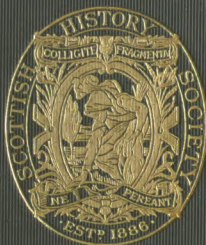


THE
JACOBITE COURT
AT ROME
1719

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THE JACOBITE COURT AT ROME
IN 1719



Engraving by Walker. Del. p. 10.

*Alexander, Lord Forbes of Pitsligo
from the picture by Alexis Belle at Fettercairn House*

THE JACOBITE COURT AT ROME IN 1719

FROM

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AT FETTERCAIRN HOUSE
AND AT WINDSOR CASTLE

Edited by

HENRIETTA TAYLER



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PREFACE

THE material from which the present volume is compiled comes from two sources. Primarily, there is a Manuscript in the possession of Lord Clinton, preserved at Fettercairn House, Kincardineshire, and dealing entirely with the conditions in the Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719. Also in possession of Lord Clinton at Fettercairn House is the beautiful panel portrait of Lord Pitsligo reproduced here as frontispiece. The second source drawn upon for this Book is the marvellous collection of Jacobite Papers in the Royal Archives at Windsor, from which, by gracious permission of His Majesty, a number of letters are here printed, throwing light upon the characters and after-lives of the various actors in Pitsligo's Narrative.

Grateful thanks are due both to His Majesty and to Lord Clinton.

HENRIETTA TAYLER.

DUFF HOUSE,
ARUNDEL.

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PART I

NARRATIVE OF LORD PITSLIGO

FROM LORD CLINTON'S MANUSCRIPT
AT FETTERCAIRN HOUSE

INTRODUCTION TO PART I

THE Jacobite movement as a whole has always received a large share of attention from Scottish historians and others, but interest has been chiefly concentrated on the dramatic moments, that is on the periods around the battles of Killiecrankie, of Sheriffmuir, and of Culloden. Specialists have also dealt with the two lesser attempts to replace the banished Stuarts on the throne, viz. the French expedition of 1708, which never landed in Scotland at all, and the Spanish one of 1719, which ended so abruptly with the disaster at Glenshiel. But the long interval between 1715 and 1745, though barren of other spectacular events besides Glenshiel, is full of interest for all students of human nature as well as historians, and in the Stuart Papers belonging to the King and preserved in the Round Tower at Windsor may be found abundance of material revealing what went on in and around that shadow Court in Rome, where James Francis Stuart maintained his personal dignity and, incidentally, a large number of his attainted and banished followers as well. At the same time he focussed the eyes of all those English and Scots who were discontented with the Hanoverian rule, though nothing actual was done until his more romantic and vigorous son appeared on the scene and made deathless romance in his fifteen months in Scotland during 1745-46.

The main source of the present study of 'the Jacobite Court in Rome' is a most interesting manuscript, preserved at Fettercairn House, Kincardineshire, and here printed by

the permission of Lord Clinton.¹ It is a kind of Diary of the years 1719 and 1720, written by that high-minded Jacobite, Alexander, 4th and last Lord Pitsligo,² and illustrated with full transcripts of his own letters and of those received by him. It gives a most pathetic picture of the life of all the Jacobite exiles in Rome and of the trivialities which then occupied the minds of those Highland chieftains and others. They should have been ruling their own estates at home or dealing with the politics of their country, and instead were living an aimless life, waiting for the opportunity again to serve their King; while, in default of any other occupation, they were far too much occupied with mutual jealousies and petty misunderstandings.

This manuscript deals with a very little known period of the history of James Stuart, the Jacobite King James III and VIII (who has never, indeed, been very well known at all), and a special interest attaches to it, in that the date of its commencement (the spring of 1719) follows so nearly on the months covered by the last published Stuart Papers from Windsor. Seven volumes of these have been issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but the latest appeared in 1915 and brought the history down only to December 1718, while the vast mass of material subsequent to that date has not yet seen the light (though every facility is given for historical students to go to Windsor and consult the volumes for themselves). The present editor, when going through these papers for another purpose, was very much interested to find a number of letters bearing upon the trivial, somewhat comical, and in the main very sad, story of the quarrels of Pitsligo and James Murray. Gracious permission having been received from His Majesty, these are now

¹ Lord Clinton is the direct heir of line of Lord Pitsligo's sister, and now owns Pitsligo Castle and all the family papers and treasures.

² The correct title was Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, see p. 37.

incorporated with the above mentioned manuscript to form one volume, showing both sides of the picture.¹ Interesting sidelights are here thrown upon many persons who had played their part in history and then been completely forgotten, as well as fresh facts regarding the better known or at least more familiar figures.

The protagonists in this story include King James and Queen Clementina, the Duke of Mar, James Murray of Stormont, Lord Pitsligo, John Hay (afterwards Lord Inverness) and his wife, Lord Kilsyth, James Edgar, Charles Wogan and others.

James Francis Edward Stuart, the 'Old Chevalier,' *de jure* King of Great Britain and Ireland by the title of James III and VIII, was at this period 31 years of age, a melancholy, disillusioned man, who had struggled with ill-health and ill-fortune from his birth. His personal character was, and always had been, above suspicion, but he was not able to make his weight felt in European politics and was, internationally, chiefly of importance as a perpetual thorn in the side of the English government and, as such, cherished (and occasionally helped) by the French monarchy. As the son of the King who had 'lost 3 Kingdoms for a Mass,' and himself a man of unaffected piety, he was dear to the hearts of successive Popes,² who afforded him shelter in their dominions and pecuniary support, and to several of whom he affectionately alludes as 'my landlords'³; he had also many personal friends among the Cardinals, since he had now been living

¹ A few letters obtained from other sources are also added. These are indicated as used.

² Clement XI (Albani), d. 1721; Innocent XII (Conti), d. 1724; Benedict XIII (Orsini), godfather of the Cardinal York, d. 1730; Clement XII (Orsini), d. 1740; Benedict XIV (Lambertini), d. 1758; and Clement XIII (Rezzonico), d. 1769.

³ John Hay wrote, 25 Nov. 1719: 'We have had a present of a sett of grey horses from our landlord, but they are as old as himself!'

in Rome for some time. As claimant to the English throne and a possible Catholic ruler, it was most important that he should have children, and all Europe had long been anxiously wondering whom he would marry. Unlucky in love as in war, the one woman who ever touched his youthful heart, his cousin, Benedicta of Modena, 'who reminded him of his Mother,' was denied him by the political prudence of the reigning Duke, even though her godfather, the Pope, favoured the match. After this disappointment, James seems to have left the matter in the hands of his lieutenants, who ranged Europe looking out for possible '*partis*' (though they did not go so far as the agents of Louis XV a generation later, who drew up a list of all the eligible princesses in Europe and gradually eliminated the impossible or undesirables, one by one, till only Marie Leczynska was left).¹

Before the date of the story told in Lord Pitsligo's Manuscript, the suitable bride had at last been found. The Duke of Ormonde and Charles Wogan (an Irish survivor of the 1715, one of those who escaped from Newgate) had, early in 1718, made a journey to Russia with the view of inspecting the Czar's daughter, whom, however, they rejected on account of a defect in her birth (which had taken place before her parents' marriage).

¹ James himself would fain have had a choice of brides among the Austrian Archduchesses. There were four of these, two sisters of the late Emperor Joseph and of the reigning Emperor Charles VI, and two daughters of the former.

The elder girls, daughters of the Emperor Leopold I, were then of James's own age, about 30: towards the younger, Marie Magdalen, King James had a special leaning, but later he thought that one of the nieces would be more suitable. These two were Marie Josephe, who later married Frederick Augustus, the King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, and Marie Amelia; they were respectively 11 and 13 years younger than himself.

Marie Josephe was at this time heiress to her childless uncle, and it was not considered within the bounds of possibility to marry her to one who might one day have a kingdom of his own, whereas the other was then 17 years old, two years older than Maria Clementina Sobieska, who was later to become his bride.

On their return, the envoys stopped at Ohlau, where dwelt Prince James Louis, disinherited son of the great John Sobieski, King of Poland (the saviour of Europe from the Turks), and of his wife, the famous Marysienka. James Sobieski had been twice married; the first wife was a Pole, who had left a daughter, Casimire; the second was a most distinguished lady, almost embarrassingly connected with the crowned heads and other noble persons of Europe. She was Hedwig Elizabeth of Bavaria-Neuburg, aunt of the Emperor Charles VI, and sister of the widow of Charles II, late King of Spain, and of the Duchess of Parma, whose daughter Elizabeth became another Queen of Spain; her brother also was Bishop of Augsburg. Hedwig had two daughters, Maria Caroline, who later became the Duchesse de Bouillon,¹ and Maria Clementina, a charming child of 15, born 17 July 1702, who had apparently always cherished dreams of becoming, one day, Queen of England. Wogan, with true Irish enthusiasm, sent to Rome glowing descriptions of this girl, 'little, but young enough to grow taller,' whose gay nature he felt was just the thing to cheer his melancholy master, not realising, at the time, the hysterical and jealous character concealed beneath her youthful charm. Her family connections could not but be very useful to the Jacobite cause. She had also a considerable fortune, and James Stuart yielded quite readily to the representations of his envoys.² It was agreed, therefore, to make an offer of the King's hand and heart with the prospect of his shadowy throne. Complications, however, arose. Though a devout Catholic, James Stuart hoped

¹ The Duke proving a useful friend to his nephew Charles Edward in 1744-45.

² John Walkinshaw, father of Prince Charles Edward's Clementina, was at this time James's Agent in Vienna, but does not appear to have been of very much use, as it was noted 'he could speak no language but his own.'

one day to rule over a Protestant nation, and many members of that church being with him in Rome, they represented to him that an embassy to his future father-in-law must contain at least one member of their church. The favourite of the moment, therefore, James Murray of Stormont,¹ was, at the Duke of Mar's suggestion, chosen, and sent to Ohlau, bearing with him a selection of the crown jewels of Great Britain.² By the end of May 1718, Murray was able to send news to his master that Prince James had consented, and that the wedding could take place whenever a suitable locality for meeting could be arranged. (This was less than a month after the death of the King's mother.) Murray then returned to Rome (the accounts for the expenses of his journey still exist) and arrived in August 1718. He seems to have then become very ill, as Mar, Pitsligo, John Paterson and others write anxiously about his health, and comment on his excessive thinness when he was about again. All the letters written by the King to Clementina were copied by Murray and the copies are among the Stuart Papers, showing that he was still the most trusted confidant, but not considered strong enough to undertake another journey across Europe.

John Hay³ was sent to Ohlau instead, to act as escort, while Murray and his sister, Mrs. Hay, went first to Ferrara and then to Bologna to make preparations for the wedding, taking with them King James's valet Michel Vezzosi and the cook, as well as a suitable provision of French wines. One English, or probably Irish, man is also known to have gone with them, a certain Matthew Creagh, who writes sadly to his wife on November 10 that

¹ See p. 17.

² These had been taken to St. Germain in 1688 by King James II and his Queen.

³ See p. 29.

he has been waiting in Ferrara for six weeks and does not yet know when he may hope to get back to her in Rome. The difficulties that supervened in the way of the King's wedding are outside the scope of the present story and can only be briefly outlined. The Emperor (under pressure from the Hanoverian monarch, George I) forbade the alliance, and the indomitable Princess Hedwig and her youngest daughter (who had already started for Italy, but had unfortunately delayed too long on the way) were stopped *en route* at Innsbruck, where the Emperor's orders had just arrived, and were imprisoned in the Castle, October 1718. Colonel Hay, who was accompanying them, went on with the sad news to Bologna, where the prospective bridegroom was waiting. James Stuart saw the finger of Fate, as always, against him in this fresh outrage, and was (with his usual somewhat excessive resignation) inclined to abandon all hope of ever obtaining his bride. He returned at once to Rome, having been warned that his own life was not safe in Bologna. He received a charming letter, which Clementina managed to send him, begging him to come to her rescue. That, of course, was manifestly impossible, though he replied kindly, and most of Europe joined in condemning the high-handed action of the Emperor. The latter himself appealed to King George to release him from the promise he had made, to 'do all in his power to stop the "*Pretender's*" marriage' (which was the price of the English alliance). George, however, was inexorable, and the little Princess remained in prison till rescued six months later, as is well known, in the most romantic manner, by the gallant Wogan and his three musketeers, and arrived in Italy on 30th April 1719, instead of in October 1718, only to find her bridegroom flown.

James Stuart had gone to Spain, with a prospect of regaining his crown by assistance from that country.

France was then governed by the Regent Orleans (in the name of his eight-year-old cousin Louis XV), and he, like the Emperor, found alliance with George of Hanover useful, and had of late quite failed to take any interest in the Jacobite cause. King James was in consequence additionally grateful ('elated' is perhaps a word that could hardly ever be applied to this perennially depressed and somewhat lymphatic monarch) to find that it fell in with the scheme of Cardinal Alberoni (the gardener's son and virtual ruler of Spain) to organise a really strong Spanish expedition to Scotland. A well-equipped fleet was to sail from Cadiz for Corunna,¹ and there to pick up the chosen commander, the Duke of Ormonde, under whom it was to effect a landing in England. Great hopes were entertained of this, notwithstanding the fact that Ormonde had twice failed in 1715 to effect his intended landing, and was, like Mar, no soldier. Another smaller expedition (3 frigates and 307 Spanish soldiers) was to sail at the same time from Passage near Fuenterrabia under the able leadership of the Earl Marischal, who with his brother, James Keith, had been summoned to Spain. (While the elder was occupied in collecting and provisioning his squadron, the younger returned to France² and roused those of the veterans of 1715 who were available (they were sadly few and sadly disunited), and with them he rejoined his brother in Stornoway in May 1719.) The Spanish Court—or rather Alberoni—in December, 1718, invited King James to come to Spain. He decided to accept the invitation, and left Rome secretly for the Peninsula, successfully covering his tracks, so that for several days even his own *entourage* thought he had gone

¹ Twenty-nine vessels with 5000 troops and arms for many more.

² He took with him 18,000 crowns from Alberoni to help the expedition, but the greater part of this was handed to the Prince of Campo Florido that he might equip two frigates.

to Germany. Mar, King James's Secretary of State, did not go with him, but was sent, with the Duke of Perth, overland to Genoa, from whence it was intended he too should proceed to Spain, but Fate decreed otherwise.

Of John, Earl of Mar, 'Bobbing John' of the 1715 Rising and later Duke of Mar by his master's creations of 1718 and 1724, much has been written, but he remains as enigmatical as ever, though he reveals a good deal of himself in the multitude of his letters to be found among the Stuart Papers, some of which will be given later. His actual political views are very difficult to disentangle owing to his frequent change of sides. Under Queen Anne he was apparently a convinced and useful Whig, and it is curious to note that on August 31st, 1714, he, in his capacity of Secretary of State for Scotland, wrote the following letter to Lord Sutherland (which is in the Sutherland Charter Chest):—

MY LORD,

I am directed by the Lords Justices to acquaint your Lordship and others in the Highlands that it is their Lordships' pleasure that you do not assemble together any numbers of people upon the account of hunting or under any other pretence whatsoever.

Just a year later, on August 27th, 1715, Mar himself used that very means to collect all potential Jacobites at Aboyne and concert measures for the raising of the Standard at Braemar on September 6th. It is now well known that King James had not authorised this premature start of the Rising, and that Mar's leadership from beginning to end was the most disastrous thing that could have happened to the cause. He had embraced it because George of Hanover rejected his advances and refused to receive his so-called 'loyal address,' forwarded to the Elector before the latter landed in Britain. Mar

then, having become a declared Jacobite, went to Scotland and made himself the leader of an enthusiastic army of Scots nobles and their followers, and proceeded to waste both his master's money and every opportunity for success in the most deplorable fashion. He was no soldier, and could never make up his mind. He alienated many of his fellow-Jacobites by his arrogant manner and his obvious incompetence. The letters he wrote to two of his lieutenants, Kenmure and Thomas Foster, which fell into Government hands, are models of ineptitude and tergiversation;¹ they more than justify the gibe of the Master of Sinclair: 'No man can paint Mar so naturallie and so crooked as he does himself.'²

Immediately after the failure of the 1715 Rising, and even before the disbanding of the Army, Mar fled with his master to France and with him took refuge in Avignon in April, 1716. In February of the following year, when the threats of the French Government terrified the Pope into requiring James Stuart's departure from the Papal city, Mar again accompanied him as far as the frontiers of Italy, and then left his post as First Gentleman of the Bedchamber and Secretary of State, to retire to Chambéry and later to Paris.² He was eventually joined by his wife, the second Lady Mar, Frances Pierrepont, who came of a strongly Whig family and was mistrusted by the Jacobites

¹ He had issued commissions in his master's name to these two, as Generals, to conduct the campaign in the South of Scotland and in England, respectively, but he made no provision for their acting in concert with him or with each other, and to this, as well as to their own incompetence, was largely due the disaster of Preston and the complete fiasco of the English effort. The support of a body of Scottish foot to reinforce the English Jacobite gentlemen, at the very beginning of their attempt, would have enabled them to make themselves masters of Newcastle before its crumbling gates had been walled up, and might well have led to the North of England declaring itself Jacobite.

² In 1724 Lewis Innes writes: 'If I could not justify Mar's conduct, and indeed it was not to be done, at least I endeavoured to excuse some parts of it, so far as they would bear.'

—as now appears, quite unfairly, though later she became a lunatic. After a sojourn in Turin, James went to Rome for six weeks, after which, in July, he was established in the fortress city of Urbino, rather against his will, as he would have preferred to remain in Rome. In October 1717 Mar rejoined him, but not without having had a preliminary and suspicious interview with the British Ambassador, Stair, in Paris. Stair, in any case, thought Mar was feeling his way to a reconciliation with the powers that be, as in fact he was, though it took some time to bring it to pass. He must have been a man of a certain charm, and the King—notoriously, and like all his family—a bad judge of character, continued to trust Mar with all his secrets and his projects, and Mar's company possibly lightened the dullness of the winter sojourn at Urbino, where he himself writes, 'one day is as like another as two eggs and those eaten without salt or pepper,' and 'there is more snow here than we had ever seen in Scotland.'

At this period Mar recommended James Murray of Stormont¹ as an assistant to himself in the work of conducting the King's affairs and the correspondence with Bishop Atterbury at home, and the 'coterie' in Paris, from which General Arthur Dillon was later removed to make way for O'Bryen.

Murray's criticisms of his patron's actions form one of the pivots of the Pitsligo case, and there can be no doubt that he set himself from the first, more or less deliberately, to oust Mar and occupy his position as confidant of the King, with or without any official position. Murray, like Mar, is a curious and interesting, though not an attractive character, who seems to have had more enemies than friends.

¹ See p. 17.

On February 4th and 5th, 1719, before leaving Rome, Mar wrote his master two long letters, explaining that he did not wish to go to Scotland with the expedition from Spain. He was, of course, quite conscious that he had been a failure as a general in 1715, and must have been aware that James knew it too. He also realised his own present unpopularity with others of James's followers. He therefore wrote these curious epistles, obviously that they might be shown to others, since he and the King were both in Rome at the moment and could have *said* all that was necessary to one another.

He writes he had no wish to be a 'favourite' and, while not actually resigning, says he would wish to be allowed to give up the seals the moment James should land in Britain. This request he was to repeat several times later. He recommended Tullibardine as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces for Scotland. To him indeed the King had already given a commission for that position in an expedition proposed with Swedish assistance in the year 1717, and this commission was to be acted upon, with disastrous results, in Scotland in the following May. The King did not reply to Mar's letters. These are given with the other Windsor letters, after the Fettercairn MS. on p. 143.

Early on the morning of February 8th, the King set out secretly from Rome to make his way to Nettuno, a little seaport to the south of that city, and embarked on a small French vessel with Genoese colours and an English captain, one Timon Cannock. As might have been expected when a Stuart went to sea, 'the wind blew and the waters raged,'¹ and the poor sea-sick traveller

¹ What the children of Charles I called 'Mam's weather,' by which the stout-hearted Henrietta Maria, on every crossing of the Channel, was so buffeted, but kept up the hearts of her suite by reiterating 'Queens of England are *never* drowned.'

had to land at Cagliari, at Marseilles, at Villefranche and at Hyères, before reaching Las Rosas on the Spanish coast, on March 8th, the very day before the Cadiz fleet had sailed, bound for Corunna, where Ormonde was waiting to take command. James, when somewhat recovered from the hardships of his journey, went on to Gerona, where Berwick's son, the Duke of Liria, now a naturalised Spaniard,¹ met him. From thence he went to Barcelona and so to Madrid, where he received a royal welcome and was accorded a state entry. This was on March 27th, and two days later the Cadiz fleet was dispersed and very largely destroyed by another of those storms which haunted poor James Stuart all through his life. The contingent under the Earl Marischal, not knowing of the fate of their fellows, sailed also and reached Stornoway, but meeting with very small support in Scotland, and being hampered by the conflicting views of the gallant Earl Marischal and the timid Tullibardine, the expedition ended ingloriously at Glenshiel on June 10th, the Spaniards were taken prisoners and the leaders became fugitives.

James, however, remained in Spain for some months, while the events related by Pitsligo took place in Italy in his absence.²

A notable characteristic of King James which bears upon the story, was that he was a great stickler for all

¹ By his father's orders Liria had taken this step, with the curious result that father and son were now fighting on opposite sides in the Franco-Spanish war then in progress.

Liria, though a most lovable character and a great favourite with his Uncle James, had none of his father's military genius. He died of consumption as 2nd Duke of Berwick in 1738. From him descends the present Duke of Alba, who still bears also the title of Duke of Berwick. Liria's younger brother became Duke of Fitzjames and was to prove also a good friend to the Royal family, as did all his sons.

² The King, in fact, outstayed his welcome and had at length to be asked to leave, as English vessels threatened Spanish coasts.

the forms and ceremonies of his little Court, which were indeed almost the only tangible privileges of royalty he had ever enjoyed, from his childhood at St. Germain's onwards. He was also certainly cursed with the unfortunate Stuart characteristic of being unable to recognise, and trust fully, the best among his followers. He is seen, in the incidents about to be related, as treating the noble Pitsligo with manifest unfairness and preferring to him the time-serving James Murray, though it must be conceded that Pitsligo was a little tactless and more than a little verbose. All the refugees wrote too much ; it was one of their few occupations.

Meantime, Mar and Perth ¹ had set out on their journey to Genoa, two hours after the King had started. They went to Florence, Bologna and Modena, as if going to Innsbruck, and thus far their exact route had been indicated by the King. Beyond that point they, somewhat unwisely, entered the territory of the Emperor and, being without passports, were arrested at Voghera by the Podestà and, after four days, sent to the Castle at Milan. When news of the arrest reached the Emperor, he at once ordered the prisoners to be released. Whether one of them was James Stuart or not, he had no desire to retain him and make further international complications, having already incurred enough obloquy by his treatment of Clementina, and Mar and Perth, with their followers, returned, somewhat crestfallen, to Rome.

This brings the events down to the period covered by Pitsligo's Narrative, which is given in its entirety. Illustrative letters from other actors in the drama, drawn

¹ The 2nd Duke, and father of Prince Charles's devoted follower, the 3rd Duke (who died on his way back to France after Culloden). The 4th was brother of the 3rd—the Lord John Drummond of the '45. The 5th was their uncle, another John, and the 6th and last was Edward, half-brother of the 5th.

from the Windsor Archives and elsewhere, follow in due course.

Of the *dramatis personae* James Murray, the *bête noire* of the story, must first be introduced. His own subsequent defence of himself is a little humorous. He says, 'every one who knows me will say that neither a quarrelsome temper nor sacyness [*sic*] is part of my character.' He owned, however, that he had been a 'little pivish' with Lord Pitsligo and eventually 'asked his pardon for any rudeness.' He also undertook not to send any account of the matter to the King, but this, as it subsequently transpired, was disingenuous—he had already done so.

James Murray was born in 1690,¹ being the second son of the family of fourteen of the fifth Lord Stormont.² His father had been one of the signatories of the letter obtained by Colonel Nathaniel Hooke in 1707, and sent to Louis XIV, to prove that Scotland was ready to rise on behalf of James Stuart. Lord Stormont was also one of those noblemen and others who, at the beginning of the Rising of 1715, were summoned to Edinburgh to prove their adherence to the Government of George I. As is well known, only two of those persons obeyed the summons—Alexander Erskine, the Lord Lyon, and Patrick Murray of Ochertyre—and they were, somewhat unfairly, thrown into prison. Stormont's name also appears among those who attended Mar's hunting party on August 27th, but he does not seem to have done anything else to assist the cause, remaining quietly at home until after the battle of Sheriffmuir, when he and his eldest son came into Stirling and gave themselves up to Argyll—as chronicled by the Lord Justice-Clerk, Andrew Cockburn, in a letter now in the Public Record Office. This eldest son, David, be-

¹ He gives the date himself in a letter.

² His maternal great-grandfather was the famous Robert Grierson of Lag.

came the sixth Lord Stormont, and eventually Ambassador at Vienna under George II.¹

The most remarkable member of the family was a much younger brother, William, fifteen years junior to James, who was born in 1705, and after a preliminary education at Perth Grammar School, was sent to Westminster and Oxford,² where his career was brilliant; he was then called to the English Bar and became the famous Lord Mansfield, his personal title descending by special remainder to his nephew, David, the seventh Viscount Stormont,³ when this title became merged in that of Earl of Mansfield.

James Murray was bred to the Scots Bar and became an Advocate at the early age of 20, but did not practise. He is said to have offered his services, during the reign of Queen Anne, to the political body headed by the 1st Duke of Argyll, but these were rejected. In 1711 he was elected Member of Parliament for Dumfries and went to reside in London. In 1713 he became member for the Elgin Burghs, although he had no connection with the North of Scotland, and in the following year was appointed one of 'Her Majesties Commissaries for settling the trade

¹ Another brother, Charles, was a soldier in foreign service, and something of a 'ne'er-do-weel.' His father entirely cast him off, and James Murray is found, long afterwards, in a letter at Windsor, asking an unknown correspondent in Paris to procure him a 'lettre de cachet,' whereby Charles might be safely immured in that city with 'the Pères St. Lazaire' and thus 'unable to do further mischief.'

² He was sent up to London, at the age of 14, all alone, upon a little pony which was sold on his arrival in London, to buy him some necessaries for school. In two years' time his progress was so remarkable that he was found acting as tutor to Lord Kinnoull's sons. His rise to position and fortune was entirely due to his own brains and character. Pope alludes to him as 'the silver-tongued Murray,' and perhaps his brother James had something of the same persuasive address. Lord Mansfield was nearly 90 when he died, but had never revisited Scotland. Two of his letters are given on p. 230.

³ He became British Minister in Poland, and married a Saxon lady in 1759, to the annoyance of his uncles.

between Great Britain and France.' This being 'an office of profit under the Crown,' he had to seek re-election, and was opposed by the strong Whig interests of the Banff and Moray district, headed by Lord Findlater. He was, however, re-elected, and again, for the third time, in February 1715. Three months later, that election being, on petition, pronounced invalid (owing to some irregularities among the delegates who voted), Murray, though not personally concerned in the fraud, was unseated, and his opponent, John Campbell of Mamore, afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll, declared member in his place. Apparently in disgust at this interruption to his political career, James Murray then betook himself to France, where he was at one time Secretary to Bolingbroke,¹ and is found on September 3rd, 1715, writing to the Chevalier to announce that Mar had actually started for the Highlands without orders. This letter threw the Chevalier into great perturbation² :—

James Murray to the King

3 Sept. 1715.

SIR,—Since my Lord Bolingbroke finished his letter to your Majesty he has been taken a little ill and is gone to bed, but commanded me to inform you that Earle Mar was retired privately from London into the Highlands of Scotland and is under great uneasiness that there is no authority to act by in that country in case the necessity of affairs should bring things to an extremeity there. Both these lords have a suspicion of Atholl and upon good grounds, but yet they are humbly of opinion that your Majesty should take no step in this particular which may give him the least pretence for deserting your service,

¹ Andrew Lang states, in his 'King over the Water,' p. 259, that James Murray, secretary to Bolingbroke, was a different person from Murray of Stormont, but comparison of these early letters, now at Windsor, with the many others there from Murray of Stormont, shows them to have been written by the same person.

² It throws a good deal of light on the existing confusion in Scotland.

and therefore that a mark of confidence may be shown him which will be extremely soothing to a man of his natural temper and that at the same time your affairs may not be in any danger of suffering by it. They propose that two commissions may be returned, signed by your Majesty, the one appointing Atholl to command, but appointing him to act by the advice of Mar, Marischall and two or three more of your friends there, such as you think deserve that trust. The other entirely blank. In case Atholl will accept of the command and enter heartily into your Majesty's service, the second commission will never be produced. But if it should either be thought improper to make him that offer when affairs press, or if he should refuse it when made, then my Lord Mar will fill up the blank in the second commission in such manner as he and your other servants there shall judge most effectual for carrying on your service. This is the substance of what I was commanded to lay before your Majesty and you'll be pleased to give your directions upon it. I beg leave humbly to assure you that I am ever with that duty and zeal which becomes me.—Your Majesty's most faithfull and most obedient subject and servant,

JA. MURRAY.

Mr. Kennedy¹ has been arrived some days and begs the honour of having his most humble duty presented to yr Majesty.

Prior to the King's own departure for Scotland in December, Bolingbroke was still his Secretary of State, being only dismissed on the return to France of the unsuccessful James and Mar in February 1716. It was then, quite rightly, judged that Bolingbroke had done less than his duty towards supporting the expedition with the necessary stores and arms from France.²

¹ This is the man who was afterwards charged with the task of preparing the Highlands for the Spanish expedition of 1719 and did it most ineffectually.

² When long afterwards he was allowed to return to England and die in his own house, though not completely freed from his attainder, Mar,

James Murray was, immediately after the date of this letter, appointed Secretary of State for Scotland and ordered to 'part as soon as he conveniently can' for that country, with a commission for Mar and other orders. He went via England as thus chronicled: 'James Murray came in his voyage to England, on 28th September 1715. He crossed the Firth of Forth at Newhaven and got undiscovered to the Earl of Mar, bringing great promises of assistance from England and France.' But James Ogilvie of Boyne, who went direct to Scotland, had got there first, with the original commission for Mar.¹ Murray was sent back to France to announce the victory of Sheriffmuir (*State Papers D.*, 54, 10. 69), and returning via England was taken and imprisoned in Newgate from April 16th to July 16th, 1716. When he was set free, he rejoined his master, the Chevalier; Bolingbroke was by that time in disgrace, and Mar had become the new Secretary of State. James Murray's name figures in the list of Jacobites in the Archives at Avignon, though not in a prominent position.² When all the Jacobites were turned out of the Papal City, Murray was one of those who went with James Stuart to Italy, and apparently from then onwards obtained a certain hold over his master, which was greatly resented by some of the older Jacobites, those who had risked and lost more for the cause than had this complacent young man of 27, so much disliked by many. Not being proscribed, he went to England early in 1718 and then returned to Rome.

His youth is frequently commented upon, but there must have been faults of character and manners as well,

who had failed to obtain the same liberty for himself, self-righteously remarked that it was 'a thing no man of spirit could accept.'

¹ The Master of Sinclair, who loses no opportunity of belittling Mar, says the Commission did not come direct from the King, whom Boyne had not seen for three months, but gives no ground for this statement.

² See the Jacobite Papers, *Miscellany*, *Scottish History Society*, 1933.

to explain the universal dislike, and also the Italian criticism that it was 'a pity the Chevalier should be served by boys,' since Murray was nearly the same age as the King, and older than the Earl Marischal, John Hay and many others. Early in 1718 he had a quarrel with John Menzies over some trifle, in which it was noted by Charles Kinnaird that 'they were both peevish and ill-humoured.' Captain John Ogilvie and his wife in letters to Mar allude to him as 'that busy young gentleman' who had apparently been writing disparaging things about them, and they characterise him as 'a young, vain, white-livered Jackanapes.'

More serious was a complaint by Lord Oxford,¹ that Murray while in England 'wrote a letter as if *he* had been Prime Minister and the other a little commoner, for instead of waiting on him to ask his commands, Murray wrote to him that he was ready booted and just taking his coach, sending his letter by a hackney chairman who came after Lord Oxford's coach, calling aloud he brought a letter from Mr. Murray. . . . This was a strange way for such a spark to treat a man of Lord Oxford's merits. I am afraid his vain conduct will create more mischief and do more harm to the King's service than all his family and he can ever be capable to retrieve.'

By the date of the commencement of Pitsligo's narrative, James Murray had nearly succeeded in ousting Mar as the chief minister and confidant of the King, and though it was not to him personally that the famous rescue and arrival in Italy of Clementina were due, yet he had been, as already seen, one of those engaged in the preliminary negotiations for her hand, and had gone to Ohlau armed with the following instructions. These have never before

¹ Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer, dismissed from office in 1714 and eventually impeached.

been printed and are given here, somewhat abridged, from the MS. at Windsor :—

Instructions for Mr. James Murray

Urbino, 4 June 1718.

JAMES R.,—Whereas we have been earnestly desired and humbly requested again and again by our good and faithful subjects of our three Kingdoms at home as well as abroad, to think seriously of marriage without any more delay, for preserving to them the Royal family in the right and direct line, that thereby they may have a further and stronger prospect than in our person only, of the means for delivering them and our kingdoms from the oppression and Government of the Foreign family under which they now groan ! . . .

. . . After our enquiry and endeavours we can find no Princess whom we could obtain and whom our faithful subjects would advise us to marry, except the Princess Clementina, youngest and only daughter undisposed of or not promised of Prince James Sobieski, eldest son of John Sobieski, Late King of Poland. . . . Therefore being fully convinced of the capacity and fitness in every way of you, James Murray, son to the Viscount Stormont, for going about this weighty affair committed to you, we give you these our instructions for your conduct in it.

You are forthwith to go to Ohlau in Silesia (where the said Prince James keeps his court) in as private and unobserved a manner as you can, and address yourself to Monsieur O’Raillie,¹ Governor of the said place, giving him the letters and desiring him to get introduced to Prince James.

In order to give less air of premeditation to his embassy, Murray was then to tell Prince James that he was lately come from England and to state that ‘ having had some message from our friends there, which having delivered, you was proceeding on your journey to Dantzig upon some

¹ O’Reilly.

concern of your own, whither you had our recommendation, and we had ordered you to pass by Ohlau, not being far out of your road, and to make our compliments to the said Prince and the Princess his wife.' The instructions then proceed to recommend him to talk with the Prince in a general manner and get the latter to declare himself first, before any definite offer for Clementina's hand is made.

The fourth paragraph says: 'If you find it necessary, you may let the said Prince James know that you have heard us mention the said match as a thing that would not be disagreeable to us,' but he is not to show any eagerness!

He is to find out if there is any chance of the Princess coming to Italy with her sisters, in any case. In Paragraph 7 he is told: 'In case the proposed match between the Princess Charlotte second daughter of Prince James and the Prince of Greastalla [*sic*] should chance to be broke of, and that you think her the more agreeable and more desirable character than the younger sister, Princess Clementina, then and in that case you are not to propose the match for the last, but to inform us of it and wait there or else-where for our further orders.'

If, however, Murray finds it is the only thing to propose direct for the hand of Princess Clementina, he is to do so, but to impress upon Prince James 'that the matter must be kept an inviolable secret until the Princess reaches the Pope's Territory in Italy and so near where we are that it can be in nobody's power to prevent or interrupt it,' and that if the Princess is not in such a place where the wedding can be celebrated, within three months of the drawing up of the contract, King James himself would not be bound in any way.

Paragraph 9 deals with the Princess's dowry, upon which, it is plainly said, the restoration to the throne of Great

Britain will largely depend, and if Prince James will advance more money than he intended to give as a dowry, this shall be paid back after the Restoration. Arrangements for a jointure in her widowhood to depend upon the Restoration! and the *Dote* money not to be secured to her in the event of no restoration taking place!

Finally, James Murray is urged to 'finish the whole affair as soon as you possibly can, and having finished it, to return forthwith to the place where we may then happen to be, unless otherways ordered by us.'¹

Murray carried out his instructions successfully and the preliminaries for the wedding were duly arranged and signed before he left to return to Rome on July 27, 1718. His own ill-health prevented his going to Ohlau again to fetch the Princess, and John Hay was sent instead, but, secrecy not having been observed, her imprisonment and subsequent dramatic rescue followed.²

When King James departed for Spain, hoping to take personal part in the promising expedition to Scotland designed by Cardinal Alberoni in the spring of 1719, it was to James Murray, who had hitherto done correctly all that was required of him, that the King entrusted the honourable task of receiving the Princess and of representing his royal person at the proxy marriage, or as the King himself preferred to call it, the betrothal.

There had been a great deal of correspondence as to

¹ The full powers issued by Prince James Louis Sobieski to Casimir de Wybranow Chlebowski were dated Ohlau, July 19, 1718. The latter always alludes to Clementina as 'l'Incomparable personne.'

² The English authorities said that 'chance words dropped by Murray to a back friend revealed the plan.' James Hamilton to the Duke of Mar, London, October 24, 1718.

A quaint letter, among the Stuart Papers, from one John O'Reilly, the King's correspondent in Ohlau, dated Aug. 16, 1718, tells Murray that 'Preparations are making for the transport of the said merchandize, which I am afraid will not be as timely as you would have it'; showing that Murray was kept informed of the plans.

when and where a marriage by proxy should take place, the Princess's parents at first stipulating that it must take place before she left Germany.¹ James Stuart was naturally averse to this, since in the not impossible contingency of Clementina never being able to leave Germany at all, he would be debarred, for her life, from marrying anyone else. A form of procuration was therefore drawn up, and sent to her parents, whereby he bound himself to marry her when she should reach Italy, and on her arrest and detention at Innsbruck, he held himself (and was held by the Pope) to be free, if necessary, to contract another alliance. The ceremony which took place at Bologna on her arrival and made her nominally his Queen, was also held not to be a real marriage, this only taking place at Montefiascone, at midnight on September 1st, 1719, on his own return from Spain.

That Murray thought the ceremony which took place at Bologna on May 10th was a real marriage, is shown by the following letter to some unknown correspondent in Scotland. It was found in an old manuscript note-book, now in the possession of Mr. Alexander Keith of Aberdeen :—

Bologna, May 10, 1719.

SIR,—I came here last night, having received the pr—ss commands from hence, dated the 2nd of this month by

¹ A procuration had been entrusted to John Hay for the same purpose, but King James himself wrote to the latter on Sept. 28, 1718 from Urbino, that he 'hoped there would be no need of it,' and that if a proxy marriage had to take place in Germany, the Princess Hedwig might choose for the proxy whom she pleased, but it was not to be Hay, 'for a reason which I shall tell her, and neither she, nor I am sure you, can ever guess.' (It might have been a fear that Mrs. Hay would disapprove.) Murray himself wrote to Hay on the same day, thinking the latter to be still with the Princess, as indeed he was when the letter was written, but before it arrived in Germany, the disaster of the capture at Innsbruck had taken place, and Hay was on his way back to Rome, with the King, having reached Bologna by November 1.

Murray's messages have a none too respectful ring: 'Present my most humble duty to our charming mistress and make my compliments, in the German style, to her Mamma.'

which her R.H. gave me the joyful news of her Liberty and safe arrival here. I had, this morning, the honour to marry her, in the K's name by virtue of a procuration he was pleased to leave with me and in the afternoon her Maty sets out for Rome. God be thanked, her Maty is in perfect health, after a most fatiguing journey in very bad weather, and if Beauty, virtue, good sense and good nature be sufficient to make our M. happie in a Queen, I dare say she possesses ym in an eminent degree. I have not leisure at present to enter into the particulars of her Adventure, but have stole a moment to write you this scroll qch I beg of you to communicate to the K's friends. I hope every day will produce fresh instances of the regard that is paid in Europe to the K., even by those who have hitherto appeared to be his enemies. J. M—Y.

Public opinion also credited Murray with an important share in the escape and marriage. A French letter announces :—

29 Mai 1719. 'On a nouvelle que la Princesse Sobieski qui s'est sauvée d'Innspruck, arriva le 2nd de ce moi à Boulogne [Bologna], et l'on dit que le fils de Milord Mouray, chargé de la procuration du Roi Jacques, l'avait épousée ; le 9 elle etait partie pour Rome.' ¹

That such a position somewhat turned Murray's head, is abundantly evident from the narrative before us, and other letters from the Stuart collection at Windsor. His later career will be found on p. 120, with the letters that follow the Pitsligo Narrative.

Murray's sister was Marjorie or Marcelle, wife of John Hay, one of the most prominent assistants of the Earl of Mar in the Rising of 1715. She was married in 1715, and in 1719, in consequence of her brother's position as one of the chief managers of the Chevalier's affairs, was put

¹ Archives des affaires étrangères, Paris, *Papiers d'Ecosse* (the date is wrong).

forward prominently to attend upon the new-made Queen, who was at one time very much attached to her and anxiously asked for her presence at the time of the birth of her second son. Later, as is well known, Maria Clementina took a dislike to both the Hays, and unfounded accusations were made against the wife, though not by Clementina herself.¹ These are alluded to by Sir William Forbes of Monymusk in a note on the cover of the MS. here printed, which he rightly described as 'a most illuminating document.' Clementina's jealousy went so far in the year 1725 as to cause her to leave her husband, her four-year-old son, Charles, and the eight-months-old Henry, and retire to a convent for nearly two years, only to return when the Hays had, at their own repeated request, left the Court and gone to Avignon in 1727.² In 1724 John Hay had been created Lord Inverness, Viscount Innerpeffray and Lord Cromlix and Erne, but the title had not begun to be used even among the Jacobites in Rome³: when in the same year Mrs. Hay went home to try and arrange something as to her husband's financial affairs with his family and was 'taken up' in London and kept a prisoner for many months, King James wrote to Murray that he dare not proclaim the honour he had conferred upon the husband, until the wife was 'safely out of enemy's hands.'

¹ John Hay wrote in 1723 a manly and touching letter to Queen Clementina, saying that, if she desired it, Mrs. Hay should at once return to Scotland, while he himself continued his duties with the King, as the King wished. (See p. 217.)

² In 1730, at Clementina's special request, they were back in Rome.

³ The patent is given in the printed Stuart Papers, under date 1718, and was certainly issued by King James from Urbino on that date, written in his own hand, but the fact remains that fellow-Jacobites, even Hay's brother-in-law, continued to write to him as Colonel Hay, and his wife as Mrs. Hay, until seven years later when the patent was made public. In 1727 he was further created Duke of Inverness, but this title was never used, save by one or two applicants for assistance, who addressed him fawningly as 'Your Grace.'

John Hay was, like James Murray, the cause of much jealousy and many quarrels among the Jacobites, but at this period he was in Spain, so that he does not come into Lord Pittsligo's Narrative, save at p. 95. He had been appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber in 1718. He was the second son of Lord Kinnoull, and the fact that his elder brother, when he in turn became Lord Kinnoull, accepted employment as envoy to Constantinople from the Hanoverian Government, tended, not unnaturally, to increase Hay's unpopularity among the other Jacobites, though his own fidelity was above suspicion. It is one of the saddest features of the history of this little Court that its members were so often at variance one with another, and these jealousies made the life of the exiled monarch sadder even than it need have been (see his letter on p. 123).

James Murray's letters to Mrs. Hay, whom he addresses as 'Dear Sissie,' are among the most charming and human of those in the unpublished Stuart Papers. He was much disappointed that she did not 'follow the example of her mistress' (Clementina) in producing an heir. 'Sissie' herself writes still more delightful ones to her brother, and also, when absent from him, to her husband, whom she addresses as 'Dear Body.'

John Hay's father was one of those suspected of Jacobitism in August 1715 and thrown into prison, chiefly on account of a mysterious letter in French brought to him from abroad by Lord Deskford, his son-in-law, and one of the Quietist sect. Deskford himself was also imprisoned, but soon released on account of the known Whig principles of his father, Lord Findlater, and his evidence helped to liberate Lord Kinnoull, who was in a precarious state of health. The letter, though it came from France, had nothing whatever to do with Jacobite intrigue, being concerned with money due by Lord Kinnoull

to his sister, who resided abroad. This occurred before young John Hay had made himself so notable as the friend and associate of Mar in the Raising of the Standard on September 6th, 1715. Mar's first wife had been, as already seen, Margaret, eldest daughter of Lord Kinnoull, but she had died in 1707 and he had recently remarried. John Hay himself had married two months before the beginning of the Rising. He was a gay young dog, and among the Forfeited Estate Papers in Edinburgh are to be found the following claims against 'the estate of John Hay of Cromlix: Owed to John Blair, wig-maker, the sum of £4 . 5 . 6 sterling for a wig supplied, 3 May 1715. To his Tailor £2. 17th May 1715.'

According to some accounts, Hay was in London with Mar on August 2nd, 1715, and came north with him in the collier to Elie, but Ebenezer Whittal, Mar's valet, in his evidence, stated that Mar and Hamilton came alone, and it is more probable that Hay met his brother-in-law in Perthshire and went to Braemar with him. In spite of his youth, John Hay was given an important command in Mar's army and very soon acquired distinction by the capture of the City of Perth, which, indeed, seems to have been merely waiting to fall into the hands of the Jacobites. John Hay was at Mar's side throughout the campaign, though he did not escape from Montrose with him on February 4th, 1716, but shared the hardships of the retreating and disbanding army. Thereafter he got to Caithness, in company with the Master of Sinclair and Colonel Ecklin. These three seem rather to have got on one another's nerves and both the Scots resented the presence of the elderly Englishman, who was unused to the hardships of Highland travel. They, however, made their way to Orkney and thence to France, and Hay rejoined King James at Avignon, and thereafter remained his faithful counsellor and was with him, save for the

period when he was driven away by the Queen, almost till his own death, as a comparatively young man, in 1740. After the defection of Mar in 1719, Hay acted for some time as Secretary of State, but, like his brother-in-law, Murray, he seems to have had many enemies who hampered his usefulness to his master. At the date of Pitsligo's Narrative he was with the King in Spain and returned with him, being one of the inner circle to be present at the midnight wedding at Montefiascone on September 1st, 1719, and he stayed on there during the honeymoon. His wife had been in Rome at Queen Clementina's arrival and was privileged to be with her also at Montefiascone. King James had a genuine friendship for both the Hays, and was deeply grieved when the Queen, grown fanciful and hysterical after the birth of her children, insisted on the temporary banishment of these two devoted followers to Avignon. Mrs. Hay was in Rome at the time of her husband's death.¹

From the innumerable letters to and from him among the Stuart Papers, John Hay would seem to have been more level-headed than most of the Jacobite leaders in Rome. Specimens will be found on pp. 194, 215. The place he occupied in the hearts of his fellow-Jacobites is well shown by the following letter :—

John Graeme, afterwards Lord Alford, to Edgar

Avignon, 26 Sept. 1740.

