE
OF SUSSEX ¹ BY AN UNKNOWN WRITER

Frascati 18 Agosto 1794

Quest'oggi circa le ore 11½ nel Viale di Villa Bracciano S.A.R. ha incontrato il Principe Augusto, ha fatto subito fermare la carrozza e in lingua inglese nella maniera piu obbligante lo ha complimentato dicendogli ch'era assai contento di avere questa occasione per consegnargli tutti i suoi sentimenti i quali potea accertargli essere sicurri da ogni sorta di pregiudizio, ch'era stato molto sensibile agli atti di attenzione che gli aveva usati e che gli era sommanente dispiaciuto che la circostanza del luogo per la carrozza non gli permise l'ultima volta di fermarsi.

Il Principe Augusto volle restare sempre in piedi, e per ben due volte o tre rispose fra le altre cose ' Resto estremamente obbligato a Vostra Altezza Reale.' E fattisi in ultimo reciprocamente cordialissimi saluti il Real Vescovo senza mancare ai piu fini tratti di pulizia e di attenzione proseguì la sua trottata. So che il Principe Augusto è rimasto contentissimo e gli si vedeva la contentezza in volto, anche l'E.S. è stata pienamente contenta, e gli ha portato con una naturalezza veramente cordiale; la cosa in somma è riuscita benissimo e meglio, come spero, riuscirà in appresso.

(Inghilterra 25)

(*Translation*)

Frascati 18 August 1794

Today about half past eleven in the Avenue of Villa Bracciano, H.R.H. met Prince Augustus, and immediately stopped his

¹ Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., 1763-1843.

carriage and speaking in English in the most obliging manner, complimented him, saying how extremely pleased he was to have this occasion of expressing his feelings, which he could assure him were free from prejudice ; that he was most sensible of the acts of courtesy which had been shown him and that he much regretted that the carriage had not been able to stop on a previous occasion, owing to the circumstances of the place.

Prince Augustus insisted on remaining standing the whole time and two or three times said amongst other things : ‘ I am extremely obliged to Your Royal Highness.’ And finally exchanging the most cordial greetings, the Royal Bishop, without omitting any marks of politeness or attention, pursued his drive. I know that Prince Augustus was extremely pleased, indeed one could see his pleasure in his countenance ; His Eminence also was entirely satisfied and bore himself with a natural cordiality ; the affair in short went off exceedingly well and even better, I hope, may result in future.

APPENDIX I

Although these letters are not directly connected with the story of the Royal Stewarts, they may be included here, as, if the Pope, Pius VII., had taken advantage of Lord Keith's offer, he would probably have been accompanied by the Cardinal of York. The involved arrangement referred to in the letter of Mr. Penrose (who was in the confidence of Mr. Windham, Secretary-at-War in the British Cabinet) was apparently to keep the matter entirely secret. The Pope did not use the vessel, for he entered into possession of his capital city in July 1800.

PENROSE TO CHEVALIER DE SOUZA

(From the Vatican, Archivio Segreto : Inghilterra 27)

Florence June 17 1800

Dear Sir,

It gives me real satisfaction to inform you that in consequence of your application I am empowered to assure you in Lord Keith's¹ name, that if any danger should be incurred to the Pope's person of an irruption of the French into the Roman territory, His Lordship will use every exertion for stationing a vessel of war either at Civita Vecchia or Gaeta for the security of a Sovereign in amity with His Majesty. At the same time Lord Keith observes that he is extremely pressed for ships on account of the various and distant objects on which they are employed.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most faithful humble st.

Le Chevalier de Souza³

T. PENROSE.²

¹ George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith, great-nephew of the 10th Earl Marischal, was Admiral of the Red and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean.

² Thomas Penrose was British Minister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

³ Chevalier de Souza was the Representative from the Court of Portugal to the King of Sardinia, who at that time was staying at Florence.

LETTER FROM ADMIRAL LORD KEITH

(Archivio Segreto del Vaticano : Inghilterra 26)

D'abbordo la nave di Sua Maesta Britannica la Foudroyant
Porto Mahon 23 Agosto 1800

Signore

Abbia la bonta d'informare Sua Santità che ho ordinato all' ufficiale piu anziano delli navi di S. M. Britt^a stazionate a Livorno, durante la mia assenza, di spedire a Cività Vecchia un piccolo vascello, a disposizione di Sua Santità, qualora succedesse qualche attacco del nemico sullo Stato Papale.

Ho l'onore d'essere Signore
Vostro ob^{mo} Serv^{re}

KEITH.

Sig^{re} Ercole Consalvi
Pro Sec. di Stato
Roma

(Translation)

On Board H.B.M. ship la Foudroyant
Porto Mahon 23 August 1800

Sir,

Have the goodness to inform His Holiness that I have ordered the senior officer of His Britannic Majesty's ships stationed at Leghorn during my absence to despatch to Cività Vecchia a small vessel at the disposition of His Holiness, whenever an attack of the enemy on the Papal States may take place.

I have the honour to be Sir
Your obedient Servant

KEITH.

Signore Ercole Consalvi
Pro. Sec. of State
Rome

APPENDIX II

In 1939 the writer succeeded after many difficulties in finding the original wills of the two sons of James III., that of Charles Edward in Florence (the codicil in Rome) and that of Henry in Rome. No one seemed to think that the former would remain in Florence when the testator died in Rome four years later, and as to the will of the Cardinal, it was the general idea that it would be discovered either in the Vatican or at the College of the Propaganda Fide. It is difficult to see why Monsignor Atti says in his *Life of the Cardinal*¹ that he has translated (into Italian) the will, when the original is in Italian. He must presumably have seen a French copy. A curious document is also to be seen in the State Archives, empowering the Duchess of Albany to act for her father. To find any papers of this type in Italy it is essential to know the name of the notary and not only that of the testator or executor.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, COUNT OF ALBANY, IN THE REGIONAL NOTARIAL ARCHIVES AT FLORENCE: NOTARO G. B. CATALDI DI ROMA, SAN MICHELE VISDOMINI, FILZA 13A 1781-1794

A nome Santissimo d'Iddio e della Beatissima Vergine Madre Maria Amen. Questi di venti due d'Ottobre 1784 in ogni luogo con ogni umilta e devozione raccomando l'anima mia a onnipotente Dio, alla gloriosa V. M. e all'Angelo Custode, istituisco mia erede universale la Signora Carlotta Steuart Duchessa d'Albanie mia figlia naturale nata da me e dalla Sa. Clementina Walingsha . . . per titolo di legato ed in ogni migliore modo lascio a S. A. R. Em. mo. il Cardinale Enrico Duca di York mio amatissimo fratello un pezzo d'argento del valore di scudi mille Romani. . . . Per titolo di legato lascio a Giovanni Steuart

¹ *Cenni Storici*: Alessandro Atti. (Rome, 1868.)

attuale mio Maestro di Casa e unitamente e solidamente a sua moglie e figli scudi cento fiorentini al mese loro vita naturale durante. . . . Conte Camillo e ill. e rev. Canonico Tommaso della Gherardesca fratelli esecutori della presente mia Disposizione eleggo.

CHARLES R.

EXTRACT FROM THE CODICIL TO THE ABOVE WILL IN THE ROYAL
STATE ARCHIVES IN ROME: NOTARO G. B. CATALDI 31.1.1787.
DEPOSITO 27.2.1787. PUBBLICAZIONE 7.2.1788

In nome di Dio Amen. Noi Carlo Edoardo figlio di Giacomo Terzo Nipote di Giacomo Secondo Re della Gran Bretagna appie sottoscritto ricordiamo d'aver fatto in Toscana il Nostro Testamento e Codicilli chiusi e sigillati. . . .

Dal Palazzo di nostra solita Residenza a S. S. XII. Apostoli Li 31 Jannaro 178 sette.

PROCURATORY BY CHARLES EDWARD DELEGATING HIS AUTHORITY
TO HIS DAUGHTER. STATE ARCHIVES, ROME: INSTRUMENTUM 1787.3; P. 663

Volendo Noi Sotto sollevarci dal fastidioso dettaglio dalle domestiche aziende decreta il diferimento e vigilanza della nostra carissima figlia D. Carlotta Stuard, Duchessa d'Albani, ce ne porge l'opportunità coll'essersi esibita di liberarci di questa cura col prender sopra di se l'intero economico regolamento della N^{ra} Famiglia perciò all'oggetto di meglio convalidare qualunque atto che dalla med^a si sarà relativo al governo dalla Famiglia su^{da} costituimo e deputiamo la med^a come Nostra Procuratrice a potere per Noi ed in Nostro nome presiedere all'Azienda, e Governo della Nostra casa, e di tutti gli interessi della med^a con facoltà di dare tutte le ordinazioni, e fare le spese occorrenti e con facoltà ancora di prendere all'occorrenza qualunque somma ad interesse con obligare anche Noi sotto alla restituzione della sorte ed al pagamento di frutti in quella somma che saranno concordate con tu^{te} le altre facoltà nccesa^{ri} et oppor^{ne} colla amplissima Ut Alter Ego etcetera cum opteum libera etcetera gu^{bt} e generalmente promettendosi rilavandolo in ogni migl^e modo. Dato in Roma dal Palazzo della Nostra solita Residenza a S. S. XII Apostoli questo di 27 Febraio 1787.

