

AMASSING JACOBITIANA

THE AMULREE JACOBITE COLLECTION

Calum Cunningham explores a collection of Jacobite-related material held at the University of Stirling archives, and asks what this unique resource has to tell us about the memory and memorialisation of Jacobitism

In the University of Stirling's library archives rests a fascinating yet relatively unexplored Jacobite collection comprising intriguing Jacobite-related material culture, or *Jacobitiana*, and unpublished research by its collector. This eclectic assortment exists due to the lifelong antiquarian enthusiasms of Basil William Sholto Mackenzie, 2nd baron Amulree of Strathbraan (1900-83). Amulree's enthusiasm for Jacobitism – which he went to great lengths to indulge through his collectorship – possibly germinated from both a deep Scottish ancestral connection that resulted in an innate interest throughout his private life, and from aspects of his professional career. The factors that drove someone like Amulree and others to accumulate pieces of material culture related to curiosity on a particular topic like Jacobitism are a complex minefield, and motivations were/are often individualistic. Therefore, understanding private collections (later made public) is a test for historians, but a potentially rewarding one.

Geoffrey Cubitt explains that the word 'memory' can be used concretely to define and link 'a disparate range of practices and processes and phenomena, some occurring in individuals... involved in producing consciousness of the past'. What about Amulree's past prompted him to begin to collect *Jacobitiana*? What needs was he attempting to satisfy and understand about himself? Was his collectorship something that evolved and expanded to things that were connected to the wider Jacobite movement, but



Amulree Kirk, a category B listed building in Strathbraan, Perth and Kinross

moved away from things directly related to his past as his interest and knowledge grew? These are difficult questions to answer, but Amulree's Jacobite collection and his case study allow us to ponder the motivations behind, and connections between, antiquarianism, historical inquisitiveness and tangible research. One possible explanation is the emergent romanticisation of Jacobitism following its collapse in the 18th century and its transformation into a 'lost cause'. Before and after Jacobitism's collapse, an extensive, if sometimes

quixotic material culture was continually propagated around the exiled Stuarts. Neil Guthrie notes that the promotion of the Jacobite movement and adherence to it was recorded in a rich tapestry of splendid, ornate and, at times, highly miscellaneous assortment of objects. These 'included weapons of war such as swords, pistols and targes but also portraits, medals, pincushions, dice-boxes, toddy ladles and quaichs'. Furthermore, Jacobite artefacts like these, as Jennifer Novotny asserts, 'that were inextricably linked to socialising

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could in fact impact behaviour, mutually reinforcing actions of loyalty and rebellion’.

Correspondingly, Jacobites who acquired such objects would have an idiosyncratic relationship to their significance as a contemporary, if not religiously revered, relic connecting them to the active leader of their sacred cause. Jacobitism continues to inspire great passion and admiration, and still boasts a certain amount of magnetism and glamour. A present-day devotee, whilst neither professional historian

nor curator, who seeks to amass a comprehensive range of related artefacts could similarly view these relics as a tangible link to the past. By possessing a part of a person, a belonging or something merely linked with them, the association may, to a collector, defy the passage of time. On the other hand, interest in a subject and the desire to collect artefacts can inspire an individual to travel down paths they may not hitherto have considered. Where Amulree lay within this milieu may never be known, but we can be sure

Dr Archibald ‘Archie’ Cameron (1707-53)

