“PETTICOAT PATRONAGE.”

Elite Scotswomen’s Roles, Identity, and Agency in Jacobite Political Affairs, 1688-1766.

This Thesis is

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to uncover and analyse the identities and actions of the elite Scotswomen who supported and/or were involved in the political machinations between 1688 and 1766 in support of the Stuart cause. The strength of Jacobitism in Scotland and the national level of its support has been reappraised in recent years, revealing its centrality to Scottish political life and its strong patriotic agenda. However, the role and participation elite Scottish women played in over half a century’s political and military schemes, and their part in the preservation of Scottish Jacobite culture and community has not been examined.

Through predominantly archival research I have identified and examined a few hundred elite women, who during this period were known, or referred to as Jacobites, in support of the exiled Stuart monarchy. These women came from the length and breadth of Scotland, with a variety of religious, political and familial identities, substantiating the national extent of Jacobitism in Scotland in the eighteenth century. In order to better understand the nature and range of female support I have made a prosopographical investigation of a cross section of these women. Furthermore, for the process of analysis I have organised the nature and type of elite Scotswomen’s support for Jacobitism into four main categories, which are examined each in their own chapter. This analysis contributes to Scottish, women’s and Jacobite history by revealing that the roles performed by these women had at the heart of their intention and motivation a political intent. I begin with those who preserved Jacobitism among the Scots as a political, religious and cultural ideology, and raised their children in it, and encouraged others to support it. I also examine those who partook in the patronage network as either a client or patroness in Jacobites’ favour. It also involved the analysis of women who were confidantes and informants of significant Jacobite male officials, within and outwith the field of action, contributing to their plotting and planning with moral support and information. This is further complemented by an examination of those who performed the role of accomplice and agent to such officials, organising, managing and delegating secret correspondence, and the participation of others in the lead up to Jacobite events. Finally, research into the contemporary media and
propaganda directed against the women in the movement is analysed, to reveal the extent to which their support and actions were felt and responded to by contemporaries.

The findings of this research reveal that elite Scotswomen were political women, and very much involved and supportive of Jacobite political affairs. Their contribution to the political machinations in the eighteenth century was significant to Jacobite political affairs, and therefore Scottish politics, as they were at the very heart of state building, or rather changing, working alongside Scotsmen in numerous capacities to return the Stuarts to the throne. Previously unacknowledged by historians, elite women’s participation reveals that women did not sit at home while their men plotted and planned, and went out into the field to fight for the Cause. It shows rather that they worked with them and alongside them in their country’s and families’ interest.
DECLARATION

This thesis contains only sole-authored work, some of which has been prepared for publication under sole authorship. The bibliographical details of the work and where it appears in the thesis are outlined below.


Anita R. Fairney
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Attributed to Cosmo Alexander (Scottish, 1724-1772), Half-length Portrait of a Lady, believed to be Jean Cameron of Lochiel, Oil on Canvas, 1744.

(Image courtesy of Lyon & Turnbull)
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bod.</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Oxford</td>
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<td>BC</td>
<td>Blair Castle Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carstares</td>
<td>State Papers and Letters Addressed to William Carstares</td>
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<td>CSP</td>
<td>Calendar of Stuart Papers</td>
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<td>EEBO</td>
<td>Early English Books Online</td>
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<td>HCA</td>
<td>Highland Council Archives</td>
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<td>HMC</td>
<td>Historical Manuscripts Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Art, Boston</td>
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<td>National Library of Scotland</td>
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<td>NMS</td>
<td>National Museums Scotland</td>
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<td>Traq.</td>
<td>Traquair House, Stuart-Maxwell Papers</td>
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<td>HMC</td>
<td>Historical Manuscripts Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODNB</td>
<td>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</td>
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<td>SCA</td>
<td>Scottish Catholic Archives</td>
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<td>SP</td>
<td>Stuart Papers</td>
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<tr>
<td>UA</td>
<td>University of Aberdeen, Scotland</td>
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<tr>
<td>V&amp;A</td>
<td>Victoria and Albert Museum, London</td>
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<td>WHM</td>
<td>West Highland Museum, Fort William</td>
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I would like to express my gratitude to the board of the Australian Postgraduate Award and the University of Western Australia for giving me this incredible opportunity and for funding this research. It has been an incredible journey for which I am truly grateful. Thanks must also go to the board of the Patricia Crawford Award and her family who by granting me this scholarship made certain research trips possible. Special thanks to my supervisors Associate Professor David Barrie and Winthrop Professor Susan Broomhall, who have been very supportive and encouraging throughout the duration of this thesis. Their knowledge, wisdom and expertise have been invaluable. I would also like to thank Professor Robert Stuart for his support and words of wisdom.

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Scotswomen in the 1708. It was a delight to find them. To various friends and acquaintances, such as Rev. John Emerson, FSSP, Dr. Nicola Cowmeadow, Chris Kauer, Dorothy and Mark McLean. Your support and advice has been invaluable.

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Introduction

‘[W]e see that this Part of the Species are the first Prosylites to the most absurd Doctrines, and in all Changes of State or Religion, the Ladies are sure to lead the Van.’


Many eighteenth-century elite Scotswomen were politically active. As this thesis will show, they were interested in the state of affairs, government and future of their country. Many of these women wished to restore the Stuarts to the British throne, and actively plotted to achieve this. Scotswomen's political activities took many forms over the course of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Recognition of Scotswomen in politics has until recent years been not only neglected, but hindered by the limited scope of the term 'politics'. This definition was largely preoccupied with institutional politics and politicians. By expanding the concept of 'politics' to include sociological and religious dimensions, then women’s participation in, and contribution to, political life in the early modern period can be appreciated. This thesis will prove that elite Scotswomen were politically involved in Scottish Jacobite affairs. The exiled Stuart monarchy attracted a significant following of female adherents to the restoration cause, an alliance largely ignored by scholars.

Numerous accounts of Jacobite history have been written in the past 250 years. The Whig interpretation of history dominated scholarship. This construction viewed Jacobitism as Scottish, and predominantly Highland,

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barbaric, and papist; and therefore irrelevant.³ It was first promulgated by Whig contemporaries in anti-Jacobite propaganda and historical narratives, where unbiased accounts are rare, and according to J.C.D. Clark, ‘[p]artialities are flagrant in almost every page.’⁴ These Whig accounts sorely neglected the reality and nuances of Scottish Jacobitism, while others completely overlooked that period in history, or sought to ‘terminate’ such interest.⁵ According to Clark, most scholarship regards ‘Jacobitism …[as] an ‘absurd political prejudice’, and ‘Jacobites were merely ‘the rebel army’ in a political and military history’; while those who worked on Jacobitism were ‘accused of “revisionist obscurantism” and nostalgia’.⁶ Although this viewpoint has since been challenged, Scotswomen’s roles in the political machinations between 1688 and 1766, and their support for the return of the Stuarts to the throne, has been largely ignored, or at best understated.

Scotswomen had long participated in political life and its affairs, though their contribution has suffered neglect and rebuke particularly by history, but also from some contemporaries.⁷ One anonymous mid-eighteenth-century writer denigrated female Stuart supporters as ‘Rebels’ and ‘Amazonians’. Critics identified them with the female undergarment, the petticoat, and vilified and belittled their political actions. This was an attempt to distract readers from the seriousness of the Jacobite Scotswomen’s highly political mission to bring back the Stuart King. Such libels attacked the female sex, focusing upon the disorder such activity would encourage in society, such as dominant women, rendering men potentially subordinate to them.

It is a Plot of that ambitious crafty Sex, to deprive Mankind of their Dominion over the Ladies: It may be a traitorous Conspiracy of our liege Subjects, the Women, against their sovereign Lord Man. How else can we account for that Number of Petticoats, that have appeared encased in Armour under the

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⁵ Ibid., p. 17. 
⁶ Clark, ‘Many Restorations’, pp. 20, 24, 40. 
The Prince’s adherents were neither an army of Highland ladies brandishing swords and muskets, seeking to dominate men, nor were they merely hanky-waving ladies in Edinburgh, enamoured by the arrival of a handsome prince to town. The reality was that the Stuart cause drew a significant number of female adherents, particularly in the realm of Scotland.

The aim of this study is to examine this political ‘petticoat patronage’ by investigating the nature of the contribution, participation, and actions of elite Scotswomen to Jacobitism, and how they played a part in Scotland’s political scene during one of the most turbulent times in its history. I will investigate how Jacobite Scotswomen were involved in politics and the political realm, exploring primarily what these women did, or said, and how through their allegiance and actions they supported the Stuart Cause; a significant destabilising force in eighteenth-century British politics and society. I will explore how elite Scotswomen were active in Jacobite politics, what their contemporaries thought of their actions, and what the consequences of those actions were.

The nature of the commitment of Scotswomen to this political cause is crucial to understanding Scottish Jacobitism, eighteenth-century politics, and women’s roles in both. It is important to note that according to the Hanoverian government the actions taken by Jacobites were considered treasonable and, at the very least, punishable by attainder, which meant that ‘the blood of the person attainted is so corrupted, as to be rendered no longer inheritable.’ Commitment to the Cause could result in the loss of lands and titles, and exile, imprisonment and/or execution. The extreme nature of these penalties demonstrates the strength, courage and conviction of many of the women who participated in their country’s national politics, whatever the cost. The number of Jacobite women and the nature of their activities were significant enough not only to draw comment from a number of leading figures at the time, both Jacobites and Hanoverians alike, but also to become noteworthy in the

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8 Female Rebels, p. 6.
10 Both terms ‘elite’ and ‘politics’ are defined for the sake of this thesis further down in the introduction.
12 James Drummond [1673-1720], 2nd Duke of Perth, was among many who were attainted after the ’15 and lost their estates. His sons, James Drummond [1713-1746], 3rd Duke of Perth, and John Drummond, [1716-1747], fought at Culloden in the ’45 and were attainted, while their mother, the 2nd duke’s wife, Lady Jean Gordon [1682-1773], Duchess of Perth, was imprisoned for nine months in Edinburgh Castle for her support in the Rising.
propaganda war. Whether this was due to the large numbers of women involved, or whether it was a successful method used by the opposition to debase the Cause, will also be examined.

According to two contemporary documents there were many female Jacobite adherents, particularly in the city of Edinburgh, at the time of the 'Forty-five. The first, a printed pamphlet entitled, The Female Rebels, alludes to an overwhelming number of ‘Amazonian’ women who joined the Stuart Prince’s ranks. The second, a manuscript document entitled, ‘An Impartial and Genuine List’, defends Edinburgh’s women against the ‘Acusation and Slander Rashly Thrown on The Female Sex As To Their being All Jacobites’. Significantly in the latter document the authors concede that a vast number of the ladies, almost half of ‘either the indwellers of Edinburgh or Such as have frequented it for some years bygone’, were indeed Jacobites.

The ‘Genuine List’ (1747) provides an insight into the political demographics of the female elite population of Edinburgh just twelve months after the failure of the Jacobite rising in Scotland. The document is a collation of three lists, written in at least two different female hands, in which the ladies dwelling in Edinburgh are divided into two groups: Whigs and Jacobites. These women are listed alphabetically according to the surname of the household in which they were staying. The head of house was often described by his title or profession. For example: under the letter ‘M’ in the first list, the title ‘Eglinton’ is listed, referring to the Earl of Eglinton, beside which is written: ‘Lady Betty Montgomery, Lady Do, Lady Grace Do’. Here, as in most cases, these women are the daughters of the head of the household. Occasionally a wife/mother is mentioned. The exceptions are when the household has guests, or women are listed as the head, for example widows. The third list has an additional column which states the ‘Characteristicks & Graces’ of the said ladies, such as ‘beauty’, ‘masculine’, and ‘genteel’, although not all ladies were given a description. Their familial and religious allegiance were also noted. Miss Birney in Perbroath’s


14 One of these documents was anonymously printed in Edinburgh, London, and Dublin in 1747, while the other was drafted by several unknown elite Whig women in Edinburgh that same year: Female Rebels; and, Sig.MS, ‘An Impartial and Genuine List of the Ladies on the Whig or Jacobite Partie’, 1747?, (hereafter, ‘Genuine List’.)

15 ‘Genuine List’.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.
household, for example, had a ‘brother in the King’s Army’; the Misses Blackwoods’ ‘relations of Lady Trelony’ were ‘once great whigs’; and the Misses Stewarts of Traquair were ‘Popish’. These tidbits give colour and flesh to the list and therefore to Jacobitism in Scotland at this time.

Scrutiny of the ‘Genuine List’ gives an insight into the portrayal of political allegiance among elite women in Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century. However, throughout the list there appear to be inaccuracies in the delegation of some women to a particular side of politics. For example, there are families known to be staunch Whigs listed on the Jacobite side, and vice versa. This very point raises questions regarding the reliability of this report, prompting further investigation. Of course, these may not be mistakes but perhaps secrets known among the ladies of Edinburgh and passed along by gossip, or simply common knowledge at the time. But then they could even be attempts at slander, or vengeance upon an enemy. Therefore, this document should be thoroughly scrutinised for its purpose, bias, and potential to misrepresent particular women. Nevertheless, the fact the document was written indicates the extent to which Jacobitism was supported by elite women and its significance in Scotland.

Ultimately, the ‘Genuine List’ reflects a perception of certain Whig women in Edinburgh, just after the failure of the last Jacobite rising in 1745-46, regarding political allegiance among the elite. It again raises the question of what role, if any, Scottish elite women had in their country’s political affairs. The ‘Genuine List’ drew my attention to the elite female dimension of Jacobitism in Scotland and led to questions regarding the number of elite women who supported the political movement, and the nature of their support. The ‘Genuine List’ justifies this research.

**Historiography**

The Jacobite or Stuart cause consisted of a number of failed attempts between 1689 and 1759 to restore the exiled monarch, King James VII of Scotland, and II of England, and his descendants to the throne of Scotland, England and Ireland. The history of the exiled Stuarts and the failures of the Jacobites to regain the

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18 Ibid.
throne have been a field of great interest since the nineteenth century, with scholarly attention increasing over the last fifty years. However, Scottish Jacobite studies in particular, has been predominantly part of broader Jacobite histories which principally cover England, with less consideration paid to Ireland, Europe, and the exiled Stuarts, yet receiving fleeting attention in British and Scottish grand narratives. The Scottish Jacobite scholarship that stands alone has focused fundamentally on the military and political aspects surrounding the two main risings, the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five. This includes the significant characters of the Stuart Cause, the Highland Army Officers and elite Scotsmen of power and position who made the executive decisions and led their troops into battle. Jacobite scholarship has never made women the focal point of inquiry. Occasionally, scholars have acknowledged the presence of certain women, primarily through their connection to material culture, but women have otherwise remained in obscurity.

In reviewing Jacobite historiography over the centuries, J. C. D. Clark has categorised the historians by era, revealing changing attitudes towards Jacobitism in seven main phases. Accordingly, historiography has denied Jacobitism and denigrated it, romanticised and glorified it, sentimentalised and dismissed it, and only most recently taken it seriously, but not without

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opposition. Clark breaks down the final phase of Jacobite scholarship, from the 1970s to the present (2009), into six themes, to which a seventh could be added; the theme of its unsung adherents, including its women. This is where this research fits.

Daniel Szechi has divided historians of Jacobitism into three major schools of interpretation based on their attitude towards the nature of Jacobitism, rather than on methodology: the optimists, the pessimists and the rejectionists—that is, those who believe the Jacobites were a bona fide threat to the Hanoverian regime; those who believe they were never a threat; and those who reject the very possibility as irrational. Within these three categories lie many historians who have entered the Jacobite debate over the last 200 years.

Since the mid-nineteenth century interest in Jacobite history has slowly grown, accelerating as the century progressed. In the first half of the twentieth century, Jacobite historiography witnessed countless publications of original source materials, biographies and narrative histories. Henrietta and Alastair Tayler—cousins of the notable collector and scholar Walter Biggar Blaikie—published more than twenty texts, including primary source material on the Stuarts in exile, the Scottish Jacobites and the risings. So much has in fact been written about the exiled Stuarts, the Jacobites, and the 'Forty-five—in academic and popular history, and in fiction—that in 1986 Scottish historian James Fergusson wrote, tongue-in-cheek, that any further books should be 'prohibited by law' and classed as a 'capital offence'.

Despite Fergusson’s admonishment to historians and novelists, interest in Jacobitism has not died; rather it has flourished, and the 1980s were declared ‘the age of the Jacobite restoration’. Although scholarship is now broader and more varied in its approach than previously, historians have taken a predominantly traditional ‘pens and swords’ approach to Jacobite history. They

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22 Clark, 'Many Restorations'.
23 Ibid., p. 40.
24 Szechi, Jacobites.
have focused on the grand scheme, such as, high politics and military battles, as in Szechi’s 1715. That said, increasing attention is being paid to Jacobite ideology, society and culture. The late 1990s witnessed a developing interest in Jacobitism’s social and cultural history, including its ballads, motifs, signs and symbols. This social-cultural approach to Jacobite history, dominated by Murray Pittock, has taken into account the domestic and cultural aspect of Jacobite Scotswomen. This has been illustrated primarily through their construction of cockades from white ribbons in support of the Stuart Prince and his cause.

Research into eighteenth-century Scottish elite women has seen limited attention, and even more so their involvement in Jacobitism. Early modern women have been described by such scholars as Ian Atherton as uninterested in news and the world of politics. This was simply not true, for numerous elite Scotswomen wrote extensively to their husbands, family members, connections, and friends, passing on ‘news’ or inquiring of it. There is a growing trend to reassess women’s connection to and intervention in politics, granting greater agency to women. However, this has predominantly focused on local and electoral politics in England, rather than the national agenda, which links in with Jacobitism. Prior to this recent growth, scholarship on the eighteenth century in general had been thin on the ground, considered either ‘an afterthought or a pre-cursor’ to the centuries deemed more important on either side. Research into elite Scotswomen and politics in this period has been limited to the work of gender and women’s historians, the majority of which

28 Szechi, 1715; Szechi, Jacobites; Lenman, Jacobite Risings.
29 Guthrie, Material Culture; Pittock, Material Culture.
33 Chalus, Elite Women; Barker and Chalus (eds.), Women’s History; Barker and Chalus (eds.), Gender; Laurence, Women in England; Laurence, Women and Their Money; Laurence, Bellamy and Perry (eds.), Women, Scholarship and Criticism; Vickery, Gentleman’s Daughter; Vickery, Women, Privilege, and Power.
34 Barker and Chalus (eds.), Gender.
have focused upon the ladies of the House of Atholl and Hamilton.\textsuperscript{35} The concentration on these few noble Scotswomen is likely due to the significant collection of their correspondence, which has been duly preserved within their family papers and archives.\textsuperscript{36} Also, the fact that they were Presbyterians, Whigs, and supporters of the established government (even if opposed to the Union), meant they had little to hide. Destruction of their correspondence was not necessary, as it was with that of Jacobite supporters.

Like Jacobite scholarship, eighteenth-century Scottish historiography has been traditionally dominated by a hierarchy of political, military, and economic history, focusing on institutions, politics and significant events that were engineered by leading men. Conventionally, this left women out, as they did not hold what has been described as traditional positions of influence and power, such as those in government. Recent advancements have taken into account social and cultural history, broadening our early modern historical landscape, seen particularly in the work of Christopher Whatley.\textsuperscript{37} Due to this, Scotswomen’s history has also advanced in the last two decades. The focus, however, has been on social and cultural history, and in areas deemed an eighteenth-century woman’s province; that is, marriage and family, midwifery and labour, witchcraft and infanticide, while simultaneously focusing on the lower orders.\textsuperscript{38} Until recently, Scotswomen’s activities in areas typically


\textsuperscript{36} Blair Atholl Castle MSS, and National Archives of Scotland (NAS), GD406, *Papers of the Hamilton Family, the Dukes of Hamilton*. Their estates and possessions were safer from forfeiture and the raids of Red Coats after the ’Forty-five, that systematically destroyed a great number of Jacobite estate houses.


dominated by men, such as politics and patriotism, have received limited research.\textsuperscript{39}

The relationship of elite Scotswomen to the Union, and the social and political culture involving them at the time, has been addressed in the scholarship of Nicola Cowmeadow and Rosalind Carr.\textsuperscript{40} However, their focus has been primarily upon the Hamilton and Atholl ladies, who, though opposed to the Union, were not Jacobites and neither cooperated with, nor supported the covert Jacobite anti-Union response that their husbands were secretly involved in.\textsuperscript{41} The political actions of a few Jacobite women in Scotland have been referenced in the work of Sue Innes and Jane Rendell.\textsuperscript{42} Two of these women survived the general effacement of Jacobite women from history, due to the survival of pamphlets published about their involvement.\textsuperscript{43} Their appearance in their clan histories and their survival in popular memory and romantic culture is intimately tied to Jacobitism.\textsuperscript{44} However, many more Scotswomen contributed to the growth of Jacobitism and Jacobite culture in Scotland throughout this period. Scottish Jacobite women worked towards the restoration of the exiled Stuarts in many ways, and their correspondence forms the basis of this chapter; from it their actions will be analysed. This correspondence has not been analysed by Jacobite, eighteenth-century, nor epistolary scholars.

Elite British women in eighteenth-century political life have received increasing historiographical attention over the last twenty years, most especially the English, rather than the Scottish elite.\textsuperscript{45} Most of the work which has focused upon aristocratic women has looked primarily at those in the court and as


\textsuperscript{43} Colonel Anne Mackintosh and Jenny Cameron of Glendessary.

\textsuperscript{44} For example: Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan, London, R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor, 1880; Female Rebels; Jean Mackintosh Goldstrom, Colonel Anne Mackintosh, Bloomington, 2012.


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queen’s consorts.\textsuperscript{46} As with Scottish historiography on women in general, the studies on English women have also tended to focus upon the lower classes, and their connection to politics through riots and revolution in the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{47} Those that have focused predominantly on elite women and their role in politics/political life are few, but significant, such as the edited collections by Vickery, and Gleadle and Richardson.\textsuperscript{48} In these collections women’s informal political participation is elucidated, revealing ‘that women did possess the potential for political influence’, and that they had ‘the potential to exploit various sites of power’.\textsuperscript{49} These collections made it clear that ‘many women were active in the “unofficial” politics of the day, ... and used their informal social and kinship networks to support and sustain their activities.’\textsuperscript{50}

Scholars of elite women in eighteenth-century political life opened the historical political landscape to women by broadening the perspective of the experience of politics, from being that of simply the ‘science of governance’, to that of politicised social, cultural and familial interactions.\textsuperscript{51} Therefore, this has opened the way for the participation of women in the various aspects of political life, which include the social and cultural domains.\textsuperscript{52} As an example, elite women’s part in patronage, networks, and electoral politics has seen a rise of academic attention in recent years.\textsuperscript{53} These works have touched upon elite women in politics in one way or another, but the other aspects of women’s lives predominate the texts. In a landmark study on elite English women in eighteenth-century politics, Chalus argued that in the families of the political elite politics was very much personal and familial in nature, and that seldom was there any separation between the family, the home and the affairs of state.\textsuperscript{54} Likewise, Amanda Vickery has argued that ‘the household and family were not

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Mendleson, and Crawford, \textit{Early Modern England};}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Gleadle, and Richardson, ‘Introduction’, in Gleadle, and Richardson (eds.), \textit{British Politics}, pp. 8, 14.}
\footnote{Richardson, “Well-neighboured Houses”: the Political Networks of Elite Women, 1780-1860’, in Gleadle, and Richardson, (eds.), \textit{British Politics}, p. 57.}
\footnote{Chalus, \textit{Elite Women}, pp. 2-5.}
\end{footnotes}
the limit of an elite women’s horizon. Nor was the house in any simple sense a private, domestic sphere."\(^55\)

This issue of space, of the public and private realms—that is, the separate spheres of men and women—have often been at the heart of debate regarding women and eighteenth-century politics and society.\(^56\) The view of separate spheres, which has been largely contested by historians dealing with women, sociability and politics, has as a consequence impacted upon the history of women’s political activity, or rather, its absence. More and more historians find the concept of the separate spheres an artificial academic construct, and a problematic discursive restriction.\(^57\) However, it has also been argued that ‘the centrality of the feminine... could [in fact] act to restrict women’s political agency, rather than enable it’, thus limiting women’s public, and therefore political, actions.\(^58\) Chalus and Vickery have challenged this through their extensive work on elite women, sociability, and their political agency in polite society.\(^59\) Vickery has given the history of the ‘separate spheres’ debate, and its rise and fall among women’s historians, ultimately revealing the inadequacies of it as a historical conceptual device.\(^60\) My research contributes to another aspect of elite women in politics, giving witness to their participation in Jacobite political affairs in both domestic and social situations. This research reveals the politicised social, cultural and familial interactions of elite Scotswomen, as well as their participation in patronage and networks. It also highlights their dealings with the most important commodity of underground operations, information.