CHARLES R.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF HENRY, CARDINAL, DUKE OF YORK,
IN THE ROYAL STATE ARCHIVES IN ROME: NOTARO PIETRO
MEGLIORUCCI, UFFICIO XIII, VOL. 706, PARTE 2, p. 293

Noi Enrico Benedetto Maria Figlio di Giacomo III. Re d'Inghilterra Scozia Francia ed Ibernia della S. R. Chiesa Cardinale, Vescovo di Frascati, considerando di essere mortale . . . abbiamo determinato ora che ci troviamo in ottimo stato di salute e con tutti i sentimenti sani . . . con forme disponiamo per atto di ultima volontà nella maniera che siegue . . . dichiariamo ed istituimo Nostro Erede universale fiduciario il sud-detto Monsignor Angelo Cesarini. . . Finalmente intendiamo di qui rinnovare ed avere espressamente per iscritto la nostra Protesta consegnata negli Atti del Cataldi ai 17 Gennaro 1784 . . . per rapporto alla trasmissione dei Nostri diritti successivi al Trono e Corona d'Inghilterra a quel Principe che spetterà di jure per prossimità di sangue i quali diritti successivi dichiariamo di trasmettere nella piu espressa e solenne forma.

15 Luglio 1802.

ENRICO R. CARDINALE.

THE LOCHARKAIG TREASURE

Edited by
MARION F. HAMILTON, B.A.(Oxon.)

INTRODUCTION

RECENT researches in the Stuart Papers at Windsor * have brought to light vital documents regarding the mystery of the French Treasure buried on the shores of Locharkaig in 1746.

This hoard of gold was originally sent by Louis xv. in aid of the Jacobite cause, but did not reach Scotland until after the battle of Culloden (16th April 1746). Contemporary accounts of its secret burial were published by Andrew Lang in his *Companions of Pickle*, but no satisfactory statement has ever been given as to its ultimate disposal, nor have the characters of Dr. Archibald Cameron ¹ and Macpherson of Cluny ² been fully cleared of charges of embezzling the *louis d'or*. It is on these two points that unpublished documents in the Archives at Windsor furnish fresh information. These papers consist of:—

1. The account by Dr. Archibald Cameron of his own and Cluny's transactions regarding the treasure ; this is addressed to James Francis Edward, and was written at Rome in the spring of 1750.

* The gracious permission of His Majesty the King to make use of material from the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, is hereby acknowledged. Acknowledgment is also due to Miss Mackenzie, Registrar of the Royal Archives, Miss Henrietta Tayler, and the Hon. Clare Stuart-Wortley for their valuable criticism and suggestions.

¹ Younger brother of Donald Cameron, the Lochiel of the '45 ; executed 1753.

² Laughlan Macpherson, one of the most influential Highland Chiefs out in the '45.

2. Cluny's Account of the expenditure of the treasure up to the time of his departure from Scotland in 1755.
3. A Paper headed: 'State of the effects which are presently in Scotland ye 27 Augt. 1754.'
4. A Copy of a confession made at Rome in 1750 concerning the treasure, by Alexander Macdonell, of Glengarry, alias 'Pickle the Spy.'

Andrew Lang in his chapter 'Cluny's Treasure,' in *The Companions of Pickle*, relied on the reports of government spies and informers, and took great pains by this means to establish the innocence of Dr. Archibald Cameron and Cluny. But the character of his evidence cannot be regarded as entirely reliable or in any way conclusive. These informers were small fry, whom he himself describes as being 'persons of no historical importance, whose names it is unnecessary to reveal.' He is forced to reject part of the testimony of the most favourable witness for Dr. Cameron, as it incriminated Cluny. He quotes ¹ 'A State of Clunie McPherson's Intromissions' given by this informer, and places the first item in italics thus: 'By Cash given Dr. Cameron and Fassifern,² *secured with Fassifern for use of young Lochiel* ³ . . . 6,000.' He then comments ⁴ that 'according to this statement, said to be produced as Cluny's, Dr. Cameron did *not* receive 6,000 L for himself.' Yet in a footnote ⁵ he says, "'The State of

¹ Andrew Lang, *The Companions of Pickle* (London 1898), p. 144.

² John Cameron of Fassifern, another brother of Lochiel.

³ John Cameron, but for the attainder Laird of Lochiel, son of the Lochiel of the '45 (Donald), and 3rd Titular Lord; Captain in the Albany Regiment; succeeded his father October 1748, returned to Scotland 1759, died unmarried at Edinburgh, 1762.

⁴ *The Companions of Pickle*, p. 145.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 146.

Clunie McPherson's Intrusions," in short, is a fraudulent document. It bears traces of confused manipulation in various interests.' Of what value is it, then, as evidence for or against Dr. Archibald Cameron? In any case, it seems hardly likely that insignificant persons would have been able to discover accurate information about a secret which, though rumour was busy with it, those principally concerned endeavoured to guard with such care. It seems incredible that Dr. Cameron should have confided in Lang's insignificant informer as is stated.¹ Conclusions drawn from sources of this unsatisfactory nature cannot, therefore, be regarded as final.

Moreover, Grant Francis, a later writer on this subject, discovered in the Cluny Archives a serious piece of conflicting evidence, and had reluctantly to admit that the Doctor was not completely cleared of the accusation of embezzlement, having given a receipt to Cluny for 6,000 L, and he maintained that 'we shall never know the truth of what he did with the 6,000 L.'² This contradicts Lang's informer, who says he 'saw Dr. Cameron . . . who denied either he or Fassfern had got any money . . . that the Doctor was off to Rome . . . with only £100 for expenses.'³

It is generally acknowledged that Archibald Cameron's character was irreproachable apart from the scandal of the French Treasure; his honesty is further attested by the fact that he undertook the long and dangerous journey to Rome solely to ask permission from James Francis Edward to use the French gold for the distressed Camerons. His own testimony should, therefore, be more reliable

¹ *Idem*, p. 145.

² Grant R. Francis, F.S.A., *The Romance of the White Rose* (London, 1933), p. 311.

³ *The Companions of Pickle*, p. 143.

than that of any informer or of his primary accuser Pickle (i.e. Glengarry¹), whom Lang showed up as a traitor and 'double-crosser' of the greatest magnitude. Hitherto Dr. Cameron's own copy of Cluny's account of the expenditure of the treasure up to his (Cameron's) departure from Scotland in 1749, together with his own explanation (unsigned but unquestionably in his handwriting) of his conduct in the affair, has lain unnoticed among the vast collection of Jacobite papers in the Royal Archives.²

Many points of interest arise out of this account, but the cardinal fact which emerges is, that we have Archibald Cameron's own word for it that he never touched the 6,000 L, except 300 L for the expenses of his journey, although he gave Cluny a *pro forma* receipt for it, in order to relieve the latter of the responsibility which was evidently proving an intolerable burden and causing him to be 'torn to pieces by the Countrey' at this time. Thus the problem of Grant Francis is solved, his evidence no longer stands in the way, and we are at last able to discharge this man, who has stood so long in the historical dock, with a verdict of 'Not Guilty.'

Cluny, however, is not so easily exonerated, though there is fresh evidence too of value for his share in the transaction. When he went over to France at Charles's orders in 1755, he sent a full account of his expenditure both to Charles and James,³ which with the covering letters, all signed and written in his own hand, are still extant in the Stuart Papers. There is a disturbing item⁴

¹ Alexander or Alistair MacDonell, 13th Laird of Glengarry and 3rd Titular Lord; eldest son of John, 12th Laird and 2nd Titular Lord; alias 'Pickle the Spy.'

² *Stuart Papers*, vol. 300, no. 80; see below Document I. p. 146.

³ *Idem*, vol. 358, nos. 28 and 29; see Document II. p. 152.

⁴ See Document II. p. 153.

regarding Dr. Archibald Cameron's conduct which reads as follows :—

‘Taken by Archibald Cameron from the place he and I agreed upon at the time he left Scotland along with his R.H., the mony shou'd be hide, when first he came to Scotland thereafter, for which he said he had an authority from H.R.H., and that he did it for the account of the support of the ruined Family of Locheil, and it has been told me that the money was applyed for that purpose, he afterwards sent me a receipt for the sume, mentioning that he had a better tittle to the management of that money than I had meaning, as is supposed, that he was the person who gave me the charge of it, as before observ'd . 6,000.’