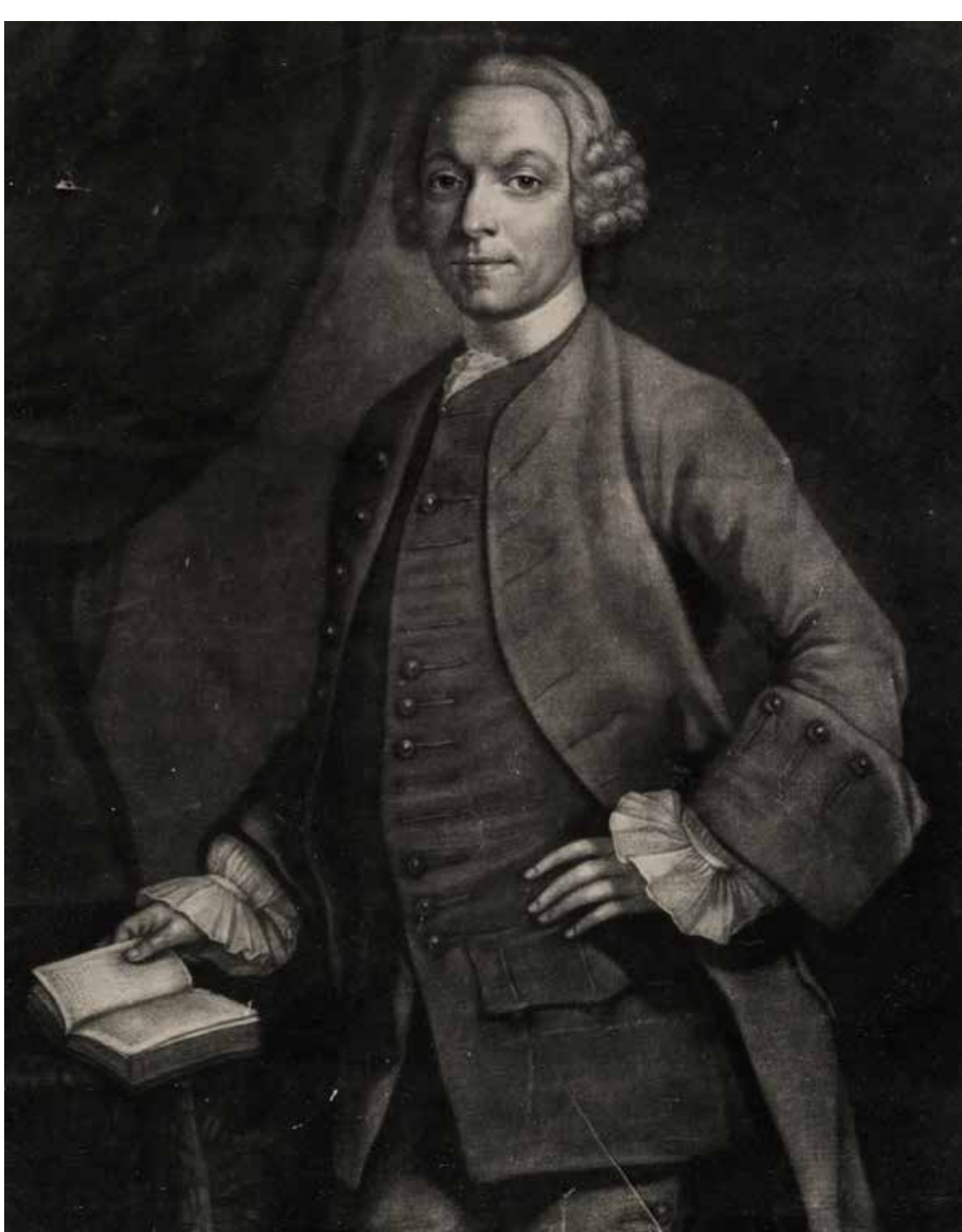
that he was certainly stimulated by what he collected and subsequently wrote about.