Legendary Scotswomen associated with Jacobitism, including Flora MacDonald (1722-1790), who aided the Prince’s escape in 1746, and Jenny Cameron (d.1773?), have appeared on the pages of novels and popular history; though seldom have they appeared in academic scholarship. In the 1930s, during a Jacobite publishing frenzy, Compton Mackenzie published *Prince

\(^55\) Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, p. 40. While this text and Vickery’s *Behind Closed Doors*, are not about women and politics, rather their lives, domestic, social and familial, expressed through their lived experiences. Nevertheless, there are references to women in certain socio-political scenes, which gives further evidence of women’s part in political life. Most importantly, there are references to the concepts of space, of the public and private, which Vickery outlines clearly in both of these texts, that have been seen as important in women’s scholarship.


Charlie and His Ladies, in which he narrated the stories of a select group of women in the Young Chevalier’s life, three of whom directly aided the Cause.\footnote{Compton Mackenzie, Prince Charlie and His Ladies, London, Cassell and Co., 1934.} More recently the work of Scottish popular historian and novelist Maggie Craig has suggested that more women played a far greater part than history has previously shown.\footnote{Maggie Craig, Damn Rebel Bitches: The Women of the ’45, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, 2000.} Very few elite Scotswomen have received academic attention, including Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure (d.1731), Catherine Sinclair, Lady Erskine of Alva (nd.), and Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale (1672-1749), Mary Maxwell, Countess of Traquair (1671-1759), Amelia Murray, Lady Tullibardine (1710-1766), and Lady Margaret Nairne (1669-1747). While their connection to Jacobitism has been raised and acknowledged, it has not been explored.\footnote{Szechi, 1715; Sankey, and Szechi, ‘Elite Culture’, pp. 119-21; Glover, Polite Society, pp. 24, 37, 55, 57, 61, 82, 92, 131-3, 159, 160, 179; Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen, the Family and Scottish Politics from 1688-1707, PhD Thesis, University of Dundee, 2012; Cowmeadow, ‘Simply a Jacobite Heroine? The Life Experience of Margaret, Lady Nairne (1673-1747)’, in Allan I. Macinnes, and Douglas J. Hamilton (eds.), Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014, pp. 29-42.} This study, therefore, aims to analyse these and other elite Scotswomen, and how their participation in Jacobite politics reveals their contribution to the grander scheme, whilst simultaneously augmenting Scottish-Jacobite, and Scottish-political scholarship with the role of its women.

**Strategic approach to Jacobite Scotswomen**

In order to analyse the roles, contribution and participation of elite Scottish Jacobite women, I will approach the sources with aspects of theoretical frameworks developed within women’s history, feminist and gender theory (that which relates to women’s roles in politics), and female epistolary culture. These are the key structures that will help to inform and frame the questions within this research.

Characteristics of women’s history and gender and feminist theory, propounded by scholars such as Patricia Crawford, Elaine Chalus, Amanda Vickery and Sara Mendelson, to name a few, are important for a study on Jacobite Scotswomen.\footnote{Mendelson and Crawford, Early Modern England; Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall, Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; Chalus, Elite Women; Patricia Crawford and Laura Gowing (eds.), Women’s Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England. A Source Book, London, Routledge, 2000; Amanda Vickery, ‘Golden Age of Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History’, in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 36, no. 2, June, 1993, pp. 383-414.} The significance of these frameworks is the broader
definition of politics used to encompass the socio-political sphere, which in turn allows for and reveals women’s ‘political agency and authority’, and brings women into previously male-dominated historiography. Likewise, the examination of women’s roles and experience through the reading of textual and material sources is important in contextualising Jacobite Scotswomen within Scotland’s socio-political history of the eighteenth century. In regards to the separate spheres construct, I am taking the position that such a notion is an artificial historical construct, rather than a hard and fast contemporary reality for eighteenth-century Scotswomen. As eighteenth-century sources testify, women were not simply bound to the house and all things domestic, just as men were not banned from them, engaging only in things public. Men and women working together encountered the challenges of relationships, family life, business, networks and connections, in all their shades, both within and outwith the home. To chain women historically to the kitchen sink, and men to an institution, is simply to misrepresent. The models to be discussed will open the way for the examination of the eighteenth-century elite Jacobite Scotswoman and their integration into Scotland’s political history, revealing how Scottish and Jacobite landscapes change once women’s experience is considered.

The analysis of female correspondence is central to this thesis, due to its primacy within my source material for Jacobite women. The works of James Daybell, Eve Bannet, and Clare Brant, among others, have set a strong foundation for analysing early modern women’s correspondence, particularly that which is political and even clandestine. Daybell’s extensive work on early modern women’s letter writing, regarding the materials, conventions, and strategies used, provides a framework to analyse women’s correspondence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His work on women’s political letters has also revealed the participation of women in this period in the world of politics, its news and affairs via correspondence. This is crucial to this research because much of women’s work for the Stuart cause was conducted with pen

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65 Tarbin and Broomhall, Identities and Communities; Chalus, Elite Women; Mendelson and Crawford, Early Modern England.
66 Barker and Chalus, Women’s History; Barker and Chalus, Gender; Chalus, Elite Women; Vickery, Privilege and Power; Kilday, Violent Crime.
67 Vickery, ‘Golden Age’.
and parchment. Daybell and Brant have also written on the ‘cultivation of
secrecy’, outlining the methods and technical devices used to convey messages
of a private and delicate nature. Their exploration of networks and
connections, clandestine letter-writing, and its significant role in eighteenth-
century British and Colonial culture has been important to this research. Bannet
argues that letters made the empire work. In the case of Jacobitism, however,
they attempt to bring it down. Jacobite correspondence in the lead up to the
Union, for example, sought to halt Westminster’s plans, keep Scotland
independent, and replace the monarch, thus radically altering the established
order in both Scotland and England. Daybell more intimately connects secret
letter-writing and women, arguing that the domestic, and even ‘quotidian
nature’ of the skills and techniques used ‘extends the use of concealed writing to
[those] not traditionally associated with such sophisticated forms’, that is,
women. This framework is also relevant as I will examine what I believe to be
‘secret’ letters, some of which were filled with codes and ciphers, written by
Jacobite women in an attempt to convey messages beneath the radar and to
avoid suspicion. Although difficult to uncover conclusive proof, given the nature
of the source, this type of secret letter-writing is intimately linked, I believe, to
the plots orchestrated by Scottish Jacobites at that time, in their many attempts
to restore the Stuarts.

Especially relevant to this research is Elaine Chalus’s work on elite
women in politics. She deals predominantly with the latter part of the
eighteenth century, and English women and their involvement in licit politics,
primarily electoral, rather than the illicit revolutionary politics of Jacobitism.
Nevertheless, Chalus’ work has revealed that elite women were politically active,
and not unusually so. She has constructed a framework which defines and
organises the nature of women’s support and activity. She classifies the types of

69 Bannet, Empire of Letters, p. 273.
70 Ibid., p. 225.
71 Daybell, Material Letter, p. 156.
actions with clear definitions and yet fluid boundaries, that allow the categories neither to bind nor restrict the women’s actions, but rather allow for a more in-depth examination.\textsuperscript{73} The categories outlined by Chalus: Confidante, Adviser, Partner and Agent, inform my research and my categorisation of the Scottish Jacobite women in my collection.\textsuperscript{74} Chalus’ categories define the significant roles elite women traditionally played within politics, identifying them as extensions of women’s roles within the family and their endeavours for their families’s interest, as they worked alongside their husbands and sons. Chalus’ research reveals that women’s involvement in the political realm was so established within traditional elite society that it was considered acceptable.\textsuperscript{75} This discovery gives structure, impetus, and possibility to the roles of elite Scotswomen in Jacobite activities. It is because of these already established roles that elite Jacobite Scotswomen had access to certain networks and structures, and therefore the expertise to use them. Based on Chalus’s framework I have constructed a method to categorise the Scotswomen and their actions of support as discovered in my research. My structure, however, contains a greater diversity of actions due to the broader political context of Jacobitism.

\textit{Terms and Concepts}

Defining certain terms is essential in order to avoid confusion and repetition throughout the thesis. The term ‘elite’, for example, is a significant term, as it relates to the subjects of this study. Keith M. Brown has pointed out that historians have often incorrectly used the English model to understand and define Scottish nobility. He has explained that the Scottish elite are not simply ‘the parliamentary peerage’. Although a small portion of society, the Scottish elite cover broader and more diverse social groupings than the English do.\textsuperscript{76} Therefore, defining who the Scottish ‘elite’ were is a more complex process. The elite were men and women with status, position, wealth and authority among

\textsuperscript{73} Chalus, \textit{Elite Women}, pp. 53-74.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., p. 17.
Scotland's nobility, clan chiefs and lairds, and political and economic leaders. Brown describes them as a closely connected group of nationally important magnate families, a broad number of middle-ranking noble houses who dominated their own localities and from time to time exerted influence at a national level, and many lesser noble families who rarely attracted any interest outside of their localities.\footnote{Brown, \textit{Noble Society}, p. 8.}

Their 'rank was based on subtle distinctions of wealth and status, rather than allocation to a particular social group', and did not necessarily involve being titled.\footnote{Ibid.; Katie Barclay, \textit{Intimacy and Power}, pp. 10-11.} For the purpose of this thesis I am using the term ‘elite’ to denote women who were either born or married into this group of Scots. It is important to note that the term ‘elite’ transcends gender boundaries, and that while women were not on equal terms with men within this group, they were superior in station to men of lower orders. For the women examined in this thesis, support for the Cause was ultimately linked to status, as rank in eighteenth-century Scottish society generally gave greater access to power, wealth, and materials used to ‘support’. It is important to note that numerous women of all social backgrounds were probably supporters of Jacobitism on a religious, patriotic, and economic basis. However, the records of their participation are scant, which has therefore limited this inquiry to the Scottish elite. This thesis examines female contribution, thus highlighting the nuances between male and female participation in the elite social groups.

\textbf{Politics}

It was not possible for Scotswomen to contribute directly to high politics, as they were unable to vote let alone stand for parliament. Therefore the understanding of ‘politics’ must be widened in order for women to appear within the political landscape.\footnote{Chalus, \textit{Elite Women}; Paul Monod, 'The Politics of Matrimony: Jacobitism and Marriage in Eighteenth-Century England', in Jeremy Black and Eveline Cruickshanks (eds.), \textit{The Jacobite Challenge}, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1988.} Paul Monod has argued that in England numerous clubs and corporations during this period 'mixed conviviality with a remarkably formalised organisational structure' and were established upon 'an...
attitude that did not separate sociability from politics'.\textsuperscript{80} Sue Innes and Jane Rendell redefine the political to constitute ‘civil society and expressions of citizenship ... [and] the political influence of aristocratic women’.\textsuperscript{81} So, too, this thesis argues for the broader understanding of politics that not only includes sociability but also women. In a letter to her husband in 1716, Catherine Sinclair, Lady Erskine of Alva (nd.), declared herself a politician in their family interest.

I cannot perswade my self to visit these great folks tho its certainly is fit for me to keep in with all & they profess great freindship for me & regrate for your family tho non for your self I can at some times be a politician so at present I think interest will prevail with me to keep in with all.\textsuperscript{82}

Women’s contribution to politics, although not seen in ‘public’ debate, was nevertheless a reality and part and parcel of the broader community of politics.

Dates

This study uses the terms ‘the eighteenth century’ or ‘the Jacobite era’ to describe the period from 1688 to 1766, that is from William of Orange’s usurpation of the throne at the invitation of leading Whig members of the government, to the death of James VIII & III. The period 1688-1788 is generally recognised by historians as the Jacobite era, while few have broadened it out until the death of Charles’ younger brother, Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal York, in 1807.\textsuperscript{83} However, the Cardinal did not pose a threat to the Hanoverian regime. He considered himself the heir presumptive after his brother’s death in 1788, styling himself Henry IX, but he never claimed the crown. I have chosen the dates for this study as 1688 to 1766, within which Jacobite Scotswomen’s political activity is most frequently recorded in the sources. The first examples of Jacobite Scotswomen’s activity were found during the Revolution in Scotland, between 1689 and 1691, while the last that I address relates to the forfeited estates in the aftermath of the 'Forty-five. The final example is dated 1766, the

\textsuperscript{80} Monod, \textit{English People}, p. 300.
\textsuperscript{81} Innes and Rendell, \textit{‘Gender, and Politics’}, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{82} NRS, GD1/44/7/17, \textit{Miscellaneous small collections of family, business and other papers}, ‘Lady Catherine, to Sir John Erskine of Alva’, 4th June 1716.
\textsuperscript{83} Guthrie, \textit{Material Culture}, p. 4.
year the ‘Old Pretender’ died. For the sake of convenience and literary flow I shall refer to this period, 1689-1766, as either the eighteenth century, or the Jacobite era.

**National Identity**

Scottish identity and patriotism are relevant aspects of the Scotswomen’s support of the Stuart cause, and ultimately became ‘the driving force for Scottish Jacobitism’ after the Union.\textsuperscript{84} The concept of a Scottish national identity is best understood through the scholarship of Kristen Post Walton and Graeme Morton, who both expand the modernist concept of national identity beyond the bounds of a political parliamentary state, which the Scots had lost in 1707. It was for this reason that many Scottish Jacobites fought to regain Scotland’s independence through the risings and plots from 1705 to 1745. However, even without an independent state the Scots retained a national identity that was ‘located and derived from its civil society’, being ‘transformed from primarily political to cultural nationalism’.\textsuperscript{85} Jacobitism in Scotland was a political nationalist movement with patriotic principles and agenda, particularly from 1707, when it was tied to the ‘national question’, which was the motivation of its adherent Scotswomen.\textsuperscript{86} However, it is important to note that the concept of Jacobitism being nationalist is both relatively new and complemented by the equally nationalist Scottish anti-Jacobitism.\textsuperscript{87}

**Nomenclature**

Edward Stuart, his grandson Charles Edward Stuart, and its agents and top officials. These were coined by both Jacobite adherents and their opponents; some were openly used in conversation and publication, whereas others were used in secret. Some of these names are used in this study to aid the argument, or for literary style and variation. The appendix contains an extensive list of the pseudo or cipher names of significant Jacobite female protagonists, as well as some men; however, those that will feature repeatedly are those of the exiled kings and their descendants. James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the son of exiled King James VII & II (1633-1701), was known as the old Pretender, the Pretender, the Chevalier de St George, the Old Chevalier, the King over the water, and James VIII & III, aside from such secret code names, as Lord Edward Morry and Uncle Ned. Charles Edward Louis John Casimir Silvester Severino Maria Stuart (1720-1788), the grandson of King James, was known as that Certain Young Gentleman, the Young Pretender, the Young Chevalier, the Prince, Tearlach, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Charles Edward Stuart, Betty Burke, and other names besides. When either member of the exiled Stuart monarchy is initially introduced I will give their full name and title, and one of the shorter versions of their names will be used in subsequent references. In regard to the Jacobite men who are mentioned, I will use their title, and/or position, or cipher name according to the context.

The names of the women in this study are a little less straightforward due to the nature of maiden names, titles, and marriage in Scotland. It was commonplace in Scottish tradition for a woman to keep her maiden name after marriage, even though her children took their father’s name, ‘reflecting the need for both the men and women to retain their independent familial identities’. In the case of the nobility, women acquired their husband’s titles whilst retaining their maiden name. However, there are always variations, with some women breaking with tradition and being known by more familiar or colloquial names, for example, Anne Farquharson of Invercauld (1723-1784), who married Aeneas (Angus) Mackintosh of Mackintosh, chief of Clan Chattan, was often identified with her husband’s clan, being known as Lady Mackintosh. Perhaps this was because she was the wife of the clan chief. However, she has also been known by the colloquial name she adopted as a result of her actions in 1745, ‘Colonel

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Anne’. Lady Jean Gordon (1682/3-1773), daughter of George Gordon, 1st Duke of Gordon (1649?-1716), married James Drummond, the 2nd Duke of Perth (1674-1720). She kept her maiden name whilst simultaneously acquiring the title of Countess, and then Duchess, of Perth. Like the men, the women were also known officially by their titles, for example, the Duchess was known as either ‘Lady Perth’ or the Duchess of Perth. When signing letters, the woman’s choice of name changed according to her correspondent. In letters to her brother, Alexander Gordon, 2nd Duke of Gordon (1678-1728), Lady Jean signed her name Jean Gordon before her marriage in 1705, and Jean Drummond after, as in 1709.\(^{90}\) In letters to Fr. Thomas Innes at the Scots College in Paris, she often signed the letters as JP, and occasionally as Jean Perth.\(^{91}\) The women to whom I refer in this study will be known by a variation of forms, from their maiden names and titles, to their socially accepted, colloquial and code names. The variations used will be for literary style and diversity.

**Support**

The terms ‘support’ and ‘supporter’, when referring to this group of women and their relationship to Jacobitism, must be defined because they can be heavily nuanced. Support is a word that can be used to relate to what side someone takes in a particular matter, or what is used to strengthen something, be it physical or ideological. The ‘support’ that these women gave the Stuart cause, as this thesis will show, strengthened the physical movement toward a restoration through their concrete actions, as well as by their favour for the political concept through social and cultural means. Support was varied and meant different things to different women. Therefore, the definition of support within this thesis must cover a broad spectrum, including not only visible actions, but also their ideological adherence. Female Jacobite support was to provide for, reinforce, contribute to, champion and be on the side of the Stuart cause, regardless of how or why.

\(^{90}\) GW.1167.f37, ‘Jean Gordon to Alexander Gordon,’ 10th Sept., 1705; GW.1167.f83, 26th Sept., 1709.

Sources

The Jacobite Scotswomen analysed in this thesis and listed in the appendices have been identified in numerous sources, and by various means. The majority of the women, over 200, were identified in the manuscript, *The Impartial and Genuine List*. As I mentioned above, the reliability of this document has yet to be thoroughly scrutinised, and so an awareness of this must be taken into account when using this source. Nevertheless, many of the women listed in this manuscript, or their family members, have been identified as Jacobites in other texts or correspondence, thus giving further weight to the document’s assertions. As the proof of many Scotswomen’s Jacobitism cannot be found, beyond this document, I have chosen to conduct the prosopography on those that have either corroborating or hard evidence. For example, the Misses Durham in the MS have no further evidence to support their Jacobitism, but their older relation Margaret Rutherford, Lady Durham of Largo, appears in the *Correspondence of Col. N. Hooke*, as an accomplice in the 1708 invasion plot. Therefore, based on the MS, supported loosely by Lady Durham’s active Jacobitism, I have included these ladies in the list of elite Jacobite Scotswomen. In Appendix I., the source by which these women have been identified as Jacobites is listed for reference. Another significant number of women have been established as Jacobites in the published collection of contemporary letters and stories, *The Lyon in Mourning*. As this text is a collection of primary source materials published to show the history of Jacobitism in Scotland during the ’Forty-five, it can also be assumed that these women were Jacobites, based on their words and actions that clearly supported the Cause.

The *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke* collection and the *Secret History*, compiled and written by Nathaniel Hooke, are the main sources from which I have derived evidence for this chapter. The authenticity and potential bias of this collection has been considered; however, the nature in which the sources were collated and presented must also be taken into consideration.

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92 See the Preface of the Appendices for an exposition of each of the Appendices.


Hooke's collection of correspondence and the *Secret History*—which was written as evidence of his contribution to the French side of the affairs between 1703 and 1709—were not published for Scottish Jacobites or nationalist schemes, and therefore less likely to be tainted with a Jacobite bias. This contributes to their authenticity. The sources are predominantly one-sided, the *Secret History* detailing what went on with regard to the plotters, rather than giving a broad historical picture. The contents of the *Correspondence* collection includes letters written between Colonel Hooke, Scottish Jacobite conspirators—both men and women—members of the exiled court at St Germain, and the French government. These are potentially illuminating and significant sources, which need to be considered when dealing with this period and events. This particular collection of correspondence and the person of Hooke, both of which have been referenced by scholars, reveal the politically subversive actions of Jacobite women in Scotland. Women’s political loyalties and opinions were generally not aired in open political debate, like those in high politics; rather, they were discussed over cards or tea, committed to paper in private correspondence, or noted in the letters and testimonies of others. The principal sources I have therefore explored to identify Jacobite Scotswomen are primarily previously overlooked or under-researched letters and accounts of literate elite women.\(^95\) Letters have been well established as within the domain of women, although still heavily utilised by men. Via a combination of both private and state correspondence, numerous women’s treasonable ideology and actions have also been located. Sometimes this has occurred via their own hand, as they pass on Jacobite news and information, such as through the letters of Lady Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale, to Lady Mary Maxwell, Countess of Traquair.\(^96\) At other times their Jacobitism has been discovered through stealth, for example by the interception of correspondence and information of spies. An

\(^{95}\) Location of sources: Scotland and England, UK: British Library in London for a general Jacobite collection; the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle house the Stuart papers and correspondence. The largest collection outside the BL for Jacobite sources, and the largest relating to the Scots, is the ‘MacBean Collection’ at the UA; they also hold Blairs Letters, previously of the SCA. The NLS holds the Walter Blaikie Collection, as well as the Saltoun Papers, Gask Papers, Mamore Correspondence and various other independent printed and manuscript sources. The NRS has in its possession both collections and lists of family and clan collections, both public and private. The NRS also holds a collection of records of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. BC is home to the Jacobites of Atholl, and holds the crucial Stewart-Murray Collection. The Stirling Council Archive, the Macgregor papers; The HCA, house a number of significant clan papers, including the Cameron of Lochiel papers. There are also a number of online databases and catalogues through which I will be able to search eighteenth-century newspapers, pamphlets and other printed materials. EEBO and Eighteenth Century Online. The collections that contain the Jacobite Fans are: the BM, the V&A, The Fan Museum, Greenwich, NMS Chambers St., WHM Fort William, MFA Boston, Drambuie Collection, Culloden, Ickworth House NT, and a private coll.