It is obvious that Cluny's and Dr. Archibald's statements do not tally, and therefore we are faced with the fact that one of them is lying, but both probability and some further evidence in the Stuart Papers are on Dr. Cameron's side. From the common-sense standpoint it is illogical to suppose that Dr. Cameron took the trouble to go to Rome to get permission to use the money for Lochiel's family if he intended to put it into a business for himself at Dunkirk, of which Pickle accused him. If, on the other hand, he did receive the money, as Cluny says, and applied it for the benefit of his late brother's family, then what had he to gain by denying at Rome that he had ever touched the money? The Doctor's journey to Rome can only be explained by a genuine desire to obtain authority to use the treasure in the way proposed. Another point is that if, as Cluny states and Cameron denies, the latter had Charles's authority, then what need was there to go to Rome?

Whereas Cluny had good reasons for shelving the

responsibility on to Dr. Cameron's shoulders, according to Dr. Cameron's account, 'Cluny brought Fassfern north to receive the 5,700 Louis.'¹ Now, if Cluny admitted giving John Cameron of Fassfern the 5,700 L, even though it was still for the Lochiel Family's support, he ran the risk of incurring Charles's displeasure for giving away *louis* to an unauthorised person. Hence he is careful to mention that Archie 'said he had an authority from H.R.H.' He may, too, have preferred to put the onus on Archibald, who was by then dead and could not suffer thereby, than to involve the unfortunate Fassfern, who had only lately been let out of prison. Cluny may well have regarded his inaccurate statement as a white lie, since it did not alter the final disposition of the money, which was his chief concern in rendering his account, and after all Dr. Cameron himself had consented that he should 'show it (the receipt) to the King if needfull.'² Cluny need not then be too severely censured, provided his inaccurate statements do not lead us into accusing honest Archibald of misrepresentation of the facts.

There is, however, further evidence that it was Fassfern and not Dr. Cameron who dealt with the 5,700 L. The document headed 'State of the effects which are presently in Scotland ye 27 Augt. 1754' (which is annotated in Charles Edward's hand) contains an item which runs as follows :—

'To Archibald Cameron & now in trust for Lochealls sons (which is to be recovered) . . . 6,000.'

(Note by Charles): 'Given to Camerons Brother Fassfern without orders.'³

¹ See Document I. p. 150.

² *Idem*.

³ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 350, no. 50; Document III. p. 161.

This at least shows that Charles understood that Fassifern had charge of this Lochiel trust. Actually this document only rests on the information of H. Patullo¹ and Lochgarry,² and it will be shown to be inaccurate in many respects; however, it is probable that this and most items were founded on the truth. Lang says³ that 'in May 1753, Fassifern himself, then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, was examined. He declined to give any evidence against anybody on any charge. He admitted that in 1749 he received 4,000 L from Evan Cameron of Drumsallie, now dead, for Lochiel's family. He asked no questions, but deposited it with Mr. Macfarlane, W.S., who let it out to Wedderburn of Gosford, in Fassifern's name. Fassifern acted as a near relation for his exiled nephew, Lochiel's son.' Could the 4,000 L be part of the Locharkaig Treasure? In a letter in the Public Record Office,⁴ the traitor, Alexander Cameron of Glenevis, informs Lieut.-General Churchill that Fassifern 'got from Clunie £6,000 sterling of the money and carried it with him to Edinburgh in the Winter following (1750), and lodg'd it in the Hands of John Mcpherlane, Writer to the Signet.' This suggests that the money lodged by Fassifern with Macfarlane did derive from Locharkaig, though their figures

¹ He was out in the '45 and an agent for Charles Edward in the matter of the recovery of the French Treasure in 1754; he is almost certainly the 'Henri Pitillo' described in the list of Jacobite exiles drawn up at the Scots College, Paris (see *Stuart Papers*, vol. 296, no. 101), as an 'Aide de Camp . . . d'une ancienne famille, beaucoup souffert dans ses biens ayant été Negotiant considerable; il a servi comme Commissaire et Marechal de Logis dans L'Armée, dont il a les Brevets du Prince desquels Employ. Il s'est acquitte avec Diligence, il ne peut pas se retourner.'

² Donald Macdonell, of Lochgarry, a kinsman of the Glengarrys; out in the '45 at the head of the Glengarry battalion.

³ *The Companions of Pickle*, p. 145.

⁴ S.P. 54/43, no. 28 (f. 98) (*State Papers Scotland*).

differ. If, however, Fassifern's estimate of £4,000 is accepted, this would leave 1,700 L out of the 5,700 L to be accounted for, and it is a strange coincidence that in the 1754 account Charles notes that Angus Cameron stole 1,700 L, but he thinks this sum was derived from the 3,000 L stolen by John Murray of Broughton.¹ But could not this be an inaccuracy and the 1,700 L have been really taken from Fassifern's hoard? It seems more probable that a Cameron would be able to discover the whereabouts of *louis* hidden in his own country than Murray's pile, some of which was in the hands of an Edinburgh merchant² and the rest with Menzies of Culdares in Glen Lyon in Perthshire. At any rate, it seems likely that it was Fassifern who administered the Lochiel Trust and not Dr. Archibald Cameron.

Cluny's later account³ is almost as interesting as that copied by Dr. Cameron at Rome, and the two together give us the complete statement of the disposal of the Locharkaig Treasure which has hitherto been lacking. In spite of its somewhat awkward style, there is something very impressive about Cluny's declaration, and the strength of the personality behind it is to be sensed throughout. It gives a prosaic but pathetic picture of the Highlands after the '45 and the part played by the Treasure in the tragedy.

From these two accounts the following reconstruction of an account to cover the whole 35,000 *louis d'ors* originally landed can be made:—

¹ See Document III. p. 162.

² *Stuart Papers*, vol. 300, no. 80. See Document I. p. 147, and *Stuart Papers*, vol. 310, nos. 83 and 84.

³ See Document II. p. 152.

	<i>Louis</i>
Stolen at the time of landing	800
Given away by Murray of Broughton	4,200
Stolen by Murray of Broughton	3,000
Taken ¹ away by Charles Edward to France,	
18 Sept. '46	3,000
Accounted for by Macpherson of Cluny, 1755 .	24,000
	<hr/>
	35,000
	<hr/>

It is important to note that both Charles ² and Dr. Cameron agree that all Cluny has to account for is the 24,000 L. It is also noteworthy that Cluny is entirely open about his appropriations for his personal use. It is significant that both Patullo's and Lochgarry's account ³ tally with Dr. Archibald's copy of Cluny's Account in this respect, that the items referring to Cluny's personal expenditure add up to 1,700 L. According to Dr. Cameron, he was going to reserve 5,000 L to be disposed of at his discretion. It was possible, therefore, for him to spend 6,700 L for his own purposes, and according to his own account the items spent on himself, his family and friends amount to 6,230, which so nearly tallies with Dr. Cameron's estimate and is so much above Lochgarry's and Patullo's that it seems reasonable to accept Cluny's version as the truth.

These documents also help to clear up another point of mystery raised by Grant Francis concerning the Locharkaig Treasure. He quotes a letter, written by Lochgarry on 22nd June 1750 ⁴ to Charles, in which he says: 'I . . . forward the present letter which covers a just copy of the

¹ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 350, no. 50. See Document III. p. 161.

² *Idem*.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 308, no. 38, and *Romance of the White Rose*, p. 308.

State Clunie gave me. By it your Royal Highness will observe that no less a sum than 16,000 louis d'ors may still be recovered of the money. . . .’ Grant Francis naturally asked ‘Who had them?’ and replies, like Andrew Lang, ‘Pickle.’ But according to Dr. Archibald and Cluny, ‘Pickle’ only received 300 L. It is interesting that Cluny does not mention seeing the forged letter from James Francis Edward, of which Grant Francis and Andrew Lang speak, but only verbal ‘plausable accounts.’ It has already been shown that the total can be accounted for without allocating more than the 300 L to ‘Pickle,’ but that Charles thought there were still between 16,000 and 17,000 remaining and that it was for this reason that he sent for Cluny in 1755, is perfectly true. The mystery is explained by the third document, printed here for the first time, which is dated 27th Augt. 1754 and headed ‘State of the effects which are presently in Scotland.’¹

It will be seen from this account that the 16,000 L was calculated on the assumption that 6,700 L would be recoverable not from buried treasure, but from sums already ‘taken without orders,’ and that Cluny still had in his hands 9,150 L; Patullo and Lochgarry were evidently unaware of Cluny’s further expenditure on himself and his friends and relations. It is clear, therefore, that this 16,850 L was purely an imaginary balance, which had no relation to the real state of the cash. The answer to the problem of ‘who had the 16,000 L?’ is that they never existed except on paper. The account itself is obviously inaccurate and misleading in many ways, as it begins by reckoning the total of the Treasure at 36,000 P, so that at the outset a false addition of 1,000 L is made. On the other hand, the sum said to be lost at removing is given

¹ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 350, no. 50. See Document III. p. 161.

at 500 L, and Cluny puts it at only 425. The 4,200¹ given by Murray of Broughton for arrears of pay for the troops, etc., is left out of the reckoning altogether. The small payments, such as those to Torcastle and 'Archeille's lady,' do not appear on either Cluny's or Archy's accounts, but they are probably approximately accurate and are no doubt included in one of the larger sums, such as the 18th item in Cluny's account,² and would come under the heading of 'other friends who attended him' (Charles).