You will be, dear James, equally afflicted and surprised with this letter, which if you happen to open in the King's presence, I wish you took some pretence to retire, in order to deliver the enclosed to my Lord Dunbar, that so he may manage a proper time for communicating to his Majesty the death of his faithfull servant, my Lord

¹ John Hay was buried in Avignon, where the medallion, formerly over his grave in a church now demolished, hangs on the wall of the Musée Calvet.

Inverness. I am perswaded his Majesty will feel this loss in a most sensible manner, and should therefore be glad he was prepared to receive the account of it. For that reason I have enclosed to Lord Dunbar my letter to his Majesty on this dismal occasion, which will be one of grief and concern to me as long as I live.—I am dear James,
Yr most affectionate & most humble servant,

JO. GRAEME.

Of Alexander, 4th and last Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, it is difficult to give a succinct history. He shares with John Gordon of Glenbucket the distinction of having been equally prominent in the Rising of 1715 and in that of 1745, and of having been the magnet which drew so many others to join in each. He was born on 24th May 1678, the only son of Alexander, the 3rd Lord, and Sophia Erskine, aunt to the Earl of Mar who raised the Standard, and was thus Mar's first cousin. He succeeded when only twelve years old, but the estate was very much embarrassed¹ and his relatives sent him to be educated in France, where he became the friend of Fénelon, and whence he only returned when of age to take his seat in the Scottish Parliament. There, in 1705, he protested against the Union, and after that measure was agreed to, never again attended.

¹ In 1720 in Paris he speaks of 'the debts which have hung around me, ever since I entered the world.' A delightful petition made by him appears among the Forfeited Estate Papers of date 7th March 1715: 'The Lord Pitsligo is denounced rebell for non payment of one penny of Gold yearly—estimat at £10. 13. 0 in name of blanch farme for the Barronie of Pitsligo from Whitsunday 1695.' Lord Pitsligo says: 'I humbly represent to yr Lops that whatever my creditors or their factor did in my Minority through mistake by their not being master of my papers, cannot be any foundation for any servitude upon me, except in so far as I am bound by my Chartors from the Crown and it is clear that by a charter in favours of my great-grandfather dated Anno 1618 that there is one penny usuall money of this Kingdome payable out of the said lands, if the samen be asked, so that it is clear that I ame only lyable in payment of the sd penny *Scots* money.' This representation was allowed. (One penny Scots equalled $\frac{1}{12}$ of a penny English, thus reducing the debt to under 17s.)

In 1745 Pitsligo was one of the best known of the Jacobites. Dr. King's¹ opinion of him is given in his *Anecdotes of His own Time* (p. 143) :—

‘Whoever is so happy, either from his natural disposition or his good judgement, substantially to observe St. Paul’s precept, *To speak evil of no one*, will certainly acquire the love and esteem of the whole community of which he is a member. But such a man is a *rara avis terrae*, and among all my acquaintance I have known only one person to whom I can with truth assign this character. The person I mean is the present *Lord Pitsligo of Scotland*.’

Murray of Broughton thus describes him in 1745 :—

‘A little thin fair man, a great scholar and fond of study. Of the primitive stamp and fitter to have been a martyr in the days of Nero, than to live in the age of villany and corruption. He is the deservedly most popular man in the country, not beloved but adored, the best father, the best friend and the best subject in Britain.’

The opinion of the Jacobite poet, William Hamilton of Bangour, is more generally known. ‘It seemed,’ he wrote, when Lord Pitsligo arrived to join the Prince in Edinburgh, ‘as if Religion, Virtue and Justice were entering the camp under the appearance of this venerable old man ; and what would have given sanction to a cause of the most dubious right, could not fail to render sacred the very best.’

General John O’Sullivan, in his MS. narrative of the expedition in 1745, calls Pitsligo ‘a worthie virtuous gentleman, who brought us about 950 gentlemen and their servants’ ; and even the Whig minister, the Rev. John Bisset, alludes to him as ‘the great Lord Pitsligo.’

He joined the Earl of Mar in Perth, in October 1715, with a small troop and was present at Sheriffmuir, but

¹ A Jacobite of Oxford, who afterwards changed his political views.

was not specially distinguished in the battle, as he had not at that time a great deal of weight in the country or councils, nor a very large following. He escaped abroad, as seen in this narrative, and the following unpublished letters, written to William Cumine,¹ from London five months after the collapse of the Rising (in February 1716), *before* Pitsligo went abroad, show his feelings at that time :—

London, July 16th, 1716.

DEAR FRIEND,—I have no talent in saying fond things, but 'tis certainly true I wish you well. I also think of you pretty often and presume you may be a little solitary. . . . My manner of living at present is not charming upon all sides, though sometimes I am well enough satisfied with it; at other times, like the rest of Adam's sons, I'm finding fault with my circumstances for being much debarr'd from Company and in a place where it might be so easily had. . . . Pray tell me what course you intend to take. . . . I should be heartily sorry if you or any I wish well to, should think of surrendering, or if any who has the misfortune to come to a tryall, should plead guilty. . . . I believe there are hearts warming every day towards their rightful Sovereign, but when we shall see the man, the Lord knows. It is some pain to me just now to abstain from writeing treason, but my paper fails me.

Aug. 20, 1716.

I cannot say that my belief is very great, but I'm told the Jacobites are generally in the old humour of hoping. 'Tis true their confidence is not now so much in the strength of their own arm, as it was about ten moneths ago . . .

¹ William Cumine of Pitullie was a neighbour of Lord Pitsligo in Buchan, and having succeeded to part of the estate of his father (the Provost of Elgin) when only twelve years of age, had been for many years under the guardianship of Lord Pitsligo. He became A.D.C. to the Earl Marischal in 1715, and after the collapse of the Rising escaped to Norway and survived till 1767—though he did not, like Lord Pitsligo, take part in the Rising of 1745, sending his son instead.

their hope is now founded upon the goodness of their cause. . . .

Lord Pitsligo was still in London on December 13th, 1716, but wrote that he intended to go to Holland in a few days, and actually departed on the 23rd. In the following year he wrote from Rotterdam, July 20th, 1717, to Cumine :—

DEAR FRIEND,—After the last I had from you, I expected still to hear of your being on this side the water. . . . If it stands as much with your conveniency as I suppose it does with your inclination to come over, I would be very glad to see you. You know I have little humour of saying fine things, but there is substantial friendship I am persuaded upon both sides. I'll expect to hear from you.

In the next letter he says: 'I hope we shall yet live together in a certain corner of a country which I protest has abundance of charms to me. . . . Your staying at home has been very lucky for you. If you ever come abroad you'll be content to be at home again. . . . I do not despair of our meeting. They say at the worst three years makes everybody clear and the largest half of that is past.'

In a letter of his from Leyden, 26th October 1717, he asks Mar's opinion as to the possibility of his now returning to Scotland. All those who had been overseas since the Rebellion were excepted from the Indemnity, and he wonders whether it 'were best to slip over privately, or apply for licence. This last I never had a stomach for and now 'tis positively talked, that his Majesty has declared his firm resolution to grant no more of these papers. . . . I believe I shall venture over to London in the dead of winter, and after some stay there, very privately, go as privately home. I'll now be supplied from that country with any little money I shall want. I give our Master

ten thousand thanks for what I've had of his. I look upon it as a debt I ought to repay. . . .'

Pitsligo did not, however, go home, as on December 6th, 1717, he wrote again to William Cumine: 'I was nearer a resolution as to my motions a while ago than I am just now, from an account that came the other day from Edinburgh shewing that the Advocate had got orders to prosecute those who had gone home without licence. . . . I wish everybodie the right side of their tryalls. . . .

'I cannot express, dear Friend, how much I long to see you. I would gladly settle in your country. I know a little of hurry and a little of quietness and the more I think of it, I reckon the quiet life has the preference.'

He next went to Vienna, and wrote on July 6, 1718:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Yours of the 6th of April found me here about 10 days ago, and I had answered it sooner had it not been that I was expecting to hear from some other friends in the meantime and would have given you their news, but not haveing heard from them will not delay writing longer, especially as the distance is so great. . . . I do not at all despair of ending my days in your neighbourhood. I declare to you upon honour I love that corner better than any place I have ever seen, and not for the sake of the ground only, but the neighbours, so that if I could get you and such another man with our wives and Bairns to live near me, I could be pretty indifferent where it was . . . I could be content to go to the Indies to learn true Resignation.

He stayed in Vienna till November, and wrote again to Cumine:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wish I knew what to put in this little bit of paper that could be most agreeable to you, since it must go so far. The rule I make in writing to my best friends is to say what comes uppermost, and I expect the most of this letter will be taken up with my

own poor affairs. I think in two or three weeks to go to Italy, since by that time the heat will be over. I design to see the old walls of Rome and 'tis possible I may even pass the winter there, I'm told it is a cheap place.¹

Lord Pitsligo went to Rome and remained there eight months. After incurring his master's displeasure, as shown in the Narrative, he eventually returned in January 1720 to Paris, where he met Law, the financier, and found him most sympathetic to Jacobite schemes, but Law's own downfall was not long in coming. There was now no longer any difficulty in Lord Pitsligo (who had not then been attainted)² returning home, and by the beginning of June he was at Castle Forbes with his sister Mary, who had married firstly John Forbes, younger of Monymusk, and secondly, in 1715, the Hon. James Forbes, later the 16th Lord Forbes; on July 7th, 1720, he wrote from his own house of Pitsligo to Lord Deskford (a fellow-mystic). Thereafter he lived quietly on his estates for a quarter of a century and took part in county matters, being distinguished by his hospitality and kindness to all about him.

Very shortly after Prince Charles landed at Loch Nan-uamh, on July 25th, 1745, Lord Pitsligo heard of it and, although 67 years old, felt himself obliged to join the Standard with a troop of horse, arriving in Edinburgh on October 9th. He accompanied the Jacobite army to Derby, and the Prince insisted on his riding in the Royal carriage,

¹ This series of letters is at Crathes Castle. They are here printed by kind permission of Sir James Burnett.

² The attainder, which came in 1745, was made in the name of Alexander, Lord Pitsligo, and his proper designation being 'Lord Forbes of Pitsligo,' he had hoped to benefit by the mistake, as did General Gordon of Auchintoul and Farquharson of Inverey in 1716. These were attainted under wrong christian names, and the Judges held therefore that the attainders were invalid. Lord Pitsligo's appeal was, however, not allowed, since he was universally known by that name.

while he himself marched. When the army retreated to the North after Falkirk, Pitsligo was made Governor of Elgin and was present at Culloden, from which he escaped and remained hidden in his own neighbourhood for the next sixteen years, passing through many hardships. He died in 1762, aged 84, at the house of Auchiries.

The Narrative shows Pitsligo's efforts to open King James's eyes as to what was going on in Rome in his absence, and the sad results to himself from doing so. What most distressed him and others was that, when Princess Clementina had at length, after numerous adventures, reached Bologna and been married by proxy to their King, they were none of them formally presented to her, nor allowed to wait upon her and express their loyalty.

The selection of Murray to act as proxy at the wedding they did not question, since that they knew to be the King's definite order, but they felt that the subsequent arrangements of secluding the Queen in his own society and his sister's were Murray's own, and calculated to bring discredit on the Jacobite Court. Pitsligo, in the spirit of Archibald Douglas, Bell-the-Cat, undertook the somewhat dangerous task of trying to enlighten his master. Unfortunately, his friends and colleagues, Kilsyth, Macmahon and others, did not support him, and he only appears to have annoyed James, who did not discover the true facts of the case till long after. When he realised that he had been unjust to the devoted Pitsligo, with his never-failing courtesy, even if somewhat belated, he caused ample verbal amends to be made to his faithful follower, who was, as he himself describes on p. 94, too poor to return, as he would have wished, to Rome and thus never saw his master again.

In many ways Lord Pitsligo resembled the Earl Marischal in being too honest for some of the petty intriguers with

whom he had to deal, and his remark on the difficulty of pacifying Murray as to his reported remarks on Mar's conduct, remarks which he had obviously made, is not without a touch of Marischal's humour. Unfortunately, this sense of humour did not prevent him from being very prolix in his letters to the King, and it was unlucky that one of the longest should have reached His Majesty in duplicate.

Lord Pitsligo was what is called in every age 'a gentleman of the old school,' and laid great stress upon things being done decently and in order, and upon all the courtesies of life. It does indeed seem a pity, since some of the flower of the Scottish nobility was present in Rome, that, when the bride of the Scots King arrived there, proper arrangements were not made for a ceremonial reception, which would have had a good effect on the cause all over Europe. King James had certainly given Murray too free a hand to arrange things in a manner to suit himself and also a mandate to deal with the Royal correspondence which arrived in Rome during the King's absence, though he would scarcely seem to have been justified in opening and reading the letters which were entrusted to him to forward with his own to the King or others.

It is, however, a very delicate matter to point out to a monarch, even a landless one, that he has made mistakes and been deceived, and James Stuart's natural irritation on receiving Pitsligo's long letters may perhaps be forgiven him. It must be remembered that one at least of the longest reached the King just when he was smarting under a fresh failure of his hopes for Scotland, and had returned to Italy in a condition of the utmost depression.¹

¹ It is pleasant to note that when, after the failure of the Rising of 1745, some of the hunted Jacobites reached France in safety, King James wrote that he was very glad 'Good old Glenbucket' was among the number, and wished that 'Honest Lord Pitsligo had been so, too.'

Other persons mentioned in the Text include the following :—

JAMES EDGAR, the faithful Secretary for so many years of James Stuart, was, throughout the episode to be related, firmly on the side of Lord Pitsligo.

Far too little is known about Edgar, who was an outstanding example of long and unostentatious service. He was the son of a small landed proprietor of the Mearns, David Edgar of Keithock, who had fourteen children : six by his first wife, Katherine Forester, and eight by his second wife, Elizabeth Guthrie. James was the second of the latter family and was born on July 13, 1688, being thus just four weeks younger than the royal master he served so faithfully. His godfathers were James, Earl of Panmure, and James Douglas, Bishop of Brechin. Alexander, eldest half-brother to James, married Mary Skinner and had, with other children, a son John, also a Jacobite, who frequently corresponded with his uncle in Rome and later from Rome with his family in Scotland, asking for shirts as well as for fish, bannocks and other Scots delicacies. Another half-brother John was 'out' in 1715, as was James. John was taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir and died a prisoner in Stirling. James escaped, and managed to get to France disguised in a labourer's clothes, which clothes, the records state, he faithfully returned ; and his nephew, John Edgar, escaped after the '45 in actually the same garments. As he went from England, shipped to the Colonies, was stopped by a French privateer and taken to Paris, it is to be feared the clothes did not find their way back to Scotland a second time. James Edgar was a Protestant and very scrupulous, but when, like other Jacobites, he drifted to Avignon, he seems at once to have been made use of by King James, since in the list of 'Ecossais' drawn up there in April 1716 he is already described as a *Sous-secrétaire*. His small neat script is still a joy to

all readers of the Stuart Papers at Windsor. A note attached to the family history of the Edgars (published by the Grampian Club)¹ states that he was created a baronet, but no record of this is to be found in the Warrant books, etc., at Windsor, though there is at least one letter beginning 'Dear Sir James.' Here are two other characteristic extracts from Edgar's letters of long after :—

On Jan. 23, 1744, he wrote to the King's servant, John Stuart : ' I would fain hope by this time the Prince may be safely arrived in France, where he has gone to make a campagne—and if anything better should happen, all the King's friends will have other things to think of than some of them speaking ill of one another.'

And two years later to Sir John Graeme : ' There being several Gentlemen of the Shyre of Angus now at Paris, with the most of whose fathers I was acquainted, I beg you would let them know that they have one here with a true honest Angus-heart, full of concern for the late public and private misfortunes and ready to serve them upon all occasions. Assuring Lord Ogilvy of my humble respects and the other gentlemen of my best and kindest compliments, I am, etc.'

Edgar seems to have been contented to work unostentatiously through all the changes of Secretaries of State and all the intrigues and quarrels of the Court. For forty-six years he was at his master's side and was considered of such importance that the great Walpole made frequent and unavailing attempts to induce him to accept a bribe and enter into communication with the Hanoverian government. All these offers having met with no response

¹ Genealogical collection concerning the Scottish house of Edgar, edited by a Committee of the Grampian Club, 1873.

whatever, Walpole concluded that the amounts were not large enough, and at length wrote to Edgar that he had placed £10,000 to his credit with a bank in Venice. This did produce a reply, in which Edgar announced that he had laid the sum at the feet of his master, who was the person with the best right to gold from his own dominions ! The King was so much touched by the gesture and the gift that he presented the Secretary with a gold snuff-box, which was recently in the possession of the Edgar family in Toronto.¹

James Edgar died on Sept. 24, 1762. It is recorded that he was attended in his last moments by His Eminence Henry, Cardinal York, who was anxious to administer to Edgar the consolation of his own religion, 'but did not prevail upon him, with all his endeavours, to alter his sentiments.' The place of Edgar's burial is not known. His passing would have been a more serious loss to King James had the latter not three weeks later had a stroke of paralysis, and for the three and a half years of life which remained to him been almost completely bedridden and incapable of any business.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, 3rd Viscount Kilsyth, was born in 1650 and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scots Dragoons. In 1688 he was imprisoned in Edinburgh for his known sympathy with the cause of King James and Viscount Dundee. Liberated in 1690, he was again imprisoned in 1692 and only released on condition of leaving the kingdom. He then married Jean Cochrane, widow of Dundee, who, with her infant son, was killed by the fall of a ceiling at Utrecht, where they were residing on 16th October 1695. Kilsyth returned to Scotland and took his seat in the Scottish Parliament in 1706, being one of those who opposed the Union. He was also one of the suspected

¹ A pension was also assigned to him but never claimed.

Jacobites arrested on the alarm of the French invasion of 1708. He took part in the Rising of 1715, although he was at that time one of the sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland in the British Parliament. The ill-natured Master of Sinclair, in his memoirs, thus describes Kilsyth as 'having several qualifications which fitted him to be a tool of Mar, chief of which was his being poor and desperate, his debauches and extravagance having left him nothing but his title of Viscount, his equipage verie small and his attendants verie few, only 2 servants.'

Kilsyth was attainted, but escaped abroad, and was one of those peers in attendance on King James, first at Avignon and afterwards in Rome, where he lived on the King's bounty. He was always in need. He had married, secondly, Barbara Macdougall of Makerstoun, Roxburgh, but died without issue at Rome on January 12th, 1733, aged 82, when the title became extinct. His death is referred to in a letter of February 3rd, from one Alexander, who says he is 'heartily sorry at it, but alas we are not immortal.'

JAMES LIVINGSTON, Earl of Linlithgow, Earl of Callendar and Lord Livingston of Almond, was one of the attainted peers of 1715. He escaped to the Continent in April 1716 and was with the King at Avignon and Urbino. He died without male issue at Rome in 1723. His daughter, Anne, married the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was beheaded for his share in the Rising of 1745, and their son James Boyd should have been heir to four peerages, viz. Linlithgow, Livingston and Callendar, Kilmarnock, and Erroll from his great-aunt. He succeeded only to the last-named title, which had not been attainted.

JAMES CARNEGIE, 5th Earl of Southesk, had taken part in the Rising of 1715, both with men and money and

personally, and also entertained the King at Kinnaird, being at that period only 23 years of age. He was one of those who remained with the army under General Gordon until it was finally disbanded. A long letter to Mar from Paris, May 14th, 1716, describes his adventures in escaping to Uist and finally to France with the Earl Marischal, Tullibardine and others.¹ He also wrote a most curious letter to the King, at the time of His Majesty's troubles with the Queen :—

Lord Southesk—paper given by himself

Docketed.

March 25, 1726.

SIR,—Your Majesty's present situation is so extremely melancholy that it must certainly fill the hearts of all your truly faithfull and loyall subjects with the deepest grief and sorrow, and it appears a matter of so great importance for your Majesties interest and happiness to have some proper methods thought of as a remedy for so great an evill, that I beg leave to put my selfe at your Majestie's feet and in the most humble and submissive manner to entreat you may be pleased for that end to send some of your most faithfull subjects whose zeal and capacity for your service has been put to the proof and remarkably known in the world. I shall not be so bold as to name any particular persons, but surely there are such and I'm persuaded none your Majesty would think fit to honour with so distinguishing a mark of your esteem would think any excuse sufficient to hinder their contributing to so great and glorious an end as that of being an instrument in restoring that peace and tranquility in your Royal Family which all who have your Majesty's interests at heart look upon as the first step to the enjoyment of your throne ! Besides the advantage it would be to your Majesty, your taking such measures would be highly agreeable to your Ministers (if they be such as they

¹ Printed in the Stuart Papers, Hist. MSS. Commission, vol. ii. 169.

ought) for by that they have a sure method to convince the world that all their actions and counsellis had no other view but your Majestys honour, interest, peace and prosperity. Your Majesty is certainly the best Judge as well as absolute Master as to your servants, but the eyes of all mankind are still upon the actions of Princes and the best of Ministers have not thought it a matter of indifference what the general opinion was concerning them. I hope, Sir, you will pardon my presuming to take this liberty—it proceeds from the ardent zeal I have for your Majesty's service, which ever has been and ever shall be dearer to me than my life and I take God to witness that what I now have the honour to write to your Majesty is purely of myself without the advice of any Mortall alive, and which I thought I could not in duty any longer delay.

GEORGE SETON, 5th Earl of Wintoun, was one of the South country Jacobites of 1715, who could put into the field 300 men. He was one of the leaders under Lord Kenmure, who met with the English Jacobites at Rothbury, and with Brigadier Mackintosh at Kelso, being very much against the subsequent march to Preston, but was overruled. He was taken prisoner there and confined in the Tower, from which he escaped. He lived in Rome on the King's bounty for over thirty years, dying there in 1749.¹

JAMES SETON, 2nd Viscount Kingston, was an ensign in Colonel Buchan's Scottish Fusiliers in 1687. He took part in the Rising of 1715 and was attainted, the title becoming extinct on his death in 1726.

Colonel WILLIAM CLEPHAN had been formerly an officer in Queen Anne's army, and acted as Mar's Adjutant-

¹ A letter from James Murray of 1719 relates that Lord Wintoun had asked the King to bestow upon him the Constablership of the Bass Rock, as he felt sure he could make a handsome profit over selling the Solan geese. Murray remarks that it would be a good thing if the condition were made that he should be compelled to reside upon his rock,

General at Sheriffmuir. He was one of those whom the King would gladly have taken with him when leaving Montrose on Feb. 4, 1716, as he was liable to be shot if captured, but he was not, at the time, available. He afterwards escaped and was long at Rome in great poverty (see p. 181). *Mar's Journal* thus alludes to him :—

‘ Good honest Colonel Clephan, who so generously left the service of the present Government, where he might have been verie easie, and came to me in Scotland where I was in great want of those who understood, as he does, the business of a soldier. He did very good service and it was a misfortune to our affairs that sometimes for humouring of some for whom I was obliged to have regards, I could not follow his advice, particularly at Sheriffmoor.’¹

CHARLES FORBES OF BRUX, a Jacobite Agent, had made several journeys between Scotland and France before the 1715 Rising. He was concerned in the unfortunate attempt to take Edinburgh Castle on September 8, 1715. He was afterwards in Rome for many years, living on the King’s bounty till finally dismissed in 1726, and died at St. Germain (see p. 187).

ALLAN CAMERON, brother of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, had been sent into Scotland before the ’15 and, having safely returned to France, was one of those who accom-

¹ Mar is no doubt referring to his unexplained inaction as Argyll’s troops repassed his position on their return to Stirling after pursuing his defeated left wing. His right wing and centre were still intact and could, if properly handled, have then annihilated the small Government force.

One or two curious revelations are contained in ‘ The Earl of Mar’s legacies to Scotland ’—addressed to his son, written as he says, ‘ partly in my idle hours at Braemar in 1715 during the time I was preparing things for what happened soon thereafter, and when I was waiting returns to the orders I had sent out through the Highlands. . . . My journal was in my pocket on leaving Scotland ’ (and was continued at Avignon and at Geneva, but apparently not in Rome).

panied the King when he sailed for Peterhead in December 1715. He was present throughout the Rising, after which he made good his escape.

JOHN STEWART of Invernytie was descended from a cadet of the family of Grandtully. He joined Mar's forces at Perth in 1715 with 900 men, and after the Rising escaped and was one of those assisted by the King (see p. 47). His daughter married the 6th Lord Stormont, brother of James Murray.

CHARLES WOGAN was the famous Irish soldier of fortune, who managed the rescue of Queen Clementina and was made a baronet by King James. He was afterwards in the service of Spain and became Governor of La Mancha. He endeavoured to raise supplies of men and money for Prince Charles in 1745 but was unsuccessful.

JOHN PATERSON, Mar's Secretary, was always a faithful friend to Lord Pitsligo and a man much valued by the King; in 1745 he was serving in Paris as an assistant to O'Bryen. He lived there for nearly twenty years, and in his old age wrote to Edgar :—

St. Germain's, Dec. 8, 1755.

I cannot believe, my dear James, tho' possibly you may not have time to write to me, that you can have quite forgot that we were once acquainted. I still enquire after you with the affection and concern of an old friend.

Poor Master Flynt, our common friend, and indeed the friend of mankind, gives me pleasure to let me know from time to time that you are in good health. I wish I could say the same of him, he continues to be in a puny way and my health is becoming very precarious. I have now God help me lived a great number of years in a very bad world. . . . I have long been out of the world and

with a just submission, leave the government of it to the God who made it.

I beg you will lay the enclos'd letter and me also at his Majesties feet in the humblest manner. . . . I wish you, from the bottom of a warm heart, a happy new year with a great number of years such, as in reason you can wish to yourself.

I am always entirely yours. Adieu my dear James.

A specimen of Lord Pitsligo's signature, of date May 22nd, 1742, is appended :

Your most humble Servant
Pitsligo

NARRATIVE OF LORD PITSLIGO

FROM LORD CLINTON'S MS.

A NARRATIVE by LORD PITSLIGO containing some anecdotes of the secret history of the Court of King James in Italy, during his Lordship's residence there in the year 1719.

I find that my leaving Rome and some letters which passed on that occasion is more in people's mouths than I ever imagined. I must therefore be at the drudgery of transcribing those letters with a sort of narrative to tack them together and a few notes to make them the more intelligible to a few persons, whose friendship and goodwill towards me give them a right to know what befalls me, and to examine my conduct in any difficult matter.

I had the confusion to see our army disperse in the beginning of the year 1716 and to skulk myself with many others in the country, where it is true we had occasion to discover the humanity of the poor country people, but being weary of that way of life and still in danger, I chose to go abroad. I was some moneths privately at London, from thence I went to Holland and Flanders. I had a letter from my Lord M—r¹ while I was at Brussels to come and talk with him at Paris. There was an expectation that summer (1717) of something to be done by the King of Sweden² in our affairs, I had no inclination however to go further from home except a step to Blois. I came back to Holland, found myself excluded from the indemnity and likeways that an application made by the

¹ John, 6th Earl of Mar, the unsuccessful General of 1715-16, created Duke of Mar by King James in 1715 and again in 1724 (see p. 11).

² Charles XII, who was about to engage in Stuart affairs when he met his death at Friederichshall, 11 Dec. 1718.

D. Gordon¹ for a licence to come home was rejected. That application (by the way) was unknown to me, the Duke having made it at my Lord Forbes's² desire, but I owe thanks to them both.

A desire awakened now and then of seeing the King, I resolved to go to some places in Germany and past some moneths pretty easily at Vienna, from whence I went to Italy.

Being at Venise in October 1718, I had a letter from my Lord Mar acquainting me that the King was come to Bologna in order to his meeting the Princess at Ferrara, and that most of the lords and gentlemen were left at Urbino, but that I might drop in at Ferrara as by accident, which he believed would not be disagreeable to the King nor shocking to anybody that was left. I took post accordingly from Venise, with much joy.

At Ferrara I found James M—y³ who had come there with his sister⁴ to order some little things about the King's lodgings. He told me the King was not to stir from Bologna till he had accounts that the Princess was nearer.⁵ Upon which I resolved to go on to the King rather than stay at Ferrara, being somewhat impatient to see him and proposing to myself but very little time in Italy.

Next day Mr. M—y overtook me on the road with the bad news of the arrestment at Innsbruck. I came that night to Bologna and found the King in good health, though mortified with the news which at the same time he bore in a becoming manner enough. I told my Lord

¹ Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon. As Marquis of Huntly he fought at Sheriffmuir. He died in 1728.

² William, 13th Lord Forbes, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Aberdeen and Banff, a Whig, died in July 1716; his eldest son, William, 14th Lord, was no politician but a personal friend of Lord Pitsligo, being a fellow-mystic, while James the 16th Lord (who succeeded his nephew Francis, the 15th) had actually been 'out' in 1715.

³ James Murray of Stormont (see p. 18).

⁴ Mrs. Hay, afterwards Lady Inverness (see p. 27).

⁵ The King remained in Bologna till Nov. 9th when, abandoning hope of Clementina's arrival, he returned to Rome.

M—r that having lately come from Vienna where I had made some acquaintance that possibly might be of service, if His Majesty thought it proper I should willingly go back and try what could be done. The persons I had hopes in were the Emperor's¹ confessor, a man of very good character, an envoy of the King of Sweden, and another of the Duke of Mecklenburg² with a few others.

The King told my Lord M—r it was very likely he would take me at my word. I had some discourse with himself when he said some very kind things and I concluded I was to go no further into Italy. But the King altered his mind (and I have some guess how it came). I only wrote to the Swedish envoy and to the Emperor's confessor, to whom the King also wrote under my cover. The good father signified to the person who delivered him the letter that he would keep it as a relick and though for some reasons he could not give his Majesty an answer, yet that he would use his best endeavours to get the Princess set at liberty. And it was reckoned he kept his word.

About a fortnight after, the King went privately from Bologna to Rome. My Lord M—r had gone to Milan to meet his Lady³ and the K. was gone before he returned. I thought he was a little out of humour when he missed the K. nor did he look pleasantly upon Mr. M—y. In a few days all of us left Bologna. I came to Rome about the end of November. The K. received me again in the same gracious manner. However I had not much conversation with him in that place and it was observed he lived more retired than usual.

I remember I asked my Lord M—r at Bologna how Mr. M—y came to be kept about the K. He told me he had no hand in it, and he was surprised when he saw him appear publicly at Urbino. For he had been sent by some of the King's friends in England who, I am informed, are growing weary of him, though they expected his return,

¹ Charles VI, 1711-1740.

² Monsieur Stiernhock.

³ She arrived from England with her little daughter, escorted by Charles Forbes of Brux.

but he thought it fitt opportunity to change the situation and it seems the K. was persuaded to keep him.

I had it still in view to get home about the expiring of the three years according to the Act of Parliament, so I proposed to leave Rome as soon as the roads were fitt for travelling. Meantime the K. went to Spain ¹ the beginning of February leaving an order that none of his people should go from Rome till further orders, his service so requiring it. This order was intimated me by Mr. M—y a fortnight after the K's departure. He said he could now tell us His Majesty's parting from Bologna was an escape. How true this was I know not, but it was not believed, for the Emperor had Rome more at his devotion than Bologna. Mr. M—y gave me at the same time a letter from my Lord M—r which was to this purpose that we should not be surprised at the K's sudden departure, for His Majesty would give necessary orders as to everything that concerned his interest and the common cause. He entreated I would assist his wife ² with my advice, so he expressed it, in a strange country, adding that it was not the first proof he had had of her affection and good sense, for he had left her upon a former occasion without telling her where he was going, and concluded with some affectionate expressions about the K. I must do my Lady M—r the justice to say she was more capable of giving advice than under any necessity for receiving it and the people of the place had mighty value for her.

By this time Rome began to grow wearisome to most of us. We were for a great while without knowing anything about the K. We had account of my Lord M—r's being taken at Voghera.³ Mr. M—y looked upon himself as sole governor and even the inhabitants of the place

¹ At the invitation of Cardinal Alberoni. He travelled via Nettuno, Marseilles and Las Rosas.

² Lady Frances Pierrepont, who was daughter of the Duke of Kingston, and sister of Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu; for many years before her death she was a lunatic in charge of the latter.

³ In mistake for King James, the news of whose journey to Spain had leaked out.

were making their observations upon the choice of so young a minister.

It was particularly observed by our countrymen that Mr. M—y asked us if my Lord M—r and he had never been to meet and when my Lord came back from Milan Castle,¹ he was thought to be in great confusion. An honest gentleman of another nation said, if he was James M—y he would certainly decamp. But he rather thought the best way to secure himself in my Lord M—r's graces was to prepossess him with stories against his real friends, whom he represented as having blamed his conduct in his absence and thus laying his own part to the charge of others, he had the art for a while to create some little misunderstanding. I don't believe he took any liberty to misrepresent me and I had the good luck to undeceive my Lord M—r as to the others.

After his release from Milan he (M—r) was but a few days at Rome when the report came of the D. of Ormond's² being landed in England with a world of ensuing circumstances. He parted from Rome again with Mr. Stuart of Islay. My Lord Perth³ went a different route but it was believed by those that stayed they both designed to some place in Britain. Some were uneasy to be so far from their country when they heard it was in a new flame. A little time brought a certain account of Ormond's being detained in Spain by cross winds and at the same time of the landing of the Spaniards in Scotland. How does Fortune, to use a common expression, play with human affairs? Then came the news of my Lord M—r's being

¹ When released from imprisonment.

² This report was untrue. The flotilla with the Duke of Ormonde on board had been shattered by a storm and had put back to Cadiz. James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde, 1665-1745, a soldier under William III, but later a Jacobite, was impeached just before the rising of 1715 began, and fled to France, leaving the English Jacobites without a leader. Later, he attempted unsuccessfully to land in England. After the failure of the rising of 1719, he continued to reside in Spain, where the Spanish king gave him a pension. Later he went to Avignon, where he died in 1745, having just heard of the initial success of Prince Charles Edward.

³ The 2nd Duke of Perth, father of the Duke of 1745.

taken at Geneva¹ which served his enemies for a new handle to blacken him even at Rome. But I believe by a letter I had from Mr. R—n² then with my Lord Johnson,³ he was discovered before he got to Geneva. Here is so much of the letter :

Bologna, Aug. 23, 1719.

. . . Your friend I happened to see at Lucca with the D. of M—r who came there very privately under the name of Mr. Hubert with design to lose himself for some time till a fit occasion should offer by sea. Mr. Cagnoni at Leghorn had recommended him to the same house where I lodged. Finding so many of his countrymen there, he shut himself up close in his room and was seen by nobody but his servant. At the same time there were several malicious insolent English whig merchants who came frequently to the house to see the person with whom I travel and were impertinently curious to know who this Mr. Hubert was, by asking his landlord how he spent his time, and other questions. At last they began to suspect and were resolved to set watches upon his motions. Then I thought it full time to acquaint Mr. Hubert of their malicious designs, who immediately resolved to change his lodgings and went to Pistoia about twenty miles from Lucca where he stayed several days until such time as he was determined otherwise by letters from Genoa and Leghorn. From Pistoia he went to Viareggio, and while he was there I left Lucca and went to Florence, so that I heard no more from him.

Mr. M—y past the same censures on My Lord M—r's being arrested at Geneva as he had done upon his being taken before. He carried higher every day, even before he executed the Proxie, but that affair made him quite

¹ This imprisonment was at the instance of Lord Stair, the English Ambassador to Paris, at whose request Mar was ultimately released.

² Probably Robertson of Struan, who was still, in 1718, longing to go to Scotland, as he wrote from Montpellier, he 'began to grow frail and had no notion of coming to Italy,' but did arrive there in 1719.

³ Afterwards 2nd Marquis of Annandale.

forget himself, a thing too natural to mankind. There is mentioned in my following letters as much as seems necessary to show Mr. M—y's behaviour upon the Q's coming to Rome. Her arrival (May 1719) gave a great deal of pleasure to all who saw her, but it was soon mixt with some dissatisfaction at the conduct of the minister. The ceremony of introduction was ordered as appeared afterwards. Everybody concluded he would misrepresent them to the K. as he had done already to the Q. The thought proved too true. I was in hopes that those who complained most would have writ to the K. both for his sake and their own. I resolved to do it for myself, without prompting others. What I wrote was in these words :

Rome, June 1719.

. . . Your Majesty will easily believe it cost me some * anxious thoughts and scruples before I came to the resolution of taking this liberty which I hope you will have the goodness to pardon because it is so sincerely meant. I beg leave in the first place to wish you joy upon the escape of your Queen and to assure your Matt that you are like to be happier than most princes are in that state or even private men. May you soon meet together and long enjoy all the blessings of life.

† Some concern which I thank God has not yet grown

* Nothing was truer than that some times I thought it was an ill thing to endeavour to break a poor young man's Reputation with his Master. Then the hateful part of an informer came in my mind—then the sacred precept of advising our neighbour privately before makeing any complaint of him, and indeed if I had not been well persuaded that my words would have been laughed at by Mr. M—y I would have advis'd him as friend to behave more modestly. I do not remember that I was afraid of his personal resentment if he happened to know of my writeing, as I hardly thought he would ; nor did I think he was so dear to the K. that I could incur his Maties displeasure for representing what I did, for I remember very well my Ld. Mar told me (when I came back from Milan) the K. said he was sorry he had no body else to give the charge of his affairs when he was going to Spain.

† So little and vain are we ! I found myself vext on reading this sentence after the letter was gone of, wishing it had run more smoothly

to disease * as to my own poor conveniences and satisfactions makes me take the boldness also to desire to your Mat' that I may be allowed to leave Italy. I would choose to go to Holland and from thence either to Scotland or England, as I found the best opportunity. And if there is no living at all in Britain I would stay somewhere in the low countries and perhaps bring over a small family ¹ till these storms are passed. Tis more than a year since I have taken the resolution to go over, and being in Holland I went to Rotterdam to talk with the master of a ship when I just saw a proclamation by the D. of Brunswick against those that had gone home without his licence, a thing I was determined never to ask and at the same time I got letters dissuading me absolutely from venturing into Britain.

When I had the honour to see your Mat' at Bologna it was more than possible I might have gone back to

but then I thought it was not a time to be nice about Grammer and that the whole matter would lye continually hidden.

* What I meant was the Swiss sickness (a thing well known abroad), they languish to be in their own country and often actually fall sick. I wanted indeed much to be at home; my affairs were in ill order and yet I spoke truth when I told the K. I would chearfully go wherever he commanded. I even carry'd it so far as to make the proposal to my Ld. Mar (which I take notice of to the King) and he hearkened to it and told us he would wish Colonel Clephan to go likewise and Allan Cameron, Charles Forbes and Inverneity.² But on second thoughts he said (which I supprest in my letter) he believed some people would be ready to cross everything I could undertake. And I remember when I parted from Rome under the K's displeasure, Coll. Clephan told me among other things, that when the K. went to Spain there were orders drawn up for himself and me and some others to follow—So that 'tis easy to see whence the alteration has come. How far it was fit for me to propose to launch out into new adventures (as the going to Spain would have had a long train of consequences) I cannot be positive but I thought it was consistent with the steps I had taken before to offer my services (however inconsiderable) upon any new Emergent.

¹ *I.e.* a few servants.

² For all these, see Introduction, p. 46.

Germany,* you remember upon what head. And when I came here I thought of staying but a very little and to be at home much about the expiring of the three years. All this I mention that your Mat' may not think this present application proceeds from any uneasiness in obeying your orders, for if you think it in the least for your service I'll stay cheerfully or go to any other place of the world, with the same contentment. And I shall tell your Mat' that when the D. of M—r came back from Milan Castle I proposed to him, upon the news that the D. of Ormond was then in England, and some of our own countrymen gone to Scotland,¹ to go to Spain in order to go from thence where your Mats. service should most demand it, but my Lord M—r thought it would be of no use and I believe he judged right. . . .

Your Matt sees with what freedom I write. It might seem as if I forgot the difference of our stations, but I am sure that is not the case. I must own I still consider a king under the character of a father, which is by far the loveliest and in this view a man ought not to be afraid to say anything that is consistent with duty and respect. It may even happen that by keeping at too great a distance one may fail in the plainest obligations and in particular to the following part of this letter when I was beating my head whether I should write it or not I reckoned at last it was a thing required of me by the same principle that made me take up arms for the recovery of your Kingdome. I therefore laid aside all fears of incurring your open displeasure or of passing in your eyes for a peevish illnatured man as I heartily wish not to harbour any malicious contemptible thing in my heart.

* It was to see what could be done by means of the Emperor's Confessor towards the Q's liberation. But it was not unnatural for Mr. M—y to think I had come to Italy upon some views of my own Interest, since he was an Adventurer or a busy man himself and consequently he would give his opinion against my getting any Employment or commission whatever.

¹ Both reports were unfortunately untrue.

In short I think it absolutely for your Mat's honour and interest to acquaint you that the person in whose hands you left your affairs has managed them in the manner least agreeable in the world to your people here and I am afraid to the inhabitants who know anything of them. This I have the more freedom to inform your Mat' of because it was once like to have come before you in a more formal complaint, for the lords and gentlemen were so piqued that it was proposed to make a joint representation of the matter, but I was afraid it would make too much noise and I said to one * whose example would determine the rest that the best way was in my opinion for every man to tell his own story to the K.† upon which I heard no more of the general complaint. As to the cause of these grudges it was observed very soon after your Mat' left Rome, that Mr. M—y put on more airs than before.‡ Such behaviour cannot fall under a description and since it proceeds often from a particular turn in the person, or a little knowledge of human life, rather than from real insolence, it was hoped that a little time would cure it and I thought it was a miserable folly to be minding grimaces and trifles whilst the happiness of our country is at stake. What I resolved upon for my own carriage was to abstain from giving affronts and at the same time to do nothing that looked like truckling, since there is nothing worse for some distempers.

Upon the Q's coming to Bologna Mr. M—y went to her

* My Lord Kilsyth—I shewed him this letter, but it was after the K. came back from Spain when I found it had given such Disatisfaction and that it was no Secret at Montefiascone where the K. was then staying.

† It had been better for me as the thing happened that the Representation had gone on, but I hated that our Divisions should be the talk of the place and probably of all Europe. I thought too, that separate letters would have more weight with the K. because in those joint papers 'tis commonly thought that two or three manage the rest. My Lady Mar was of the same opinion. But by ill luck none else wrote and perhaps it was too much for me to venture upon it without being seconded.

‡ I remember my Lord Kilsyth told me he liked that expression well enough, and that such airs were only to be acted in the Playhouse and added that he would mention the very same thing to the King.

thither, the servants* commonly getting any news of your Matt's affairs sooner than the gentleman, so close he was with some. He came to Rome a little before her Matt arrived and when one of the gentlemen † asked him what they should do as to meeting her on the road he gave no answer but a shrug, at which and some other pieces of behaviour, they were ill satisfied and did not fail to make their reflections, that the new honour of executing the procuration¹ had raised the man higher in his own opinion.

I assure your Mat' the sight of your Q—n at the convent door, where we were at last told we might take our posts, was one of the greatest pleasures your subjects ever felt. We all kissed her hand pelemele without anybody's being named to her, but what we wanted in the ceremony we had in the joy. It was thought however next morning that some other introduction was proper, that Her Matt might at least know names and faces.‡ Mr. M—y told

* This is a poor Trifle, but it shows the humour of the Times where there was a great affectation of Secrecy about nothing at all. But the way that Kilsyth took to get intelligence of some little things when the K. was in Spain was to send a little Valet [*crossed out, and had substituted*] he had, to ask Mrs. Hay's maid. Mrs. Hay went from Rome to have waited on the Q. at Bologna who had left it before she could get that length. My Lady Mar thought it was hard that no other Lady should have gone, and my Lady Nithsdale² was more vexed at it, but those little arts appeared more afterwards.

† Mr. Walkinshaw of Scotstoun.³ It was not thought proper to go out to meet the Q. as she came near Rome without advising with Mr. M—y, meantime she expected it and asked, when she saw some Roman people who met her, if they were her subjects.

‡ I could not let the King know this poor story in fewer words. But

¹ See p. 26.

² Winifred Maxwell, wife of William, 5th Earl of Nithsdale, and contriver of her husband's escape from the Tower on the eve of his execution. She was afterwards Governess to Prince Charles and the Duke of York, 1725.

Lord Nithsdale died in 1744, the Countess in 1749. The receipts for their pensions occur with great regularity in the letter books at Windsor.

³ This was a cousin of John Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, also named John.

Lord K., who was standing with some others in the street, they might see the Queen in the afternoon. My Lord asked who would present them. The other answered he was to do it. My Lord replied it was usually done by a Lady of the Bedchamber or some person of an equal rank. Mr. Murray said there was no Lady of the Bedchamber (a thing that everybody knew) but that he would talk to the Q. of some person or somewhat to that purpose.* That afternoon he came to the coffeehouse where most of your people were waiting to be introduced by somebody or other and he told them that it was then too late but that next day the Q. had ordered Mr. Wogan to introduce them. This was considered a new piece of ill treatment, some complained of it aloud and short words passed on

Kilsyth told me that Mr. M—y began his discourse in a very confused manner. 'The Queen [said he] at three o'clock.' My Lord said 'Well, what next?' He answered they might see her at that time etc. I chanced to joyn them as my Lord askt the next Question. Mr. M—y it seems had a mind to take all the offices to himself and it was believ'd he had represented to the K. that my Lady Mar was anxious to be Lady of the Bed chamber which she told everybody she was not to meddle with, and that my Lord Mar had told her there was nobody to be named for any office. 'Tis to be remembered that Mr. M—y did not say the Q. had ordered him to perform that Ceremony, otherwise there had been no further dispute. Yet he wrote the K. that his M'tie's orders were disobeyed which he (the K.) resented very much as appeared by his letters to Mr. Wogan from Spain, and he askt Mr. Macmahon when he returned to Italy, 'Why his people at Rome had made the poor girl so uneasy, who had done so much for him.' But Mr. McMahon did his part very honestly to undeceive him.