\(^{96}\) NRAS.3666, Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire.
example of this is Lady Catherine Carnegie, Countess of Erroll (d.1693), whose role was to pass on intelligence, and deliver King James VII & II’s mail in 1690 to the Scottish elite. In one instance, the courier was caught and the letters he carried gave the opposition the evidence of their treasonable actions.  

Aside from the women known to Jacobite and Scottish historians as Jacobites, I discovered more through nineteenth-century clan/family histories, where leading ladies were identified as Jacobites by their family members and descendants.

These Jacobite women have used a tool of communication to a seditious Jacobite end. A thorough scrutiny of the correspondence found in both public and private collections was essential to ascertain the political leanings and activities of these women. Often openly political letters, particularly those written by Jacobite men to women, were intentionally destroyed so as to avoid discovery, although much has survived. With regard to women’s correspondence the scenario is a similar. In fact, I believe most of their letters were destroyed because of their fear of being caught. Women were known to destroy letters they considered private, ‘to ensure that the contents remained hidden from the eyes of a wider public’, even if they did not contain treasonous material. Also, women’s letters were not considered important by subsequent generations, and so often the effort to preserve them was not made. A thorough understanding of the nature and tone of women’s correspondence of the period is necessary; their use of codes and ciphers, the need for secrecy, as well as the political complexities embroiled in Jacobitism; for example, religion, patriotism and/or nationalism. The letters will be used as a means to discover networks and connections between these women, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how they operated. The majority of the sources are written in English; however, there are a number in both French and Latin, significant of the broader Jacobite connections, community and experience.

Women’s political loyalties were also flaunted in fashion items and

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99 Bannet, Empire of Letters, p. 262.  
accessories, as well as seen in both print and portraiture.\textsuperscript{101} Material sources which reveal another level of female political agency are complementary to the investigation of the correspondence. The sources vary from the fashion and accessories worn by women in both public and private, to the artefacts that were used in and outwith the home such as the fan. There are numerous collections scattered across Britain, although predominantly in Scotland, containing Jacobite artefacts, fashion and accessories.\textsuperscript{102}

I have also conducted an examination of contemporary media and propaganda, which contributed significantly to understanding a select group’s opinion that therefore influenced the wider public. The area of contemporary media reaction has a large number of primary printed source materials such as pamphlets, broadsides, and newspapers, as well as other propaganda, some of which has received attention in Jacobite historiography.\textsuperscript{103} This cannot be overlooked when looking at the Jacobite Scotswomen in politics, as it is an indicator of what the public was being fed, and the British ruling class’ opinion of these political women.\textsuperscript{104} I have analysed large stores of print media, contemporary histories, printed correspondence, and legal and ecclesiastical records for information pertaining to Scotswomen during the Jacobite era, in order to locate the opinion expressed by others within contemporary Scottish and British society.

Initially, I took a quantitative analysis approach to the correspondence in order to survey letters with the aim of uncovering networks and connections, as well as the systems of exchange and knowledge. This method also questioned groups of correspondence in order to see if they formed any patterns regarding their geographical location and what they reveal about the Jacobite authors’ varying identities, including class, language, region (Highlands or Lowlands),

\textsuperscript{101} Esther Breitebach and Lynn Abrams, ‘Gender and Scottish Identity’, in Abrams et al. (eds.), Gender, p.23
\textsuperscript{102} Bibliothèque de Ville; Avignon, France, holds some Jacobite Sculptures, the BM has Jacobite medals, ceramics, the Glasgow Museum holds paintings, sculptures, wine glasses, weapons, clothing, instruments, etc., the Kings College Special Collection, University of Aberdeen has the Jacobite Virtuosi Collection, the Stirling Smith Art Gallery & Museum contains fans, glasses etc., the National Museum Scotland holds weapons, glasses, medals and silver, the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland has a Jacobite Collection of Portraits, medals, sculptures, while the Victoria and Albert Museum, London has Jacobite Jewellery, ceramics, glassware, fans, clothing, etc.
\textsuperscript{104} The PRO, NLS, and NRS hold collections of pamphlets; EEBO contains a vast collection of pamphlets and printed tracts and materials; UA Special Collections and Inverness library hold significant collections of Jacobite pamphlets.
location (exiled or not), and religious (Catholic, Episcopalian, or Presbyterian).
Part of this process was to question the sources in order to discover the political
voice and knowledge of the female writers and their correspondents, asking who
the authors and recipients were and their connection to each other. I also asked
what the letters revealed of the women’s actions, motivations and identities.

Structure

My thesis has been structured into three main sections. I have chosen to
analyse the research in a thematic format, rather than take a chronological or
narrative approach, because the evidence is fragmented and specific to time
periods, rather than running consistently throughout. In the first section I will
outline the framework devised for the analysis of these women’s political
actions. I will use a prosopographical analysis of a select group of the Jacobite
Scotswomen collected in my research. This will bring clarity and dispel many of
the age-old presumptions surrounding the identity of Jacobites, whilst adding to
the broader framework and overall picture of Jacobitism in Scotland throughout
the period.

For the process of analysing the support of elite Jacobite Scotswomen,
the second section of this thesis comprises four central thematic chapters, based
upon the framework I have developed, under which Jacobite Scotswomen’s
participation has been classified; each chapter is a collection of numerous
political roles and actions. Each looks in depth at Jacobite Scotswomen’s
strategies of political interaction, in the broader Scottish and Jacobite political
landscape. The first of these chapters (chapter two) looks at the women, who, by
their adherence to the Stuart cause, preserved Jacobite culture and community
in Scotland during the eighteenth century. These women raised their children to
be Jacobites; some even named their children after the exiled Royal family.
Some of these women performed the role of ambassador for the Cause, seeking
to draw more supporters, particularly during the peak moments in Jacobite
history. Also to be investigated in this chapter are the Material Jacobites, that is
those who contributed to the preservation of Jacobite culture and community by
their political conversation, seen in correspondence with fellow Jacobite ladies,
or through their use and display of material culture. The next category (chapter
three) investigates the category of women who partook in the patronage system
as petitioners and clients, and patronesses of the Jacobite cause. The political fallout of the failed and aborted plots and risings throughout the Jacobite era included serious consequences that affected both men and women. These were dealt with by a series of petitions, with and without success. The patronesses in a more closed circuit of Jacobite patronage will be analysed in terms of the support they gave to both individual Jacobites and the Cause itself. This ‘petticoat’ patronage, or female backing, often material and financial, was remarked upon and satirised by propagandists and polemicists, (analysed in chapter seven). Chapter four will investigate the correspondence of women who wrote to men about Jacobite news and political affairs, and vice versa. These women belong to the category of the confidantes. In some cases they gave advice to their correspondents, while some took their confidante role even further by becoming informants and passing on vital intelligence relevant to the immediate situation. The contribution of women as agents and accomplices to Jacobite men in the actual restoration attempts, or in their preparation, the final category of women’s participation, will be explored in chapter five. These women worked alongside men, in roles often assumed to be performed by men only, likely because some of what they were doing was outside the domestic realm and high risk.

The proximity of the activity of these women to the political machinations that surrounded the Stuart restoration attempts varies with each category; some actions are closer, while others are further away, but all in some way support the Cause. For example, some roles, such as those performed by women who raised their children to be Jacobites, may be placed on an outer circle of support, while the agent sits nearer the centre. Nevertheless, both roles supported the Cause, and their contribution was important to the ongoing survival of Jacobitism. Raising Jacobites prepared the next generation of supporters, which was necessary if the Cause was to continue; meanwhile, agents worked hand-in-hand with leading Jacobite men, and even the exiled King himself. They created the right circumstances for greater support, but also aided in the restoration attempts.

It is not only the nature of support that is measured and analysed in these chapters, but also the aspect of time; that is, when it was performed and its duration. While some of the actions of these Jacobite women, such as maintaining and preserving culture, were performed over many years, others
were only momentary, or lasted for short periods of time. Often these actions took place during politically heightened periods, when plots, risings and schemes were afoot. It is important to note that many Jacobite Scotswomen performed several roles, and often simultaneously. Sometimes the evidence highlights only one particular type or level of action for a particular woman, even though she may have in fact performed many others. As I have found many Jacobite Scotswomen over the course of my research, some of them in many roles, this thesis will give particular attention to the actions of those who were most visible, and for whom there is the most evidence. It is also noteworthy that the boundaries between many of these categories are fine, and one can blur into another. The categories are not hard and fast, and they were most certainly not used by contemporary Scotswomen themselves; they are merely a tool for analysing their Jacobite political activity.

The third and final section takes a case study approach in order to focus in greater detail upon these women’s actions, as well as contemporary reaction to them. Chapter six focuses primarily upon the role of the agent, although other roles are also referred to, in the under-researched Franco-Jacobite invasion attempt and rising in 1708. The aim is to focus in greater detail upon a group of women who worked for the return of the Stuart king around the time of the Union of 1707. The final chapter analyses the media and their tools of propaganda that targeted Scottish Jacobite women across the eighteenth century. In this chapter I will investigate the key positions taken in such print media as pamphlets, newspapers and broadsides, which indicate an element of reaction to these Scotswomen’s actions, and how such publications potentially influenced public opinion against Jacobitism.

The conclusions of this study will revisit the overarching questions regarding elite Jacobite Scotswomen’s roles and actions—what they did, when they did it, and why. Finally, the aim will be to tie up the inquiry into Jacobite Scotswomen’s participation in Jacobitism and to assess how it contributed to Scotland’s political milieu.

**Conclusion**

The sheer number of elite women named in the *Genuine List* calls for a thorough investigation into the amount of Scottish female Stuart supporters,
and the nature of their adherence to Jacobitism. Moreover, Charles Edward Stuart’s so-called ‘Petticoat Patronage’, whether a libel or a label, is such a charged epithet that it must be explored. Was there really that much female support in Scotland, or was it simply an anti-Jacobite propaganda campaign? I have chosen to focus on these women because the very nature of their activities decried by the opposition tells me there is more to be discovered that will reveal these women to be significant protagonists in Scotland’s Jacobite, as well as national history. My hypothesis is that elite Scotswomen played a more significant role in Jacobite and Scottish political history than has been previously acknowledged. The numbers of those allied with Jacobitism and active in the political machinations that surrounded the numerous restoration attempts were far greater than scholarship has previously recognised. As significant numbers of Scotsmen supported the Stuarts, particularly when armies were raised in their favour; so too did many Scotswomen rally behind the exiled monarchy. In various levels of support, these women used their skills from familiar roles within the family and politics, household and estate management, business and mercantile trade to aid the Jacobite cause.

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105 ‘Genuine List’.
106 Female Rebels, p. 6.
Chapter One: Prosopographia Scotia Jacobiti Mulieris

"[O]ur poor contrey, who has brought it self to a sad pass, when they can imprison even their peeres or that we have noe appeal from them, but to those that are their second selves ... I am glad you approve of the motive of my journey, I hope it may conduce to the reestablishment of the family". 107

Letter from the Countess Nithsdale, to the Countess of Traquair, nd.

The identity of Jacobites has been long misunderstood and misrepresented. Historiography from 1746 onward has defined who Jacobites were, establishing their nationality, religious creed, political ideology, intellectual capacity, and their civility, or, rather, the lack thereof. 108 In other words, they have been largely associated in contemporary histories and polemic with Papists and their popish plots, the Scots in general and Highland clans specifically. 109 Contemporary propaganda associated Jacobites with women and their 'petticoat patronage'. 110 In identifying who the Jacobites were, most particularly in Scotland, contemporaries often used stereotypes from propaganda and images portrayed by anti-Jacobite partisans. These stereotypes, particularly those of the Amazonian warrior for women and the uncouth Highlander for men, graced the arts and humanities with images and romantic literature in the eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries, seeking to influence and subvert opinion. 111 This also worked through scholarship, under the Whig interpretation of history, as previously mentioned, which among other things argued that Jacobitism’s primary significance was to give ‘Whig politicians a convenient smear’, enabling them ‘to denounce their political rivals, the Tories, as unreliable crypto-Jacobites who could not be trusted with office under the Hanoverians’. 112

Representations of female support for the Cause are the only facet of

107 NRAS3666.246, Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire.
110 Female Rebels, p. 6.
contemporary propaganda to receive little academic attention, which raises the question of the true nature and extent of such support.\footnote{Carine Martin, ‘Female Rebels’: The Female Figure in Anti-Jacobite Propaganda’, in Allan I. Macinnes, Kieran German, and Lesley Graham (eds.), Living with Jacobitism, 1690-1788, The Three Kingdoms and Beyond, London, Pickering and Chatto, 2014, pp. 85-98.} Regardless of the inaccuracies and mythologising elements of previous historiography, there is still an element of truth to each of the associations whence the stigma and stories came. This chapter analyses the ‘petticoats’ who patronised the Stuart cause and seeks to identify who they were by asking questions about their geographical location, their marital status, and their religious confession.

The origins of the typecasting of Jacobites can be seen in the associations made by polemicists, based upon aspects of contemporary reality. Firstly, the assertion that Jacobites were papists was fuelled by the exiled Stuarts’ Catholicism. Due to this the Stuarts drew many Catholics to their side, and even inspired some of their closely associated Protestant friends and allies to convert; simultaneously this inspired fear of another popish plot.\footnote{NRS, GD1/616/64, Copy of report by Robert Dundas [Lord Advocate] on judicial means of counteracting the spread of popery and the increasing number of Jacobite meeting-houses in Scotland, 28 Sept 1723.} Secondly, the Cause did have a strong Highland connection, inspiration, and backing, evidenced by the Highland chiefs and clan support throughout the period, particularly in the risings. Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s army was often referred to as the ‘Highland Army’, with the tartan as their uniform. The tartan, a Highlander’s attire, had also been associated with the Stuarts from the time of the Duke of York’s viceregal court at Holyrood in 1680. It was even sported by Jacobites south of the border, thus furthering the association.\footnote{Pittock, The Myth, pp. 31-64; Sankey and Szechi, ‘Elite Culture’, p. 93.} Ultimately, the Highland tartan became synonymous with Jacobitism during the period, so much so that it was proscribed after the Battle of Culloden in 1747.\footnote{Act of Proscription 1746.} Furthermore, Scotland’s northern coastline, the most remote part of Britain, was also the coast furthest from London, and used to land boats filled with spies, troops, weapons, gold, and even the Stuart Princes throughout the period, thus strengthening the Jacobite-Highland connection. Finally, on the score of petticoat patronage, Jacobitism did in fact draw many ladies to support the exiled Stuarts. Throughout the entire period, and particularly by the time of the ‘Forty-five, the Stuarts received ‘petticoat' support for their cause, which contemporaries knew and this thesis will verify.
In this chapter I will conduct a prosopographical analysis of a chosen group of women to give a clearer perspective of the demographics of Jacobitism in Scotland, and to dispel an aspect of the mythological typecasting attached to Scottish Jacobitism. The prosopographical method is informed by studies and definitions in the area outlined by scholars such as Lawrence Stone.\textsuperscript{117} For analysis I have divided Scotland into four geographical regions: the Highlands and Western Isles, the Northeast, Perthshire, and the Lowlands and Border regions.\textsuperscript{118} I will investigate and analyse who the women were, that is the area and clan/family they came from, their religion and status, and the levels of their allegiance and activity for the Cause, whilst briefly analysing their motivations and identities where possible. The women studied in this prosopographical analysis have been identified in a number of contemporary sources, such as government lists and rolls, collected speeches, memoirs and accounts of events, including personal and government correspondence.\textsuperscript{119} This has been further aided by sources such as \textit{The Jacobite Peerage}, the \textit{Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)}, and numerous clan and family histories.\textsuperscript{120}

Here I argue that Jacobite Scotswomen generally came from families with long standing Stuart loyalties, if not ancient connections to the Stuart monarchs, and were often connected by religious ideologies, to which they were firmly committed. These women therefore passed on this commitment to Scottish Jacobitism to their children, just as they had it passed onto them. Endogamy was also common in Jacobite circles. Although not definitive, it was in the individual's interest to marry within family networks; in the case of Jacobitism, this provided potential female allegiance and support.\textsuperscript{121} It is important to take into account that Jacobitism was not limited to the Stuarts and to religious confession, and that a patriotic thread ran through the Scottish strain. A clear concern for the Kingdom of Scotland was a motivation for many adherents, including those who joined in the period leading up to the Union (1707).


\textsuperscript{118} See Map I. p. 33.

\textsuperscript{119} The sources have been previously identified in the introduction and can be found in detail also in the bibliography.


\textsuperscript{121} Brown, \textit{Noble Society}, pp. 157, 166; Barclay, \textit{Intimacy and Power}, p. 72.
The map shows Scotland divided into its shires, highlighting the Western Isles, Ross, Sutherland, and other regions. The key identifies four regions: Highlands, Western Isles, North East, Perthshire, and Lowlands & Borders. The map also notes the Irish Sea and the German Sea.
Not all individuals adhered to their families’ traditions and expectations, even that of allegiance to the Stuart dynasty.122 Numerous clans and families were divided. The Murrays of Atholl are a notable example. They were regarded as strong Hanoverian supporters, most particularly in the latter years; however, various members of the Murray family took to the Jacobite side, while some were for sometime unsure, and others supported both.123 John Murray, the first Duke of Atholl (1660-1724), one of the most notable and influential men in Scotland at the time, had taken the oath of allegiance to William of Orange in 1698, but was called a 'trimmer' by politician George Lockhart of Carnwath (1681?-1731). He was often suspected of being a Jacobite by the Scottish Parliament, because of his strong opposition to the Union.124 However, he never took an active part with the Jacobites, even though he had entered into negotiations with them. By the time of the 'Fifteen he sided with the Hanoverians. The Duke's eldest son, William Murray (1689-1746), Marquess of Tullibardine, known as the Jacobite Duke of Atholl, was passed over as heir due to his participation in the 'Fifteen. His title and inheritance were given to his younger brother, James Murray (1690-1764), who became known as the Hanoverian Duke of Atholl.125 Other members of the Murray family joined Duke William in his allegiance to the Stuarts, such as his younger brothers, Charles Murray (1691-1720), and George Murray, commonly known as Lord Tullibardine,(1694-1760). The rest of the family remained silent and unresponsive, or sided with the Hanoverian government. The diverse actions of the Murrays of Atholl inspire the question, did women also go against the views of their families; and more broadly, how much autonomy did they have for individual action? I will address this later in this chapter.

From the sources I have identified 314 elite Jacobite Scotswomen who supported the Stuarts between 1689 and 1766; sixty-four of whom have been selected for the purpose of a prosopographical analysis.126 This sample group was chosen from the database due to the nature of evidence in support of their Jacobitism being more concrete. Many of the women are simply noted as

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122 Macinnes, 'Jacobitism in Scotland', p. 229
124 John R. Young, 'Murray, John, first duke of Atholl (1660–1724)', ODNB.
125 For the purpose of clarity and to differentiate between the Duke of Atholl brothers, I will refer to the elder Jacobite Duke as Duke William, and the younger Hanoverian Duke as the Hanoverian Duke, or the 2nd Duke of Atholl.
126 See Appendix II.
Jacobites by the ‘Genuine List’, while these 64 have been cited in numerous sources, and later confirmed in family histories, as Jacobites. They are a good representation of the Scottish Jacobite elite, coming from various regions throughout Scotland, and various levels within Scotland’s notable families. Within these women’s families, commitment to the Stuarts was fostered for a number of reasons, none of which are straightforward, or the same for each family or individual. Rather, support for the Stuarts was relatively complicated and diverse. Motivation and reasons for female allegiance are difficult to find explicit evidence for, as many did not leave a record explaining why they supported the Stuarts. However, the main motivations for allegiance among the Scots was traditionalism, ‘dynasticism, confessionalism and patriotism’. Meanwhile, presenting a prosopography of female Jacobite elites in Scotland will give a clearer picture of who these female supporters were. The prosopography will aid in understanding why these women did what they did, and therefore lay a foundation for the analysis of their actions in the remainder of the thesis. It will also contribute to the overall picture of Jacobitism in Scotland, and eighteenth-century Scottish history in general.

To identify the status and position of these women in society, I adopted a basic model for the categorisation in order to analyse the available data. I am aware that such definitions are problematic and that terms such as 'elite' are ambiguous. In my introduction the elite are denoted as a small but broad group of families in eighteenth-century Scottish society, who had power and influence over land, money and people. The position of these women in society, their access to wealth and influence, are significant to what they were able to do or achieve for the Cause. Women have been identified as elite if they were born, or married, into a titled family; if they belonged to the head of a clan or sept; if their family owned significant land, had significant wealth and tenants or subservients beneath them; or if they were married to men who had a significant role in politics, economics, or society. The evidence for who did what speaks for itself, but a form of categorisation is useful, taking into account that rank and hierarchy in eighteenth-century Scottish society was not clear, in flux, and rather broad. Elite women were literate, connected, and, to some extent,

127 Macinnes, ‘Jacobitism in Scotland’ pp. 232-33; Lenman, Jacobite Risings; Pittock, The Myth, pp. 144-57; Szechi, 1715; Szechi, Jacobites; Whately, the Union, pp. 259-60.
128 Corefield, ‘Rank to Class’; Brown, Noble Society.
possessed property and wealth and therefore had a certain amount of power at their disposal.

Analysing the confessional creed of these women has been a difficult task. The religious confession of these women is simply not always known, and with some women it has had to be supposed. To discover the creed of a particular woman I have searched both family papers and histories. This often gives an account of the family’s religious confession during this period; however, this has often undergone several changes since the Reformation, making it quite ambiguous at times. For example, Lady Euphemia Wallace of Craigie, the Countess of Melfort (1652/53-1743), was from a family that during the 1660s had members convert from Presbyterianism to the Episcopal church. Meanwhile, Lady Euphemia herself married the younger of the Episcopalian Drummond of Perth brothers around this time, just seven years before he converted to Catholicism. After the Revolution (1688) they lived much of their life in exile at the Royal court, being very much attached to the Stuarts. Their two daughters married the Catholic Count, Castelblanco, (one after the other died) and so I have assumed that they were raised Catholic, as endogamy was important in marriage at this time. Lady Euphemia died in exile at the Court of St Germain, and was noted as ‘keeping one of the two faro tables authorised by Louis XIV’, keeping her very much within elite Catholic circles; however, whether she too converted remains unknown. Due to the nature of the evidence, I have assumed she converted.

When analysing the geographical origins of these women, I have looked at both the natal and the marital regions. I have noted the movements of these women, whether they spent time in exile on the Continent, or in Edinburgh during the social season. Due to the constant movement of some women, I have chosen to identify them by the known regions of their families. I am keenly aware that many of these women's devotion for the Cause developed within their natal family, that is, where they grew up, the area with which they would most likely have identified themselves, which was culturally important in Scotland. In order to show that Jacobitism was truly national, it is important to show that female support was widely distributed. As with the men, women from every region of Scotland participated, although according to the extant evidence,

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130 Ibid., p. 72.
some areas contributed more than others.\textsuperscript{131} According to Szechi and Sankey, two-thirds of Scotland's population from 1700 to 1750 lived north of the Tay, in the Highlands and the North East, and formed the 'bedrock of Scottish Jacobitism'.\textsuperscript{132} That will be investigated in this chapter.

