

‘Ye Jacobites by Name’: An Evaluation of the Amulree Jacobite Collection in the University of Stirling Library Archives

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Abstract

The Jacobite era broadly lasted from 1688–1807, and an atmosphere of fervour surrounded the exiled Catholic Stuarts – or Jacobite pretenders – and their displaced, itinerant court for many decades. Eventually, with the death of King Henry I and IX in 1807, the banished dynasty's struggles to reclaim their foregone thrones came to be beheld with a quasi-religious, romantic nostalgia that still resonates for some to this day. Numerous individuals, through various motives, continue to express great enthusiasm for this 'Lost Cause'. Several, including Basil William Sholto Mackenzie, second Baron Amulree of Strathbraan, did so by amassing an eclectic collection of Jacobite artefacts and associated memorabilia or *Jacobitiana*. Upon his death in 1983, the entire assemblage of items was bequeathed to the University of Stirling.

This dissertation evaluates the Amulree Jacobite collection. It first contextualises the collection's value. To do so, it surveys four other Scottish Jacobite collections: the MacBean collection, the Walter Blaikie collection, the corporate Drambuie Jacobite collection and the Jacobite artefacts of Traquair House. Some evaluation criteria are also established to help place the Amulree collection among them. It then analyses the collection's contents beginning summarily with its copious subset of secondary items and, specifically, by interrogating its three primary Jacobite-period mini sub-collections. Each sub-collection is connected to the final three exiled Stuarts. After a brief evaluation, their worth is highlighted as important to their respective area of broader Jacobite studies.

Following this initial evaluation, the collection proves to be a valuable addition to the catalogue of more well-known Jacobite compendia. Amulree's combined interests in amassing *Jacobitiana* and undertaking scholarship characterise this collection's importance as an example of social memory and an arbitrary and investigative assortment. By producing initial research on this intriguing assemblage, this dissertation emphasises insights that the Amulree Jacobite collection provides to the field of Jacobite studies. It argues that greater attention should be given to its material and cultural significance.

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Introduction

*'Revered defender of beauteous Stuart,
Of Stuart, a name once respected;
A name, which to love was the mark of a true heart,
But now 'tis despis'd and neglected.*

*Tho' something like moisture conglobes in my eye,
Let no one misdeem me disloyal;
A poor friendless wand'rer may well claim a sigh,
Still more if that wand'rer were royal.*

*My fathers that name have rever'd on a throne:
My fathers have fallen to right it;
Those fathers would spurn their degenerate son,
That name should be scoffingly slight it'.¹*

Robert Burns,
Epistles

Of all the royal lost causes, none has captured the attention and fascination of so many as that of the Jacobite movement, the exploits of the exiled Catholic Stuarts – or Jacobite pretenders – and their interminably faithful adherents. Their endeavours are remembered in history as Jacobitism. For over a century, the four successive male members of the banished Stuart senior line unceasingly asserted their birthrights to the thrones of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, including, on occasion, the antiquated and nominal prerogative to the throne of France. These men were regarded by their steadfast supporters as the *de jure* monarchs of said realms. Their proclaimed regnal numbers and reign durations were recognised as those of King James VII and II (1685–1701), his son King James VIII and III – otherwise Prince James Francis Edward Stuart or the Old Pretender (1701–66) and his two sons King Charles III – otherwise Prince Charles Edward Stuart or the Young Pretender (1766–88) and King Henry I and IX – otherwise Prince Henry Benedict Stuart or the Cardinal Duke of York (1788–1807).² It is of note that these exiled senior members of the Royal House of Stuart, being

¹ These verses are the first three of an epistolary poem written in a letter by Robert Burns (with the author's portrait) to a Mr William Tytler Esq. of Woodhouselee, Edinburgh, in 1787. Around 1791, Burns composed his version of 'Ye Jacobites by Name', a traditional Scottish folk poem about the most active Jacobite period (1688–1746). The original composition attacked the Jacobites using a contemporaneous Whig point of view. Burns adopted a more general, humanist, and anti-war, but also anti-Jacobite, outlook. It is the version most people know today. James Currie, *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* (Halifax, 1845), 173-4; James Hogg, ed., *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: Being the Songs, Airs, and Legends, of the Adherents to the House of Stuart* (Edinburgh and London, 1819), 53-4.

² Throughout this dissertation, in contrast with most contemporary scholarship, the Jacobite kings – or pretenders to their enemies – will be referred to by their claimed regnal numbers from the date of their respective successions, where appropriate, to highlight the longevity and adherence to the exiled Stuarts, and breadth of the Jacobite movement (1688–1807). Theo Aronson, *Kings Over the Water: The Saga of the Stuart Pretenders* (London, 1979), passim.

the last great upholders of the doctrine of divine right, attested that their right to reign over these kingdoms was *non desiderii sed voluntate Dei* (not by the desire of man but by the will of God).³ This central pillar – anointed sovereignty bestowed only by divine grace – symbolised the entire edifice of the Jacobite claim of legitimacy. It embodied their hereditary and dynastic rights, which, in the Jacobite perspective, no man or parliament had the power to displace.⁴ Ultimately, the eventual and total failure of the Jacobite movement resigned the exiled Stuarts to permanent banishment. Any hope of a triumphant restoration was lost, culminating in, as Theo Aronson notes, ‘the twilight of one of the world’s most romantic, colourful, and ill-fated royal dynasties’.⁵

However, before and after its collapse, an extensive, if sometimes quixotic, material culture was continually propagated around the exiled Stuarts. The promotion of the Jacobite movement and adherence to it was recorded in a rich tapestry of splendid, ornate and, at times, a highly miscellaneous assortment of objects. These objects included weapons of war such as swords, pistols and targes, and also portraits, medals, pincushions, dice-boxes, toddy ladles and quichs.⁶ Furthermore, as Jennifer Novotny asserts, Jacobite artefacts like these examples ‘that were inextricably linked to socialising could in fact impact behaviour, mutually reinforcing actions of loyalty and rebellion’.⁷ For instance, one of the more familiar objects associated with the Jacobites was glassware and the ritual known as the ‘Loyal Toast to the King’.⁸ Within dedicated circles, distinctive and finely designed glassware was engraved with Jacobite symbolism. Firing glasses were made with large thick feet and were designed to be slammed very hard onto a table. Few remain due to the ephemeral tradition of smashing the glasses completely to prevent them from being used for a lesser toast.⁹ Devoted Jacobites would also customarily pass their shared glass over a jug of water, symbolising the ‘King Over the Water’, as a sign of solidarity and in protest of the *de facto* Williamite and subsequent Hanoverian regimes.

Correspondingly, those Jacobites who acquired such objects would have an idiosyncratic relationship to their significance as a contemporary, if not religiously revered, relic connecting

³ Brian Fothergill, *The Cardinal King* (London, 1958), 13; John 1:13.

⁴ Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge, 2013; 2016 edition), 46-7.

⁵ Aronson, *Kings Over the Water*, no page.

⁶ Guthrie, *Material Culture*, no page; Jennifer L. Novotny, ‘Polite War: Material Culture of the Jacobite Era, 1688–1760’, in Allan I. MacInnes, Kieran German and Lesley Graham, eds., *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond* (London, 2014), 153-72.

⁷ Novotny, ‘Polite War’, 161.

⁸ Jacobite supporters would stand for the ‘Loyal Toast’ and usually toast the King and the Prince of Wales. Often, other toasts would be offered to ‘His Royal Highness Prince Henry or the Increase of the Royal Family’, and occasionally to those specific families and adherents such as ‘Prosperity to the Family of Traquair’. Geoffrey B. Seddon, *The Jacobites and Their Drinking Glasses* (2nd Ed.) (Woodbridge, 2015), 186-7.

⁹ For many years finger bowls were not used on British royal tables, owing to the memory of the Jacobite ‘Loyal Toast’ that adherents and sympathisers of the exiled Stuarts performed. Eventually, King Edward VII, deeming his dynasty sufficiently secure, abolished the custom and authorised their use again. Mack. P. Holt, ed., *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History* (New York, 2006), 184; Allan A. Michie, *God Save The Queen: A Modern Monarchy, What It Is and What It Does* (New York, 1953), 99; Novotny, ‘Polite War’, 161.

them to the active leader of their sacred cause.¹⁰ A present-day devotee, whilst neither a professional historian nor curator, who seeks to amass a comprehensive range of related artefacts, could similarly view these relics as a tangible link to the past. By possessing a part of a person, a belonging or something merely linked with them, the same association may, to a collector, defy the passage of time. Extant interest in Jacobitism inspires great passion, admiration, and a certain amount of magnetism and glamour that only lost causes can attract.¹¹ This curiosity has led to numerous enthusiasts maintaining a remarkable fascination due to its familiar romantic associations. Accordingly, these individuals attempt to accumulate and preserve some of the Jacobite movement's most valuable vestiges through the less familiar antiquarian tradition of collecting Jacobite memorabilia or *Jacobitiana*. One such individual was Basil William Sholto Mackenzie, second Baron Amulree of Strathbraan (1900–83). He was a medical doctor specialising in geriatric care and served as a Liberal Peer in the House of Lords between 1955–77. The Amulree Jacobite collection is the result of his lifelong interest in Jacobite history. Following his death in 1983, he bequeathed his eclectic collection to the University of Stirling.¹² This dissertation intends to evaluate the collection that currently resides in the university's library archives. It is organised into five chapters, followed by nine supplementary appendices.

Chapter I, to put the Amulree Jacobite collection into context, provides a literature review of the current evaluative documentation associated with and a concise survey of four other and varyingly sized Scottish Jacobite collections.¹³ These collections are the MacBean collection, the Walter Blaikie collection, the corporate Drambuie Jacobite collection and the Jacobite artefacts of Traquair House. A decision was made to select only four Jacobite collection comparators due to the extensive Jacobite materials in circulation, especially throughout Scotland. The collections have been consciously selected as they differ in size and character, the purpose of provenance, including biographical information, related scholarship and evaluative analysis. This chapter also establishes some criteria of evaluation by which the entire Amulree collection's value will be evaluated. Due to word limit constraints, Chapter II provides a concise

¹⁰ Guthrie, *Material Culture*, 143.

¹¹ Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689–1746* (London, 1984), 11.

¹² Amulree is a small hamlet on the River Braan, situated between Dunkeld, Aberfeldy and Crieff in Perthshire. It lies on the modern-day A822 B-road linking Dunkeld and Crieff. At Amulree, several clans rallied for the Jacobite Rising of 1715, or the '15, before they fought at the Battle of Sheriffmuir on 13 November that year. Sheriffmuir lies roughly five miles from the University of Stirling campus. Mairead McKerracher, *The Jacobite Dictionary* (Glasgow, 2007), 7; Michael J. Denham, 'Lord Amulree: An Appreciation', *Age and Ageing*, 34 (2005), 529-31; University of Stirling Library, '[Archives & Special Collections: Amulree Jacobite Collection](#)', University of Stirling Library Catalogue, [Accessed 18 August 2016].

¹³ The Jacobite Studies Trust website Gazetteer draws attention to numerous additional collections and exhibitions of Jacobite materials throughout Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom. Recognition is also given to other miniature collections, which interested enthusiasts have amassed. Clan museums and visitor centres are also documented. Alan Hobson, '[Gazetteer of Jacobite Sites](#)', Jacobite Studies Trust, [Accessed 22 February 2017]; see Appendix VIII.

survey of the scope and contents of the Amulree Jacobite collection. It will then be provisionally evaluated by using the established criteria of evaluation. Whilst diminutive compared to other Scottish Jacobite collections, the collection is nevertheless substantial. A decision was taken to evaluate what could be judged as the most exciting pieces within the Amulree bequest to solve the problem of the collection's considerable contents. Thus, and notwithstanding the surveyed accompanying contents, this dissertation will principally focus, in greater detail, on the seven Jacobite-period original manuscript sources, assorted into three sub-collections, within the larger Amulree compendium. Each sub-collection will also be evaluated by using the established criteria of evaluation. Purposely, each sub-collection pertains to one of the final three exiled Stuarts of the senior line and so-called Jacobite kings: James VIII and III, Charles III and Henry I and IX, as discussed in the following chapters. Chapter III reviews two original letters relating to James VIII and III and the period between the risings of 1715 and 1719.¹⁴ Chapter IV examines a manuscript concerning Charles III. This manuscript (seemingly from 1746) pertains to the retreat of the Jacobite army following the Battle of Falkirk Muir, which took place on 17 January 1746 during the final Jacobite Rising of 1745–6.¹⁵ Chapter V assesses four items concerning the death of Henry I and IX in 1807. To conclude, this dissertation presents its collective findings to propose the fundamental value and standing of the Amulree Jacobite collection amongst pre-established and comparative, reputable Scottish Jacobite collections and within the broader context of Jacobite memorabilia accumulation. The collection offers considerable value and additional insights into Jacobite studies and the curation of Jacobite material culture. It also highlights Jacobite artefacts that have hitherto remained virtually unseen. Further recognition is advocated as the collection adds to a greater understanding of the legacy of the Jacobite movement.

¹⁴ Following the unsuccessful '15, a further attempt was made in 1719 by Jacobite forces to regain the thrones for James VIII and III. The Jacobite Rising of 1719 – or the '19, and this time in coalition with Spanish mercenaries – culminated in another failure at the Battle of Glen Shiel in the West Highlands of Scotland on 10 June (coincidentally James's birthday) that year. *Am Baile*, ['Letter Relating to 1719 Jacobite Rising'](#), Highland History and Culture, [Accessed 20 August 2016]; University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The Amulree Jacobite Collection [hereafter Amulree Collection], MS 93 (1b) (Amulree), [Letter] 1716 December 8 to the King [i.e. Prince James Stuart] [manuscript] / Marquis of Seaforth, 8 December 1716.

¹⁵ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (3) (Amulree), [Report on the retreat of the Jacobite army after their victory at the Battle of Falkirk on 17 January 1746] [manuscript], 1746?; Christopher Duffy, *The '45: Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Untold Story of the Jacobite Rising* (London, 2003), 409-26.