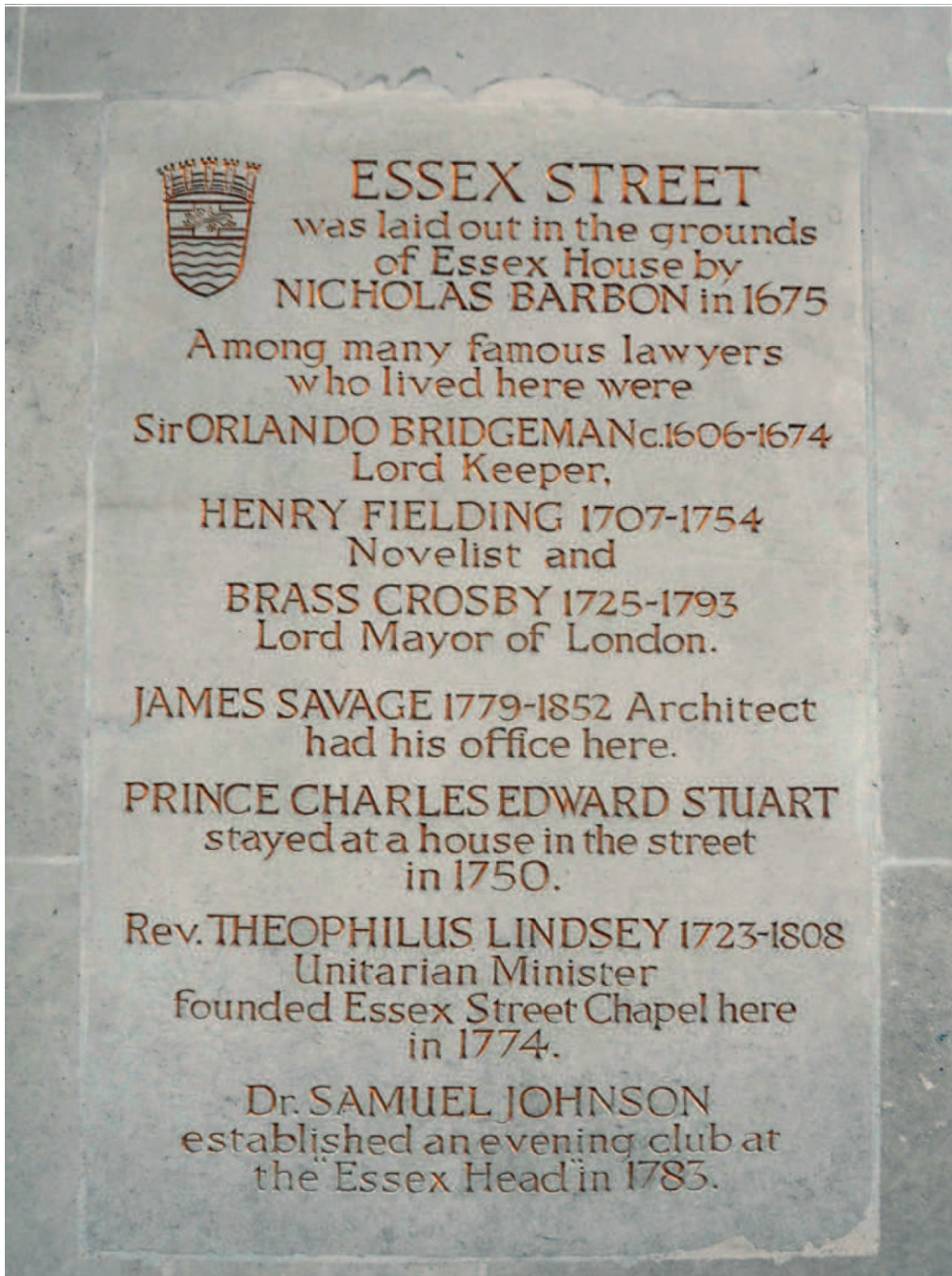
The Lord Amulree: geriatrician, collector, politician, author

Born on 25 July 1900 in South Kensington, London, Basil William Sholto Mackenzie, KBE, MD, FRCP, was the only son of a barrister and industrial arbitrator, Sir William Warrender Mackenzie, 1st baron Amulree of Strathbraan (1860–1942), and Lilian Bradbury.

Educated at Lancing School, he decided to follow his uncle, Sir James Mackenzie (1853–1925), into medicine, and so continued his education at Cambridge University (Gonville and Caius College). Following graduation, Amulree became a practising doctor and member of the Royal College of Physicians before joining the ministry of health in 1936. He assumed the title Lord Amulree in May 1942. Amulree left the ministry of health in 1949 to become a physician in charge of the newly established geriatric department at University College Hospital based at St Pancras Hospital – the first teaching hospital in the world with a geriatric unit’.