* The conversation at that Coffee house was really uneasy to hear. My Ld. Nithsdale was in great discomposure and told Mr. M—y he had treated the Lords and Gentlemen like Footmen, with much more. Lord Kilsyth said [speaking of the Q's coming to Rome] he should either have had the manners to have told it to the Gentlemen or the Discretion to have concealed it from the Servants that his behaviour deserv'd something or other I forget the precise words, but Mr. M—y answered he would take care of himself and it was believ'd he wrote to the K. that post. What made me take no part in these conversations was a Promise I had given to my Lord Mar to have no meddling with Mr. M—y, besides at that time there were three or four upon him at once, and it lookt like baiting a bear.

both sides. I was resolved to have no part in those conversations and only asked Mr. M—y how Her Mat' did after her journey.

But it was obvious to everybody that this matter, though inconsiderable in itself, was put upon a disadvantageous foot for the rest of the gentlemen and that the Q. might think it proceeded from a personal dislike of Mr. M—y or too great niceness in matter of ceremony. The Q. herself was made uneasy by such impressions. She was heard to say '*Cette affaire m'échauffe bien,*'* and pity it was, but it appears more plainly by a billet sent that night to the Duchess of M—r who was pleased to send for me to tell me of this message that I might inform the rest of it immediately.† The little billet (of the Queen) was very pretty, but it was easy to see it proceeded from wrong information and Her Grace charged me not to mention the expressions of it, which was certainly very reasonable. So without making the least shadow of a scruple we all went to the convent ‡ where it was contrived that we should see the Q. just as she was going out to Church and everyone kissed her hand in the same hurry as before. § Mr. M—y making jests of it afterwards and

* It was Sir Charles Wogan who told me next morning of the vexation the Q. was in and he added he was very unwilling to take that office of introducing, and that he believes Mr. M—y made use of him as the cat's foot. I told him it was really equal to me by whom it was done and that I lookt upon it as a trifle. I hoped also with myself that the other Lords who thought it so derogatory would inform the King in due time both of his Loss and their own.

† The words of the letter as near as I can remember were these: '*Je vous prie Madame de faire entendre a ces Messieurs que s'ils veulent bien me venir voir, Monsieur Wogan les introduira. Je ne suis pas ici en état de les recevoir en cérémonie. J'espere qu'ils ne s'y opposeront pas, car ce serait une marque qu'ils n'avoient pas grande envie de me voir.* CLEMENTINE R.' See King James's letter, p. 182.

‡ There were many other Ministers larger and of better air and of Women of Quality. But it was thought Mr. M—y designed that very few should have access to the Queen, especially of her own people.

§ It had been very improper to have told the K. of those silly Jests (nor did I hear them neither in the time) such as who should have the ceremony of introducing Zam the K's dog? My Lord Lithgow had got

compting it a victory that since people had made some objections (truly in very modest terms) against his introducing them, they should have it done by one he must think inferior to himself.

* Some said it was very hard not to let the Q. know they were both slighted and misrepresented, others thought it would be wrong to give her any more disturbance, in hopes Her Mat' shall know some time that all you ordered to stay at Rome were neither wholly despicable nor arrant fools.†

Another mortification Mr. M—y gave his countrymen has been to exclude them from attending the Q. as your Matt allowed to be done by you. For instead of appointing two gentlemen to wait constantly in their turns this charge is entirely confided to Mr. M—y as principal ‡ and the

account that Mr. Forrester was joining with Mr. M—y in this ridicule and he was full of wrath. I gave my humble advice not to meddle with Mr. Forrester upon any account, because of the difference of the nations and that I also thought him at bottom a good natur'd man.

* Lord Kingston in particular, an honest warm man. When Nithsdale said it would be a pity to trouble the Q. he answered: 'Cumble a pudding' [sic] 'the Queen is not a Bairn.' I endeavour'd to support. Nithsdale answered 'every man has his own opinion,' and he was the only person that refused to be introduc'd by Mr. M—y or Mr. Wogan. He had very ill health which made his chagrin the less to be wondered at. My Lord Wintoun reckon'd the Q. was not to be acknowledged as Queen till the K. and she should meet.

† These were the two characters Mr. M—y endeavoured to propagate of his own countrymen, that they were despicably poor in their fortunes and in their Intellectuals—an instance of which contempt among several others appeared when Cardinal Aquaviver had a mind to invite about 20 of the K's adherents to a dinner—he told him there was none fitt to be bidden but the four Irish Gentlemen and they were the only persons that were bidden.

‡ It was observed that those gentlemen finding the rest as it were under a cloud kept at a distance from them which was very natural but afterwards they were disobliged at Mr. M—y and became more familiar. Sir Charles Wogan told me at Genoa a great deal concerning his behaviour and that he himself had had a great quarrel with my Ld. Mar who he supposed had been the cause of Mr. M—y's going to Inspruck to manage some formalities about the articles of marriage, which he thought should

four Irish gentlemen¹ that brought her from Innsbruck, who certainly deserve a great deal of honour, yet to debar others wholly looks a little odd.* It has been observed, too, that all care has been taken to allow the Duchess of M—r and My Lady Nithsdale as little of Her Mat's company as possible. Tis true she gives audience a little in general every day and the three ladies take the air with her in the coach, but for any freedom of conversation there can be very little of that and tis the common opinion that things might be contrived more for the Q.'s advantage and satisfaction than they are. As to the Duchess of M—r I know not in the world by what politik, but tis matter of fact that Mr. M—y has set up to mortify her as much as lay in his power not only by neglecting so small a matter as to pay her a visit, but at publik occasions to slight her by rude expressions. Upon honour, Sir, that Lady hath met with provocations before the Q. came and since, which not one of a thousand could have bore with that temper and discretion she has shown and sure I am, if she knew I gave your Mat' this account, I would get little thanks for it and indeed if it was known in England it would make but an ill figure.

It would be natural for your Mat' to think with yourself whether Mr. M—y has done me any personal injury or what can be between us since I fall so foul upon his management. That your Mat' may never be troubled again by me with so poor an affair I shall tell you this once, all that I can guess upon one side and tother. At our first acquaintance which was but last year we were very good friends but I soon discovered there could never be great familiarity between us. I imagined he began to grow starched and I resolved to make no extraordinary advances. A little after your Mat' left Rome, meeting

belong to him as having done the difficult part before, but own'd he was mistaken as to my Lord Mar.

* It was proposed to the Pope that Mrs. Hay should be allowed to stay with the Q. in the Convent, but he refused it.

¹ See p. 47.

together in the Duchess of M—r's lodgings he said some very shocking things to me with reference to that letter from Stanhope to St. Saferin.* 'Tis not worth telling what passed, but at last he thought proper to ask pardon upon which I was very easy.

As to any injury I ever did him I hope 'tis more imaginary than real. There was a letter writ to J. Patterson¹ by J. Edgar² upon something that happened between Mr. M—y and him, and Mr. M—y having taken the freedom to break open this letter which he said he had your Mat's orders for,† a postscript appears that my Lord P. and the

* That letter was writt to hinder the Emperor from dismissing the Princess. A copy of it lay open to everybody's views in the K's lodgings several days. Mr. M—y shewed it to General Fordice, the Pope had gott a copy of it. Mr. Fordice desir'd me to ask a sight of it again from Mr. M—y that he might shew it to Don. Patinio. I wrote a note to Mr. M—y for that purpose, he sent me the Letter with a kind of order to send it back immediately. I took that to be but an air—and gave it to Mr. Fordice. Meeting with Mr. M—y that evening he askt for the Letter. I told him I had left it with Mr. Fordice. He fell into a passion and said some uncivil things—such as 'did not I order it to be sent back immediately?' I began to grow angry. It was in his Sister's lodgings and my Lady Mar was present, tho' by mistake I call it, to the K., *her* lodgings. I rose up hastily. He followed me with an Apology in these very words: 'M. D. L. I beg your pardon—I did not intend to anger you—I was only affraid a copy of that letter had been taken—if it has not, I am easy.' I bad him make himself easy how he pleased. In short I thought I had got satisfaction enough, but he made a new use of that adventure to my Ld. Mar, thinking to create a difference between him and his friends and belittling both him and them to the K.

† This is exceedingly frivolous. But Mr. M—y's grudge at James Edgar was reckon'd owing to his refusing to copy some papers the others proposed to him in a rude way. Besides, my Lord M. had left no orders with him to be so entirely determined by Mr. M—y. At this time J. Edgar supposed that my Lord Mar and J. Paterson had been with the K. and he thought fit to write to Mr. Paterson in his own defence. The letter brought in two or three persons, L. P. who is mentioned in the postscript and Charles Forbes, whose hand Edgar made use of to address it, for he had some apprehension that Mr. M—y would broke up any letter address by him. He took that Liberty as it was, not having the patience to wait till the

¹ See p. 47.

² See p. 40.

club gave Mr. Patterson their service. When Mr. Edgar showed me the copy of this letter with this p.s. I really lost patience and told him though he might take what method he pleased for his own justification, yet the mentioning other peoples names would make a suspicious man conclude the whole thing was contrived by six or seven persons who used to meet together only upon the account of taking their dinner. He protested he had no other design in writing to Mr. Patterson than to secure himself against misrepresentation and that there was nothing more common than to make people's compliments without their commission, which is certainly true, but still Mr. M—y fancies there was a deep plot.* And if he had not told himself that he had sent forward that letter with design that your Mat' should see it, and I'm afraid with some remarks unfavourable for others as well as J. Edgar, I would have been very loath to have taken up a minute of your time with so poor entertainment.

† Indeed there was one thing which I am sorry for,

servant who deliver'd it was gone. The servant chanc'd to be G. Forrest who told him it was a letter from Mr. Forbes and was near holding his hands. Charles was in a fury when he heard of the thing and it was with difficulty he was dissuaded from beating Mr. M—y—he indeed askt him how he had the ill manners to open peoples letters. The other alledg'd the K's orders to which Charles reply'd he did not believe a word of it. Then Mr. M—y protested he knew not that it was address by him—and begg'd his pardon—as he did Mr. Paterson's who attacked him afterwards on the same head. (For Edgar's own grievances see p. 149.)

* My Lord Mar was now come back from Milan Castle. Mr. M—y complain'd of many difficulties he had suffered and told him of the letter he had intercepted from J. Edgar and that he must inform the K. of it. My Ld. Mar told him it was absurd to write to the K. of such a thing and he promis'd not to send off his letter—but in a little after—next day I think he came begging my Lord's pardon and said his sister had sent it off before he knew.¹ My Lord Mar could not but look upon this as it deserv'd, nor could he forget the pains Mr. M—y had taken to make his arrestment at Voghera pass as his own fault.

† This affair did vex me considerably. I reckon'd Mr. M—y would conclude I was an Intelligence of my Ld. M. and that others might think

¹ See p. 149.

though it happened pretty innocently as to my part, and it was thus. Upon the news of the Duke of M—r being taken at Voghera, Mr. M—y said in the coffeehouse I believe before twenty of your subjects that he told my Lord M—r of his danger in going that road, and a great deal more which I really believe had been so. When my Lord M—r came back I was talking with him one day, as he was full of concern for his misfortune and I chanced to repeat what tother had said in the coffeehouse. I could not imagine that a thing so publicly told had been desired to be concealed and far less that it had not been true. I am sure I had other things to mention as to Mr. M—y's conduct which I suppressed. But in short my Lord M—r said that story was positively false and it seems he articulated the other upon it, who denied he had ever said such a thing, nay he pushed it so far as to say to two or three persons that he designed to come to another full coffeehouse, and ask everybody around if they heard him say so, and if any should say he did, he was to call him a villain. This I scarce think could be intended, since it must be a very tame man that would have suffered it. However, he never put it to the trial and for my part I was glad to be free. Mr. M—y will no doubt conclude it was I who told my Lord M—r of this thing and truly I was the first that did it, but what help? It is not easy

so too. But Colonel Clephane told me the night before I left Rome that my Ld. M. had done me the Justice to tell him I mentioned that story upon no such design. I had indeed given my Lord M. my advice to take care that Mr. M—y should not go too far out of his sphere, to which he answer'd 'he would ruin himself by his ill manners and break his neck.' Another time, blaming some one who wish'd him well but believed his Interest was declining, he said: 'Did they think he could not make himself free of that Prigg M—y when he pleased?' Meantime I'm afraid by letters I had from him afterwards that some who had an opportunity of putting things in a true light to the K. as to Mr. M—y's behaviour and particularly that story in the Coffee house, have not done their part to undeceive him. Time I hope will do it. I acquitted myself. 'Tis certainly a pity that a fine Gentleman should have such a Sett about him, for they have put him to great pains in vindicating their Folly and the Labour is lost.

to contrive an apology in such a case though one had a mind to make it, for it would never do to tell a man that if I had known what he said on a certain occasion had not been true, I should not have told it again.* If I have done Mr. M—y or any person any injury I pray God may forgive me for it as I heartily forgive others, and I ask your Mat's pardon a thousand times for troubling you with such trash. I was resolved to have spoke somewhat of it if ever I should have the honour to see you again, but since that is so extremely uncertain, I hope your Mat' wont be offended with this letter which is all I want, save to know your pleasure as to the first part of it and that you may firmly believe no circumstances in the world can ever separate me from your interest.

Reflecting sometimes upon this long letter I have been apt to blame myself as if a secret presumption had crept in that my words would have had weight with the K.—Self-love imposes upon us! This is the only thing I can find of vice in it. As to the project of dislodging a favourite it will no doubt pass for a piece of knight errantry and let it. But truly I did not think he was so much in favour. Col. Hay was supposed the greater favourite of the two, but he went to Spain with the K. and I had not seen much of his behaviour. I had no plot of making my court for I was anxious to be home and there I proposed to live even in case of a restoration. In fine I reckoned I would either remedy the evil or make some discovery that might be of use to myself however unpleasant. Meantime I gave my letter to Sir David Nairn who told me he should get it put in Cardinal Aquaviva's packet for Spain.

The Q. still lodged in the convent. Mr. M—y went on

* I was far from affecting Cant in any of those serious straws. I had no absolute assurance that what I was doing was right and I was content to lay open my mind to one we looked on to be a Father to his Country tho younger than myself but who was reckon'd no scoffer at any serious thing. As for the minute circumstances, I thought it was best to be particular, tho I wav'd several things for fear of being tedious.

in his way, very few approved of his conduct, either the inhabitants or the K's subjects.

In September the K. came from Spain. He sent for the Q. to Montefiascone. It appeared as if Mr. M—y had managed things about that time also. The Duchess of M—r and my Lady Nithsdale were left at Rome.¹ Mrs. Hay and her brother and Mr. Wogan were only taken. This raised new speculations. It was said by Mr. Murray that the K. had a mind to be free of company as much as he could for some weeks. Two or three were only admitted at different times from Rome to make him a short visit and it fell out unluckily that the persons sent for were thought to be of Mr. M—y's picking except Mr. McMahon whom I believe the K. was contented to see.

Some of the lords sent their compliments to Montefiascone. I thought if I did not something of that kind it might be mistaken. I wrote thus to Nairn :

SIR,—You was pleas'd to ask me at parting for Montefiascone if I had anything to charge you with, to which I only said you might assure his Matt of the joy I felt with all his faithful subjects upon his happy meeting with the Queen—may every day give them new delights. I should be glade to know if a letter I sent under your cover has come to the K's hands, but how to know it, is the Question. If you don't think it improper you may ask his Matt plainly from me if he has got it. And if withall you take the Liberty to tell him that in his absence the Lords and Gentlemen took all the opportunities their situation could possibly allow them of showing their Dutifulness to the Q. you'll say nothing but the truth. Pray make my compliments in the most submissive manner to both their majesties. I am, with very much respect.

About this time another mortification happened greater than any yet. The K. had written a letter from Spain to

¹ These ladies therefore do not appear in the famous picture of the marriage.

Mr. Wogan in pretty harsh terms against his subjects in Rome who had been misrepresented to him as guilty of very wrong things. A copy of this letter was sent from Montefiascone to Major Goedon (Gaydon) who showed it promiseously. It was in the mouths of several priests and laymen before I heard it. The first part was a regret that he could not provide better for him and his three countrymen, giving them hearty thanks for their good services and the Q's escape, which indeed they deserved. Then began another paragraph in these words as near as I can remember, that he 'was more sorry than surprised at the behaviour of the wise folks upon the Q's coming to Rome,' that it gave him the pleasure however to think that notwithstanding all attempts to the contrary she had not forgot what was due to herself and to him. He wishes those who by their past services had merits to plead had behaved so as not to have forfeited their titles. I forget the precise words so I'll give it over. . . . Only he concluded with a sort of apology for those he thought had been so much in the wrong, allowing it to proceed from the uneasiness of their circumstances. But truly the poor Gentlemen were so full of joy on the Q's arrival that they forgot all their hardships and had Mr. M—y but shewn common civility he would have met with all the respect he could have honestly desired; for, alas, what was there to stir people's envy as to him? I would gladly have gone to Montefiascone uninvited in hopes of undeceiving the K. as to those representations. I proposed it to my Lord Kilsyth, but he could not go, nor did he think it proper I should go by myself. As some others were of the same opinion when I had told them of the Letter I had writt to the King in Spain, I joyned with them though in staying having already done as much as came to my share and being uncertain what Reception my Letter had met with or even if it had come to his hands.

In a day or two I got a letter from Sir David Nairn in the following words: 'I had yesterday the honour to receive your Letter dated the 8th of this month, and show'd it immediately to the K. His Ma. received very

graciously your Compliments and order'd me to return you his thanks, and to let you know the letter you mention had never come to his hands (which indeed is not extraordinary for several of mine have also miscarried) but that your Lop might when you think fitt acquaint him with the Contents of it. I beg leave to assure you that I have the honour to be with the utmost respect, Yr etc.

Montefiascone, Sept. 23. 1719.'

I was sorry for the fate of my Letter, but I had taken all the cautions I could for its safe passage, and Sir David told me there was no fear of it. 'Tis possible the K. may have been in motion from Spain before its coming there and that it has been sent after him to Italy and possibly fallen into Mr. M—y's hands before his arrival. In short, I thought I was call'd upon to maintain what I had writt and to supply the want of the letter by a faithful copy which by accident I had kept. It was necessary also to write something for a cover, several things having fallen in since the first writing, and I still resolv'd it should be in the most submissive terms. Colonel Clephan was one of those sent for to Montefiascone. I heard he wrote to Col. Hay to procure him that favour. I was at some pains with Mr. Clephan alone and before some of his Club (those he eated with) to persuade him to deal plainly with the K. and to vindicate his subjects from the Aspersions of Undutyfulness to the Q. etc. He said he should do his endeavours, but it was thought he failed, though a man of great courage, integrity and friendship. Perhaps he has been more free afterwards, but it was a loss he did not use freedom enough at that time for the K. had a value for him and seem'd to depend upon his information. My Lord Lithgow was sent for about that time but no questions were askt him, and he said nothing to vindicate his fellow sufferers, though the friendliest man in the world.

Mr. McMahon said a good deal, but it had not the weight it should have had. 'Tis like the regard he had for my Lord M—r and his being in a club with *me*,

has made Mr. M—y represent him as a mutinous person also.

As I had a copy, I transcribed my letter to the King again and here is what I said to him to Montefiascone by way of cover: 'I am told by Sir D. Nairn that your Matt was graciously pleased to accept of my poor compliments and that since the letter I wrote formally had not come to your hands I might send your Matt the contents of it. I believe therefore the best thing I can do is to send a copy of the letter itself word for word. I still lay myself at your feet as to anything I have writ either then or now. . . . You have too much goodness not to overlook any unguarded expression or unpolite thing, my part being to answer for the intention.

I cannot say indeed that I would have writt your Ma. so long a letter if I had expected your return from Spain so soon and I bless God a thousand times for your safety but there was even abundance of uncertainty if ever we should meet at all, and it appear'd to me that the disease wanted such a remedy. I saw your affairs suffering, I was not sure if any person would inform you of it and so I resolv'd rather to hazard your Ma's censure (which I thought at worst would be that of indiscreet zeal) than to use any reserves with you in a point that touch'd you so nearly. At the same time what I wrote seem'd necessary to me for self-defence. I had a strong apprehension from the conduct of a certain person that he would be beforehand with me in making Representations to your Ma. I thought it was hard an innocent man should suffer—as I'll swear I know none complain'd of less [?more] innocent than myself, and above all things the crime that was to be laid to our charge was* the thing in the world

* The K. had so far believ'd this accusation to be true that he said to Mr. McMahon it was hard to treat the poor girl ill that had done so much for him. He found also with me (when he spoke to Colonel Clephan) that I had taken the trouble to vindicate others,—they speak of themselves, said he, in the plural number, it was enough for every one to have vindicated himself. But I humbly differed from the K. in that particular.

I should have been most ashamed of. Would it not have been against common humanity to have been disrespectful to the Q. at her coming among us, in spite of all her good qualitys, the hardships she had undergone and (forgive me the expression) all the charms in which she appears? Could there be a harder accusation against gentlemen? It was the very care of not giving the young Q. any disturbance that made us bear with several marks of contempt from others and (which was much more uneasy) the fear of her own ill opinion of us, not being however without hopes that all would be set right some time.

Now my apprehensions have been but too well grounded, a Letter your Ma. wrote from Spain is but too authentic a document. And certainly your displeasure was very just upon the supposition you went upon. You had all the Reason in the world to be offended if any person had been undutiful to the Q.* or so foolish as to importune Offices etc. For my Part, who never proposed any other Benefit from your Restoration but that of a quiet Life and the pleasure to hear of your welfare, I could by no means take the reproach to my Self nor on the other hand could I flatter myself that I was exempted because the charge was general. I thought then, God forgive the Informers whoever they are, and undeceive his Mat'. For what can be more unhappy than for a Prince to believe ill of the most faithful of his People? I was sorry to think too that those suggestions have not been of a late date for your Ma. said 'You was not surprized at the behaviour etc.' Pardon me Sir, for repeating your words, it is not with a design to make commentings upon them, few men go higher in their Reverence for your sacred Character and no man in affection to your Person. I meant only that your own Words should be brought to your remembrance; if they have been ill-apply'd it is not your fault,† so for God's sake be not uneasy about

* His own words in that letter to Wogan.

† It came into my head that the King might have tormented himself by reflecting upon his own harsh words, which he had apply'd so ill through

them. It will be enough for your innocent Subjects if they recover your Ma's good opinion. It belongs only to yourself to chose your servants and to censure them, if I heard any man say the contrary * I would fly in his face. At the same time no man can abstain from wishing that all who have the honour to be admitted to your Royal Presence may stand in awe to say anything but what is consistent with pure truth.

I was really afflicted that the Q. was made uneasy several times, and I'm afraid left Rome with an opinion that her Subjects were a very odd sort of people. I thought she had come too far to meet with disturbance, but all opportunitys were deny'd of undeceiving her, or rather things were contrived to fix her more in the opinion.† I remember when that first *échauffement* happen'd about the introducing, we were all very sorry and after a day had elaps'd (the 2nd after her arrival) without seeing her, some were of the mind that such a Letter as I here take the Liberty to send (so much out of its time) should be

the fault of his informers. But 'tis the misfortune of those in higher stations to be jealous of their authority which helps to stifle the natural sentiments of Humanity they would otherwise have.

* When I found afterwards that these letters were made so public I was a little vext I had not been more careful about some expressions and this in particular which had the air of a Champion, but truly I had no design to give myself any airs, my mind being too much weighted at that time.

† My Lord Kilsyth in particular was for undeceiving the Queen by a letter he was to send to Mr. Wogan and would needs have me write it because my French was two straws better than his.

Je vous prie Monsieur d'avoir la bonte de representa a sa Majeste que nous sommes au desespoir de n'avoir pas eu le plaisir de la voir ici et que cela n'est provenu d'aucun manquement de notre part ni de la moindre repugnance d'être introdits par aucune personne que S.M. ordonnerait. Nous avons dit seulement a Monsieur M—y qu'a notre avis et meme selon la coutume cette partie du ceremoniel tomberait plus naturellement sur le sexe ou sur quelque personne de caractere mais nous ne nous amusons pas de ces petites choses. C'est nous assez de voir notre aimable Reine et de l'asseurer de notre fidelite et attachement comme nous serons ravis de luy en donner de preuves plus solides. Voila les sentimens unanimes de tous ses sujets d'icy. J'espere aussi que vous me croirai avec beaucoup de respect Monsieur—Votre, etc.

writt to Mr. Wogan wt design the Q. might see it, but I know not how it happen'd but after some uncertainty of being presented at all we were ordered again in a hurry to go to the Convent door and so there was no more use for the billet to Mr. Wogan, but I have sent it that you may see the Sentiments of your people at that time, which were and ever will be to wittness all the respect imaginable to the Q. And I humbly leave it to your Ma. how far you are to put us in her good Graces. I truly think it will be a satisfaction to one of her temper to be assur'd that her subjects (with all their faults) are affectionate and honest hearted. I'm certainly unpardonable for writing so much, my Heart was full and I had a Pain to stop. I have a great joy in the mutual happiness of your Ma. and the Q. 'tis one considerable point, may it be attended wt all that's good besides. Rome, Sept. 1719.'

I said now to myself 'Jacta est alea.' I began to have some apprehensions about the Reception of my Letter when I heard of the ill fate of one that had been writt much about this time to Montefiascone by George McKenzie.¹ He had desired Sir David Nairn to assure the K. of his fidelity 'notwithstanding all the Interpretations and Impressions taken thereupon.' The King was very angry and ordered Sir D. to write back his mind accordingly. However I remember that John Walkinshaw told me afterwards that the King was very gracious and objected nothing—gave them assurances of his good Will, but did not care to hear anything that might load Mr. M—y. Mr. Walkinshaw particularly told me that he was entering upon the story of the Coffee house with relation to my Ld. Mar and the King wav'd it. 'Tis the less to be wondered at that he has a reluctancy to examine such Information whilst he keeps the Persons so near himself and how such persons come to be his Choice is perhaps that he thinks he has so few else to pitch upon and that it would look ill to make too frequent changes. I was help'd to this conjecture by Sir Charles Wogan at Genoa—

¹ Of Delvine.

our Familiarity not having been so great at Rome. . . . Here followed the pill that was very bitter at the time. It should not have appeared now if I had not been informed it had been too much known, for General Dillon¹ and Mr. Lewis Innes² told me they had seen all that past betwixt the King and me before I came to Paris, adding that I had been illused etc. I believe they thought no less. That angry letter was writ by Sir D. Nairn but signed and addressed by the K :

Montefiascone, Sept. 30, 1719.

I received yesterday yours of the 27th with the duplicate of one you had written me in the month of June and another paper you had sent me with it . . . and if the end of the letter which you quote had suted as much to your present Disposition as the rest of it, you would not have exposed yourself as you have done, but by your silence and submission have profited with the rest of that indulgence which I was and still am willing to shew in regard to past mistakes. You frame to yourself strange ideas of misrepresentations and ill offices which are in themselves so groundless that you inform me of some things which I have not as yet heard, for those whom I thought fit to employ in my business at Rome contented themselves with acquainting me that my orders and intentions had been executed by them, and the Queen, notwithstanding some little difficulties they had to struggle with in that respect and which it was their duty to repeat for my information and their own justification ; so I could not but be a little piqued at first that the Q. should be exposed to any uneasiness at Rome after all she had undergone on my account. . . . As no man in particular was accused to me, and that I found the Dss. of Mar's example had quieted other people, it never enter'd into my thoughts ever to take nottice of mistakes which I am willing to think proceeded from a general uneasiness of

¹ Arthur Dillon, manager of Stuart affairs in Paris, recently discharged.

² Father Lewis Innes, Principal of the Scots College in Paris and Almoner to King James and his mother.

mind, which 'tis no wonder people should have in our present Circumstances ; and this is the construction which I put upon those matters in which I did not know you was so much concerned till you inform'd me of it yourself, and have now put it out of my power to think so favorably of you as I should otherwise have done ; for give me leave to say that whatever protestations of Duty &c. may be contained in your Letters, the plain purport of them is a form'd accusation against a person employed by me, without any other Crime alledged but that of haveing kept my Secrets and follow'd my Orders by which you do him a great deal of honour, and give me the satisfaction of seeing that I have in him a good and faithful servant, against whom for want of solid matter of Complaint, you are forc'd to alledge the man's *being rais'd higher in his own Opinion, Shrugs, Airs, &c.*, and such stuff, adding some things which I know are not true, and which plainly shew the malice and the Emptyness of the accusation, and not contented with that, the Q. herself must not be spared, you seem to make it a crime in her to have obeyed my Orders, and to excuse her as it were for so doing, you look on her as a Child and a Fool. And as for the particular you mention as to some Ladys in Rome, the fact is so notorious and so publickly false that I am in amaze such a thing could slip your pen ; tho all the pains you take to do ill offices for the Dss. of Mar will nor can have no effect upon me. I must confess I am surpris'd myself when I consider your Letters, for had I not had them under your own hand it had not been in the power of man to have made me believe you were capable of such sentiments ; I am not so susciptible of ill Offices as you imagine, and am allways willing, as you know, to hear anybody on any subject or against any person, but it would be falling into the weakness and injustice, of which you think me guilty, or malicious endeavour to shew my displeasure against those who serve me faithfully ; at that rate I cou'd never find honest men that would serve me, and it would be using them in a most unjust and even a most impolitick manner to

leave them continually expos'd to Malice and Envy, which will never fail honest men, did I at the same time pass over in others, unregarded, disrespects shew'd personally to my self, or under the Cloke of their name. These are the Sentiments which I am not ashamed to own, and shall ever act conformably to them without distinction of persons of what consideration or rank soever. Tho' I think none so despicable but who may do hurt, I shall undervalue very much the misrepresentations of those who can tax me with no other fault but that I will be Master, and kind to those who deserve well of me.

I am sensible that this long Letter in me is too great a condescension, but you allways had the character of so honest a man, and the regard you have for Truth appears to me to be so great by your present letter (since in it you say all you think, and no more than you think true, tho' the whole pleads against your self) that I could not but put the matter in its true light before you, that the evil might not be without Remedy, if your error should happen to proceed from a deluded imagination or some enemys of mine who have impos'd upon you by a very weak sophistry. As for your leaving Rome, my Service can never require anybody's staying there that has such sentiments as you seem to have, and if you intend to persist in them, you'll save yourself the mortification of receiving black marks of my Displeasure if you leave that Town before I return to it. You may comment on this letter as much as you please, and shew it to whom you think fitt, tho' I am still willing to have so much regard for you as not to make as yet your Letters to me publick nor even to shew them to the Queen.

Signed JAMES R.

I have writt over my Condemnation in much cooler blood than I first read it. Some parts of it were so violent and shocking I knew not how to bear it, that especially mentioning facts I had told to be false. But what resentment cou'd I shew ? I was not to give the K. a Challenge.

And I was even soften'd by some words of his Letter wherein he own'd the regard I had for Truth. I resolv'd therefore, if possible, to gain him by soft words, & to try to undeceive him for his own good and all theirs who depended upon him not only at Rome but wherever his Restoration was desired. He told me also he had taken pains to get matters in their true Light before me, so I thought it was pity not to do as much for him. I resolved however to provide for the worst and obey his Summons of leaving Rome, in case he should not think fitt to send me some milder Orders, which I was not without some hopes of, for I considered his Letter as writt in some hurry, without a close examination of mine, wherein I had endeavoured to anticipate all his Objections.

I went to an Italian Banker [Belloni], a good-natured man who knew our people, and askt him if he wou'd let me have some money upon William Gordon's Bill at Paris ? He immediately gave me 120 pistols, which I lookt upon as a Stroke of Providence. I had been obliged since I came to Rome to take the allowance the K. was pleas'd to give the rest, and some travelling Charges before, which went very ill down with me. I believe Mr. M—y thought he had a new Opportunity of triumphing over me upon this Occasion, not thinking how I could go, for want of money, nor how I could stay to meet with the K's farther Displeasure. But haveing done my affair with the Banker, I was much the more at ease. I resolv'd to write another Letter, but to Sir D. Nairn rather than to the K :

Rome, Oct. 7. 1719.

SIR,—I had your * letter of the 30th Sept. with that from the King, whom God Almighty bless. His Matt

* This letter of Sir David's had nothing in it. 'Twas only a cover to the K's in two-three words. I thought it was hard he should have let Sir David know so much of his anger and I had a mind they should both see I observed it. If I had thought that Mr. M—y had known it, 'tis possible I had writt this to Sir David with less moderation, tho I found nothing in him but what was very civil.

having thought fitt to write in a strain I believe not very usual to him, I found myself under a great difficulty (besides the Grief I suffered from his Displeasure) how to carry in so delicate a matter. Every thing is good or bad in a great measure according to the Cause of it, there may be a silence from Obstinacy, sometimes from slavish fear as well as from Submission. At last I thought in my unfortunate case a modest vindication was the best part I had to take, especially as I don't presume to trouble the K. with it directly, and for my writeing this once to you, neither his Matt nor you will think it strange, since you are no stranger to the whole affair.

For God's sake, tell his Matt I humbly ask his pardon, now that he tells me I have offended him, as I askt it before upon the bare possibility of doing it. I submit to his Correction, and I shall follow his Orders. Since he was so good to let me know the hazard I run in being at Rome when he comes to it I propose to leave it the week after next. I propose to go thro' France, and from thence to some place in Brittain. In short all my project is to hide my Head somewhere or other, the greatest part of my life being run out. But wherever I may be, or in what ever Circumstances, his Matt will have a faithfull Subject, and so you may ask his Commands for me.

I'm an Enemy to Protestations, since they can never be the sure marks of a man's honesty, as they are very often the Cant of Hypocrites, but I may be allowed to say my intention was good in writing those Letters to the K. I might have been more wise for my self if I had been less concern'd for him, I had already ventur'd every thing to serve him.

I resolv'd to make the ticklish Experiment, and now there's no help for it. I wrote with an uncommon plainness, willing to lay myself open to his Matt as to my very Temper and Disposition, and to tell him some little *démelés* (and very accidentally) betwixt a certain person and me, that he might see every thing in its source and to the very bottom, and consequently make the fuller Judgement of it, and tho' I wrote only for his Mat's own perusal, I did it with

an indifferency * if that person and all the World had been to see it, which was the greatest proof I cou'd possibly give of my Affection. Yet every thing has turned against me. I take it as a punishment from Heaven for the just Errors of my Life, not for any unworthy thing as to the K's Service.

His Matt indeed does me a great deal of Honour in acknowledging the regard I have for Truth. His Testimony added to my own consciousness of the thing is no small happyness to me at this time, and I hope he will consider that a Regard for Truth very seldom lodges with Malice and Envy.

I'm far from makeing Comments upon his royal words, tho' I found a great Inclination to clear my own, and which I must stifle for fear of giving more displeasure. I thought I had done nothing disrespectful to the Q. nor had taken any pains to do ill Offices to the Dss. of Mar.

I'm blam'd for accusing, and I'm blam'd for saying too little, at least nothing that's solid. What I said seem'd to me enough to make his Matt enquire farther into the matter at impartial Hands, if he thought mine not so. And considering the person wrote to, I was willing to make use of the smoothest terms I cou'd light on. It was no Alledgeance of mine that such a man was rais'd in his own Opinion. I told it as the judgement of Others also, who expresst themselves in terms I did not care to put upon paper. Whatever fault was in those Expressions, it was pretty powerful, and one very honest man † had

* This is certainly true as to the Facts I informed the K. of, tho' if I had thought the Letters would have been so public, I believe I would have made them shorter. (*The last twenty words were erased by Lord Pittsligo himself.*)

† My Lord Kingston, that poor Gentleman was excessively mortified at Mr. M—y's insolence. I really believe it helped to shorten his days. He was not well before, but his vexation made him worse, and tho' he had a high esteem of the Queen, he left Rome without going to see her, disdainig to apply to Mr. M—y for an audience, tho' all his friends told him it was but a mean trifle and that his omission would give the other a handle to say to the K. we were all a cross, foolish sort of men, which accordingly he got pretty much in his head.

a considerable share in it who is now out of the reach of human Resentments. When I mentioned *Airs*, it was the civilist way I had to express a haughty carriage and for my part I shou'd have been very little moved with that * if I had not heard it was so much observed by strangers even of the greatest note of whom some were disobliged and others made jests.

Now to use My Lord Bristol's words in a letter to King Charles II, reflecting upon all this, what honest men loving his Matt as I do might not even have been transported even to malice. Nevertheless I put it quiet, I only tried to remedy the King at the fountain. I wrote to the K. himself, I consulted with no person for far was I from being imposed upon by his enemys and indeed who those enemys are at Rome is past my comprehension. I need not clear myself as to any correspondence with them elsewhere. If His Matt think I touch his character, well he says he is not so susceptible of ill offices as I imagine I disclaim it altogether for I never had such an imagination and this denial † I take to be as strong as if I swore by Heaven and Earth. His resolution of supporting faithful servants is the most commendable thing in the world, may it ever be rewarded with that fidelity it deserves.

* Mr. Howard, Canon of St. Peters, was my Author that the Pope's own relations were angry, which appears by Dom Carlo Albani's cold behaviour after the Q. came to Rome but he told me Cardinal Albani expresst himself very earnestly. I heard Mr. Dugad the jeweller say the same, for that Cardinal lik'd to have people bring him stories and to be familiar with them. When he spoke of it to me, I seem'd to give no attention to it. It was Mr. Howard also who began the discourse to me. He said very plainly the K. was not long in Rome where the Italians said he was led by two boys. I heard Cardinal Acquaviva took notice of Mr. M—y's ill manners particularly that day he din'd with him.

† I really did not think he had been so apt to take Impressions till it discover'd itself afterwards too evidently. But what can a man do that's besett with such as have no regard for truth? I hope he shall be cured after being well bit. I was indeed at a loss to know what he meant when he said in his letter I knew he was ready to hear anybody upon any subject and against any person. I'm sure I never made a complaint to him upon any mortal.

I think I have said all that is incumbent upon me either for clearing myself or informing his Matt in case my words shall ever have weight with him. He has given me a very good reason not to show his letter if I had an intention to do it. I am only as yet undertermined if I shall show it to my Lord Mar; it is possible he may hear somewhat of my unhappy story and think I have been guilty of some extravagant or foolish thing and as he is the K's most faithful servant he is I believe very much my friend. If I show him the letter then it shall be with this condition, to burn it for my sake and what I have writ too.

I resolv'd to put the best face upon what has happened to me to say as 'tis true that I stay here all this year purely in obedience to the K's orders, that I wrote for leave to Spain and now I have obtained it and that his Matt is willing I should be gone soon and privately for reasons best known to him and me. I propose to take ship at Leghorn going by Loretto * for Marseilles. That I have not the pleasure to see the K. and you will not I hope be taken by my enemies (as everybody has some) for a mark of their Matt's displeasure. As one of my friends I entreat you may use your endeavours if it fall in your way to prevent that suspicion.

Pray give the K. my most hearty thanks for all the favours I have ever received from him. Let it not be thought that what I have said now † is in any way a contradiction to what His Matt was pleas'd to write. I have already begged his pardon. No doubt I have many faults unknown to myself but his Matt allows justification when one thinks himself innocent. What I have ommitted to say or what I have said amiss I desire

* I alter'd that Route, finding it would be more expensive and having no great curiosity to see the fine things in that Chappel. I went straight to Florence and so to Leghorn where I was disappointed of a ship for Marseilles and was fain to be taken in a Felucca for Genoa which made me have more of Italy to pass through.

† I thought it was but civil to say something of this sort, to shew that I did not affect to have the last word.

you would supply it the best way you can so far at least as to assure his Matt I make it for the best and that I would not have spent so many words in my own case if I had not thought with all submission it has some little connection with the interest.

Our correspondence, Sir David, has been but of a short date but I hope you will believe me both with respect and goodwill

Yr most humble servant.

In this letter to Sir David Nairn there were four lines blotted out which were these: 'I might have told that I have seen the Dss of M. in tears, another time ready to faint in the streets. And any that knows her will think there must have been some remarkable mortification.' But before I sent off the letter I thought it was a piece of justice I ow'd the lady to let her know I had taken such a freedom with her name and having that day got a headache so that I could not easily go abroad I sent her the letter with a few words in the cover to excuse myself for seeming to lessen her fortitude for I told her that heroes had been seen in tears. But her letter which follows determined me to blot out those lines—she wrote back thus: 'I am extremely sorry you are out of order. I could better have told you my reasons than I can write them, why I would beg you to omit the lines that concern me in your letter and at the same time I must acknowledge the obligation I owe you for your design in writing them. I shall be obliged already to say more to his Matt than I would by choice have done and a very good reason to beg my name may never more be mentioned about it at least in a public manner, and perhaps your letter may be some more so than you imagine and who knows what construction one body or another may put upon these expressions. I really believe I have writt nonsense. Adieu,' don't think I am scandalised at the tears which are in my opinion no disgrace to a hero much less to a woman and such a woman. It would have been a barbarous thing not to have obeyed her.

Here follows Sir David Nairn's answer to my letter,

MY LORD,—I received yesterday the honour of your Lordship's of the 7th which I immediately delivered to His Matt who returned it to me without saying a word on the contents of it or charging me with any commission for your Lordship. So having no commands of his Matt to execute here I shall trouble you no further at present but to assure you that nobody has a greater value and esteem for your Lop than I have nor will ever be more ready to obey your orders being with all esteem and respect my Lord, Yours, &c.

Montefiascone, Oct. 10. 1719.

I now remember that this is but the second letter I ever had from Sir David, that was the K. wrote me having come to Rome in a packet I think to Sir William Ellis. I imagine by Sir David's civil way of writing he did not think I had been guilty of any horrid crime. I imagine too that what I wrote last had made the K. recollect himself a little since he spoke not one word on the contents of it. It was pity there had not been some people about him at that time to have told him the truth fully. Colonel Clephan was too reserved. For instance he owned himself that the K. askt him if he knew any rudeness Mr. M—y had been guilty of to the Dss. of Mar adding he would never pardon him if he had and conjure him upon his allegiance to tell plainly. Now everybody knew several rude things he had been guilty of to her, such as the refusing her a coach to meet the Q. and actually stopping the horses some hours after she was ready to go, for he condescended after some entreaty to allow her one of the K's coaches, his telling her she had no business with the Q. at the convent and might stay until she was sent for, with more impertinent language which I forget. Yet all Colonel Clephan's answer to the K. was, the Dss. of M. is of age and can answer for herself. It is probable indeed that he has concluded that it was enough to give that hint to the K. who on the other hand having put it to

him in so strong terms has reckoned there was not much in all he had heard.

My Lady M. herself was now about leaving Rome to go to Geneva and being to pass through Montefiascone I was in hopes she would have used some plainness concerning her own ill treatment and that perhaps she would procure some more kindly message for me in expectation of which I resolv'd to stay as long as I could. But all I heard from her was this :

'I was in some dispute with myself whether I should write to you or no lest I should be asked the question and the knowledge of it would certainly bring upon me the accusation of giving an account of what passes here but I have not been so long a Courtier without learning to lye a little though I can say little until I have a better opportunity. A staffetta goes tonight with these letters and I have but time to tell you that I'll very soon tell you more. Adieu.

Montef., Oct. 20.'

Here was but small encouragement to stay at Rome. I have a great hankering however to have waited the K's coming, but it was not thought advisable to put it to the trial. Indeed I could not find out what the public marks of displeasure could be ; I suppose it would be that denial of admittance to the K. Higher I thought it could not well go, and even to incur that I thought would make too great noise.

My Lord Kilsyth and a few more I consulted with, reckoned my going was the most advisable, for I was content to take the advice of some persons since I saw it would not absolutely be a secret and it was enough to tell them what the K. had threatened without shewing them his letter. Their opinion agreed pretty much with my own and my reasons for leaving Rome will further appear in a letter I wrote from Paris.

I had many discourses with my Lord Kilsyth upon the melancholy situation of the K's affairs. He gave me more of Mr. M—y's history than I had been acquainted with.

He said upon the Queens death, this young man had offered his services to Argyle and Yla, that he came to Scotland employed by them to try if any of the K's friends would go into the measures of the new government. He personated the Jacobite still, but Kilsyth said he cautioned the Bishop of Edinburgh and some others to beware of him, so that getting nothing done in Scotland he was dropped by the two brothers and struck in with the English Torries. Kilsyth added that he had been my Lord Mar's professed enemy with several other things. It passed current however with many that he was My Lord Mar's creature and he was called so in a pamphlet. In the end of our conversation, Kilsyth said he would sooner die in a ditch than suffer such folly and insolence and that he hoped the freedom he was to use with the K. should have a good effect.

This account I got of Mr. M—y from Lord Kilsyth made me reflect on what I heard him say once himself in a public company, the discourse going upon several ways of making one's fortune. *His words were that he thought a man should endeavour to raise himself and rub through the world somehow or other.* It was thought however by some that John Hay was the greatest favorite of the two and that Mr. M—y only stood by his interest. I had never had anything to do with that Colonel, he was not long at Rome while I stayed there and common civilitys passed between us. He was not reckoned less assuming than the other and would have fain drawn himself in as a partner with his quarrells. Col. Clephan show'd me a letter from him about this time from Montefiascone wherein he desir'd to give his service to any at Rome that would not think it disagreeable, for indeed he had some enemys there, but that he was very easy about it having a good conscience &c. I said to Col. Clephan it looked as if he had a mind to pick quarrels for I had scarce heard anybody speak of his name either good or bad. I believe I said too, Lord help your conscience.

I thought it was best not to sneak out of Rome as if

I had done some infamous thing. I got myself introduced to the Pope, whom I thanked for the protection I had had so long in his city and for all the good offices he had done the K. I had no scruple about kissing the slipper. The good old man was mighty complaisant, he spoke much in praise of the Q. and what he had done for her husband, of the wickedness of the abjuration, of the oppressions of Italy and his own from the German troops and at last he asked about my Lord Mar and if he was faithful. By which I concluded that his enemys had been making their usual insinuations.