Another mystery of importance in connection with the Locharkaig Treasure, on which these Stuart Papers throw some though imperfect light, is the ultimate fate of the 3,000 L stolen by Murray of Broughton, £900 sterling of which was said to be in Menzies of Culdair's hands. According to Lochgarry,³ 'Menzies of Culdairs has still in his hands nine hundred pound of the money that John Murray brought South . . . [This] can be got immediately if Jamie McLeod writes to his fayrth.' He also states that 'Glengarry got of the money yt. John Murray gave William McDougall £1,100.' The first statement is probably untrue (see footnote 5, p. 162), but the second, according to the evidence of Pickle himself, is approximately correct. There is among the Stuart Papers a copy, in the hand of Andrew Lumisden,⁴ of Glengarry's confession⁵ regarding the money lodged with William Macdougall of Edinburgh by Murray

¹ See Document I. p. 146.

² See Document II. p. 156.

³ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 310, no. 84.

⁴ Andrew Lumisden, who described himself in *Stuart Papers*, vol. 302, no. 3, as 'descended from . . . Lumisden of Cushnie and Bruce of Clackmanan'; he was the grandson of the Bishop of Edinburgh and son of the Jacobite Governor of Burntisland; was out in the '45 as Under-Secretary to Charles; acted as Secretary to James Edgar and succeeded him as Secretary to James Francis Edward in 1762; retired from Charles's service in 1768.

⁵ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 310, nos. 82, 83. See Document IV. p. 164.

of Broughton. The document bears no signature, but it is obviously not by Lumisden, as the writer of the original has to fulfil the following conditions: 1. He must have been at Rome for 5 months in August 1750; 2. He must be a member of a leading Roman Catholic clan; 3. His father must be ill in 1750 and at one time a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle; 4. He must have lost a brother in the '45 who left a widow and two young children. The only person who has all these qualifications is 'Pickle.'

To attach any importance to Pickle's statements may seem irrational, but this document is the only evidence at present available as to the expenditure of this portion of the Locharkaig Treasure, and there are one or two indications that for once he is speaking the truth. The sums which he confesses to have had for his father's estate and his relations adds up to £1,050, which is only £50 short of Lochgarry's estimate. Moreover, two of the items in the account of the money administered by Macdougall could have been easily checked. Andrew Lumisden would hardly have copied 'To Mr. Lumisden to be sent to his son . . . £75 5'¹ without comment if it had been a lie. Again, it would have been dangerous to give a false account of money sent to Michele Vezzosi,² who in 1750 had returned to Charles's service and was in his household at Avignon. It is also significant that John Murray of Broughton, in his account³ of some £37,755 (which includes the Locharkaig Treasure and sums from other sources), also gives the amounts deposited with Menzies of Culdres as £3,500

¹ See Document IV. p. 168.

² An Italian who was a valet for many years in the Stuart household in Rome and who accompanied Charles to Arisaig in '45. He surrendered during the campaign and was imprisoned by the Government and not released until 1747. He is the author of a biography of Charles known as 'Juba.' See Document IV. p. 168.

³ Printed in the Appendix of Robert Chambers's *History of the Rebellion in Scotland 1745-46* (1869), p. 522, item 38.

and 351 guineas.¹ Another striking point is that if the sum of Pickle and Macdougall's expenditure and Murray's £500² is subtracted from the total deposited in Culdairs's hands, the balance is £878, 9s. 8d., which after all is very near Lochgarry's estimate of £900. Thus, although nothing can be definitely proved, it seems not unreasonable to attach at least some interest to Pickle's version of the affair.

Historians have always looked with horror at the bitterness roused by the French Treasure, but these documents in the Stuart Papers suggest that those who handled it did so rather for the sake of their families and in order that these might survive for another rebellion, than from personal greed. We see in this story what all through is both the strength and the weakness of the Jacobite movement—family tradition, which kept loyalty alive but brought with it petty jealousy and suicidal rivalry. It is satisfactory, however, to know that the spending of the Treasure was for the most part by those who had lost all for the cause and not by their ungrateful Prince, whose view of finance is well summed up in his own words :—³

‘. . . as to Money Matters as I never medled or maked in it, I can have nothing to say on ye subject and in reality, as to me in particular these Matters at present are the least of my conserns. . . . CHARLES P.’

MARION F. HAMILTON.

¹ See Document IV. p. 167.

² *Idem*, p. 165.

³ *Stuart Papers*, vol. 289, no. 4.

DOCUMENT I

DR. ARCHIBALD CAMERON'S MEMORIAL CONCERNING THE LOCHARKAIG TREASURE *

Louis

- | | |
|--|--------|
| 1. Ane Accompt of 35,000 Louis D'ors sent from France and landed on the West Highlands of Scotland the beginning of May, 1746 by order of Sr. Thomas Sheridan ¹ and Mr. Murray ² Secretary to H. Royal Highness and taken in charge by Murray who continued in the Countrey as it was then resolved to goe again to arms | 35,000 |
|--|--------|

- | | |
|---|-------|
| Stollen in time of landing when the French vessels that carry'd it was ingaged with English Men of war by a fellow who went abroad in one of those ships whose name was conceal'd by the Priest who had it from him in confession | 800 |
| Given by Mr. Murray to diferent Corps of the Army for arrears due some months before ; also towards charges in bringing up their men to a Rendevous against a day apointed according to concert | 4,200 |

* *Stuart Papers*, vol. 300, no. 80. Undated and unsigned, but written in his handwriting, probably at the time of his visit to Rome in the spring of 1750.

¹ Thomas Sheridan, Titular Bt. ; tutor to Charles Edward at Rome ; out in the '15 and the '45 ; son of the Thomas Sheridan who was secretary to James II. ; died at Rome, 1746.

² John Murray of Broughton, who became Jacobite Agent in Scotland on Col. James Urquhart's death and acted as Charles Edward's Secretary during the '45 ; turned King's evidence when brought to trial.

Louis

Carryd south by Mr. Murray and lodged in Mr.	
McDouels ¹ hand att Edr.	3,000
H.R. Highness in Sepr. 1746 brought abroad . . .	3,000
	<hr/>
	11,000
	<hr/>

Remains after subtracting the 11,000 out of the 35,000 24,000
 which 24,000 Louis was given in charge by H.R.H. to Clunie and Angus Cameron Brother to Glenevis was desired to be ane assistant trusted under Clunie being his neighbour. Clunie was to remove the money to his own Countrey after parting with H.H. the Acct. of which will best appear by the subjoined Copy of one sent by Cluny the original haveing been shown to His Majesty.

2. Copy of Clunies Acct. ² of the	24,000
--	--------

To diferent setts of people as per particular directions in writeing	<i>Louis</i> 750
In Angus Camerons hand	3,000
To John Cameron of Fasfern to pay of the by run Cess and stipens of Locheils Estate	350

Given to some of my own friends first on account of my own safety and next on account that the houses of severalls of them were burned and their cattle carryed away, I was necessitate to lay out the following sume upon them to keep them in good humour, for all the Countreys in Scotland that were concerned in this affair, were turned my Enemys, on account of their

¹ William MacDougall, a wine merchant in Edinburgh and brother-in-law of John Murray of Broughton.

² The original of this account, made by Cluny, was dated 22nd Sept. 1749. See Document III. p. 163, and footnote 3.

Louis

being strongly impressed, that all H. Hs money had been left in my Custody with particular orders from himself to divide and distribute it amongst such as were concerned in his cause, but in place of answer H. Highnesses directions and as every thing had turned out wrong, I was (as they apprehended) to keep and retain all for my own private use, and a great many of the people have even to this day the same uncharitable and unjust notion runing in their heads by being on this unlucky situation I durst not venture to shelter or sculk among such as were formerly my friends yea my relations and well wishers, and it may be judged had I been lost my whole trust and charge had gone alongst with me att the same time I have taken bills for the throng of the money, not knowing but the same might be hereafter demanded, Inde . 500

To Fasfern for his expences and in order to enable him to lable the claims upon Locheils Estate .	100
To Major Kenedy ¹	6,000
To McPherson of Breachacky ² who went with the money to Kenedy	600
Exhausted in suport of myself, necessary servants, Secretarys, and trustees, and for the subsistence of my Wife, Family and Children for the space of four years	1,200
To intaick in the money and part of it that was lost and never recovered	481

12,981

11,019

¹ Major Kennedy, *alias* Thomas Newton; one of Charles Edward's chief agents for the recovery of the Treasure.

² Brother-in-law of Macpherson of Cluny.