Amulree was a Liberal peer and whip between 1955 and 1977, and regularly spoke in the House of Lords on many aspects concerning the care of elderly people. In 1977, he was made KBE for a lifetime of public service to health and welfare. He died of colon cancer on 15 December 1983, unmarried and childless. Thus, the barony of Amulree became extinct. It remains unknown why Amulree bequeathed his Jacobite collection to the University of Stirling, which at the time of his death was still a comparatively young institution in search of materials for its archives. Perhaps he wished to support this endeavour. An alternative or accompanying factor is the proximity of the university campus to two places of significance for





IN AN AMALGAMATION OF BOTH HIS PROFESSIONAL AND PRIVATE PURSUITS, AMULREE DEVOTED SPECIFIC ATTENTION TO THE OFT-UNDER-REPRESENTED FIELD OF JACOBITE MEDICAL HISTORY

him personally – Amulree and Sheriffmuir. William Warrender Mackenzie had taken his barony title from a small hamlet on the River Braan. This settlement, Amulree, lies between Crieff and Dunkeld in Perthshire. It was at Amulree that many of the clans rallied before they made their way to fight at the battle

Plaque at Essex Street featuring Prince Charles Edward Stuart's stay at Anne Drelincourt's home in the autumn of 1750

of Sheriffmuir on 13 November during the Jacobite rising of 1715. Sheriffmuir sits roughly five miles from the present-day University of Stirling campus.

Whilst the reasons for Amulree taking such a keen curiosity in Jacobite history remain unclear, another causal influence rests

in nomenclature. His surname alludes to his kinsfolk of the Clan Mackenzie, who preserved a longstanding loyalty to the royal house of Stuart. The Mackenzies were supporters of Mary Queen of Scots (1542-87), and, on the whole, ardent sympathisers and active supporters of the Jacobite cause following the revolution of 1688-89. For their allegiance, the clan and its chiefs suffered greatly – their estates diminished as much of their ancestral lands were forfeited. Furthermore, one of Amulree's forenames, and that of his father, William, links directly to his 'namesake', the Jacobite army officer, William Mackenzie, 5th earl of Seaforth (d.1740), who was present at Sheriffmuir. Though purely conjecture, this association is nevertheless notable, and Amulree's awareness of it is evident within his collection.

Another noteworthy characteristic of this collection is Amulree's undertaking of historical research and authorship. During his retirement, he wrote about his interest in the historical aspects of medicine. Yet, in an amalgamation of both his professional and private pursuits, Amulree devoted specific attention to the oft-underrepresented field of Jacobite medical history. Accordingly, as a medical professional, one area of concentration was his attention to the Jacobite medic, Dr Archibald Cameron (1707-53). Cameron was the younger brother of Donald Cameron of Locheil (c.1695-1748), acting Cameron clan chief at the time of the Jacobite rising of 1745-46. Both were amongst Charles Edward Stuart's closest companions and most faithful followers. Archibald Cameron has the unenviable reputation of being the last individual to suffer the death sentence for loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. The primary work of Amulree's within the collection is titled 'A parting gleam: the life of Archibald Cameron' (c.1950). However, to date, this study remains unpublished. Though his output on Cameron is recognised in a few sources that report on Amulree's life and career, these are, unsurprisingly,

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from a medical perspective; there is, for example, no mention of his interest in Jacobite history in his profile on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* website. In his private life, it appears that Amulree began collecting information connected with the Jacobite movement as early as the 1930s, but whether this arose due to his particular private associations with it, to a spark awakened during his medical studies, or a combination of both, eludes the written record. Whatever the stimuli, his yearning for *Jacobitiana* resulted in the diverse collection he left to the University of Stirling.

The collection

The scope and contents of the collection are wide-ranging and miscellaneous. Consequently, this discussion of Amulree's accumulated *Jacobitiana* will be divided between the limited number of primary manuscripts and other tangible materials that he managed to secure, and the supplementary secondary sources that pad out the corpus. The primary materials each connect to one of the final three exiled Stuarts of the senior line, namely James Francis Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales (1688-1766) – otherwise 'King James VIII and III' or the 'Old Pretender' – and his two sons, Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88) – otherwise 'King Charles III' or the 'Young Pretender' – and Prince Henry Benedict Stuart (1725-1807) – otherwise 'King Henry I and IX'.