Several of my countrymen would needs make me a visit the day before I went off; I believe they thought all was not right, but I knew not what better to make of it. I was in very good friendship with Mr. Carnegie, though some imagined that he depended too much on Mr. M—y, and they had a worse opinion of Mr. Freebairn from whom nevertheless I had great pretensions of friendship and never discovered anything to the contrary. I mention these two gentlemen's names because it might be thought that Mr. M—y had been at odds with all his countrymen whereas these two were exceptions. Mr. Forrester also paid him a considerable deference, being much charmed as was supposed with his sister.

I had been all along pretty familiar with Col. Clephan. He had told me several things relating to the skirmish at Sheriffmuir. He showed me on paper the first disposition of the battle and how it was broke in the march up the hill, which in all probability deprived us of a complete victory. He was free with me also concerning my Lord Mar, for whom he still professed a very great regard and I believe was in earnest. He showed me letters he had got from Paris containing some suspicion against my Lord Mar, but I reckoned his correspondents not of the very highest character and I guessed whence the reports had flowed. Then he whispered me as if he thought the K. himself had his suspicions. I answered I could not in the least believe it, because My Lady had showed me a letter to her full of the kindest expressions towards her husband,

and this in particular that whatever false friends My Lord and she might have, they should always find him a true one. I could not imagine who those false friends were except Mr. M—y himself, whom it seems the K did not think so.

Col. Clephan was so kind the night before I left Rome to sup with me undesired. He took me out from the company and we talked a great deal. He was grieved at the part some thought he had acted in not being more plain with the K. and begged I would take all the care of his character that I could. I promised my endeavours and told him he had it still in his power to supply anything he had omitted. I am persuaded he is a worthy honest man and I might mention this particular piece of friendship to myself. It had been given out by Mr. M—y that I had kept a close correspondence with my Lord Mar then in Geneva and took pains to disgust him at the King's service. This was not very probable, but to take away the least shadow of a suspicion I went a few days before I left Rome to Col. Clephan and Dr. Barclay, whom I told I was come to make them witnesses of my destroying some letters that had passed between the K. and me, that neither my Lord Mar nor anybody else might ever see them and they had actually gone into the fire if both these gentlemen, whose friendship I ought never to forget, had not strong remonstrated that I knew not how far people's malice might go, who might forge things against me that I had never written and so put it out of my power to vindicate myself if I should destroy my own papers.

I had nothing now to do at Rome but to leave a few lines for Sir D. Nairn, which I gave Charles Forbes to be delivered when he should come from Montefiascone with the K. who was expected in two days. I have not the copy of that letter to insert here for I sent it as shall be told. The substance of it was that I was sorry to leave Rome in such terms; that I stayed as long as I could, still expecting some milder thing but it never came, that I was still at a loss to find the reason of his Matt's displeasure but that since he was angry it was fit for me to

conclude I was in the wrong.* But I entreated he would tell his Matt that whatever faults I was guilty of in that matter they were all my own, that so no innocent body might suffer upon my account.

Thus I left Rome, when I was some hours advanced on my journey I met Mr. McMahon coming from Montefiascone. He had there heard all my story which I had kept more secret at Rome. I cannot forget that his friendship made him shed tears. I told him I was vexed I should go so near where the King stayed without being able to see him, for he lodged within half a mile of the Post House where I was to lie. Mr. McMahon said there was no great matter in that and added he wished I was the only sufferer at Mr. M—y's hands for the Q. herself was plagued by him and his sister who together with Mr. Hay had all the management of the K's family and did several things contrary to her inclination which he particularised to me. We had not indeed much time to talk, another gentleman waiting for him in their chaise, for he had stepped out when I did. I told him of the letter I had left for Sir D. Nairn and he proposed I should send him (Sir D.) a copy I had kept of it when I came to the Post House and also that I should desire him to show the K. I would be glad to kiss his hands and upon this we parted.

It was two in the morning before I reached Montefiascone.

* I mention this because the K. himself had said I was impos'd upon by his enemies. I thought it was better to take the whole load upon my self than to be relieved so poorly. No doubt Mr. M—y to lessen me has represented that I was in great Intimacy with some who he reckoned his enemies and would gladly have had it thought they were by consequence enemys to the K. John Paterson was one he hated very much and sometimes made my Ld. Mar angry at him, though he was much persuaded of his truthfulness and other good qualities and the K. himself took leave of him very graciously when he pass'd with my Lady Mar at Montefiascone. Mr. Erskine was another that Mr. M—y hated and there had been a quarrel betwixt Col. Hay and Mr. Erskine at Avignon. But as I had resolv'd to keep myself free of all Quarrels and Humours as much as I could, I thought on the other hand there was no reason I should throw up friendship with any man because another did not like him.

The King was to part that same day for Rome. Sleeping none, I took Mr. McMahon's advice and wrote Sir David the following letter :

SIR,—I had some Italian disgratias * which made me so late in coming here, for the chaise broke and I was hindered besides. I had one good fortune however in meeting with Mr. McMahon, whom I told I had left a letter at Rome for you and what it contained, and he advised me to send you the copy of it which you have enclosed. I generally act worst when I act without advice, nor is it of late that I suspected everything that proceeded from my own motion, though there are circumstances which a man has no other guide to follow. In short I beg leave to make a proposal, that his Matt. would allow me the pleasure to see him before he parts from Montefiascone or if he does not think that proper should he allow you to tell me I have not forfeited his good opinion and that it pass that I had some kind of commission † from him. It would be a mighty comfort to me and would save some appearances which I still have a great mind should be saved, and I stayed so much longer at Rome thinking it was possible Mr. Wogan might have somewhat for me. How we missed each other on the road I cannot tell but let the King judge as to this thing entirely. He may afflict me but he can never anger me, though it will not be in my power to hinder the world from thinking there are grudges and discontents ; a thing his affairs gained nothing by. I change my route in expectation to overtake the Dss. of Mar at Florence. Next thing to seeing his Matt I should like it very well if you took the trouble

* So they call any little mischances. My Lady Mar was gone for Florence the day before, else I had writt to her too. It was the hope of seeing her again in Italy that contributed to make me alter my design of going to Loretto.

† I can safely say I did not affect to have the name of publick Employment, but to save the appearance of my being in disgrace or rather to conceal the wretched management of affairs at that poor Court. And I was still willing to shew more submission to the K. than if he had been upon the throne.

of coming here that we might talk a little while before I go away, which I must do very soon to have horses. I hope to be of some use to the K. in some other part of the world. I am almost asleep but still yours most heartily, Adieu.

Montefiascone Post House,
Oct. 25, 1719.

It happened oddly that Sir D. Nairn and I passed each other on the road as well as Mr. Wogan and I without knowing it, the postillions sometimes taking byeways. Mr. McMahon has not known that Sir David was to come off so soon, so G. Forrest who I sent very early to the K's lodgings bringing the account how things were, I was fain to go on having no other canal of communication with his Matt. I did not care to venture to go into his house without somebody to introduce me, for I did not then know how easily he had received George Mackenzie and John Paterson, and besides they had people in the house who wished them well and who were all gone before. G. Forrest having brought me back the letter, I left it with the Italian Post Master who promised to give it as he did to a servant of the K's whom I named to him.

I found the Dss. of Mar at Florence. She told me the K. received her very civilly as the Q. did also, who had still a very good opinion of her and liked her company. I do not believe he was fond to hear all my Lady Mar had to say neither could it be agreeable to her to have to tell it. *He said he was sorry there had been little quarrels among them. She confessed for her part she did not meddle or make.* I am persuaded both parties were glad to be free of the discourse. I said to her I wished she had taken the freedom, as she promised, to tell him we were all civilier and wiser people than Mr. M—y had represented us. She laughed and said her vindications would have gone no great length and that she could not have answered more than was asked her. She went on to Geneva and I to Leghorn with design to take a ship for Marseilles.

I must take notice that Mr. Terryl, an Irish gentleman

who had some employment at the Grand Duke's Court, and Sir Thomas Deering, an Englishman who lived for many years in Florence, told me several things concerning Mr. M—y's behaviour with an exactness as if they had been upon the place. The way they had their information was chiefly from Major Guedon and Captain Tool, who had passed a while before and who had some discontent with Mr. M—y.

At Leghorn there was a new scene of affairs, at least an incident which made me much easier than when I left Rome. I received the following letter from Sir D. Nairn :

MY LORD,—I had the honour to receive both your letters of the 24th and 26th of last month since my arrival here, and had I received them before your passing at Montefiascone your Lordship had not left this country without the satisfaction you so much desired of kissing his Matt's hands, who is willing to take the letters you have writt to me as a retraction of your former ones to which it was not possible for him to put so favorable a construction as to pass them over in silence, although you may remark within his answer he did express both a good opinion of you in general and a desire of having a handle of showing no appearance of displeasure, which on some occasions he cannot in decency nor politic avoid giving marks of, whatever his natural disposition to mildness and goodness might otherwise prompt him to, and he was in hopes that having expressed himself with much regard to you from the Dss. of Mar she might have informed you of it. And that so by your acknowledging your past mistakes you might have left this town with the same good opinion that his Matt now has of you. And you may also remark that what the K. writ to you relating to your leaving this country was grounded upon the previous desire you had expressed of your so doing, so that his Matt would not have your Lordship pursue your journey, as if he had required it of you ; that only inasmuch as you may think it for your own private advantage, it not being his intention at present that you should receive either public or private

marks of his displeasure. I cannot on this occasion but mention the just concern the K. is in upon a letter of his to Mr. Wogan having been falsified and sent into France. In this letter his Matt is made to write what he is not so much as capable to think and as it is not to be doubted that whoever falsified the same letter must be greatest and most malicious, so he is persuaded that all who know him or wish him well will not fail of doing him justice on this occasion. It is a favorable one for your Lordship to give him new proofs of that zeal and affection you have been so eminent for and I thought I could not give you better proof of my respect and friendship than in putting it in your power to do what I know would be so agreeable to his Matt and so suitable to that loyalty you have ever expressed for him, I have the honour to be &c.

Rome, Nov. 2, 1719.

This letter put me in very good humour. It is true some expressions of it were a little odd. I could not see the politic which Sir David mentioned, but I was content with the thing in the main. What contributed much to my satisfaction was letters I got at the same time, though I afterwards found that persons were mistaken assuring me the K. was fully informed of all that was of use to him to know ; that my Lord Kilsyth in particular had had a long audience and had been very well believed. My old affectione awakened which produced the following answer to Sir David, still without any study :

SIR,—This morning I had yours of the 2nd which was the most agreeable thing I could have met with nor could I have got it so soon but for a disappointment I had yesterday, for I was to have gone straight to Marseilles and the master of the barque after agreement went off without giving advertisement so now I must take a felucca for Genoa, but as to the King's mind which is of more consequence pray tell his Matt he has been but too good to me both first and last, for even with his displeasure there was something mixed that I did not deserve. I'll

now comfort myself that things are as they are, forgetting even my own failings and drawing a curtain so to say upon all that's passed as I was incapable of feeling the least abatement of my affection to his Matt's person and his cause; I shall never let slip the least opportunity of doing him any service it may fall in my poor hands in this uncertain world. I have positively gone back to Rome on receipt of this last letter to have told the K. so much upon my knee but tis impracticable for a reason * I need not mention. I am heartily sorry anybody should have taken the base liberty you mention of falsifying his Matt's letter.† I cannot so much as guess who this wretch must be I only detest all falsifying and fraud of what kind soever.‡ Meantime you may depend upon it that wherever I shall hear our Master's name spoke of and wherever I can bring it in with discretion I shall still do it with that justice and love that becomes one of his faithfullest servants and I give you hearty thanks for mentioning that thing to me upon the design you did. I would have been very glad to have seen the Q. at her own table but it will do as well at St. James'. We must hope all from Providence. You'll let me hear from you at Paris under Mr. Gordon's cover. I cannot stay there long. In all places I hope you will believe I am &c.

Leghorn, Nov. 9, 1719.

Mr. Wogan and his brother and Captain Misset just came to Leghorn as I was leaving and we went together to Genoa.

* This reason was nothing but want of money. The journey would now be the more expensive that I had miss'd the ship for Marseilles and to travel back to Rome from Leghorn would have made a good addition.

† I heard afterwards the falsifying was not so bad as Sir David had represented it. It was but writt as a piece of news from a Popish Lady to some of her friends in France that the K. had sent an angry letter to Mr. Wogan, and the poor Lady not remembering exactly some of the expressions of it, made these worse in the repeating.

‡ I was content this might be understood as levelled at a particular person, but I thought it improper to rankle the K. again by naming names especially believing he was now duly inform'd.

There our conversation was pretty free, as to all the doings of the small Court. The four gentlemen who brought the Q. from Innspruck were made Knights of Rome a little before they left it. Sir Charles Wogan told me he had some commissions for me, if we had met that day I came away, insinuating there were certain submissions required of me though he said he could not tell me what they were. Perhaps it fell out better that we missed each other for supposing it had been required I should extenuate anything as to Mr. M—y, I could never have done it. I would on the contrary have found myself obliged to tell the K. what I had left untold in my letters.

The substance of what I learnt from Sir Charles Wogan and Sir John Misset was that the Q. was very much disgusted with Mr. M—y and his sister, and also with Mr. Hay though she was acquainted with his management later. That her maid she brought from Germany was mortified and an old gentleman of Prince James' Mr. Chatteau-doux and Mr. Misset's lady. The particulars are too many and too frivolous to insert. He said the Q. was not only angry with Mr. M—y but despised him and was content to see old Chatteau-Doux and Misset mimic his grimaces. Hereupon Mr. Misset fell to work before us and acted him to the life. I protest I was sorry things were so low, the Q. might have had more proper diversions but it is natural to a young body to like such comical representations. Among the rest of our familiarities Sir Charles showed me the account he had writ in French of the Q's escape from Innspruck. Sir John Misset and he took ship for Spain and young Mr. Wogan and I went to Paris through Piedmont and Savoy.

I had a great inclination to see my Lord Mar then in Geneva, both when I was at Turinne and Lyons, but I was dissuaded by some persons who thought it was but a needless exposing of myself to be confined with him. There was indeed no more in it but the satisfaction of seeing him, for I had writ to him as I left Leghorn all that had happened both as to the K's anger and the pacification, and the letter I had from Lord Mar at Paris he said he

was very glad I had left Geneva alone. I cannot but mention the great enconiums the Irish gentleman gave the Dss. of Mar and the aversion they shewed to Mr. M—y's rudeness to her, which they told me they had often seen. When I came to Paris I heard melancholy stories of the K's conduct, though I shunned the discourse as much as possible. I found my own story had got there before me. When my Lord Mar heard first of it, which was from the poor Court, he was vexed at my writing to the K. freely against Mr. M—y for Mr. W. Erskine, then at Paris, shewed me a letter with this expression that it argued little knowledge of the world, but when I informed him of the case as it really was he was satisfied with what I had done and the same affection he had for the K. made him take the same freedom in laying some things before him. I shall insert a part of the letter I had from him at Lyons since it relates to this subject: 'When you are at Paris I shall write to you more fully than I can do now, when I will say of what you write me of your affairs is that it has vexed me heartily and I have wrote more of that in particular and some other things in general than perhaps ever will be known, but if ever we meet you will see some part of it. Mr. Dillon and Lord Panmure I believe have been told a good part of the story which I thought was fit to inform of, that you may know the better how to behave with them. They are both honest men so that you will be safe with them. I heartily wish that things were even, but as well where you came from as to those matters as you now believe them, but I much believe folks eyes are not yet fully open, nor has one you mention by a letter I have seen later than Charles' [Forbes] to you, spoke so fully and freely as he says and I question if any now there will *—you must forgive me

* Ld. Mar indeed told me after his coming to Rome from Milan Castle, he would medle no more as Secretary and shew'd me letters he had writt to the K. full of regard and affection and I still heard him speak of his Matt in the same terms. He told me withall he believ'd his own days would not be many, that he found the trouble in his stomach still worse and would try the waters of Bourbon. But some days after the report

for blaming you for mentioning a lady of our acquaintance amongst the other things you wrote of after what I had told you of what concerned myself. I know you did it with a good design. I have the same opinion of those people you recommend to me as you have. Of several of them I wrote some time ago as earnestly as I could but alas money is now wanting there more than ever which is lamentable and I see little prospect of relief. The chief reason for my being still kept here is some discourse our friends in Holland are said to have had about me. Of my return where I was, as soon as I had liberty of going from this and being the same way as formerly, all I desire of my friends at present is to say as little of me as possible one way or other, hear of me what they will and I must be contented to have patience and hope that in the end it will be seen I have nothing to be ashamed of nor any friend for me. I reckon your leaving Paris will not be very sudden and I would fain hope our friend will still give orders to make you a little easy there and if he does not, I persuade it poverty will be a greater obstacle than anything else——’

I could not but reflect that this last sentence showed a great affection for the K. upon whose actions he was still willing to put the best construction, but I was resolved not to have had any money that way, though it had been offered, for I believed indeed the K. was but ill provided and then considering what had happened I was glade to

came of the Duke of Ormond’s being landed in England, which put him into an extasie of joy and made him leave Rome again upon some other view than drinking waters in France. He did tell me about that time, he was sensible some people had been endeavouring to undermine him and he was not sure but they had made some impressions on the K. As to my mentioning his Lady, I wrote him from Paris that I had still acted in this matter with an eye to the general good, and that I did not mention that Lady as she was his wife but as a person of quality of another nation who had really been a sufferer and had it in her power to do the K’s reputation harm and besides it seem’d to be the chief thing he was willing to listen to—he told Col. Clephan he would never pardon his rudeness to her.

shew my independency as much as I could—I mean upon those little people about him.

I took occasion to speak with my Lord Panmure and General Dillon. The former I found very much discontented with the new set about the K, also had some grudge at his nephew [Mar] who he thought had not allowed him a share in the employment. He said he was not let into business &c. The complaint was natural enough but not very well grounded.

Mr. Dillon was frank as to my own particular. He told me he had taken the liberty to write to the K. when he heard of that angry letter from Spain to Mr. Wogan and thought the K. had been too severe upon his Scotch subjects. He said M—y was a confident avanturier and indeed he was not bashful. I heard he was once putting in to be the manager of the K's affairs at Paris in place of Mr. Dillon and my informer said he would have done less hurt in that character, though on the other hand he could not have continued long in it for want of politeness and some other qualities. But to return to Mr. Dillon he told me also he had seen the letters that passed-between the K. and me and even the last I wrote to Sir D. Nairn from Leghorn. This we both looked on as designed to vindicate Mr. M—y since I had spoke of my failings and said it was *fit for me to conclude I was in the wrong since the K. I found was angry*. But these words had no relation to Mr. M—y in whose favor I retracted nothing and Mr. Dillon told me I had writ nothing a man of honour could be ashamed of and that he was rather afraid some of my expressions should have been taken for a kind of raillery. The same thought came in my head when I was writing the letter and I was once going to strike out the expressions. In fine Mr. Dillon would needs give me more approbation than I expected. He expressed a great regret for the present state of affairs and I begged of him to continue his freedom with the K. since it was not taken amiss.

I afterwards visited Mr. Lewis Innes but spoke not a word to him of the scrape I had been engaged in. He came

to see me and entered upon the subject without any preamble. He said it was not such a secret as I imagined, for he had seen all the letters pro and con. I confess I was a little vexed at this again but it soon wore off though it was still a grief to think there was some infatuation in the case.

Many other discourses I heard at Paris which made me write the following letter to Mr. McMahon, being resolved never to give over trying anything that seemed in the least to lie in my hands :

SIR,—You'll forgive me that I have not sooner wished you a good new year. May all true happiness ever attend you, indeed I was never fond of writing letters and my slowness that way has been quarrelled by my best friends. This fault I believe has its punishment that follows it, for I find myself sometimes obliged to write upon disagreeable subjects. You remember, dear friend, at our parting on the road my heart was a little heavy. The letter I received at Leghorn from Sir D. Nairn made me much easier and I wrote him answer out of the fullness and simplicity of heart,* that letter I find has been sent here. You remember too that my great design was to suppress the whole story as much as possible, because I saw how little our Master's interest gained by it, but my design has been counteracted and the thing has gone abroad without any fault of mine, I protest to you and what is still worse there have been scandalous additions and suggestions as if I had falsified the K's letters and sent coppies to France and England. These assertions were a little shocking again but I despised them almost the minute I heard them and I hope they meet with little credit. However since a man ought not to be too indolent as to his character the only thing of value in this world I must give it in charge to a few friends. Allow me to put you in this list that if ever you hear it said I was obliged to leave Rome upon such a shameful account you'd be so kind to say

* Lest Mr. Dillon had been blam'd for informing me of that particular. I shew'd him this letter, against which he objected nothing.

you are persuaded to the contrary and that his Matt himself is so, as appeared by Sir D. Nairn's letter to me wherein I have the honour of a commission to undeceive people as to his own letter from Spain; a pretty clear mark that he did not look upon me as capable of forgery. You cannot forget that what lay heaviest upon me at my leaving Rome was the fear his Matt's affairs should suffer such managements, I don't know how to call them. For that reason I would have gladly stood it out and come to an explication of matters with himself but I was under these difficulties, that he had given me a strong specification unless I changed my sentiments as he was pleased to express it; so that having no sentiments to alter, I thought the best way to prevent noise was to walk off, for if I had met with any severe usage there must have been different constructions put upon it and if some persons should say I deserved it, others perhaps would say the K. was ill advised and I tell it to you once more by all that's good, that his character was what I had most in view. Another difficulty was, that if I had come to such an explication I must have been free perhaps to an excess. I know my own temper and I dared not trust myself. By freedom, I mean the liberty of telling his Matt he had been extremely abused in that representation made to him of the undutiful carriage of his people towards the Q. It was said they refused to be introduced to her, she herself was made to believe it, the Cardinal got the same impression and in the meantime, all was false. I knew everything which related to that matter. I knew more fictions too, which were as groundless and by which the reputations of his Matt's best friends suffered, so as matters stood then I believe it was best for me to content myself with what I had writ to the K. hoping it would be supported by those who should have the honour to talk with him and who knew the same things. I found myself at a loss, though I minded it little, that some expressions both in Sir D. Nairn's letter and mine were taken in a sense which I believe neither of us meant, for instance Sir D. Nairn says in that letter I got at Leghorn

his Matt was willing to take the last letters I wrote to him Sir D. as a retraction of my former ones &c. I confess at the time I did not like the word but I thought it was unfit to take notice of it in my answer which as I told you before was writ with abundance of joy and it was not for me to dispute about the propriety of words with his Matt. But now some who have been told that I retracted, do make a conclusion that I had said some thing which was not to be true, a thing I was far from meaning. I remember indeed in my former letters I asked his Matt's pardon, since he told me I had offended him, adding that since he was angry, it was fit for me to conclude I was in the wrong, though I could not accuse myself of any unworthy thing, or somewhat to that purpose in all which I think there is nothing beneath the dignity of a man which I was still willing to preserve together with the duty of a subject. But it will be asked me what I meant by writing from Leghorn that I would have gone back to have told his Matt so and so upon my knees. This is thought to be much more penitential than I had in view, I'm by no means ashamed of the expression for I must err in everything I put my hand to, but the time and the occasion ought to be considered which I had writing that letter. The K. had forgiven what was passed I thought it was proper for me even to forget it. He had withal ordered Sir D. to say some very gracious things to me to which I thought I was bound to make as thankful and hearty returns and everybody knows that neither words nor postures are at all times the acknowledgement of shameful guilt. Here is a strange run of words my dear friend. You'll think I'm at a deal of pain to support a character. I was willing indeed to let you know a little of what I had met with, at the same time I wish I may not deceive the world with fair appearances for to tell you frankly I have had the good luck to come pretty clear off. I say as little upon the head as I can. To shut one's ears or stop one's mouth altogether is scarce possible. When I am asked why My Lord Kilsyth did not kiss the Q's hand, I answer he never refused it.



When they ask why his Matt was offended at me I say that the displeasure ceased very soon and it seems I had done something which was impolite.* But the greatest vexation I could have in this world is when I hear our Master's character attacked by strangers as I have by some of the first quality and who have a great love for him. They say in short he is in the hands of children and worthless ones too, that he is willing to converse with none but them, that he takes part in their quarrels and sinks his own reputation to support theirs with much more of that kind. The same things were said, you know, by strangers in Italy and which is yet more unfortunate they are said by natives of England. I have no expedients to propose and I am not worthy enough to pray, though it is still allowed to the worst of livers. May Heaven therefore preserve our K. in his person and in his character which will be of more use to him than the united powers of France and Spain and may all men repent of their doings. I design this odd letter to come to you by the first address and it cannot fall into safer hands. Destroy it or keep it by you a little, as you think fit but you will soon remember the contents of it. I had it written that you were become great courtiers at Rome. Those certainly are the best courtiers who study the good of their master; there are some who think to make court by a humble submission to anybody they suppose high in his favor and often they make very wrong calculations. Be that as it will, I believe it wont be easy for your long stiff back to make too low bows at any court in Christendom. I think now I fall to trifling and it is time to make an end. Pray give my service heartily to all friends.

I could have wished Charles Forbes here since Mr. Law may yet be useful to him. I believe J. Edgar and he only stay for want of money but the loss of Charles' time is more to be pitied because he has a wife and children. I have likewise heard my Lord Kilsyth's friends say that

* The whole letter was writt for the sake of these few lines. I reckon'd Mr. McMahon would shew it, though I had given him no express commission.

he has personal friendships with this great man who is thought to remember good offices very well, you may tell my Lord so much. 'Tis true the millions are now over, but those who have some money to put in may yet make something as 'tis believed. Southesk and everybody here is dipt, I am the only exception, but really I design to see, if I could find a little money in Britain, to try the experiment two months hence; the motive of which is to clear some debts which I have been oppressed with ever since I entered upon the world. I wish you what is better than money, Dear Sir Adieu.

Paris, June 22, 1720.

I was content to mix all those little things that if the K. saw the letter he might think there was the less design upon him in it and saw it might make the royal impression, for it had been improper at that time to impress my sentiments upon him. I knew not the fate of this letter till after I came to London.

Before I left Paris, I had another letter from my Lord Mar which to me seems a very genuine proof of his affection for his Master, notwithstanding some treatment he must have had ground to complain of; the letter will speak best for itself:

'I had the pleasure of yours of the 17th and am glad mine came to your hands at last. What is said of our friend gives one no small uneasiness. It was easy to see it would be so, it was the principal cause of my concern about all these matters and made me do all in my power to remedy them; perhaps I get little thanks at present for my pains, but as my motive was not to make my court there, that's no great matter. I have done my duty and a time may yet come when eyes will be opened and will see at last where they have been imposed upon and by whom, and then do what they can to remedy these things and I heartily wish they may not suffer so much by them in the meantime that it will then be too late. This I only say to you who I'm sure will make no

bad use of it and there's another thing I cannot help mentioning, though with regret and principally on our friend's account, which is that of so many as had opportunity and were in a manner invited to it, none had the courage I may say the honesty freely and frankly to tell the whole truth, except one or two who were thought in some measure parties; for the accounts you and some others have wrote you with so much confidence and assurance of some people's having spoke their mind so freely and fully were all untruths and 'tis wonderful the writers could write it so freely, as having it from the people themselves when in a post or two thereafter they were forced to write again that they had asked those people about it and they had deny'd they had spoke any such thing and particularly what concerned that which had been spoke in the Coffee House * and as to a certain lady that they knew nothing of but by heresay. What could our friend think after this of what had been told him, when those who might be judged impartial and could not but know, all said so. There are two of those people specially who I thought had more sense than to have betrayed I may say their Master their friends and a cause in some measure by their illtimed silence which could do no good to themselves as I'll tell them if ever I have a fit opportunity, but flesh is grass and may show us how hard it is to show us the bold upright man. For my own part I believe I have been freer than welcome and I see well how it must be towards me in time coming but that shall have no effect on me in making me do what is wrong. I am extremely sorry that you are to leave France

* This must be the story of Mr. M—y's pretending to have dissuaded Ld. Mar from taking such a route when he was seiz'd at Voghera, which he positively said he had dissuaded in the hearing of many and deny'd it again to Ld. Mar as positively. 'Tis also very hard to reconcile with our own people's way of writeing for it was certainly writ me at Leghorn which I have mentioned before of the K's being fully inform'd of matters by Ld. Kilsyth when it seems they have had little but their own fancy for a foundation of their intelligence but 'tis natural sometimes for the fancy to work according to the wishes. Whatever be of that, my Ld. Mar says very well—*What could our Friend think?*

before I am likely to be there, for I want of all things to show you some things and to have some discourse with you on this side the water since on the other seems to be at so great a distance if ever. But whatever you may hear of me in this fruitful world of stories I wish you and anyone who have concern of me may delay or suspend your judgement until you come to know what I have to say for myself. When you chance to see any of my friends I doubt not of your giving the best turn to things you can find. They are indeed bad at present and it becomes us to submit to Providence but things may change and be more to our liking.

Jan. 4, 1720.'

There were some other very kind expressions in that letter and other things which I have suppressed and indeed the caution was given me to put it in the fire, the most of it being for myself alone. What I have inserted is I think not contrary to the trust. I wrote back to him in the easiest manner I could ; to hinder his mortification from growing I told him in a merry way the same author that said '*flesh is grass*' said also '*Fret not thyself because of evil doers.*' After which there has passed but little between us worth putting down. I understood that many took great freedom with his character but all I desired when I spoke of his name was according to his own commission that they might suspend their judgment. But at this time the K. must have had a regard for him, for I saw a copy of a letter which had been writ by him, I think to Captain Stratton, wherein he desires his friends to have a good opinion of his faithful bookkeeper. There was indeed in the same letter a long vindication of Mr. M—y, complaining again of the spleen and peevishness of others and that he had found nothing in that young man's behaviour any way to be blamed with much greater speeches upon him. I was again ready to think the infatuation continues, but was glade to have recourse to any comfort and to put it upon the foot of his being so lamely informed.

A day or two before I left Paris, I spoke privately with

Mr. Law and begged of him to use his best endeavours to get My Lord M. out of Geneva, he said he would certainly do his best to serve my Lord both with the Regent and in his own particular, so he expressed it and desired I might bid Will Gordon call at him for a letter he was to write him. I reckoned also by some words he dropped that he was not averse to the K's interest of which I had some more information afterwards and it was conjectured that the Abbe Du Bois and Argenson's hatred of him was increased upon that account.

At London I heard but too much of the K's being in bad hands and was told there was little correspondence with anybody in England who could be of any use to him. However I said very little of Mr. M—y, but was told that others had not been so sparing in their characters of him.

I got an answer from Mr. McMahon to the long letter I wrote to him from Paris, the substance of which was that he had spoke with the King concerning it and offered it him to read which he waived, but bid Mr. McMahon tell the contents of it which, says he, 'I did and read him a great part of it which brought him upon the old justification (I suppose of Mr. M—y) but still with the great appearance of repenting the warm steps that were made in regard to my friend (meaning me) who he says he has now convinced had no share in misrepresenting the expressions in his two letters—he professed a very great deal of regard for my friend and I believe with sincerity,' which I was very glade to hear of though it be somewhat of the latest.

I came home this year about the middle of June. I took notice of the humanity I had met with even from the poor country people before I went abroad, and I ought not to forget the civility and friendship of some strangers of several nations though 'tis but a melancholy reflection to think I am never likely to see them again and that I must expect to hear very little about them.

AS TO THE cause or motive that led me into those adventures of different kinds I shall say nothing about it, but that it appeared to be among the obligations

required of me, having only designed by a bare narrative of some circumstances less material in themselves than in the sources they seem to flow from and the consequences they also threaten.

Sept. 16, 1720.

END OF LORD PITSLIGO'S NARRATIVE.

A very much later letter from Lord Pitsligo, showing him still the faithful friend, fitly closes this section :

Edinburgh, Oct. 8th, 1738.

DEAR MR. EDGAR,—I went last year to Bath on account of my Son's health, and I thank God the journey has not been without success, tho' he is still upon a very low Dyet. Yesterday I saw Mrs. Abercrombie (the honest Doctor's widow) who told me you were pleas'd to remember me, as I assure you I ever remember you, with a great deal of Affection, and 'tis a Quality I value my self upon that I can never forget a Friend. But to say no more in my own Praise, I give you hearty thanks for your Friendship to good Mrs. Abercrombie, not doubting your continuance of it for the future. I long much for an Evening's Conversation with you. I believe we could find subject matter for two. I know not what more I can say. You may suppose me the same man you left me, only about nineteen years older, and I fear with little acquisition of Prudence for so long a time; I have lost a world of Friends, and some of infinite worth, since we parted, but I rejoice when I think of those that remain. This is a poor Letter to be sent so far, but you'll accept of it as it is from a sincere friend and humble servant. P.

(*Stuart Papers, Windsor.*)

PART II

LETTERS

FROM THE DUKE OF MAR, JAMES MURRAY AND OTHERS,
BEARING UPON THE NARRATIVE OF LORD PITSLIGO,
AND TAKEN FROM THE STUART MSS. AT WINDSOR,
BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION OF H.M. THE KING

INTRODUCTION TO PART II

AFTER the straightforward, if somewhat long-winded, account of the misunderstandings and quarrels at Rome given by Lord Pitsligo himself, it is interesting and illuminating to read the documents on the other side. These consist of Murray's self-justifications which seem so curiously to have imposed upon the King, the most complete being that given on p. 201; the Duke of Mar's dispassionate, if somewhat laboured, accounts of the episodes in which he was concerned; and a few from other Jacobites.

The first two letters, given on pp. 143-6, are those written by Mar, while he was still with his Master in Rome, evidently most anxious to prepare the way for a complete severance from Jacobite activities, and wishing that what he said might be placed on record (otherwise there was no need to write).

These two letters are badly stained, apparently with wine, and much crushed. They may have been given to John Hay, to afford reading for the King during his protracted voyage to Spain, where Mar was to have joined him, travelling by sea from Genoa. Internal evidence in these letters reveals that Mar himself had considerable doubts of doing so, and in fact he never rejoined his Master at all.

The cipher names in most of these letters have been translated, either by the man who made and filed the copies (usually Edgar), if they are letters emanating from the King or other correspondent in Rome—or, in the case of those received, by the hand of whoever among the royal correspondents did so receive them.

Lord Pitsligo is first mentioned by Murray, in the letter on p. 148, as among those he believes to be unfavourable to himself. The other Scottish Jacobites were almost unanimously friends of Pitsligo rather than of Murray.¹ In the long letter, given on p. 192, from Campbell of Glendarule, the writer does not hesitate to put plainly before the King the injustice done to Lord Pitsligo and the probable consequences to the Jacobite cause of this treatment of a faithful servant.

In December 1719 the King asks Mar if he wants the whole thing dropped, and enquires again about Murray's alleged rudeness to Lady Mar. It will be noted that throughout this correspondence Mar's title of Duke, conferred upon him by the King in 1715, is sometimes used and sometimes ignored. The patent was renewed in 1722.

(In 1720, Mar was to ask Lord Pitsligo's support when his own character was blackened, and in January of that year wrote : ' Whatever you may hear of *me* in this fruitful world of stories, I wish you and anyone who have concern of me, may delay or suspend your judgment until you come to know what I have to say for myself. When you chance to see any of my friends, I doubt not of your giving the best turn to things you can find.')

Mar's account of the whole business of the spring of 1719, substantially agreeing with Lord Pitsligo's own, makes it the more incomprehensible that the King should have upheld Murray against him, but the latter had certainly some curious fascination for James, who, although obliged to part with him in the following year, managed to get him back in 1725 (see p. 134).

On March 24, 1719, Mar wrote again to the King, describing a visit to ' Cardinal Aquin,' who seemed to

¹ See the letter of Charles Forbes of Brux on p. 187, and another from Charles Smith, the Agent in Boulogne, who wrote that whoever deserted the cause ' there is one that will never change and that is Pitsligo.'

share Murray's views as to the imprisonment at Voghera and Milan being Mar's and Perth's own fault, and was cold to them and unhelpful in regard to their now joining the King in Spain. Mar concluded by hoping his letter 'may find the King in England, which I think is not improbable, and I wish it may be at St. James that my stars may be so kind to me as to afford me a speedy way of attending yr Majesty soon there. But the difficulty in all the different ways I can possibly go, appear as yet to be so many, that it is a great griff of heart to me. That all happiness and success may attend yr Majesty are the earnest prayer and heart wishes of yr most faithful servant and duitful subject.

'As to news or accounts about the Princess, I reffer them to Mr. Murray, who has the letters from those parts, but he has little to add, at this time to the accounts he gave yr Matie. I presume, of them by last post.'

Mar wrote, on March 25, begging to be allowed to go to the waters of Bourbon for gout in the stomach, adding that, if the Restoration took place, he would of course go to Bath in preference. He left Rome in April and never saw the King again, sending the seals back somewhat perilously to Spain, where, however, they did safely reach the King, and says: 'If your Mat goes to England I am no more Secretary of State the minute your Mat lands there, as I told your Majesty already.'

Mar should originally have gone from Genoa to Spain, according to the King's plans, and Murray in his letter to the King says openly 'Mar was to blame for going thro' the Emperor's territory, that he had been present when the matter was discussed between the King and Cardinal and that passing thro' the Milan was never mentioned!'

Murray says that he 'values the D. of Mar's friendship very little,' but adds, 'if the usage I received from the Duke of Mar, in one of his splenetic hours, were capable

of making me nurse the least spirit of resentment in what I have the honour to lay before yr M. I'm sensible I should deserve to be dispised for it.'

After the King's marriage—which took place on September 1, 1719¹—the Court remained at Montefiascone until the beginning of November. The Pope would apparently have been quite glad if James had stayed away longer—but the latter insisted on returning to Rome.

On September 20 he wrote a letter of 13 pages to Mar, going over all the ground of the Murray-Pitsligo story again and reiterating his trust in Mar, ending: 'I have tired you, I am sure with this long letter, but it would be yet longer did I go about expressing to you the least part of my true kindness and friendship for you, for I shall not be easie till I know you are it, nor can I be, entirely, till you are with me.'

Meantime, Mar was making arrangements to receive from Stair the sum of £1000 from the English Government to pay the debts he had contracted during his stay in Geneva, which could scarcely be called an imprisonment, merely a detention, though he wrote several times that his health was suffering from lack of sufficient exercise.

There is no doubt that he did receive this sum, or rather Lord Stair's credit for it, to pay his debts, but of the regular pension promised him he never heard any more, the English Government having realised that as a revealer of Jacobite secrets he was a very poor bargain.

He went off, with Stair's connivance, if not by his arrangement, from Geneva, to enjoy the waters of Bourbon, where his wife joined him later from Rome, and they then proceeded to Paris, where they lived on her jointure and some irregular supplies from the English Government for the next 10 years.

¹ The date is sometimes given as Sept. 2 since the ceremony began at the curious hour of midnight on Sept. 1.

King James's own point of view was that Mar was trying to force his Master to have him back on his own terms, that is, the banishment of Hay, and himself wrote to Hay when the latter was in Paris: 'How impossible it must be for Martel [the very transparent disguise for Mar] and I to agree should he return to me with the intention of lording it. If I am not to be allowed, as I may call it, to be my own master, even in my own private family—If having access to me be a crime, I must be locked up in a closet and be served by nobody—Why *you* should be so attacked, nobody knows, but so the world goes, and everything that I do, or anybody that pleases me is disliked and they must be punished unjustly and others must be in my family, in spite of my teeth. But no more—God's will be done.'

Later he agrees: 'Mr. Murray has asked leave to retire, but in the meantime he does not leave this place till I see a little further into the matter.'¹

The later career of James Murray must be briefly sketched and illustrated by further letters from the Windsor archives.

In November 1720 Hay wrote plainly that 'Morpeth [the cant name for Murray] *must* be removed,' and it was considered better, by all parties, that he should leave the Court for a while. Mar 'felt himself unable' to return to Rome and take up the duties of Secretary of State; he had left Italy and had no wish ever to return there. King James found it necessary to appoint someone, and realising that Murray was impossible in that capacity, owing to the

¹ Later still he had to agree to part with John Hay, at the same time recalling Murray (as Lord Dunbar). Then he allowed the retirement of Dunbar to Avignon and relied for some time upon Daniel O'Bryen, whom he created Lord Lismore, and finally, in his old age, on Sir John Graeme, created Lord Alford, to whom he wrote a most pathetic letter in 1759, requesting his return to Rome, a letter of one old man to another begging for companionship.

fact (which the King could no longer ignore) that so many other Jacobites both disliked and distrusted him, felt he was better out of the way. Murray begged earnestly to be allowed to remain in Rome till after the Queen's delivery. This was permitted, so that he was there at the birth of Prince Charles, but he was quite willing to go thereafter, having written to Hay, who was in Paris, on October 20, 1720, that he had 'no desire to be an obstacle to the King's affairs.'

The letter, dated September 28, 1720 (on p. 195), shows that Murray was fully aware that a successor to Mar as Secretary of State would have to be appointed, and that it could not be himself, though he had in the interim been doing most of the work of that office—with pride and pleasure. The faithful Edgar was always the King's private secretary,¹ and no one but Murray ever said a word against him on the way he performed his duties.

The letter on p. 198—'James Murray into Scotland'—of which the draft is among the Stuart Papers, was in duplicate to many persons. It constitutes a kind of Apologia by James Murray for himself. General Dillon and Lord Lansdowne so disapproved of Murray's being even allowed to defend himself from the charge of trying to oust Mar and intriguing for his place, that they held up this letter in Paris, until the King's positive commands forced them to send it on to its destination (see p. 195).

Others also realised that Murray was a distinct danger to the Jacobite cause.

Will Erskine (Pittodrie's brother), writing to the Duke of Mar, on February 24, 1722, from Fleury, says: 'I beg leave to let your Grace know the news of the country, which I am told by an English Lady who has been for

¹ And, as the King's warrant describes him, 'Clerk of the Bills.'

some time at Rouen, which is that your Grace designs ere long to pay Scotland a visit, pursuant to a Scheme that you had laid before his Majesty some time ago, now approved of not only by him, but also his friends in England and Spain. Your Grace will lauf when I tell you that Mr. M—y is the lady's author, whether it is that he fancied by this means to get in to her good graces or to show the world that he is still well with the King, I can't tell. If the former, his politick has taken a wrong turn, for the Lady went yesterday for England, loaded with his secrets, without trusting him, I fear, with any of hers, but if the other, he judges well, for she will not fail to whisper the story about in England and to tell from whom she has it. . . . I was very much persuaded the King was too wise not to know the persons very well to whom he would communicate any scheme and I have some reason to believe that Gentleman at present at too great a distance in many respects—I must confess I hate that man's character so much that I did all I could to persuade the lady that it was all Gammon.' ¹

In April 1722 Mar wrote to Hay from Paris a long and confused letter, of which the gist would appear to be that it is a very good thing that Murray is no longer at Rome, but that John Hay must on no account desert his post, nor must Mrs. Hay do so either, in spite of the unpleasant things being said about her, since otherwise the Queen would be left with no woman friend beside her. Some of the Scots wanted the Hays to go, and it is very curious, a year later, to find the informer, Stosch (who was

¹ The Erskines of Pittodrie were a Jacobite family of Aberdeenshire. Thomas, the Laird in 1715, was 'out' under the Earl of Mar, accompanying the Earl Marischal to Aberdeen, and his uncle James was a prisoner in Stirling, but eventually discharged.

William, the Laird's brother, was also a Jacobite, but escaped to France after endeavouring to tamper with the Foot Guards in 1719. He lived long abroad and much of his correspondence is in the Stuart Papers.

known in Rome as John Walton), telling the British Government that John Hay was the only man of ability in the Royal circle at Rome. Stosch must also have had a high opinion of Hay's honesty and honour, since no suggestion of buying his services was ever made, only of the necessity for his removal, which Lansdowne and Dillon, under the mistaken idea that he was responsible for the jealousies in Rome, also urged.

This letter from Mar is made unnecessarily confusing by the variety of cant names used for different people and by the change occasionally from first to third person, but from the whole of it emerges clearly the fact that Mar was very glad to be out of the troubles and jealousies which surrounded John Hay and his wife, and not really inclined even to advise them, though still profuse in assurances of friendship for Hay at least, and of devotion to the King. This devotion had taken no practical form for many years past, nor was ever to do so again, though it has never been proved that Mar was an active traitor. In fact, as has been said, the Hanoverian agents seem to have complained that he was of little use to them, and had not earned the money he received from Stair. Friendly letters between him and his Master continued to be exchanged for some years—in spite of repeated warnings to James by his own friends and by Mar's enemies.

One of the last letters Mar wrote to King James is given on p. 219. An undated letter from George Hamilton to Edgar has an interesting passage. Hamilton was the devoted friend who went north with Mar on the collier from London to Newcastle on August 2, 1715, was with him up to the date of Sheriffmuir, and being the best soldier in the Jacobite army was certainly responsible for whatever was workmanlike in the dispositions of the Highland troops at Sheriffmuir.¹ Mar chose to make him

¹ As noted by the enemy.

the scapegoat for his own failure on that day, and sent him back to France on the ship which brought James Stuart to Peterhead on December 23, 1715, because (he said) the Scots no longer liked 'Poor George,' who was thenceforward left to carry out, if possible, Mar's instructions in Paris, till the end of the campaign, when all those who had escaped went to Avignon and so to Italy. Hamilton, who had returned to Paris, wrote: 'As for the Duke of Mar, I have neither seen him at home nor so much as by accident since I came to Paris. I am told he has writ a defence in his own justification, which is not come out yet to the public. I think he will do better to let it alone, being persuaded it must do more hurt to his own honour that it can possible to any other.' The defence, apparently, never saw the light.

King James was still (even as late as the month of May 1722) firmly believing in Mar as the leader of another expedition to Scotland. Among those suggested as new Secretaries of State for the King was Matthew Prior (the poet), who had some experience of that kind of work, having been English agent in Paris under Queen Anne, but had always had Jacobite sympathies; and John Law, the great financier, who had just been dismissed from his post under the French Government.