I: Context of the Amulree Jacobite Collection

Four other Scottish Jacobite collections have been identified for comparative analysis to narrow the parameters of placing the Amulree Jacobite collection into context and keeping this dissertation to a feasible size. These collections are the MacBean collection, the Walter Blaikie collection, the corporate Drambuie Jacobite collection and the Jacobite artefacts of Traquair House. These collections were chosen for their varying sizes, the assortment of artefacts, their accessibility and relevant academic research. Due to timing and geographical constraints, this dissertation consciously focuses on collections in Scotland. Whilst this work has concentrated on Scotland, it is evident that the global imagination and fascination with the Jacobite movement permeates throughout other regions, especially those with a highly concentrated Scottish diaspora. There is manifest scope for further research amongst Jacobite collections in these areas, with examples comprising the rest of the United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand.¹⁶ In the context of this dissertation, having available written evaluations or reviews on Jacobite collections is more important than viewing specific artefacts, though encompassing both is always preferable. All except the MacBean collection were visited during the writing of this dissertation. Having written materials enables the Amulree collection to be juxtaposed alongside previously evaluated Jacobite collections, helping to establish the criteria by which its value can be determined. Nevertheless, institutional documentation of artefacts and, explicitly, accompanying documentation is often limited and sometimes non-existent. Critically, in light of this dissertation, evaluations or reviews of a specific collection's value are uncommon.¹⁷ To offset this obstacle and to begin positioning the Amulree collection into a broader context, similar criteria will be gleaned from the following Scottish Jacobite collections.

The MacBean Collection

The MacBean collection is undoubtedly one of the most wide-ranging Jacobite collections in the United Kingdom. It is the largest accumulated by a private collector and was donated to the University of Aberdeen in 1919. The collection's donor was William M. MacBean (1852–1924), a native of Nairn and a businessman who emigrated to the United States of

¹⁶ Jennifer L. Novotny, 'Sedition at the supper table: the material culture of the Jacobite wars, 1688–1760', (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013), 43.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 40-1.

America, settling in Yonkers, New York.¹⁸ After making a fortune on Wall Street, his hobby of collecting *Jacobitiana* resulted in a collection ‘that contains approximately c.3,350 books; c.1,000 pamphlets, sermons and magazine articles; c.1,580 loose plates (woodcuts, engravings, etc.); over 100 broadsheets; a few MSS.; and c.1,950 photographs of Scottish places and scenery’.¹⁹ According to supporting documentation, accounts include proclamations by the principal protagonists, writings and poetry of respective supporters and neutral observers. Its texts vary ‘from closely reasoned and careful argumentation to the factious and downright scurrilous. Prints include portraits, depictions of relevant historical incidents, and geographical and topographical subjects’.²⁰ Fortunately, this collection has been catalogued, reviewed and published as the *Aberdeen University Library MacBean Collection* (1949). The collection’s assortment of printed books, pamphlets and manuscripts have been itemised in the University of Aberdeen’s online library cataloguing system. The collection has also been digitised on a website, ‘The Drawn Sword’.²¹ Mabel Allardyce (1864–1933), who compiled the catalogue, wrote a resumé of the collection’s contents for the *Aberdeen University Review*. Her articles, later included in the larger combined published volume, provide a valuable summary of what may be considered of particular interest within the collection.

Noteworthy examples include a manuscript regarding James VII and II titled *The Pagan Prince or a comical history of the Heroick Achievements of the Palatine of Eboracum* (1690). Allardyce describes this tome as ‘very rare, privately printed and surreptitiously distributed’.²² Remarkably, only two known copies exist, with one residing in the Bodleian Library and the other belonging to the MacBean collection. Another example, relating to James VIII and III, is a proclamation signed J.R. – *Jacobus Rex* (King James) – and dated 23 December 1743, at Rome, in which he

¹⁸ The origin of William MacBean’s interest in Jacobitism remains unclear. A possibility could be Clan MacBean’s efforts to restore the Royal House of Stuart. One well-known example is that of the clansman, Major Gillies MacBean, who fought in Lady, or ‘Colonel’, Anne Mackintosh’s regiment and died on Drumossie Moor. MacBean was among the few Highlanders to break through the British front lines. He killed thirteen or fourteen men before finally overpowered and succumbing to his wounds. It is cited in multiple accounts of the battle that one of the men killed by MacBean was Captain Lord Robert Kerr, second son of William Kerr, Marquess of Lothian. As Hugh Allison notes, Kerr was killed with brutal finality, ‘his head being cleft from crown to collarbone’. Kerr’s death marked him as the only high-ranking government soldier killed at the Battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746. University of Aberdeen Library, [‘The MacBean Collection \(1919\)’](#), Special Collections and Museums, University of Aberdeen Printed Collections, [Accessed 27 January 2017]; Alistair Moffat, *The Highland Clans* (London, 2010), 103; Hugh G. Allison, *Culloden Tales: Stories from Scotland’s Most Famous Battlefield* (Edinburgh, 2007), 128.

¹⁹ University of Aberdeen Library, [‘The MacBean Collection’](#); Guthrie, *Material Culture*, 160.

²⁰ University of Aberdeen Library, [‘The MacBean Collection’](#).

²¹ Ibid., [‘The Drawn Sword’](#), Special Collections Centre, Engravings, and woodcuts from the MacBean Stuart and Jacobite Collection, [Accessed 27 January 2017]; Guthrie, *Material Culture*, 160.

²² Mabel D. Allardyce (comp.), *Aberdeen University Library MacBean Collection: a catalogue of books, pamphlets, broadsides, portraits, etc., in the Stuart and Jacobite Collection gathered together by W.M. MacBean* (Aberdeen, 1949), x. This work was based on two of Allardyce’s earlier reviews of the collection. See Mabel D. Allardyce, ‘The MacBean Stuart and Jacobite Collection I’, *Aberdeen University Review*, 15 (1927–8), 207–18; Mabel D. Allardyce, ‘The MacBean Stuart and Jacobite Collection II’, *Aberdeen University Review*, 16 (1928–9), 31–42.

appoints his son Charles Edward, Prince of Wales, as Prince Regent during his absence in any future endeavour. It is said to be very rare.²³ Finally, concerning Charles Edward, there are a few (in fact, what would appear to be an almost unique sub-collection of) editions concerning *Ascanius*. *Ascanius* was a codename used to describe Charles Edward in practically all the contemporaneous accounts. The first edition is titled *Ascanius or the Young Adventurer ... containing a particular account of that happen'd to a certain person ... from August, 1745 to ... September 19, in the following year (1747)*.²⁴ There are copies in French and Spanish, with the latter extremely rare.²⁵

Due to its size and esteemed contents, the MacBean collection has been included in exhibitions such as 'Rebels with a Cause: The Jacobites and the Global Imagination'. This major exhibition was displayed at the Scottish Parliament in 2010.²⁶ The collection also has the benefit of established provenance, including William MacBean's biographical information. It has been catalogued textually and digitally, and MacBean's status as a privately amassed Jacobite collection has yet to be surpassed. Whilst laudable, Allardyce's review of the collection was published posthumously, thus foregoing the opportunity for a more extensive assessment.²⁷ Allardyce declared it as an inconsequential account of such a vast horde of Jacobite materials, and no further evaluative documentation has been uncovered since her initial review in the late 1920s. Consequently, Allardyce's conclusions undoubtedly require some form of reassessment, particularly utilising a contextual approach.

The Walter Blaikie Collection

The Walter Blaikie collection was amassed by Dr Walter Biggar Blaikie (1847–1928). Blaikie was a native of Edinburgh and a remarkable figure who was a civil engineer, printer, historian, astronomer and Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.²⁸ In his spare time, he worked for the Edinburgh printing firm T. & A. Constable Ltd. and penned several works about the Jacobite movement. Such was his renown that Blaikie was considered a recognised authority during his lifetime on the history of Jacobitism and, specifically, the life and youthful exploits of Charles Edward Stuart.²⁹ His notable works include an *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from*

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The Amulree bequest includes a copy of Tobias Smollett (attributed), *Ascanius; or, The young adventurer: containing an impartial history of the rebellion in Scotland in the years 1745–6. To which is added, a particular account of the Battle of Prestonpans, and death of Colonel Gardiner; with a journal of the miraculous adventures and escape of the Young Chevalier after the battle of Culloden; and a description of the manners of the Highlanders, their dress, armour, &c. &c. &c.* (London, 1747).

²⁵ Allardyce, *Aberdeen University Library MacBean Collection*, x-xi.

²⁶ Novotny, 'Sedition at the supper table', 3.

²⁷ Allardyce, *Aberdeen University Library MacBean Collection*, iii.

²⁸ Charles Dewar Waterston and A. Macmillan Shearer, '[Former Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1783–2002 \(2006\)](#)', The Royal Society of Edinburgh, [Accessed 28 January 2017], 89.

²⁹ Ibid.

His Landing in Scotland July, 1745 to His Departure in September, 1746 (1897), *Edinburgh at the Time of the Occupation of Prince Charles* in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (1909) and *Origins of the Forty-Five and Other Papers Relating to That Rising* (1916). Amulree also had a working relationship with the Jacobite historians Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, who were his cousins.³⁰

His daughters presented the voluminous collection to the National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) [MS 287-9, 298-300, 3548] after Blaikie's death in 1928. The collection covers the late Stuart and Jacobite period, 1688–1746. The collection consists of 1,076 printed items in 756 volumes, 42 manuscripts, three charters and c.400 engravings.³¹ According to supporting documentation, there is a wide variety of polemical pamphlet literature. A notable example concerns the controversy surrounding the birth of James VIII and III in 1688.³² Other accounts include 'associated political questions of allegiance and legitimacy' and 'historical works on the course of the risings of 1715 and 1745–6'. Complementary materials include 'contemporary poems, satires, sermons, Session Papers, and Acts of Parliament concerned with these matters. There are 22 portfolios of engravings of the exiled Stuarts, including portraits, views, broadsides, and caricatures'.³³ 'These have been placed by the NLS on long-term deposit in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery since 1987'.³⁴ 'A small number of engravings have been retained in the NLS' collection'.³⁵ 'The collection has been catalogued with the manuscripts described and indexed in Volumes I and II of the Library's Catalogue of Manuscripts'.³⁶ Provenance and cataloguing, comprising a digitised list of contents, like the MacBean collection, can certainly be considered strengths of this collection. Whilst not as substantial as MacBean, its size and prominent visual contents are also worthy qualities that indeed widen its exhibitory appeal. Whilst housed and exhibited in two national institutions, other than a small exhibition of its prints sent to the University of Aberdeen in the late 1950s, no extensive and noticeable attention has been given to this fascinating collection outside these estimable confines. Crucially, no evidence has been located of any scholarly evaluations or reviews of the Walter Blaikie

³⁰ Darren S. Layne, 'Spines of the Thistle: The Popular Constituency of the Jacobite Rising in 1745–6', (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2016), 21.

³¹ NLS, '[The Walter Blaikie Collection \(1928\)](#)', Catalogues, Special and Named Printed Collections in the National Library of Scotland, [Accessed 29 January 2017].

³² James VII and II's queen, Mary of Modena, upset some [Protestant] expectations when she gave birth to a living, healthy boy named James Francis Edward, next in line to the thrones of the three kingdoms and who would be raised a Catholic. The birth of this royal baby was largely greeted with fear, dread and outright denial. The king's enemies later developed an elaborate theory that a live newborn from another mother had been slipped into Mary's bed in a warming pan to replace her stillborn child. *The History of Parliament*, '[The 'warming-pan baby': James Francis Edward Stuart](#)', 26 July 2013, [Accessed 27 January 2017].

³³ NLS, '[The Walter Blaikie Collection](#)'; W.G. Blaikie Murdoch, 'A Bequest of Engravings to the National Library of Scotland', *Apollo*, 13 (1931), 167-73.

³⁴ Scottish National Portrait Gallery, *W.B. Blaikie Collection* (Edinburgh, 1987).

³⁵ NLS, '[The Walter Blaikie Collection](#)'.

³⁶ NLS, G.K. Hall, ed., *Shelf-catalogue of the Blaikie Collection of Jacobite pamphlets, broadsides, and proclamations* (Boston, MA, 1964).

collection, and this aspect is perhaps its principal shortcoming.

The Drambuie Jacobite Collection

Whilst discussion has been limited to the pursuits of two antiquarian Jacobite enthusiasts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Drambuie Liqueur Company assembled a late-twentieth-century corporate collection of Jacobite artefacts. The Drambuie Jacobite collection has been described as one of the finest Jacobite collections in the United Kingdom.³⁷ It includes portraits, prints, glassware and various supplementary artefacts. During the early 1990s, Drambuie began actively gathering artworks and artefacts with an emphasis on glassware.³⁸ Its curator, Robin Nicholson, states that the collection was established initially ‘reflect the rich artistic culture and history of Scotland’.³⁹ However, Novotny underlines this attempt by Drambuie as a concerted one to emphasise the ‘Scottishness’ of their brand and the historical traditions associated with their product.⁴⁰

The company has a dubious founding myth linking it directly to Charles Edward’s time in Scotland during the 1745–6 Jacobite rising. According to tradition, in 1746, Clan Mackinnon of Skye, as a recompense for aiding and providing sanctuary for their prince, in his flight following the Battle of Culloden on 16 April that year, was supposedly given the original recipe for Drambuie’s renowned liqueur.⁴¹ Nicholson explains that Charles Edward chose to share the recipe for his favourite whisky concoction due to lacking material gifts to bestow at that time.⁴² This likely apocryphal provenance of the company’s original recipe contravenes the principles of its collection of genuine Jacobite artefacts. Nicholson describes this collection as omitting what he classes Jacobite memorabilia. Consequently, Nicholson adds that the collection’s acquisitions were consciously ‘scrutinised for artistic merit and scrupulously researched to ascertain that they were of the contemporary period’, thus rejecting bogus relics seen regularly in other Jacobite collections.⁴³ A laborious policy to promote its visual appeal, reinforced by derivation and authenticity, was imposed to reflect its market-skimming corporate image. Novotny adds that ‘by insisting on historical accuracy and security of provenance when assembling an art collection, the Drambuie company reinforced the legitimacy of its historical narrative, whereas a collection of

³⁷ Evelyn Lord, *The Stuarts’ Secret Army: English Jacobites, 1689–1752* (Harlow, 2004), 150.