The first primary manuscript set is two letters written by William Mackenzie, 5th earl of Seaforth. Seaforth was unquestionably a man deep within the maelstrom of Jacobite court politics. Having commanded over 3,000 men and three battalions at Sheriffmuir, he was forced into exile following the

collapse of the 1715 rising, arriving in France in February 1716. On 7 May that year, he was attainted by an act of parliament and his estates were forfeited. On 8 December 1716, Seaforth wrote two letters, yet their documented provenance is absent, and it remains unclear how Amulree acquired them. The first is a letter to John Erskine, 22nd or 6th earl – or styled Jacobite 1st duke – of Mar (1675-1732), requesting 'the King for permission to retire to the country, and for a mark of royal favour'. It appears, primarily, that Seaforth was in some form of disfavour. The second letter, written directly to James Stuart, 'requests a mark of royal favour, seeing that his [Seaforth's] reputation has been attacked'. Seaforth asks James to redress him with only 'such signall mark of Royal Favour as may convince my Enemies of their Injustice'. Essentially, Seaforth is trying to maintain, or even increase, his status amongst other exiled Jacobite elites and appears to be hinting at a Jacobite dukedom. These letters are unique and signed documents that Seaforth personally sent to both Mar and James, with no known copies. Therefore, their originality is significant as they are not included, even in copied form, within the Stuart Papers.

The second individual primary manuscript pertains to a report of the retreat of the Jacobite army following the battle of Falkirk Muir on 17 January 1746. The historical context surrounding this report concerns the '45 and the Jacobite lieutenant-general Lord George Murray's (1694-1760) central role within it. It is an (apparently unpublished) contemporary account of the army's withdrawal into northern Scotland. Amulree appears to have acquired the manuscript copy in 1958, though its author

remains unknown. The report seemingly justifies the retreat but dwells particularly on Murray's bitter regrets that the departure was badly managed, hurried and uncoordinated. Furthermore, it alludes to the increasingly frosty relationship between Murray and Charles Edward Stuart, and the subsequent lack of management during this part of the final campaign. Their relationship was deteriorating rapidly, and a deepening distrust was growing between them. For instance, the author claims that the retreat of the army, so orderly from Derby, now turned into 'an absolute flight'. The ensuing withdrawal north was, by many accounts, a disaster. Despite Murray's offer to make a stand in his home territory of Atholl, both he and Charles Edward were at furious loggerheads at the last council of war at Crieff on 2 February 1746. Relations had worsened so much that Murray, while on the run after Culloden, came to be regarded by Charles Edward as little better than a traitor, and the two men never conversed again.

This source is historically significant as it appears to describe events in the correct chronological order, suggesting authenticity, and as both a contemporary and unpublished account is a unique feature of the Amulree bequest. Another primary item connected to Charles Edward Stuart is a

Portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88). It is titled *Lord Edward*. In exile, Charles Edward was commonly referred to by his second forename. Painted by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, c.1785



pair of paste shoe buckles that he allegedly once owned and wore. The buckles are one of only three items in the entire collection with any evidence of provenance. It appears they were sold at Christie's in 1919, and Amulree procured them at a Sotheby's auction on 20 November 1945. According to the note that accompanies these buckles, they were given by Charles Edward to the aunt of the Jacobite colonel, John Roy Stuart (1700-52). They were subsequently left to her daughter, Anne Stuart, and were then bequeathed to her grandson, William Smith of Earnsccliffe, Roslin. There are also original pictures by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (c. 1740-1808), a Dublin-born portrait painter who worked in Italy between 1779 and 1792. For example, there is a crayon-on-paper original sketch of Charles Edward that has been tentatively attributed to Hamilton. Also included is a painting by Hamilton of perhaps the most famous depiction of 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' in old age, which he passed in a rather deplorable retirement: in 1770, Charles Edward was described as of 'a melancholy, mortified appearance' by one visitor to Rome. Finally, a couple of numismatic Jacobite materials were also acquired by Amulree. Though these were relatively copious and made in gold, silver and bronze, their respective quantities decreased according to the purity of the metal, with gold medallions now being considered very rare. However, Amulree obtained a silver medallion with a bust of Charles Edward commemorating his landing in the Western Isles in 1745. The obverse legend reads CAROLUS WALLIAE PRINCEPS – Charles, Prince of Wales. The reverse legend reads AMOR ET SPES – Love and Hope – with the exergue



A pair of paste shoe buckles – purportedly once the property of and worn by Prince Charles Edward Stuart – with an accompanying note of their provenance

BRITANNIA – Great Britain.