King James did not look favourably upon either man proposed to him. Neither was of good family. Prior had served the rival sovereigns, King William, Queen Anne and King George, too long, and had been, though unwillingly, instrumental in drawing up the Treaties of Ryswick and of Utrecht—both unfavourable to the Stuarts. He was also getting old, having been born in 1664.¹ John Law had no experience either of courts or diplomacy. He had been useful in obtaining the payment of Clementina's dowry, a difficult matter in the then disturbed state

¹ He died in 1721.

of Europe, but the King had no desire for his personal services. He wrote in November 1722: 'Law was never employed by me, nor trusted in anything, though I believe him perfectly honest.'¹

On February 8, 1721, the King wrote again to John Hay: 'Mr. Murray parted from hence on Thursday to go through Germany into France. I dayly expect from England my friends' advice as to a Secretary.' In his first letter to Murray the King also says: 'Mr. Knight' (himself) is still a 'commis' (*i.e.* a clerk having to write his own despatches).

An anonymous letter 'from Rome to England' says: 'Mr. Murray is now in France, where I believe he will remain in a retired way till one sees a little how matters go. Lord Mar will, I daresay, be the same friend he ever was,² yet he is unalterable in his resolution of being no longer bookkeeper and in the meantime the inconvenience of the want of one must be visible to all.'

John Hay had his own troubles at this time, in witnessing the growing tension between the grave King and his jealous wife—jealous as yet only of the political business in which she was, very wisely, not allowed to share. Honest John Hay voiced his anxieties, unfortunately, in a long letter to Mar, in whom he still believed. He fears that 'the King and Queen will fall out, and then, what a noise that will make, and where will be our prospect of a succession.' He concludes this confidential letter, of date April 21, 1721, with the earnest request: 'For God's sake burn all, and show this to no one living,' so that it seems unbelievable that he himself should have kept a copy. Mar perhaps sent the original back to Rome, and the methodical Edgar filed it with the rest.

¹ Law fled from France on the collapse of his financial schemes and died in Venice in 1729.

² This was probably said sarcastically.

The King continued to write in the kindest manner to Murray and in a letter, of date April 24, 1721, when the latter had just left Munich, says: 'I always thought your leaving this place necessary on your own account. I am daily more and more convinced of it, and that a little moderation and patience will bring matters to your satisfaction. I wish and believe they may soon, for I shall always be a true friend to you.'

Six months later Murray himself wrote to Hay from Luneville on October 16, 1721: 'I find that my retreat for 9 months past has changed nothing in the behaviour of certain persons towards me,' and a few weeks later he says again: 'I protest against all the lies that are put about concerning me. I asked the King's promise before I left him that he would not believe anything to my disadvantage without hearing me, and obtained it.' This statement is confirmed by a letter written by the King on November 10, of which the copy by James Edgar was, as usual, preserved and is among the Stuart Papers.

Murray was having quite an amusing time, visiting the Court at Lorraine¹ and other places, and when he arrived in Paris, he called upon all the Jacobite refugees living there, including the Duke of Mar, about whom he had certainly talked injudiciously in former years. He had apparently no shame or 'false pride,' and was hardened to rebuffs. He was indeed, as Glendarule called him, 'a confident adventurer.' Of himself he says: 'Jamie Murray, when he has forgott politicks and when politicks have forgott him, will still pass for no disagreeable person

¹ The Duke of Lorraine was the kind friend, who had formerly afforded King James shelter when turned out of France by the Treaty of Utrecht. He was Leopold, last Duke of the House of Vaudemont. Dying in 1729, he was succeeded by his son, Francis, who married Maria Theresa, and was compelled to exchange his patrimony of Lorraine for the Duchy of Tuscany, while Lorraine was given to Stanislaus Leczinski, ex-King of Poland, with reversion to France on his death. Francis became Emperor in 1745.

for one to live in friendship with,' but his real friends were few.

Mar was not in the least pleased to see him when he got to Paris, and wrote to John Hay in Rome: 'In my last, I gave you some account of Mr. Murray since his coming to this place, and the great airs he gave himself, which he continues to do, and talks much of his correspondence with Rome. I went to wait upon him, but did not find him. I told you, I believe, that I heard he had some thoughts of going over to Scotland and believed he was in safety to do so, but that he was to write over for advice about it, which I am told he has done and also to the King to acquaint him of his designe and to have his allowance. I own I was long of opinion that his coming to *this* place would have bad effects and I fear it will be found that I was not out in my conjectors. He has kept company mostly since his coming with Lord Panmure and Lord Tullibardine and some others much of a temper.'

In another letter of this year, Mar says: 'Should Mr. Murray go to London, is it not to be expected he will act the same part that he has done here and tho' he should not, can his going be of any service, and if it be not, must it not do hurt? It is small hurt his being in Scotland can do, but in my humble opinion, it will by no means be fit for the King's interest to let him pass to London and the sooner he goes from *this* place, the better.' The King took no notice of this.

Tullibardine has an even poorer opinion of Murray, and writes to Hay: 'Our notable letter-carrier tells me you hope to see my father sufficiently humbled and that his green ribband¹ ought to be pulled over his head.' Though the old Duke of Atholl was not at all kind to this banished eldest son of his, family pride was up in arms to defend him.

¹ Of the Thistle.

Murray himself writes on the same date to the King, asking for permission to return to Scotland, if this should be found, by consultation with his family, to be feasible : ' I have devoted my life to you and therefore it is only by your permission that I can presume to be master of any part of it. But I fear it will not be judged for your Majesty's service to honour me with the execution of any of your orders. The confidence with which you have been pleased to honour me, has marked me so particularly, that I am afraid I have it little in my power to be useful to you at home. I shall however hope to meet many of your Majesty's faithfull subjects.'

Poor King James, at this period bombarded by letters from Mar, Glendarule and others complaining of Murray, Murray complaining of Mar, and all his other correspondents more or less taking sides, wrote somewhat pathetically to Lord Lansdowne : ' It is a great misfortune there should be any differences among us at this time of day.' Hay also wrote to Murray cautioning him against speaking evil of Glendarule, ' for 'tis certain whatever people may think, it is the business of none of the King's servants to lessen the character of others.' Glendarule's spirited defence of Pitsligo is on p. 192.

Murray was still hoping to get to Scotland, though as he writes to Hay : ' I doe not expect great satisfaction in a solitary life there. However I have a closet of books which will afford me some, and if by that means I can contrive even to amuse myself, it will be a great point in life gained.' He also brazenly hopes that the King will continue the allowance to him for at least a year, even if he does go to Scotland.

From Rouen he writes on March 29 : ' I understand that Mr. Martel has writ into Scotland upon a supposition that I was soon to be there, desiring that people might not give credit to what I said,' and adds virtuously that he

himself will not accuse Mar of many things, though he could do so ! He did not seem at all sure what reception he might meet with at home. His relatives say he ' would be safe,' and he believes his father, whose favourite he always was, would be glad to see him, but of his elder brother David, Master of Stormont, he writes most unpleasantly—making much of the latter's poor health, ' the palsy ' which compelled him to take the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle, and suggesting that it would be a good thing if the Master would definitely announce that he had no intention of ever marrying, in which case a settlement of the estate could be made on himself ! David Murray, however, in 1726, took to wife the only daughter and heiress of John Stewart of Invernytie, a famous Jacobite, and became the progenitor of the present Lord Mansfield.

Of Charles Murray, a younger brother, between himself and William (see p. 18), and not mentioned in the Peerage, James writes also rather superciliously that he had been ' getting into rows in London.'

On December 13, 1721, however, King James wrote that he thought it would not be safe for Murray to go home, and that he will not give his permission. In consequence of this, Murray decided against it. It also appears that his family was not, after all, very anxious to receive him. He would have been what Sir Peter Fraser of Durris described himself to be in the eyes of the Jacobites in 1715—' a speckled bird.'

The allowance was still to be paid. It was of 2400 livres, and Murray coolly suggests that in order to avoid the appearance in the King's accounts of this sum being given to him—which might occasion jealousy—it should be entered in the name of Hay, who can hand it over to him.¹

¹ This seems to have been done. See the letter to his sister (p. 223), in which he makes the rather curious financial proposition that if he goes

At this period Murray quarrelled with Bishop Atterbury and announces that he is returning to Lorraine, as he 'cannot live any longer with the Bishop of Rochester.' He then proceeded to Brussels in April, where he expects 'his summer cloathes.' He seems to have done himself well in everything, and unlike so many faithful Jacobites, who were starving and often had not the wherewithal to buy a pair of shoes, and had to 'lombard' (i.e. pawn) their clothes for bread, he lived in comfort and even luxury on his Master's bounty. He frequently sends humorous accounts of his smart clothes and his coach and horses, and of how he had been entertained by this and that minor royalty or duke. From Luneville he writes: 'When the weather grows better I will write accounts of our performances here that will make Lord Lithgow's and Thom Forster's chops water.' Later he says he is growing fat, which he puts down to the excellence of the Duke of Lorraine's suppers. 'We sit four hours at table.'

Nine months after the date of the letter to Hay (given on p. 210) Mar made another disconcerting '*volte face*,' as far as the Hays were concerned.

John Hay's confidential letter to Mar on April 12, 1721, produced, among others, the long reply given on p. 210. There seems, however, to be no doubt that in spite of Hay's request for secrecy, Mar had spoken among his friends in Paris of the tension between King and Queen revealed to him in confidence by John Hay, and that Mrs. Sheldon, who was still with the Queen as nurse to little Prince Charles, had been in correspondence with others in Paris, where the whole matter seems to have been discussed *ad nauseam*. That Clementina herself had no jealousy of Mrs. Hay at that time is clearly shown by the

to Scotland, he can then collect what money is due to Hay from his family, while Hay as an equivalent keeps the pension which the King allows Murray.

fact that in July 1722 she went to make a sojourn at the Baths of Lucca, choosing Mrs. Hay as her companion, and writing from there to her husband that she hopes for the future to be '*la meilleure fille du monde*,' thus showing that she had at least the supreme merit of being aware of her own faults of temper. She was certainly capricious, for, while she had somewhat resented the too obtrusive attendance of Mrs. Hay in the spring of 1719, she appears in 1721 and 1722 to lean upon her entirely, in 1723 to desire her removal, and in 1724 to clamour again for her presence at the birth of the second child¹; while in 1727 she refused to return to her husband's house until both the Hays should have left Rome, and in 1730 asked for them again. One is led to believe that it was the husband more than the wife to whom she objected. It is probable that John Hay was no courtier, but his own letter to his Queen, here given,² shows how much he appreciated her difficulties, even if they were of her own making, and was willing to make any personal sacrifice to ease the situation.

No answer was vouchsafed to Hay's letter, which must have been a very difficult one to write, but the actual result of all was that the ill-natured and unfounded stories of Mrs. Hay's influence on the King (started by 'John Walton Stosch,' already mentioned) have been persistently repeated and have found their way even into authorities like the Dictionary of National Biography. They are as baseless as Thackeray's now discredited picture in *Esmond* of James Francis Stuart as a drunken young *roué*.

John Hay's letter to the Queen is dated Thursday evening, with no further details, but was obviously inspired by a letter from the Duke of Mar, December 7,

¹ She sent a special letter to the French Court to ask that the release of Mrs. Hay from her imprisonment in England should be procured, that she might be in Rome in time for the auspicious event, as she was.

² p. 217.

1722, and therefore written about the middle of the month. Though unanswered, it was, it seems, preserved and given to James Edgar. It was apparently sent by hand from Hay's lodgings to the Queen, and should have been completely private and at once destroyed or returned to the writer. The value of Mar's friendship is shown by his letter of the year 1724 (on p. 219).

Extracts from Hay's and Mar's letters throw interesting sidelights on other Jacobites, whom Mar still tried to help.

John Hay to Mar

' Nov. 10, 1722.

My Lady S—que¹ is in Scotland, at least her husband believes so. He expects her over, but I am affrayed she won't meet him so soon as he believes. They are like many couples in the world—never easy when absent from one another, and as little so when together.'

Duke of Mar to Hay

' Paris, Nov, 23, 1722.

Poor Boyn has got nothing done yet in his affair by the Court here. . . . He makes you his compliments and doubts not of your doing him all the service you can. He is a worthy honest man and deserves it. His wife is with child again, and they are the fondest couple that can be. Is not that brave of the old fellow² ? '

The Same to the Same

' Ap. 23, 1725.

Baron Boin was with me the other day telling me he had been so ill that he was not able to write, and begged I would make his compliments to the King on the birth of

¹ Southesk.

² James Ogilvie of Boyne was over sixty and his wife seventeen.

his son, as also to you on your promotion ¹ and said that as soon as he durst hang his head, he would write.'

It has been stated by various historians and freely quoted that Mar was definitely dismissed from the King's service in December 1723, after King James had received the surprising Memorial that Mar had addressed to the Regent Orleans, on the subject of Jacobite affairs in September of that year; but, as already seen, Mar had resigned from his post of Secretary of State long before. It is, however, true that, after perusal of that Memorial, King James seems to have realised, at last, that Mar was no longer working under his orders or for him. The Memorial proposed, in effect, the dismembering of the Kingdom of Great Britain, a proposal rejected with anger by Prince Charles twenty-one years later. As the Regent Orleans died on December 2, nothing came of it, and Mar continued to write letters to his late Master for some time.

Mar subsequently denied the authorship of this Memorial that he had sent, while showing anxiety that it should not be published in England. The fact of the authorship was, however, known to too many, including Lord Southesk, who had been entrusted with the carrying of it to Rome, actually to show to the King. Mar's enemies claimed that the Memorial was sufficient cause to impeach him of high treason, should King James ever regain his throne.

John Hay, still the King's right-hand man, had been, as mentioned by Mar, sent in the autumn of 1723 to Paris, to carry out some negotiations, but actually to enquire unofficially into the now well-known treacheries of Mar. He was not long away, as his friends in Rome, including Cardinal Gualterio, wrote urging him to return for his own sake, and Bishop Atterbury, whom he visited in Brussels, besought him to do so for the furtherance of the

¹ As Earl of Inverness.

King's interest. It would appear that everyone except the Queen recognised his solid worth.

Murray, in philosophising over all that his own enemies have said of him, predicts the same fate for his brother-in-law, John Hay, and warns his sister 'you will have occasion to reflect on this, before twelve months pass.

I have forgot to mention that if I went home I should probably come abroad again after a certain time. My brother¹ may do what he pleases, but for my part I am resolved not to commit matrimony. Dear Sissie, I wish you all . . .² of happiness and am sincerely Yours

JAMES.'

Murray's quarrel with Atterbury was, according to a letter of April 30, 1724, from the former, partly because (Murray said) 'this man was always vexing my life out thinking there was not enough done against Martel.'

On March 28, 1724, Hay writes to Murray that he is not anxious to take up the post of Secretary of State, but will do it, if the King insists and if Ormonde agrees.

A curious and presumptuous letter of Mar to King James is from Paris, April 24, 1724³: 'On behalf of your poor starving people — the Highlanders,' and reminds the King that 'it is in the Highlands alone where a spark is left can light a fire to give active life to your cause and it is demonstrable that without them your restoration can never be successfully undertaken, however numerous your friends may be in another country. It is in the power of the meanest of them here to undoe you every day they rise out of bed, wanting but to tell their people at home of your neglecting them and almost abandoning them.

Your being in present want and not in cash will not excuse you with them nor the world, I fear, when the

¹ Master of Stormont.

² A hole in the paper here.

³ Six weeks after that given on p. 219.

thing comes to be known, for none will believe that you are so low and abandoned by all the world that you cannot find as much as would maintain so small a handfull as are now abroad, unprovided, of yr people who are so necessary for yr service and as to your giving to none out of Italy it will be thought a lame excuse and plead little for you if anything.' He goes on to mention particular persons who are in want—'Sir Hector McClean, and Paterson and poor Abraham [Menzies], who is almost starving.'

'These things are in my opinion of such consequence to you and yours and the retrieving of my country, which can only be by your restoration, that I hope it will pleade my excuse for the freedom I have here taken in order to your takeing proper measures for retrieving the hurt those things have done and the innumerable mischifes that will follow if not prevented.' He adds that he knows this is not the way to make his own court, but 'I hope you are too good and just to take exception at anything so well meant and that upon serious reflexion you will take better advice and alter the wayes of thinking and methods you seem to have been in of late, which upon all the accounts above I heartily pray for, and that all happiness may come yet to be your lote in this world as well as in the next.'

It was quite true that the King found himself unable to give regular pensions to all those in Paris who were in need and, as the following letter shows, some jealousy was aroused by the state kept up by Murray, obviously on his Master's money :—

John Hay to Murray

'Rome, February 10, 1725.

Peter gives no pensions to any one in France except Sir Hector Maclean and 100 livres a month to Mr. Booth

for his family, though he himself, I am afraid, deserves it but little. He has sent lately some money to the Clans, Lord Tulliebardine, Lord Seaforth, Lochyel and Clanranald, and some small matter to John Paterson, but no regular pension.'

While urging the King to give money to all the poor Scots, Mar himself was in very comfortable circumstances and could well have done a little relieving on his own account. His wife had her jointure, and he himself certainly received some funds from his own estates, by means of his relations. He represented to the King that his comparatively easy position in Paris came from these two sources alone, drawing a veil over the money he had actually received from Stair, and almost certainly also from the succeeding British Minister in Paris, Sir Robert Sutton, though not actually in the form of the promised pension.

Mar's strictures on James Murray's extravagance during his stay in Paris were all part of His Grace's consummate hypocrisy! He writes from Paris on May 15, 1724, that the more of King James's people who go home in good humour, the better for the cause, but if they go home for want of bread it will do harm to the cause. Murray's going home, on a pension, might have had a good effect is perhaps what he means; he did not think Murray could be dangerous in Scotland. Murray's view of the matter is shown in the following letter:—

Murray to the King

'Paris, June 10, 1724.

Forgive me, Sir, if I endeavour to show you that Martel's receiving a pension by your consent, and remaining thereafter in the secret of your business, could not but be of the worst consequences to you in all the different

suppositions one could make as to his views in manadging that matter. In general it appears that you can never gain but may lose by your ministers having correspondence with George's.'

Mar says what he writes is not safe with Hay (his brother-in-law ¹) and so the quarrels go on.

Hay to Murray

'Aug. 22, 1724.

I think it would not be amiss tho' it was known that Martel was no more trusted, tho' I am sure that will be public before this reaches you.'

Lord George Murray, writing from Rotterdam on his way back to Scotland, August 6, 1724, expresses his fervent devotion to King, and much regrets the 'variance' among those in the King's service. Variance of a more tragic nature was to surround and mar his own services to the King's son twenty-one years later.

On August 8, 1724, Mrs. Hay set out for home, *i.e.* Scotland, but only got to London, where she was arrested on suspicion of carrying treasonable papers.

On August 21, 1724, the King agreed to Murray doing anything he found desirable as to his own affairs, even including a short visit to Scotland, if Murray still wished it, but the latter did not now desire to go.

It was felt that the King had at last realised his danger. Hay writes to Freebairn ² on August 26, 1724: 'For the future the patron will stick closs to the Helm and not trust the compass to any one and only believe his own eyes; and I am persuaded he sees full as clear as any of his crue and had he believed the report of one of his mates,³ to Doomsday we should never have finished

¹ Mar had married Margaret Hay as his first wife.

² Robert Freebairn, formerly the King's printer in Scotland.

³ *I.e.* Mar.

our voyage—he had insured for too considerable a sum, so that a prosperous voyage could be of no advantage to him. This is a melancholy situation for an old able servant, but the love of money is a strange thing. *A propos*, I look upon Mr. Brown [Mar] to be the most unhappy creature alive. It is a satisfaction and a real one to me to see that he is solo, solo. I pray God it may continue so.’

On August 28 the King wrote to Dillon that he was resolved to put a stop to Mar’s underhand dealings. and a fortnight later, on September 7, 1724, to Ormonde quite definitely, that he will now have nothing more to do with Mar, but will shortly appoint Hay as Secretary of State.

Hay writes that he ‘is sorry Lansdowne¹ should act the part of Mar’s scribbler.’ Lansdowne continued to believe in Mar even after the King’s eyes were opened.

An anonymous writer from England, of November 28, said: ‘The Duke of Mar’s disgrace is now no secret in Brittain and there are lately letters from London to Edinburgh giving strange and horrible accounts of the Causes thereof. How far they may be true we cannot tell.’

James Murray had moved gaily about Europe, spending his Master’s money and writing amusing letters to his sister and brother-in-law in Rome, during the whole three years of his absence, even during the time that poor Mrs. Hay was for some time in prison, and the King wrote that he dare not proclaim John Hay as Lord Inverness by his creation as long as Mrs. Hay was in enemy hands, first in Newgate and then in the house of a messenger (see p. 227). This was in August 1724. She was eventually released and reached Rome in safety, in time for the birth of Henry Benedict. It was decided that Hay should have the title of honour as Secretary of State on

¹ Lansdowne was one of those the King thought of for Secretary of State, but he definitely declined the onerous post.

December 24, 1724, to be followed by the announcement of his Earldom as soon as possible.

As showing that Mar was now entirely out of favour, the King writes on December 31, 1724: 'l'Eveque de Rochester est l'unique personne à présent en France qui a mon entière confiance.'

Murray now proposed to retire for good to Lorraine on April 30, 1725. After his quarrel with the Bishop of Rochester he was rather coy about returning to the Court in Rome, but did so, as will be seen, in 1725.

In January 1725 Hay had written with the frankness of a brother-in-law to suggest that Murray had better leave Paris, since 'The King thinks that it is *his* business to judge whether the service you can do him at Paris deserves the expense he might be at by your staying there, and therefore I hope you won't mention that any more,' but the King was still invariably friendly to Murray, who never, any more than John Hay, betrayed his Master's trust and seems to have mellowed greatly in his later years. At this period he was thirty-five and could no longer be called 'a boy,' and he had shed many of his youthful follies. The quarrel with Atterbury was hardly his fault, as that irascible prelate had come out of his sojourn in the Tower racked with rheumatism and gout and almost impossible to live with. He died a few years later, 'one of the greatest men that England ever bred.'

Six months after his letter of July 1725, the King wrote again to Murray, for whose company he still hankered, announcing that 'I desire to put my son [the 4½-year-old Prince Charles] among men, when I go to Albano next Autumn,' and that he has chosen Murray as Governor and 'Tom Sheridan' as Under-Governor. 'I would have you here about the middle of Sept. It will be proper that you take your title upon you at that time, therefore you will consider it, to be sure of not choicing any already

disposed of, whether lawfully or unlawfully. I am sensible you may have a difficulty in this particular, but the motives are at least as strong as they were in Lord Inverness' case and not to be answered. I wish you a good journey with all my heart and shall be impatient to have you here, to make my son a good Englishman, which will I am sure be your constant endeavour as it is my greatest desire.' ¹

On December 31 of this year James Murray, Earl of Dunbar, was invested with the Order of the Thistle in Rome. Eighteen months later, the order was issued appointing him 'To be Tutor to Prince Charles' (now aged 6½):—

'4 July 1727.

JAMES R.—Our Will and pleasure is that you forthwith swear and admit our right Trusty and right well-beloved Cousin James, Earl of Dunbar, into the place and quality of Governor to our dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales. To have and to hold the said place with all the fees, salaries, perquisites and advantages thereunto belonging. Given at our Court of Bologna the 4th day of July 1727 in the 26 year of our reign.'

On the same day was issued an Order for the Queen's household:—

'Bologna, 4 July 1727.

Lord Nithsdale, Lord in waiting, will attend the Queen wherever she goes, will give her his hand, present people to her when she is out of her bedchamber and give such orders as are to be given to the two Italian gentlemen, and in his absence, Marchese Fabio Albigati to supply his place.'

¹ King James had written shortly before this to Murray saying that in no case would he recall the Chevalier Ramsay to be about the Prince. 'Ramsay is an odd body. He exposed himself strangely here to myself and many others, but as yett I will be charitable enough to think him a madd man.'

Lady Nithsdale was governess to the two princes, and Sheridan the Under-Governor, these being both Roman Catholics.

One quaint memorandum, among the undated Stuart Papers of this period, shows the King and the little Prince of Wales going to Albano (for the annual summer *villeggiatura*) in one carriage, my Lord Dunbar, Lady Nithsdale and the Infant Duke in another, with four horses. The Members of the Household, *i.e.* James Edgar, St. Paul and Michel (the valet),¹ etc., in a third. 'The Cowes to be sent to Albano the night before.'

Soon after this, Lord Dunbar was solicited for his interest by many Jacobites :—

'To the right honourable the Lord Dunbar at Rome.

Undated.

MY LORD,—I'm a suffering, and my whole hopes of being extricated is in your Lordship's goodness and humanity by speaking a word in my behafe to his Majesty to obtain me something to carry me to Germany, Holland or any where, that I may get bread, and have it in my power to do him better service than living an idle life here. It is now nine months that I have confined myselfe to a garrit for want of cloathes to goe abroad as well as to waine myself from a faubourg St. Germain life ; in which time none but God and my selfe knows what I have suffered, and had it not been for the friendship of some French people of distinction of my acquaintance, I must have perished, and a gentleman who has a great esteem for your Lordship has been so kind as to assist me (a few days agoe) with two hundred and odd livers ; which will partly provyde me with necessarys and make my Landlord easy, but

¹ Michele Vezzosi, who afterwards went to Scotland with Prince Charles. He had also been concerned in the escape of Lord Nithsdale, and remained a valued family friend till his death. He wrote a picturesque account of the '45 under the title (when translated) of 'the Young Juba.'

I cannot think of removing to where I would goe unless that your Lordship's goodness may be pleased to represent my deplorable condition to the King, so as to obtain me some small matter. Perhaps, my Lord, Providence may yet favour me with some occasion wherein I may serve him, as well as to convince your Lordship of my eternal gratitude and respect.

SEMPILL.¹

I have writ to Mr. O'Bryen all my present Ideas of serving his Majesty, and I will take ye liberty to write to yr Lordship in full, if you are so kind as to obtain me something. No body shall know it unless you please.'

Both friends and enemies were still greatly concerned about James Murray. There is an anonymous letter in the unsorted papers, to 'Lord Dunbar,' saying that 'however glorious is the position of King's trusted favourite,' he should for his Master's sake 'remove from Rome,' since he and John Hay had been so unfortunate as not to please the Queen, and had caused 'her retirement to a Convent which puts her out of a situation of giving us more princes.' (This gives the date as 1726 or 1727.) The letter continues:

'Yr stay with the prince is of no use. It does not restore the K. and he is young enough to be wtout a Governor some years. Iff you stay both att court, whatever happens, be it never so inocent, will be laid to your door—the King's friends will join to perswade him to dismiss you—if it does not happen this year, it will with time, and the King's well-wishers of all nations will be exasperated to see that any private subject should be the cause of the Royal family disunion. I look on you to be philosopher enough to take yr party and by that to make up as well as lyes in yr power the unhappy breach the world will always believe you have made.

¹ This is the father of the Sempill who, with Balhaldy, became the famous plotter of 1743-46. In another letter he describes himself as 'As poor as Jobe, but always faithfull.'

I am certain you will take my advice as I mean it, friendly.'

A dignified and apparently sincere letter (see p. 231) was written by Mar to the King shortly after Murray had been reinstalled in Rome, and in entire possession of the King's ear; Mar seems to have repented of the impertinent and somewhat hectoring tone of the letter (on p. 129), in which he had pointed out the King's duty to his Highland subjects.

Five years after this Mar died at Aix-la-Chapelle, whither he had gone for his health. He suffered much from gout and at times from scurvy.¹ His lunatic wife had been removed from his side in 1730. His only son, Thomas, though married, died without issue in 1766, but the attainted title was restored in the son of his daughter Frances and her husband, who was also Mar's nephew, James Erskine, son of Lord Grange.

James Murray had forty-five more years to live, but it is beyond the purpose of this study to follow him throughout his career as tutor to the unruly little Prince, of whom the Earl Marischal said seven years later, 'He has rather got the better of his Governors.' At the same period, 1732, when the mock order of Toboso was invented for the amusement of the little Princes (Charles aged 11, and Henry aged 7), they are said to have specially stipulated that my Lord Dunbar, their Tutor, was not to be enrolled as a member.

Enemies still pursued Murray. In 1744, Ezechiel Hamilton complains that he was 'cheated out' of various

¹ An ailment which seems to have afflicted many of these healthy Scots, when living under conditions so unnatural to them, in foreign towns. Of poor John Paterson it was said, at one time, that 'he had not a whole piece of skin on his body,' and decoctions of 'scurvy grass' and other remedies were freely recommended by one sufferer to another.

sums of money by my Lord Dunbar, whose first profession was that of an attorney.'

And there is this anonymous letter 'to Lord Dunbar' among the Stuart Papers, written after Prince Charles's return from Scotland :—

'Paris, 15 April 1747.

MY LORD,—An Irish cordelier called Kelly, who gives himself out for the prince's confessor has distributed in this town an infamous paper entitled a sonnet on the death of Caledonian Bear, and had been indiscreet enough to publish that his Majesty has been of late troubled with vapours, which have affected his judgement, and that your Lordship governs him despotically ; in fact it is said that the King is a *fool*, and that you are a knave. As he (Kelly) is known to have access to his royal highness his discourse had produced very bad effects. Some people imagine that the prince contemns his father. I am persuaded he does not deserve that censure. It were to be wisht however that his R.H. would forbid that friar his apartment, because he is a notorious Drunkard.

I am your Lordship's most obed. humble Servant,
J.'

Dunbar had not been in Scotland with the young Prince in 1745, nor did he rejoin him in Paris later, but eventually, having resigned his employment with the King¹ in 1747, left the Court on April 8 to make a home with his widowed sister, Mrs. Hay (Lady Inverness), at Avignon, where he had arrived by August 21, 1747, as he writes on that date to Edgar :—

'The weather has been these ten days past as hot as

¹ He had been Secretary of State since the resignation of John Hay, but the King had somehow ceased to have the same confidence in him as formerly.

it is usually at Rome, but I am, thank God very well, and hope this climate will agree with me tho' I own I am a little afraid of the *vent de bise* in winter, of which they make a strange description here. My Sister is very much your humble servt.'

Later, Lord Dunbar and Lady Inverness had a country house near Avignon, called Belvidere, from which the former continued to write to Edgar, until the latter's death in 1762, letters of almost incredible dullness—considering the stirring times in which they were written. They are concerned entirely with the state of the weather and of Lord Dunbar's gout, of a wen on his face, etc., with congratulations on the good health of the King and Duke and occasional mention of passing travellers.¹ The only letter of personal interest is that on p. 232, on his joining the Roman Catholic Church. In his old age, at Avignon, he wrote that 'French music had upon him the same effect as scraping with the point of a kniffe upon a dish and made him spit prodigiously.'

Lord Dunbar and Lady Inverness were in Avignon to receive the furious Prince Charles on December 30, 1748, after he was turned out of Paris and France on the occasion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Prince stayed in the Papal City until February 1749, when he rode away with Goring, to be lost to the sight and knowledge of his father and brother for many years. Lord Dunbar he never saw again, nor does he seem to have cherished any very friendly feelings towards his old tutor. Any messages sent

¹ The sole touches of humour are, when Dunbar, finding after his long residence in Italy, that he cannot exist without macaroni, twice asks Edgar to forward to him 100 lbs. [*sic*] of this article. To Lady Inverness, Edgar sent regular supplies of snuff, and this sometimes got 'held up,' and had on one occasion to be sought for at Marseilles by an Archbishop! And in 1763 he writes: 'I hear my brother has been made Lord Chancellor of England, but as I have not had a letter from home for thirty years, I know not if it be true or not.'

to him are purely formal in character—‘My compliments to Lord Dunbar.’ One short letter in the Prince’s own hand, of date February 19, 1759, begins ‘Mt. Murray’ and ends with ‘Comps to yr Sister.’

James Murray made a pious end at Avignon in 1770, an old man of eighty, who had outlived so many friends and enemies, and whose will, still preserved in the Musée Calvet at Avignon, shows him as leaving (after small legacies to nieces) the bulk of his property, which was inconsiderable, to the Cardinal York. He also desired that 10,000 masses be said for the repose of his soul. The Will itself and that of his sister, though preserved, are tersely annotated as ‘Inutile.’

Lady Inverness would seem to have left a small legacy to the King, as is shown by the following letter written after her death :—

*Lord Dunbar to the King*¹

‘SIR,—After I had sent a letter for yr Majesty to the post of this date, I have received one you did me the honour to write me of the 25 of last month, and am extremely concerned at the account you give me of your circumstances, which make so small a sum as a hundred louis d’ors of consequence to you. At the same time I am extremely glad that my poor sister’s legacy, which you did not expect, afforded you so seasonable a supply. I have been obliged to pay by my sister’s disposition above 13,000 but I put no difficulty of mine in comparison with yr M’s conveniency and will contrive matters so that it will equally answer my purpose to deduct the 100 louis, when the contract on the hotel de ville is disposed of. Wherefore I have written to Abbe Grant to give to Belloni his father’s obligation on his paying the 5000 crowns to

¹ Among the undated Windsor Papers. In a very shaky hand.

yr My. I am afraid to lose the post and therefore have only the time to add that I am with the most profound respect, Sir, Yr M's most faithful subject and most obedient servant,

DUNBAR.'

It is not known what was the nature of the investment in connection with the Hotel de Ville at Avignon, which seems to have been one of the assets of the late Lady Inverness. It is alluded to again in an interesting unsigned fragment of an autograph letter to an unknown correspondent from Prince Charles himself, undated, but, of course, subsequent to 1770 :—

'Come je ne sai rien du Testament du Feu Ld. Dunbar, je ne puis pas vous faire une réponse jusqu'a ce que je sache de quois il est question—tous ce que je puis dire est que le Duc, mon chère frere se dit héritier en tout de ses biens. Pour ce que regard le testament de Sa Sœur La Ly Inverness, cette reste de son testament qui regard L'Otelle de ville d'Avignon, je pourrais en désirer quant je serois plus eclerci.'

Cardinal York himself had a similar *rente* on the 'Town House of Paris,' which he had made over to his brother, Prince Charles. These seem to have been some kind of bonds.¹

In the year 1770 Lord Pitsligo and James Edgar had both been dead for eight years, and James Francis Edward, so long titular King of Great Britain, for nearly five, while all the '*tracasseries*' that had so troubled him, and that form the subject of this volume, were things long past. They have lain dormant in these old MSS. for nearly two centuries, and are now printed for the first time.

¹ The dowries of the Dominican Nuns at the Spellakins Convent in Brussels were all 'secured' on *rentes* of this nature.

LETTERS

February 4, 1719—September 23, 1751.

*Mar to the King*¹

Feb. 4, 1719.²

I was unwilling to trouble you before you parted, and had so many things of moment to think of, wt anything in relation to myself, but I thought my doing it in this manner might be of use to you and for your ease in case it should please God to give you a speedier passage to your intended place than me.

I have often taken the liberty to tel yr Majesty that whenever it should please God to restore you to yr Dominions, that I had no desire or project of haveing any eminent hand in business. At that time what I have so much wisht for all my life will be accomplished and yr Majesty will be in no want of people to serve you in each of yr kingdoms and who are much more capable of it than I and it will be farr from giving me any grudge to see any you think fitt employed in the most eminent posts of yr three kingdoms.

As for the seals I have the honour to hold of your Majesty at this time you may very freely, without any apprehension of giving me a mortification, dispose of them as soon as you land in England and not only those for that Kingdom, but also for that of Scotland and Ireland. I never aimed at being what is commonly called to Princes a favorite, but my ambition is to have the honour as it will be a pleasur of being near your person. You have been pleased already to give me a post, wh entitles me to that, and if you think it fitt to add to it any emploiment which would make me to be of your Cabin Council

¹ King James III and VIII.

² See p. III.

(as it is called), though of ever so little business, that it may not be thought that after serving you abroad, I am quite turned off. Thus I shall have all I aim at, and it would be in that way I would end my dayes wt pleasure. As for the affairs in Scotland, I should have no pleasure in being immediately employed in them. But wherein I am capable to give your Majesty any light or advice in them or in any of your affairs in England by the little insight I have had of men and things then it could be done as well as if I were and perhaps wt more use and advantage to your Majesty. But if you should find either that my advice was of no use or made any uneasie, my not being consulted should be far from making me so. Ffor the present intended expedition I am ready to serve yr Majesty in any way or capacity you please and that I am capable of, but I would presume to beg it of your Majesty as a favour that I may not be sent to Scotland, tho' I would not ask even that did I think that your affairs would suffer by it, but for all that can be done there as the expedition is purposed, I humblie conceive that it can be done as well in the maner it was designed when you came into Italy, as if I went. There ought to be an experienced officer of distinction sent there, go who will and I heartily wish the same person may who was then designed ¹ and iff he to whom yr Majesty then gave the first place is still the fittest for it. My fellow traveller ² will be a good help there to him and I doubt not but he will behave himself wt that disinterested zeal he did upon the last occasion. In that way I can answer that all my friends will do all in their power as much as if I were there myself, as I doubt not but every man would, who wishes yr Majesty well. What I ask is to have the honour to attend yr Majesty as a volontier, without any character or emploiment and you shall have all the service of me I am capable of as much as if I had both and in that way if yr Majesty has a mind to it, I should think it can make no man uneasie upon my account. It was never

¹ The Duke of Berwick.

² The Duke of Perth.

my studie to be rich, and I am now too old to begin to think of it. Your Majesty has been pleased to lay more honours on me alreddy than I deserve and I can have nothing further to think of or wish for in that way. You will have the goodness, I hope, if my family by its cariage deserves it, to make it easie for them. God grant yr Majesty a good and safe voage and journie and success in your project. May I be so luckie as to arrive in time to attend you on your expedition, but if unfortunately I do not, let me beg your Majesty to leave directions for my following of you, directly, wherever you go. As to other things, the Duke of Ormond is the fittest to advise you. He was the first who publickly embraced your M'ys service who were in any business at your Sister's death,¹ and I heartily wish he may have the honour to finish the glorious work of your restoration, for which your kingdom would be so much beholden to him and have occasion to love him better, if that can be, than they do. I am with the most profound submission and respect, etc.,

MAR.

Mar to the King

February 5, 1719 (*next day*).

I think it incumbent on me at this time, when your Majesty may be in England before I have the happiness of seeing you again, to lay before you for yr own privat use what occurs to me by my having been a considerable time in business there which gave me opportunitys of knowing things and persons that your Majesty cannot possibly have, till some time after your arrivall, and I offer this to your Majesty wt all submission as the best service I am capable of rendering you at this junctur.

As the Church of England and the party that goes by its name which is now called Torys are the Majority of the people so they have ever been the supporters of the Crown and your Majesty will find by supporting and

¹ It was true. Ormonde was a declared Jacobite a year before Mar.

countenancing of them that you will have a quiet and happie reine.

Yr royal unckle King Charles found the fatall consequences as the late King yr father and yr Majesty has dearly since, of his neglecting those at his restoration who had been most zealous for him and the royal cause, and preferring in too partiall and eminent a way those who had been otherways, in hopes by that to gain them. Some exceptions are to be made in employing fit persons of experience and knowledge of the opposite party if such are not to be found in the King's own.¹

As to Scotland, I hope I may be so happie as to be with yr Majesty at furthest before the time of yr settling your affairs there, so all I will trouble yr Majesty with at this time is, after the dissolution of the Union you should set about the re-establishment of the Church of England. . . .²

I beg your Majesty may pardon this presumption and may soon have occasion for putting these things, or what are *better*, in practice.

Mar to Lord Pitsligo

Rome, Feb. 7, 1719.³

MY DEAR LORD,—Let not the King's sudden departure surprise you and you may depend on it that he will take care to give the necessary orders as to everybody who depends on him, as shall be most for his interest and the good of the cause, which is the same thing, so I hope they will be easie and you among the rest.

I have been obliged to leave my wife here after her

¹ Here speaks the experienced statesman.

² This shows that he did not well understand the temper of his fellow Scots. His own church views were that 'the Church of England ritual holds the medium between the bare unbecoming nakedness of the Presbyterian service in Scotland and the gaudy, affected and ostentatious way of the Church of Rome.'

³ The King had gone and Mar himself was about to start for his journey north.

making a very long journie to me, but that is not the first proof I have had of her affection and her own good sense will make her bear wt my leaving her now, without her knowledge in the same discreet way she did upon a former occasion.¹ She is thus in a strange place and will have occasion of somebody to advise wt in severall things. Allow me therefor as my friend to recommend her to your care, and to beg that you may assist her wt yr advice in doing of wh you will oblige me in the most sensible manner and if ever it be in my power I will not fail to serve you as far as I can, which I have always wisht to have an opportunity of doing—

I assure you that I am wt all truth, My dear Lord, Your most affectionat cousin and most obedient humble servant,
MAR.

*' Mr. Murray to Lord Mar, returned from
Genoa March 18 ' 2*

Rome, Feb. 11, 1719.

SIR,—In obedience to your commands, I lay hold of the first opportunity of writing to you, and I am able God be thanked to acquaint you that your cousin Peter [*the King*] began his journey in a prosperous way att three and twenty o'clock the day you parted with him.

With regard to affairs att Roberts [*Rome*], everything has hitherto gone to a wonder and no body has so much as suspected Paul's true story. His folks being altogether ignorant of the matter, you may believe there has been a good deal of speculation amongst them about it. By what I can learn, those of the first rank are all very well pleased to find there is a mystery in that affair that they cannot penetrate into, but there are some others who I own I

¹ When he went to Scotland in 1715, only twelve months after their marriage, leaving her in London, probably with her father the Duke of Kingston.

² This did not, therefore, reach him on his journey.

never apprehended to be men of that consequence or to be of such a footing as it seems they take themselves to be and that have shewn. There is (as I'm informed) a great deal of spleen and uneasiness upon this occasion by some who I own I never apprehended to be men of consequence and they have not been wanting in their little endeavour to spread it further. I was also told at the same time that I had no reason to wonder at it for that they were known by the name of 'the discontented Club' which I protest to you I never heard more or less of till yesterday, and if anything could surprise one more than such behaviour in general I cannot help saying, that it would be to consider who they are from whom it comes, some of whom have, I own, deceiv'd my expectations, Lord Pitsligo, James Edgar, George Mackenzie, etc.

I thought it my duty to give you an account of all this, after which I must say there is an allowance to be made for things of this kind, by reason of the natural uneasy tempers of some people which without doubt may make them say things of their best friends which upon reflexion they may be sorry for.

I have had no news this week from the young lady. The Cte de St. George's sudden journey from this place has given birth to many strange schemes of politicks. Some say the Duke of Ormond arrived incognito and took him away with him, others that he is to be mediator in the Peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain. On the other hand it is strongly reported that King George is dead and that the ministry, to defend themselves from his son, had sent an order to George Bing to take the Chevalier aboard his fleet and after declaring him King, to carry him to England, which as they say, was Mr. Bing's errand here from Naples. Another speculation is, that upon the meeting of the States of Sweden, the said estates, finding there was likely to be a contest between the Prince of Hesse and the Duke of Holstein about the succession to the Crown, had with their consent sent an ambassador to the Chevalier de St. George to invite him to reign over them till his own people should call him home,

after which they hoped he would take care of the interests of Sweden and do justice between the two contending parties. The last notion is that he has gone to meet the Princess his spouse, which is indeed most universally believed. Thus I have endeavoured to give you for your diversion a view of the Roman politicks and I believe people's heads here have never been busier than at present, whether to good purpose or not, I leave it to you to judge.

I beg to have the honour of being remembered to your fellow traveller ¹ and tell him I'll take care of his ryng.

I am, Sir, your most faithful and
most obed. hum. servant,

J. MORPETH.

James Edgar to Mr. Paterson ²

Rome, Feb. 22, 1719.

DEAR SIR,—You'll excuse my being so long of writing to you for if I had had anything worth your while I would have done myself that pleasure ere now. Youve always showed me so much friendship that I know you'll have a share in what troubles me, and do me all the good offices in it you can. The enclosed note will tell you what passed betwixt Mr. Murray and me yesterday morning.³ I came straight home after the encounter and wrote down every word that past that I might not mistake in telling it. I cannot help saying that tho' I have a good dale of regard for Mr. Murray and would willingly have done anything that would have been pleasing to him, yet the treatment I had from him seemed quite extraordinary and which a Gentleman and one that never designs to have any dependance on him, could not but take amiss.

¹ The Duke of Perth.

² Paterson was with Mar.

³ The note is almost verbatim with the letter and is therefore not printed.

When I came to his Lodging, I desired his servant to tell him that I was come to wait of him. I stay'd a long while in his outer rooms (I think near an hour) ere he was pleas'd to come to me, when he came, without using me with any civility, and too much with an air of authority, as if I had been his servant, he bid me copy some letters for him etc. as you'll find it in the note. I confess I was very much surprised at him, for if he had treated me civilly and like a gentleman I should have done what was in my power to have pleased him, even contrary to my inclinations, he then added in a pretty high strain—'Do you not know that I have the King's orders for answering my Lord Mar's letters, and I order you to copy these.' I said I know nothing of what orders you have on that subject. His Majesty's orders shall always be sacred to me, but I confess to you I do not think your order is good, but again I added that to oblige him, I was ready to do what he desired me. He upon this told me, that upon giving him such answers, by God he would not employ me, that he would take care to inform the King of my not obeying him, and concluded by threatening that I should heartily repent it. I'm affrayed Mr. Murray's ill will at me, as I have reason to apprehend upon what he said, may go so far that he'll endeavour some way or other to misrepresent me to his Majesty. I leave entirely to you to do in this as you please and I humbly presume if you think it proper to tell my Lord Duke of it, his Grace will be so good as to give one who is his humble servant with the greatest attachment and fidelity, his protection in this matter that his Majesty may have no bad impression of me. God forbid I should ever refuse any of His Majesty's orders. My Lord Duke knows I was amongst the first (if not the very first) that joined him in Braemar and that I endeavoured to do His Majesty and him all the faithful service I could. . . . I have no news to write to you from hence, but that his Majesty's marriage is everybody's discourse. The wishes of our Club amongst ourselves and to Heaven is that God would bless His Majesty with all the blessings of a married life. My

Lord Pitsligo and all our Club ¹ are well. . . . They desire me to make you their kind compliments.

I am most affectionately yrs,

JAMES EDGAR.

James Murray to the King ²

Rome, Feb. 23.