\textit{Motivation and Identity}

The complexity surrounding the motivations of Jacobite political allegiance and action was intimately tied to the family, to kin and clan networks and connections. Jacobites in familial, social and political circles were connected by motivations of a religious and traditional nature, as well as those of political and patriotic importance.\textsuperscript{133} Scottish motives were not only diverse, for some individuals and families they changed throughout the period, many joining the ranks, or leaving them, at various points in the Jacobite era. This was seen with the addition of many Scots to the Cause after the Union in 1707, and even more after the death of Queen Anne in 1714 and the Hanoverian succession, for many agreed that at least she was a Stuart. Then there were those who appeared to change for reasons of self-interest, as has been said of the Earl of Mar after he lost favour at court (1714).\textsuperscript{134} Motivations were both complex and changing. For example, many Scots at home and abroad chose not to fight in the 'Forty-five, but kept their support to the privacy of their clubs and dining rooms.\textsuperscript{135} This was due to watching others suffer, or having themselves suffered, as a result of the 'Fifteen. There was simply too much to lose. For many it was the degree of their participation, rather than their actual beliefs and ideologies that was the point of change. Some pleaded illness, age or infirmity, as did Lord Lovat in the 'Forty-five, although his son went in his stead. Whereas men like John Gordon of Glenbucket, an old man by the time of the last rising, could hardly be kept from the field, having fought in every rising for the Stuarts since 1689.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{131} See Appendix II
\textsuperscript{132} Szechi and Sankey, 'Elite Culture', p. 93.
\textsuperscript{133} Szechi, Jacobites, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{134} Christoph v. Ehrenstein, 'Erskine, John, styled twenty-second or sixth earl of Mar and Jacobite duke of Mar (bap. 1675, d. 1732)', ODNB.
\textsuperscript{135} Steve Murdoch, 'Tilting at Windmills: The Order del Toboso as a Jacobite Social Network' in Monod, Pittock, and Szechi (eds.), \textit{Loyalty and Identity}, pp. 243-264.
The common thread within the diverse motivations of Scottish Jacobitism was the 'wish to restore the Stuarts'. This desire, which often led to some kind of action, broadly defined a Jacobite. The central argument in Bruce Lenman's work, *Jacobite Risings in Britain*, focuses upon religious motivation. He argues that Scottish Episcopalianism, which was sidelined in the Revolution settlement of 1690 in favour of Presbyterianism, was the fundamental driving force behind the Scottish Jacobites, not Catholicism. The Episcopalians were larger in number, with strong beliefs in divine-right theory and the hereditary right of the monarch. This, not the Popish plot alleged by politically driven contemporaries and Whig historians, motivated many Episcopalians to the Cause.

Pittock has blown away the mythological cobwebs spun by eighteenth-century polemicists and propagandists that have shrouded the motivating factors of Jacobite Scots. The fabrication that Jacobite behaviour belonged to barbaric papist Highlanders was further perpetuated by the subsequent generations of Whig historians, including G.M. Trevelyan and J.G.A. Pocock. Szechi has argued both in favour of the patriotic national agenda, which motivated even firm Presbyterians to Jacobitism after the Union, and the significance of the international context, which brought numerous supporters from various European countries for political and religious purposes. Macinnes has further contributed to the patriotic argument by looking at the development and shift of Scottish Jacobites' motivations and association with the national agenda surrounding the Union, which became a significant factor in turning Whigs and Presbyterians to the Stuart cause. This was particularly visible in the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five. The relatively equal numbers of Highland and Lowland Scots in the Jacobite Army in 1745, and the growing scholarship surrounding Jacobites and the reaction of Scots to the Union, reveals a broader involvement of the whole kingdom and not just its Celtic fringe, as well as a strong proto-nationalist element to the motivations of Scots.

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139 Pittock, *The Myth*.
141 Szechi, *Jacobites*, p. 22.
Jacobites. Complementarily, Jeffrey Stephens has strengthened the national argument, showing that by the time of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's attempt to restore the throne in 1745, the push to establish Scotland's independence was stronger among the Prince's leading men. This was vehemently displayed in the Council of War held prior to their departure from Edinburgh to march south to take London, as they were not interested in England. They wanted to consolidate and secure their position in Scotland, and regain their country's independence. Jacobitism in Scotland, therefore, was broad and diverse, crossing geographical regions, cultures, languages, religions, political ideologies, economic situation and social status.

Conceptual frameworks deployed in the study of national identity politics, collated from a number of approaches, are significant when looking at Scottish Jacobitism, and serve as an important background for a prosopographical analysis of its elite women. The idea of national identity as 'the imagined political community', defined by Benedict Anderson, is important when looking at Scottish Jacobitism, as Jacobitism is one of many political identities within the greater national identity of the realm of Scotland. Linda Colley, who supports Anderson's concept, adds that national identity, to a considerable degree, is formed 'in reaction to an “Other”', and forged primarily through war. This is significant as Jacobitism was for over fifty years in a constant state of war. Although not always fighting, it was defined against its ‘Other’, the Williamite and Hanoverian ‘usurpers’. Such key theorists on the nature of national identity in the eighteenth century, as Anderson, Colley, Anthony D. Smith and T.C. Smout, argue that national identity is an ‘intrinsically “fluid, plastic and internally contested”’ notion, and never rigid. This position, along with the nature of ‘national’ identity as being comprised of multiple identities, as laid out by Smith, supports the cognition of Jacobitism's

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145 Ibid., pp. 47-8; Whatley, Union, p. 61.
146 Ibid., p. 49.
147 Sankey & Szechi, ‘Elite Culture’, p. 93.
fluidity and internal contention, as well as its heterogeneous membership.\textsuperscript{152} Smout’s reformulation of Smith’s concept of multiple identities within Scotland’s national identity is important when considering these Scotswomen, who themselves had many identities, each determined by gender, family, clan, class, region or religion.\textsuperscript{153} Each identity informed a woman’s motivations and impacted her roles. Multiple identities is applied to assist in the flexible and multi-faceted approach necessary to take when looking at the broad spectrum of Jacobitism’s female Scottish adherents.

The conceptual framework used is further informed by historical, cultural and sociological approaches to Scottish national identity in two ways. Firstly, according to Pittock and other scholars, it looks at Jacobitism, the Stuarts and their mystique, and how they were significant for Scotland in forging its national identity.\textsuperscript{154} Second, it takes the notion of the ‘historical continuity’ of identity in regards to Scotland’s regnal and heroic ancestors, which according to David McCrone, is a significant aspect of the ‘imagined community’ and national identity.\textsuperscript{155} Scottish historian and Jacobite, Father Thomas Innes, conducted much research and published his \textit{Critical Essay} in 1729 to support Scotland’s ancient history, its regnal leadership from the early medieval period and the Stuart’s cause. His work feeds this understanding and the contemporary efforts made to justify Scotland’s identity as an ancient kingdom.\textsuperscript{156} Eric Hobsbawm’s theoretical framework, ‘The Invention of Tradition’, is utilised as a conceptual tool in this study.\textsuperscript{157} This hermeneutic reveals how invented traditions were employed to aid in the construction of identity, for example the traditions engineered by the governing classes for social and political control and cohesion

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{153} Smout, 'Scottish Identity', pp. 2-6.
\bibitem{155} McCrone, \textit{Understanding Scotland}, p. 49.
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were also used for unity and stability. This is important for this thesis in contextualising Jacobite identity, which was formed through adherence to the supposedly ‘ancient traditions’ of the Stuart monarchy, and the well-established concept of the divine right of kings. This prepares the foundation regarding the Jacobite Scotswomen and their identities as women, Scots and Jacobites, as well as their contribution to the character of Jacobitism and Scotland’s national identity. With this in mind and a framework of national identity theory I investigate how Jacobite Scotswomen were significant contributors to Scotland’s national identity by their role in Jacobitism.

Structure of the Prosopography

For the purpose of analysis and in order to get a proper view of the developing face of Jacobitism throughout the period, I have divided the chapter into time periods that surround the major events in Jacobite history. The majority of women appear in only a single event, whereas others in this study feature in more than one of these time periods, as they were active throughout much of the eighteenth century. Women such as Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth (1682/3-1773), were active in the movement from early on and throughout their entire lives, covering several events.158

The four main periods of the Jacobite era are, firstly, 1688 to 1704, which covers the very early period of Jacobitism, from the Revolution years, through the aborted attempt of King James and the French to reclaim his throne (1696), to the Scotch plot of 1703-04.159 The second period is from 1705 to 1716 and covers the years in the lead up to, and including the Union, through the plot to rise in 1706 and the failed French invasion attempt of 1708, to the death of Queen Anne, the succession crisis, and the subsequent rising of 1715-16. The third period covers the time from the Swedish plot (1717) and failed Spanish invasion and rising (1719) throughout the long period which saw ongoing plotting but little female involvement or large scale ‘action’. Those in exile during this time continued to seek the support of such foreign powers as Sweden, Prussia, Rome, France and Spain, and while there was little military

158 See Appendix II.
159 These are reminiscent of some of Bruce Lenman’s chapter categories in his work on The Jacobite Risings, and therefore reflect the general flux of Jacobite activity. Széchi, Jacobites, p. 6.
conflict on Scottish soil, ongoing allegiance and support did not diminish. This period finishes in 1743. The fourth section begins in 1744 and covers the ‘Forty-five, the Elibank plot (1752), and the last execution of a Jacobite, Dr. Archibald Cameron (1753), to Charles Edward Stuart's last real attempt in 1759, and the death of his father in 1766.

Of the 64 Jacobite Scotswomen explored in this chapter, 21 were correspondents, writing letters of a political nature to various members of their family and connections. The most common form of correspondence was the letters between husband and wife. Women such as Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Dunfermline (d.1710), and Isabel Campbell, wife of the Laird McNachtane (nd.), wrote to their husbands while the men were at war for James VII & II to aid their part in the Cause, thus showing their support. Next, women wrote most often to their children, and then to various members of their extended family. Some wrote to their connections through marriage, others wrote to various political connections of their husband's, and others sought the advice, or patronage, of other elites. Although a few scholars have begun to look at eighteenth-century elite Scottish women, primarily through their letters, early-modern Scottish women's correspondence itself needs attention.

Scottish correspondence networks in the eighteenth century, particularly among women, were not quite as broad and varied as those of leading men, who were generally more well-travelled due to political and economic interests and investments that kept many of them away from home for long periods of time. This often left the wife at home, although some wives joined their husbands, travelling to Edinburgh, or south to London, or even to the Continent. This did not mean, however, that women's networks were small and insignificant. In fact, the very nature of Jacobitism, with its national and Continental connections, meant that Jacobite Scotswomen's networks covered more scope, at times, than ordinary elite networks. That said, in Scottish Jacobitism, family connections and networks crossed over geographical regions more often than they crossed over the boundaries of religion, politics and status.

Only some of the women I have selected for this study have surviving correspondence, and few of those letters were written to people outwith their

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160 NRS, GD26/8, Papers of the Leslie family, Earls of Leven and Melville.
161 Cowmeadow, *Scottish Noblewomen*. In her thesis, Cowmeadow reveals the extent to which women like the Duchess of Hamilton and the Duchess of Atholl corresponded in a wide variety of familial and political networks, for their husbands and the family interest.

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familial and social networks. Even fewer letters survive of those who took part in Jacobite affairs, such as the correspondence of Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll (1655/56-d. aft. 1707). She wrote many letters to her brother, the Earl of Perth, Colonel N. Hooke, and James VIII & III among others, regarding the Cause. Of the Scotswomen in this selection, for whom there is no surviving correspondence, that they were known Jacobites was recorded in family memoirs, or clan or contemporary histories. Others have appeared in printed propaganda, which will be discussed in chapter seven, when I analyse contemporary media's response to these women.

There are several reasons why there may be a lack of correspondence from the majority of the women in this case study, and indeed among the greater collection of women examined, and eighteenth-century Scotswomen in general. Firstly, for those who did write, their letters were not often deemed as important as their husbands' for preservation. Secondly, according to Stena Nenadic, Highland gentlewomen had lower levels of literacy, compared with gentlewomen of the Lowlands. However, it has also been argued by R. A. Houston that literacy, and education in general, was higher in Scotland than in England at this time, and that 'every peasant was a scholar'. Also, writing materials were expensive, particularly ink and paper, making letter writing less likely among the poor families. Therefore, many simply did not, or could not, correspond. Finally, if their letters contained anything of a private or secret nature, political or not, women tended to destroy them. The extant letters that survived did so, I argue, largely because they were kept in the archives of estates south of the Highland line that were neither destroyed, nor taken by Hanoverians during the 'Forty-five and its aftermath. Rather, they remained in the possession of the family, as did those at Traquair House and Blair Castle, or they became part of Continental collections, church archives, or State papers.


165 Daybell, Women Letter-Writers, pp. 139-40.

166 SCA; Records of the Scottish Episcopal Church, held in the NRS; The Stuart Papers in the Royal Archives at Windsor; Hooke, Secret History; Macray, Correspondence; and the papers of Sir David Nairne in the Bod., which had been originally in the Scots College in Paris, and moved prior to its destruction in the French Revolution (1798).
The Prosopography

The prime purpose of a prosopographical analysis of these Jacobite Scotswomen is to understand the societal origins of their political ideology and actions. The study of the biographical detail of these women as a group aims to reveal the diverse connections of Jacobite Scots and how they operated within the political realm of eighteenth-century Scotland, thus setting a base against which to analyse their political activities.

As the ‘Roman statesman cannot stand alone, without allies, without a following’, neither can his story be told without ‘some indication of the faction he led.’167 The Jacobite statesman had his followers, and of this oligarchy within Jacobite politics much has been written, as previously stated. The other layer of Jacobites within the hierarchy who were also part of the workings of Jacobitism, were its women, of whom little or nothing has been written. So who were they? Who were the loyal female adherents of the Stuart kings, and how does their participation define the face and heart of Jacobitism in Scotland?

The Early Years: Revolution to the Scotch Plot

This period begins with the Revolution, or more aptly named a ‘Whig coup d’etat’, in 1688 and ends with the Scotch Plot in 1703-04.168 In this period I have discovered 12 Scotswomen who were actively involved in supporting James VII & II.169 Their status is identified by their position in society and their titles. Two were the wives of chieftains without distinction, while the other ten had titles of nobility, seven of which had been created sometime prior to the Revolution and can be found in the Complete Peerage.170 James, who was now a monarch in exile, continued to create and confer titles on his worthy supporters; however, the British Government no longer acknowledged these creations. One such title created during this time was given to the Spanish husband of two of these women, both of whom had come from the same titled family. The title of the Duke of St Andrews was given to the Count of Castelblanco, who had given his

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168 Szechi, Jacobites, p. 6.
169 See Appendix II.II: 1688 - 1704.
loyalty to King James. His first and second brides were the two daughters of the Jacobite Duke of Melfort, whom he had met and married (one after the other had died) in the court of St Germain-en-Laye. Titles such as these have since been referred to as Jacobite titles, a complete list of which can be found in The Jacobite Peerage. Another two Jacobite ladies also gained Jacobite titles atop of their previously recognised titles, for example, Lady Mary Gordon, the Countess of Perth, became the Jacobite Duchess of Perth in 1701, when the title was conferred on her husband in St Germain prior to the death of King James VII & II.

The religious creed of these women is not always known. With some it has to be supposed. Many of these women’s marriages were religiously endogamous matches, while all were politically so, which was common at this time. Eight of the ladies were from Catholic families. Some were from the old Catholic aristocracy still lingering after the Reformation, such as the Earls of Huntly, Norfolk, and Powis—and they each married men from within a small group of Catholic nobility in Scotland’s east, such as the Setons, Earls of Dunfermline, and the Drummonds, Earls of Perth, both of which families had re-converted to Catholicism in the seventeenth century. I have made assumptions that two more women were Catholics, as they were Highlanders from well-known Catholic areas and clans, who married into Highland clans known for their Catholicism, for example the MacDonalds of Clanranald. It must be taken into account that many of the Highland clans were Episcopalian, such as the Campbells of Argyll and the Camerons of Lochiel, and were not without their Presbyterian members. Though a minority in Scotland, Catholics still formed a large contingent of Highland religiosity. Endogamy was common within the orders in society, as well as in religious communities in Scotland since the Reformation. Catholics and Episcopalians predominantly married within their own creed, as can be seen in this collection of women. The close association of Jacobitism with the episcopal creeds meant that both religion and politics was tied up in the endogamous matches and therefore in the networks and motivations that evolved within these socio-religious-political communities.

The geographical regions from whence these women came are diverse,

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171 Ruvigney, Jacobite Peerage.
173 Barclay, Intimacy and Power, p. 80.
covering the length and breadth of Scotland. Three of the women already mentioned were Highlanders and remained in the Highlands, although Lady Clanranald spent much of her time in exile with her husband. Both Duchesses of St. Andrews in exile were from Perthshire, as was Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll, who moved to the Northeast. The Duchesses’ mother, originally from Ayr, moved to Perthshire upon her marriage to Lady Anne’s brother. Two of the women hailed from south of the Scottish border, and married into Scottish nobility in the north: the Lady Frances Herbert, married into the Mackenzie clan and became the Countess of Seaforth (1660-1732); and Lady Elizabeth Howard, became the Marchioness of Gordon (d.1732). The Countesses of Dunfermline and Perth were Gordon sisters from the Northeast; one moved to Perthshire, and the other to Aberdeenshire, not so far from the family home.

The women who supported the Cause came predominantly from families of Catholic and Royalist proclivities, enhanced by the nature of their fathers’ and/or husbands' positions in James’ service prior to the Revolution, and even prior to his reign. Six of these women were notably active, four of whom ended in exile with their husbands. The Gordon of Huntly sisters, the Countess of Dunfermline and the Countess of Perth both experienced the consequences of Jacobitism through exile, although differently. Perth went to the exiled court and became a Lady of the Queen's bedchamber in 1701, while Dunfermline remained in Scotland, separated from her husband in exile until his death in 1694. Two of the exiles were simply known supporters, and their close association with the exiled court and marrying a Catholic Jacobite is further confirmation. They were the two daughters of the Countess of Melfort—ladies Frances and Mary Drummond—who both became the Jacobite Duchesses of St Andrews.

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175 Families such as the Mackenzies of Seaforth and the Drummonds of Perth are examples of men who converted to Catholicism under the influence of James Duke of York, who were promoted to positions of influence and power in Scottish politics and government, and then in many cases married Catholic women, and raised Catholic and Jacobite children. Paul Hopkins, ‘Mackenzie, Kenneth, fourth earl of Seaforth and Jacobite first marquess of Seaforth (bap. 1661, d. 1701)’. ODNB; Edward Corp, ‘Drummond, James, fourth earl of Perth and Jacobite first duke of Perth (1648–1716)’. ODNB; Corp, ‘Drummond, John, styled first earl of Melfort and Jacobite first duke of Melfort (1649–1714)’. ODNB.
The reconnoitring of the Scottish Highlands by Colonel Nathaniel Hooke (1664-1738) for Jacobite support in 1705-07 begins this next phase. Various women continued to support the Cause after the death of James VII & II. This period sees a lot of crossover with the women of the previous period, as most will do, due to the relatively short time spans between major events, approximately 20 to 30 years. This phase saw monumental changes nationally, bringing an end to an independent Scotland, which had a positive impact upon Scottish Jacobitism, the death of the last Stuart on the throne, and the Rising in 1715.

During this period there is greater and more detailed evidence for female activity. The significant event that could explain why more women joined the Stuart cause is the Union (1707), which turned many Scots who were not previously Stuart supporters, toward Jacobite action in opposition to the Act. There is evidence that 23 women across this period were supporters of the Stuarts. Among these are women such as, Lady Anne Drummond, the Countess of Erroll, who corresponded frequently with Colonel Nathaniel Hooke—French agent of Louis XIV—and her exiled brother James Drummond the 4th Earl of Perth (1648-1716), to aid another attempt at a Stuart restoration in 1708; and Lady Margaret Nairne (1669-1747), who has been recorded as participating at every level of Jacobite politics and affairs from the late seventeenth century until her death just after the last rising in 1747. Based on the evidence at least four other women were active participants: the Countesses Marischal and Nithsdale, the Duchess of Gordon, and the Marchioness of Drummond, who became the next Duchess of Perth. However, the details of the allegiance and support of many of these women is unknown. What is known usually through family and clan histories is that they were Jacobite supporters, with at least five of them going into exile with their husbands. One, however, Lady Margaret Hamilton, the Countess of Panmure, remained in Scotland separated from her husband for most of the time.

The evidence has revealed that the women supportive of and active in

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Jacobite politics and affairs during this period were predominantly from the nobility, fifteen having titles recognised by the Peerage, and nine later received Jacobite titles. Five of the ladies were married to Highland chieftains, and among them was Mary Mackenzie, the Lady MacDonnell of Glengarry, and both the Ladies Lochiel—a mother and daughter-in-law. Each of these three women received Jacobite titles after the rising of 1715, becoming Baroness MacDonnell and Baroness Lochiel. Another two ladies received Jacobite titles at this time, and one of these titles deserves particular mention. The title Baroness of Clanranald was created for Lady Penelope Louisa Mackenzie in her own right by James VIII & III in 1716. However, the Jacobite Peerage alludes to it being for her husband's actions, rather than for her own. The Baroness had been married to Allan MacDonald, the 14th chief of Clanranald (d.1715), who 'had been one of the most devoted and faithful of the adherents of the House of Stuart', and had died as a result of the battle at Sherrifmuir. However, Lady Clanranald obtained her title due to her own personal support of the Stuart cause. There is no other instance of a woman being given a Jacobite title in her own right. Unlike the title of Baron, conferred on Lady Clanranald's brother-in-law at the same time, hers was not heritable and became extinct upon her death in 1743.

This group of women reveals a broad mix of support from across the regions of Scotland. Eight women remained in their own regions even after marriage, four of whom were from the Highlands, two from the Lowlands, and two from Perthshire. The remainder of the women moved from their natal region to a different one upon marriage, while five ended up in exile. Three moved from south of the Scottish border, one marrying into the Northeast, another into the Highlands, and another into the Lowlands. There is not a distinct pattern of movement, but it shows that geographical mobility among elite women in Scotland at this time was broad and varied, which does not necessarily apply only to Jacobite women.

177 Ruvigney, Jacobite Peerage, pp. 31-32.
179 Ruvigney, Jacobite Peerage, pp. 31-32.
180 See Map III., p. 50.
The map of Scotland divided into its shires.