4. (Unfortunately page 3 of this document is missing and Dr. Cameron's memorial begins in the middle, on page 4):—

Being importuned by repeated invitations att diferent times, by Clunie and Fasfern Locheils Brother, Archie Cameron consented to goe that dangerous journey but first in March 1749 sent to Cluny for charges to goe to Rome to aply to H. Majesty for some of the money in Scotland to relieve Locheils affairs, that misgiving, he went in September thereafter to Scotland, Clunie would not see him untill he would bring his Brother Fasfern to the meeting, which was done, and Clunie came to Gerarie ten miles to the southward to meet them, Clunie asked Archie if he had orders from the King or Prince about money, for Locheil or him, the other answer'd he had not, Clunie said he had remaining 11,000 Louis, of which he thought he should have 5,000 and 6,000 to be lodged in Fasferns hands as he was torn to pieces by the Countrey about that money he would keep none of it, but what he would take for himself for the most of which he had the Princes allowance in writeing. Archie proposed that Clunie should either retain all in his own hands or put part in his, and give him charges to H. Majesty in hopes to obtain orders to have it aplyd as above, but Clunie would have 6,000 lodged with Fasfern except 300 Louis he sent for which was given Archie as his charges, to lay the affair before The King, who he was convinced would approve of it, as the neighbours had their Estates and could recover their clan from poverty thorow time as being under themselves, which was not the case with Locheil and him, he ownd indeed there was but few of his people whose effects was taken, but that was not the case with Locheils clan who were in general plunderd by the troops, being numerous and many of good substance the loss was the greater and att that very time the Government Factors were raiseing what effects the tennants [torn] for the past four years rents, it was thought that it would be for the Kings interest as well theirs that there should be a fund towards pleaing for the Estates, failing of that for laying in claims of debts, and failing of that att second hand to

purchase either a part of their own Estate or a little ground near their clan as the only means to keep a family in being.

Clunie proposed to Archie as he had taken upon him the retaining 5,000 for himself that *Archie should give him a letter as if he had taken the 6,000* designed for Locheil att his own hand out of the place Archie knew the money lay formerly in, which Archie was so well natured as to do, as Clunie was only to show it to the King if needfull, and Archie was going directly to H. Majesty with an account of all, *the real fact is* that Archie did not know where Clunie removed the money to after the Prince came abroad as appears by Clunies acct. sent the King, further severals who were present knows that Archie saw none except the 300 Louis Clunie sent for and that Archie parted with Clunie and came south, Clunie brought Fasfern north to receive the 5700 Louis, this is what will turn out true.

5. It would be tedious and oficious to trouble H. Majesty with all the arguments recommended by Clunie and Fasfern to be used to convince H.M. that the application of the remaining part of that money, to help to keep and suport the Chiefs of Locheils and Clunies familys, att the head of their Clans, would be a means to keep them in a body together, fitt to serve the King thereafter, as well as thrive themselves, Clunie desires it should be represented that H.R. Highness att parting as well as before was so good as promise him and others, in case H.H. did not soon receive succours to invade Brittain, that none of that money ever should be taken out of Scotland but given to the greatest suferers, therefore he hopes H. Majesty will aprove of what he has done with the 11,000 Louis.

WHAT GLENGARRY GAVE OUT AS HAVEING ORDERS FROM THE KING

In Octr. 1749 Glengarry wanted much to see Archie Cameron who then was newly come from Scotland upon pressing bussiness from the King, att meeting Glengarry

said he had a letter from H. Majesty directing him to go to Scotland and know if the highland Chiefs and others would join for the King in case a number of troops (I think six thousand) which were offerd H. Majesty should land with arms and money, att the same time had power to raise what money was in Clunies hands to carry on the Kings service which he said must still be a good sum, upon his promiseing to show the Kings letter Archie Cameron gave him a letter to Clunie aproveing of ane attempt by the Kings direction upon Brittain, then Glengarry told him he had sent the Kings letter and all his papers, the day before to Paris to Sr. Hector (MacLean), he sent to my Lord Glencarty,¹ desiring his Lordshipe to preingage his friends in England for the Kings service, he met Fasfern and Clunie in December in diferent places and showed them his credentialls from the King, and said he had orders to take accompt of the money, as well as the Kings cause which was the affair of consequence he was about, Breack-achy Clunies Brother in law some little time thereafter att Edr. told Fasfern that Glengarry thorow the faith of his credentiall got 300 Louis from Clunie, and six hundred Louis from Angus Cameron, Clunies trustee who was mentioned by Clunie in his accompt as removed money unknown to Clunie those accounts are lately by letters from Clunie and Fasfern.

¹ Robert MacCarthy, but for the attainder 5th Earl of Clancarty and 3rd Viscount Muskerry; Governor of Newfoundland 1733-35; went to France and adopted the Jacobite cause in 1741; died 1769; his most usual *alias* was John Elliot.

DOCUMENT II

ACCOUNT BY LAUGHLAN MACPHERSON OF CLUNY OF THE LOCHARKAIG TREASURE, RENDERED TO JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD AND CHARLES EDWARD WHEN CALLED TO FRANCE BY THE LATTER IN THE SPRING OF 1755.*

State of the disposal of the money left hide in the Hills in Locheils Country Lochaber and the places where it was sown by Archibald Cameron Brother to Locheil, to Cluny Macpherson, being at that time no more than the sume of 24,000 pieces, conform to a note given of it to Cluny by H.R.H. under his own hand dated the 18 September 1746 at the time he took shiping for France, and at which time H.R.H. laid his commands upon Cluny to remain in the Country and shift for himself in the best manner he could and at any expence untill he shou'd see him there personally again, or that he had his orders in writing to come abroad, which accordingly Cluny obeyed untill call'd Spring 1755.

Louis

Taken away by Angus Cameron Brother to Glen-
ennewass from the place where it was hide,
which Locheil and his Brother Archebald had
made him Privie to, and which he did of himself
and without my knowledge and which fact he
acknowledged thereafter and being known to
all, serves sufficiently to exoner me . . . 3,000

* *Stuart Papers*, vol. 358, no. 28 to Charles Edward and no. 29 to James Francis Edward. The two accounts are identical except that the Old Chevalier's copy is endorsed by his secretary, James Edgar, 'Cluny Macphersons accompt sent to the king in his letter Sep^r 8th 1755, w^{ch} H.M. answered Sep^r 29th telling him he could not enter into the affair of that money.'

Louis

Taken away by Archibald Cameron from the place he and I agreed upon, at the time he left Scotland along with his R.H., the money shou'd be hide, when first he came to Scotland thereafter, for which he said he had authority from H.R.H. and that he did it for the account of the support of the Ruined Family of Locheil, and it has been told me the money was applyed for that purpose, he afterwards sent me a receipt for the sume, mentioning that he had a better tittle to the management of that money than I had, meaning as is suppos'd, that he was the person who gave me the charge of it, as before observ'd		6,000
Given to Cameron of Fassfern Locheils Brother at his earnest request, and in consequence of Locheils warm recommendations at parting, in order to prevent Locheils tennants who had been in the Prince's service from being oppress'd for the Cess & Church dues dureing the years that they cou'd not act for themselves, to provide money any other way, for what was due by their respective farms; as also lodgeing the severall claims in the exchequer on Locheils Estate, for which I have receipts		450
Given to many sufferers after his R.H. departure in consequence of ane order left me under his own hand & for which I have receipts		800
(end of 1st page)		10,250
Brought from the other side		10,250
Given to Major Kennedy by H.R.H. orders in a holograph write upon a small pearchment, directing me to believe and comply with whatever the Major told me, for which I have his receipts		6,020
Given to Breakachie who went twice into England		

Louis

to Major Kennedy and who brought two order(s) from the Major to pay to him and for which I have Kennedies orders	600
Taken to myself in consequence of ane order from Major Kennedy, and which I applyed by the advice of the best lawyers towards purchasing debts upon my own Estate, so as I might be in condition to cause buy the fortune for my own family when it should come to a sale before the exchequer. But the Government haveing afterwards contrary to all expectations or precedent taken resolutions to annex the Highland Estates to the Crown of which Number Mine is one, and the Government haveing the Estate in their possession have never payed any interest on these claims, and it is even the oppinion of the most knowing men of the law that the sume will be entirely lost, for altho' they are vested in the persons of trustees, yet there is not now a possibility of avoiding a discovery that they are on my account, in which case they will be cut of, and which renders my Family prospects very Mortifying	3,200
Given to Glengarrie in presence of Lochgarrie who came to me together and told me plausible accounts of affairs of Importance they had to manage for H.R.H. and showing at the same time that they were not in safety to carrie papers or bring ane order in writing, and it was with difficultie I cou'd prevail on them to be content with the sume for which I have Glengarries Receipt viz.	300
Given to Angus MacDonnell Brother to Lochgarrie who was a valuable officer in the 1745 & was a great sufferer in consequence, for which I have his receipt	25
Lost in the severall removealls by the Rotting of Bags and breaking of Casks, for not being at	

Louis

Liberty to Oversee it myself I was obliged to trust to persons in whoes honesty and integrity I had grounds to put confidence. There were also a great Number of the peices found bad & which still remain in the hands of some of my friends and for all which I can procure attestations from those to whose care I recommended it and who I have reason to believe are men of veracity and very possiblief the money might have been lost in removealls before I was made privie to it