Everything here has gone to admiration for the public having embarked your Majesty att Leghorn, and made you pass by Florence, are now assured you went from there to Bologna and att this moment upon my shewing a letter the D. of Mar writ me from Bologna of the 14. and the one Your Majesty left me dated as from Ferrara, almost everybody believes you there. Besides the wise and prudent measures your Majesty took, I must say fortune has favoured you extreamly in this particular, for the Genoa Courier declared to the Pope and the Emperors Minister that he mett you upon the road between this and Florence and that you were asleep in your chaise with your mouth open. Mons. Acquin told me the other day that he believed the people in this place had never been so effectually amused upon any occasion, which I believe is very true. But I think it my duty to acquaint your Majesty that the three servants you carryed along with you did every one of them write a letter which they gave to the Cardinal's servant. St. Pauls was without date and there was no hurt in it, further than in sending any letter directed to a servant of yours. The Cook's was of the same sort, but Mr. Jolly thought fitt to acquaint his correspondent that your Majesty was just going to embark for Spain. I burnt the last and will deliver the other two after tomorrow when the mystery must be out. It is fitt your Majesty should know that the Pope and his nephews are perfectly angry and I hear one or two of the latter have talked impertinently on the subject. But when your second letter is delivered we shall take all possible ways

¹ The Club consisted of Mr. Erskine, Edgar, Lord Pitsligo, Paterson and George Mackenzie.

² Sent by a courier. An extract only.

to sweeten the good old man. Lord Pitsligo's servant brought me today a letter directed for Paterson which I opened thinking it might be come from France. I send it enclosed¹ by which your Majesty will see the Club's account of the matter and what gloss they put upon it even to make me swear, which thank God I never do. This poor man [Edgar] is the cat's foot in the case. From this, your Majesty will see what a situation I am in. However I shall endeavour to execute the commands you have been pleased to honour me with in the best manner I can.

James Murray to the King

Rome, Feb. 23, 1719.

Being straitened in point of time and having all reason to think this letter cannot be intercepted (because the Gentleman mentioned in Cammoch's last letter is to carry it), I hope there will be no risque in writing it out of cypher. . . . Everything here has gone to admiration, for the publick having embarked yr Majesty at Leghorn and made you pass by Florence, are now assured you went from thence to Bologna and att this moment upon my shewing a letter the D. of Mar sent me from Bologna of the 14th and the one yr Majesty left me dated as from Ferrara almost everybody believes you there. Besides the wise and prudent measures your Majesty took, I must say fortune has favoured you extremely in this particular

.

You'll be pleased to know that those lately arrived at your Court act upon the same principles and notions with which their friends at Paris were formerly infected, in conjunction with one or two they found here of the same sentiments, with this difference that they will probably be able to do more mischief. Their constant peevish discourses, finding fault with everybody and everything, if it were not afterwards put in writing could not do much

¹ Not, it will be noted, to the man to whom it was addressed, and who only received it after both Murray and the King had read it, if indeed it ever got to him at all.

mischief for it is confined to their own Society all other people having given over conversing with them, because they could not hear the things they speak. But I'm informed that Mr. McKenzie writes more letters every post than I do, and if they be of the same strain, yr Majesty will easily see what effect they may have upon your suffering subjects in all parts of the world.

This undertaking of your Majesty's has hitherto been in every respect so fortunate that I hope the happy time is approaching when God will be pleased to restore to you the throne of your ancestors. No man living prays more heartily than I do or would more willingly run all risques to have the happiness to contribute to it. I may with truth say that few are less guilty of mixing views of their own interest with their duty, of which I think I can't give your Majesty a better proof than to restrict my expectations in the event above mentioned when those of too many I'm affrayed will be unreasonably increased. I therefore take the liberty most humbly to assure your Majesty that I shall never ask or expect either to be distinguished with titles of honour or to enjoy any employment of power in your service. My wishes goe no further than to be placed in a situation above the contempt of the world and below their envy, after which I have no other ambition than that of living and dying.

*Your Majesties most faithful
and most obedient subject
and servant
Ja. Murray*

One of the enclosed will inform John [Hay] of his father's death.¹

¹ I.e. Lord Kinnoull. John's brother, the new Lord Kinnoull, then took the oaths to King George and became English ambassador at Constantinople.

James Murray to the King

Rome, March 6, 1719.

Its true yesterday we had a report that the D. of Mar being informed att Parma of the danger he was in had left his chaise and gone the other way on horseback. If it were possible, I would gladly believe this, because I think nothing less than an infatuation could lead them into the Emperor's territories to pass through his fortified towns where when there is no extraordinary alarm, no post horses can be had in the common way of proceeding till the persons be examined by the Governors and therefore since there is a road directly from Parma by the mountains, the same the Queen of Spain went, I own it never entered into my head that they were to go by another, nor can I think the Duke of Mar capable of such an oversight.¹

James Murray to the King

Rome, Mar. 17, 1719.

Mar on his return from his imprisonment desired to speak with me and after some detail of other matters, told me he was not a little surprised to be informed by Lord Pitsligo that I had sayed publicly in the Coffee-house that his going to Geneva through the emperor's territories was the more extraordinary that I had warned him of the danger of it before he left Rome. I must confess to your Majesty I was extreme amazed to find a fact which I knew to be utterly false pressed upon me in so extraordinary a manner.² If ever this comes to your Majesty's hands, I hope in God it will find yr M. in a condition beyond the malice of your enemies. While your

¹ Shortly after this Mar and Perth, with their servants, returned to Rome somewhat crestfallen.

² Mar in writing to Pitsligo, March 18, said that Murray had told him he was never to mention it more, but he was far from keeping to this excellent resolution. Mar wrote his account to the King in eighteen pages, March 23, 1719.

Majesty's misfortunes continue, I am fond of serving your M. in any shape and att any risque and if my poor endeavours seem to deserve any small recompense when it shall please God to change the scene, I humbly intreat your M. for God's sake to bestow a state of inoffensive tranquility upon one who shall make it the business of his life to shew himself upon all occasions to the utmost of his power y^{or} Majesty's most faithfull, etc.

Mar to the King

Rome, March 23, 1719.

In my last I told yr My that I hopt not to have occasion to mention again any uneasiness that was amongst yr people wh being now I hope over I should have still thought ther was no occasion for my giving you a trouble of that natur had not, unknown to me, Mr. Murray thought fit to trouble yr Majesty wt one of the particulars at least of it by last post, wh. I told him I could not take well, thinking it an unfair way without telling me of it and that it was not worth your Majesty's while to be troubled with such stuff. However, since he did it, that yr Majesty may be fully and truely informed of the business I send you enclosed the true and genuine account of it. If you read Mr. Murray's account, I hope you will also be pleased to read the enclosed,¹ but you'll be at small loss if you throw them both into the fire without reading either and it is probable enough they may still both come to your hands together.

After this affair was over, I told Mr. Murray that since Mr. Erskine had not behaved himself as he ought, he should continue no longer here, for none who might be thought a friend or relation of mine should give any uneasiness to any who was employed by yr Majesty. I shall only add that I wish to God everie bodie may endeavour as much as I to make yr M's service and those you think fit to employ, easie.

¹ *I.e.* the next letter, of same date.

*Mar to the King*¹

Rome, March 23, 1719.

The day after Lord Mar returned to Rome where he was talking wt Mr. Murray he beg'd to know from him how the King's people had behaved since his Majesty had left that place that he might the better know how to carry wt them.

Mr. Murray said he would tell it very freely, that he thought there was a certain Club of them who had some designe against him and he was surprized to find some people in it, particularly Mr. Mackenzie, the rest he named were Mr. Erskine, Mr. Forbes, Edgar, and that he fear they had some influence on Lord Pitsligo. That in some things he thought they had not carried very prudently wt respect to Lord Mar in what they had talkt concerning his late imprisonment of which he gave some instances as likeways of some of their ways towards himself which are both foregine to what is proposed to be given an account of here, so not necessary to be more particularly toucht at this time. Mr. Murray said there was only one thing he was very sorry for because he had a particular regard for the person viz. Lord Pitsligo who he feared had taken something amiss wh had past betwext them and that he begd Ld. Mar to make Ld. Pitsligo easie as to that if he found that he had taken it amiss. Mr. Murray owned that he had been a little pivish wt him and told Lord Mar the reason of it, wh was concerning a copy of papers being taken wh he had lent to Lord Pitsligo wr a condition of its not being copied, the particulars of which are too long to be set down here. Lord Mar answered that he did not at all wonder at Mr. Murray's being pivish at such a thing, that he was sorry any occasion had been given for it in which he was sure ther must be some mistake, that he would very willingly speak to Lord Pitsligo about it and he did not doubt when he knew the whole story that he would be fully satisfied as to Mr. Murray's part of it. Since he (Lord Mar) belived

¹ In his own handwriting, but written in the third person.

Mr. Murray had not said any hard or uncivil thing to him.

The first time Lord Mar saw Lord Pitsligo thereafter, he spoke to him of the things and told him the whole story wh he had not before known and that in his opinion it could not be wondered at that it had occasioned Mr. Murray's being a little pish and out of humour. Lord Pitsligo sd he wisht Mr. Murray had told him the whole story at the time, which might have saved a good deal of what had passed betwixt them. That he had never done anything which he thought could offend Mr. Murray and protested to God that he had no ill will at him, which made him the more surprised when Mr. Murray one night had not used him very civilly at Mr. Hay's in what he had said on that affair and in so much and odd a way that he never was more put to it how to keep his temper and that if it had not been for a caution Lord Mar had formerly given him about being well with Mr. Murray and avoiding meddling or being concerned in dispuits or little partys and the regard he owed to the King particularly in his absence he could not have helpt using Mr. Murray at that time in another way. He had been so rude to him as the company who were by could tell, but upon these considerations he had forborn saying anything hard to him in what he reply'd and had only desired Mr. Murray to say no more of it at that time. Then, said he, I believe Mr. Murray was sensible he had gone too far, for when I was going away, he followed me to the door, and said he hopt I take nothing ill that he had said, and if I did he askt me pardon, haveing had no design against me in it. Upon this, Lord Pitsligo said he was willing to forget it and had never thought more of it, nor had he any recentment at Mr. Murray upon that account, but would live well wt him if he would do so wt him. Lord Mar approved of his resolution and told him how desirous Mr. Murray was to be in his good graces and afterwards he gave Mr. M. an account of the whole to his satisfaction.

After what past between Ld. Mar and Ld. Pitsligo of the affair above, Ld. Mar bag'd of Lord Pitsligo to let him

know how people had behaved themselves since the King's leaving Rome and what had been said upon the D. of Perth's and Mar's imprisonment. Lord Pitsligo sd he had kept himself very abstract and retired at the time so could give little account of it. That the first time he had heard anything which lookt certain of the imprisonment was in the coffee-house and that he was very unwilling to belive it. That he was at that time sorry that Mr. Murray should have said it being certain, so positively thinking it was none of their friend's business if true, in case of preventing their getting free, by not knowing who it was that were in custody. But because of his unwillingness to have any kind of difference wt Mr. Murray he had said nothing to him upon it then, but only askt him after his giving some account of it if he had sure accounts of it. Mr. M. replied there was no room for doubt of it upon wh, said Lord Pitsligo some of the company expresst their wonder how the two Dukes had gone that road. Then Mr. Murray told that he was alwayes apprehensive of the danger of it and that he had told Ld. Mar so, but that Lord Mar answered, if the secret was kept but for a few dayes he would be out of the reach of those who might have a mind to stope him. Lord Mar being not a little surprized at this, wanted to hear it repeated over again, so pretended not to have been listening attentively, and upon that account desir'd Lord Pitsligo to recapitulate, wh he did in the same words he had said before, but observing Lord Mar to be in some concern, askt the reason of, his desiring him to hear that part repeated. 'Because,' said Lord Mar, 'there is not a word of it true.' This surprized Lord Pitsligo and the more he said, because he had not doubted of its being just as Mr. Murray said and that there were a great many by in the coffee-house at the time, who he belived would own to have heard it as well as he. Ld. Mar said he belived there must be some mistake in the thing either in his hearing of what had been said or some other part of it, for he could not let himself believe that Mr. Murray would forget himself so far as to make such a story and then tel it in so public a manner, but that for quiets

sake now in the King's absence he would not go about to ask those who Ld. Pitsligo named to have heard it in the Coffee house, tho' the thing was very odd and that a fitt time would come for his asking those people about, upon which Ld. Mar and Ld. Pitsligo parted for that time.

That evening Mr. Murray came to see Lord Mar, who told him that he had spoke to Ld. Pitsligo, as he had desired him, and that he found he was easie in that affair and had all the desire that could be to live well wt him of which Mr. Murray said he was very glade wh is the sum of what past on that matter, but Ld. Mar told Mr. Murray that in discourse afterwards with that Lord, he had accidentally told something which gave him, Ld. M., a good deal of concern tho' he could not give entire credite to it, thinking there must be some mistake, until he should enquire at Mr. Murray the truth of it and so he told what Lord Pitsligo had told as above and in the exact manner by wh he came to tell it. Mr. Murray seem'd much concerned and said he took this worse of Lord Pitsligo than what had passed before, that the former seemed to be by accident, but this by designe. He protested to God that the thing was notoriously false, for as there never had been such a thing, so that he had never said so, and that he would say so to anybody in their face who would aver the contrair and that if Ld Mar would get any two to own in his face that he had told so notoreous a lye, that he would renounce his reputation and be contented that he should be thought a scoundrle.

Ld. Mar upon this told him that he was convinced by all that he had seen in it that Ld. Pitsligo had no designe against him in the telling the thing wh he thought appeared by the manner and way he had told it and that if it was otherwayes he had done it wt more arte and address than he belived he was used to ; that he belived as he formerly had said that their must be some mistake in it and was now very glade Mr. Murray had vinticated himself and that he toke what he had said as full satisfaction and hopt there should be no more heard of it. Just as he had sd this, Lord Pitsligo, Mr. Stewart and Mr. Erskine

came into the room, upon which Lord Mar to prevent so much as any oddness of looks, pull'd out a paper he had about some business and gave it to Mr. Murray, desiring he might immediately read it and return it me, wh he did and went away. The other three stay'd and suppt wt Ld. Mar, who told Ld. Pitsligo that he had acquainted Mr. Murray of what he had said as to his desire of their liveing well together and that he was very glade to find them both so well inclined to it and hopt it should always be so, but he told nothing of his haveing spoke to Mr. Murray on the other affair.

Ld. Mar believed upon what he had said to Mr. Murray that he should have heard no more of that business of the mistake of as to what was said he had said in the Coffee house, since Ld. Mar was the person principally injured and that he told Mr. Murray that he toke what he said to him upon it as full satisfaction. But next morning as Lord Mar came below stairs to his own room there was a letter brought him from Mr. Murray which was conceived in terms a little odd wt which he was surprized. He said that after due reflexion on what had past the night before, he found that he was more concerned in that business and to vindicate himself of it than he thought when he first heard of it, that he desired to have spoke to Lord Mar of it, but finding he was not stirring and that he himself was obliged to go abroad he thought he was obliged to leave that letter for him. That he had done what he thought incumbent upon him for his own justification, that he could not leave it uncertain whether he or another had told an impudent lye ; therefore was resolved to lay the saddle on the right horse and knew how to stand the consequences, be they what they will and that he was sensible if he had taken it in any other way Ld. Mar must think him a scoundrel. This vext Ld. Mar not a little—he saw the ill consequences any bustle about this affair would be of to the King's service, and the ridiculous figure it would occasion the King's people to make in his absence. He was concerned both upon Mr. Murray's account and Ld. Pitsligo's,

believing that a challenge had already past betwixt them and his own name being in the affair added to his uneasiness.

He sent immediately for Coll. Clephan, who he thought the most proper person to prevent any mischefe happening in it and went to the D. of Perth who he knew to be a man of worth and honour to consult with him what was to be done. He gave Ld. Perth a full account of all the affair and showed him Mr. Murray's letter wh, as he was doing, Coll. Clephan came in to them and after talking a little, Clephan told them he had left Mr. Murray at Ld. Southesk's to whom as to himself he had told of such a malicious lye haveing been made of him to Lord Mar, and that he thought himself obliged to tell everybody he mett of it's being so, and that he was just going to the Coffee house to say so publicly and to ask if any had heard him say as had been falsely said of him. Coll. Clephan had endeavoured to diswade him from doing a thing which might occasion so much noice, and perhaps mischife, but that he had not prevealed wit him. The two Dukes were glade to find that there was no challenge sent wh they apprehended by Mr. Murray's letter, so they desired Col. Clephan to go immediately and endeavour to find out Mr. Murray and to tel him from them that they hopt he would do nothing to make more noice about the affair. That since Lord Mar had told him he toke as full satisfaction what Mr. Murray had said to him, he hopt (as he had formerly told him) there should be no more of it. That Lord Mar had not so much as told Lord Pitsligo that he had mentioned to Mr. Murray what he had been told of him, that if he thought there wanted any more explanation or vindication about this, this was not the fitt time for it, when the King was absent and considering the circumstances the King's people were in here at present his honour could no wayes suffer by his delaying anything of the kind which they thought he was obliged to do upon the King's account as well as upon the account of the rediculous figure any noice or quarrel among the King's people at this time must occasion them to make. Coll.

Clephan went, but mist of finding Mr. Murray till he came home and had told to several what he had formerly told to Clephan he would do. Ld. Perth din'd that day wt Lord Mar, after dinner Coll. Clephan came in to them and told them of his haveing mist finding Mr. Murray til he was comeing home and had told several people what he had proposed to say to them, but that he (tho' it came too late) had delivered him the message he was sent wt. A little thereafter Mr. Murray came into the room. Ld. Mar carried him wt the D. of Perth into the next room and told him that he had acquainted the D. of Perth with the whole story, but non else save Coll. Clephan, and he was sorry for the noice he had made about the thing and feared it might have bad consequences. Mr. Murray said what he had done, he thought he owed to himself, but that he would avoid all he could doing anything which would occasion further noise. That he had spoken of the thing to severalls, by which he thought he had vindicated himself of the impudent lye had been made of him; but he was to do no more upon it. Upon which the two Dukes were very glad, but they were still afraid that sone one or other, who had been in the coffee house at the time that Mr. Murray was said to have said the thing, should think themselves obliged to do something on what Mr. Murray had said to so many that day¹ and they were particularly uneasie as to Lord Pitsligo on that account, but knew not well how to prevent it, fearing that their speaking of it to any of them might make them think something was expected as fit to be done by them. They therefore resolved to send Coll. Clephan into the company of those who they apprehended most to think themselves concerned, to see of himself how the thing wh Mr. Murray had said was taken, and as they found it was, they resolved to do the thing which seemed most likely to prevent any mischief happening upon it.

After this, one came to Lord Mar and told him that he had heard what Mr. Murray had been talking to everybody

¹ Showing that the two Dukes did not believe Murray's denials.

he mett that day—that he had heard he was to ask at those who had been in the coffee house at the time before mentioned if they had heard him say so and so. That he had endeavoured to keep out of his way as much as he could, for if he chanced to ask him about it, he could not but own he had heard him (Mr. Murray) say, as my Lord Mar had heard. Ld. Mar advised this gentleman to keep out of his way and that unless the thing was askt him directly there was no occasion for his saying anything of it. Ld. Mar heard the same thing from another gentleman, who he did not see and said upon it the same thing that he said to the other. Just after dinner Mrs. Hay sent into Lord Mar's, desiring to speak wt the D. of Perth. He had gone a little before to his own rooms but Ld. Mar desired Mrs. Hay might be told that he had been there and was to return so if she pleased to come then she would soon see him. She came, and a little thereafter all the company parted. About half an hour then after Ld. Perth came to Ld. Mar's and told him that Mrs. Hay had been speaking to him of Mr. Murray's affair, being afraid some unluckie accident might happen upon it, which she hopt he would endeavour to prevent and that Monseigneur M. had also been speaking to him in the same way, who eats wt Mr. Murray and Mr. Hay. A little after this Ld. Mar went to Mrs. Hay and told her that he came to her wt concern that the business he came about he did not think was fitt to be spoke of to a lady, espetially one who was so near a relation to the party most concerned, which was the reason of his not speaking to her of it sooner and that if he had not heard of her haveing been informd of it already he would not have given her this trouble now but since she had heard of it, he thought himself obliged to speak to her and tel her what he knew of the matter. She said that she had heard of it from the Coffee house so could not help being concerned and the more that she durst not speak to her brother of it. That she was sure it was a thing the King would be displeased wt that Ld. Mar had the King's authority and ought to know best how to use it to prevent any mischifes happening, but that she

knew not the whole affair. Lord Mar said it was fitt she should since she already had been told so much of it so that he would tell her all he knew of it, which he did. Then he told her tho' he had the honour to serve the King in an eminent post, he knew no authority he had from his Majesty to determine of his people's honour, that he had done, and still would do all he could to prevent any mischife happening upon this thing, but that he was affraid Mr. Murray had put it out of his power, for that he knew from two gentlemen that if Mr. Murray should ask them about the truth of the assertion against him that they thought themselves oblidge to justify it, since they had been present and heard it, that he had desired them to keep out of his way etc. as above. He beg'd that if anything occurred to Mrs. Hay or any of Mr. Murray's friends what he could do to prevent any mischife, he beg'd they would tel him and that he would do all in his power to prevent it, but until he should hear what way people had taken what Mr. Murray had now said, he did not see how anything he could do could do good, but rather hurt. She said he was the best judge and she was improper to give any advice about it. Ld. Mar repeated again that he would do all in his power upon many considerations and he hopt he might succeed if Mr. Murray had not spoilt it. That he hopt it should be no more talkt of and for his share, tho' he was writeing that night to the King he would not so much as mention it, and wisht that his Majesty might never be troubled with things so disagreeable. Mrs. Hay came thereafter and spoke to Lord Mar again of it and after that Mr. Murray, her eldest brother,¹ did the same to wh Lord Mar answered much the same as he had done to her before. At nine o'clock that night Ld. Mar had a letter from Ld. Pitsligo who he had not seen all that day teling him he had accounts of what Mr. Murray had been about that day, for which reason he had kept out of his way to avoid any squable, but that if he continued to talk any more of it that he should think himself oblidge to be

¹ The Master of Stormont.

no more silent, wh he should be sorry for. That he had heard he has named no body in the story so that he thought not himself oblidge to take it yet to himself, but to prevent any inconvenience in the matter, he wisht that Ld. Mar would advise Mr. Murray to say no more of it. This letter Ld. Mar showed to Ld. Perth and upon it they sent for Mr. Murray, without telling him of the letter, and told him that if he did or said any more than he had done of the affair they could not answer for the consequences, and that he must answer for them himself, but that if he never mentioned it more, they hop'd nothing further would happen upon it, which they thought themselves oblidge to let him know for their own exonerations upon the King their Master's account. He replied that he had tranquilized himself and promised never to mention it more and so they parted for that time. Ld. Mar wrote to Ld. Pitsligo that he had spoke to Mr. Murray who had promised to say no more of the affair and that Lord Mar expected from him that tho' other should not keep his promise exactly, that he should do nothing without first acquainting Lord Mar wt it to wh he expected his positive answer that night and he had it according.

The next morning Mr. Murray came to Lord Mar's and told him that he had, he thought, been more in the right in what he had done the day before than what the D. of Perth and he seemed to think, for he should otherwise have been dayly obliged to be vindicating himself of some lye or other.

Mr. Paterson haveing been with him that morning to enquire about that letter for him from Edgar which he (Mr. M.) had opened and of which he had before given Ld. Mar an account but that, upon his telling Mr. Paterson the true story he was very well satisfyed, as he had told him.

Ld. Mar said he could say nothing to all that and was sorry for people's follies wh he would do all in his power to help. But says he, Mr. Murray I hope you'll remember your engadgement to D. of Perth and me last night, I will says he punctually, and will never speak of the thing more.

Ld. Mar said he was very glade of it and he hopt the thing should be never more heard of and for his share, tho' he had wrote the night before to the King he had not mentioned it, as he had told to a near relation of his, he would not do. Mr. Murray seemed a little in disorder upon this and said he confest he had wrote a full account of it to the King, seeing no reason he had to refrain from doing so and that it was true Lord Mar had told his sister Mrs. Hay that he would not, yet that she had not told him so, till after his letter was gone, he not haveing seen her. Ld. Mar, thinking this way of doing not very fair, told him that he had forgot, for that he knew he had seen his sister before he had wrote his letter and that he had sent him his letter for the King to send along to Card. Acqu, wt his, when he was sitting at supper with his sister and that he had seen him send both away together to the Cardinal. That he must not doubt what Mr. Murray said to be true, but that if his sister did not tell him of what had been said to her when she saw the two letters sent away together and that she had not told him til afterwards, was exceeding odd, but that without her teling of him that Ld. Mar thought when his name was mentioned in the story, he might have expected of him, upon account of the way they lived in, being in the King's service together and liveing in the same house, that he would have acquainted him before he had wrote such a story to the King, which could not but give his Majesty uneasiness. So that Ld. Mar thought he had no reason to take it well of him, but that every man was or ought to be best judge of their own affairs and that since it was so, Mr. Murray might take his way—and Ld. Mar would take his. Mr. Murray, it seems, was afterwards a little sensible of the *faux pas* he had committed, for he told the D. of Perth that he had thought himself obliged to give the King an account of it, being uncertain what would happen to himself upon it, but it is more than probable Mr. Murray knew there was no danger to happen to him then upon it, being after he had spoken to the Ds. of Perth and Mar, the first of the two times above

before he wrote his letter and very certain that he had spoken wt them the second time before his letter was sent away.

This is the true impartiall and particular narrative of this whole affair wh Mr. Murray cannot deny if shoven to him, but had it not been for his giving an account of it, no body should ever have been troubled with this.

James Murray to the King

Rome, April 11, 1719.

As to our tracasseries here, I have the less reason to make any mention of what has passed, that at present I meet with no distraction in Peter's service, as I have had the honour to acquaint you in some letters I have lately written. I don't however imagine that the peevish disposition and ill humour which appeared so very remarkably upon that occasion are extinguished but I hope there's now an end to their operations till the Person whose right it is shall have leisure to enquire whether any real ground was given for the treatment I have received here in his absence for no other reason, as I hope to make appear than because I was named to serve him here and therefore set up as a mark for the envious of all ranks to shoot at.

Lord Pitsligo to Mar

Rome, April 1, 1719.

M. D. L.,—Some little appoynements hindering me from seeing you today I'll be glade you think upon what follows till I have that honour. I could scarce sleep last night for thinking of our poor country. The less figure it makes just now not only puts the King's affairs to a greater uncertainty, but takes away much of the expectations of its happiness after his restoration, our neighbours having but too much contempt of us already. Think then whether Spain should be farther sollicitated for some aid to that Quarter which possibly may come in time some months hence.

In this whole affair, I've made it a rule to cut out no work for myself, but if you think the thing I mention of use, I could carry the message and it would not be an unnatural way of going home as it would show that a friend of yours has not been altogether useless. Card Aq's recommendations could be got here and Mr. Fordice would be very serviceable upon one's arrivall. But think of the thing, let the person be who it will. Another way for my getting to Brittain would be to go to Vienna and so to Holland from whence I would have as fair a lay as any of getting over to London and so on for I have the advantage of not being attainted—considering further if it would be so as well that Ch. Forbes would go with me in either of those two ways, as well as with the D. of Perth who might have any of the other persons we spoke of yesterday. Of all this I have spoke to no mortal.—You know how much I am, Yrs. etc.,

PITSLIGO.

*James Murray to the King*¹

Rome, June 5, 1719.

It appears that yesterday morning a resolution was taken that the Lady whom they have set at their head² should lay their grievances and her own before Andrew.³ I hear general complaints that Andrew is not sufficiently informed of their personal merit and sufferings and that this Lady is not treated with that distinction and civility she thinks due to her . . . Andrew receives all complaints with a degree of complaisance and good nature which are peculiar to him. . . . I am accused of affronting her and treating her uncivilly [*i.e.* Lady Mar] and she talks to me in a manner and with a form of countenance which footmen are seldom used to, with an apparent design to draw

¹ Copy of a despatch from James Murray, sent to Spain, voicing his own complaints.

² Presumably Lady Mar.

³ Queen Clementina.

an answer from me upon which she might form her complaints. . . . I have not been able to learn what redress they intended to propose, upon making their complaints and can guess at none, unless in my stead it be intended that Mrs. Martel and her council should have the directing of Andrew's affairs.

Surely, sir, if putting oneself at the head of a Cabal. here in your Absence in order to make Andrew uneasy and to distress your service can be rendered yet more extraordinary by circumstances, these are in this case such as deserve to be remarked and I dare venture to say that there is no reasonable man who would not be amazed to hear that a Lady, lately arrived at your house under more than suspicion of never haveing been and not being of your interest, and considering also the situation of her family¹ should think fit to place herself at the head of a cabal against the only person of your own people who has the honour to advise Andrew by your authority. This, Sir, however, as extraordinary as it may seem to be, is the true situation of your affairs, nor do I see how in your absence to apply any remedy to it.²

James Murray to the King

Rome, June 27, 1719.

I cannot sufficiently express the sense I have of your goodness with regard to the uneasiness of my situation here, which as you will observe by some of my former letters was extreemly increased upon Andrew's arrival. However it is with no small pleasure that I have the honour to acquaint you that now all these wise projects seem to be at an end and that people are persuaded it ought to

¹ The Duke of Kingston, father of Lady Mar, was a noted Whig.

² Mar was by this time in captivity at Geneva, and unaware how Murray was traducing his wife. Clementina was being advised by Murray to refuse to listen to any complaints of what was being done, as it was by the King's orders, but he had some fears that Lady Mar might then throw up all attendance on the Queen, and so make a scandal. Wogan appears, however, to have smoothed things over for the present.

be their business to contribute if possible to Andrew's diversion and avoid all occasions of giving him trouble.

I hear Mar has been arrested at Geneva, only with the design to hinder him going to England or Scotland, and that he may return to Rome which, considering how things stood with him after the last affair, I own, frightens me.

Mr. Martel's lady received the other day three letters from him, which as I have heard from others, bear that in a letter he had received from my Lord Stair, he was in expectation of being at liberty in a few days after the date of them, but how he intends to use his liberty when he gets it, I know not.¹

Mar to the King

Geneva, July 3, 1719.

You'll easilie believe Sir that I would take all the wayes I could, which were faire, in my writing to Lord Stair, to get out of my present difficulty which I foresaw would be no easie matter to compass. Having before sent the Seals to Spain, I told him there was some difference betwint my situation now that I had not the Seals a-keeping, and the last time I had askt leave to goe to Bourbon and was refused, upon account of my haveing them. I told him further that I had for some time been quite weary of business and that I was resolved to retire from it and to live quietly in some corner of France, if I could be allowed without meddling with anything where I hop'd I might recover a little of my health. This I thought I might very fairly and safely say when I found that my health would not allow me to follow my Master to Spain where he was likely to reside for some time at least. . . . You know Sir I was resolved five months agoe not to have kept the Seals had my Master gone to England. . . . I have long

¹ In other parts of this letter Murray himself reveals how unpopular he was with the rest of Clementina's entourage, and how he has 'no more particular discourse with any of them than Good morrow or good night.'

been weary of the post of Secretary and only waiting for an occasion of quitting it, in time coming you are to look on me as a faithful servant who is in a manner dead, but whose ghost will ever do you all the service that's in its power.

Without vanity I may say that I have served my Master and the interest these four years past with zeal and faithfulness and done what was in my power to please those who are or pretend to be his friends.¹

By the last letter I had from Lord Stair a few days ago he tells me that he had laid my request of going to Bourbon before his Government.

Allow me to mention one or two other things to you, which proceeds from a sincere intention to your service. It will be absolutely necessary for you to have one to supply the place I had the honour to serve you in—and you have not many to choose on this side the water—with submission I should think your best way were to desire of those friends in whom you have most confidence at home to find out and recommend one for that station. . . . This will do much to prevent all factions and envy amongst your people abroad. . . . I hope in God you will not want wherewith to maintain those whom you have done hitherto and who suffer now upon your account. . . .

The particular people of your suite are all so well known to you that it is needless for me to mention them. Allow me tho', I beg of you, to mention one who is too modest to speak for himself—it is Col. Clephan, who is old and has a great family.

Colin Campbell of Glendarule, if he can get away from Scotland would be a most valuable friend to have at Rome, because he knows all the Highlanders and was of great use to me in Scotland. Also John Paterson now weary of service and perhaps not so willing to serve under another as he has done under me.

My Lady Mar will have the honour of waiting upon the

¹ He therefore himself dates the beginning of his Jacobitism only in July 1715!

Queen. In the meantime we shall be as spairing as we can and as soon as we have of our own, yr, Maj. may be sure that we will not add to yr charge.¹

All happiness and success attend your Majestie and may I have the joy and satisfaction of seeing an end to your misfortouns and you esteablisht in yr thron, before I go out of this world. Tears keep me from saying more² and you know the hand. God be with you.

Later.

There is one Robethon who is in the same station to George as Nairne is to your Majesty. I'm glade the seals came safe to your handes, and as I told you in my last letter, I'm very sensible of yr goodness in thinking to keep them for me, but I beg'd, as I now do, that they may not be unused on my account, for besides other reasons, God only knows if I shall now be so happie ever to see yr M. again and at best it is likely to be a long time before it. There are several other reasons for my not having them again, tho' I had the happiness to be with you, which I told you in my letter of the 3rd of June.

*James Murray to the King*³

August 10, 1719.

It is impossible for me to do justice to Madame Robert in representing the transports of joy which her last letters occasioned. I am sure she thinks herself happier than if she were mistress of the world, and upon this occasion I must beg leave to repeat that I believe most sincerely that Monsieur Robert will be as happy in a wife as ever man was from the beginning of the world down to this day. . . . I am extremely sensible of the goodness you are pleased to express for me, as well in your letters to Andrew

¹ He does not mention the money he was shortly to receive from Stair —£1000—to pay his debts in Geneva.

² This after seven pages!

³ He refers to Clementina at one moment as Madame Robert, and at another as Andrew, as is often done.

as in that you honour me with. I will venture to assure you that I have not been wanting in application nor in sincere intentions to serve that Gentleman faithfully and well and as to the uneasiness I met with in performing my duty, you will have seen that his good sense knocked all these projects in the head. I must do Wogan the justice to lett you know that he has behaved himself extreamly well. My sister ¹ begs leave to offer you her most humble thanks for the honour you are pleased to do her and her most humble duty. Whatever is to be sayed of the behaviour of others, I dare assure you hers has been as it ought to be, by which I believe she has gained more of Madame Robert's esteem than they who wanted to have been her Governors.' ²

James Murray to the King ³

Rome, August 12, 1719.

SIR,—I have wrote twice to you by the way of Paris since I had the honour to receive yours dated the 18th and 29th June. Andrew has done the same and indeed neither of us has slipt any occasion since I received the address for Francisco Enriques, but I believe we cannot for some time yet expect to know whether they go safe or not. This last week we received no letters, which our people here will not believe, but imagine that we conceal them for some politick view, which I imagine has given no small work for the imagination of our politicians male and female. It is talked of that Mrs. Martell is soon to sett out to join her husband, which in itself is certainly a very reasonable thing. . . . I long with great impatience for your next letters because I am persuaded we shall learn our fate from them and if I be impatient you'll easily believe that Andrew is much more so. I suppose you'll give your orders more fully if Andrew is to part

¹ Mrs. Hay.

² *I.e.* Lady Nithsdale, etc.

³ Sent to Spain but not received there. It is marked 'received in Rome Dec. 22' (the date of its return).

from hence, as to every particular relating to the journey. His good health during such heats as have not been seen during forty years, is a particular blessing. The reports that your enemys industriously spread touching Mr. Martel's imprisonment are not surprising, because they never miss to make what advantage they can of every situation of persons and things. It is prudent indeed upon such occasions to avoid giving any handles, in which respect I'm affraid Mr. Martel's writing to My Lord Stair has done him disservice, without in the main contributing to his Liberty.

James Murray to Mar

Aug. 20.

Lord Pitsligo asked the Lady's t'other day in a public company whether Andrew in his discourse mentioned when he expected you, and Mrs. Martell [Lady Mar] takes it highly ill that she should be informed of this matter by the public, whilst others make a mystery of it.

James Murray to the King

Rome, August 26, 1719.

As to Mr Martel's misfortune, I must take the liberty to say I was surprised at the project of his journey from the moment I heard of it and had a presentiment of the construction the world might place upon it att this time. . . . Though it is the usual sign of discontent with us to retire to baths or waters, yet it is very true that it is possible a man's health may absolutely require it.¹ If I don't mistake in what I have presumed to mention on this subject, is so certain that I'm convinced if Mr. Martel after his liberty shall go to the waters of Bourbon, it won't be ever in your power to support him after that and if he shall forfeit that good opinion, he

¹ As to Mar's going to the waters of Bourbon, after getting his liberty through Lord Stair, Murray, in another letter, begs Mar to return to Rome.

cannot, after that, be of the use he was wont to be. His having solicited the liberty of going there by writing to Lord Stair, I must always think a very imprudent step, for when people are sure that letters pass between persons, they frame the contents to suit their imagination.

If we are to remain here for any considerable time I take the liberty to represent to you that the method we are now in of keeping table for the Gentlemen who came with Andrew [*the Queen*] is not only the most expensive but is a very great constraint upon Mrs. Hay and me, which I should humbly beg to be delivered from. It was absolutely necessary at the beginning, because if they had been to enter into clubs with out people considering the humours they were in, I was not then sure but it might have been of ill consequence, considering the access they naturally had, but at present I don't imagine there is any danger of that sort.

James Murray to the King

Rome, August 28, 1719.

SIR,—I received this morning to my inexpressible satisfaction the joyful news of Y. Majesty's arrival in perfect health after enduring such fatigue and passing through such dangers as few private men have the fortune to be exposed to. . . . I have been solicited by some good friends to your Majesty here to delay as much as I can her Majesty's journey imagining that a few days rest might not be improper after the prodigious fatigues you have endured. In case your Majesty should find this convenient, it will be easie to say that the house will require some little time to put it in order, and for that reason not to sett out so soon. . . . I am afraid the Pope's people will not be very rash in furnishing the Queen's apartment and all things duely considered I would humbly propose to your My. to hear what your friends in this place have to say before you fix upon Rome for the place of your abode. The Queen has been treated with great Indifference by the Court, and I think I know enough of

these people to be sure that in Rome y. M. will meet with daily instances of their bassesse. The expense of this place contributes something to the spleen, which is but too reigning a distemper among the poor people who have the honour to belong to you. Y. M. may have one comfort that you have a Queen whose only aim and satisfaction will be to please you.¹

*Duchess of Mar to the King*²

Rome, Sept. 13, 1719.

Your Majesty's letter merits my earliest and sincerest thanks and if I don't express them as I ought tis not for want of being truly sensible of the honour yr Majesty does me. Ye last letters I had from my Lord were from Geneva where he has been long confined with great strictness and at that time he saw no appearance of his release—taking the air attended by a guard was all ye liberty he could obtain. I hear from him once a week and he seems desirous I should come to him as soon as ye weather will permitt, but I suppose upon ye receipt of yr Majesty's letter he will write particularly himself in answer to yr commands.

The Same to the Same

Oct. 7.

My Lord writes me word to set out as soon as I can get ready, since he apprehends being kept all winter at Geneva and if I stay much longer, I cannot undertake so troublesome a journey. I have a pair of horses here yr Majesty gave him the money for, wh I beg to know how I must

¹ On Friday night, Sept. 1, 1719, James Stuart and Maria Clementina Sobieska were married at Montefiascone by Pompilio Bonaventura, Bishop of that diocese. John Hay, who had been with the King in Spain, was one of the witnesses, and Charles Wogan, who indeed deserved that honour. James Murray also signed, being the only one of those from Rome, except his sister, Mrs. Hay, who was in attendance on the Queen. The Duchess of Mar and Lady Nithsdale were left behind in Rome.

² Sent to James at Montefiascone.

dispose of. I have also two large Boxes under my care that he desires me to ask yr Majesty's orders about which I shall—with the greatest exactness I'm capable of. There is another thing I must trouble yr Majesty with because its necessary I should know it before I leave this place. I can't perform such a journey by myself. I don't know who your Majesty can spare best to go along with me. My Lord thinks Mr. Paterson might be proper, if his going will be no interruption to anything yr Majesty designs.

The King to Mar

Montefiascone, Sept. 26, 1719.

You will be sure to have heard enough of our Roman discontents, which I own vex me heartily for that the Queen should be plagued with such stuff just on her arrival at Rome was not a little hard upon her. The truth of the matter was that being looked upon as a child, some people would gladly have gott the manadgement of her instead of those to whose care I had committed her, and have made her act against my positive orders, but tho' she was uneasie enough for some time, she soon convinced those people that she would be mistress and obey none but me, and I am willing to pass over unnoticed those mistakes without giving or showing any other mark of displeasure than that of having sent for hither a few of the innocent, which was I thought but a necessary encouragement to them. . . . There is barely room for Mrs. Hay in the Bishop's house where we are, which is one reason why we could not have the satisfaction of Lady Mar's company here, but the truth of the matter is, we are in such a sad way as to money matters, we are forced to bring out expense into as small a compass as possible . . . so the Queen has nobody but Mrs. Hay and 2 chambermaids and those I sent for from Rome stayed but 2 or 3 days. The Queen's behaviour att Rome has done her no dishonour in the world, for she had no easie part to act there either with subjects or foreigners, but as Murray took nothing

upon him without our Cardinal's advice, so he was so kind as to enter even into the smallest matters and she *lett herself* be entirely directed by him.

*Mar to the King*¹

Geneva, Sept. 26, 1719.

It is with grief I've seen the copie of part of a letter said to be yrs to Mr. Wogan and pretended to be wrote from Spain, tho' come to his hands and shoven by him only since your being at Montefiascone. The words of it I have seen are as follows: 'I am more troubled than surprised at the undutifull behaviour of the wise folks at Rome and I am sorry that what former merit they had to plead at a proper conjuncture, is now forfeited for ever,' and there's a good deal more I am told to this purpose.

I would fain hope that it is not a true copie, or that the letter is non of yours, but it has given me more grief than all my imprisonments and other misfortunes which seem light to it. I know very little of the particulars of the tracasseries o' late at Rome amongst yr people, yet I shall not doubt but some of them may have been guilty of indiscretion and found fault or complained of things without reason. . . . I beg yr Majestie will be pleased to consider the situation of these unluckie gentlemen against whom the sentence is now past and how the world will judge of it. Have they not ventured their lives for you and lost their effects upon your account and what can men do more for a prince. . . . Times and seasons are not always to be disregarded and there could not have been a more unluckie time than this for giving any handle of a general discontent to the distresst people who follow yr fortouns abroad, when ther's more occasion than ever for yr doing all in your power to keep up the spirits of the people in yr interest so that they may continue firm and attacht to you when yr interest is so low. Look to it in time, for God's sake, sir, and think,

¹ This letter crossed with the preceding one from the King to Mar.

it not so light a matter as at first it may be represented but it requires a speedie remedie before the infection spread and be knowen at home. . . . I'll say little on another head, since it might be interpreted national, but it will be heard of in Scotland, and do no small mischief. I mean yr Majesties honouring those few who are with you in Italy of yr other two nations by calling them as such to have the happiness of seeing you and the Queen together at Montefiascone and at the same time those of Scotland who are at Rome are left unminded and not alou'd that honour. . . .

I speak only from the sincerity of my heart for ye service and after what I have so lately told yr Mat. of my firm resolution never again to be in that post I had the honour to serve you and that I have recommended nobody to it, I may be the more easily believed.

*The King to Mar*¹

Montefiascone, Oct. 5, 1719.

As for the idle stories that has been writt and spread against you, I draw from thence one of the strongest personal motives for yourself for not retiring from business. . . . There is one thing more in which I must undeceive you and that is in relation to a successor to you in case of your retreat, forgive me leave to say there is an absolute impossibility of my finding one at present. You know there is nobody on this side of the sea in all respects equal to such a post. . . .

You desired me yourself that Lady Mar should not be called Lady of the Bedchamber so you will not wonder if the Queen did not think fitt to make my subjects be

¹ The King, in this letter of thirteen pages, is chiefly concerned with his desire that Mar should not leave his service, but should return to Rome as soon as he is set free from Geneva, and giving his sanction to any measures Mar may adopt to obtain that freedom, thus tacitly agreeing to the application to Stair. He goes over again all the troubles about the presentation to the Queen.

presented to her by her which would have been breaking in upon my rule and order against all places.

Although there was nobody in the convent with the Queen but Mrs. Misset, yet Lady Mar went out with her whenever she pleased she had as many audiences of her as she asked for and in general nobody was so much distinguished by the Queen. I know there were indeed some that thought my Lady M. should have been present when the Cardinals Gualterio or Acquaviva were talking of business to the Queen, and looking upon her as a child would have gladly had Lady Mar and Lady Nithsdale as a sort of Governesses to her, and I suppose the complaints you have received may have been relative to those articles and you will now see the folly and malice of them. The Duchess has not made the least complaint to me.

I shall not enter here into a detail of My Lord Pitsligo's shrugs and airs, but as they concern one who was immediately employed by me I cannot but say for my own sake that what is said against him is very false, as is well known att Rome. . . . Murray was used as I believe no man ever was who was vested with my authority. . . . I have unburdened my heart to you and told you without disguise my thoughts and reflexions. I beg of you to consider well of them . . . besides the comfort of having a friend like you about me I leave you to judge to what drudgery your absence will oblige me, and I own sincerely to you, I cannot but apprehend that the example of a voluntary retreat in you may make others think of the like and if that should happen, you will easily see the condition I should be in. There is no man in this world without his mortification and uneasinesses and those at present in my service cannot choose but be made more or less uneasie in it, but did not people wrestle a little against misfortunes and oppositions and bear with other people's nay even with their own temper, no just cause would ever be supported nor no Prince served. . . . I have tired you I am sure with this long letter, but it would be yet longer did I go about expressing to you the lest part of my true kindness and friendship for you, for I shall

not be easie till I know you are it—Nor can I be entirely so till you are with me.

I shall ever be kind to Glendaruel.¹ I know his merit. . . . Honest Clephan² wants nobody's good word with me. He has been here a week for I was glad to distinguish him from the Grumbletonians. . . . Whether I employ Edgar or not, I shall subsist him. . . .