³⁸ Novotny, ‘Sedition at the supper table’, 230.

³⁹ Robin Nicholson, *The Drambuie Collection: The Art Collection of The Drambuie Liqueur Company* (Edinburgh, 1995), 7.

⁴⁰ Novotny, ‘Sedition at the supper table’, 231.

⁴¹ For an account of the Clan Mackinnon’s role in the ’45, see Gerald A. McKinnon, *The End of an Old Song: The Clan Mackinnon and the Jacobite Rising of 1745* (Clan Mackinnon Society, 2015).

⁴² Iain Banks, *Raw Spirit: In Search of the Perfect Dram* (London, 2003), 239–41; Nicholson, *Drambuie Collection*, 7.

⁴³ Nicholson, *Drambuie Collection*, 7.

spurious ‘memorabilia’ would have done just the opposite’.⁴⁴

Although the collection originated in the procurement of specialised Jacobite portraiture, it is Jacobite glassware, aptly complementing Drambuie’s product line, for which the collection is most well known. The collection’s central component is the prestigious ‘Spottiswoode’ Amen Glass (c.1775), purchased in 1991 and is, according to Novotny, ‘one of the finest examples of engraved Jacobite glassware in existence’.⁴⁵ It has also been catalogued visually in Nicholson’s *The Drambuie Collection: The Art Collection of The Drambuie Liqueur Company* (1995). Nicholson also authored a scholarly study of the portraiture of Charles Edward Stuart titled *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture, 1720–1892* (2002). The Drambuie collection also toured extensively throughout the United Kingdom and the United States of America between 1995 and 2005. Due to a change in management in 2005, however, the Scottish collection was deaccessioned at auction in January 2006. Much of its nineteenth- and twentieth-century art was auctioned through Lyon and Turnbull of Edinburgh and Freemans of Philadelphia. The Jacobite collection was kept intact and, in the same year, was transferred on a long-term loan to the National Trust for Scotland and the National Galleries of Scotland. Fortunately, Nicholson’s illustrated catalogue and Novotny’s assessment of the Drambuie Jacobite collection are enormously helpful in establishing benchmarks for gauging the Amulree collection’s value since they offer exemplars of scholarly framed critical analysis of Jacobite material culture.⁴⁶

Lucinda Lax confirms, however, that the Drambuie Jacobite collection is, as of February 2017 and with very few exceptions, currently being transferred back into the possession of the Drambuie Liqueur Company.⁴⁷ This development confirms that, by its very nature as a corporate collection, Drambuie has different aims for its collection compared to the others surveyed. However, Nicholson and Novotny’s assertions that spurious Jacobite ‘memorabilia’ would have delegitimised Drambuie’s reputation must be treated with caution as the notion of value is subjective. Drambuie’s opinions on worth are contradictory. The company appears to

⁴⁴ Novotny, ‘Sedition at the supper table’, 231.

⁴⁵ Novotny highlights that ‘aside from the Spottiswoode ‘Amen’ glass, other important items include an enamelled portrait glass commissioned by Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie, for use in Jacobite toasts late in the eighteenth century, and a rare firing glass with a portrait of Charles Edward Stuart’. Additionally, Neil Guthrie explains that the ‘Amen’ glasses were used for the ‘Loyal Toast’ and remain the most desirable Jacobite glassware for collectors due to their bold and unequivocal use of the English language. These glasses often display, in whole or part, the verses of the (original) Jacobite composition of ‘God Save the King’ (See Appendix VI). Geoffrey Seddon adds that the Georgian national anthem we are all familiar with today ‘was first performed in September 1745 at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane and there is a certain irony in it having been paraphrased from the opposing Jacobite anthem’. Seddon, *Drinking Glasses*, 186; Novotny, ‘Sedition at the supper table’, 232; Guthrie, *Material Culture*, 100; Grant R. Francis, *Romance of the White Rose: A Jacobite Portrait Gallery Narrating the Romantic Activities of Principal Characters of the Jacobite Movement* (London, 1933), 85-6 (An item included within the Amulree bequest).

⁴⁶ Robin Nicholson, LinkedIn Profile, Curator of Collections and Exhibitions, [‘The Drambuie Collection \(1992–2006\)’](#), The Drambuie Liqueur Co Ltd., [Accessed 1 February 2017]; Novotny, ‘Sedition at the supper table’, 231-2.

⁴⁷ Lucinda Lax, Senior Curator, Eighteenth-Century Collections, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, email correspondence, 6 February 2017.

have an ulterior motive in its direct self-promoted connections to the '45 and Charles Edward, with no more evidence than a multi-generational anecdote. Whilst this captivating collection has toured extensively and allowed many individuals to view its undoubtedly monetarily highly valued Jacobite treasures, it has done so to promote its business interests primarily. Still, the Drambuie Jacobite collection has enormous value as a Jacobite collection, not least through its high-status artefacts, notwithstanding its likely apocryphal provenance and different motives for accumulation.

The Jacobite Artefacts of Traquair House

The Jacobite artefacts of Traquair House are not considered an 'official' collection *per se*. Instead, the broader archive of material has grown and evolved over the centuries as successive generations of the Traquair family lived their lives. There are several thousand manuscript documents within Traquair's archives, with c.20 directly relating to the Jacobite period. The house includes many treasures, including portraits, prints, letters, miniatures, locks of hair, a snuffbox, a Jacobite 'Amen' glass and the famous Bear Gates.⁴⁸ Unlike other Jacobite memorabilia accumulations, nothing has been brought in to supplement the existing manuscripts, as members of the Traquair family have maintained a policy not to collect additional Jacobite manuscripts. Nonetheless, portraiture and other artefacts have been amassed alongside the original documentation.⁴⁹ Due to its strong links with the Jacobite movement, the Traquair Stuart and Jacobite materials are alternately shown and are exhibited regularly. For instance, in 2015, to mark and commemorate the tricentenary of the '15, an anniversary exhibition titled 'A Jacobite Story' was displayed. It is now available online on Traquair House's website. A book concerning the family was also recently released titled *A Family Life Revealed: The Stuarts at Traquair, 1491–1875* (2012) by Catherine Maxwell Stuart and Margaret Fox. Maxwell Stuart and Fox are working on a follow-up, provisionally titled *Traquair: A Jacobite Story*. Traquair House's archives have never been catalogued, and its Jacobite collectables have never been fashioned into a 'Jacobite collection'. Traquair's aims differ from the previously discussed collections. Whilst there is an emphasis placed on the family's strong links and adherence to the exiled Stuarts, it primarily focuses on recounting their unabridged narrative, and the materials

⁴⁸ In late 1745, from his command centre at Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh, Charles Edward would make occasional excursions to garner support for the Jacobite cause. After visiting the Jacobite-supporting stronghold of Traquair House in the Scottish Borders, his namesake Charles Stuart, Earl of Traquair, promised his prince that the Bear Gates at the head of the avenue would be locked and would remain so until the Royal House of Stuart was restored – a vow that has been kept to the present day. Traquair House, '[A Jacobite Story, Traquair's Jacobite Connection \(2015\)](#)', [Accessed 24 February 2017]; Margaret Fox, Traquair House Archivist, Traquair House, personal discussion, 23 February 2017.

⁴⁹ Fox, personal discussion.

will never be sold or separated.⁵⁰

These four collections have contributed to the establishment of contextual criteria by which the Amulree collection will be evaluated. Each has similarities; methodologically, the commendations received have highlighted formed benchmarks all can claim as consciously accrued Jacobite compendia. Still, due to their differences, it has become apparent that the value of these collections appears truly subjective and dependent upon the purpose of their accumulation. Though a quantified hierarchy could be established, it again is a subjective notion and, thus, provisionally, it appears that the Amulree collection warrants inclusion in discussions regarding Scottish Jacobite collections. Some evaluation criteria are also required to evaluate the Amulree collection when considering the evidence extricated from these other diverse Jacobite collections. Roslyn Russell and Kylie Winkworth's research on establishing significance has been noteworthy in producing these criteria. Their report defines an adaptable method for determining significance, through a wide range of approaches, by establishing standards for evaluative criteria across many different types of collections.⁵¹ The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework's *Future Thinking on Carved Stones in Scotland* (2016) also includes a section on understanding value, which has benefited this dissertation.⁵²

Sally Foster et al. explain that 'a values-based approach involves a process whereby decisions – whether addressing conservation needs, developing interpretation plans or managing change for other reasons, such as development – are first informed by an understanding of cultural significance'.⁵³ Russell and Winkworth add that 'understanding significance releases potential and is independent of institutional domains and boundaries: it is a 'powerful persuader' and a way of eliciting the passion and expertise of curators and others, and of sharing this'.⁵⁴ These reports are hugely relevant and help develop the dissertation's evaluative discussion. Consequently, they have been utilised to produce the criteria to evaluate and ascertain the Amulree collection's value. Accordingly, primary and comparative criteria have been constructed

⁵⁰ During the 1790s, Charles Stuart, Earl of Traquair, was living in Madrid, where he had high hopes of ending his family's insolvency by establishing a lucrative coal mining venture. Because of their adherence to the exiled Stuarts, the Traquair family had found itself in dire financial circumstances. Using his familial Jacobite credentials, Charles sought a reference from whom he considered to be the legitimate king, Henry I and IX, who then resided in Frascati. A family connection was exploited, as Charles Stuart's great-aunt was Lady Winifred Maxwell, Countess of Nithsdale, who had been the young Henry Benedict's governess. In 1795, Henry Benedict replied and was happy to oblige Charles, 'having full cognisance of the merits and Prerogatives of your Family'. Traquair House, '[A Jacobite Story, Traquair's Jacobite Connection \(2015\)](#)', [Accessed 24 February 2017]; Flora Maxwell Stuart, *Lady Nithsdale and the Jacobites* (Innerleithen, 1995), 140; Fox, personal discussion.

⁵¹ Roslyn Russell and Kylie Winkworth, '[Significance 2.0: A Guide to Assessing the Significance of Collections \(2009\)](#)', Collections Council of Australia Ltd., [Accessed 7 February 2017].

⁵² Sally M. Foster, Katherine Forsyth, Susan Buckham and Stuart Jeffrey, '[Future Thinking on Carved Stones in Scotland](#)', The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF), [Accessed 20 February 2017].

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Russell and Winkworth, '[Significance 2.0](#)', 39-40.

to establish a 'statement of significance' regarding the entire Amulree collection.⁵⁵ Primary criteria, such as historical and research significance, will be explored to establish value. Comparative criteria, including provenance, rarity or representativeness and interpretive capacity, will also be examined to evaluate the Amulree collection. Using these criteria, set together with the contextual evidence garnered from the other Scottish Jacobite collections, a value framework can begin to be constructed. These additional collections provide the contextual scope of Jacobite memorabilia accumulation, and the evaluation criteria provide the tools to gauge the Amulree collection's value amongst them. However, to evaluate its value accurately, its contents, provenance and the character of its collector must now also be surveyed and assessed.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

II: Contents of the Amulree Jacobite Collection

Basil William Sholto Mackenzie, Baron Amulree of Strathbraan, was unmistakably a fervent yet compassionate individual.⁵⁶ He spoke and campaigned for many years on behalf of the rights and greater clinical care of older people. Amulree's profile on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*) website does not mention his interest in Jacobite history.⁵⁷ In his private life, Amulree began collecting information connected with the Jacobite movement as early as the 1930s. Still, the provenance of his prodigious interest remains unclear. As a medical professional with palpable affection for medical history, an evident area of concentration is his interest in the Jacobite medic, Dr Archibald Cameron.⁵⁸ Another possibility stems from his surname as Clan Mackenzie, on the whole, were Jacobite sympathisers and active supporters of the cause.⁵⁹ The clan and its chiefs suffered greatly due to their loyalty to the Royal House of Stuart. Their estates diminished, and much of their ancestral lands were forfeited.⁶⁰ Due to this nexus, it is perhaps more than coincidental that Amulree purposely acquired two letters composed by his namesake, the Jacobite army officer William Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Basil William Sholto Mackenzie, Baron Amulree, KBE, MD, FRCP, was the only son of a barrister and industrial arbitrator, Sir William Warrender Mackenzie, first Baron Amulree of Strathbraan, and Lilian Bradbury. Amulree was born on 25 July 1900 in South Kensington, London. He was educated at Lancing School and studied medicine at Cambridge University (Gonville and Caius College). He graduated from Cambridge University with the degree of Doctor of Medicine, following in the footsteps of his uncle and famous cardiologist, Sir James Mackenzie. Amulree was made a member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and joined the Ministry of Health in 1936 before succeeding his father as second Baron Amulree of Strathbraan in May 1942. He left the Ministry of Health in 1949 to become a physician in charge of the newly established geriatric department at University College Hospital based at St Pancras Hospital - the first teaching hospital in the world with a geriatric unit. He was a Liberal Peer and Whip between 1955–77 and regularly spoke in the House of Lords on many aspects concerning the care of older people. In 1977, he was made KBE for a lifetime of public service to health and welfare. He died of colon cancer on 15 December 1983, unmarried and childless. Upon his death, the Barony of Amulree became extinct. Denham, 'Lord Amulree: An Appreciation', 529-31; George Edward Cokayne, Peter W. Hammond, ed., *The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and All its Members From the Earliest Times, Volume XIV: Addenda & Corrigenda* (Stroud, 1998), 708; George Edward Cokayne et al., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom: Extant, Extinct, or Dormant* (2nd Ed.) (8 vols., 1887–98; London; 14 vols., 1910–98 edition), xiii., 472.