Key:
- Natal Region
- Marital Region

Geographical Regions of Elite Jacobite Scotswomen: 1705 - 1716.
Regarding religious confession, it is almost a split down the middle, with approximately nine Episcopalian women and eleven Catholics, with a possible Catholic convert. For most of the women the evidence of their religious confession, particularly that of the Catholics, is clear. There are, however, a number of women whose religion is uncertain, but based upon their fathers’ and their husbands’ confession, I have made some assumptions with regards to their own. The possibility of mixed marriages, however, confuses the issue, as it is not known whether or not the women kept the faith in which they had been raised, or changed to their husbands’. For example, Lady Margaret Hamilton, the Countess of Panmure, who came from the staunch Presbyterian Hamiltons of Hamilton, and whose sister was known for her strong piety and missionary spirit, married the Episcopalian James Maule, 5th Earl of Panmure. I have not come across any evidence for either spouse converting to the other’s faith, or even maintaining his or her own, for that matter. However, the fact the Countess was a significant figure in the social life of Edinburgh ladies, being one of the motivating forces behind the Assembly Rooms, reveals either a lapse in her own dedication to the Kirk, or a change to her husband’s creed. Participation in such polite social activities as the Assembly Rooms, came into direct contention with Presbyterianism and its ministers, for it was viewed as ‘dishonourable to GOD, scandalous to Religion, and of dangerous Consequence to Human Society’. Episcopalianism, on the other hand, did not oppose such forms of socialisation. As for Lady Margaret’s pious sister, her husband the Duke of Atholl converted to the Church of Scotland some time after their marriage. For such Catholic women as the Duchess of Gordon, Marchioness of Drummond, and the Countesses of Traquair, Nithsdale and Seaforth, religion was central to their motivation. This can be seen in their correspondence, some of whom, for example, wrote also to various priests of the Scots College in Paris regarding the Catholic mission in Scotland, as well as to and regarding their sons under the priests’ tutelage. The conversion of James, Duke of York, to Catholicism in 1676 would have given the Catholics in Scotland hope, at the very least for toleration in the practice of their faith and a repeal of the penal laws. A


\[182\] Young, ‘Murray, John’, *ODNB*.

\[183\] SCA, BL2/197/15-17, Lady Traquair to Mr George Hay Robinson, 1708.
Catholic King on the throne of Britain was a sign of potential religious change in the Kingdom and while strongly desired by Catholics, who were concerned for the soul and salvation of their country, as well as their own freedom to worship, it was feared by most Protestants, and ultimately led to the Revolution of 1688. However, in Scotland, Non-jurors—Episcopalians who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to William and Mary—would rather have seen the man they believed was divinely appointed by God and ‘the rightful King’ on the throne. He was also the man who would grant them religious toleration.

Religion was a strong motivating factor for almost all Jacobites in Scotland, but there were others that developed during this period. The Union in 1707 stimulated a strong patriotic response from many Scots, whose parliament ceased, moving the government of Scotland south to Westminster. Non-jurors and Presbyterians disgruntled by the Union agreed that the King could always convert, or have Protestant children, but the Union can never be good. Some Scots previously opposed to the House of Stuart, but more opposed to the Union, turned toward the Jacobites after the passing of the Act in 1707. The Union was significant in regards to the ‘historical continuity’ of identity, and in many ways united the Scots, Jacobites or not. Not only had the Jacobites lost Scotland’s regnal and heroic ancestors as monarchs, but after the Union they lost their own country to another to govern. It is possible that through these losses Jacobite Scots became more deeply set in their patriotism, and their understanding of their own national identity. While Presbyterian support was small, particularly among its elite women, this goes a long way to explain female Presbyterian support for the Stuart cause, revealing that for some, patriotism weighed heavier in the balance than religion.

Patriotism can be seen in the letters of the Scotswomen who were concerned for the welfare of the Kingdom at this time. The Countess of Nithsdale, for example, lamented to her sister-in-law, the Countess of Traquair, about ‘our poor contrey, who has brought it self to a sad pass’, after the failure of the Rising in 1715. However, in the group of women I have surveyed, I have

184 Fiona A. MacDonald, Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland 1560-1760, Edinburgh, John Donald, 2006, pp. 9, 219-64.
187 McCrone, Understanding Scotland, p. 49.
188 NRAS3666.246, Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire, ‘Countess of Nithsdale to the Countess of Traquair’, 6th August.
not found any evidence of a change in motivation or direction due to the Union among them, only the abhorrence of it. The relationship between elite Scotswomen and the Union has been researched by Carr and Cowmeadow. They have revealed that women such as the aforementioned devoutly Presbyterian Duchess of Atholl, who was opposed to the Union, was also strongly opposed to the Stuarts and to Jacobitism. The Union did not move her to support the Stuarts, not even for her country.

The Quiet Years: 1717-1743

This third period, between the two major Stuart restoration attempts in 1715 and 1745, was quieter in Jacobite history, as Jacobites unsuccessfully sought an 'external backer' in order to stage another attempt. Considering the significance of the event that marks the next period, this section could be considered the calm before the storm. This period was, though, far from quiet in Jacobite history. Nevertheless, a Stuart restoration never left the minds and hearts of Scots Jacobites, including its women. This can be seen through the activities of women such as the Duchesses of Perth and Gordon, who sought to school others in Jacobitism. By looking at the numbers of supporters during the ‘Forty-five, this suggests support during this time was not abandoned, rather it intensified. According to the evidence, however, this period was predominantly occupied with petitions for pensions and clemency, and the restoration of their forfeited estates.

This era saw a great change in the constituents of Scottish elite Jacobitism. Many of the older Jacobite women died during this thirty year spell, while others were born and raised in Jacobite fervour, preparing a new flock of petticoats to step out for the Stuarts. There were at least eleven women who were alive throughout a significant part of this period whose contribution was ongoing and important for the continuation of the heart and culture of the Cause. They were the Duchesses of Perth, Inverness and Gordon, and the Countesses of Eglinton, Traquair, Nithsdale, Nairne and Southesk. Most of

190 Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen, passim.
191 Szechi, Jacobites, p. 86.
193 It is possible that there were significantly more Jacobite women during this time, there is simply not the evidence to support this.
these women have been mentioned, or at least referred to in the previous section, but their part played in this timespan is important. Each one of them raised her own regiment of children for the Stuart Cause, most notably Lady Nairne, whose many daughters became Jacobites. Lady Traquair gave birth to 17 children, eight of whom lived to adulthood. Several of these children were educated in convents on the Continent, and in the Scots College in Paris, and associated intimately with the exiled court in St Germain. This act was an attempt to protect and strengthen their children’s beliefs in both Catholicism and Jacobitism, one naturally leading to support for the other.  

The religious confession among these women consisted in five Episcopalians and five Catholics. The Duchesses of Perth and Gordon, the mother and daughter team, plus the dowager Duchess of Perth, and the sisters-in-law, the Countesses Nithsdale and Traquair, all all made religiously and politically endogamous matches; however, it is not known whether all the Nonjuring women had. Lady Susanna, the Countess of Eglinton (1690-1780), had married Alexander Montgomerie, the 9th Earl of Eglinton (1660-1729), a Presbyterian Whig who, while it has been said that he was ‘inclined towards Jacobitism’, supported the government, as ‘he was too cautious to risk his neck.’ While the religious confession of Lady Margaret, the Dowager Countess of Southesk (Lady Sinclair from 1733) is unknown; she did make politically endogamous matches with both her husbands, who were both attainted for their participation in the 1715.

During this period when little else Jacobite in nature happened on the national or international stage, there was still Jacobite sympathy and activity fostered among women in Scotland. That most of the women who raised children among the nine, ended up with Jacobite supporters among them, reveals the ongoing allegiance that dwelt beneath Scotland’s apparently tranquil surface, encouraged at home. This is particularly evident with the Countess of Eglinton and her children, for her husband sided with the government, and was unlikely to have encouraged them to support the Stuarts. Eight of the women raised children who became Jacobite supporters, whereas Lady Marjory, Duchess of Inverness, and Lady Margaret, Countess of Panmure, did not have

any children. Lady Marjory and her husband, however, played a critical role in
the lives of two other children who were at the heart of the Cause: Princes
Charles Edward and Henry Benedict. The Duke was the princes' tutor, and Lady
Marjory, who had been granted the position of Lady of the Bedchamber for
Princess Clementina Sobieska, was intimate with the entire royal family,
including the young boys. Four of these nine women, some with their children,
spent part of this period at the exiled court, due to their husbands' activities
during the 'Fifteen; this also contributed to the next generation's Jacobitism.

However, an important question remains: were there any women who,
like the men, were 'active' in plotting during the quiet years? The evidence has
not been forthcoming. The fight against forfeitures and the continual petitions
opposed to punishment for their husbands' and sons' actions in the 'Fifteen kept
many of the ladies busy. The Duchess of Perth, the Countess of Southesk, and
Lady Nairne, for example, were thus occupied during this period. Lady Marjory,
of Inverness, on the other hand, who had been in exile after the 'Fifteen, was
arrested and imprisoned briefly for Jacobitism upon a visit to London for
financial reasons.\textsuperscript{196} The connections made between these women through their
experience with the exiled court and the social scene in Edinburgh, visible in
some of their correspondence, reveals there was a strong Jacobite link between
these women, some of whom shared faith, but all of whom shared political
views.

\textsuperscript{196} Margaret D. Sankey, 'Hay, John, of Cromlix, Jacobite duke of Inverness (1691–1740)', \textit{ODNB}. 
Geographical Regions of Elite Jacobite Scotswomen:
1717 - 1743.

Key:
- Natal Region
- Marital Region
The regional origins and movements of these women are varied, but less so than in the previous two periods.\textsuperscript{197} What is particularly noteworthy is that as the century progressed elite women spent increasingly significant amounts of time in Edinburgh, regardless of where they were from, with some exceptions, for example the Countess of Traquair. Most of these women, although not from Edinburgh, had strong connections with the city for political, economic, educational or social reasons. Edinburgh, for the summer season, became the place to be. According to recent research into Scottish elite sociability in the eighteenth century, many of these women spent at least that season there. Glover and Nenadic have argued for vast changes across the century with regard to sociability and polite society, which affected family and country life and often placed a strain on the purse, due to the excitement and demands of social living.\textsuperscript{198} The natal and marital region for each of these women was south of the Highland line, and although half the women moved upon their marriages to another region, the other half did not.

\textit{Redeat: the Last Hoorah}\textsuperscript{199}

On the second to last day of the year 1743, Prince Charles Edward Stuart began his secret journey from Italy to France, ushering in at least eighteen months of Jacobite plotting and planning in that lead up to the rising in 1745.\textsuperscript{200} In July 1745, the Prince landed on Scottish soil and it was not long before word spread of his arrival in the Highlands. Men and women from across Scotland came to the Prince's standard, flocked to his cause to aid both him and his Highland Army in whatever way they could.

According to my research, numerous Scotswomen donned the emblematic tartan, each with her own familial, patriotic, dynastic, and/or, religious motivations during the years 1745 to 1746 for the Cause's last Rising.\textsuperscript{201} In this study there are 42 women, many of whom had been Jacobites before, and carried on being Jacobites after the Cause's disastrous failure at Culloden in

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[197]{See Map IV., p. 56.}
\footnotetext[199]{Redeat is a Latin Jacobite saying, or toast, meaning ‘may he return’.}
\footnotetext[200]{Szeczi, \textit{Jacobites}, pp. xxi-xxii.}
\footnotetext[201]{See Appendix I.}
\end{footnotes}
April 1746. Nevertheless, their evident political actions ceased after the 'Forty-five and their desires quietened, turning the majority of Jacobite Scotswomen, and Jacobites in general, into passive adherents. Motivation to act for the Stuart cause was crushed by the severity of the government’s retribution, in which for the first time many women were arrested, imprisoned, and transported into exile for their participation.

These women were born in Scottish shires scattered across each of the four main regions of Scotland. The majority of women, however, came from the regions of Perth and the Highlands and Western Isles. While there was movement among the women when they married, many women stayed within their own region. This is most obvious when looking at the numbers of women from Perthshire.

The presence of Jacobite Scotswomen in official documents such as prison lists, reveals a more determined response from the government to quash Jacobitism once and for all. It also shows that the greatest support for the Stuarts, by the women at least, was in this period than at any other time; although, according to Szechi, the 1715 was the biggest of the risings with the most potential for success. The fact, as is shown below, that women from every level of society, all religious confessions, and from every region in Scotland have been represented during this period reveals a national element to the Jacobite cause by the time of the 'Forty-five.

The religious confession found most dominant among this group of female supporters was Episcopalian, the faith of the majority of Jacobite constituents, approximately twenty in this study. There are only about four Catholic women, while the creed of the rest of the women remains unknown. In the year 1744, just 12 months prior to the rising, a significant Episcopalian text was published called the *St James’s Liturgy*. This publication was subscribed to by a significant list of Episcopalians, and some Catholics, many of whom were Jacobites who supported and fought for the Stuart cause in battle just a year later. This list contains the names of 33 Scotswomen, six of whom I have evidence for their Jacobitism, and likely there are many more among them. Two

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202 See Appendix II.
203 See Map V., p. 61.
205 Szechi, 1715, p. 126.
of these ladies are part of this small study, Ladies Margaret Nairne and Jane Douglas of Douglas (1697/9-1753). Allowing their names to be published inside this text was a bold and yet precarious move and they potentially placed themselves in danger by doing so.\(^{207}\)

The activity of Jacobite women at this time was vast and exciting. Besides the long-term adherents, there were many who gave some kind of temporary support, not necessarily political in nature. In 1745, Edinburgh boasted many young women such as Magdalene Pringle, who had never considered themselves Jacobites, but who welcomed and admired the Prince and his army. Miss Pringle began in opposition and was in fact shocked by the female Jacobite support in Edinburgh. ‘Don’t imagine I was one of those Ladies. I assure you I was not.’\(^{208}\) Yet a month later she went to visit the handsome Prince and found herself persuaded.\(^{209}\) The interim support roused by these women may have encouraged further support and excitement during 1745, and so in some small way they were involved. Their motivations, on the other hand, were superficial and not inspired by religion or politics, but rather the thrill of a handsome prince. The addition of balls held regularly in Holyrood Palace would have added to the excitement, particularly for those ladies involved in Edinburgh's already established and flourishing social scene. These women were heavily criticised in propaganda, and became the model for the stereotypes used by polemicists to damage the Jacobite cause, often with reference to the number of 'petticoats' it contained.\(^{210}\) Regardless of their indifference for the Cause itself, the fervour of these ladies, albeit frivolous, may have been a morale boost for the army and other supporters, bringing excitement and acceptance, rather than the scorn and mockery portrayed in the papers.

Active Jacobite women in this period were numerous and the types of actions diverse. Many unnamed individuals formed the legendary groups of women referenced in contemporary histories who did everything from sewing cockades for supporters, and helping sick and distressed Jacobite prisoners, to keeping many a Jacobite soldier concealed from the Red Coats in the aftermath of Culloden. There were at least thirteen noblewomen who hosted the Prince,

\(^{207}\) Current research by Dr. Kieran German is connecting the subscribers of this Liturgical text directly with Jacobite support. Several of the men can be found in Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Muster Roll.

\(^{208}\) Quoted in, Glover, _Polite Society_, pp. 130-31.

\(^{209}\) Glover, _Polite Society_, p. 130.

\(^{210}\) Female Rebels, p. 6. See Appendix VI.
either on his own, or with his army, during the nine-month campaign, several of whom were arrested and imprisoned for their hospitality, including Lady Margaret Nairne and two of her daughters, the Ladies Robertson of Lude and Strathallan.\textsuperscript{211} There was a total of 14 elite women imprisoned for aiding the Stuart cause.\textsuperscript{212} Lady Margaret Johnston, the Countess of Airlie, managed to escape her confines at Edinburgh Castle and joined her husband in exile on the Continent. Five women helped by raising troops to fight for the Cause, while Anne Farquharson, Lady Mackintosh of Mackintosh, led her husband’s clan out in opposition to him, who captained a troop for the government.\textsuperscript{213}

Only two Jacobite titles of baronetcy were created after the 'Forty-five by James VIII & III, which, considering the great sacrifices and dedication of so many men, is surprising. These two titles did not affect any of these women. Only six of them bore Jacobite titles, most of which had been created post 1715. Others carried titles that had been in existence prior to the Revolution and many far beyond that. Many of the elite women neither had titles of nobility, nor came from titled families, which was not necessary for elite status in Scotland, but many were the wives of lairds and chieftains of substantial means, estates and standing.\textsuperscript{214} Many of the young ladies lodged in Edinburgh during Prince Charles Edward's time there were unmarried daughters of both men and women of some kind of rank, position, wealth or title. This included the many daughters of merchants, writers, surgeons, doctors and vintners on the \textit{Genuine List}, the authors of which were not impressed with the rumours that 'all' the ladies in Edinburgh were Jacobites.\textsuperscript{215} One lady on the Whig side of the \textit{Genuine List}, who was neither the wife of a Jacobite, nor related to any, was Lady Jane Douglas, daughter of James Marquess of Douglas (1646-1699/1700), and sister to the first Duke of Douglas. She was herself, however, a Jacobite. The men in her family were strong Hanoverian supporters, and therefore her independent support for the Prince caused much chagrin at home; it seems elsewhere unknown. After the failure of the 'Forty-five, Lady Jane married the notorious Jacobite, John Stewart of Grandtully (1687-1764), in 1746, and fled to the Continent in secret.\textsuperscript{216}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[211] See Appendix III.II.
\item[212] Seton, and Arnot, \textit{Prisoners}, i, pp. 213-17.
\item[213] Ibid., p. 212.
\item[214] Brown, \textit{Noble Society}, p. 4.
\item[215] 'Genuine List.'
\end{footnotes}
Endogamy in terms of religion and politics was still evident in the years leading up to and beyond the 'Forty-five, but it was changing, just as society was changing. It was becoming harder for Catholics to marry Catholics, as there were ever fewer of them due to the enforcement of penal laws—which meant hefty fines, imprisonment and official restrictions. Ultimately there were less opportunities to succeed. Many of these Catholic families have several unmarried children in their genealogies; whether this reflects a lack of eligible suitors due to religious, or political reasons, or whether the taint and poverty due to their Catholicism and Jacobitism, made marriage unattainable, is possible, but unknown. Those who did marry a Catholic often did so abroad; many of the exiles’ children married amongst the French, Italian, Irish and Spanish families who graced the various courts, as did Lady Anne Maxwell, daughter of the Countess of Nithsdale, in 1731. She married the Irish Baron of Duleek, Lord John Bellew, whom she met in exile and married in Rome, attended by James VIII & III. Non-juring Episcopalians were less stricken and managed to maintain confessionally analogous families through endogamy due to their higher numbers. Where religious endogamy failed, it was usually political, that is, Jacobite endogamy that prevailed.

**Conclusion: Changes over time?**

Throughout the entire Jacobite period there were significant changes in the Scottish state and society that historians agree affected the motivation and allegiance of Scottish Jacobites to the Stuart cause. Significant events such as the religious settlement of 1690, which saw the establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk as the church of state, disestablishing the Episcopal church, were significant for gaining widespread Scottish support. The Union of 1707, agreed to by a handful of self-interested men and abhorred by a large number of Scots, drove more adherents, even Presbyterians, to the Jacobite cause.\textsuperscript{217} The Union altered the face of Scottish Jacobitism, as many conflated Jacobitism with a Scottish patriotic and national cause, which was to dominate motivations in subsequent years.\textsuperscript{218} The post-Union period leading up to the 1715, and even

\textsuperscript{217} Whatley, the Union, pp. 9-16.  
\textsuperscript{218} Szechi, The Jacobites, p. 32.
the 1719, drew another type of adherent—those who were unhappy with the succession of the Hanoverians after the death of Queen Anne, who was at least a Stuart. Post-Union Jacobitism’s incentive was less religiously motivated (although the two are intimately connected for many, as contemporaries viewed Scotland’s freedom as God’s will), and more centred around concern for Scotland and her freedom from English rule.219

What other changes can be seen to have taken place over time with regard to Scotswomen? The most obvious are the increased numbers of female supporters, and the number of women whose type of support changed, becoming more overt by the 'Forty-five. In this prosopographical analysis 13.6% of the sample of women were active in the first era (1688-1704), while 26.1% were during the second, 12.6% during the third, and the majority of 47.7% during the final era (1744-1766). Throughout the period the number of elite women who were allied to the House of Stuart and supported the Cause, clearly and steadily increased from the Revolution to the 'Fifteen. However, the 1720s and 30s, which saw a great lull in Jacobite activity in general, still contained a good number of adherents, many of whom were a remnant of the 'Fifteen. By 1745 the numbers of women had increased significantly. What is interesting is that the pattern for the numbers of female adherents is different from the numbers recorded for men. When looking at the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five, the two largest Jacobite attempts in the eighteenth century, the 1715 saw the greatest number of men at arms in Scotland. Whereas my research shows that the 'Forty-five drew the most substantial numbers of women. In fact, under Prince Charles Edward, the greatest number of female adherents was seen in Scotland since Jacobitism began. Propaganda often described the Prince surrounded by ladies, supported by ladies, and enamoured by ladies; however, while he was known for his good looks, charm and charismatic appeal, it was more than this that motivated committed Jacobite Scotswomen.220

The 'Forty-five also evidenced the most intergenerational cooperation, for example, between mothers and daughters, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, sisters and aunts. This reveals that these women, connected through blood and marriage, formed strong networks among Jacobitism’s Scottish elite,

219 Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen, p. 28. Lady Katherine, Duchess of Atholl, believed that opposition to ‘the Union was God-given’.
and brings to light the power these women had to influence the subsequent generations in the fundamental matters of Jacobitism, i.e. religion, politics, and patriotism. There were likely cases of spousal transmission of Jacobitism, theoretically perceived in the Countess of Panmure, and exceptional women who acted outside family tradition and expectation, such as Lady Jane Douglas. However, maternal influence appears to have been the greatest factor in breeding Jacobites for the next generation, which built up the numbers over the years.

Endogamy aided loyalty, whether it was religiously, or politically. Sharing the same creed gave women the freedom and ability to act without being disloyal to husband and/or family. The majority of women made politically endogamous matches throughout the Jacobite era. Those who did not, do not appear to have had strong opposition from their spouses, according to the evidence. The Countess of Eglinton and Lady Anne Mackintosh are perhaps the two most notable examples of women who supported the Stuarts while their husbands did not. The Countess’ support, while unlikely to have been unknown to her husband, as her father and brother were well-known for their own Stuart sympathies, may have been kept low-key. Lady Anne’s actions for the Prince, on the other hand, were visible for all to see.

The wide geographical origin of elite Jacobite Scotswomen throughout the different eras reveals the broad support of elite Scotswomen for the Stuart cause. Out of the 24 shires represented on H. Moll’s 1732 map of Scotland, 16 contributed supporters in this analysis, whether the women were born there, or moved to the region upon marriage. Sixty-six percent of all the shires, that is two thirds of the regions within Scotland contained Jacobite adherents, according to the evidence, and likely there are many more. A majority of these women lived north of the Tay, an historical geographical boundary, beyond which two-thirds of Scotland’s population lived.221 There was also a significant amount of movement among the women, whether through marriage, or after one of the risings, following either parents or spouses into exile.222

The changes in types of support are noticeable. However, the maintenance of culture and community was a constant force in Scottish Jacobitism and remained strong throughout the entire period. It can be seen in

221 Sankey, and Szechi, ‘Elite Culture’, p. 93. See also Appendix II percentage table.
222 See Maps I-V.
the women who raised children to support Jacobitism and named their children after members of the Stuart family. It can also be seen in the poets, ballad writers, singers and story tellers, and those who passed on this oral culture. Women were noted in the years after the 'Forty-five for passing on Jacobite stories and helping to keep Jacobite memory and culture alive. This is likely to have occurred throughout the entire period, as the Highlands and Isles were particularly well-known for their oral culture, still prevalent at this time. The numerous clan members spanning the generations would have been fed on the stories of its heroes, and their clans’ part in the various risings, as well as the belief that the Stuarts had the right to rule Scotland. What changed over time was evidence of such contribution to Jacobite culture, which is lacking in general for all periods.