The third manuscript assortment pertains to the death of Cardinal Henry Benedict Stuart on 13 July 1807. These items were formerly in the Braye collection of the Stuart Papers, the property of Major T.A. Vernay-Cave. They were purchased in Rome by Lady Braye in 1848. They are also catalogued in the tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Appendix 6, numbers 216-21. It appears Amulree purchased them in 1949. The four papers discuss aspects surrounding Henry Benedict's death and its aftermath. The first confirms his demise 'at two hours of the night' in a letter by the cardinal's private secretary, Angelo Cesarini, bishop of Milevi (1743-1810), to the senior British banking house, Coutts & Co. The second item is a letter from Princess Louise of Stolberg-Gedern (1752-1824) – otherwise known as the Countess of Albany and former wife of Charles Edward Stuart – and is dated 21 July 1807. It appears to confirm that she had been motivated by money for some time, having previously conferred with Cesarini in 1805 about the payment of her jointure in the event of her former brother-in-law's untimely passing. The third item, a letter dated 25 August 1807, dealt with the payment of Henry Benedict's pension, in reply to Cesarini's previous correspondence. The fourth item is an account of the post-mortem performed on the cardinal on the evening of 14 July and undersigned by an individual called Giuseppe Gegeo, which further corroborates the date and time of death. However, this is unspecified in the surrounding historiography, as Brian Fothergill asserts that Henry Benedict lay in state three days later in Rome, but there is no mention of the post-mortem report. Moreover, Alice Shield explains that 'on the

night of 14 July, his body was carried to Rome, the carriage surrounded by his weeping people'. Yet the post-mortem is reported as taking place that evening. Perhaps the cardinal's entourage set off for Rome following the procedure during the early hours.

Like the previous manuscript sets, these items are unique, as they have no known copies and, thus, are the only detailed account of the post-mortem on Henry Benedict's cadaver. They provide the Amulree collection with another selection of precious papers that add to its value. Cesarini was also the principal executor of Henry Benedict's last will and testament. Before his death, in perhaps the final act of Stuart defiance and an assertion of his dynasty's divine right to sovereignty, the cardinal is purported to have signed it with the signature, 'Henry R' (*Henricus Rex* – King Henry). This document, in conjunction with these manuscripts, could, arguably, be considered the final meaningful events of the more than century-old Jacobite movement. Amulree also procured a bronze medallion with a bust of 'King Henry I and IX'. It was produced shortly after the death of his elder brother, 'King Charles III', in 1788. On it, Henry Benedict declares his claim by styling himself, King Henry IX. The obverse legend reads HEN. IX. MAG. BRIT. FR. ET HIB. REX FID. DEF. CARD. EP. TUSC – Henry IX, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Cardinal Bishop of Frascati (Tusculum). The reverse legend bears the Latin inscription *Non desideris hominum sed voluntate Dei* – Not by the desires of men but by the will of God [John 1:13], and the exergue AN. MDCC. LXXXVIII – in the year 1788.