⁵⁷ Tom Arie, '[Mackenzie, Basil William Sholto, second Baron Amulree \(1900–1983\)](#)', *ODNB*, online edn., May 2008, [Accessed 9 February 2017].

⁵⁸ Amulree wrote about his interest in the historical aspects of medicine in his retirement. It included a biography of Archibald Cameron. Archibald was the younger brother of Donald Cameron of Locheil, acting Cameron clan chief at the time of the '45. Both men were amongst Charles Edward Stuart's closest companions and most faithful followers. According to Michael Denham, Archibald has 'the unenviable reputation of being the last person to suffer execution for loyalty to the Royal House of Stuart'. John L. Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh, 2002), 79-80; Denham, 'Lord Amulree: An Appreciation', 529-31. For a short monograph on Archibald Cameron, see Mary McGrigor, *Doctor Archie: the life and times of Doctor Archibald Cameron, last man to die for the Jacobite cause* (Inverness, 2014).

⁵⁹ Clan Mackenzie preserved a long-standing loyalty to the Royal House of Stuart. It supported Mary, Queen of Scots, and continued to adhere to the exiled Stuarts following the Revolution of 1688–9. The clan became ardent Jacobite supporters, and many clansmen fought for the cause during the subsequent risings. The Great Scottish Clans, '[Mackenzie Clan History](#)', [Accessed 19 March 2017].

⁶⁰ Moffat, *Highland Clans*, 165.

⁶¹ See Chapter III. Mackenzie's father, Kenneth Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, was promoted to the noble rank of Marquess by James VIII and III. However, the French style of Marquis is used in English on the European

Whatever his stimuli were, a yearning for items linked to the Jacobites has resulted in the diverse collection he bequeathed to the University of Stirling. This chapter will survey the highlights of Amulree's intriguing accumulation of *Jacobitiana*. Whilst the scope and contents of the collection are wide-ranging and miscellaneous, a natural starting point is Amulree's primary manuscript titled 'A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron' (c.1950). There are two typescript copies of this manuscript and numerous papers about the life of Archibald Cameron and Amulree's various correspondences, dating from c.1938–c.1964.⁶²

The papers about Cameron's life are abundant. They range from pertinent information collected from the Inverness Burgh and County Public Library, including *The Memoirs of Dr Archibald Cameron* (1753) by Andrew Henderson, *History of the Camerons* (1884) by Alexander Mackenzie and the Stuart Papers. The Stuart Papers (plus photographs) provided the bulk of Amulree's research material, containing practically any information relating to Cameron, such as his private letters.⁶³ There is also a copious amount of collated information that concentrates on critical moments of Cameron's life. Much of the aftermath of the Elibank Plot (1751–3) is reported, such as the 'Pickle Spy Report' (1753), the State Orders for receiving Cameron signed by Lieutenant-General George Churchill (1753), State Papers concerning the High Treason of Cameron (1753) and details of Cameron's execution (1753).⁶⁴

Amulree's profuse communications with many individuals stressed his desire to glean as

mainland and in Canada. As Seaforth was living in exile, it explains the use of that spelling within his correspondence. All titles provided as Jacobite Duke and so forth were those created by James VII and II and his successors in the Jacobite Peerage. James VII and II's *de facto* successors did not acknowledge these creations. Still, these titles were used in Jacobite circles and recognised by the Catholic powers of Europe, including France, Spain, and the Papal States. Melville Henry Massue, Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *The Jacobite Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and grants of Honour* (London, 1904).

⁶² Amulree Collection, MS 93 (4a) (Amulree), A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron. [manuscript] / by the Lord Amulree, [c.1950]. Corrected typescript (2 copies). It is an earlier draft than MS 93 (4b); Amulree Collection, MS 93 (4b) (Amulree), A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron. [manuscript] / by the Lord Amulree, [c.1950]. It is a later draft incorporating changes marked in MS 93 (4a).

⁶³ The Royal Library at Windsor Castle contains an enormous collection of papers and letters – known as the Stuart Papers – that chronicle the lives of the last surviving members of the direct senior Stuart line. These papers were their property and passed down from James VII and II to his son and two grandsons. Upon Henry I and IX's death in 1807, the papers were brought to Great Britain from Italy on various dates between 1810–17. Their significance is scarcely questionable, and their mere survival is quite astonishing. When describing their chequered history, Walter Seton explained that the Papers 'have been subject to almost as much maltreatment and as many vicissitudes as the unfortunate Family, whose tragedy they unfold'. These papers nonetheless remain a central source for Stuart and Jacobite scholarly research. Walter W. Seton, 'The Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 71 (1921), 171–80; University of Stirling Library, 'The Amulree Collection of Jacobite material'.

⁶⁴ In 1751, a final Jacobite plot was hatched to kill or kidnap King George II and restore James VIII and III due to the continuing machinations of the latter's eldest son, Charles Edward. The date of the assault on St James's Palace was set for 10 November 1752. Cameron was heavily implicated in the plot and was charged by Charles Edward with raising support amongst the Highland clans. The affair, however, proved to be an utter fiasco, and the plotters were betrayed by Pickle the Spy, who was, in fact, one of the supposed plotters himself, Alasdair Ruadh MacDonnell of Glengarry. Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (London, 1988), 395–407; Amulree Collection, MS 93 (7) (Amulree), [Papers concerning the life of Archibald Cameron], [c.1938–c.1964], Typescript and holograph transcriptions and notes towards Amulree's 'A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron'; with correspondence, including a bundle of letters 1938–40 from Marion Hamilton.

much information as possible for his manuscript. It is evident that his correspondents kindly endeavoured to aid him wherever they could. These individuals included the historian Marion F. Hamilton (beginning in 1938), various custodians and librarians, comprising those at the Royal Archives, along with valuable suggestions from Henrietta Tayler. There is also, however, a letter dated 17 May 1966 showing that Amulree had attempted to get his manuscript published by E. & S. Livingstone Ltd., who specialised in medical, scientific, nursing and dental publications. In this letter, the publishers express the lack of subsidy and the point that ‘it is not very medical’ and ‘we feel we could not do it justice from a publishing point of view’. They advise that the manuscript, whilst ‘well worth publishing’, requires a general publisher and recommends the firm Hutchison. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence concerning ‘A parting gleam’, and it appears that Amulree’s biography of Cameron was never published. A letter dated (as late as) Easter 1971 from an unknown friend states, ‘I am sorry that your opus on Archie Cameron is still in a drawer, but maybe there will come a time when you will take it out’.⁶⁵

Further highlights from the collection include various Jacobite portraits, photographs, clippings, correspondences and other papers from c.1954–c.1966 that detail Amulree’s eagerness to obtain pictures and information connected to the exiled Stuarts. Examples include communications with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, the Bodleian Library, the British Institute of Florence, the Belgian Institute, Institut Néerlandais and Musée Calvet at Avignon, amongst others. One letter from the National Gallery of Ireland, dated 1 March 1965, enclosed a photograph of a painting of a fête in the Piazza Navona by Giovanni Paolo Panini – perhaps the most renowned of the *vedutisti* (view painters) of eighteenth-century Rome. This letter also states that if Amulree requires it, he may have more ‘details concerning the Old Pretender and his two sons’.⁶⁶

There is also an album containing forty-four Stuart-related photographs of paintings and places – mainly in Europe – dating from c.1950.⁶⁷ Amulree’s abundant enquiries resulted in an album that contains several of the most famous visual images connected with the Jacobite movement. There are (supposed) original pieces by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, a Dublin-born portrait painter who worked in Italy between 1779 and 1792.⁶⁸ A copy of Hamilton’s painting

⁶⁵ This letter lies within the first page of the offprint book by Gordon Gordon-Taylor titled ‘The Medical and Surgical Aspects of the ‘Forty-Five’ (The Jacobite Rising of 1745–6)’, *The British Journal of Surgery*, 33:129 (1945), 4–16, which is a supplementary piece from the Amulree bequest and is listed in Appendix IX.

⁶⁶ University of Stirling Library, ‘The Amulree Collection of Jacobite material’; National Portrait Gallery, [‘Prince Charles Edward Stuart by Hugh Douglas Hamilton circa 1785’](#), [Accessed 10 February 2017].

⁶⁷ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (5a) (Amulree), Stuart portraits, etc. [photograph album], [195–], Album containing 44 photographs of paintings and places (mainly in Europe) connected with the Stuarts. Lord Amulree assembled it in the mid-twentieth century.

⁶⁸ Fintan Cullen, [‘Hamilton, Hugh Douglas \(1740–1808\)’](#), ODNB, online edn., January 2015, [Accessed 10 February 2017].

and perhaps the most famous depiction of ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’ in old age, which he passed in a rather deplorable retirement. In 1770, a visitor to Rome described Charles III as having ‘a melancholy, mortified appearance’.⁶⁹ The portrait of the displaced king by Hamilton, oil on canvas, c.1785 [NPG 376], is currently on display at Culloden Battlefield Visitor Centre, Inverness. It has been given the moniker *Lord Edward*, which Charles Edward was often referred to as whilst in exile on the Continent. Another notable piece is a crayon-on-paper original sketch of Charles Edward that has been tentatively attributed to Hamilton. However, it dates from the 1750s and was thus possibly painted before Charles Edward Stuart ascended to his thrones in the Jacobite succession. It may have been dated in error and, if so, requires further exploration in future research.⁷⁰

There are also photographs of the interiors and exteriors of buildings, archways, facades and streets associated in some way with the banished royal dynasty. Notable examples include photographs of Charles III’s Florentine residence, the Palazzo del Deca di San Clemente. In one, a bronze weathervane with his cypher, the initials C.R. signifying *Carolus Rex* (King Charles) and the date 1777 – the year he purchased the building – is visible. It is even more special as the weathervane disappeared sometime before 1985. Another photograph reveals his royal coat of arms in the vestibule proclaiming this ‘palace’ as the official residence of Charles III. In the lunette above the arms is a Latin inscription all on a single line, which reads, *CAROLUS. III. NAT. 1720. MAG. BRITANIAE ET HIB. REX FID. DEFEN. AN. 1766* (Charles III, born 1720, King of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, in the year 1766).⁷¹ Additionally, several photographs are linked explicitly to Charles Edward’s whereabouts throughout Europe in the aftermath of Culloden, including visits to Madrid, London, Paris and Basel.

In the years following the ’45, Charles Edward traversed Europe less than six months after fleeing Scotland. He arrived in Madrid on 2 March 1747. There are typescript notes, transcripts, various correspondences and several photographs of his visit there. In one of his letters from 1958 to Arthur J. Montague of the British Council in Madrid, Amulree states, ‘for some years I have been interested in the life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart after the collapse of the ’45’.⁷² Amulree then requests evidence from the Spanish Archives and highlights a memorandum from the Stuart Papers. It discusses Charles Edward’s dealings during which he asked the Spanish Minister, Don José de Carvajal y Lancaster, to supply arms for a future

⁶⁹ John Heneage Jesse, *Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents* (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1846), ii., 176.

⁷⁰ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (10c) (Amulree), Prince Charles Edward Stuart [art original], [175–?], Artist tentatively identified as Hugh Douglas Hamilton.

⁷¹ Noel S. McFerran, The Jacobite Heritage, A Jacobite Gazetteer – Florence, [‘Palazzo San di Clemente’](#), [Accessed 10 February 2017].

⁷² Amulree Collection, MS 93 (6d) (Amulree), [Prince Charles Edward’s visit to Madrid, 1747], [c.1958], Typescript notes, transcripts, correspondence and photographs.

attempt in Scotland and immediately supply one or two ships to send provisions and so forth to the Highlands. In response, Amulree received a packet of letters and microfilms from the Archivo Histórico Nacional that aided him in his research for ‘A parting gleam’.

On 16 September 1750, Charles Edward made a daring trip to London where he stayed with the Jacobite, Ann(e) Drelincourt, Lady Primrose, in Essex Street off the Strand, under an assumed name. He stayed a little under a week and crossed the Channel back to Boulogne on the twenty-third day of that month. It was the last time he would ever step foot on British soil. This venture laid the groundwork for the subsequent and disastrous Elibank Plot.⁷³ Naturally, due to the astonishing audacity of Charles Edward’s risky jaunt and the crucial role it played in Dr Archibald Cameron’s eventual execution, there are copious typescripts, holograph notes and transcripts collected by Amulree.⁷⁴ Also included is Amulree’s correspondence with London County Council and others (c.1950–66), in which he suggests the erection of a memorial plaque in Essex Street, London. This plaque illustrates seven notable individuals, including the novelist Henry Fielding, Dr Samuel Johnson and Prince Charles Edward Stuart. It appears the plaque was erected sometime in August 1962.⁷⁵

Amulree also began work on an article detailing Charles Edward’s activities in Paris in 1754 titled ‘The Young Pretender at Paris in 1754’ (c.1952). Amulree explains that from 1749–66 ‘the details of his life are largely unknown, and even his place of residence during these years is often uncertain. Rumours, for the most part inaccurate, are found in the diplomatic and other correspondence of the time, but reliable anecdotes are missing’.⁷⁶ Supplementing the typescript article are related papers, photographs and correspondences. Amulree attempted to get this work published and sent it to the Scottish History Society. In 1953, he received a reply from its Secretary, E.W.M. Balfour-Melville, stating, ‘we feel that whatever light it throws on the character of Prince Charlie it does not make any contribution to the knowledge of Scottish

⁷³ McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 378-407.

⁷⁴ When considering what subsequently happened to Cameron, this makes Charles Edward’s jaunt even more remarkable in some ways, considering the enormous danger he placed himself in venturing to England. Nevertheless, as Frank McLynn explains, Charles Edward would have made an excellent secret agent with the abilities of a Scarlet Pimpernel. There was, of course, his well-known escapade as ‘Betty Burke’ during the ’45. In a letter by Pickle the Spy to Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, in 1755, Pickle added that ‘the Young Pretender has an admirable genius for skulking and is provided with so many disguises that it is not so much to be wondered at that he has hitherto escaped unobserved’. McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 382-9; Great Britain., Sir Thomas Edlyne Tomlins and John Raithby, eds., *The Statutes at Large, of England and of Great-Britain: from Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland* (Vol. X. From 16 George II. A.D. 1743. – To 23 George II. A.D. 1750.) (London, 1811), 122-3.