425

(end of 2nd page) . 20,820

Brought from the other side . 20,820

Thus I can give instructions as satisfactorie as the nature of the case can admitt of for the disposall of 20,820 pd. Ster. as above. Follows ane Account of the rest which I was obliged to deburse from time to time according as the necessity of circumstances & prudence required, with sincere views to his R.H. Intrest as well as my own believing that I in every respect acted the resonable part viz.:

Louis

There being a misnomer in my attender I was advis'd by the best lawyers both in England and Scotland to endeavour to reduce it, I accordingly rais'd and carried on a proces to that effect believeing I thereby did H.R.H. Cause a very reall service, providing I cou'd succeed and recover my Estate which wou'd of course have continued and strengthened my Intrest in the country. But contrary to all expectations and to all precedents it went against me, and the expence of the attempt mounted to

150

As I then was certain my Estate was past all hopes of recovery and that I had thenceforth no place of residence in the country Either for

Louis

myself, my Family, or relations and that of course my Influence in the Country in favours of his R.H. would be entirely lost, granting their shou'd be any opportunity to exert it, and of which I was for some years hourly in hopes. In this situation I by the advice of friends resolved to take a long lease of a large farm or tack of land, from the Duke of Gordon lying in my own Country in a trustees name for my account, believeing I thereby did the Royall cause a very reall service, as I am persuaded it will keep my Influence in that part of the world still something considerable, so was obliged to pay in advance to obtain the lease

400

Paid for the expences of my own subsistance and for guards and watches for the safety of my own person dureing the course of Nine long melancholly years, likeways for the subsistance [of] guards and watches for the safety of his H.R.'s person and that of other friends who attended him while he stayed with me, which happened to be his case when the ships arriv'd for him. Also for the care trouble and attendance for watching and removeing the money and other effects, which were left to my charge, and all of it in consequence of my express orders from H.R.H. Including likeways considerable articles which my own breast moved me to give in charity for the relief of many poor Families who groan'd in want by haveing their houses burn'd to the ground their cattle and goods carried off, were at the point of perishing in missrie .

1,450

 22,820

Brought from the other side . 22,820

Paid for the subsistance of my wife and children for ten years, for her Father Lord Lovat's

Louis

Family being likeways included in the destruction cou'd give them no assistance, so had no place to put their heads in, My Family house the best in that part of the world, being burn'd by Cumberland's orders to the ground, neither had they a sixpence to live on, my whole effects both moveable and lands being Immediately taken possession off, also for the Subsistence, Education, and small settlement of two young Brothers and a young sister who were left to my care by the last words of a dying Father whoes gray hairs, the shock given the Royall cause and the misfortune of his own Family, brought in a Grief to the Grave

1,030

So at the time H.R.H. orders in writing to come abroad reach'd me, there remain'd in my hands and which has come short in bearing my expences to Paris and of Equiping me out there in a decent manner. For I considered a small spareing in expences was not to be put in ballance with Immediate obedience to his commands ; I therefore sett out post directly as the most prudent and most expeditious, tho' at the same time the most expensive way

150

 24,000

Thus I give under my hand a reall and candid account of the disposall of the whole sume that was recommended to me.—I beg the liberty to add and I declare I do it without vanity, That at the time I had the honour to join the standard of His R.H. I left behind me a reasonable fortune, Ane unstain'd reputation, and perhaps greater prosperity than I cou'd have had by his success ; for about six weeks before his R.H. arriv'd in Scotland, a Commission unask'd for, was sent me to my own house by the Government to raise a Company for myself in Lord Loudons Regiment of Highlanders. I had also undertaken with success for some

years before to suppress by my action and Intrest alone most of the thifts and depredations in those parts which have been for many ages complain'd off, and in that very year 1745 had the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the best Families and fortunes in the North of Scotland under Contracts, at their own earnest request, to pay me eight hundred pound sterling a year, and many more were likewise ready to subscribe towards Ane undertaking of so generall benefite and which had never been effectually perform'd untill I engag'd in it. So that I had great Grounds to consider, that I cou'd have sitt at home in peace, when other officers were oblidged to attend or perhaps goe abroad with the Regiment, and clear'd a thousand pd. ster. a year by these articles, besides my Family Estate, yet I was willing and ready when my Prince appear'd to act up to my duty with that honour and loyaltie my forefathers had always done & trust the rest to providence.

I beg leave likewise to add that many times since his R.H. left Scotland I had messages delivered to my friends, That if I wou'd give up his R.H.'s Plate to Cumberland, who wou'd be prouder of and put more value on it, than the acquisition of a hundred thousand pounds, I might make my own terms; yet altho' the Place in so far as I can judge wou'd have been greatly over payed by the Bargain I dispis'd from my soul what I considered the rewards of Iniquity. Yet at the same time I have good grounds to believe there are many who were in his Royal H.'s service wou'd not have been proof of such a temptation had it been equally in their power.—In regard likewise that I had done more alone in suppressing thifts and depredations than the power and attention of the Government had ever done before, Many of the Clergie in Scotland had urg'd my friends, That I wou'd allow the Generall Assemblie to make a peremptorie demand in my favour. But I disdain'd to give the world a handle to say that I had acted inconsistantly.

I shall take the same opportunity to declare upon the word of a Christian and a man of honestie that I never saw or cou'd hear of the casket of valuable things H.R.H. says was among his Plate: That I never haveing been at free-

dom to look after any thing myself, I employ'd no person in the care of them but such to whoes truth and veracity I had reason to believe, I might have trusted the value of a Kingdom in untold gold, and they all declared solemnly to me they never once saw it. Yet as these effects were removed to avoid danger at least fifty different times, and often by different hands always in the dark of night, sometimes thrown into falls of water, sometimes into marshes, and sometimes into pits dug on purpose in the grounds the casket might very possiblⁱe be brocke and left by accedent in one of these places, and for that reason I upon the first notice given me of such a casket haveing been which was by a line under H.R.H. own hand from aboard the ship at his setting out for France, I went personally in moon light and caus'd search all these places with the outmost attention and care in my own presence but without success, nor could all my endeavours ever after procure the least notice of it, or of any one thing it containd.—I may further add that had not I and my people been active in it the very night of Culloden the waggon and all it containd had fallen a prey to the first comer, for I found it on the high road deserted by every person, so his R.H.'s personall dress which it contain'd was sent him, and the Plate I have given orders to send how soon a safe method of conveying, can be found, and I am certain it will be delivered unhurt by me or by any of my people.

I have enlarg'd the more upon these subjects that I know my name has been a good deall spoke off and even us'd freedom with by the world. For my haveing been attentive to prevent the Government's ever geting the least notice of his R.H. or his friends dureing their stay with me, of the goods he trusted to my care, or even of my own person, their resentment was so highly provock'd that they wou'd have stuck at no premium to be reveng'd.—The confidence also his R.H. did me the honour to place in me, had provock'd the jealosie, envey, and I may even add Malice of many who shou'd have been friends, and who without doubt imagin'd that the whole money which came to Scotland was left with me, whereas there were

24,000 peices as above.—Conscious however of my own conduct and the uprightness of my intentions, their ill founded calumenie gives me no pain. Yet I was desirous to give all the satisfaction in my power where I think it due.—So without being mov'd by fear to disguise, or prompted by vanity to augment, I have represented facts as they really are for the sake of truth alone, and that all these things are reall truths I declare before God & the world.

MACPHERSON OF CLUNY.

DOCUMENT III

‘STATE OF THE EFFECTS WHICH ARE PRESENTLY IN SCOTLAND YE 27 AUGT. 1754’*

	<i>P</i>
There came at first	36,000
imbazeled at ye arival	1,000
taken by J. Murray ¹ (without orders)	3,000
Distributed by orders	1,000
Brought to France (By myself)	3,000
to John Cameron Son to Glenevies (without orders)	3,000
to Archibald Cameron & now in trust for lochealls Sons ² (which is to be recovered ³) (Given to Camerons Brother Fassferns without orders)	6,000
Given among the Macphersons (without orders)	500
Charged by Clunie for expences etc. (without orders)	1,200
given by Clunie to M. Kenedi ⁴ (By orders)	6,000
allow'd by Mr. K. to Brackachey (which shoud be out of ye 6,000)	600

* *Stuart Papers*, vol. 350, no. 50. This account is written in the hand of Charles Edward's mistress, Clementina Walkinshaw, and is annotated by Charles, but it is obviously drawn up from particulars given by Lochgarry in the undated account probably enclosed in his letter in vol. 350, no. 37. (The account is erroneously bound in vol. 310, no. 84.)

¹ Brackets in this document denote the handwriting of Charles himself in the original document.

² Not in Charles's hand.

³ In Charles's hand. Brackets again denote Charles's hand.