Regarding the disparate secondary materials included in the collection, a natural starting-point is the two typescript copies of Amulree's manuscript for 'A parting gleam', and there are also numerous papers about the life of Archibald Cameron, as well as Amulree's various correspondences concerning it, dating from c. 1938-c. 1964. Further highlights from the collection include various Jacobite portraits, photographs, clippings,

THE SHOE BUCKLES ARE ONE OF ONLY THREE ITEMS IN THE ENTIRE COLLECTION WITH ANY EVIDENCE OF PROVENANCE

THIS COLLECTION HAS AN OVERALL CHARACTER THAT EXPRESSES ITSELF THROUGH AMULREE'S CONSCIENTIOUS RESEARCH

correspondences and other papers from c. 1954-c. 1966 that detail Amulree's eagerness to obtain photographs specifically linked to Charles Edward's whereabouts throughout Europe in the aftermath of Culloden, including visits to Madrid, London, Paris and Basel. Less than six months after fleeing Scotland, he arrived in Madrid on 2 March 1747. Concerning this visit, there are typescript notes, transcripts, various correspondences and several photographs. In one of his letters from 1958 to Arthur J. Montague of the British Council in Madrid, Amulree stated 'for some years I have been interested in the life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart after the collapse of the '45'. He goes on to request some evidence from Spanish archives, highlighting a memorandum from the Stuart Papers that discussed Charles Edward's request to the Spanish minister José de Carvajal y Lancaster (1698-1754) to supply arms for a future attempt in Scotland, alongside one or two ships to send provisions to the highlands. In response, Amulree received a packet of letters and microfilms from the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* that aided him in his research for 'A parting gleam'.

On 16 September 1750, Charles Edward made a daring trip to London where he stayed with the Jacobite Ann(e) Drelincourt, Lady Primrose (c. 1709-75), in Essex Street, off the Strand, under an assumed name. He stayed a little under a week and crossed the Channel back to Boulogne on the 23 September. It was the last time he would ever set foot on British soil. Amulree's correspondence with London County Council and others (c. 1950-66) shows that he suggested the erection of a memorial plaque in Essex Street. It appears the plaque was set up sometime

in August 1962. Also included is an initial draft of an earlier article titled 'Prince Charles Edward and Switzerland' (c. 1948-50), along with relevant typescripts, holograph notes, letters and photostats of items from the Stuart Papers. Moreover, Amulree's frequent correspondence (c. 1948-50) with Felix Staehelin, professor of history at the University of Basel (1873-1952), seems to express mutual respect for each other's interests in Jacobite history. Both appear to have shared as much information as possible, especially on the subject of Professor Staehelin's monograph concerning Charles Edward titled *Der jungere Stuartpretendent und sein Aufenthalt in Basel: 1754-1756* (1949). Similarly, Amulree worked on an article concerning Charles Edward's time in Paris in 1754 titled 'The Young Pretender at Paris in 1754' (c. 1952). Additionally, within the Amulree bequest is a folder of eleven photographs for inclusion as illustrations, and some correspondence concerning the publication of the book *My Harvest is still in the Field: Henry, Prince of Wales, 1594-1612, and Charles, Duke of York, 1600-1616* (c. 1954) by John Keevil. This folder or book does not directly relate to the Jacobite era and is merely a supplementary item. Finally, in addition to the principal materials of the collection, there are c. 90 books and pamphlets, some extremely rare, concerning Jacobite historiography.

Conclusion

The reasons for someone like Basil Mackenzie, Lord Amulree, deciding to look back to the Jacobite movement and develop an antiquarian interest in *Jacobitiana* remain elusive. Nonetheless, there were, as previously suggested, several possibilities as to what may have

sparked Amulree's interest, both in his private and professional life. Regarding the Amulree collection, although patchy and not as large as other Jacobite collections in content, or as well-known, it does include some unique, visual and valuable artefacts that other compendia do not possess. Furthermore, this collection has an overall character that expresses itself through Amulree's conscientious research, which drove, in part, his need for content. His chosen areas of research are significant. Amulree attempted to fill gaps in Jacobite studies, including through a full monograph account of the life of Archibald Cameron and by exploring the movements of Charles Edward Stuart during the years 1747-66 – both relatively unexplored areas of Jacobite scholarship at the time. Consequently, with all of these aspects in mind, the Amulree Jacobite collection deserves greater recognition and certainly warrants inclusion in any future deliberations about Jacobite collections in Scotland or further afield.

Calum Cunningham is a PhD researcher at the University of Stirling, whose work focuses on Scottish Jacobitism.

FURTHER READING

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