⁷⁵ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (6b) (Amulree), [Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s visit to London, 1750], [c.1950–c.1966], Typescript and holograph notes and transcripts by Lord Amulree; correspondence with London County Council and others about a memorial plaque in Essex Street, London. See Appendix II.

⁷⁶ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (6c) (Amulree), The Young Pretender at Paris in 1754 / by Lord Amulree, [c.1952], Typescript article (ii,30,[3] leaves) and related papers and photographs.

History and from that point of view would be unsuitable for use by this Society'.⁷⁷ There are also documents concerning Charles Edward's visit to Basel between 1754–6. There is an early draft of an article by Amulree titled 'Prince Charles Edward and Switzerland' (c.1948–50), typescripts, holograph notes, letters and photostats of items from the Stuart Papers. Amulree's frequent correspondence (c.1948–50) with Felix Staehelin, Professor of History at the University of Basel, seems to express mutual respect for each other's interest in Jacobite history. Both men appear to have shared as much information as possible, especially about Professor Staehelin's monograph concerning Charles Edward titled *Der jungere Stuartprätendent und sein Aufenthalt in Basel: 1754–1756* (1949).⁷⁸

The Amulree bequest also contains a small number of tangible and commemorative materials. These materials include a pair of paste shoe buckles purportedly worn by Charles Edward during the '45 campaign. The buckles are one of only three items in the collection that include evidence of provenance. It appears they were sold at Christie's in 1919, and Amulree procured them at a Sotheby's auction on 20 November 1945. According to the notes accompanying these buckles, Charles Edward gave them to the aunt of the Jacobite colonel, John Roy Stuart. They were later left to her daughter, Anne Stuart, and were then bequeathed to her grandson, William Smith of Earncliffe, Roslin.⁷⁹ There are also two medals, including a silver medal with Charles Edward's bust commemorating his landing in 1745. The obverse legend reads, *CAROLUS WALLIAE PRINCEPS* (Charles, Prince of Wales). The reverse legend reads, *AMOR ET SPES* (Love and Hope), with the exergue *BRITANNIA* (Great Britain).⁸⁰ There is also a bronze medal with Henry I and IX's bust. This medal was produced following Charles III's death on 30/31 January 1788. On it, Prince Henry Benedict declares his claim by styling himself King Henry IX. The obverse legend reads, *HEN. IX. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET HIB. REX FID. DEF. CARD. EP. TUSC* (Henry IX, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Cardinal Bishop of Frascati [Tusculum]).⁸¹ The reverse legend bears the Latin inscription, *non desiderii sed voluntate Dei* (not by the desire of man but by the will

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (6a) (Amulree), [Prince Charles Edward Stuart's visit to Basle, 1754–1756], [c.1948–50], Typescript and holograph notes and drafts of an article by Lord Amulree; photostats of items from the Stuart Papers; bundle of letters from Professor Felix Staehelin of Basle concerning his monograph 'Der jungere Stuartprätendent und sein Aufenthalt in Basel: 1754–1756'.

⁷⁹ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (10f) (Amulree), [Pair of paste shoe buckles] [object].

⁸⁰ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (10d) (Amulree), [Silver medal with bust of Prince Charles Edward Stuart] [object] / [by Thomas Pingo], diameter 4 cm.

⁸¹ Tusculum is a ruined Roman city in the Alban Hills, in the Latium region of Italy. Roughly twenty-two miles from Rome and thus a comfortable distance from the imperial capital, it was famous for its many luxurious patrician villas in ancient times. Modern-day Frascati is situated a few miles from its ruins, hence this Latin terminology used in Henry Benedict's episcopal title. Amulree Collection, MS 93 (10e) (Amulree), [Bronze medal with bust of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York] / [by Gioacchino Hamerani], diameter 5.2 cm.

of God) and the exergue, *AN. MDCC. LXXXVIII* (in the year 1788). Remarkably, it appears that these medals were copiously produced, as an extract from one of the two letters written by Henry I and IX to Charles Stuart, Earl of Traquair, highlights. In this letter, dated 7 November 1795, Henry praises the family's reputation, 'which persuades me your affairs will have a successful termination, for what regards the medals I got struck some years ago, I send you one of each sort'.⁸² The medals were cast in gold, silver and bronze.

Also included within the Amulree bequest is a folder of eleven photographs for inclusion as illustrations and some correspondence regarding 'My harvest is still in the field: Henry, Prince of Wales, 1594–1612, and Charles, Duke of York, 1600–1616' (c.1954) by John Keevil about its possible publication. Whilst interesting, this folder or book does not directly relate to the Jacobite period and is, therefore, merely a supplementary item that is pleasant to have.⁸³ Finally, in addition to these principal materials of the collection, there are c.90 books and pamphlets concerning Jacobite historiography. As noted by the National Museum of Scotland, following its failure, 'the cause soon became the subject of romantic nostalgia, expressed through poetry and song as well as objects and relics'.⁸⁴ Carol McGuirk adds that the Scottish 'muses' transformed the details of Scottish history 'into a lyric ontology, a "Scottish" consciousness'.⁸⁵ Hence, this supplementary material amassed by Amulree, and whilst comprising much secondary scholarly research, recounts much of this emergent Jacobite nostalgia, which would have been very familiar and undoubtedly resonated with him.

Considering the surveyed contents of the Amulree collection and the evidence extracted from the four Jacobite collection comparators, Russell and Winkworth's set of primary and comparative evaluation criteria has been consulted to estimate and ascertain the Amulree collection's value. Beginning with the primary criteria, the historical significance of this collection is sound. The collection is directly connected to Amulree and, as such, contributes towards a greater understanding of Jacobite history as it (generally) took enthusiasts like Amulree to value

⁸² Traquair House Archives, 'Letter (Holograph) from Henry, Cardinal Duke of York to Charles Stuart, seventh Earl of Traquair, 7 November 1795'; Fox, personal discussion.

⁸³ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (9) (Amulree), *My harvest is still in the field: Henry, Prince of Wales, 1594–1612, and Charles, Duke of York, 1600–1616* / by John Keevil, [c.1954], With a folder of 11 photographs for inclusion as illustrations and some correspondence concerning the book's possible publication.

⁸⁴ National Museum of Scotland, '[The Jacobite challenge. Escaping Culloden: Targe presented to Bonnie Prince Charlie](#)', Scottish History and Archaeology, [Accessed 10 February 2017].

⁸⁵ Some of the most famous examples of Scottish Jacobite-influenced literature include Sir Walter Scott's novel *Waverley* (1814), and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) and *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889). Also of note are the songs of Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, including *Wha'll be King but Charlie?*, *Charlie Is My Darling* and *Will Ye No Come Back Again?*, and the poems of Robert Burns (1759–96), many of which had nostalgic Jacobite sentiments and themes, including *It Was A' For Our Rightfu' King* (1794), *Killiecrankie* (1790), *O'er the Water to Charlie* (1788), *There'll Never Be Peace Till Jamie Comes Hame* (1791) and the rewritten *Ye Jacobites by Name* (1791) to name but a few. One of Burns's most memorable quotes on this topic was 'the Scottish Muses were all Jacobites'. Carol McGuirk, 'Jacobite History to National Song: Robert Burns and Carolina Oliphant (Baroness Nairne)', *The Eighteenth Century*, 47 (2006), 253–87.

and subsequently accumulate atypical *Jacobitiana*. Karl Magee explains that ‘in terms of archival cataloguing and practice, it is extremely important to know who he was. It is important to point out the creator of the (record) collection, whether individual, institution, or organisation’. So, having the creator so closely linked to the materials may influence our perceptions of the collection. Having a named collector, for example, may make the collection and individual items more personal and, therefore, relatable.

The collection’s research significance is another area of importance. Amulree was a researcher, and this detail is noteworthy. Magee asserts, ‘he created it, it is his records of research, this is important, and it adds to the uniqueness of the collection’. Amulree encountered many challenges during his research processes and was confronted with several rejections. His tenacity and determination to gather Jacobite collectables and relevant information should not be underestimated. It is evident then that the Amulree collection has enormous potential for future scholarly research, not only for its principal Jacobite materials but as a potential study of and on an individual’s research methods. Provenance, whilst part of the research of this dissertation, is a crucial criterion of this collection. This study has the luxury of having a named collector with biographical information. This degree of provenance shapes the collection yet permits reflection not only on the objects collected but how they express something about Amulree and the period that intrigued his collecting habits. It conveys the impetus for his stockpiling and his enthusiasm for the topic, which also serves well for comparative purposes with other private Jacobite collectors and enthusiasts.

The rarity and representativeness of the Amulree collection are evidenced by the fact that it is particularly well-documented. It has also been exhibited within the confines of the archives and library of the University of Stirling. However, it is generally not well known amongst Jacobite memorabilia enthusiasts and remains a practically new or at least unexplored collection at a national level. Unsurprisingly, this obscurity has limited the number of individuals who have viewed the collection and has subsequently impacted its exhibitory potential. In terms of monetary value, Magee explains that ‘we encourage not to think of collections in financial terms’. Nevertheless, the rarity of some of the collection’s more visually appealing items, such as the supposed original pictures by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, the photographs, the paste shoe buckles, the medals and the Jacobite-period manuscripts, could be potentially highly valued financial pieces of *Jacobitiana*. The collection’s patchiness is also certainly one of its unusual qualities. Magee adds that ‘the value of archive collections is in their completeness. Amulree’s is a good example of the opposite. Its disjointed state is one of its key features’.⁸⁶ Conversely, Margaret

⁸⁶ Karl Magee, University Library Archivist, University of Stirling, personal interview, 10 February 2017.

Fox argues that ‘this dehumanises the collection by taking things out of their original context and, thus, disturbing a piece of information’s original purpose’.⁸⁷ Despite Fox’s belief, the plausibility of original context is rare, and this specific collection and the reasons, as Magee states, for its accumulation outweigh the necessity to value the collection based on traditional archival procedures.

In terms of capacity, the Amulree collection is by no means the most extensive Jacobite collection in Scotland. Still, according to Magee, archives and special collections, such as Amulree, ‘care very much about how items relate to other items in a collection by a known collector. The idea is that the network of items and collector says something more meaningful than any specific item by itself’.⁸⁸ Conversely, Novotny stresses that ‘the size and scope of a collection may not matter if it includes that one perfect key object’.⁸⁹ So, due to their primary source nature, the three Jacobite-period sub-collections of manuscripts included within the Amulree bequest may contain such an important object. Their contents and potential significance will thus be discussed, in greater detail, in the following three chapters. In summary, a provisional evaluation of the Amulree collection’s contents reviewed in this chapter reveals an eclectic assortment of memorabilia. It includes not only Amulree’s pursuit of Jacobite items concerning his research but also various miscellaneous artefacts connected to the exiled Stuarts and their dealings. Whilst many are potentially very valuable, Amulree has also undertaken significant historical research. His scholarly attempts to fill gaps in Jacobite studies, including a complete biographical account of the life of Dr Archibald Cameron and the movements of Charles Edward Stuart during the years 1747–66, are particularly noteworthy.

⁸⁷ Fox, personal discussion.

⁸⁸ Magee, personal interview.

⁸⁹ Novotny, Research Assistant (History), University of Glasgow, email correspondence, 6 February 2017.

III: Pertaining to King James VIII and III

This chapter examines two letters written by William Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth. Seaforth was unquestionably a man within the maelstrom of Jacobite court politics. Seaforth was forced into exile after having commanded over 3,000 men and three battalions of the Jacobite forces at the Battle of Sheriffmuir on 13 November 1715. Seaforth arrived in France in February 1716 and was attainted on 7 May that year, and his estates were forfeited. On the Continent, he descended into financial difficulties over monies James VIII and III had sent to Scotland, which Seaforth's mother now held. Throughout 1716, Seaforth had regularly complained about his apparent status of 'relative' poverty because the allowance James had granted him had fallen into arrears.⁹⁰ The historical context surrounding the timing of these letters appears to focus on the several Jacobite court factions and the machinations of certain Jacobite aristocrats between the 'Great Rising' of 1715 and the 'Little Rising' of 1719 – unsuccessful attempts to restore James VIII and III to his thrones. By May 1716, there were already Marischal and Mar factions – led by George Keith, Earl Marischal, and John Erskine, Earl and Jacobite Duke of Mar – and this conflict is evidenced by later slanders against Seaforth.⁹¹ In November 1718, though still attempting to divert criticism, Seaforth submitted a substantial memorial to Mar detailing his previous service to the exiled Stuarts whilst blaming the general, Alexander Gordon, Marquess of Huntly and later Duke of Gordon, for the failure of the '15. By March 1719, it became apparent that Seaforth belonged to the Mar faction as opposed to James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, who belonged to the Marischal faction. This precarious situation subsequently contributed to the failure of the '19, when Seaforth and Ormonde held two of the three most senior Jacobite military commands.⁹²

On 8 December 1716, Seaforth wrote two letters, and these two primary sources are part of the Amulree bequest. However, their documented provenance is absent, and it remains to be seen how, when, and where Amulree acquired them. The first is a letter to Mar requesting 'the King for permission to retire to the country, and for a mark of royal favour'.⁹³ As the letter is dated and autographed, it appears to have been written by Seaforth's hand. It was also sent to

⁹⁰ Christopher Sinclair-Stevenson, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (London, 1971), 113-6; Davie Horsburgh, '[Mackenzie, William, fifth earl of Seaforth \(d.1740\)](#)', ODNB, online edn., January 2014, [Accessed 30 January 2017].

⁹¹ Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (London, 2006), 217.

⁹² Horsburgh, '[Seaforth](#)', ODNB. The third individual was William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine, Jacobite Duke of Atholl and Rannoch.