The changes in women’s level of participation across the period are harder to monitor than that of leading men’s, simply due to a lack of evidence. Most revelations of Scotswomen’s actions show an instant, an action, a desire, an intention. There are only a few women for whom there is evidence of prolonged action and support. The actions of relentless and persevering supporters such as Lady Margaret Nairne, Lady Jean Gordon, the Duchess of Perth (1682/3-1773), and Lady Elizabeth Howard, the Duchess of Gordon (d. 1732), continue to crop up throughout the Jacobite era. Evidence in numerous time periods for their activities gives rise to the conclusion that their dedication to the Cause was constant and consistent. These women were from families in which several generations supported the Stuarts, from Jacobitism’s beginning to its very end, regardless of the consequence. Tradition and loyalty forged the way many families had come and would continue to go.

Contemporary writers noted these evident changes, and the media response to the Cause also developed, growing with increasing fervour against the Stuarts and their female adherents. Polemic and propaganda used the increase of female action and support in an attempt to show how ‘unnatural’ the move to restore the Stuarts was, as it caused women to behave so ‘unnaturally’. It could be said that female Jacobite support grew from its inception in 1689 to its climax in 1745-46.

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223 Lyon, Vols. III.
225 Glover, Polite Society, p. 129.
This chapter contributes to Scottish Jacobite scholarship by showing another aspect of the demographics of Jacobitism in Scotland that reveals it was a national movement.\textsuperscript{226} The diverse array of female supporters from every corner of the country are evidence to this. This prosopographical analysis confirms scholars’ arguments that Jacobitism in Scotland crossed geographical, cultural, religious, and political boundaries, revealing a truly national context and perspective.\textsuperscript{227} The question still remains, what caused such an increase of female support after so many relatively quiet years? Was it simply that more evidence survives of their participation? Or did the support of elite Scotswomen actually become more pronounced during this period, and if so, why?

\textsuperscript{226} Macinnes, ‘Jacobitism in Scotland’, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{227} Szechi and Sankey, ‘Elite Culture’, p. 93.
Chapter Two: The Preserver of Scottish Jacobite Culture and Community.

‘The Changes that have leatly
hapned made abundance of Noise in this place,
perhaps more than any where else
for the very ladys at Edr. are politicians.’

Lord George Murray, to James, Duke of Atholl, 2nd March 1742, Edinburgh.

Scottish Jacobitism, as an entity, did not remain in long periods of stasis. It was an ever-evolving body, influenced by numerous factors, such as the migration of peoples, new generations, changes in leadership, politics, religion, and war. The preservation of Jacobitism, which had an underground culture—much like and connected to the cultures of the illicit religious communities of Catholicism and Episcopalianism in Scotland—was difficult under the circumstances of conflict and illegality. Scottish Jacobite culture, like these confessional communities, nevertheless endured and was maintained throughout the period, regardless of such factors, and even obtained new members, while old ones died, became inactive, or changed sides. So how did Jacobitism survive so long, and how was it maintained during the years when it appeared that nothing was happening? There is approximately 80 years’ worth of evidence of women’s action in the Jacobite era, much of which points to a continuous preservation of Jacobitism.

Military conflict was sporadic, and there were extended periods of time that did not see hostilities, most particularly the twenty-six years between the last two restoration attempts, 1719 and 1745. Nevertheless, nothing was ever that quiet. Plotting and conspiracies continued throughout this and other military interludes. For example, plots have been recorded in 1692, 1695, 1703, 1706, 1717, 1723, 1753, and 1759, including the aborted attempts of 1708 and 1744. However, these clandestine activities involved relatively few Scotsmen, and even fewer women, yet Scottish Jacobitism endured. How? The survival of Jacobitism among Scottish elite culture, at home and abroad, has been

228 NRAS234, Murrays of Atholl Papers, Jac.C.I.8.15.
explored between the two most significant risings, the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five.\textsuperscript{230} Scholars have argued that it declined during this period, albeit weakened, rather than destroyed, for the level of support raised at the 'Forty-five was significantly less than in 1715.\textsuperscript{231} However, this is the count for men on the battlefield. For evidence suggests that women’s support increased by 1745. Jacobitism's culture persevered throughout these long dry years among the Scots, and in many ways it was kept going by the women who raised the next generation of Jacobites, and encouraged others to do so. Perhaps it was the nature of this role that successfully turned out more women in support of the Prince in 1745.

The aim of this chapter is to show what Scotswomen did for the preservation of Scottish Jacobite culture and community. Seldom has such behaviour been linked to politics or political action.\textsuperscript{232} I argue that these types of actions were part of the foundation of political ideology, allegiance, and understanding, for the next generation. These women raised Jacobite children, tried to encourage new and old supporters to act, and declared their own allegiance through letters and material culture. I will also examine whether women’s actions were the same as, or different from men’s (without a separate study on the role of men in this capacity), and what the consequences of these actions were. This chapter is divided into three main sections, assessing the roles of the educator, ambassador, and the Material Jacobite.

There is evidence for at least twelve women who performed the role of educator throughout the period. It is difficult with this role to pin down dates as it often pertained to long periods of time, that is, the years of child-bearing and rearing. These women came from every era and generation within the parameters of this thesis (1688-1766); for example, Lady Margaret Nairne, who was born in 1669 and married in the 1680s, raised her children from the very beginning of the Jacobite era. She died just a year after the 'Forty-five. Lady Amelia Murray, on the other hand, was born forty years later and died at the very end of this particular Jacobite period, in 1766. She married Lord George Murray in 1728 and by the 'Forty-five had several teenage children.

Seventeen women performed the role of Jacobite ambassador among the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{230} Sankey and Szechi, ‘Elite Culture’.
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid., p. 126.
\end{flushright}
Scots elite and perhaps even beyond their own social class. Evidence shows that two-thirds of these women were preserving Jacobite culture and community around the time of the 'Forty-five, while two others contributed several years after that. There is documentation for one lady in 1704, and two others throughout the 1720s. There were likely many more; however, evidence of their actions does not survive.

Six Material Jacobites have been revealed in the sources. Whatever the reason women supported the Jacobite position, whether for religious, national, or other purposes, their support defined them as political, while their focus upon the visual and material culture, and their desire to discuss politics with their lady friends made it a social activity. Evidence for two of these women appears around the time of the Scotch plot (1704), while two more are in the 1740s, one remains undated, and the last example is that of Lady Winifred, Countess of Nithsdale (1672-1749), in her letters around the time of the 'Fifteen, and afterward in exile.

The Educator

Raising a Jacobite family and passing Stuart allegiance onto the next generation was important to the continuation of Jacobitism and the hopes of a restoration. Stories and songs, and educating one's children in religious and political beliefs and the family tradition, was a role often performed by Scotswomen. In Scottish culture and society, women were central to the education of their children. Among the Scottish elite, the ‘earliest education took place in the home, at the hands of their mothers or other female relatives’. For young girls their education included managing a household and its accounts, as well as becoming socially proficient in polite society. They also learned their faith, patriotic ideals, and ideologies like Jacobitism, through the words, passion and example of their mothers. In the eighteenth century, what was very important, particularly among political families, was to ensure that the education of the young involved an understanding of politics and the state of affairs in the nation and beyond. Elite Jacobite families, most of whom

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234 Ibid., p. 27.
235 Ibid., pp. 29-30.
were political, and consequentially tied to the nation’s politics throughout the period, ensured that their children understood national politics from a Jacobite standpoint. Elite young girls had to ‘provide intelligent company (particularly within the family)’, and young boys were expected to follow in their father’s footsteps, in business, trade or politics.  

At the age of eleven, the young Lady Amelie Murray was sent to Edinburgh for two years to be educated into Scottish polite society. There, among other things, she learnt the art of writing letters, their form and appropriate content—depending on the situation and nature of the letter—and sent many home to her mother as proof of her education. By the end of 1745 she had returned home, and with her mother as guide, used her letter writing skills to convey polite messages for a political purpose. She wrote to her uncle, Duke William, on her mother’s behalf, enclosing within her letter correspondence containing military intelligence from her father in the Jacobite army. ‘The inclosd came here to day from Papa, & at Mamas desire I give your Grace the trouble of a few lines, to enquire about your Graces Health.’ Then again a few days later she forwarded another letter without the polite details as a cover, for which she apologised in her next letter, revealing the letter’s intent. ‘I was in a hurry, and did not incline to keep ye bearer, with Papa’s Letter, till I cou’d get time to do it, so begs you’ll be so good as to forgive that omission.’ She then adds later that she ‘had a letter from Papa yesterday, dated the 24th, and he was very well at Falkirk.’ Lady Amelie’s seemingly innocent letters were covers for the messages she forwarded from her father, Lord George Murray (1694-1760)—a Lieutenant-General in the Prince’s Army, who had just led his troops in victory in Falkirk—to her uncle, William Murray, Jacobite Duke of Atholl (d.1746)—also a Lieutenant-General, but on respite at Blair Castle. These letters were of a Jacobite military nature, and Lady Amelie was at the heart of ensuring that they got through, conveyed under the cover of a niece’s fondness for her uncle. While Lady Amelie may, or may not, have been aware of the exact contents of the letters, I would argue that she would have been well informed regarding her

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237 Glover, Polite Society, p. 30; Chalus, Elite Women, p. 83.
238 Ibid., pp. 131-32.
240 Ibid., 22nd January 1746, p. 56.
241 Ibid., 26th January 1746, pp. 66-7.
242 Ibid.
family’s Jacobite politics and her father and uncle’s participation in it, most particularly at that moment when the country was at war over the throne.\textsuperscript{243} This can be seen in Duke William’s open reply to his niece about the Jacobite Army’s success:

\begin{quote}
I rejoice at being able to congratulate your Mother and you on the glorious share my Brother George has again had in the fresh victory which Providence has given the Prince Regent over his proud Hanoverian enemies.\textsuperscript{244}
\end{quote}

Lady Amelie was being educated by her mother in Jacobitism and prepared to a similar role her mother played, as confidante and informant to her father and uncle. If Lady Tullibardine did not intend her daughter to become embroiled in Jacobite political affairs, she would have kept this dangerous task from her young daughter, and carried it out herself.

Lady Amelie was at least basically politically informed, in regards to the Jacobites, who they were, what they stood for, and therefore how she was to conduct herself in society. Toward the end of Lady Amelie’s education in Edinburgh, and in the midst of the Jacobite rising, her father wrote to her to warn her, ‘not to be a Bigott to any Sect or Party’.\textsuperscript{245} To do so would be to reveal her colours and potentially cause problems for herself and her family, due to her father’s known Jacobitism during the ‘Fifteen, for which he was later pardoned. Such advice reveals first of all Lady Amelie’s understanding of the political situation at the time, but also reveals she has been taught how to behave in the company of others, and secretly in correspondence, regarding such matters. Her ability to conduct herself as such is evident in a letter she wrote home to her mother, almost two years previous:

\begin{quote}
The day after I came in to town ... there was a manifesto put up on the principal Church door setting forth a certain persons right to a certain Island but the bedal took it down & gave it to the Minister.\textsuperscript{246}
\end{quote}

Lady Amelie reveals her understanding of the need to word messages carefully, and to keep the name of ‘certain persons’ out of written correspondence, that is,
the exiled monarch. Glover has argued that this comment shows Amelie’s interest in such matters. However, I would add that it is evidence of the political Jacobite education she received, which not only taught her about ‘Sects and partys’ and the ‘certain’ person who had a right to Britain, but also how to be prudent and maintain a neutral front in polite society.  

One of the most obvious signs that parents were Jacobites and raised Jacobite children was the naming of children after the Stuarts themselves. It was not, however, the naming of boys after the Stuart kings that stands out as the most obvious Jacobite sign. James, as an example, was the second most popular name for boys in Scotland during the early modern period, and therefore not necessarily indicative of Jacobitism, except perhaps for one young man. The Countess and 8th Earl Marischal named their youngest son James Francis Edward in 1696, which is clearly after the then young prince in exile, James Francis Edward Stuart. In general boys’ names were not obvious signs of allegiance. Many Jacobite families even had several Williams and a few Georges within their ranks, revealing that this was not a sign of their political allegiance, but rather a family tradition. The Stuarts of Traquair, for example, had both a Charles and a William, and were staunch Catholics, Royalists, and Jacobite supporters. It is not likely that they named their son after William of Orange, whom they considered a usurper. Rather, it is more likely that he was named after a family member, either his grandfather on his mother’s side, or his father’s brother, William Stuart, 3rd Earl of Traquair (1657-1573), who died at the age of sixteen. According to Alice Crook’s research on 24,000 records, within four parishes in Scotland in the eighteenth century, James and William were ranked second and third most popular male names, with 3500 occurrences between them. ‘Charles on the other hand was ranked joint twentieth, with only 54 occurrences (0.44%).’ Being therefore a generally unpopular name in Scotland, Charles may in fact be more revelatory of Royalist, and therefore Jacobite, sympathies in a family such as the Stuarts of Traquair, who had strong links to the two Stuart kings of that name.

It was rather the naming of girls that highlighted a family’s Jacobitism. 

247 Glover, Polite Society, p. 132.
248 Paul Dukes, ‘Keith, James Francis Edward (1696–1758)’, ODNB.
249 The well-known Jacobite Georges were born prior to the Hanoverian succession.
251 Ibid., p. 122.
Girls’ names on their own, or particularly alongside male siblings such as James or Charles, could make evident the parents’ Jacobitism, and their desire to be affiliated with the Stuarts. The two girls’ names that stand out are Clementina, after James VIII’s wife, Maria Clementina Sobieska (1702-1735); and Louisa, after his sister, Louisa Marie Therese Stuart (1692-1712). Other female Stuart names such as Mary, after Mary Queen of Scots, were very popular in Scotland before the Jacobite period, and so would not necessarily have sparked much interest.

The use of Stuart names is particularly evident when looking at the children of Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Southesk (1696-1747). Her daughter was named Clementina (nd.), which immediately stands out; however, naming her son James makes it an even more obvious Stuart connection. This is regardless of the fact that both her husband and father were named James, which itself could be a sign of a family’s long-standing Stuart Royalism. Prior to James VIII & III’s marriage in 1719, Clementina, a foreign name, was virtually unknown in Scotland, and never became popular after the event. Nevertheless, the records show that some Jacobites chose to name their daughters in honour of the exiled Queen during the Jacobite era. This became a sure sign of the family’s allegiance and affection for the Stuart monarchy.

The appellation of girls after the exiled Jacobite princesses was not just significant to the family as a whole, but to the individual woman named. By giving a girl a Jacobite name, the parents attempted to give her a Jacobite identity, a distinction that would be with her for life. Providing females with an intimate Stuart connection, attached to their very identity, could potentially bestow upon them the onus for upholding and preserving Scottish Jacobitism within their family. It is interesting that Jacobite parents chose this sign for their daughters, revealing the extent to which it was perhaps expected, and considered normal, for elite Scotswomen to be political and even partake in such aspects of political machinations of the period.

Using foreign names such as Clementina and Louisa made Jacobite allegiance more obvious in eighteenth-century Scotland. A search for examples of these names in the National Records, before and during the Jacobite period, brings up quite a few records across the spectrum of Scottish society. Between 1719 and 1745 there are approximately 100 records of girls being registered with the name Clementina, and the number almost triples after the 'Forty-five and
the death of the Young Chevalier in 1788. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the popularity of the name drops a little, but nevertheless continues on steadily, predominantly among the Episcopalian community, with approximately 200 girls registered Clementina. Within the Catholic community, however, the name is registered only a little over forty times. When looking at the family members within the estates in the archives, as opposed to the general records, there is a significant difference. The name of Clementina, as it appears in the NRS catalogue, appears significantly less often. In regards to the name Louisa, the statistics show even fewer girls being given the name. No more than 100 girls were registered with the name after the year of Princess Louisa’s birth, until her nephew’s death in 1788. Only three were registered in the 150 years prior, showing that it was not a popular name for girls in Scotland. Between the end of the last rising and the Elibank plot in 1753, only 10 girls received that name; however, between that plot and Charles Edward’s death, 78 were registered with the name Louisa.

In 1720, the year Charles Edward Stuart was born, the second most famous Clementina in Jacobite history was also born. Her father, John Walkinshaw (1671-1731), was a Jacobite attainted and exiled for his role in the 'Fifteen. He was part of the entourage sent to rescue the Polish princess, Maria Clementina Sobieska, after she had been detained by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI’s, men, on behalf of the British monarch, George I, in order to prevent her marriage to James VIII & III the previous year. According to popular belief, the Princess became godmother to his youngest daughter, Clementina, as Walkinshaw’s reward. Nevertheless, Miss Walkinshaw became famous on her own account after befriending her namesake’s eldest son at Bannockburn in 1746, during the Jacobite Army’s march north. She resumed her relationship with Prince Charles Edward later in 1752, moving to the Continent to take up as his mistress. According to one Jacobite contemporary, Sir Robert Strange, Charles had elicited from her a promise, ‘that in the event of his success she would attach herself to his Court, or on his failure

253 Mairead McKerracher, The Jacobite Dictionary, Glasgow, NWP, 2007, p. 229; According to, Douglas ‘Walkinshaw, Clementine’; this has been since disproven.
255 Szechi, Jacobites.
would follow him to the world’s end.\footnote{Dennistoun, Robert Strange, p. 320.} Her devotion to the Stuarts, in particular to Charles Edward Stuart, was sincere, although the nature of her support was markedly different than the average Jacobite woman. It could be argued that the Jacobitism of her parents significantly influenced her life decisions and effected the position she took in Jacobite affairs.

It appears that in honour of the marriage of the royal couple in exile, both Lady Mary Keith, Countess of Wigton (1695-1721), and Lady Jessie MacDonnell of Keppoch, named their daughters born that same year, or relatively close to that time, after the Polish princess.\footnote{Courthope, Complete Peerage, p. 481; Jacobite Peerage, p. 93.} Lady Mary was the daughter of the dedicated Jacobite, Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal (1675-1729), and also related to the Jacobite Drummonds of Perth and Hays of Erroll, while her marriage to Jacobite John Fleming, 6th Earl of Wigton (1674-1743/44), extended and solidified this Jacobite network. Lady Jessie was the wife of Alexander MacDonnell of Keppoch, who was made a baronet by James VIII & III when he was sent on a mission for the Cause, and he ended his service, and life, on the battlefield of Culloden. The statistics show that Clementina was a conspicuous name in Scotland, representing only 0.02% of girls names.\footnote{Crook, Naming Patterns, p. 127.} It appears to have been new to the country from 1719 onward, and would have confirmed the allegiance of suspected Jacobites.

What is most notable about Jacobitism among the heritor society in Scotland is that it contained many members from the same families, continually dedicating themselves to the Cause, generation after generation. Marrying into another Jacobite family and then raising fervent loyalists was not uncommon. This ‘hard-wired’ generational support of Jacobite families was mirrored in many Whig families in Scotland at this time.\footnote{Whatley, Christopher, ‘Reformed Religion, Regime Change, Scottish Whigs and the Struggle for the ‘Soul’ of Scotland, c.1688-c.1788’, The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XCII, 1, No. 233, April 2013, p. 88.} The endogamous marriages created an environment of mutual religio-political support within the newly-formed family and in the broader context of kith and kin, creating support in numbers that would encourage fidelity. The most active Jacobite women came from Jacobite families and networks, and were the most obvious educators and ambassadors for the Cause. The family networks and connections that created an environment where Jacobite culture was acceptable and celebrated, and
where raising children after the family’s interest in the Stuarts was the norm.

Children of the Scots nobility were encouraged in ‘those noble merits of selflessness essential in the service of the king and in the interests of the lineage.’ Education for the nobility involved learning the tasks specific to their role within the family and society, including the building of their character, the cultivation of their mind, and education in politics and religion. This mostly took place within the home. Mothers were central to this role, even if the task was shared with fathers for certain aspects, and tutors for others. As mothers they instilled in their children their religious creed and political views, which in Jacobite families were closely linked, and all that was considered important ‘in the service of the king’ and in their families’s best interest.

The fact that Scotswomen, rather than men, were instrumental in passing on Stuart loyalty to the next generation is hard to prove; even Brown explains that there is little research and evidence regarding education in the home, due to its informal and unrecorded nature. However, Scotswomen who were either widowed or separated from their husbands in exile were clearly the main educators of Jacobitism in their family, as the children were left entirely to their care. This is evident for two women in particular: Lady Christian Dundas, Countess of Bute (d.1740), and Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth (1682/3-1773). Lady Jean’s Jacobitism and Jacobite family connections (mentioned in the previous chapter) were apparent to all at the time. Two generations of her husband’s family were exiled for the Stuart cause. Her own father and brother were captured, imprisoned, and exiled at various points, as were her own sons as well. Lady Jean did not follow her husband into exile, as many other Scotswomen did; rather, she remained in Scotland, raising her children as Catholics and Jacobites whilst working for the Cause. In 1720, after her husband the Duke had died in exile, Lady Jean secretly went from Scotland to France with both her young sons, the eldest only seven. She was heavily criticised and pursued by family connections with Protestant-Whig ideals. The family had fled under the cover of darkness and sailed by ship from

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260 Brown, Noble Society, p.182.
261 Ibid., pp. 181-82.
262 Ibid., pp. 181-82.
263 Ibid., pp. 181-82.
264 Ibid., p.182.
265 NLS, GD24/5/1079E, Papers of the Family of Stirling Home Drummond Moray of Abercairny, ‘Copy Cause in the Declaration at the Instance of the Friends of the Family of Perth,’ nd., (1720?)
Newhaven, ‘into France a popish Countrey and there detained and concealled’.266 She arranged for the continuation of her sons’ education at the Scots Colleges in Douay and Paris, which had strong links to the exiled Stuart court.267 Their religious education and political affiliation were paramount to Lady Jean. Without the steps she took to guard her sons’ education, they would have had Protestant Whig tutors foisted upon them, thus steering them away from the Catholic-Jacobitism she herself followed.

Lady Christian was the second wife and widow of the 1st Earl of Bute (d. 1710), about whom it has been said that he was able to quash his Jacobite sympathies, for the sake of the family interest. He also made various political moves that served his own interest, rather than his beliefs; although he did eventually oppose the Union.268 Lady Christian shared his Jacobite sympathies, and regardless of the family position and reputation with the Hanoverian government, she kept in correspondence with the exiled King and his court. In 1716 she wrote to the Duke of Mar at the exiled court, asking that her title, the Countess of Bute, was assured and secured by James.269 She assured him of her own loyalties first, and then her husband’s before he died, even if it appeared unlikely.270 A month later James wrote to the Countess to say that he was aware of her zeal, and pleased that she was raising her son with the same loyalties and sentiments.271 In her reply she confirmed that ‘he has the same inclinations to the service of his King’.272 Over a decade later and in another letter to James, this time under the alias of Broomly, the Countess reiterated her commitment, and recommended to him her son to James’ ‘Patternall care and protection’.273 Her ‘gratest desire and prospecte In all his Educatione was That he should next after knowing his dutie To God be ... fitted for your service.’274 The Countess’ only son, the Honourable John Stuart (1700-1738), never appeared in Jacobite correspondence or in Army muster rolls. There is not any evidence that he performed any notable task in favour of the Stuarts and their restoration, and he died seven years before the ’45. Nevertheless, according to the evidence above,
he was raised a loyal Stuart supporter by his mother. This role of educator was taken on by Scotswomen, whether in cooperation with their husbands, or on their own, aiming to raise yet another generation of Jacobites.