The King to the Duchess of Mar

Montefiascone, Oct. 5, 1719.

My impatience to see your Lord again makes me very uneasie at all the delays he meets with in relation to his liberty and I should be sorry he sent for you in this season for that cannot but be on a certainty of his not obtaining it so soon but if that should happen before I return to Rome, I hope you will take this place in your road and not grudge a few nights ill lodging to give us the satisfaction of your company for a few days. The Queen makes you her kind compliments and desires you'll send her a copy of the note she writ to you soon after she came to Rome. There has been enough pains taken from Rome within these few days to do you ill offices with me, but I can assure you with truth they have made no impression upon me, nor will they produce any other effect than to make me if possible kinder to you. But when I see you I shall say more on this head, for it is fitt you should know your false from your true friends.

The King to the Duchess of Mar

Montefiascone, Oct. 9, 1719.

Mr. Forster gave me this afternoon yrs of the 7. You will easily believe that the loss of yr good company att Rome this winter will be a mortification to us. . . . You have but to dispose of your horses as you think fitt and

¹ Colin Campbell of Glendarule, the writer of the letter on p. 192.

² See p. 45.

you will find here enclosed an order about the boxes under your care. . . . Cardinal Gualterio leaves us tomorrow, and the two rooms he lodged in will be ready for you whenever you please. Though your modesty makes you say nothing as to money matters and that they are at present very low with me, yet when you come here, I beg of you to tell me freely what you may want for your journey in which and everything else I shall ever be ready and desirous to make you easie and be as kind to you as depends on me.

The King to Mar

Montefiascone, Oct. 14, 1719.

I send you also the Queen's billet to Lady Mar, which has been so much criticised. Our people at Rome had in a disrespectful manner enough shewed their reluctance of being presented to the Queen by Murray, upon which to humour them, but not to break through the rule of giving anybody the appearance of a place, the Queen appointed Wogan to perform that function and writ to D^{us} of Mar the above mentioned letter for that effect.

Copy of the Queen's billet to the Dutchess of Mar

Je vous prie Madame de me faire le plaisir de faire entendre a ces Messieurs que s'ils veulent bien me venir voir que Mr. Wogan les introduira. N'étant pas ici en ceremonie je n'espère pas qu'ils s'y opposeront, parce que ce serait une marque qu'ils n'ont pas une grande empressement de me voir.¹

Mar to the King

Geneva, Oct. 15, 1719.

Lady Mar made very few complaints to me, but Mr. Murray's rudeness and incivilitys to her she could not

¹ This is almost, though not quite exactly, as it was given by Lord Pitsligo on p. 61. He himself says he was quoting from memory.

quite omit, the rather because I had seen the beginning of it through his being employed by yr Majesty. In yr absence and being sensible that it did not proceed from you, but from his want of good manners, etc., made us take no notice of it, nor shall you be ever trouble with it, tho' I could not forbear saying so much upon this occasion.

The King to Mar

Montefiascone, Oct. 16, 1719.

The copy of my letter to Wogan which I sent you, you will have found very different from what it was represented to you. I read it to the D. of Ormonde before I sent it away from Spain, and as I had chiefly Lady N—le in view I thought my writing such a letter would prevent her or any body else's being troublesome to the Queen on the account or pretence of places etc. I don't know whether you may have heard of her and her L—d's projects of Jesuits etc. and the curbing of such things will be no unpopular thing. The Lady is always coming into the Queen's closet. She has no privacy.

I believe under consideration you will find it convenient for yourself as necessary for my service, to discover to me your Informer.¹ You will have seen by a former letter of mine that Clephan was with me, as Lord Lithgow and Freebairne have also been, and I always took Mr. & Mrs. Hay and Mr. Murray till now to be Scots people and I believe it will not be thought extraordinary in the world if, when I'm not in a condition to carry a Court about with me, I give to myself the liberty which the last of my subjects enjoys of choosing my own company?

In fine you must not wonder if I'm a little peevish upone this score for it is a melancholy thing that among the few people that are now in Italy, there should be such as those must be, who have writ such stuff to you . . . and for God's sake have a care what correspondence you encour-

¹ As to the false letter to Wogan.

age for you now see what a work they have made about nothing and of what nobody would ever have heard, had not Lord Pitsligo revived the matter.

The King to Mar

Montefiascone, Oct. 16, 1719.

The D^{ss} of Mar came last night, and I have the satisfaction of find her very easy and far from thinking as Lord Pitsligo would have me believe. I fear the last will scarce make a submission, and so [*will*] part without my seeing him. I am sorry for it, but there is no remedy.

That you may be *au fait* of everything, you will find here enclosed a letter of George McKenzie's to Nairne with his answer, and when I go back to Rome, if I am but lett alone, I'm sure nobody shall hear more of all this stuff.

Murray to the Duke of Mar

Montefiascone, Oct. 23, 1719.

As to my situation at Rome during the King's absence the last months, I so far gott the better of myself as to be able to dispise several things which in the beginning gave me some disquiet, there were some others which still continued to be matter of great uneasiness to me, and therefore I take very kindly your compliment upon my delivery from it. . . . From the time I began to use my small endeavours in the King's service, it has been a fixed maxim with me to be of no party but his, and therefore as often as I observed divisions among his friends I made it my business to compose evrything of this nature. . . . However my situation was thought to be the envy of some. . . . There have been many faults found with my conduct while at Rome when the King was in Spain—what occasion there was for them, it belongs to the K. to determine, and therefore I should not have touched upon this particular, if I had not been accused by one of the articles of being rude to the Duchess of Mar. . . . I can only ask what earthly view I could have in such behaviour. . . . I think that

never in the world was there a charge which carried on the face of it so strong an air of improbability. . . . I must say I never heard that her Grace complained of my incivility to her, nor can I well imagine what means those Gentlemen found to persuade her that I was so. I should not have troubled yr Grace again upon so disagreeable a subject if I had not thought it inconsistent with the honour and respect I have for your Grace to be silent under such an imputation and if it may make any amends for the trouble, I promise never to write to you more upon anything that passed last summer at Rome.¹

Mar to the King

Geneva, Nov. 4, 1719.

I am grieved to see you think I have kept correspondence since my being here with those at Rome with whom you are dissatisfied. . . . I could not keep myself from mentioning in a former letter Martellas having mett with some incivilitys and rudeness from one and without being very sure of it, I would not have presum'd to do so, but as I said then you should never more be troubl'd about it so I'll say nothing more now.

I am heartily sorry that Ld. Pitsligo has done anything to occasion yr displeasure and I know him to be so honest, upright and sincere a man as well as religious that I am perswaded it has proceeded from nothing but an ill-understood zeal for yr service, occasioned by his not knowing thoroughly the world nor being much concerned in business, and I believe he thought that since it was only to yourself he wrote privately that you would excuse what he took to be well meant zeal. Since you have found fault with him in so high a manner, that is all I'll presume to say in his justification and I'm far from giving him thanks for what he was so idle as to trouble you wth concerning Lady M^r. . . . I hope you'll forgive me for wishing you had spared yourself the trouble of writing

¹ But he was not quite able to keep his promise.

that letter to him you did, but he is an honest man than to make a bad use of it either on this side of the water or the other where he is going, and if I see him I'll doe my best to have it destroyed. Notwithstanding of what has happened I have no apprehension of his changing his way of thinking nor of his neglecting to act when he can be any way serviceable but that he will quietly eat the bread of sorow for his displeasing you and I must fear its makeing him melancholy and turn to a certain way w^t which he was once before but too much inclined. It was with grt pleasure I saw the true copie of yr letter to Mr. W—n [*Wogan*], after what wt great concern I had heard of it, and I'm not a little scandalised that any body should have presumed to have taken the words of part of it and given so malicious and false an account.

King James to Mar

Montefiascone, Nov. 9, 1719.

'With a good deal of temper, patience and pains I have I think at last got the better of all that malice had been doing against me in this town for some time. Things and people are now quiet, partly convinced with my reasons, partly confounded by my goodness.' [He goes on to ask if Mar wants him to go into the question further.]

Mar to the King

Geneva, Nov. 18, 1719.¹

By the last post save one I had the honour of yours of the 19th and 20th of Oct. and at the same time I had 3 from Lady Mar, one from Montefiascone, one from

¹ On the same day Charles Forbes of Brux wrote to George Mackenzie, Advocate, the following letter which is now in the National Library of Scotland (MS. 1122 f. 64.):—

Rome, Nov. 18, 1719.

DEAR GEORGE,—Nothing of moment has passed since you left this, only the Regent is as much in favour as ever with Percy. I heard, last post, from Pitsligo who is gone by sea to Genoa in his way to France

Florence and one from Parma where she had been stopt by the rains. In all her letters she is full of the goodness you were pleased to show her.

. . . I am very sensible of the honour you do me in what you are pleased to say of Ld. P—igo affair giving you concern upon my account and that still adds to the Grief I had for his haveing offended you. I red again his letter to N—— you sent me wt great attention, and since you have always commanded me to speak freely to you I must own that I think you are very angrie with him indeed when that letter did not plead for abatement at least of your displeasure and the sentence passed against him. In the situation you are, the discharging one of your people to see you is the greatest punishment you can inflict and when not only that is done to an approved honest worthie man but he chased away from the countrie where you are, whither his love to you had made him follow you and now left as it were, to beg his bread home. And solely for his haveing, in the uprightness in his heart, told you some things he thought the good of your service required your being informed of and in so private a way as a letter to yourself wtout speaking of it to anybody else, and afterwards showing in the most dutyfull maner the greef he was in for haveing offended you. I say when one such is punisht in this maner, it will be hard, I

where he hopes to meet you and honest Jo. The D. of Mar is verie tender and last post he writes that he is closer confined than ever and no hopes of his release. B. Campbell leaves this for Spain in 4 weeks time and presses me to go along but I wait the D's orders first—wee are all perswaded that the Queen is with child and she grows more charming everie day. Tis said the English expedition are embarked at Vigo, all your friends mynds you verie kindly. Clephan, Campbell, Kennadie and Jamie supps at my Chamber this night, where your companie will be mynded after the wives. I hope or now the Dutchess is safe over the Alps, tho the last letter I had from Paterson was from Parma. All our news are about the peace and the Mirakles of Mr. Law who is to ease the subjects of half the taxes, double the Crown rent and pay the public debt in one year. Fail not to make yourself acquainted with Mr. Campion—write me all your news and where to direct for you. I shall ad no more but that I am in all sincerity D. George, Unalterable yours

CHARLES FORBES.

My humble service to honest Compton and Sim. fraser.

believe, to find an adequat punishment for a higher crime, which if none of yr people be ever guilty of, it will be very singulare !

You'll have the goodness I hope Sir, to pardon my putting this affair to you in what without partiality or passion I think its true light and so it will be judged, I realise by all indifferent and impartial people, if ever unluckily it should come to be heard of which I heartily wish it was not, tho' that is scarce possible and 'tis the real concern and duty I have for you makes me presume to do it. A certain person¹ on whose account all this has happened may perhaps think he has got a victory in this, but had he been as wise as he ought to be, he would have beg'd on his knees upon his own account that you would be so good as to pass over the matter and he'll find the smart of his folly for this affair and the part he has had in it, will stick to him as long as he lives, but 'tis his business to see to that and all I wish as to him is that he may live to do half as much service to yr affairs as he has been the occasion of doing hurt to them of late. . . . Your goodness will I hope make you forgive the freedom I have now taken, with all Submission.

Mar to the King

Geneva, December 8, 1719.

As to your expecting that I should either support the complaints in general that have been made of Murray or show my disapproval of them etc., since ever I've had the honour of being with you, sir, I've always avoided being in any party ; of which I thought you had approved, and as I have carefully avoided giving any countenance to those who complained or found fault with M—y I did not expect that you would have called upon me to justify the follies, at least what I think so, and it is what I can never do and happie will it be for him and for your affairs if they can be buried in oblivion, which I heartily wish

¹ James Murray.

they may. . . . You may see by all that ever I have wrote to you on that subject that I have no design against M—y and that it was only out of real regard to yr service that I said so much.

. . . I had a letter from Lord P—o from Turin t'other day full of joy upon the last letter N—e wrote to him by yr order, a copie of which you sent me and had he had wherewithal, I doubt not of his having returned upon it for no other end but the satisfaction of seeing you. He's gone on to Paris where he sayes his stay will not be long, but how he will find money to carry him home or to keep him elsewhere, god knows.

*The King to Mar*¹

Rome, Dec. 7, 1719.

You will have found Lord Pitsligo's affair is quite made up again. I am not under any uneasiness whatever because of my letter to him. My goodness to him now is apparent enough, and if he had at first conducted himself without reeking his spleen against, without wanting respect to the Queen and me, he would not have met with such a reply as I made him—but I shall say no more of those matters as to which I am now in all respects easy, and have other things to fill my thoughts.

The King to Mar

Rome, Dec. 9, 1719.

Your two of the 18 of last month came last night to my hands and I am as glad to hear of your Lady's safe arrival with you as troubled to think on the hard usage you meet with and the little hopes you have of relief this winter. . . . I wonder you give me no light as to the origin of my falsified letter, but it is a matter that imports me much to know and I shall iff possible be at the bottom of it—But after this, I assure you, if I can help it, I shall

¹ This crossed with his own.

mention all these tracasseries no more. All people cannot be of the same mind, tho' I am now perfectly easy on these matters, because I am sure no unbyassed body can blame my conduct and if I have friends that are byased I ought to suppose they will rather stifle their private peek, than by satisfying of it, I don't say do me only hurt but wrong, by putting false gloses on triffls. I have said more than I intended on this subject, which on your account only, makes me now uneasie, and for God's sake, think no more of it, nor do not torment yourself with notions by which you do wrong to many—hurt to yourself and good to none. It is only from the publick I hear of the intended expedition from Spain, so that till I hear more, I can make no judgement on the matter.—Adieu,
J. R.

The King to Mar

Rome, Dec. 29, 1719.

As I cannot help speaking my mind to you, I cannot but tell you that I was mortified upon your account to see your last letter to Murray and there is a great deal of difference betwixt your justifying him, or putting it in his power to justify himself. All I said on that matter was out of regard for you, and the minute you think it no more worth your noticing, I am sure it is much less worth mine, for private disputes, let them be betwixt whom they will, have nothing to do with my service or interest, and it was my own authority and orders and not Murray's person that I have now all along supported. But for God's sake, what crimes has he committed or what has his conduct been to make you speak of him in the manner you do, for if he has acted against my service or orders, I think you are obliged to lett me know it, since I am utterly ignorant of it and that my service may suffer by not knowing such as I employ, but if all you have to say relates only to little tracasseries—Since they can't affect my interest, I'll have nothing to do with them. After this, I beg of you to put it out of your head,

as if I were angry with you, for I know no difference of opinion or way of thinking which can make me so with you, nor can I imagine how you can make those matters a motive for a retreat from business, since, except a minister be a flatterer or his master a slave, those differences will always happen ; and as I am far from wishing you should be the one, you do not, I am sure, expect I should be the other. I believe for the time past few people differed less as to our opinions than you and I did, and if one will go and foresee possibilities for the time to come, one will always find difficulties without end, so that on the whole, give me leave to say that this is no argument at all for your retreat. . . .

I beg of you to chase away spleen and melancholy and whatever way they may make you think, to believe me ever your sincere friend. Both males and females are now very easy here. They give no more trouble and I am well pleased.

I expect with impatience the rest of the letter of which I received a piece a great while ago and I shall not be quite easy till I know the bottom of what relates to my falsified letter.¹ I have writ of it to E. of S—ke² and he will, I am sure, tell me all he knows of the matter.

*Mar to the King*³

Geneva, Dec. 29, 1719.

I am loath to mention poor Lord P—o's unfortunate affair again, but I must say that I am sorry to see you think he was wanting in respect to you or Q. wh I am sure was the furthest from his thoughts or intentions and I suppose it must have been in something which does not appear to me, by all I have seen of the matter—but I'll give you no more trouble on that.

¹ *I.e.* to Wogan.

² Southesk, see p. 43.

³ This also crossed with the above.

General Arthur Dillon to the King

Paris, January 22, 1720.

As to the question you ask in relation to 932 [*Ja. Murray*] for which you mention having particular reasons to be informed, I shall be as cordial and sincere in answering it as my zeal for Mr. Knight [*the King*] requires from me. By many informations I had these four months past, I should naturally infer that friends both of this and the other side of the water are prepossessed that Paul [*the K.*] has so entire a confidence in him and 632 [*Mr. Hay*] that he communicates the most secret affairs to them, preferably to all others—tis so presum'd and I may say beliv'd, and that they have credit enough to encrease or lessen the consideration due to deserving subjects, and for proof of this 'tis alledged that severall ill offices has been done to 918 [*the Duke of Mar*] and incivillities beyond measure to his companion, during the latter's stay in Rome, with many other things too tedious to mention and unnecessary to be repeated. Thus, you have, as it came to my knowledge, the general notion in reference to this gentleman.

*Colin Campbell of Glendarule*¹ *to the King (Extract)*

Rome, Aug. 1720.

Any who would Indeavour to bring those worthie and loyal subjectts, the leaders of that great attempt, under your Majistie's displeasure or would soe sedition betwixt your Majistie and those your suffering subjects now in Banishment, cannot but be onacceptable to the Last degree to all Honest men and good subjects. This, by all your subjects abroad, is allowed and is said to be the case of Mr. Murray, who by his misrepresentation on your Majestie's return from Spain and his misinformations sent when there, brought your subjects in Rome under your

¹ Glendarule had been 'out' in the Rising of 1715 and also in 1719 at Glenshiel.

disfavour, and Lord Pitsligo to be reprimanded for informing your Majesty of his indiscretions to the Duchess of Mar and to the nobilitie and gentry at Rome and this to go so far as that worthy Lord and your faithfull subject had the mortification to go out of Italy without seeing your Majesty and in that very thing Mr. Murray has done more disservice than all his service or interest can balance—that Lord being a man exceedingly esteemed in his own cuntry and by all that knows him, for his loyalty to your Majesty and for his good sense and modesty. The Case of my Lord Pitsligo has discouraged your subjects at Rome, so that none of them would ventur ever after to inform you of Mr. Murray's Insolences to themselves and the Duchas of Mar, who all agrees has been most unworthily treated by him and Imputts his going from Rome to his bad treatment and that att a time when all your Majesty's loyal and good subjects judged it ane exceeding great happiness that a lady of her great character, wisdom and discretion should be at Rome when the Queen came, seeing it could never enter the mind of any but she would be continued about her majesty's person that being the reason all the world believed she was sent for to Italy.

Nor did Mr. Murray in some things use the Duke of Mar much better than the rest of the Lords and that before he left Rome, which is known to Severalls now here of the best caracters amongst your subjects.

Mr. Murray's being continued to be employed by his Majesty and acting in business, after such doings cannot but be of very ill consequences.

The King to John Hay

Rome, Oct. 29, 1720.

You will find here a letter from Glen, which required an answer. After this pray, by your self and Martel, do what you can to have some past differences burried in oblivion, for the reviving them can do nobody good and may do me

hurt, and I am satisfied the rest may be dispised, for it is, and will ever be impossible to please everybody.

*John Hay to the King*¹

Paris, Nov. 5, 1720.

SIR,—As I have nothing att heart but your service and Interest for which I shall never scruple to sacrifice everything that is dear to me in the world—I hope you will forgive me if without reserve or entering into particulars upon the subject I talk to you freely what I have drawn from the discourse I have had with your friends Martell [*Mar*] and Dutton [*Dillon*], as well as several others since I came here—Peter's service suffers dayly upon Morpeth's account, the Clamours against him is not to be imagined. Morpeth's old Comrades in England make a great distinction betwixt the opinion they have of him as a comrade and that of a man of business. If Morpeth does not leave the quarter where Peter is, he will lose himself entirely and Peter's personal reputation will suffer considerably. Peter can't be surprised that other people find out Morpeth's failings when you are not ignorant of them. Want of tenper and prudence are very considerable ones for a man that deals with many different people. . . . Nobody will accept of the employment in question² till Morpeth be removed. Everybody sees the uneasiness Morpeth's staying about Peter will give the person that is to succeed Martel. Morpeth's letters of late are sufficient to confirm this. After this I conclude Peter will either name Morpeth, or open the way for some other, that he shall think more fitt to be employed. . . . I may add that Morpeth may thank Peter if he removes him from about him. Were a person named and that he should refuse to accept of it but upon that condition, Morpeth's reputation would be irretrievable and a thing of that kind never could be keepit secret.

¹ Marked 'For Peter alone, John Hay's private note.'

² Secretary of State to the King.

I suppose Dutton has explained the reasons that hindered him from forwarding the packet for Evans [*England*] that related to Martell's successor, so I won't trouble you with repeating them.¹

Murray to Duke of Ormonde ²

Rome, Sept. 28, 1720.

MY LORD,—Your Grace will perceive by what the King writes to you by this post that his Majesty is at last obliged to name a Successor to the Duke of Mar in the office of Secretary of State, and the papers he sends inclosed will shew you what measures he has taken in order to supply that place in a manner that may be for his honour, the real good of his service, and of reputation to the cause.

It is not to be thought that the King's friends in England will come very suddenly to a resolution in this matter, and therefore there will be time for your Grace to facilitate, by the extraordinary power you have most justly over them, the execution of a project, which as your Grace will observe, is absolutely necessary for the King's service. Your Grace can judge much better than they of this necessity, because you know the extent of the capacity of the King's Subjects abroad, and will therefore be able to shew them that it is impossible for him to be serv'd otherways.

The truth is that the person who shall have the honour to be employ'd in this station, be who he will, will have a hard task of it.

In expectation of the D. of Mar's return to his employment I undertooke with pleasure, in obedience to the King's commands, to do what I cou'd to help on the business during that interval, without the name of any employment, and with as little appearance of it as was possible.

This being a transitory thing, I did not think that the

¹ This was Murray's own 'letter into Scotland,' given at p. 198. The King insisted on its being sent, in spite of the objections of his Paris advisers.

² Ormonde was in Spain, where he remained after the fiasco of the Expedition to Scotland in 1719.

King's Subjects abroad wou'd have been dissatisfied with it, and far less did I imagine that any of them cou'd have been mov'd by this instance of my obedience to the King, and zeal for his service, to take all possible methods to blacken my reputation, which is a thing very dear to a man of honour.

Some of those poor people have not been contented to do all the hurt they cou'd to my character in general, but have taken pains to tell lyes to provoke particular people personally against me, amongst others the D. of Berwick was assur'd that I had lately writ Letters full of personal reflections against him, when I had not so much as ever mention'd his name in a Letter since my being on this Side of the Sea. Soon after my arrival here, there were some who began to use their endeavours to make the D. of Mar uneasy upon my account, supposing that I was aiming at his employment, and alledging that he ought to consider me as his Rival, and lest this shou'd not have been sufficient, they apply'd themselves in his absence to get my lady into their party, thinking by her means to be better able to gain their point.

If these practices have made impression on his Grace, I can only say that I am heartily sorry for it, and that I am sure that I have never fail'd in the respect which is due to one of his Rank and particularly to a person who has merited so much of the King.

I need not mention to your Grace the situation I was in here during the King's absence, and the extraordinary treatment I receiv'd, because I presume these matters may be in some measure known to you.

It is also to be remark'd that since I have serv'd the King, as often as anything has happen'd contrary to the expectation or inclination of any private man who has to do with him, I am immediately blam'd for this matter, and the person meditates revenge against me upon that account, as if his Majesty was not absolute master in his own affairs, and my part only that of executing his commands in some particulars. I have presum'd to lay this account before your Grace, to shew you how impossible

it is for me, who am really unfit for the business it self, by reason of my youth and inexperience, to struggle any longer against this torrent of difficultys, which would be yet stronger had I the honour to be nam'd to this station.

It is for these reasons that it is most essential to the King's service, in every respect, to send him over a new person to fill this employment, and therefore if any of the King's friends should name me to it, in order to avoid the necessity there is for one of them to leave his Country upon this occasion, your Grace may be convinc'd and be able to convince them, of the absolute necessity there is for one of them to come over.

I am sure it is not a tenderness for myself, but a regard for the King, that makes me argue thus in this matter, in which his Majesty is altogether of the same opinion, and I dare say he is persuaded that I would go with pleasure to the remotest part of the world to be so happy as to do him any service.

The King's true friends must find from all the different events in his Majesty's affairs every day, new reasons to admire (if possible more than ever) the resolution with which your Grace acts most constantly in his service. Your zeal in so glorious a cause is not to be cool'd by many disappointments and by all the disagreeable consequences of adverse fortune. You were born with a genius, and act upon a principle infinitely superior to such incidents as damp the spirits of others, and will, I hope, soon see your endeavours as successful as they deserve to be.

I beg leave upon this occasion to acknowledge, with all possible gratitude and respect, the many marks your Grace has been pleased to give me personally of your goodness and the friendship your particular friends in England have a long time honour'd me with, and I intreat your Grace to do me the justice to believe that I am by gratitude, duty and inclination with all possible respect and attachment &c. Yrs

JAMES MURRAY.

*Murray's Letter into Scotland*¹

Rome, Sept. 28, 1720.

SIR,—You will see by what the King writes to you at present that, to his great mortification, he finds himself at last under a necessity of naming a Successor to the D. of Mar in the office of Secretary of State, and it is the harder for the King to be deprived at this time of the service of so able & faithful a minister, that, amongst those of his Subjects who have follow'd his fortune abroad, there is none in all respects fitly qualified to succeed him.

Whatever may have been the imaginations of some people, the world will now see how far I have been from aiming at this honour, for which I never was vain enough to think myself fitly qualified.

But supposing it had been otherways, the treatment I have receiv'd by the injurious discourses & Letters of some of my Country men abroad, has furnish'd me with sufficient reasons to persuade his Majesty, that it cou'd not be for the good of his service, no more than for my own satisfaction, to employ me in that station.

I don't question but the King will have soon here a person every way qualified to serve him as Minister, and I wish with all my heart that he may prove more agreeable to all our friends abroad, than some others have been, or at lest, that they may all of them learn to use him with the respect which is due to one who has the honour to act by his Majestie's commands.

I declare to you that no man alive has a greater degree of concern & compassion for all & every one of the King's suffering Subjects than I have, and I am very much persuaded, by what I have observ'd of the tempers of some of them, that as soon as there appears a new object for envy and clamour to work against, I shall soon be restor'd to their favour. But I can not but regret from the bottom of my heart, that honest people, who I believe in my conscience mean well upon the main, shou'd from a certain perverse disposition of mind, be creating continual

¹ Sent to many different persons.

uneasiness to the King himself, & make it almost impossible for any man to serve him in his business, while they are utterly incapable of doing it themselves.

These things I have no further interest of representing to you upon my own account, and it is for that reason I think it the more important for the King's service to mention them now, that friends with you may be convinc'd that the complaints those people will in all probability soon make against the person who shall come to serve the King, deserve to be very little regarded, and I will be bold to say that such were the complaints they have made so industriously for some time past.

Since then you are in all probability to expect a new Correspondent, it is reasonable that I shou'd give you some account of the part I have had the honour to act in in the King's service, and the more that I came into this Countrie ¹ in obedience to his Majestie's express commands, and at the desire of the most considerable of his friends ; But upon this subject I shall content my self with saying, in short, that in such matters as the King has employ'd me, I have endeavour'd to serve him to the best of my power, and if the success has in any instance been answerable to my wishes, I am more than recompenc'd by the most gracious approbation of the best Master that ever was in the world, and by his being so good as to pardon wherein I may (by my incapacity) have fallen short of my duty.

I shall not presume to add anything to what the King has writ, but that I don't in the lest doubt that his affairs will improve every day, and that we shall in due time have a happy meeting. I beg of you to communicate this with my most humble service to our friends, and I hope both you & they will be convinced that I love & honour you all most sincerely.

I am with particular esteem &c^a.

¹ On his return from England in 1718.

*James Murray to John Hay*¹

Rome, Nov. 20, 1720.

I received a letter t'other day from England, by which I perceive it was supposed I might have gone from hence. This convinces me that no pretext of business can cover the occasion of my journey from hence when it happens. This particular is, I may say, a loss to the King, but to me it is none, because since this is to be an affair of *éclat*, I cannot wish it should appear in any other light but the true one, for none can be more favorable to me. . . .

I foresee that I shall be obliged to spend some months after I go from hence, in managing a paper war with my Lord Mar in England. My first care shall be to say everything that I think can tend to serve the King and support his character. It is true the King does not want my endeavours in that way, but those of an honest man are never to be despised. After this, I don't doubt but after some pains and a little time, I shall, in spite of fifty little artifices, be able to do justice to my own. This is what a man of honour and spirit cannot avoid doing and when I have done that, nobody will be more ready to support Lord Mar when he has the honour to act by the King's commands.

James Murray to Hay

Rome, Nov. 26, 1720.

I perceive *I* am likely to travel next, as to which I have no other concern than to think that I shall be an expence to the King in my retreat, for I am affrayd it will not be possible for me, as matters go in Scotland, att present, to gett anything from home. My situation will, at all events be able to support itself, and besides I hope the King will do nothing to cast a cloud upon it. If, after that, my being employed in the King's affairs be not of service to him, my natural inclination will make me

¹ Hay was in Paris.

look upon it as a happiness to get handsomely out of a situation in which I found no other pleasure.

The King to Hay

Rome, Nov. 24, 1720.

I fear poor Sheridan is lost. I wish you would turn your thoughts in relation to a good *commis* and bring me back some light on that head. When Morpeth is gone, there is nobody but Nairn that can serve for the French language. Poor M—¹ is nobody and t'other, besides other reasons, is old, can't work much and may drop off one day or another. My wife can't long more to be delivered of a son than I do to be it of all the 'cuibonos' that will attend the function. It is all regulated and God grant us all well after it. I shall want you a great deal then, but greater matters must be preferred, and it is scarce possible you could come in time, even were you to post, on receipt of this. . . . I thank God I am very well, but it is not mirth that makes me so. Continue always to write freely to me, I know you are a true friend to me, and I shall ever be to you.—Adieu,

J. R.

*Murray to the King*²

Rome [November or December, 1720].

SIR,—I have observed with great concern the uneasiness yr Majesty has undergone upon the measures you have been pressed to take personally against me. I am deeply sensible of the goodness you have shewn me upon this occasion and if there appears anything unfavourable to me in what your Majesty proposes to do, I am entirely perswaded that it is far from being your intention.

If I were capable to put any private views of my own in

¹ This name is illegible.

² This is Murray's own defence of himself. It is among the undated papers.

competition with your Majesty's interest, ease or satisfaction, I should look upon myself to be the last of mankind.

I beg of yr M. to recollect if I have not upon all occasions mentioned of what importance the D. of Mar's service was to you here, and if ever I made the least insinuation against your repeated instances for his return. From the moment I conceived it was your Majesty's opinion that it would contribute to the good of your affairs in general to give way to the D. of Mar's humours against me, and that it was necessary I should retire from hence and by consequence be deprived of the honour and satisfaction of being near your person, I submitted to it with pleasure, as I ever will to whatever your Majesty may think proper in regard to myself.

The reputation I have in the world is all my inheritance and I humbly think it ought not to be a matter altogether indifferent to your Majesty, since upon this occasion I will presume, to say that if I carry it home with me entire, you have not many subjects more capable to serve you in an English parliament than I am.¹

Now Sir, I beseech your Majesty to consider, with your usual goodness, what the world will think upon my being removed from your presence with such *eclat* as this affair will make by the contrivances of my enemies.

. . . My having asked leave to retire can avail me little because in the first place, that circumstance can be known but to a few, and those few will naturally think that, however unacceptable my service might be to you, it was agreeable to the goodness of your nature rather to gett rid of a man who has served you on a certain foot in this way than to have the appearance of having ordered him to begone. I appeal to your Majesty if you would not have chose this very way to have laid me aside, supposing I had done everything (without committing a crime) to make my service disagreeable to you, and if so, can your Majesty doubt but it is reasonable for the people of England and Scotland to believe this to be the case, especially when

¹ He had already represented two Scots constituencies before 1715.

some folks will take no little pains to persuade them that it is so.

. . . I therefore beg that your M. will be pleased to bestow upon me some public mark of favour which will shew the world effectually that the other measure did not proceed from any dissatisfaction you had personally at me.¹ . . .

Had I been naturally ambitious of such things, having had the honour to treat for your Majesty's marriage, and to marry the Queen by virtue of your procuration, I can't think your Majesty would have thought a desire of this kind unreasonable in its self, independent of those considerations which have solely occasioned this application. . . . I believe I may take it upon me to assert that never Gentleman succeeded in a negociation of this sort but was immediately distinguished upon it. Give me leave to say that your Majesty owes the publick this mark of your satisfaction in the choice I had the honour to make for you. . . . I know your Majesty has laid down a general rule against promotions while you are abroad, but there is no rule without an exception and the reasons for this exception are such as can be extended to no man living but myself, by which means there is no danger of yr Majesty's being exposed to importunities of this sort.

The most proper time of publishing this mark of your favour would be after the Queen's delivery, for your Majesty will have a particular reason to be satisfied with the choice of your Queen, and therefore a public mark of it would be most natural at that time.²

And if after I have left Rome your Majesty should wish to employ me further in affairs of state, this would be impossible without something of this sort which would carry respect along with it, and in that supposition it

¹ What he wanted was a title of nobility, and this he obtained after some years.

² He ignores the fact that though he had certainly gone to Ohlau to arrange preliminaries for the King's wedding, it was due not to him but to the gallant Wogan and his friends that Princess Clementina ever reached Italy.

would be much better to grant it at this time and thereby prevent the nations receiving a bad opinion of me than to think to undeceive them afterwards, for experience shews that it is much easier to prevent popular impressions than to cure them. . . .

I'm confident the D. of Mar would be less pleased with my retiring in this manner than if I had stayed on here as I was before, and yr Majesty will have it to say that you were obliged to this step by his insisting unreasonably to have a person removed from your presence who had served you well, and that you found no other honourable way of complying with his request.¹

In conclusion,—If your Majesty thinks fitt that I should retire from having had the honour to serve you in a manner that must bring a cloud upon my character, my power to serve you will thereby be lessened, but my inclinations never can, and I end with humblest expressions of duty and devotion.

James Murray to John Hay

Rome, Dec. 3, 1720.

I have desired of the King that I may not go from hence till after the Queen is brought to bed and even after that, till you arrive. I believe it will not be possible for me to gett away, for you know the King has nobody here.

My own project is to go the German road and to pass by Modena, Parma, Milan, Munique and Nancy and to settle in some country town in France where I hope to pass my time in quiet, but I have not as yet mentioned these particulars to the King.²

¹ Murray also added a suggestion that his brother-in-law John Hay should likewise have a title, 'preferably to any other, perhaps prior to mine.' This advice to the King was, of course, quite unnecessary, as John Hay's patent as Earl of Inverness had been drawn up in 1718, though not promulgated, and Murray, who was in all his master's secrets, was certainly aware of this.

² With his usual extravagance, Murray in this letter asks John Hay to bring him from Paris, 'a brocade waistcoat with as much of the same stuff as will make sleeves, and gold buttons for the coat.'

Mrs. Hay to her husband

Rome, Dec. 10, 1720.

Her Majesty grows bigger every day, but I believe we shall not get our Prince before the new year, but very soon after. May God Almighty preserve her. I do assure you I tremble many times, when I think of the danger she must be in, tho' I don't imagine her Maj. shall suffer more than other people do, but still upon these occasions there are more dangers than most people think of, and when I look upon myself as the only body that is to have care of her, it gives me all the pain in the world . . . the charge is too great for one body, but since it is so, I must do my best, and with God's assistance I hope all shall go well. . . . My dear Angle, I pray God preserve you. Dear Body, adieu.

John Hay to the King

Paris, Dec. 16, 1720.

I bring Sheridan along with me, and am the fonder to do it (laying aside Peter's desire of haveing him, which shall always be a rule to me) that I shan't be obliged to appear in anything of writting upon my arrival att Rome, since he will supply Nairn's defects.

The King to the Duke of Ormonde

Rome, Jan. 19, 1721.

As to what I previously mentioned in relation to Mr. Murray, it would be hard enough to explain the matter to you by word of mouth and it is impossible to do it in writing, so all I can say of it is, that I had good reason to acquiesce with his desire of leaving this place, which does not hinder me from being perfectly satisfied with the fidelity and application with which he has served me. I believe he will part in a few weeks, and I shall be very impatient for an answer from England and to be enabled to name a Secretary, for I cannot hold out long with the drudgery I must now have on my hands.

*James Murray*¹ to Hay

Spoletto. Saturday, Feb. 8, 1721.

DEAR SIR,—Before I begin to give you an account, of a new misfortune happened to me, I am obliged to thank you most heartily for the care you were so good as to take to deliver me from the first, and for the kind letter you sent me. I am extremely sensible of your friendship, and shall always make it my business to correspond with it, in the most cordial and affectionate manner. I was not to be pityed t'other day, because I had good company and excellent champaigne, and in that case one's time seldome sits heavy upon them, but now I'm in a worse situation, without either. About eight a clock this morning, passing by the walls of this Town, an unskillfull postillion, having been unluckily entrusted with the government of two fiery horses and my chair into the bargain, he overturned us with such violence, that the poor fellow who serves me is abed by the effects of it. I was in that side of the chair to which it fell, and came off for a broken nose, which, in the manner Doctor Wright states accompts with the postillions, is if I remember right reckoned at nothing at all. The fall did not a bit fright me, but after I had gott up my self, it was a terrible sight when I observed my servant's head all bloody and heard him cry that both his arms were broke and that he was expiring. I gott the fellow lifted up and soon perceived that none of his arms was broken, but that he was confounded with a contusion he had received in his head which bled plentifully. It was happy we were so near a town as we were to this, whither I gott two people to carry him, and had him dressed by the surgeon of the place who assures me that none of his bones are broke, but both his arms are swelled with the violence of the fall; so that I hope in two days he will be able to move

¹ Murray had left Rome on February 6, 1721, and proceeded by the route he had outlined for himself. Two days after this he writes to Hay, who had taken his place at their Master's side.

again : However I think I have reason to be well satisfied with my share in this ' disgrazia.'

I beg of you to add to all your other favours that of laying me att their Majestys feet and assuring them, that my life is most unalterably devoted to their service, and that I really was not able to speak the sentiments of my heart when I had the honour to take leave of them.

Give dear Sissie a kiss from me, and tell her I will write to her from Bologna and it may be sooner. Make my compliments in a most particular manner to honest Cardinal Gualterio and remember me to Card. Acquaviva, Mr. Foster, Stuart and all our other friends.

I had almost forgett to tell you that hitherto the chair has held out very well and I do not doubt but it will continue to do so, for it did not suffer much by the fall, the irons which support the leather that covers it were extreemly bent, all which are now entirely sett right again.

I suppose by the length of this letter you will think that I imagined you to be as idle as I am my self at present, and therefore it is time to put an end to it, and I shall only beg of you to be perswaded that I am with all my heart your true friend and most affectionate brother and very humble servant.

James Murray to Mrs. Hay

Nancy, Aprile 17, 1721.

DEAR SISSIE,—Having been here for some time, I can now pretend to give you some account of this Court. The Duke and Dutchess¹ are the best people in the world and have the finest family of children that ever I saw. I have dined often with the Duke, and Mr. O Ruerk did me the honour to invite me to dine one day at his house with the young part of the family, which I was extreemly pleased with. The Dutchess dresses and undresses her head every day in publick, so that the usual time of

¹ Leopold Joseph, Duke of Lorraine, and his wife, Elizabeth Charlotte, daughter of Philip, Duke of Orleans.

making court to her is at her toilet. The Court goes, the latter end of the month, to Luneville and if I gett any sort of invitation to go there I will choose to pass summer at that place. So much for news from Lorraine.

I saw, since I came into this part of the world a letter that said that the D. of M.¹ had at Paris a coach and six, with a number of servants and that he lived in the great house where the Emperor's ambassador was formerly. This letter bore also that he made and received visits frequently from the English Minister, Sir Robert Sutton and that Coll. Churchill on his return from Vienna came to his house when he arrived at Paris and gallanted the Dutchess to the Opera. The gentleman to whom this piece of news was directed, asked me what I thought of all that, to which I answered not a sillable, but turned the discourse by asking him for a pinch of his snuff, which I thought was all that was reasonable for me to do upon that occasion.

. . . I have not had any letters from Paris, so know nothing of our wise people's politicks there, but I'm in hopes by this time I'm forgott by them.

I suppose the cardinals will be shutt up again in such a manner that it is not reasonable to write to any of them,² but if Mr. Hay has any way of corresponding with Cardinal Gualterio I beg the favour of him to assure him of my most inviolable respects.

*The Duchess of Mar to the Duke of Kingston*³

Paris, July 9, 1721.

MY LORD,—Within these few days there has been a great many reports spread about here, which gives my Lord so much uneasieness that he beg'd me to write to yr G. about it. There has been many letters wrote from England that say he is soliciting his pardon and leave to go home

¹ Duke of Mar,

² For the election of a Pope in succession to Clement XI, Michael Angelo Conti was elected and took the title of Innocent XIII.

³ Evelyn, 1st Duke of Kingston, was her father.

himself. Your G. knows the obligation he is under of living quietly and entering into no business and he has done so and I hope given no cause of complaint to anybody since his being here, but these stories for wh he knows there is no ground are vexatious to him upon several accounts and I cannot imagine what has occasioned them. My Lord is very sensible of yr great kindness to him upon all occasions and begs the continuance of it. He will ever esteem it a happiness to him and is a very particular one to me. Yrs, etc.

The King to James Murray

Rome, Dec. 13, 1721.

I cannot but take well of you your taking no resolution as to your return home till you hear from me and I hope you will take as kindly as I mean it, what I shall reply on that head. It is very true I have no immediate service for you just at this time on this side of the sea, but how soon that may alter is not possible for me to foresee. The deference you owe to those who press your return home ought no doubt to be great, but as I am persuaded they have no particular view for your advantage in it, I cannot but think they would not have been so earnest in it had they enough considered on the matter for suppose you comprehended in the late act of Indemnity never so much, I own I should not think it very safe for you to trust to the *bonne foye* of those now in power. It is not a year since you left this place and were it but to have a handle for a plott or to terrify those who trusted you on t'other side the sea, 'tis very probable they might put you in custody, the ill consequences of which especially at this time cannot but be very obvious to you—so that all put together, I think it will be much more advisable for you to delay that journey which may be attended with many great inconveniences and not with any one advantage that I can see, and I doubt not but you will be of my mind when you think further on the subject. . . .

After this you can best judge what way to dispose of

yourself for the present and I shall advise nothing as to that. Your pension shall be payed in the manner you shall desire and as long as I have it, I shall not at least let you want. Better days will, I hope, come in which you may be useful to me and I kind to you and in the meantime we must have, all of us, patience. You see, James, I write very freely to you, but I have said nothing but what I thought I owed both to yourself and me, and you will, I am sure, make the best use of it and never doubt of my continual friendship for you.

Mar to John Hay

Paris, April 19, 1722.

I thank you for yrs of the 30th of March, for tho' sometimes accounts of certain things wch are not very agreeable give those who have any intrest or concern in them pain, yet it is a pleasure as well as advantage to be aprized of the real truth of them & maters of fact, as they happen from time to time.

I must ever think my self concernd in what has relation to Peter and Androw [*the King and Queen*], and the least disagreement betwixt those two gentelmen must be of such a bad consequence to themselves, their affairs & intrest, as well as to those any way employed by them, that all methods possible ought to be taken to prevent it. I am exceeding sorry for the things of wch you gave me account in the letter above & Peters character & reputation, will, I'm much affraid, suffer by those doings, wch have suffred too much alreddy. Androw is so luckie that he has got the good oppinion of the world in a great degree wch I am sorry to say is not quitt the case wt Peter, so the world will be apt to put Peter in the wrong when they hear of any difference betwixt them¹ & when there is any thing of that kind, it is seldome a secret.

¹ This has unfortunately been very much the case in the two centuries which have elapsed since the date of these events, and the unfounded accusations against King James have been curiously long-lived.

Since ever I knew Peter I have thought he neglected too much the wayes those about him toke, wt wch he was any way displeased, for in place of putting a stope to them by his authority in a gentle & friendly way, he has alwayes let them go on, thinking they wou'd come to alter their thoughts and wayes of themselves by his overlooking such things. I do not mean by this that he should trouble himself wt every trifle amongst his people, but only that he should endeavour to keep them all in the same way of thinking in the generall, of what concerns his service & where he finds such a perverssness in any of his people that upon his mind being made known to them that they will not alter their way, that he should let them in a reasonable way know his displeasur & not be easily brought to emploie them in any bussiness til they become sensible of their fault, but that can never be done without his speaking his mind freely after he has fully weyd the things. You say that he never had a very good opinion of Morton [*Murray*] since he was wt him at A—n [*Avignon*], then pray why did he not take ways to have him alter what he was in the wrong or to blame in, or if he did not, why should he have employed him so easily after it, without knowing that he had altred his way of thinking & doing? Peter was put in mind of this when he proposed Morton's being sent into Germany,¹ but he did not then think it of consequence, when he returned from thence, it was easie to see that he² was picqued at anothers³ being sent to finish what he had in a maner begun & yet Peter employed him again in the same affair when Morton thought, as he said to ffrank [*Mar*] when they mett on his journie, that it had been spoilt by others⁴ & that he was sent again to set it right. He at last compast the affair contrair to expectation, wch naturally speaking gave him a very good title to Peter's favour, as well as

¹ To inspect Clementina Sobieska, as a possible bride for the King.

² Murray.

³ First Hay and then Wogan, who did what Murray could never have accomplished.

⁴ Wogan.

it did those who were assisting to him in it,¹ & tho Peter did put a feather in his cape & got him provided for else where, every body who knew any thing of his people knew that Morton² was not well pleased. Should not Peter have spoke to him then freely & also to Lady Misset if he found him unreasonable & that Peter had a mind that she should had no dealings wt Morton? But since Morton did go away, to his post, why was he let return wtout Peters being fully satisfied wt him, seeing the part he wou'd act when he did, was plain? & it was naturall to belive that Androw³ wou'd have a favourable ear to those two⁴ who had so eminently assisted him & brought him out of his difficultys, & the more because he thought (as I know he did) that they had been in a maner sacrefised upon his account to Kilby⁵ & his sister's⁶ jealousie & resentment for his haveing lookt favourablie on them.