⁹³ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (1a) (Amulree), [Letter] 1716 December 8 to Lord Mar [manuscript] / Marquis of Seaforth, 8 December 1716.

the known Jacobite court and Papal territory at Avignon.⁹⁴ It appears, primarily, that Seaforth was in some status of disfavour. He opens with the statement, ‘I was in hopes by this time to have had the honour of your Grace’s commands with an Authentick Account under your hand of the state of ye Kings health’, and mentions another letter written to James VIII and III begging him for support.⁹⁵ Due to this disfavour, the source’s intent and reliability can be called into question when Seaforth’s concern for his reputation is so evident that he admits to his enemies referring to him as ‘odious’. In defence of the defamation of his character, Seaforth describes ‘the Malice of my Enemies’ owing to the obvious prejudices he has against these individuals. Notably, it appears Seaforth has a real concern for his family and members of his clan as he states, ‘in this the Tyes of Friendship as well as Blood lead me to depend upon your Grace’s concurrence. The Request is no more my own than my Friend’s in general who suffer under my misfortune, and will partake with me in the Removal of the unjust scandal’. Nevertheless, Seaforth’s reputation in Scotland was suffering because the ongoing reprisals against his Jacobite Mackenzie clan due to his financial problems and the fact that James VIII and III’s funds were in the custody of Seaforth’s mother on Lewis.⁹⁶ The first letter, hitherto untraced, and to which Mar replied on 26 December 1716, refusing Seaforth’s petition because it would be ‘inconvenient’, is not amongst the vast anthology of letters included within the Stuart Papers.⁹⁷ The reply corroborates the source’s validity, however, and is confirmation of Seaforth’s palpable pleas to be kept within James’s innermost circle of advocates and for his dubious reputation to be restored.

The second letter, written to James VIII and III, ‘requests a mark of royal favour, seeing that his [Seaforth’s] reputation has been attacked’.⁹⁸ Within, Seaforth asked James to redress him with only ‘such signall mark of Royal Favour as may convince my Enemies of their Injustice’. Seaforth specifically references Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, and attributes Seaforth’s ‘scandal’ ‘to no other cause than my faithfull Execution of your Majesties Commands, in treating with Lovat, to bring him, if possible, in to your interest; while he to cover his double Game, pretended to your enemies that he was endeavouring to draw me into theirs’. During the ’15, Field Marshal John Campbell, Duke of Argyll, persuaded Lovat to support King George I. Lovat’s allegiance to the government seriously weakened the Jacobite efforts in northern Scotland. Following Sheriffmuir, Lovat campaigned in Seaforth’s Inverness-shire lands and occupied at least one of his homes. However, by 27 December 1715, the two clan chiefs, Seaforth and Lovat, had begun

⁹⁴ Szechi, *1715*, 221.

⁹⁵ Amulree Collection, ‘[Letter] 1716 December 8 to Lord Mar’.

⁹⁶ Horsburgh, [‘Seaforth’](#), ODNB.

⁹⁷ The Stuart Papers, *III*, ‘The Duke of Mar to Lord Seaforth, 26 December 1716’, 360-1.

⁹⁸ Amulree Collection, ‘[Letter] 1716 December 8 to the King [i.e. Prince James Stuart]’.

negotiations.⁹⁹ This letter details Seaforth's attempts to entreat privately with Lovat and to try to bring him back into the Jacobite party. It seems that Seaforth acted in James's interests even at the expense of his own clansmen's suspicions as he stated, 'my Secrecie in that point gave a Jealousy even to my Friends; till that part I afterwards acted satisfy'd them of my Integrity'.¹⁰⁰ Still, it also appears Seaforth's requests for royal validation went unheeded. Whilst James VIII and III's answer is absent, Mar's reply on 26 December explains that 'the King had refused the favour he asked for a higher title of honour because such a thing would at present be inconvenient to his service'. Seaforth nevertheless received some reparation as Mar reiterated his kind manner in which he 'always speaks of him fully to show the world the contrary of any reports of his not being in his Majesty's favour'.¹⁰¹

In summary, through an application of the established criteria of evaluation, the historical significance of these letters, being original documents from the Jacobite period and likely being sought by Amulree, hold an important place within the collection and within the broader historical context. They depict, for instance, the activities of a significant individual, clearly concerned about his reputation, at this critical juncture for the Jacobite movement between the '15 and the '19, during which Seaforth played a central role. Regarding research significance, the letters shed some light on the hostile relationship between Seaforth and Lovat. From the '15 onwards, Lovat was firmly in the camp of the Hanoverians, but beneath the surface, it appears he was still playing the double game with his old allies, and it was Seaforth who was charged with educating him. This pivotal relationship warrants further exploration, given the unreliability that arises from Seaforth's opinions concerning his purported enemies. In terms of provenance, the letters are original and signed documents that Seaforth personally sent to Mar and James VIII and III with no known copies. The subsequent rarity and representativeness of the letters are intriguing since they are not included, even in copied form, within the Stuart Papers. This omission lends enormous weight to their significance alone. So, regarding interpretive capacity, although these letters are only two among many, they are undoubtedly significant manuscripts concerning Jacobite affairs of the period and shed further light on Seaforth's ongoing quarrels and tribulations. These letters emphatically encapsulate the volatile tensions of the time – a time after which the Jacobite threat would not rear its head to such a degree for another circa thirty years.

⁹⁹ Edward M. Furgol, [Fraser, Simon, eleventh Lord Lovat \(1667/8–1747\)](#), ODNB, online edn., January 2010, [Accessed 8 February 2017]; Horsburgh, [Seaforth](#), ODNB.

¹⁰⁰ Amulree Collection, '[Letter] 1716 December 8 to the King [i.e., Prince James Stuart]'.
¹⁰¹ The Stuart Papers, III., 'The Duke of Mar to Lord Seaforth'.

IV: Pertaining to King Charles III

This chapter examines a report about the Jacobite army retreat following the Battle of Falkirk Muir on 17 January 1746. This report is an (apparently unpublished) contemporary account of the army's withdrawal into northern Scotland. Amulree acquired the manuscript copy from Maggs Bros. Ltd. in 1958, though the report's author remains unknown. The report justifies the retreat but dwells on Lord George Murray's bitter regrets that the retreat was ill-managed, hasty and ungraceful.¹⁰² The historical context surrounding this report concerns the final campaign and Murray's central role in leading the Jacobite army. The military fame he so ardently longed for was secured when James VIII and III's son, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, appeared in the Western Isles in July 1745. Charles Edward appointed Murray as one of his lieutenant generals, as the latter was widely admired, even by his enemies, for his tactical genius in warfare and chiefly on the battlefield.¹⁰³ Following initial success at the Battle of Prestonpans on 21 September 1745, and after eventually reaching Derby en route to London, the decision was made to retreat to Scotland. Jacobite and British army forces met again in combat near the town of Falkirk.¹⁰⁴ Described by Christopher Duffy as a snatched victory for the Jacobites, 'bloody, muddy, confusing Falkirk has none of the dark glamour of the other battles'.¹⁰⁵

The report also corroborates Duffy's account of this part of the campaign. His research suggests that on the night of 29 January 1746, instead of receiving news of preparations for a second battle – this time against the forces of Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland and third son of King George II – Charles Edward received a letter subscribed by Murray and all the clan chiefs giving their reasons for an immediate retreat across the Forth.¹⁰⁶ The unknown author agrees with Murray that a retreat was essential, with one major issue being reports of mass desertion. The report highlights the muster roll at Crieff and states, 'there must in the whole have been 2,400 men fewer in the army [than] before the Battle of Falkirk'.¹⁰⁷ Later evidence suggests that desertion numbers were wildly exaggerated, and with Murray's concerns appearing

¹⁰² Amulree Collection, 'Report'.

¹⁰³ Katherine Tomasson, *The Jacobite General* (Edinburgh, 1958), *Prologue*; Murray G.H. Pittock, '[Murray, Lord George \(1694–1760\)](#)', ODNB, online edn., September 2006, [Accessed 21 February 2017]. See also Alexander John Youngson, *The Prince and the Pretender: Two Views of the '45* (2nd Ed.) (Edinburgh, 1996), *passim*.

¹⁰⁴ Duffy, *The '45*, 409-26.

¹⁰⁵ The writer John Home and Reverend John Witherspoon were among the notable British army prisoners captured by the Jacobites at Falkirk Muir, subsequently imprisoned in Doune Castle but then managed to escape. Home would later write *The History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745* (1802), and Witherspoon became a signatory of the United States Declaration of Independence in 1776 – one of only two Scots and the only clergyman and college president to do so. Dane Love, *Jacobite Stories* (Glasgow, 2007), 137; The Presidents of Princeton University, '[John Witherspoon](#)', Princeton University, [Accessed 22 February 2017]; Christopher Duffy, *Fight for a Throne: The Jacobite '45 Reconsidered* (Solihull, 2015), 308; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Cause* (Glasgow, 1986), 109.

¹⁰⁶ Duffy, *Fight for a Throne*, 361-2; Duffy, *The '45*, 432.

¹⁰⁷ Amulree Collection, 'Report'.

to be overstated, Charles Edward's resentment of him grew ever stronger.¹⁰⁸

The report's author also claims that the retreat of the Jacobite army, so orderly from Derby, now turned into 'an absolute flight'. This disarray is attributed mainly to the increasingly frosty relationship between Murray and Charles Edward and a subsequent lack of co-ordination. The report states, 'all agreed upon in H.R.H. presence the place of rendezvous was a field to the East of St Ninian[s]'.¹⁰⁹ It, again, corroborates Duffy, who explains that on 1 February, the Jacobite forces at Stirling and Falkirk streamed towards their agreed rendezvous at St Ninians, near Stirling, where the siege ammunition was stored.¹¹⁰ The report then states that 'an order had been sent from Bannockburn contrary to what had been resolved upon', and 'it seems no care was taken to rendezvous the army at the place that had been appointed'. It is stated that Murray had lost his temper on this occasion, 'for he laid down a scheme for a very regular retreat'.¹¹¹

This lack of co-ordination underpins Murray's growing frustrations with Charles Edward and his Irish colonel, John O'Sullivan. The report adds that Murray, 'being frustrated in his intentions, he rode forward and having come up to Mr O'Sullivan' and asked, 'who had advised that flight he answered he could not tell'. Murray then 'expressed great concern at the manner of the army's going off so contrary to what had been agreed upon and so dishonourable to them'.¹¹² Duffy concurs that Murray and O'Sullivan blamed each other for the lack of directions and the resultant appalling disorder amongst the men.¹¹³ Overall, this report highlights the clear trail of evidence of the rapidly deteriorating relationship and deepening distrust between Murray and the young Stuart prince. Murray Pittock argues that the ensuing retreat north was a 'shambles'. Despite Murray's offer to make a stand in his home territory of Atholl, he and Charles Edward were at furious loggerheads at the last Council of War, held at Crieff on 2 February. Whilst on the run after Culloden, relations worsened so much that Murray came to be regarded by Charles Edward as little better than a traitor.¹¹⁴

In summary, through further application of the established criteria of evaluation, this report is historically significant contextually as it describes events in the correct chronological order as ascribed by Duffy. Similarly, regarding research significance, the document's continued implication that the worsening relations between Charles Edward and Murray, as recognised by Duffy and Pittock, supports its contribution to further research on this crucial facet of the '45

¹⁰⁸ Pittock, [Murray](#), ODNB.

¹⁰⁹ Amulree Collection, 'Report'.

¹¹⁰ Duffy, *The '45*, 432.

¹¹¹ Amulree Collection, 'Report'.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Duffy, *The '45*, 433.

¹¹⁴ Pittock, [Murray](#), ODNB.

campaign.¹¹⁵ The document's provenance, rarity and representativeness are also noteworthy, as the author remains unknown. It is supposedly unpublished and offers a contemporary account of the events described. Though suggestive, this account of the Jacobite retreat north after the battle at Falkirk is a valuable source, but its anonymity raises important questions. The author does infer that they were 'sorry to observe' that the retreat was mismanaged; therefore, the author's general position implies Jacobite sympathies. However, it is unspecified which side this unknown author identified with during the rising, and the report is dubious in intent. The report corroborates previously studied accounts in terms of interpretive capacity and the ongoing debates within the secondary literature. Given the unique aspects of this report, it is a significant piece of Jacobite primary source material that could be used to further future research concerning Falkirk Muir, its surrounding events and the broader '45 campaign.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Charles Edward appeared to outlive his era. The final restitution of the forfeited estates to the heirs of the purported rebel families in 1784 demonstrates it most acutely. The 'man of iron' outlasted most of his contemporaries, such as King Louis XV, Frederick the Great, and George Keith, Earl Marischal. Those faithful supporters who had fought for him in his great escapade were also almost all dead. Virtually all the Jacobite officer class were gone, including the Seven Men of Moidart, Lord George Murray, David Wemyss, Lord Elcho, and every member of the Council of War, save David Ogilvy, Lord Ogilvy. McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 548-9.

¹¹⁶ After the '45, Charles Edward's reputation remained intimidating for a protracted period. He finally succumbed to his ailments in early 1788. Upon his death, King Charles III's (as he was now styled) younger brother, Prince Henry Benedict, became King Henry I and IX to the few remaining Jacobites and was referred to as Your/His Majesty amongst his entourage. He was mockingly called the 'Cardinal King' *in partibus [infidelium]* (in the lands of the unbelievers) by his enemies. It is even more scornful as a Catholic, let alone a cardinal, could never possibly reign in the British Isles again – notwithstanding the Act of Settlement 1701 (12 and 13 Will. III., c. 2). It also alludes to the central factor that created the Jacobite movement in the first place, when Henry Benedict's grandfather, James VII and II, was forced into exile because of his religious convictions. However, as the cardinal entered old age, he became somewhat of a fascination with British travellers and Grand Tourists. On a Grand Tour, Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex and sixth son of King George III, visited Henry Benedict at his home in Frascati. Their warm friendship is well-attested, and the young duke always referred to the cardinal as 'Your Royal Highness' in each other's presence. Careful not to recognise the cardinal's claims of lawful sovereignty and monarchical title, Augustus Frederick offered Henry Benedict at least this modicum of royal privilege. McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 548-59; Tomlins and Raithby, eds., *Statutes at Large* (Vol. VI.), 293-7; James Lees-Milnes, *The Last Stuarts: British Royalty in Exile* (New York, NY, 1983), 170.