The Ambassador

Aside from raising children as Jacobites, these women encouraged fellow Scots—family, friends, or connections—to support the Stuarts throughout the period. The most famous example of the use of female persuasion, or coercion, is that of Isabella Lumsden. Described by her great-grandson as ‘a helpmate of singular energy and worth’, Isabella managed to persuade her lover, the Scottish engraver Robert Strange, to join the Jacobite army in 1745.\textsuperscript{275} He was obviously not as keen to fight as she, for she refused to marry him unless he fought.\textsuperscript{276} Strange did join, and after the rising they were married, as she promised. Another ambassador for the Cause was Lady Margaret Nairne. She was well known by contemporaries for her influence over her daughters, and other family members to support for Cause. She was described in a letter from her brother-in-law, John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl (1660-1724), to James Murray of Garth, as the ‘wors woman’, as he ‘imputes the ruine of my 3 sons to her artifices’.\textsuperscript{277}

Preservation of Jacobite culture can also be seen in the context of women who encouraged not only their family to fight for God, King and Country, but also neighbours and strangers. The Ladies Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, and Jean, Duchess of Perth, are prime examples. This mother-daughter team served as active ambassadors for the exiled Stuarts and Catholicism in the early 1720s. They worked hard recruiting and educating supporters in and around Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{278} According to Rev. Wodrow, they ‘openly kept a kind of college for instructing young people in Jesuitism and Jacobitism’ in the Lady Elizabeth’s house in Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{279} He also recorded that in 1722 ‘there was a Popish mass in the Duchess of Gordon’s lodgings in the Canongate, with about fifty persons, beside the family’; her house was raided and a suspected priest arrested.\textsuperscript{280} Both

\textsuperscript{275} Dennistoun, Robert Strange, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{278} Chambers, Traditions, p. 316.
\textsuperscript{279} Ibid.
women were widows and made a formidable team, united in their religio-political ideology and activities. Although there is not any evidence for the success or failure of their endeavours, their actions reveal their fervent Jacobite motivations to turn fellow Scots over to the Cause. It also reveals Lady Elizabeth’s success in raising an equally devoted Jacobite daughter.

As ambassadors, Scotswomen were responsible for passing on the great heroic legends of the Stuart princes and their faithful followers. The greatest concentration of evidence for this is within the Lyon in Mourning, a collection of Jacobite letters, testimonials and stories, collated by Bishop Robert Forbes (1708-1775) after the ’Forty-five. It was later published in the nineteenth century in three large volumes, and has been used often as a source and reference regarding the ’Forty-five. Bishop Forbes, who had joined the Cause in 1745, was captured and imprisoned before he could do anything of great significance to aid the Young Chevalier. Consequently, he spent the entire rising locked up, released only after it had subsided. He then set himself the task of finding out what had happened while he was behind bars, and to record from both eyewitnesses and secondary accounts the details of events. A group of women from Edinburgh and the Citadel of Leith, helped to provide him with material. These women, most of whom were referred to in the collection as the ‘Leith Ladies’, were part of a coterie of Episcopalian Jacobite Scotswomen, gathered around Bishop Forbes, who listened to and discussed the news and stories of the then recent events. As the Lyon relates:

Mr Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh and his lady were paying their compliments to my Lady Bruce, when it was proposed to read the above Account or Journal in the hearing of Kingsburgh, that so he might give his observations, or rather corrections upon it. He and the whole company (about 14 in number) declared their satisfaction in the proposal. There were present... Lady Lude, with her eldest son and her daughter; Mrs Graham and her son; Mrs Rattray, Mrs. Jean and Rachel Houston, etc.

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281 Lyon, vols. I-III.
282 Ibid.
283 'A genuine and full Account of the Battle of Culloden, with what happened the two preceding days, together with the young Prince’s miraculous escape at, from and after the battle, fought on April 16th, 1746, etc., and of Lady Clanronald and Miss Flora MacDonald, by John Walkingshaw of London or Dr. John Burton’, in Lyon, i, pp. 66-76.
Many women contributed stories themselves, and passed on the tales and letters of others. Women such as Lady Catherine, Countess of Dundonald (d.1779), Dame Magdalene (Scott), Bruce of Kinross (1670?-1752), Jean Cameron of Dungallon (d.1753?), Lady Inches (nd.), Lady Florence MacDonald of Kingsburgh (1697?-1759), and Rachel Houston (nd.), Bishop Forbes’s wife, were continually on the hunt for new stories and evidence.

Scotswomen not only passed on the accounts, but were themselves protagonists and central to these events. These women quickly became part of Scottish literary legend for the ‘romantic’ roles they played in Jacobite affairs. The stories were passed down through ballads, novels and clan histories—which fit into part of the broader concept of preserving one’s family and clan culture. Such heroines include, Lady Mary, Countess Marischal, to whom the composition of the ballad, ‘Lady Keith’s Lament’ is attributed; Flora MacDonald (1722-1790) and Lady Margaret MacDonald of Clanranald (d.1780?), who both aided the Prince in his escape; Lady Anne Mackintosh, also known as ‘Colonel Anne’ (1723-1784), and Jenny Cameron of Glendessary (d.1773?), both said to have raised troops for the Prince. They all became part of popular Scottish legend through such tales. The subtext of Bishop Forbes’s collection points to the actions of other women such as Dame Magdalene, who while not central to the stories, made his work possible.

The writing and circulation of manuscript documents and letters by elite women was not uncommon during this period, and were tools utilised by Jacobite women to keep their hope alive. Whether it was in the form of a poem, a broadside, memoirs, or simply news, women were central to the circulation of manuscript material among family and close connections. One so called memoir was transcribed by three sisters: Ladies Catherine (nd.), Euphemia (d. 1818), and Margaret Stewart (d.1762). In 1750, the services of the daughters of Alexander Stewart, 6th Earl of Galloway (1694-1773), and Lady Catherine Cochrane (d.1786), were required by Jacobite James Maxwell (1708?-1762). Maxwell had escaped to the Continent after Culloden, residing at St Germain for

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284 For example: Lyon, i, pp. 66-74, 216-17, 222-223, 241-42, 276.
285 Lyon, vols. I-III.
286 Craig, Damn Rebel; These women, who have survived through popular history and memory, have appeared in numerous novels since the period, and still today their legend can be found on countless websites. The details of Jenny Cameron’s actions have been disputed by contemporaries and scholars, she was, nevertheless, central to Jacobite legends, and much of the printed propaganda and polemic being circulated during and after the ‘Forty-five, which will be discussed in chapter five.
five or six years, where he wrote his narrative. It was then transcribed upon his return to Scotland.\textsuperscript{288} According to the preface of the manuscript copy of his narrative, he had it ‘copied by stealth and in a great hurry at Cally’ by the Earl’s daughters.\textsuperscript{289} That he had asked the ladies, rather than a secretary, or transcribe it himself, reveals the extent to which their Jacobitism was firm and known, and therefore how much he could trust them with the task. His plan to copy this document reveals his intention to circulate it. Thus, the Earl’s daughters’ actions contributed to the preservation of Scottish Jacobite culture, through the tradition of manuscript transcription and potential circulation.

The Stewart ladies are the only examples I have found of women who participated in such a project as Maxwell’s manuscript. However, other women composed, or transcribed, songs and poetry of a Jacobite nature.\textsuperscript{290} Lady Margaret Hamilton, the Countess of Panmure (d.1731), used to send Jacobite poetry to her husband in exile, from 1716 until his death in 1723. Whether or not these poems are of her own composition, or transcriptions of others she had received, is unknown; nevertheless, she sent numerous poems of varying standard and style. Most of the poems were short with religious or classical themes, in which she praised her husband’s fidelity to the Stuarts, noted his punishment, and thus lamented a future without him. This is a typical example:

1. My Dormant muse begins, now to awake
   When King and Countreys cause, lyes at the stake
   O heavens, wouldst thou propitious be
   To My Great Soveraigne, my mate and me
   Then would I the Adore, and sing forth thy praise
   Whilst I have power and whilst thou give’st me dayes.

2. But now he’s banisht into a foreign nation
   For serving of his King and countrey in his station
   His mournfull wife laments hers, and your cruell fate
   Subdued to a Barbarous foreigne state.\textsuperscript{291}

Whether or not her correspondence and poetry was circulated, shown to others,

\textsuperscript{288} NRS, GD46/6/100, Papers of the Mackenzie Family. Earls of Seaforth, ‘An Authentic Narrative of Prince Charles Stuarts Expedition to Scotland in the year 1745,’ 1750.
\textsuperscript{289} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{290} NRS, GD45/26/99, ‘Miscellaneous’, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie.
\textsuperscript{291} Ibid. [Two separate poems]
or read aloud—as was common in the period—is unknown. However, among the Jacobite community in exile, the Earl of Panmure would have been safe to reveal his wife’s poetic support for the Cause.

The longest item in the Countess’s small collection is undated, unsigned, and not in her hand. It is likely to be a poem she received from another Jacobite correspondent, perhaps even someone in exile, as it is signed ‘by a Bird in a Cage’.292 ‘The Spark in the Tinderbox’ has two parts, the first of which honours the marriage of the Old Chevalier, opening, ‘upon the happy meeting of our Royal James & Clementina, forever Beatifick to their Great Britain’.293 The second celebrates the birth of a Stuart heir.

‘The Spark’ begins with mystical and messianic references to the divine nature of the Stuarts. It is written in a rather florid style, as were many songs of praise and welcome composed for royalty in early modern times:294

What to a Virgin once an angel sent, 
Such to a Hero now a Virgin’s meant... 
Hail, Phosphor of the Restoration Day; 
Hail, our Astraea who with us shal’ stay.295

The song is also written in the prophetic genre, which was popular during the early modern period.296 This style would have been used to encourage Jacobites, and to give hope and promise to the reader of good things to come with the Stuarts back on the throne. The second part acclaims the birth of the Bonnie Prince and prophesies a future Jacobite victory:

Thus the Young British Lion Leaps on Earth  
Amidst his foes, and Daring in his Birth;  
The Greek Alcides but two serpents slew,  
Ours in his Cradle thousands shal subdue...  
Hail Glorious Babe! Auspiciously born,  
Thy Fathers future Conquests to adorne.’297

The writer references the coming role of the new Prince and future attempts at restoration, which is hopeful and unwittingly prophetic. The circulation of manuscript material with political themes among Jacobite elite networks and

293 Ibid., p.1.  
294 John Harper, ‘Gilbons, Orlando (bap. 1583, d. 1625)’, ODNB.  
coteries, by its very nature encouraged Jacobitism. It has been previously thought that women were not engaged in such activities. However, scholars such as Daybell have argued in favour of elite women’s involvement in manuscript circulation in the area of news and politics. Scotswomen remained preservers of Jacobite culture even after talk of a Stuart restoration became nothing more than dining room chat.

The Material Jacobite

The Material Jacobite woman was a lady who came from an elite family, where local and/or national politics were often discussed. A keen interest in the affairs of state, in which the family had intimate connections, was paramount. According to the evidence, the Material Jacobite expressed her political thoughts and opinions textually, in correspondence with other women, and visually, by utilising objects of material culture. These women often wrote to each other about the latest updates from parliament and social politics, as well as Stuart affairs and Jacobitism. Such information was often nestled amidst news of family business, house improvements, and the usual discussions of health, births, deaths and marriages. It is important to note that not only was the Material Jacobite brought up with politics, she also found political matters interesting in a way that many did not.

Social, political and familial networks were fundamental to the preservation of Jacobitism in Scotland. It was within these religio-political networks, spanning Scotland and the Continent, that strong friendships between particular women produced a great deal of correspondence. These friendships were primarily established through marital connections and religious affiliation, and often spanned decades, some periods being particularly laden with correspondence. The two most significant friendships, for which there is substantial evidence, are that of Lady Margaret Hamilton, the Countess of Panmure (d.1731) and Lady Margaret Nairne; and Lady Winifred Herbert, the Countess of Nithsdale (1672-1749), and Lady Mary Maxwell, the Countess of

299 Chalus, Elite Women, p. 70.
Traquair (1671-1759). In the correspondence of these politically conversant women can be found news from parliament and updates on the affairs of state, including that which related to Jacobites. The best part of what these women discussed was primarily of a personal and familial nature, but they also shared news, discussed politics, and events in Stuart affairs, which was often intertwined with their family concerns. The collections of correspondence between these particular women is significant in size and content, spanning decades, and reveals much about these women, their interests, their duties, their religious beliefs and convictions, their family life, connections and politics.

Secrecy was essential, even with seemingly harmless news, such as court gossip. For this reason Jacobite news from abroad had to have safeguards. Firstly, correspondents ensured their letters were kept safe from Hanoverian spies, by the use of trusted couriers and travelling friends. Secondly, in case letters fell into the wrong hands, they also used aliases. The most notable example is in the Traquair correspondence. Here, the Countess of Traquair was called Mrs Young, and Lady Winifred was either W. Joanes, or Mrs Johnson. Another level of secrecy was to ensure they did not use the names or specific details regarding the Stuarts, or the Jacobite members involved. This was essential for protection of the Cause, its members, as well as their families.

Lady Winifred was a frequent correspondent of Lady Mary’s from the early years of their respective marriages; Lady Winifred being married to Lady Mary’s brother, William Maxwell, 5th Earl of Nithsdale (1676-1744). After the failure of the rising in 1715, the success of Lady Nithsdale’s rescue mission—saving her husband from the scaffold—and their subsequent exile to the Continent, Lady Nithsdale kept in frequent contact with her sister-in-law. She often informed her of the state of affairs at the exiled court, and family news, often quoting her husband’s letters at great length. In 1717 she informed Lady Mary of the latest news regarding the situation of the wives of attainted Jacobites and their petitions before the parliament, ‘of my Lady Penmure’s, and

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301 NRAS3666, Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair; NRAS234, Murrays of Atholl Papers; NLS, GD45/14/245, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie.
302 Gossip has often been deemed traditionally part of the female domain by scholars, and therefore lacking trustworthiness and value, however, James Daybell has shown how the topics of their letters ‘assume political importance in a society preoccupied with rank, status, reputation, power and influence’. Daybell, ‘Suche newes as on the Quenes hye wayes we have mett’: the News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot, countess of Shrewsbury (c.1527-1608); in James Daybell (ed.), The Material Letter in Early Modern England, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 125.
303 See Appendix IV.
304 NRAS3666/245, ‘Countess of Nithsdale to Mary Countess of Traquair’, 28th June 1718.
several other ladys getting their jointures’, a situation she was unable to remedy herself. Much of Lady Winifred’s information came to her via the Court in St Germain, or the men she was confidante to; that is, her husband, her nephew Lord Linton, and Fr Thomas Innes, for example. In 1718 Lady Mary was warned in a letter from Lady Winifred, as she passed on the latest news of the exiled court.

[Keep the contents of what follows to yourselfe and husband; it being of the last concequence that the least title of it should be known to come from either your brother or me.]

She was then informed of the death of Queen Mary of Modena, as well as James VIII & III’s decision to marry, which had to be kept secret.

Quoting or copying letters in order to forward information within Jacobite correspondence networks, was common in manuscript circulation in the eighteenth century. Lady Winifred often quoted her husband’s letters to her sister-in-law, thereby passing on news. She told Lady Mary of James’ desire for her to join his Royal court, in light of the impending marriage, thus reuniting her with her husband. The couple had been separated for some time in different courts; she was in St Germain with Queen Mary, while he was in Italy with the King.

[My Master has more than once told me, that in case a mariage should hapen … he desired nothing more than to have you about him. This is presisely his own words which I send you.]

In later letters of 1719 and 1720, Lady Mary received regular updates of the new princess, and later of her pregnancy, and then the birth of the young Prince Charles. She also learned of Lady Winifred’s disappointment at being passed over as governess to the new prince, a role her mother had held for his father, and one she felt herself more than qualified for and entitled to. Although news like this did not regard plots and intrigues, it was still important to Jacobitism, and dangerous to be shared with non-sympathisers. It was encouraging for Jacobites to hear of the royal marriage. Even more so was the

305 NRAS3666/237, Ibid., 1st Sept. 1717.
306 NRAS3666/245, ‘Countess of Nithsdale to Countess of Traquair’, 28th June 1718.
307 The capture of the princess, Maria Clementina Sobieska, on her way to meet James for marriage, goes some way in proving how necessary it was to keep such sensitive information far from Hanoverian eyes, which in this case failed.
308 NRAS3666/245, ‘Countess of Nithsdale to Countess of Traquair’, 28th June 1718.
309 NRAS3666/257, Ibid., 17th May, 1719.
310 NRAS3666/266, Ibid., 9th March 1720.
birth of a prince, the successor to the crown and essential to the future of the Cause.

Jacobite ladies often found solace and solidarity in political gossip. The passing on of this kind information was quite unnecessary for the success of the Cause, unlike requests for advice, and necessary demands, or the details of plotting conspiracies. It need not have been committed to paper and posted, considering how great the risk of intercepted letters was. However, women, particularly for those in exile such as Lady Nithsdale, had to confide their Jacobite news and gossip to their intimate friends for their own peace of mind and perseverance. The sharing of stories, the intrigues and factions at court, and the news from Jacobites abroad, soothed a need within correspondents like Lady Winifred. Such correspondence would have kept the Jacobite culture alive within the small circle of readers in Scotland, as they remained united and connected to the intimate dealings within the exiled Stuart court.

A significant part of any culture is its visual and material qualities, of which Jacobitism had plenty. Material Jacobites were among the women who used material culture as a means through which to display their political affiliation with the Stuart cause. Women’s use of material culture has not been adequately addressed in Jacobite scholarship, even in recent work on Jacobite material culture. The legitimacy and potency of the female Jacobite's use of material culture, as a form of political activity, has gone therefore relatively unnoticed. However, it is possible that female absence from these studies is due to the lack of sources which help to identify who a particular item belonged to, was used by, was made or commissioned for, or purchased by. Jacobite material culture has been linked primarily to men, rather than women. This can be seen in the attention to their seditious toasts with the infamous 'Amen Glasses', their wearing of tartan, the white cockades in their blue bonnets, and the innumerable portraits of the Stuarts in their homes, or in miniature upon their person. Jennifer Novotny has acknowledged this lack of feminine expression in scholarship, and looks to the political symbols and mottos embroidered by women at this time. Unless an item was labelled, as was the tortoiseshell snuff

box given to Lady Seaforth by Prince Charles Edward in 1746, ownership was uncertain. Many unisex items have been identified in family collections, yet not belonging to a particular person, which further adds to the dilemma.314

Nevertheless, it is known that Scotswomen articulated their own self-, as well as a broader collective-identity, through the use of 'political clothing'.315 Elaine Chalus and Katrina Navickas have argued for the significant use of clothing and fashion accessories in politics by British women throughout the eighteenth century; although, their focus is on Englishwomen in the late eighteenth century. They hold that 'women could make discreet or obvious political statements' with fashion, and became participants in, rather than spectators of, political life. The fan was just one such fashion accessory. It became a daring political standard and identifier in the social realm for these women. Chalus, who gives a brief reference to the political use of the Jacobite fan, identifies it as an unpatriotic 'way of declaring political allegiance'.316 Hélène Alexander has contributed greatly to knowledge of Jacobite fans, focusing largely upon the whereabouts and composition of the most famous, the allegorical fans made sometime after the 'Forty-five.317

The fan has not been entirely neglected by Jacobite scholars. Hugh Cheape and Paul Monod have at least referred to the fan in regard to its existence within Jacobite material culture.318 However, they have separated the object from its owner, and therefore the significance of its use by women has been disregarded. The very recent scholarship of Murray Pittock and Neil Guthrie has contributed to the burgeoning discussion on Jacobite material culture, including fans and their allegorical symbols.319 However, Pittock describes a Jacobite fan as simply a 'domestic piece of provocation, probably a female possession'. This hardly resembles the 'treacherous objects' he refers to in his book, particularly if it was only to remain at home as part of a lady's toilet.320 Such a description is inaccurate and removes the political potency of these objects and their potential in the social scene, outside the domestic sphere.

319 Pittock, Material Culture; Guthrie, Material Culture.
320 Pittock, Material Culture, p. 28.
where fans were used.

It was Scotswomen’s visually exciting, yet daring use of the Jacobite fan, that stands out above them all, as their use made radical political statements in the eighteenth-century social scene. From the drawing room to the Assembly Room floor, from theatres and concert halls, to the crowded city streets, Jacobite Scotswomen potentially fanned into flame fervour, or political hostility. The fan was a common feature in the fashion and dress of elite women from the late-sixteenth century, becoming the height of fashion by the Jacobite era and right throughout the eighteenth century. It became an indispensable adjunct to the lady’s toilet, and was not simply a decoration for the privacy of the woman's closet. The fan in Britain was an essential accessory, used by increasing numbers of women across the social spectrum, particularly with the introduction of the more affordable engraved fan.321

Fans created in the eighteenth century were not only fashion accessories and great works of art, they were tools of communication with a language of their own. As a communication device the fan could be used to send messages in several ways, with its own sign language, or via the image displayed upon the opened fan leaf. It is this second method that is most significant to the visual culture of the Material Jacobite. Images on the fans could be classical, historical, allegorical, or even commemorative, but most importantly, they could be political. The fan had intimate links with the monarchs and the royal courts of both France and Britain, and were often commissioned to portray images that reaffirmed the ruler's power and legitimacy, giving a strong political edge to the fan from the very top. Alexander has argued that throughout history fans were a 'means of disseminating news or political propaganda', and thus contributed to turning the erstwhile fashion accessory into a political instrument and statement.322

Women were the main fan owners in this period. So it was at their hands that these deeply symbolic political images were fluttered in various social situations, communicating a distinct political ideological message to those around. Considering the nature of a Jacobite fan, the use of it by Scotswomen was to take advantage of its political aspect, either boldly using this instrument

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as a symbol of defiance against the established government; to signal a compatriot, or perhaps to pass on a secret message to a fellow agent. It is also possible that Scotswomen in Edinburgh’s social scene used material culture as a silent form of public debate.

There are three extant anti-Jacobite Hanoverian fans, which depict Jacobite losses in the 'Forty-five and have been dated as contemporary to the period.\textsuperscript{323} According to the evidence, there are no distinctly anti-Jacobite fans from before this rising. There is, however, a pro-union fan from 1707, which, by its nature touches upon a key element of Scottish support for Jacobitism; that is, their antipathy to the union.\textsuperscript{324} Nevertheless, the lack of anti-Jacobite fans suggests that Jacobite women took greater advantage of politicised fans than did their Whig counterparts. The three Hanoverian fans are of a similar style, although each one is a different image. They are engraved, printed on paper and hand-coloured. Two of the fans are different depictions of a battle surrounding Stirling, while the third is the defeat at Culloden. Each of the images attempt to be historical representations of the events, although they are clearly fictitious, as each depicts Prince Charles surrendering to the Duke of Cumberland. What is interesting, however, is that the fan depicting the Jacobite defeat at Culloden has a very simple image of three roses painted on the reverse. This image of the three roses was directly associated with Jacobitism at the time, being a representation of James VIII & III and his two sons. This image is also found on at least two of the Jacobite fans, the 1740s anniversary fan and the allegorical fan in the West Highland Museum. The use of it on an anti-Jacobite fan could therefore have been an attempt by Whig ladies to try and flush out, or publicly humiliate unsuspecting Jacobites. The Jacobite would have been surprised to have the Hanoverian propaganda revealed to them once they had revealed their own colours.