⁴ In 1754 Charles accused Kennedy of embezzlement of this sum, but in a letter to his banker, John Waters of Paris (*Stuart Papers*, vol. 350, no. 42), he admits an error and says that he remembers that part of the 6,000 L was brought by Kennedy on his person just before he went to England in 1750, and the remainder was remitted by bills of exchange later—hence his confusion.

	<i>P</i>
Said to be lost in removing	500
to John Cameron Brother to locheall (without orders)	100
to Lodwich Cameron ¹ (without orders)	100
to archeille and his lady ² (without orders)	50
to Archibald Cameron (without orders)	300
applyd towards paying the Cess and stipends of Lochealls estate (without orders)	500
<hr/>	
Sum ³ of ye Accoun given by P. ⁴ and Logary	26,850
Shoud remain by this without what may be recovered particularly ye six thousand of Cameron which is said to be shure	9,150
<hr/>	
	36,000

Menzies ⁵ of Culdairs has nine hundred P. of J. Murais three thousand Pound he stole also seventeen hundred taken by Angus Cameron, may be recovered out of ye three thousand of which were distributed as folos :—

¹ Mr. Ludovick Cameron of Torcastle, fourth son of Sir Ewan of Lochiel, and therefore uncle to the Lochiel of the '45, and his brothers, Dr. Archibald Cameron and John of Fassifern. He accused Dr. Archibald in a letter to Charles (*Stuart Papers*, vol. 344, no. 195) of 'taking away a round sum of your highness's money,' and says that his nephew confessed as much to him at Rome; but this possibly referred to the £300 for travelling expenses, and his evidence against the Doctor does not deserve the attention paid to it by Lang in *Companions of Pickle*, p. 141.

² Charles Stewart of Ardshiel and his wife, Isabella Haldane.

³ From this point onwards the document is written entirely by Charles himself.

⁴ H. Patullo.

⁵ In 1765 Charles commissioned Hugh Seton to recover this sum from Culdairs, but he failed to do so and wrote to Abbé John Gordon, Principal of the Scotch College, Paris (*Stuart Papers*, vol. 428, no. 135): 'I had . . . a full conversation with Mr. Menzies about it, and he answered me that he had, soon after he received that money, repaid it to an order brought him from the person (i.e. John Murray of Broughton) who had left it with him which order was brought by the persons brother-in-law (i.e. William Macdougall, merchant in Edinburgh). So no furer satisfaction is to be expected as to this affaire.'

P

To Docter Cameron, Balhady, ¹ and Lord Semple ²	1,000
After again sent to Doctor Cameron	200
Also to Lodwich Cameron	100
<hr/>	
So still must remain	1,700

So that by ye above account one shou'd have shure
ye Sums mentioned to be recovered id est :—

From what Cameron got	6,000
From Angus Cameron	1,700
Still not stolen	9,150
<hr/>	
Totall in existence	16,850

³ By Clunies account as it was said by A. Cameron
to have been writ in his own hand ye 22d. Sepr.
1749. Given to ye K. sent me by J. Edgar
March 1750 ye Balance was thus :—

There was in his hands	24,000
<hr/>	
Given away to severals	12,981
Still remaining good	11,019
<hr/>	
As ye sum he had was thus	24,000
Remember when I saw him last there was ye year 1747	27,000
of which I took	3,000

¹ William Drummond of Balhaldy, a MacGregor who assumed the name of Drummond on the suppression of the Clan Gregor. He acted with Francis Sempill (2nd Titular Lord) as a Jacobite agent in Paris and took a leading part in the initial plotting of the '45.

² Francis Sempill, 2nd Titular Lord, eldest son of Robert, 1st Titular Lord; an active Jacobite agent in Paris, 1740-45; died 1748.

³ This paragraph is evidence for the date of Document I.

DOCUMENT IV

COPY OF CONFESSION BY GLENGARRY (*alias* 'PICKLE THE SPY') CONCERNING THE LOCH- ARKAIG TREASURE, MADE AT ROME, 30TH AUGUST 1750 *

Copy.

SIR,

'Tis now five months since I came to Rome and nothing could have detained me so long but waiting your Majesty's orders, and in expectation of knowing H.R.H. determination as to the papers sent him by your Majesty concerning the situation of the Highlands; but finding myself of late pressed by my friends repeated solicitations, and my fathers continued illness to return home. I think it is my duty in my present situation to lay before your Majesty what particularly regards my family, and then submit myself to your Majesty's royal pleasure.

I can't express what misery my unhappy part of the country has suffered since the battle of Culloden; all our farms being pillaged, the farmers rendered incapable for several years to come to pay any rent, as the troops used them with greater rigor for their being Catholics than they did the other Clans; this, with my father's being close prisoner above three years, wch. totally ruined his constitution, and the many difficulties he laboured under during that time, has brought his family almost to the very brink of ruin.

I take now the liberty to acquaint your Majesty of one

* *Stuart Papers*, vol. 310, nos. 82 and 83. This copy is made in the handwriting of Andrew Lumisden (see footnote 4, p. 143).

particular, and I hope you'll be graciously pleased to pardon my not doing it sooner, as my delaying it proceeded from no other motive than that no family point of interest should in the least interfere with the general cause.

Your Majesty will be pleased to know, that Mr. Murray of Broughton coming south from the Highlands in hopes of making his escape, brought with him near 3500 £ str. but finding it cumbersome deposited the whole in the hands of Mr. Menzies of Culdairs, who, upon Mr. Murray's being taken sent 2,500 £ str. to Mr. Makdougall¹ Merchant at Edinburgh, and he sent 500 £ str. to Mr. Murray, but when he became evidence supplied him no further, wch. he resenting threatened to pursue him at law, wch. so alarmed him that he would have advanced him the whole, had not Mr. John MackLeod Advocate advised him to the contrary. When I returned from the Highlands to Edinburgh, I found him in some concern as to the fate of this money, as he, without any authority, had distributed to different persons near 1500 £ str. I proposed, that if he would deliver in my hands what remained, part of which I would distribute to such as had received no assistance since H.R.H. left the country, I would endeavour to procure a full discharge of the whole from Mr. Murray. This he gladly accepted of as it screened him from refunding what money he had spent. I applied to Mr. Murray by way of letter for the discharge, this he instantly granted, claiming at the same time 880 £ str. for money advanced by him to the Prince. When I delivered Mr. Murray's letter to Mr. Makdougall, he remitted to me what remained in his hands; but how soon they were in possession of the Mr. Murray's letter, Culdairs thought proper to retain what money lay in his hands, under pretence, as I suppose, that what money I received was sufficient for the intended distribution, and that he would retain what he had untill your Majesty or H.R.H. pleasure were intimated to him.

¹ See footnote 1, p. 147.

What I received from Mr. Makdougall was, 400 £ str. given to pay the stipends of my fathers lands during the Prince's expedition, were not this expedient the presbyterian ministers would have given up their claim to the government ; who already has bought most of the debts of our estate in hopes to oblige us to sell it, by wch. means they would be in possession of all the lands 'twixt the east and west sea, wch. is the center of the loyal Clans. Given my father in the Castle of Edinburgh 150 £ str. Distributed to the poor widows and orphans of Glenmoriston 200 £ str. These poor people were in the utmost distress, most of the farmers having been transported. 160 £ str. given to my brother's widow, who was most cruelly treated, her house burnt and turned out of all her habitations, exposed to the inclement weather, at the seame time having two young orphans to take care of, and at the time to be brought to bed of a third. 110 £ str. given in part payment of 400 £ str. my brother bought of arms in the year forty five. 30 £ str. to pay different expresses sent to loyal gentlemen.

This is the whole of this affair, and tho' thirty thousand pounds sterling were left with Cluny Mack Pherson, I can assure your Majesty this is all the assistance any Catholic family received, tho' their numbers in the affair and losses far exceeded any of the other Clans ; yet I never would have meddled in any manner whatsoever with this money could there ever been the least expectation of recovering it for H.R.H. or even had it been any of the money left by the Prince in the country to be kept for more material services. Besides your Majesty will see by the enclosed list that it would have been at any rate imbezled. Mr. Makdougall has my obligatory receipt for the whole should I be so unhappy as that my conduct in this should be disapproved by your Majesty.

I never, please your Majesty, communicated this affair to any mortal tho' I fear the noise of my being lately in Scotland and the particular care Doctor Archibald Cameron takes to inform all sorts of people of it, may bring me to such troubles out of wch. I shall have great difficulty to extricate myself ; but your Majesty's countenance and

protection will always console me for any hardships I or my name may endure in promoting the royal cause. God grant how soon, I may have occasion to give palpable proofs that none of your Majesty's subjects is readier nor would more cheerfully draw his sword and shed his blood for his King and Country than I would. That God almighty may long preserve your Majesty's sacred person and soon restore you to the throne of your royal ancestors is the most ardent desire of, etc. (the letter is unsigned as it is not the original, but a file copy).

30th August 1750.

P.S.—Forby the 3,500 Louis d'ors depositated in Culdairs hands, there was at the same time 351 Guineas depositated.