V: Pertaining to King Henry I and IX

This chapter examines four items concerning the death of Henry I and IX on 13 July 1807.¹¹⁷ These items were formerly in the Braye collection of the Stuart Papers, the property of Major the Honourable T.A. Vernay-Cave. They were purchased in Rome by Sarah Otway-Cave, Baroness Braye, in 1848. They are also catalogued in the 10th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Appendix 6, numbers 216-21. It appears Amulree purchased these papers from Maggs Bros. Ltd. in 1949. The historical context surrounding these documents is the event of Henry Benedict's death, which was verified by Angelo Cesarini, Bishop of Milevi. Cesarini became his private secretary in 1773, remained with him for the rest of his life, managed the cardinal's affairs and became his most trusted confidant. He was also the principal executor of the final Jacobite claimant's last will and testament, and overall estate.¹¹⁸ It is thus highly likely that the bishop would have announced the cardinal's death.¹¹⁹ Cesarini confirmed Henry Benedict's demise 'at two hours of the night' on 13 July in his letter of 18 July 1807.¹²⁰ This first item, without a signature, was almost certainly written by Cesarini. This fact is most clearly evidenced as Cesarini addressed the letter to Messrs Coutts & Co. and received a direct reply, which is the third item in this sub-collection.

The second item is a letter from Queen Louise (of Stolberg-Gedern), otherwise called

¹¹⁷ Following the failure of the '45, and with the wholehearted consent of his father but not his elder brother, Henry Benedict was admitted to the Cardinalate of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. Pope Benedict XIV conferred the extremely pious Stuart prince with tonsure and made him a cardinal deacon in 1747. Over the subsequent sixty years of his life, Henry Benedict rose through the church's ranks. He was eventually elevated to Dean, or *primus inter pares* – first among equals – of their Sacred College in 1803 – second only in the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the pope. Fothergill, *Cardinal King*, 255.

¹¹⁸ In perhaps the final act of Stuart defiance and an assertion of his exiled dynasty's divine right to the sovereignty of the three kingdoms, the cardinal is purported to have signed his will with the signature, 'Henry R' (*Henricus Rex* – King Henry). Fothergill, *Cardinal King*, 108.

¹¹⁹ In 1810, three years after the cardinal's death, it was Cesarini who commissioned Antonio Canova – considered by many as the leading neoclassical sculptor of his time – to complete a monument to the cardinal's memory. Though designed originally to commemorate Henry I and IX, with further financial backing, it was decided to add accompanying relief portraits and dedications to James VIII and III and Charles III. This backer, once in the knowledge that his father's throne and succession were indefinitely secure, was the Prince Regent and future King George IV – an alleged long-time admirer of his exiled cousins. In 1819, the finished monument was installed in St Peter's Basilica. Below, in the Vatican (Papal) Grottoes, the final three exiled Stuarts had been laid to rest, side-by-side, in 1807 with individual headstones. In 1938, however, their remains were moved to accommodate Pope Pius XI's new tomb. The following year, a single travertine sarcophagus adorned with a bronze crown sat atop a bronze pillow was erected over their new resting place as a mark of respect for their royal status. The Jacobite kings' former headstones now reside in the Pontifical Scots College in Rome. Noel S. McFerran, *The Jacobite Heritage*, *A Jacobite Gazetteer* – The Vatican, '[Monument to the Stuart Kings](#)', [Accessed 28 March 2017]; Noel S. McFerran, *The Jacobite Heritage*, *A Jacobite Gazetteer* – The Vatican, '[Tomb of the Stuart Kings](#)', [Accessed 28 March 2017]; see Appendices IV and V.

¹²⁰ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (2a) (Amulree), [Letter] 1807 [July] 18, Rome, [to Messrs] Coutts, [London] [manuscript] / [Angelo Cesarini, Bishop of Milevi], 18 July 1807.

the Countess of Albany and former wife of Charles III, dated 21 July 1807.¹²¹ It appears to confirm that she had been motivated by money for some time. In 1805, for instance, when the aging clergyman became seriously unwell, she had conferred with Cesarini about the payment of her jointure in the event of her former brother-in-law's untimely passing.¹²² After the cardinal's death, a letter soon arrived condoling Cesarini on the separation of a long-established friendship and, notably, approving him as executor.¹²³

The third item, a letter dated 25 August 1807, dealt with the payment of Henry Benedict's pension in reply to Cesarini's previous correspondence being sent to the reputable British banking house, Coutts and Co.¹²⁴ Mr Thomas Coutts's well-known connection to the cardinal was evidenced by the historian Walter Seton in 1926 through his research on the Stuart Papers. When the cardinal's financial situation worsened in 1799–1800, King George III came to his aid.¹²⁵ George granted the 'impoverished' clergyman an allowance of £4,000 per annum for the remainder of his life, and it was Mr Coutts who was chosen to channel this 'generosity'.¹²⁶ Also, Coutts & Co. dealt with Henry Benedict's instructed financial arrangements.¹²⁷

The fourth item is an account of the post-mortem performed on the cardinal on the evening of 14 July and undersigned by an individual named Giuseppe Gegeo, which further corroborates the date and time of death.¹²⁸ This detail is unspecified in the surrounding historiography. However, as the noted biographer Brian Fothergill remarked, Henry I and IX lay in state three days later in Rome. Still, there is no mention of the post-mortem report. Alice Shield explains that 'on the night of 14 July, his body was carried to Rome, the carriage surrounded by his weeping people'.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the post-mortem is reported as taking place that evening, and the cardinal's entourage may have set off for Rome following the procedure

¹²¹ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (2b) (Amulree), [Letter] 1807 [July] 21 [to] Monseigneur Angelo Cesarini, Eveque de Milevi, Rome [manuscript] / Louise de Stolberg, C. d'Albany, 21 July 1807.

¹²² Fothergill, *Cardinal King*, 260.

¹²³ Amulree Collection, [Letter] 1807 [July] 21 [to] Monseigneur Angelo Cesarini, Eveque de Milevi, Rome'.

¹²⁴ Ibid., MS 93 (2c) (Amulree), [Letter] 1807 [August] 25, Londres, a Monseigneur Angelo Cesarini, Eveque de Milevi, Rome [manuscript] / Thomas Coutts & Co., 25 August 1807.

¹²⁵ Henry Benedict's lands had been seized by the invading forces of Emperor Napoléon (Bonaparte). Walter W. Seton, 'Some Stuart Papers Belonging to Messrs. Coutts and Co.', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 90 (1926), 97-104.

¹²⁶ Henry Benedict did not regard George III's intervention as charity. He considered this pension as income legally his by right. British governments had promised to pay the jointure for his grandmother Mary of Modena's dowry but never did in his lifetime. It exceeded millions of pounds by the turn of the nineteenth century. Rosalind K. Marshall, [Henry Benedict \[Henry Benedict Stuart; styled Henry; known as Cardinal York\] \(1725–1807\)](#), ODNB, online edn., May 2010, [Accessed 24 February 2017]; Fothergill, *Cardinal King*, 226-42.

¹²⁷ The connection between the two men was a personal one. On 20 January 1800, Mr Coutts wrote a letter to Henry Benedict expressing his desire to become the cardinal's agent in all future payments and financial matters. Coutts also reminded Henry Benedict of the visit he and his family paid to the cardinal at Frascati in the recent past. Seton, 'Some Stuart Papers Belonging to Messrs. Coutts and Co.', 97-104.

¹²⁸ Amulree Collection, MS 93 (2d) (Amulree), [Post-mortem] 1807 [July] 14: Relazione della sezione fatta al defunto S.A.R. il Cardinal Duca de York. [manuscript] / Questo e quanto si e manifestato nell'apertura da me sottoscritto Giuseppe Gegeo, 14 July 1807.

¹²⁹ Alice Shield, *Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York and His Times* (London, 1908), 297; Fothergill, *Cardinal King*, 261.

during the early hours.

In summary, in a final application of the established criteria of evaluation, these documents are historically significant as they describe the circumstances surrounding Henry I and IX's death, with those closest to him expressing their regret at his loss. In terms of research significance, the connection between the cardinal and Mr Coutts could be noteworthy to a researcher interested in banking history. The documents' original status confirms provenance. The cardinal's demise is confirmed by its initial declaration and the detailed account of the post-mortem on his cadaver. The documents are unique, have no known copies and are the only known representation of this event. Regarding interpretive capacity, these documents are reliable historical manuscripts. They are a vital component of the Amulree collection as they describe details of what could be considered the final meaningful event of the Jacobite movement. This documentation is evidence of the final expiration of an oft-capricious royal dynasty, which had ruled for centuries during perhaps the most transitional period in European history.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ The exiled Stuarts preserved their Jacobite shadow court in the Palazzo del Re (Palace of the King), now known as the Palazzo Balestra or Palazzo Muti, in Rome since 1719. A plaque still highlights Henry I and IX and his family's residence there. It can be found inside the doorway on the left-side wall when entering from the Piazza Santi Apostoli side entrance to the building. The inscription upon it, in nineteenth-century Italian, reads in English, 'There lived in this palace, Henry, Duke later Cardinal of York, who, surviving son of James III of England, took the name of Henry IX. In him, in the year 1807, the Stuart dynasty became extinct'. Edward Corp, 'The Location of the Stuart Court in Rome: The Palazzo Del Re', in Paul Monod, Murray Pittock and Daniel Szechi, eds., *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad* (Basingstoke, 2010), 180; David Daiches, *Charles Edward Stuart: The Life and Times of Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London, 1973), 7; see Appendix III.

Conclusions

This dissertation has evaluated the Amulree Jacobite collection, which resides within the University of Stirling Library Archives. A contextual comparison was required; accordingly, four Scottish Jacobite collection comparators were chosen, and the scope and contents of the Amulree collection necessitated review and assessment. Due to their contemporary nature, the collection's three Jacobite-period sub-collections were chosen for a concerted appraisal of their value, to gauge their significance and to discover whether they contribute anything new to Jacobite studies. The dissertation has attempted to provisionally establish a place for the Amulree collection within the broader context of other reputable Scottish Jacobite collections. Engaging with the secondary literature concerning these extant collections shows that each has strengths and weaknesses, and several have common characteristics. For instance, the MacBean and the Traquair artefacts hold particularly astonishing documents relating to the Jacobite period and beyond and have received initial appraisals through dedicated research. The Walter Blaikie collection, comprising much interesting Jacobite memorabilia, has never been appraised. The Drambuie Jacobite collection has a similar assessment to MacBean and Traquair in the form of documented scholarly reviews. Still, it holds none of the manuscript materials the other collections enjoy because of its conscious focus on glassware. Additionally, MacBean, Drambuie and Traquair have all been afforded significant exhibitory status, whilst Walter Blaikie has not. Finally, in contrast to the other collections, Traquair House's Jacobite documents have never been catalogued.

In contrast, the Amulree collection, although patchy, smaller in content, nor as overtly well-known through a lack of external display, has some strengths. These strengths include having an established catalogue and evaluating its overall value as a result of this dissertation. Arguments could also be made against its patchiness. However, this dissertation supports Magee's view that this aspect is one of its essential qualities due to Amulree's fascination for all things considered *Jacobitiana*. Importantly, it includes artefacts that these other collections do not possess. Consequently, it deserves greater recognition within the milieu of the additionally surveyed collections. When Scottish Jacobite collections are discussed collectively, this collection undoubtedly warrants inclusion in those deliberations. Such inclusion is further necessitated by the eclectic diversity of the Amulree collection's contents. Visually and potentially precious, appealing artefacts such as the original pictures and photographs, paste shoe buckles, medals and Jacobite-period manuscripts stand out. Besides, this collection has a unique overall character that expresses itself through Amulree's conscientious research, which drove, in part, his need for

content. Despite the numerous rejections Amulree received in trying to get his work published, he appears to have consciously preserved everything by retaining various Jacobite materials, including manuscripts, letters, transcripts, typescripts, photostats, medals and several other items. Amulree had a strong and painstaking need to collect Jacobite artefacts. It includes the Jacobite-period manuscripts that appealed to him somehow and, perhaps inadvertently, could give his collection greater appeal and attraction. The original manuscripts in each sub-collection are significant for three reasons:

1. They are unique manuscripts that have no known copies.
2. Each elucidates and corroborates some significant historiographical narrative and research within their timeframe, thus shedding further light on significant moments in Jacobite history.
3. These manuscripts have, together with the collection's other tangible items, the status of being deemed the important jewels within the Amulree bequest.

As a result, these manuscripts can only widen the collection's Jacobite material and cultural reputation. So, in establishing a statement of significance for the Amulree collection, its virtues must be considered twofold. Whilst smaller than others, the collection contains an extensive array of exciting and valuable Jacobite collectables together with three significant sub-collections of original Jacobite-period primary source material. Therefore, the collection's place within the broader context of Scottish Jacobite collections is important. For these reasons, this collection deserves greater recognition alongside firmly established and esteemed company and would rank favourably in future comparative discussions.

The Amulree collection should be regarded as a resource of national importance, alongside the other surveyed collections and others, due to the legacy the Jacobite movement retains upon Scottish history. Its promotion is critical to gauge further interest amongst Jacobite historians and those interested in the magnitude of Jacobitism's significance in Scottish, British, European and world history. For example, its recent addition to the Jacobite Studies Trust Gazetteer is vital in elevating it to greater public prominence.¹³¹ Another interesting finding is the collection's apparent originality as a Jacobite research collection and its unique documentation relating to Amulree's research processes. This dissertation offers valuable insights into Amulree's extraordinary determination to collect Jacobite materials and then discuss them by using an academic approach in a concerted effort to publish his conscientious and meticulous research. Further research might evaluate the collection differently. It would be interesting, for instance, to compare the experiences of other researchers in similar investigative contexts with those of

¹³¹ See Appendix VIII.