Then since Morton returned why was he & Mr. St—r⁷ suffered to go so long on in their waspish wayes together, wtout their being let know Peter's dislike to it? Morton & Ldy M—t's services to Peter & Androw are now well knownen to every body & people generally think Androw has a kindness for the Lady not only upon her own account, but in odium tertii [*Mrs. Car*⁸] who is belived to be imposed on him & to give him great & dayly vexation & trouble, tho' he be forced to disguise it the best he can. Their being sent away or alow'd to go (wch will be lookt on as the same thing) will not I see be approved of by the publick, and tho' without cause perhaps, the blame will be throwen on Horsely [*John Hay*] and Mrs. Car & at the same time it will give a handle of speaking oddly

¹ Gaydon, Misset, O'Toole.

² Murray.

³ Clementina.

⁴ Wogan and Lady Misset.

⁵ Murray.

⁶ Mrs. Hay.

⁷ The Master of Sinclair. Mar had good cause to know the waspish ways of this fellow-soldier, as shown in his own memoirs of the campaign of 1715. There exists at Windsor a letter from the King refusing to see the Master of Sinclair owing to what he had written in these famous memoirs.

⁸ Mrs. Hay.

of Peter. Horsely is very much in the right in the resolution he has taken of not meddling in things betwixt Peter & Androw, but he was farr out in his politicks in doing it before, tho' even upon Androws desire,¹ as he may now see, & once haveing done so openly upon his request & succeeded, he & others will alwayes think therafter that he is the occasion of things wch are disagreeable to Androw & his favourits, or as they do now, that he could have prevented them & let them pretend to him what they will, they notwithstanding will still think so & therefore bear him no good will, & whatever happens to him of that kind, Mrs. Car will bear her share in a large proportion, espeatially wt Androw, so that I am still the more convinced of the oppinion I was that if Mrs. Car continue where she is, it cannot fail to ruin Horsely wt Androw & in consequence wt Peter at long run, wch is what at present I am very much concernd at, not only upon Horsely own account, but that of his countrys and friends to whom he could be of so good use so long as he continues where he now is. Any uneasinesses that are betwixt Peter & Androw are not, I hope, come to that hight but that they will easily make them up betwixt themselves & I wish it may not be at the expence of some who may be very innocent of their haveing ever been, but if Androw think that these things were any way upon their account, it will be the same thing as if these folks had been realie to blame for them. I am affraid that Horsely, like one playing at chess, does not see the game so clearly in this as a bystander & I know not one this side the sea who wish him well but think of this in the same maner that I do. What makes me still the more concerned for L—y M—t's² going away is that Anna [*the Queen*] will

¹ *I.e.* he should have declined the Commission, but endeavoured privately to get done what 'Androw' desired. Hay had tried to mend matters, and had apparently burnt his fingers. It was late in 1725 that he and his wife, for the King's sake, decided to leave the Court.

² Lady Misset had been Clementina's companion on her flight and was specially dear to her, but she also had been making mischief and was dismissed by the King, who said, truly, that he must be 'master in his own house.'

have so few about her, that tho Horsely should find it for his intrest that Mrs. Car should go away, he can scarce propose it when Anna wou'd be in a maner quitt left alone. And it will be said I know, that she is left so on purpose that Mrs. Car's stay comes to be absolutely necessary, wch will do her no good either wt Androw or any body else.

I pictur to myself that had ffrank and Martilla¹ continued where they were about three years ago, the last wou'd have been in the same condition that L—y M—t is by this time or before it; wch makes me not a little pleased that she went away before it happned. I know that Horsely may be apt to think that if things came about as to Mrs. Car as I apprehend, that he needs be but indifferent, for that he can go away too & perhaps without much regrait, being to be freed of a great deal of trouble & envie by wch he gets little at present & that he could live without it; but setting his own intrest aside, wch by the by, I think is for his continueing, he ought to consider the intrest of his country, as well as Peters, both wch certainly require his staying where he is. If he ask why ffrank did not so, I say the case is very different, for ffrank was then come by no means to be on the same foot wt Peter that he had been on, and that Horsely is now, & the longer he had stay'd the worse it wou'd have been, wheras he can now be of some service being absent, both to his country & to Peter, who's favour he hopes never to do any thing to forfeit.

I assure you, John, I value yr friendship as much as you can do mine & what I have here wrote I think is a plain proof of it. Our intrests I think are the same, tho' there were no other tey betwixt us, so let us be as usefull to one another as we can, wch will be for the service of our Master & country as well as our own.

Adieu.

¹ Himself and his wife.

*The King to the Duke of Mar*Rome, May 15, 1722.¹

Upon your going to Scotland and seeing an appearance of success in the endeavours for our restoration, you are hereby authorized to call a Parliament or convention of estates in that our ancient Kingdom, conform to the power given you by our Commission of Commissioner bearing date the 28th Jany. 1721, to meet or be held at such a place or places as shall seem most expedient to you, to consult on the weighty affairs of the nation and the establishing of our government and particularly with other things for the good of that our Kingdom as wee recommended in a letter to you of the 1st of Jan. last.

JAMES R.

James Murray to John Hay

Ypres, May 28, 1722.

I hear Bolingbroke is to be at Spa, but I have reason to think that person will care as little to meet me as I him. . . . I am resolved to live with him in the same way as I did last year with the Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Walpole's son in Lorraine—to live and show civilities abstracted from politics.

I set out tomorrow for Lille, where I shall stay some time and then go to Bruxelles.

John Hay to James Murray

Rome, June 10.

I shall tell you freely my opinion with relation to your meeting my Lord Bolingbroke at Aix la Chapelle. I do think you ought to avoid any sort of intimacy with him on account of the personal reflexions that person endeavours to throw upon our master more than on account of party—

¹ On May 16 James gave Mar a 'warrant for an Order of New Military Knights,' to be called the Restoration order, 'when you are in Scotland.'

for some things are not and ought not to be forgot at least by us. The Master only can forgive.

I am heartily sorrie he is to be there, since you had a view of spending some months in those parts, and if you can amuse yourself anywhere else as well as there I should think you had better take that part, but you are the best judge.¹

James Murray to his sister, Mrs. Hay

Spa, July 8, 1722.

MY DEAR SISSIE,—Being in some hurry after my arrival at this little place, I write you these few lines only to thank you a thousand times for your last and to lett you know that I recover as well as I could expect after my fever, in so much that I expect to fill my cloaths again before ten days pass. What was told me of Lord Bolingbroke's being to be here was I believe an imagination, I have had so many english to see me this morning that I could almost fancy my self to [*be*] at London 'till I look out and see a village not half so big as Scone, only the houses as you may believe are better. I won't repeat to you what I wrote from Bruxelles about sending the money to Mr. Waters, because I believe it will be executed before this getts your length. Pray do me the honr. to lay me at the Queens feet. Embrace your Spouse for me and believe me to be yours most passionately.

An anonymous Jacobite to John Menzies

Nov. 24, 1722.

I find people even here[?] wondering more and more at Ja. M—'s² figure and his whole scheme. Particularly at his going to London. But above all others our friends there are allarmed now at it, especially those who had

¹ Bolingbroke did not come.

² James Murray. Note this further evidence of distrust.

any dealings in the time of his administration. They do not think a man that comes pipeing hote from there¹ where his business and character were so well known to hundreds of Whigs who were there on their travels, is any way comprehended in the Act of Grace but quite the contrary. It is true those in Power can comprehend whom they please in anything. But favours of that kind are not granted without an Equivalent. And it is this equivalent that frights our friends, for all men are not philosophers especially the young and the bustling in the world !

John Hay to the Queen ²

[Undated, but of the end of September 1722.]

A letter, Madam, which I received last post from Paris, occasions my giving Your Majesty this trouble. Severall expressions in it, deserve, in my humble opinion your Majesty's notice, being write by a person of the first rank, whose attachment to the Royal family is not to be doubted and being persuaded that his view in writeing proceeds chiefly from his sincere fervent wishes to see peace and union reyne in yr M's family, I can't doubt but yr M. will think a little time well spent in considering what I take the liberty to represent to you on ane affair that not only concerns Mrs. Hay's honour and my quiet, but yr Majesty's ease and the King's reputation. After a pritty long preamble showing the reasonableness of sending Mrs. Hay from Rome, the writer says *The Queen's dislike to Mrs. Hay is now known almost to everybody* and the letter runs so much upon the notion, as I cannot but construct it of a jealousy which people believe the Queen to have with relation to the King's conduct with Mrs. Hay, which is confirmed by another expression where he says *That the Queen should be made easy with regard to Mrs. Hay*, And I can assure yr My. I am entirely of that person's opinion, for my principles are such that I think myself

¹ Rome.

² See p. 31.

obliged to do what may be never so disagreeable to myself, if I can imagine that it can contribute in the least to your Majesty and the King's ease, and you may be assured Madame that if Mrs. Hay's being at 400 leagues distance should be only insinuated by yr Majestie to be agreeable to you, without asking any further reason, Your inclination shall immediately be followed and I'll, as soon as possible, go about falling upon ways and pretexts for sending her to her friends in England. I was not ignorant Madam, even before your Maj^{tie} had been six weeks married, of endeavours then used to raise jealousy in yr Maj. as to ye King's Conduct in relation to Mrs. Hay. I was so much persuaded then of the King's virtue as well as of Mrs. Hays, who I did believe would not throw away her reputation upon any King or Prince in the World, and seeing yr Majesty's goodness towards Mrs. Hay continue, I then believed that those were only assertions and contrivances of some people by which they might be enabled to gett att their own ends and that they had no manner of impression upon yr Maj^{te}. But since the same story is renewed again, I beg yr Maj^{te} would lett me know what would be agreeable to you yt I should do to remove family uneasiness—that yr Maj^{te} may be perswaded that I am ready to sacrifice everything that is dearest to me for your satisfaction, since there is nothing that I'll stick at one moment to make yr union with the King flourish. I most humbly beg of your Maj^{ty} that this letter may be seen by nobody, for a Lady's character is a nice thing to expose and as I have said nothing in Mrs. Hay's vindication which the design of it does not lead me to do, your Maj^{tie} may easily perceive that I have calculated my letter for *yourself alone*. To which I beg yr Maj^{te} will be graciously pleased to send me two lines of ane answer. This is a subject the King is intirely a stranger to and I hope yr Maj^{te} wont mention it to him. You'll do me a particular favour if you are so gracious as to return me the letter yt I may putt it in the fire. Had I been able to putt on a coat, I would not have dared to trouble yr Maj^{te} with so long a letter, to which I shall only add, that the King

has not these 6 weeks past mentioned the least thing to me of any family uneasiness.

Allow me to subscribe myself with all profound submission, Madame, Your Majesty's most dutifull, most faithfull and most devoted servant,

JOHN HAY.

Mar to the King

Paris, Mar. 6, 1724.

There is so little passing here at present, at least that I know, and I seeing so little company, by my not stirring abroad, that I wou'd not have given you the trouble of a letter by this post, more than I did by the last, were it not to cover the inclosed wch I had t'other day from Sr. Hect. Mcclean, who is a lad of a very pritty spirit, and I doubt not will one day be of good use to you.¹ I need add nothing to what he sayes in his letter, only it is plain enough that he cannot subsist and furnish himself wt what is necessary on what has been hitherto alowd him, tho' he should have no Masters, wch it is pittty he should not have, so you will give what orders in it you think fitt.

He has no other resourse but what you are pleased to give him, so you will be oblidge'd to mentain him so long as you are abroad: Were it not better therefore to have him on the place wt yr self, where I fancie he wou'd be less chargeable and his education rather better taken care of than in the way he is here? but of this you are best judge.

The last letter I had from you looks by the seal, very suspicious to have been opened, tho' I can scarce think anybody to whom you might give it to put in the pacquet, durst ventur on that, however I thought there was no hurt in returning you the cover, by wch you can judge of it.

I will not at present say all I intended on that letter,

¹ Maclean was sent to Scotland by the Prince in 1745, but was unlucky and got himself landed in prison before his young master arrived.

but wait wt patience til you be more in a disposition to look into that affair.

Had it been only what is calld the spleen had occasioned my writeing to you what I did of Mr. Hay, it is probable it had been over soon, as you say, But real injurys, when one is sur of the facts, deserve another appellation, and it will not be a whidleing soft letter from him wch will remove it, or make one insensible of such vile treatment. He imparted his projets and new schemes of politicks to too many people for us here to be ignorant of them, but these might have been caried on wtout his playing so falss a part to me or his endeavouring to do me such injurys, to whom he was all the while pretending all friendship, so it was malice for malice sake.

The whole was upon the account of my haveing, with some others, advised him, upon his own asking of us, what he should do upon the Queen's displeasure wt him, To retire some time wt his wife from Court.

We conceived that to be the only way to restore tranquility and peace in yr ffamily and that it was the more necessary then that the ill agreement there, upon his account, being wrote by the most part of the foreigne Ministers at Rome to their respective Courts, was become the publick talk over Europe, wch did much mischief to yr Cause in Britain and everywhere else, So it is more properly the Queen's quarrell than mine, it being chifly upon her account and I comeing in but by the by.

Upon what you was pleased to write hither upon Mr. Hay's comeing here,¹ That you trusted him wt every thing without reserve and desired us here to do so too, I being then ignorant of his change of politicks and friendships, communicated to him the Memorial I sent you by Ld. Southesque. I wish heartily now I had not done so, and that he may have made no bad or unfair use of that confidence when he was in fflanders, nor said any thing there, as he did elsewhere, to lessen the good oppinion people had generally of the Queen, wch if he did must equally hurt you and your cause, and it is not without

¹ To Paris.

grounds that I am apprehensive of his haveing done so. You are best judge how to prevent any more mischief of that kind in time comeing, by weh you and yr intrest wou'd suffer most, and I should think it to be very unsafe to let him have a copie of that Memoriall and even the less he see it the safer it is; But here is enough for once on so disagreeable a subject.

'Mr. Murray to The Honnourable John Hay, Esqr. at Paris'

Rheims, October 1, 1723.

DEAR JOHN,—As I conclude by the last letter you did me the favour to write me from Rome that you will soon arrive at Paris, I have sent this letter to be kept for you by Mr. Waters to acquaint you in the first place that I have received one from home of the 14th of August in answer to what I wrote formerly on your affair. My father, Lord Stormont, says he is using all possible endeavours to prepare you money, which was never so difficult to be had as at present, and that as soon as he is sure of it, he will inform me and be ready to pay it at Edr. It is therefore reasonable that you should have your thoughts how to dispose of it in the manner you formerly mentioned to me. I am also glad to prepare to my self by this the pleasure of seeing and embracing you. I dont know whither you intend to go after your short stay at Paris and therefore cannot make any proposal in order to meet you. But if this place be not considerably out of your road I could wish you might pass this way because in that case my brother Charles may have the honour to see you also, but if that be inconvenient I will meet you wherever you please. By what I have heard of the situation of our polliticians at Paris, I fancy you'll be confirmed in your design to make *no* stay there. I shall long with impatience to hear from you and am yours with all my heart.

(*No signature*).¹

¹ This is usual with James Murray.

*James Murray to John Hay*¹

Paris, March 12, 1724.

I have received Dear Sir, your letter of the 22nd. I am much obliged to Mr. Knight, for the favour he has granted me and beg of you to propose its being dated the first of February 1721.² And that it may go, failing me and the heirs male of my body, to my father and the heirs male of his body and that the title may be Dunbar which is at present extinct. I'm in no haste as to the sending it, because I think it every bit as well in your hands as in mine, or it may be better. You will have known before this time of my being here, which may probably have altered Mr. Knight's views as to the time and manner of my seeing our friend.³ So I have judged it expedient, all things considered, to wait to hear in answer to what I have writ you from hence. Your former letter I have already burnt but I return you the last, according to your desire. I am much in the dark as to the manner in which Mr. Knight proposes to employ our friend, and the other things on which you give me a hint are still very mysterious. You know very well that curiosity makes me desire to know *nothing*, but as to anything I might have occasion to talk of with our friend, I ought to be clearly informed as well as of the point he is intended to be brought to. I don't write you any of the public occurrences of this place, because I suppose Mr. Knight informed of them in another manner.

James Murray to Mrs. Hay

Paris, March 13, 1724.

DEAR SISSIE,—Pray tell Mr. Hay that I'm much obliged to him for his care of the matter I recommended to him and that I wish he had informed me more of some things,

¹ Hay was now back in Rome.

² This was just before his enforced departure from Rome. The proposed date is for the patent of his peerage.

³ Bishop Atterbury.

because by that it may happen that I may have writ in some respects not agreeably to his views. But let him be perswaded that I know a certain person better than he and that if he undertakes the manadgement of some things here, both he [*Hay*] and those who employ him will repent of it, and this he ought to consider as an advertisement from a friend.

James Murray to John Hay

Paris, Mar. 19, 1724.

I find by Mr. Waters that Sir Wm. Ellis's remittances for me appear on his books, and as one does not know in whose hands his books and papers may fall in the event of his death there may possibly be an inconvenience in leaving that matter in this form and therefore I beg the favour of you to so order it that anything of that kind for the future may appear to come from Mrs. Hay and get Sir William to write to Mr. Waters in terms to be a voucher for the 30 pistols you ordered sometime ago because I do not care for the same reason to sign a voucher for it.

John Hay to James Murray

Rome, March 28, 1724.

DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 27 feb. and 3 Mar. by the same post. . . . I always was of opinion as to the affair I mentioned to you relating to myself, and told the Bishop when I saw him that beside 500 reasons I had for not engaging myself in that affair, the fate of others in that situation who were more able and capable for it than I could pretend to be, was warning enough for me or anyone who knew what it was, not to engage in it. To which the Bishop answered that refusing to comply with Peter's desire in the present case was leaving him alone, which I could not do, and a great deal to that purpose. . . . I parted with him saying I would by no means accept of the office unless a direct order from Peter obliged me to it . . . but if so and it were agreeable to the

D. of Ormonde and others I should be very much encouraged to obey Peter's commands and sacrifice my own peace and quiet to his service—Let us all have the common good in view and lay aside all differences and not be at pains to throw dust in one another's face. Let Martel say of me what he pleases, I shall never revenge myself. I dispise that way of doing.

James Murray to John Hay

Paris, April 9, 1724.

I was told by a friend of Mr. Martel's, in relation to his pension, which he finds to be a load upon him in the opinion of the publick, that the proposal was made to his wife to his great surprise and that the moment she acquainted him of it he informed Mr. Dillon and his other friends of the matter and told them he was heartily sorry that such a proposal had ever been made because he foresaw that his refusing to accept it would draw a new storm upon him but that Mr. Knight should judge of the matter and decide what should be done upon it. Upon this the same person (who is a man in the secret) assured me that a full confirmation had been sent to Mr. Knight of the proposal and that he not only had directed Mr. Martel to enter into it, but that he wrote a letter acknowledging that all the steps Mr. Martel had taken in this affair were with his knowledge and approbation. I answered I was glad to hear anything to justify the nobleman concerned, for whatever bad usage I had received from him, I was one of those who never mixed my private resentment with public concerns, but that I would never for my part, have asked direction from Mr. Knight upon a proposition of such a nature, and that if I had been near Mr. Knight and worthy to be honoured so far as to have my opinion asked, I never would have given it for approving a thing of this kind in any person whatsoever.

John Hay to Murray

Rome, May 1724.

If Martel thinks there is anything wrong in his receiving a pension he ought not have done it, and who can hinder people from making their reflexions upon it. It is Martel's business to clear himself of the aspersions that and other things may have brought upon him and as our good Cardinal says 'Si quelqu'un s'attache à une planche pourrie, il tombe au fond.'

James Murray to Mrs. Hay

Paris, April the 10th, 1724.

DEAR SISSIE,—I send enclosed a letter from my brother and one of my mothers which relates to Mr. Hay's affairs. I must tell you that our Mother presses my coming into Scotland upon family reasons. She tells me My Lord¹ and our eldest brother do not agree; that he will make no settlement upon him, while he is single and adds that she does not know but this difficulty may tempt him to marry, that she hopes it will, but that she cannot say that My Lord shews any fondness of that neither. She mentions likeways that the affairs of the family are in disorder in other respects and thinks, if I could come home, I might be able to accomodate all these differences and get their affairs settled. This account shews my brother must be in better health than he has been, which is some comfort; As to my own resolution I should be fond to do good offices amongst my friends, but now that I'm entirely out of the way of doing any thing for my self by the business I was bred to,² and since, if I could even think of applying to it, the oaths would hinder me, I do not care to go home to be without a guinea in my pocket; and as matters go at home, I dont know what I can expect, so that unless I thought I could enjoy what the K. gives me there, equally,

¹ Lord Stormont, their father.² That of an Advocate.

as in a province of france, I positively would not go, but if I were assured of that and if I find I might retire there with safety, I would be glad to go home, to do what small service I could to my friends. I am sensible Im at lest as useless to the K. at Rheims, as at home and therefore I should hope that might be very equal so I hope Mr. Hay may be able to manadge that matter for me, and if he charges me with his affairs in Scotland, I can retain of his money an equivalent summ which will save me the appearance of a remittance from abroad. So I recommend this particular to him and you, and shall expect an answer upon it from you. Sir William ¹ sent only for three months lately to Mr. Waters; by the time this comes to your hands there will be due three more and the fourth will be very near begun, so that the money for four may be sent and I beg you would not fail in it for Im obliged to stay here and one has need of all helps to be able to live in this place after all their diminutions. As soon as I can go from hence I will, but by what I see I may be here till the middle of May.

I have not seen the Princesse of Boullion since her marriage, but between ourselves she has made a very odd marriage, and I mistake the matter much if they agree long together.

The King to James Murray

Rome, August 21, 1724.

Yours of the 12th July came safe to me, and I am very sensible of what you represent to me in relation to yourself. It was my kindness for and good opinion of you that made me think and write as I formerly did, but the truth is, as matters stand I should be hard upon you to require of you any step which might prejudice your own affairs, without manifestly advancing mine, and therefor I shall leave you for the present in entire liberty. I am very sure you will lose no occasion that offers to you of forwarding my service, and I wish for my own

¹ Sir William Ellis.

sake that al of those whom I may employ hereafter may have the same capacity and desire to serve me. I suppose this will find you at Paris on account of meeting your sister,¹ I heartily wish her success and a speedy return, for till then I can't take a certain publick step in relation to her husband,² tho' I plainly see that it is very expedient to take it, out of hand ; however a small delay will I hope do no hurt, tho' it would continue and encrease the trouble some things give me, if they were not like to be soon in a condition of deserving only my contempt, as you will to be sure know from the Bishop.³ We are well I thank God, tho' broiling with heat, and so Adieu.

The King to James Murray

Rome, January 6, 1725.

DEAR SIR,—I have received both yours of the 14th and 20th from Calais by last post and have delivered the letters you sent me inclosed, except that for Card. Aquaviva, who dyed that day before it arrived. So believing it was only a Bona-sorta letter I destroyed it. As the news papers by last post mentioned your Sister's pardon being past the Seals the 5th Decr. new style, I reckon she must be at Paris now. I had two letters from her by last post of the 15th and 20th and then she looked upon her affair as sure. I am affrayed she conceals her illness in her legs and would make me believe it is not so great as she feels it. But enough of this kind. I hope she'll have parted wt you before this comes to hand. I'll say nothing to you of the Bishop's illness. I hope in God I shall soon have better news of his health than last post brought.

I send you here a letter, which Jamie Edgar had wrote to you some time ago, when I thought it useless to send it to you. But seeing in a new State of Britain of 1723

¹ Mrs. Hay on her way to England.

² Creating him Earl of Inverness.

³ Atterbury, with whom Murray soon after quarrelled.

that the title of Dumbar is still mentioned there to subsist, James has brought me the same letter again to be forwarded to you, of which you'll make your own use.

I send you here inclosed a letter from Marischal and Villars in favors of a pretty young gentleman of your acquaintance, Nick Wogan. He leaves this place soon and has desired me to recommend the letter in his favor to a friend of mine which he choises rather than to be the carryer of it himself. If you can do any thing for him, he'll be very grateful for it, and if he can't get a Capt. reformat's commission, he'll be glad of a Capts. Commission à la suite du Régmt de Dillon. The reformat Commissions are only given when there are vacancies. I should be glad you could prevail on Mar^{al} de Villars to give a decisive answer on this affair for several reasons.

*Mrs. Hay to the King*¹

Paris, Feb. 19, 1725.

SIR,—Give me leave to make my acknowledgements in the most dutiful manner to yr Majesty for the honnour you were pleased to do me by your letter of the 25 of Jan. I had no sooner read it but it made me forgett at once all I had suffered in England which was but a small tryal of my duty. It flatters me to the last degree that your Majesty should approve of my behaviour there. I will alwese endeavour to deserve the good opinion you have of me and be ready on all occasions to show that I have the honour to be with more respect and gratitude than any body living, Your Majesty's most dutiful subject and most devoted humble servant,

M. HAY.

The King to James Murray

Rome, March 28, 1725.

Your sister is in better health than could have been expected and hath given herself little rest here, on account

¹ Written after her release.

of her attendance on the Queen. Her tryalls have been great, but now they are all well over, and I am not sorry they have happened, since it will have given the world occasion to do more justice to her and her lord than it could have done otherways. Your interest in my service and the hearty and zealous manner you act in it can never be forgott by me, but you know my way of thinking as to yourself so I need say no more.—Adieu.

James Murray to the King

Paris, April 16.

You do Mrs. Lumsden [*Hay*] a great deal of honour in approving of her behaviour during her difficulty and of her service near Mrs. Mercer [*the Queen*] since her return, and I hope she will never prove unworthy of the favour you show her.¹

The King to James Murray

Rome, Aprile 3, 1724.

Yours of the 3rd & 12th March came safe to me, and I take very well of you the freedom with which you inform me of what you think I should know. I believe our friend now in fflanders [*Atterbury*] will be in your parts after you receive this, so that you may take your own time to see him. I shall make the proper use of the lights you give me and I hope soon matters will be put on a better footing, but there must be time for everything. Ramsay ² is not to be anyways concerned in writing or politics. I know him well enough and shall be able to employ him according to his talents. Continue to write fully and freely to me and be sure I shall never forget how sincerely you are attached to me.

¹ It is sad to think that before the year was out, Clementina should have been clamouring for the dismissal of both Hays.

² Andrew Michael Ramsay, for a short time Prince Charles's tutor.

*William Murray*¹ to Lord Inverness

Paris, Aug. 6, 1725.

MY LORD,—I beg leave to lay hold of the first opportunity I have had to offer yr Lop my most humble respects and to assure you of the warmest sentiments of a sincere friendship which I am sorry I have never been able to show by any kind of service and that this is the first time I have dared to give this small Testimony of it. At the same time I flatter myself you'll excuse the ambition of a young man if I make use of the freedom I at present have to desire you to make a tender of my duty and loyalty to the King—a very small present but all I have to offer. Twill in some measure excuse my presumption for offering my service tho' in so private a station as not to be able to render any considerable—that I do't at a time when so many are wanting to their duty that 'tis some merit to protest against it and the Intention will I hope be acceptable as presented by you. The chief end I would propose from my studies and education and the greatest glory I can aim at is to be able to serve his Maty in any way that he pleases to command me. I ask pardon for taking up so much of yr Time and beg leave to assure yr Lordship that I am wt great respect, Yr most aff. Bro^r and obedient servant,

WILL. MURRAY.

William Murray to Lord Inverness

Paris, Oct. 30, 1725.

MY LORD,—I return a great many thanks for the letter yr Lop did me the honour of and am infinitely obliged to you for the concern you are so good as to shew for the accident that happened to me. It cou'd not have happened at a more unlucky time and it is surprizing that in falling down a pair of stairs I should only have cut the tendon of my finger and receive no other hurt. But the cuts the

¹ William Murray, afterwards 1st Earl of Mansfield, younger brother of James Murray and Mrs. Hay (see p. 18).

Surgeon gave me were much worse than those I received by the fall. I had a letter from Ld. Dupplin t'other day and I daresay twill give your Lp. pleasure to know his Bro^r and he are both well. My Ld. is to go to Oxford when I return. It is impossible to confer a greater obligation upon me than to let me know if I can be any way serviceable to yr Lop here or in England when I return. I long to be able to shew wt how much sincerity I am my Lord, Yr etc.

WILL. MURRAY.

*Mar to the King*¹

Chattoa, May 5, 1727.

SIR,—How to be of service to your Majesty and the Royall ffamily, on which the intrest of my country depends, having been from my infancie the chife object of all my views and wishes, to be under your displeasure, as I have had the misfortoun (tho inocently I think) to be for these two long years, could not but be the greatest and most sensible affliction to me. All my consolation was that time would show and make plain to you the uprightness and sincerity of all my actions and intentions towards you, and how groundless were all the assertions and calumnies maliciously throwen upon me.

The earnest desire I have that your Majesty will be now graciously pleased to receive in good part this assurance of my constant devotion to your service, encourages me to ventur upon it, and to know that those unjust impressions which have been so industriously endeavoured to be given you of me, are effaced, would be a greater satisfaction to me than all that yr Maj. could give me, were you upon yr throne, as I hope one day you shall be.

The part I have acted ever since I had the honour to be first in correspondence with you, Sir, now a good many years ago and before I was actually in your service, as well as the time I had the honour to be employed by

¹ Apparently the last he wrote to the King.

you, and ever since, without the least alteration, notwithstanding all that has happened, are proofs much stronger than words of my fidelity and inviolable attachment I have always had to your person and cause, and that I am incapable to tarnish (as time will show) the former part of my life with the small time of it that still remains, so all I shall farther take the liberty at present to trouble you with, is my earnest wishes that God in his good providence may preserve and prosper you and yours, make peace and concord reign amongst you, grant you a numerous offspring, and in his own good time restore you to the Throne of yr Ancestors for a blessing to your people, which wherever providence shall think fit to place me, shall always be the fervent prayers of, Sir, Your Majesty's most obedient and most faithfull subject and servant,

MAR.

*Lord Dunbar to James Edgar*¹

Autin [Autun], Sep. 23, 1751.

I have to impart to you dear Sir, a thing relating to myself which may perhaps surprise you, which is that God of His Mercy has given me the Grace to be reconciled last Sunday to the Catholick church. If you are anxious to know the reasons which determined me you will find them *first* in Mons de Meaux's exposition of the doctrine of the Catholique Church and 2d in his history of the variation of the Protestant churches in 4 vols in 8vo, and lastly in the *Perpetuité de la foy* etc. by Mr. Arnaud, in 4 vol in 4to. You may get these books from Card. Monti and if you read them, with a sincere desire to see the truth, I am persuaded you will find things that will astonish you. It is certaine that we whome providence has conducted into Catholique countrys and obliged to

¹ Written on his joining the Roman Catholic Church. He wrote on the same day to the King, hoping that the news 'would give his Majesty some pleasure, on account of the goodness yr Majesty was pleased to show me during the course of the many years which I had the honour to pass in your service.' Nineteen years later he died,

live and probably to dy in them are of all men the most unexcusable if we neglect to examine seriously the grounds of the separation of our ancestors from the Universal church, and a serious examine can never divert you from the truth if you are in the right way, because, as you well know, besides the force of truth itself, education, habit and in spite of all resolutions to the contrary a strong prevention on their side. But this is more than enough on this subject. I believe I shall set out on my way home next week and therefore my next will be from Belvedere. I am Dear sir ever yr . . .¹

¹ One William Hay announced to a correspondent his joy that 'Lord Dunbar and John Graham are made good Christians.' Both John Hay and his wife had also joined the Roman Communion, which had greatly annoyed the fiery Bishop Atterbury. It is curious and rather pathetic to reflect that had they done this some years earlier, Queen Clementina would probably have had no quarrel against them, and the domestic troubles of the Royal Household, which excited all Europe and are still used to blacken the character of James Stuart, would have had no existence.

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REPORT OF THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held in the Caledonian Hotel, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 11th December 1937, at 3 P.M.

In the absence of the President, Lord Clyde, who was detained in Kinross-shire by a snowstorm, Dr. W. K. Dickson, Chairman of Council, presided over the meeting.

The Report of the Council was as follows :—

During the past year the Council have learned with regret of the death of Professor C. Sanford Terry, Litt.D., LL.D., D.Litt., D.Mus., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History at Aberdeen from 1903 to 1930. He had edited for the Society *Negotiations for the Union of England and Scotland in 1651-3*, *Sir Thomas Craig's De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, and two volumes of *Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant*. Since 1900 he had been a Corresponding Member of the Council.

Since the last Report the two volumes for 1935-6 have been issued to members. Of these, the *Survey of Lochtayside*, edited by Miss Margaret M. McArthur, gives an interesting picture of economic conditions in the eighteenth century, while the *Ayr Burgh Accounts*, edited by Dr. G. S. Pryde, furnishes important evidence for early burghal finance, of which the introduction affords a valuable survey.

Of the two volumes for 1936-7, the *Barony Court Book of Carnwath*, edited by Dr. W. C. Dickinson, has already been issued. The Council feel that this book, like the *Ayr Burgh Accounts*, is a contribution of great value to the study of Scottish institutions. The other volume for the year, the *Holyrood Chronicle*, edited by Dr. and Mrs. A. O. Anderson, will be issued within the next few weeks. The *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow*, edited by Dr. L. W. Sharp, is also approaching completion.

For the coming year, 1937-8, the Council propose to issue *Inchcolm Charters*, edited by Dr. D. E. Easson and Dr. Angus Macdonald, and the *Jacobite Court at Rome, 1719*, edited by Miss Henrietta Tayler from Lord Pitsligo's Narrative in the possession of Lord Clinton and (by gracious permission of the King) from the Stuart Papers at Windsor.

Further manuscripts accepted by the Council since the last Report include Charters of Coupar Angus Abbey, to be edited by Dr. Easson, Memorials of the Parish of Beith by the Rev. John Mitchell, D.D., to be edited by Dr. W. K. Dickson, Letters of the Duke of Lauderdale, Letters relating to the Honours of Scotland, and Diaries relating to two embassies of Jacques de la Brosse to Scotland in the sixteenth century.

The members of Council who retire in rotation at this time are Dr. James Curle, Professor J. D. Mackie, and Dr. W. C. Dickinson. The Council recommend their re-election. They also recommend the election of Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and Professor G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., C.B.E., F.B.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, as Corresponding Members of Council.

The Society has lost during the year 17 members by death

or resignation, while 9 new members have joined—a net decrease of 8, leaving the total membership (including 136 libraries) at 536. The Council would point out to members that in 1930 the number was 637 and that each subsequent year has shown a falling-off, and they would again urge the necessity of securing new members if the work of the Society is to be maintained.

An abstract of accounts for 1936-7, as audited, is appended.

In moving the adoption of the Report and Accounts, Dr. Dickson said that since the last Annual Meeting members had received no less than four volumes, which he thought constituted a record for the Society. After alluding to the chief features of these volumes and of those accepted by the Council for future issue, he referred to the death of Professor C. Sanford Terry, the last of the Corresponding Members of Council. He spoke of Sir Charles Oman and Professor G. M. Trevelyan, whom the Council recommended for election as Corresponding Members, as the two most eminent historical workers of our time. In conclusion, he laid stress on the need for new members of the Society.

Dr. H. W. Meikle seconded the adoption, which was carried unanimously.

As the President had been prevented by weather conditions from attending or sending the manuscript of his address, Dr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, Secretary, gave an address entitled 'Some Reflections on the Stewart Dynasty.' After speaking of the family and their importance as Stewards of Scotland, he suggested that the first two kings did not give the dynasty a good start. If Sir Charles Oman was right in maintaining that Englishmen have always shown a wise disregard of forms, Robert II had certainly shown an unwise disregard of the

formula of marriage. He was known to have been the father of twenty-two children, and in view of the infantile mortality of the time there were probably many others who did not grow up. His family by Elizabeth Mure were only legitimated *per subsequens matrimonium*; his self-indulgence threatened the security of the dynasty and was one cause of the murder of his grandson. Robert III was by the time of his accession a wretched hypochondriac, lamed by the kick of a horse and unfitted for the task of government. He had to suffer the loss of his wife, to see his eldest son deteriorate and die in prison, and finally to learn that his surviving heir had been captured by the 'auld enemy.' He asked that his epitaph should read 'Here lies the worst of kings and most miserable of men.' James I was the first of at least seven Scottish kings to bear that name. The fact that he was born near the end of July rendered it not improbable that the name was chosen from his birth taking place on St. James' Day. His early life was full of romance—the secret dispatch towards France, the capture and long imprisonment, the wooing at Windsor—and then the murder at Perth. He was great in every department of a medieval king's duties. He was a prolific legislator (*noster legifer rex*) and a vigorous administrator, resolved to make 'the key keep the castle and the bracken-bush the cow.' He almost doubled the revenue from the customs. His foreign policy, if disingenuous, was clever enough to avoid payment of his ransom without involving war with England and to secure the marriage of his eldest daughter to the French dauphin. James II was the first Scottish king to be born, crowned, and buried at Holyrood. As a ruler he showed ability and achieved some success. It was in this reign that Edinburgh became the undoubted capital; his wife enriched it with the beautiful Trinity hospital. If James III failed as a king, he was romantic as a man. His friends and favourites

were chosen for their artistic tastes ; his death was caused by the love of music which prompted him to endow the royal chapel of Stirling with lands claimed by the Humes. The marriage of James IV was a stroke of policy rather than romance, but romance had much, even too much, to do with the causes and the conduct of the Flodden campaign. With his death and those of so many nobles mediaeval Scotland came to an end. James V established the College of Justice and his reign saw the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. It ended in the disgraceful rout of Solway Moss and the end of the male line. And of Mary it might be said that she was the Queen of Scottish hearts. Her youth in France, Rizzio, Kirk-o-Field, Lochleven, the nineteen years' captivity and the block at Fotheringay—what character in all history had more elements of romance ? And perhaps the victory was really hers, for it was she and not Elizabeth who had a son to succeed to the throne of England. That son was not a romantic figure but he made the richest of marriages in his union of the crowns. The Border warfare ended : the king sat in London and governed Scotland with his pen.

What had been the contribution of the Stewart kings to Scotland ? On the whole they were not successful kings. Bannockburn was before their time ; the Reformation was carried against them ; the commercial expansion was after them. In their reigns were Flodden, Solway Moss and the Killing Time. But they gave two things without which Scottish history would have been poorer. They contributed an element of romance and they evoked the loyalty of their people.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Balfour-Melville was moved by Lord Salvesen and seconded by Professor J. D. Mackie.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to Dr. Dickson for presiding, which was moved by Mr. John A. Inglis, K.C.

**ABSTRACT ACCOUNT of CHARGE and DISCHARGE
of the INTROMISSIONS of the HONORARY
TREASURER for the year from 1st November
1936 to 30th October 1937.**

CHARGE.

I. Funds as at close of last Account . . .	£578 2 1
II. Deposit Receipt Uplifted— 1936 Decr. 28—Uplifted Deposit Receipt with Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, dated 28th December 1935	<u>£500 0 0</u>
III. Subscriptions received	430 10 0
IV. Past Publications sold to Members	11 11 0
V. Interest on Deposit Receipt and Savings Account	10 17 3
VI. Jubilee Meeting Expenses Recovered	<u>£3 11 3</u>
VII. Debit Balance at close of this Account, as per Discharge, Branch V	55 16 7
Sum of the Charge	<u>£1,086 16 11</u>

DISCHARGE.

I. Lodged on Deposit Receipt— 1936 Decr. 28—Lodged on Deposit Re- ceipt with Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, of this date	<u>£300 0 0</u>
II. Cost of Publications	£1,034 9 7
III. Miscellaneous Payments	31 15 0
Carry forward	<u>£1,066 4 7</u>

	Brought forward . . .	£1,066	4	7
IV. Expenses in connection with Jubilee Meeting—				
1936				
Decr. 17—Paid Mr. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, his expenses .	£3	11	0	
Paid L.M. & S. Hotel, Services for Luncheons, Teas, etc. . .	20	12	7	
		£24	3	7
Less—Recovered per Br. VI of Charge	3	11	3	
			20	12 4
V. Funds as at close of this Account—				
1. Balance on Deposit Receipt with Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, Edinburgh . . .	£300	0	0	
2. Balance at Credit of Savings Account with Do. do. .	415	9	1	
3. Balance at Credit of Current Account with Do. do. .	66	13	6	
		£782	2	7
4. Balance due by Treasurer . .	1	15	3	
		£783	17	10
Deduct—Amount due to Messrs. T. & A. Constable Ltd. .	839	14	5	
Debit Balance transferred to Charge Branch VII	£55	16	7	
Sum of the Discharge equal to the Charge .		£1,086	16	11

EDINBURGH, 16th November 1937.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1st November 1936 to 30th October 1937, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a Balance on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, 103 George Street, Edinburgh, of £300; a Balance at credit of Savings Account with the Bank of Scotland of £415, 9s. 1d.; and a Balance at credit of the Society's Account Current with the Bank of Scotland of £66, 13s. 6d.

JOHN A. INGLIS.
Auditor.

Scottish History Society.

THE EXECUTIVE.

1937-1938.

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RULES

1. THE object of the Society is the discovery and printing, under selected editorship, of unpublished documents illustrative of the civil, religious, and social history of Scotland. The Society will also undertake, in exceptional cases, to issue translations of printed works of a similar nature, which have not hitherto been accessible in English.

2. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and twelve elected Members, five to make a quorum. Three of the twelve elected Members shall retire annually by ballot, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

3. The Annual Subscription to the Society shall be One Guinea. The publications of the Society shall not be delivered to any Member whose Subscription is in arrear, and no Member shall be permitted to receive more than one copy of the Society's publications.

4. The Society will undertake the issue of its own publications, *i.e.* without the intervention of a publisher or any other paid agent.

5. The Society normally issues yearly two octavo volumes of about 320 pages each.

6. An Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held at the end of October, or at an approximate date to be determined by the Council.

7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

For the year 1886-1887.

1. BISHOP POCOCKE'S TOURS IN SCOTLAND, 1747-1760. Edited by D. W. KEMP.
2. DIARY AND ACCOUNT BOOK OF WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM OF CRAIG-ENDS, 1673-1680. Edited by the Rev. JAMES DODDS, D.D.

For the year 1887-1888.

3. GRAMEIDOS LIBRI SEX: an heroic poem on the Campaign of 1689, by JAMES PHILIP of Almerieclose. Translated and edited by the Rev. A. D. MURDOCH.
4. THE REGISTER OF THE KIRK-SESSION OF ST. ANDREWS. Part I. 1559-1582. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING.

For the year 1888-1889.

5. DIARY OF THE REV. JOHN MILL, Minister in Shetland, 1740-1803. Edited by GILBERT GOUDIE.
6. NARRATIVE OF MR. JAMES NIMMO, A COVENANTER, 1654-1709. Edited by W. G. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.
7. THE REGISTER OF THE KIRK-SESSION OF ST. ANDREWS. Part II. 1583-1600. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING.

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8. A LIST OF PERSONS CONCERNED IN THE REBELLION (1745). With a Preface by the EARL OF ROSEBERY.
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9. GLAMIS PAPERS: The 'BOOK OF RECORD,' a Diary written by PATRICK, FIRST EARL OF STRATHMORE, and other documents (1684-89). Edited by A. H. MILLAR.
10. JOHN MAJOR'S HISTORY OF GREATER BRITAIN (1521). Translated and edited by ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE.

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14. DIARY OF COL. THE HON. JOHN ERSKINE OF CARNOCK, 1683-1687. Edited by the Rev. WALTER MACLEOD.

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For the year 1893-1894.

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18. SCOTLAND AND THE COMMONWEALTH. LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND, Aug. 1651-Dec. 1653. Edited by C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

For the year 1894-1895.

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- 20, 21. THE LYON IN MOURNING, OR A COLLECTION OF SPEECHES, LETTERS, JOURNALS, ETC., RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART, by BISHOP FORBES. 1746-1775. Edited by HENRY PATON. Vols. I. and II.

For the year 1895-1896.

22. THE LYON IN MOURNING. Vol. III.
23. ITINERARY OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD (Supplement to the Lyon in Mourning). Compiled by W. B. BLAIKIE.
24. EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESBYTERY RECORDS OF INVERNESS AND DINGWALL FROM 1638 TO 1688. Edited by WILLIAM MACKAY.
25. RECORDS OF THE COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLIES (*continued*) for the years 1648 and 1649. Edited by the Rev. Professor MITCHELL, D.D., and Rev. JAMES CHRISTIE, D.D.

For the year 1896-1897.

26. WARISTON'S DIARY AND OTHER PAPERS—
JOHNSTON OF WARISTON'S DIARY, 1639. Edited by G. M. PAUL
—THE HONOURS OF SCOTLAND, 1651-52. C. R. A. HOWDEN.—
THE EARL OF MAR'S LEGACIES, 1722, 1726. HON. S. ERSKINE.
—LETTERS BY MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN. J. R. N. MACPHAIL.

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- 33, 34. MACFARLANE'S GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS CONCERNING FAMILIES IN SCOTLAND; Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library. 2 vols. Edited by J. T. CLARK, Keeper of the Library.

Presented to the Society by the Trustees of the late Sir William Fraser, K.C.B.

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For the year 1914-1915.

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(March 1916.)
(Note.—ORIGINS OF THE '45, issued for 1909-1910, is issued also for 1914-1915.)

For the year 1915-1916.

13. SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE REGALITY OF MELROSE. Vol. III. Edited by C. S. ROMANES, C.A. (February 1917.)
14. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH TOPOGRAPHY. Edited by the late Sir ARTHUR MITCHELL and C. G. CASH. Vol. I. (March 1917.)

For the year 1916-1917.

15. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SCOTTISH TOPOGRAPHY. Vol. II. (May 1917.)
16. PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMY OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643-1647. Vol. I. Edited by Professor C. SANFORD TERRY. (October 1917.)

For the year 1917-1918.

17. PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMY OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, 1643-1647. Vol. II. (December 1917.)
18. WARISTON'S DIARY. Vol. II. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D. (February 1919.)

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20. HIGHLAND PAPERS. Vol. III. Edited by J. R. N. MACPHAIL, K.C.

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