Copy.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MONEY DISTRIBUTED BY MR.
MAKDOUGAL MERCHANT AT EDINBURGH

To Mr. Stuart ¹ of Ardsheal before he left Edinburgh	£21	0	0
To Lady Lochiel ² for sick persons	25	15	6
To Duncan Mack Gregor	45	11	6
To the Infirmary for the expences of the enemy wounded at Gladesmuir	581	15	6
Expended upon French officers at the Tavern	29	10	1
To a servant sent to Carlisle	2	2	0
To one Robert to Carlisle	3	3	0
To Doctor Cockrane's Lady	13	6	6
To sundry journeys	22	2	0
To a Lady for relief of the poor prisoners .	30	0	0
To Will Gun Smith for a year	16	4	6

¹ Charles Stewart, 5th Laird of Ardsheal; a cadet of Appin; he led out the Appin Stewarts in the '45, as the Chief was then a minor; escaped to France after Culloden and died 1757.

² Anne Cameron, wife of Donald, the Lochiel of the '45; only daughter of Sir James Campbell, 5th Bt. of Auchinbreck, and his 1st wife, Janet, daughter of Norman MacLeod of MacLeod.

To Mitchel Vitzosi ¹	£16	8	6
Remained due for linnen for the Prince	27	5	3
Given Auchinbreak ²	80	5	0
Given John Bayne Servant	5	5	0
Given Colin Mackenzie to London	5	0	0
Given to Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreak and to MackLeod of Raza, the latter a great sufferer and very considerable losses	97	5	0
To Mr. Stuart of Ballichinen	22	10	0
Given to one Cameron wounded at Gladesmuir	30	0	0
To Mr. Lumisden to be sent to his son	75	5	0
To Mack Gregor of Glencarnock	80	0	0
To Glenco	40	0	0
To Mrs. Jean Cameron	149	9	0
To journey to Glenby and discount short	21	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£1440	1	4

¹ See footnote 2, p. 144.

² See footnote 2, p. 167.

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Scottish History Society



REPORT OF THE FIFTY-THIRD
ANNUAL MEETING

REPORT OF THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held in the Caledonian Hotel, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 9th December 1939, at 2.30 P.M. The Rt. Hon. Lord Clyde, LL.D., President of the Society, occupied the chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

The second volume for the year 1937-8 has been issued since the last Report of the Council. It consists of *Charters of the Abbey of Inchcolm*, edited by Dr. D. E. Easson and Dr. Angus Macdonald. This volume, for which the editors drew largely on the charter-chests of the Earl of Moray at Darnaway and the Earl of Buckinghamshire at Fordell, is a valuable addition to the monastic chartularies printed by the Bannatyne Club. In addition to the charters it includes a glossary of place-names and maps to show the lands of the Abbey.

Of the two volumes for the year 1938-9, *Miscellany Volume VI* should be ready for issue in December. It comprises four items. The first, 'Bagimond's Roll,' edited by Mrs. Annie I. Dunlop, from a manuscript in the Vatican Library, prints for the first time the whole of this important document, and the scholarly introduction appraises the significance of the

Roll in ecclesiastical history. The 'Foundation Charter of Dunbar Collegiate Church,' edited by Dr. D. E. Easson, is the earliest surviving instance of such charters in Scotland. Mr. H. M. Paton has edited a collection of letters from the Duke of Lauderdale to the second Earl of Tweeddale and others, written for the most part during 1668-70, and now belonging to Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S. The last item, which has been edited by Dr. W. K. Dickson, is a description of Ayrshire about the year 1780, written by the Rev. John Mitchell and placed at the disposal of the Society by his collateral descendant, Sir George Mitchell. The second volume for 1938-9 is a collection of extracts from the *Diaries of Johnston of Wariston*, which Mr. J. D. Ogilvie is editing. This volume is in the press and should be issued to members early next year.

As intimated in the last Report, only one volume will be issued for 1939-40. This will be *Miscellany Volume VII*, in which it is hoped to include 'Journals of Jacques de la Brosse,' edited from manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale and at the Quai d'Orsay by Miss G. Dickinson; 'Letters relating to the Honours of Scotland,' edited by Mr. Innes of Learney; 'Diary of Sir William Drummond of Hawthornden, 1657-9,' edited by Dr. H. W. Meikle; 'Jacobite Letters in Italy,' edited by Miss Helen C. Stewart; and 'The Locharkaig Treasure,' edited from manuscripts at Windsor Castle by Miss Marion Hamilton.

At the request of the Council, Dr. Henry Hamilton will edit for a future year a volume of *Monymusk Papers*. Professor Hannay is preparing a *Calendar of Letters of James III and James IV*. Mr. Duncan C. Mactavish is engaged upon a volume of *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639-1661*. Other material is also under consideration by the Council.

Mr. J. A. Inglis, Dr. W. K. Dickson and Mr. James

MacLehose retire in rotation from the Council at this time. The Council recommend their re-election.

The Society has lost during the year 22 members by death or resignation, and 10 new members have joined. The total membership (including 138 libraries) now stands at 499.

In the present difficult times the Council appeal very earnestly for the maintenance of the Society's membership. Notwithstanding the war they hope to continue the publication of either one or two volumes each year, but this will only be possible if the annual subscriptions are forthcoming in sufficient quantity. The Council are confident that members appreciate how great a loss to Scottish scholarship would be involved by a suspension of the Society's publications.

An abstract of the accounts for 1938-39, as audited, is appended.

Professor R. K. Hannay, Chairman of Council, moved the adoption of the Report. He began by referring to the death of Mr. John M. Howden, C.A., which had occurred since the Report was issued. He said that Mr. Howden had joined the Society almost forty years ago and had become Honorary Treasurer in 1922. His valuable services in that capacity for the past seventeen years had been highly esteemed by the Council.

The Chairman of Council went on to refer to the great amount of labour expended by Dr. Easson in his notes to the *Inchcolm Charters*. Pointing out that the sites of Augustinian houses were selected with particular regard to their capacity for hospitality, as at Scone, Cambuskenneth, and Holyrood near royal castles, and at Jedburgh near the old Roman road, he suggested that the founding of Inchcolm might be connected with the crossing of the Forth. He then reminded the Society that 'Bagimond's Roll,' which Dr. Annie I. Dunlop had edited

for the same *Miscellany Volume*, was fundamental to all ecclesiastical taxation so late as the reign of Charles II. After explaining some features of forthcoming volumes, Professor Hannay proceeded to deal with the membership of the Society and the co-operative value of its work, and mentioned a good thesis written by a student in California who had derived information from the Society's volumes.

Mr. John A. Inglis, K.C., in seconding the Report, emphasised the dilatoriness of members, especially libraries, in paying their subscriptions.

The adoption of the Report and Accounts was unanimously carried.

Lord Clyde then delivered an address entitled '1790,' in which he surveyed conditions in Clackmannanshire at that time.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the President on the motion of Mr. T. Innes of Learney.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT CHARGE and DISCHARGE
of the **INTROMISSIONS** of the **HONORARY**
TREASURER for the year from 1st November
1938 to 1st November 1939.

CHARGE.

I. Uplifted from Deposit Account—			
1939			
Feb. 23—Of this date.	.	.	<u>£150 0 0</u>
II. Subscriptions Received			£469 7 0
III. Past Publications sold to Members			2 7 0
IV. Interest on Deposit Account			6 6 3
V. Debit Balance at close of this Account, as per			
Discharge, Branch IV			76 10 7
Sum of the Charge			<u>£554 10 10</u>

DISCHARGE.

I. Debit Balance at close of last year's Account			£80 0 5
II. Cost of Publications			436 11 10
III. Miscellaneous Payments			37 18 7
IV. Funds as at close of this Account—			
1. Balance at credit of Savings			
Account with Bank of			
Scotland			<u>£278 0 2</u>
Carry forward			£278 0 2 £554 10 10

Brought forward	. £278 0 2	£554 10 10
2. Balance at credit of Account		
Current with Bank of Scotland	70 13 6	
3. Sum due by Treasurer	. £6 2 7	
	<hr/>	£354 16 3
Less—Due to Messrs. T. & A.		
Constable Ltd.	. 431 6 10	
	<hr/>	
Carried to Branch V of Charge	£76 10 7	
Sum of the Discharge equal to the Charge	. £554 10 10	<hr/>

EDINBURGH, 13th November 1939.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1938 to 1st November 1939, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a debit Balance of £76, 10s. 7d., made up as follows—

1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of		
Scotland.	£278 0 2
2. Balance at credit of Account Current with Bank of		
Scotland	70 13 6
3. Sum due by Treasurer	6 2 7
		<hr/>
		£354 16 3
Less—Due to Messrs. T. & A. Constable Ltd.	431 6 10
		<hr/>
Debit Balance as at 1st November 1939		£76 10 7

JOHN A. INGLIS,
Auditor.

Scottish History Society

LIST OF MEMBERS

1st November 1940

LIST OF MEMBERS

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