Amulree.

In combination, these qualities suggest a concluding statement that this significant Jacobite collection is valuable materially and culturally. If the collection had not been bequeathed to the University of Stirling, some less distinguished but significant gaps in Jacobite history and studies would not currently be as fully understood. Examples include Amulree's biographical scholarship of Dr Archibald Cameron and his research on Charles Edward Stuart's whereabouts during 1747–66. Rare and unique Jacobite manuscripts, as discussed in Chapters III–V, would equally remain practically unheard of if not for this collection's existence. It would be a fruitful area for further exploration in the form of a more comprehensive examination of the Amulree collection's contents or a study of a researcher's methodological approach. It is recommended that more research be undertaken on this noteworthy collection of *Jacobitiana* to understand its contents and assets further and advance its renown.

Appendices

King James VII and II



Painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, c.1683–4

Public Domain. Available: <https://www.wikipedia.org>

Appendix I

King James VIII and III
(or Prince James Francis Edward Stuart)



Painted by Alexis-Simon Belle, c.1712 [NPG 348]

© National Portrait Gallery. Available: <https://www.npg.org.uk>

Appendix I

King Charles III
(or Prince Charles Edward Stuart)



Painted by Allan Ramsay, 1745 [PG 3762] [At the time of this painting, Prince Charles Edward had been appointed Prince Regent by his father, King James VIII and III.]

© Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Available: <https://www.art.nationalgalleries.org>

King Henry I and IX
(or Prince Henry Benedict Stuart)



Painted by the circle of Anton Raphael Mengs, c.1750 [NPG 129] [At the time of this painting, Prince Henry Benedict had recently been elevated to the Sacred College of Cardinals.]

© National Portrait Gallery. Available: <https://www.npg.org.uk>

Basil William Sholto Mackenzie
Second Baron Amulree of Strathbraan



The Lord Amulree, photographed by Walter Stoneman, 1949 [NPG x163590]
[This photograph has been incorrectly labelled as William Warrander Mackenzie, first Baron
Amulree of Strathbraan.]

© National Portrait Gallery. Available: <https://www.npg.org.uk>

Appendix I

The Essex Street Plaque



London County Council Plaque, Essex Hall, 7 Essex Street, off the Strand, London, EC2
 JPG, photographer unknown, 2014

Public Domain. Available: <https://www.commons.wikimedia.org>

The Palazzo del Re Plaque



The inscription below is in Italian rather than the more commonly used Latin.

ABITO QUESTO PALAZZO
ENRICO DUCA POI CARDINALE DI YORK
CHE FIGLIO SUPERSTITE DI GIACOMO III D'INGHILTERRA
PRESE IL NOME D'ENRICO IX
IN LUI NELL' ANNO MDCCCVII
S'ESTINSE LA DINASTIA DE' STUARDI

The same inscription translated into English reads:

There lived in this palace,
Henry, Duke later Cardinal of York,
who, surviving son of James III of England,
took the name of Henry IX.
In him, in the year 1807,
the Stuart dynasty became extinct.¹³²

The Palazzo del Re Plaque, photographed by Calum Edward Cunningham, 2013

© Calum Edward Cunningham

Appendix III

¹³² Noel S. McFerran, The Jacobite Heritage, A Jacobite Gazetteer – Rome, [Palazzo Balestra](#), [Accessed 30 March 2017].

The Monument to the Exiled Royal Stuarts



The Monument to the Royal Stuarts, photographed by Calum Edward Cunningham, 2013¹³³

© Calum Edward Cunningham

Appendix IV

¹³³ Noel McFerran notes that this ‘white marble monument is in the form of an ancient pagan funerary stele’. Standing to the left and right of the entrance to the imaginary tomb of the monument are two weeping angels of death – representing the tragic end and fate of the Stuart dynasty. Noel S. McFerran, *The Jacobite Heritage*, *A Jacobite Gazetteer – The Vatican*, [‘Monument to the Stuart Kings’](#), [Accessed 28 March 2017].

The Tomb of the Exiled Royal Stuarts



The inscription below in Latin alongside the English translation. This Latin inscription adorns the marble Monument to the Royal Stuarts and their (slightly modified) shared travertine sarcophagus situated directly below it in the Vatican (Papal) Grottoes. It reads:

IACOBO III
IACOBI II MAGNAE BRIT REGIS FILIO
KAROLO EDVARDO
ET HENRICO DECANO PATRV
CARDINALIVM
IACOBI III FILIIS
REGIAE STIRPIS STVARDI POSTREMIS

To James III,
son of James II, King of Great Britain,
to Charles Edward,
and to Henry, Dean of the Cardinal
Fathers,
sons of James III,
the last of the Royal House of Stuart.

On the lintel above the sculpted tomb-door on the Monument to the Royal Stuarts is a quote from the Book of Revelation 14:13. It reads:

BEATI MORTVI
QVI IN DOMINO MORIVNTR

Blessed are the dead
who die in the Lord.¹³⁴

The Tomb of the Royal Stuarts, photographed by Calum Edward Cunningham, 2013

© Calum Edward Cunningham

Appendix V

¹³⁴ James VII and II is referred to erroneously as 'King of Great Britain' on this inscription. Noel S. McFerran, *The Jacobite Heritage, A Jacobite Gazetteer – The Vatican*, [‘Tomb of the Stuart Kings’](#), [Accessed 28 March 2017].

‘God Save the King’ in its (Original) Jacobite Form

*God Save the King, I pray,
God Bliss the King, I pray,
God Save the King,
Send him Victorious,
Happy and Glorious.*

*Soon to Reign over us,
God Save the King.*

*God Bliss the Prince of Wales,
The True-Born Prince of Wales,
Sent us by Thee.
Grant us one Favour more,
The King for to Restore,
As Thou hast done before,
The Familie.*

*God Save the Church, I pray,
God Bliss the Church, I pray,
Pure to remain.
Against all Heresie,
And Whig’s Hypocrisie,
Who strive maliciouslie,
Her to defame.*

*God Bliss the Subjects all,
And save both great and small,
In every Station.
That will bring home the King,
Who hath best right to reign,
It is the only thing,
Can save the Nation.*

*Amen.*¹³⁵

Appendix VI

¹³⁵ Guthrie, *Material Culture*, 101-2.

The Jacobite Studies Trust Gazetteer

‘The Gazetteer of Jacobite sites seeks to fill an important gap in Jacobite studies. Many sites which either contain Jacobite artefacts or have other Jacobite connections are little known and therefore underused and underappreciated. The Gazetteer hopes to rectify this. It also aims to fulfil one of the main aims of the Jacobite Studies Trust, to ‘promote the study and understanding of Jacobite history, ideologies, arts and music’, by indicating which sites hold artefacts relevant to those areas.

This survey has been extensively researched and seeks to be wide-ranging and comprehensive. There are two provisos, however. Firstly, it only includes sites that are open to the public. If people are unable ever to gain access to see the Jacobite artefact they are interested in, then it seems unhelpful to include it on the site. Many sites that are not open to the public belong to individuals who lay great stress upon their privacy and so would not wish their home to be included in a survey.

Secondly, a site is only included if it still has an extant Jacobite connection. If, for example, a hall belonging to a Jacobite once stood upon a site, but that hall has now been entirely replaced by a later building, then the site has not been included (unless plaques or other devices are recording the Jacobite link). It should also be noted that the Jacobite period is taken as beginning in 1688. Inclusion of items pertaining to James VII and II pre-1688 should, therefore, be regarded as a bonus, rather than as automatic, and usually occurs when there are already Jacobite post-1688 items at the site in question’.¹³⁶

The author of the Gazetteer, Dr Alan Hobson, welcomes comments and pointers towards any corrections or omissions. He can be reached at alanrhobson@yahoo.co.uk

Appendix VIII

¹³⁶ Hobson, [‘Gazetteer of Jacobite Sites’](#).

Alan has kindly agreed to add the Amulree Jacobite Collection to the Gazetteer and for it to be cited within this appendix. Due to the limitations of this dissertation, information on the many additional Jacobite collections, with wide-ranging varieties of Jacobite artefacts and memorabilia, is available to view for free or can be downloaded. The Gazetteer is divided into various regions of the United Kingdom. The Gazetteer of Jacobite sites can be found on The Virtual Library of the Jacobite Studies Trust website. It can be reached at <https://www.jacobitestudiustrust.org>

The recently added Amulree Jacobite Collection information is as follows:

Amulree Jacobite Collection, Stirling University Library Archives, Stirling

This collection was amassed by the 2nd Baron Amulree of Strathbraan. It contains books, pamphlets, artefacts, and manuscripts, many relevant to the Jacobite movement. Highlights from the collection include books on Jacobite history, including a MS copy of Lord Amulree's 'A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron'; a contemporary report on the Battle of Falkirk (Jan 1746); a pair of Charles Edward Stuart's paste shoe buckles; transcriptions from the Stuart Papers; and photographs of paintings and places connected with the Stuarts.

The Amulree Collection is accessible to the public, in that anyone can ask to consult it, and items from the collection are periodically on display in the University Library, which is also open to the public.

[Stirling University Library is north of Stirling and just s/e of Bridge of Allan]

An Inventory of the Amulree Bequest

Core Primary Sources

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (1a) (Amulree), [Letter] 1716 December 8 to Lord Mar [manuscript] / Marquis of Seaforth, 8 December 1716.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (1b) (Amulree), [Letter] 1716 December 8 to the King [i.e. Prince James Stuart] [manuscript] / Marquis of Seaforth, 8 December 1716.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (2a) (Amulree), [Letter] 1807 [July] 18, Rome, [to Messrs] Coutts, [London] [manuscript] / [Angelo Cesarini, Bishop of Milevi], 18 July 1807.

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University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (3) (Amulree), [Report on the retreat of the Jacobite army after their victory at the Battle of Falkirk on 17 January 1746] [manuscript], 1746?

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (4a) (Amulree), A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron. [manuscript] / by the Lord Amulree, [c.1950]. Corrected typescript (2 copies). This is apparently an earlier draft than MS 93 (4b).

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (4b) (Amulree), A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron. [manuscript] / by the Lord Amulree, [c.1950]. This is apparently a later draft, incorporating changes marked in MS 93 (4a).

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (5a) (Amulree), Stuart portraits, etc. [photograph album], [195–], Album containing 44 photographs of paintings and places (mainly in Europe) connected with the Stuarts. It was assembled by Lord Amulree in the mid-twentieth century.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (5b) (Amulree), [Jacobite portraits and relics: photographs, correspondence and other papers], [c.1954– c.1966].

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (6a) (Amulree), [Prince Charles Edward Stuart's visit to Basle, 1754–1756], [c.1948–50], Typescript and holograph notes and drafts of an article by Lord Amulree; photostats of items from the Stuart Papers; bundle of letters from Professor Felix Staehelin of Basle concerning his monograph *Der jungere Stuartpretendent und sein Aufenthalt in Basel: 1754–1756*.

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University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (6d) (Amulree), [Prince Charles Edward's visit to Madrid, 1747], [c.1958], Typescript notes, transcripts, correspondence and photographs.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (7) (Amulree), [Papers concerning the life of Archibald Cameron], [c.1938–c.1964], Typescript and holograph transcriptions and notes towards Amulree's *A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron*; with correspondence, including a bundle of letters 1938–40 from Marion Hamilton.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (8) (Amulree), [Typescript and holograph transcriptions of Jacobite material, mainly from the Stuart Papers], [c.1940–c.1970], Box 2 contains 3 binders.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (9) (Amulree), *My harvest is still in the field: Henry, Prince of Wales, 1594–1612, and Charles, Duke of York, 1600–1616* / by John Keevil, [c.1954], With a folder of 11 photographs for inclusion as illustrations, and some correspondence concerning the book's possible publication.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (10a) (Amulree), Prince Charles Edward Stuart [art original], [c.1785], Oval image, Formerly part of the Lumisden-Strange collection.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (10b) (Amulree), Henry, Cardinal Duke of York [art original], [c.1786], Oval image, Formerly part of the Lumisden-Strange collection.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (10c) (Amulree), Prince Charles Edward Stuart [art original], [175–?], Artist tentatively identified as Hugh Douglas Hamilton.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (10d) (Amulree), [Silver medal with bust of Prince Charles Edward Stuart] [object] / [by Thomas Pingo], diameter 4 cm.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (10e) (Amulree), [Bronze medal with bust of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York] / [by Gioacchino Hamerani], diameter 5.2 cm.

University of Stirling Archives and Special Collections, The. The Amulree Jacobite Collection, MS 93 (10f) (Amulree), [Pair of paste shoe buckles] [object].

Supplementary Primary Sources

The flight of the Pretender, with advice to the poets. A poem, in the Arthurgical,--Jobical,--Elizabethal style and phrase of the sublime poet Maurus (London: printed for Bernard Lintott..., 1708?).

The witch-craft of the present rebellion. A sermon preach'd in the parish church of St. Mary Aldermary. In the City of London: on Sunday, the 25th of September 1715. The time of a publick ordination. Publish'd upon request of the hearers / By White Kennett (London: printed for John Churchill..., 1715).

A prayer to be used every day next after the prayer in time of war and tumults, in all cathedral, collegiate, and parochial churches and chapels, within England, Wales and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, during the present troubles (London: printed by Thomas Baskett...; and by the assigns of Robert Baskett, 1745).

The chronicle of William, the son of George, with all that passed at the Battle of Tournay; the mighty acts of W-k the Prince, and the brigadier / by Dathan the Jew, physician to Koningsegg the marshal (London: printed for T. Lyon..., 1745).

Dathan's account of the rebellion: being the second book of the chronicle of William the son of George / by Dathan the Jew, physician to Koningsegg the marshal (London: printed for T. Lyon..., 1745?).

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