The symbolic and ideological aspect of fans used during the early 1700s caught the attention of satirists and polemical writers, such as Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, who ridiculed women's use of these objects both as a coquettish device and a political signifier.\textsuperscript{325} Addison and Steele's essays on

\textsuperscript{323} Stirling Smith Museum & Gallery, \textit{Defeat of Jacobites at Stirling Fan}, 1745; Victoria & Albert Museum, T.205-1959, ‘Surrender of the Jacobite Leaders to the Duke of Cumberland after the Battle of Culloden’, 1746 - I believe the title and description for the V&A Fan is incorrect. The landscape in the picture is that of Stirling, not Culloden, although it is a different representation from the Stirling Smith Fan; Helene Alexander Collection, \textit{Culloden Fan}, 1746.

\textsuperscript{324} NMS.H.U11 Union Fan, 1707.

\textsuperscript{325} Joseph Addison, \textit{The Freeholder}, London, 1715, pp. 87-89.
women's use of material culture in politics in the early eighteenth century not only reveals its significance in society, but can also be used as evidence that women did, in fact, use fans in a political manner, and that they were understood in this way by their contemporaries.\footnote{Ibid.; Addison and Richard Steele, The Spectator, ii, London, 1747, pp. 123-28.}

In my research I have found twelve Jacobite Fans of four distinct designs, one of which has several variations, and all of which are from four different periods within the Jacobite era. They are located in museums and galleries across both Scotland and England, while one fan is to be found in Boston.\footnote{The BM; Culloden Visitor Centre, NTS, Scotland; The Fan Museum, London; Ickworth House, NT, Suffolk; MFA, Boston, Massachusetts; NMS, Edinburgh; Private Collection; The V&A, London; and The WHM, Scotland. See Abbreviations for shortened forms.} Of all the fans, only one design has been attributed to an artist, the Scottish Jacobite engraver, Sir Robert Strange (1721-1792). Most of the fans unfortunately lack provenance, therefore they lack a direct connection to any of the Jacobite ladies.

One of the allegorical fans, however, does have a history. Alexander noted that this fan remained in the same family from the eighteenth century until its bequest to the National Museum of Scotland (NMS).\footnote{Alexander, 'The Prince', p. 15; NMS, H.UI.3, ‘Strange Fan’, c.1745.} Upon further investigation at the NMS I discovered that the fan had in fact been bequeathed in 1950 by Miss J.M.M. Warrender, per Messers J. & F. Anderson, WS—the solicitors for the Warrenders of Lochend.\footnote{NRS, GD297/108-126, J. & F. Anderson (WS) Collection, ‘Warrender (Newbattle) Papers’; NRS, GD223, Papers of the Warrender Family of Lochend, 1540-1873.} Miss Warrender (d.1950) claimed in her family memoir that her ancestor, the 1st Baronet, George Warrender of Lochend (1658-1721), Provost and member of parliament in 1715, was ‘a devoted adherent of the House of Hanover’.\footnote{Julian Margaret Maitland Warrender, Marchmont and the Humes of Polwarth, Edinburgh, 1894, p.71.} Supporting this family’s opposition to Jacobitism the \textit{Genuine List} manuscript has the Warrender ladies noted on the Whig side.\footnote{‘Genuine List’.} This raises several questions about the document, the fan, and the lady in question. Is this document an accurate reflection of the political women in Edinburgh? Is it used to defend their opposition to Jacobitism; or does it use this opportunity to malign others? Assuming that the manuscript is relatively accurate (confirmation has been made of many well-known Hanoverian and Jacobite supporters on this list), why did a lady from a staunchly Hanoverian-Whig family have in her possession, and pass down through the generations, a
Jacobite fan? Were any, or all of the Warrender ladies secret Jacobites, in opposition to their family, and in particular their father, John, the 2nd baronet of Lochend, who had supported the government in the 'Fifteen? Was the splendour and excitement of a royal court once again in Edinburgh—a sight unseen since the Prince's grandfather held court there, as the Duke of York in the 1670s—too hard to resist for the young ladies? Were they so enamoured, like many of the ladies of Edinburgh were of the Prince and his great charisma, did they want nothing more than a souvenir? How did Miss Warrender come by the fan? And why did she keep a potentially dangerous souvenir?

The meanings transmitted by material culture utilised by women, such as a Jacobite fan, a white cockade, a miniature 'of the Pretender next their hearts', or even a rose at their breast, were several. They could have been received as a message of support among a group of sympathetic devotees. Or, they could have incited hostility and rivalry, as the women subtly, or pointedly, brought politics into the social scene. Another could be simply self-identification. Even after the 'Forty-five, Jacobite Scotsmen and women used abrogated paraphernalia, some were even imprisoned for such use as the wearing of a plaid after the ban in 1746. In December that year, eight months after the disaster of Culloden, during the period of punitive measures against Jacobite Scots, men and women in Edinburgh dressed in tartan gowns ‘to celebrate the Birthday of the Pretender’s Son’. Jacobitism in Scotland became a very private matter after the 'Forty-five, but its material culture prevailed until it became romantic nostalgia and more widely accepted.

**Conclusion**

An examination of the preservation of Jacobite culture and community reveals that politics and Jacobite ideology were important enough to eighteenth-century Scotswomen to be discussed, passed on, and flaunted visually, regardless of the consequences. Many of these women lost several generations of family members through Jacobite allegiance, as did Lady Jean Gordon,

332 Glover, Polite Society, p. 130.
333 Chambers, Traditions, p. 286.
334 NRS, GD170/423, Papers of the Campbell Family of Barcaldine; 1249; NRS, GD44/43/195/33, Papers of the Gordon Family.
Duchess of Perth, and yet still they persevered and continued to promote the Cause. The very nature of Jacobitism, with its prime goal to restore the exiled Stuarts to Britain's throne, and women's support of, and participation in it, reveals two things; one, the extent to which these women were political; and two the extent to which politics was a common element of familial and social life for the Scottish elite. Scottish Jacobite politics, which had strong religious and national threads running through it, no doubt had a serious effect on the decision of these women to support it. The role of these women in the preservation of Scottish Jacobite culture and community among the elite, has revealed the diversity of both Scotswomen’s contribution to the Cause, and the connectivity between the social, cultural and political aspects of Jacobitism and society.
Chapter Three: ‘Petticoat Patronage’: Jacobite Scotswomen & the Patronage System.

‘I cannot think it an unreasonable Conclusion, that the Cause must needs be bad, at least weak, when we find it so much under Petticoat Patronage.’

Anon., Female Rebels, Edinburgh, 1747.

Aside from their political views, Jacobite Scotswomen were no different from female Whigs in that they had access to, and were still very much part of, elite networks and systems that functioned within eighteenth-century Scottish society. They were active participants within both the Scottish patronage system, and that which extended further afield to England, and even to the Continent. These ladies often participated as clients—that is women who sought patronage—intermediaries and patronesses in the eighteenth century, in matters regarding the state and politics, local, financial, and landed matters, as well as the arts. The aim of this chapter is to show how Scotswomen participated within the patronage system in matters related to Jacobitism.

Within the broad political networks there were two different but linked patronage systems within which Scots Jacobites, including its elite women, participated. There was a patronage system that involved only Stuart sympathisers, as either clients or patrons, and which dealt only in matters of Jacobitism. Then there was the regular patronage system in which Jacobites participated, as did other members of elite Scottish society. However, in regards to Jacobite affairs, Jacobites were usually the clients, petitioning those within the establishment for patronage. Patronage as a word used by contemporaries, assumed the masculine identity of the patron; however, patronage was broader than simply political appointments and preferment. For example, patronage has long been associated with the arts, and therefore is not solely a political enterprise. Elaine Chalus has argued that the patronage system in the

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336 Female Rebels, p. 6.
337 The intermediary inhabited the middle ground in the eighteenth-century patronage system, being unable to grant the request personally, but able to put it forth to one who could on another’s behalf. Described as a ‘broker’ by Elaine Chalus in, Elite Women in English Political Life C.1754-1790, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2005, p. 136.
eighteenth century was not the ‘male stronghold’ historians have previously described it to be. Rather, it was open to elite women with an intimate connection to social and political scenes. The patronage system in Scotland described by Katharine Glover, was a system ‘that sustained the social hierarchy through the maintenance of vertical social bonds, and to which family connections were of primary importance.’ It was also a place in which women were patrons. Although this was not the norm, by any means, it was not unheard of, or outwith the bounds of societal propriety, for women to patronise male clients, particularly if they were widows. ‘There were always a few women who were patrons’, either by right of appointment, purchase, or inheritance, in eighteenth-century Britain, according to Chalus. The patronage system worked throughout all levels of society, from those in power such as the peers and politicians, through the merchant classes, shopkeepers, trades, artisans and labourers.

Eighteenth-century elite Scotswomen and the patronage system have not featured largely in historiography. More work has, however, been done on their southern neighbours. Chalus has noted that historians turned away from politics and patronage in the mid-twentieth century, and although some returned to them and have contributed to the scholarship on women’s roles in recent years, much of it is outwith this period, and not regarding Scotswomen. James Daybell has looked extensively at women and patronage through the technique of letter-writing, primarily through the Tudor period. Meanwhile, Chalus has contributed significantly to the nature of elite women in the patronage system in the latter-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, arguing that women’s involvement, which has been underestimated, was widely accepted at the time, and that gender was not an obstacle to participation or success. Daybell has argued for the impact of gender on aristocratic women’s petitioning

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338 Ibid., p. 107.
339 Ibid., p. 111.
341 Chalus, Elite Women, p. 146.
342 Ibid., p. 110.
strategies and ‘the interchangeable nature of gendered tropes’ used. He focuses on female correspondence, while Chalus looks at women’s roles within politics and patronage, primarily in parliamentary elections and electioneering.

This chapter aims to fill one of the gaps regarding the roles of elite Scotswomen in the patronage system in the early- to mid-eighteenth century. I argue that Jacobite Scotswomen utilised the methods, skills, connections, and network of the broader patronage system, to which they were well accustomed, as well as that of the Jacobite patronage system, for Jacobite affairs. I will also examine the nature of when such actions were performed, and whether they were restricted to specific moments in time or were of long duration.

The Clients

The majority of Scotswomen who participated in the patronage system, regarding Jacobite affairs, were clients, usually in the role of petitioner for either themselves, family members, or friends. The female client was at her busiest after a course of Jacobite political plotting had been discovered, or a rising had taken place. The aftermath of the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five, for example, saw many women as clients, petitioning and seeking reprieves, as so many of their men were arrested, imprisoned, or in exile. The letters of petition and requests for pardons, pensions, and jointures from forfeited estates increased in the years subsequent to each of the major risings, as did appeals for the interest of the men implicated in them and petitions for their pardon.

This distinct role of certain Scotswomen as petitioners has been recognised within Jacobite historiography, and although it has not been discussed at length, it has been linked to the patronage system. Margaret Sankey gives the example of Lady Margaret Nairne and her role as the 'prime mover' in her husband’s reprieve, and refers to the work done by Ladies Nairne, Nithsdale and Panmure regarding their estates, while the focus of her work is on

the male prisoners and the system in general.\textsuperscript{349} Meanwhile, Daniel Szechi discusses the Whig regime’s allowance toward wives and their jointures, which were ‘exempted from the general confiscation of rebels’ estates’, and the female networks elite women used when petitioning for their male relatives.\textsuperscript{350} He gives three examples of women who partook in this type of petitioning: the Countess of Panmure, Lady Anna Maule of Kellie, and Catherine Sinclair, Lady Erskine of Alva.\textsuperscript{351} Women were significant to the petitioning for their husbands’ release or pardons, and their own jointure, and when successful, according to Szechi, their husbands ‘became their financial dependents’, transforming women from client to patron, within a familial context, and thus expanding their financial authority.\textsuperscript{352}

In the case study of Scotswomen there is evidence for 24 women in the role of client, and 31 examples of petitioning.\textsuperscript{353} The women petitioned for either clemency, land, or money. Of the total seeking pardons, 12 petitioned as wives for their husbands, three as sisters for brothers, and two as mothers for their sons.\textsuperscript{354} There was one daughter, one sister-in-law, and two aunts, while three petitioned for themselves.\textsuperscript{355} Five of these women petitioned James Graham, 1st Duke of Montrose, after the ‘Fifteen, and at least four petitioned the Justice Clerk in Edinburgh, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Lord Milton (1691/2-1766), after the ‘Forty-five.\textsuperscript{356}

There were two main types of petitions submitted by the Scottish Jacobites. The first concerned property and pensions, and the second pardons. The majority of petitions submitted by this case study of women were for pardons, of which there were 24, followed by 12 petitions regarding the broad estate of finance within the Scottish, and broader British, patronage networks.\textsuperscript{357} Of the petitions for pardon, two were as a result of the Revolution, three regarding the 1708, twelve related to the ‘Fifteen, and nine to the ‘Forty-five.\textsuperscript{358} There were five requests regarding property, finance, and the forfeited

\textsuperscript{349} Sankey, \textit{Prisoners}, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{350} Szechi, ‘Cam Ye O’er’, p. 382; and, Szechi, \textit{1715}, pp. 245-46.
\textsuperscript{351} Szechi, ‘Cam Ye Oer,’ pp. 382-83.
\textsuperscript{352} Ibid., p. 383.
\textsuperscript{353} See Appendix III.II
\textsuperscript{354} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{355} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{356} NRS, GD220/5, 6, The Papers of the Graham Family, Dukes of Montrose, 1716-1717; NLS, MS.17518-21, The Saltoun Papers, 1746-47.
\textsuperscript{357} See Appendix III.II. There were many more petitions for patronage, predominantly relating to pensions that were placed to the exiled Stuart court, although some were for positions. While many were successful, many were not.
\textsuperscript{358} Ibid.
estates after the 1715, and five after 1745. Requests among these ladies for the security of dowries, pensions and jointures were a total of four; two after 1715, one after 1719, and one more after 1745. These numbers relate to the number of petitioners, as opposed to the number of petitions written by them.

When did the female Jacobite client petition, and over what length of time did this activity last? As with all petitions submitted on behalf of accused Jacobites, these women petitioned from the very beginning of the Jacobite era, until near its end. There is evidence of two petitions regarding involvement in the affairs of 1689-1691. There are also three pertaining to the 1708 plot and aborted Franco-Jacobite invasion. The two largest risings, the 1715 and the 1745, saw a high number of forfeitures and imprisonments, and therefore an increase in petitions from men and women. As a result of these risings 27 women put forward petitions, 14 from the 'Fifteen, and 13 from the 'Forty-five. Of the petitioners after the 'Forty-five, nine women petitioned on behalf of men, while four did so as a result of female Jacobite activity.

Comparing this to the number of male petitioners is difficult without doing an entire study on the men as well; however, it is clear that men exceeded women in the role as client. They petitioned for their own lives, their own estates, as well as those of their friends and family. Take the example of the petitions for pardon in the papers of the Duke of Montrose in regards to the 1715. Of the 36 petitions in the collection, 12 came from women, while 24 came from men. I can confirm only that half of these 12 women were Jacobites, while the other half's political allegiance remains unknown. What is evident, however, is an increase in the number of female petitioners throughout the Jacobite era, which appears to correspond to the heightened activity and increased number of those who suffered the government’s retribution, as well as the propagandist’s pen, as a result of the 'Forty-five.

The evidence reveals that the length of time these female advocates petitioned varied from case to case. Lady Anne, Countess of Erroll, for example, appears to have sent only one petition for the release of her son in 1708,
whereas other ladies petitioned repeatedly by written correspondence and other methods at their disposal over a period of several months to several years. The actions of the Countess of Nithsdale, for example, reveal persistence and creativity in her petitioning process, beginning with petitions to the King and Commons, without success, and finally orchestrating her husband’s escape.\footnote{365}

The duration and quantity of the petitions often depended on what was being petitioned for. For example, the petitions for pardons often involved a lot less correspondence, while those regarding the estates and jointures went on for years producing stacks of letters.\footnote{366} What appears to define the difference, at least in some cases, was the time restriction surrounding the final outcome. Requests for pardons for some imprisoned men had an end date, i.e. their execution, while those in exile could go on and on. Lord Nairne, for example, was awaiting his sentence and date of execution, and so there was only a limited amount of time in which his wife could petition before the sentence was carried out. If the petitions were denied, as was the case with Lord Kilmarnock in 1746, then the execution saw the end of his wife’s work for his release. In the case of Lord Nairne, his wife’s petitions paid off, and in August 1717 he was released. The Countess of Panmure, who petitioned for the pardon and reprieve of her exiled husband, saw the end of her labours in 1723 when he died abroad. Petitions for estates differed in that they often went on for a few years, as with the Countess of Panmure, whose went on for eight years.\footnote{367} Petitions for pensions and jointures sometimes went on even longer, some in excess of twenty years, as in the case of Lady Mary Stewart of Ardsheal.\footnote{368}

\textit{Pardons}

So who were the female clients who sought pardons for their Jacobite connections? Some of these petitioners were Jacobites, while others were not, and there are those whose political convictions remain unknown due to a lack of evidence. The fact that many families contained both Whigs and Jacobites

\footnote{365}Stephen Grace (ed.), \textit{A Letter from the Countess of Nithsdale, &c.}, London, 1827.\footnote{366}For example, for Lady Margaret, Countess of Panmure, a minimum of 27 letters between the years 1716 and 1729 have been recorded in the NRS alone regarding petition for her jointure: NRS, GD45/14/276, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, 1716-1721; GD45/14/276, (6), 1716, 1718 & 1723; GD45/14/220, (3), 1716; GD45/14/244 (11), 1716-1729; GD45/14/280 (1); 1716; NRS, GD220/5/653, Papers of the Graham Family, Dukes of Montrose.\footnote{367}NRS, ES60, Records of the Exchequer: Forfeited Estates: Particular Estates, Panmure.\footnote{368}NRAS840, Stewart Society, Ardsheil Papers, Edinburgh.
makes it impossible to determine a woman’s stance based on the nature of her petition. Lady Janet Bruce (nd.), for example, who wrote to James Graham, 1st Duke of Montrose (1682-1742), in 1716 on behalf of her brother, remarked that ‘no doubt every body will endeavour to make their cases as favourable as they can’.  

By this statement she revealed the common nature of petitioning, which often involved either an absolute denial of the accusation, or severe repentance and a firm resolution of amendment. Lady Bruce went on to petition for her brother, Thomas Bruce (later 7th Earl of Kincardine), who was caught up ‘in this miserabelle rebellion’, defending his participation by declaring that ‘he was not a person of that distinction either in parts, estate or interest as to have a share in their contrivances’.  

She added that he was not with the Jacobites long, and had joined them solely due to a favour he had received from Lord Mar, which had obligated him.  

Lady Bruce may or may not have been sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, and this form of letter writing makes it difficult to determine her political stance. This was the case with many female petitioners, and likely their intention. The political position of such women therefore remains unknown unless it is revealed by another source.

Many of the Jacobite petitioners had been heavily involved in the activities themselves, but this did not prevent them from petitioning for loved ones who had been caught. Lady Anne, the Countess of Erroll, who is one of at least ten such women, was active in the years before the 'Forty-five, and evaded the government’s wrath, for her role in the aborted Franco-Jacobite Invasion in 1708. The plotting for this campaign endured over the period of the Union debates in the early 1700s, and the implementation of the Act in 1707, and involved a number of elite Scots, both men and women. Numerous men, including Lady Anne’s son, Charles Hay, 13th Earl of Erroll, were imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, whereas Lady Anne evaded punishment and does not even appear to have been suspected by the government. It was she who petitioned for her son’s release.  

At this time, with the Jacobite threat not quite as apparent as the 1715 would make it, the consequences of women’s participation appeared negligible. Even after the 'Fifteen and the 'Nineteen, Jacobite women were either not suspected, or ignored. It was only after the 'Forty-five that the

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370 Ibid.  
371 Ibid.  
372 GD220/5/169, ‘Countess of Erroll, to Montrose’, 4th May 1708. The 1708 will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.
government took action against these women. So until the 'Forty-five, a
cwoman’s Jacobitism would not have necessarily hindered her process of appeal
or petition for another.

As women became a target of the government’s punitive measures, the
petitions were not only from women but for them. Lord Justice Andrew Fletcher
of Saltoun, received several petitions after the 'Forty-five regarding imprisoned
women in Edinburgh Castle.373 Of the eleven Scotswomen who were imprisoned
for their treasonable actions during the 'Forty-five, two were involved in
petitioning for their own release, while another petitioned for her mother. Lady
Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth, and Lady Margaret, Viscountess of Strathallan,
were both arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle in February 1746, and
liberated later that same year.374 While they were under lock and key both
petitioned Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun for their own release, and Lady
Strathallan’s daughter also joined her mother's pleas. She argued that her
mother was ‘confined in the Castle of Edinburgh since the Middle of February
last for no fault of her own that she is conscious of.’375 The tactics for these
women were denial of participation and profession of ignorance of the reason
for their incarceration.

What did Jacobite Scotswomen do when making petitions for pardon,
and how did they go about it? The first step was to seek out sympathetic Whig
peers and influential Scots in power and approach these men either directly, or
indirectly via their wives, as was usual in the patronage system. Finding these
patrons was not hard in the early years of Jacobitism due to the patriotic fervour
of many notable Whig Scots such as James, the 1st Duke of Montrose, Sir David
Dalrymple (1665-1721), the Lord Advocate, and Duncan Forbes, deputy Lord
Advocate (1685-1747).376 These and other Scotsmen leaned toward clemency,
for their fellow Scots.377 The Duke of Montrose was one such patron from whom
many Scots sought favour in general, but particularly for the interest of those
implicated in Jacobite affairs. After the 'Forty-five Saltoun received numerous
petitions on behalf of Jacobites as well. He too was also noted for his ‘mild and
judicious manner’ toward his fellow Scots and ‘abstained as much as possible

373 NLS, MS.17518, The Fletcher Papers of Saltoun, 1746.
374 Seton and Amot, Prisoners, i, p. 214.
376 Sankey, Prisoners, p. 119; Szechi, 1715, p. 244.
377 Szechi, 1715, p. 204.
from severe measures’. Seeking out the most influential men was customary in the normal realm of patronage for Jacobite Scots, and this same strategy was utilised with regards to their Jacobite affairs.

The evidence has revealed that nine of the Scots who petitioned the Duke of Montrose regarding Jacobite affairs were elite women. For example, the Countess of Erroll wrote to Montrose to seek his interest for her son, languishing in Edinburgh Castle. Montrose, Lord President of the Council of Scotland, was one of the sixteen peers elected to Westminster in 1707, after the Act of Union was passed. He was also Secretary of State appointed by George I, and in a position to exert great influence and power. Lady Anne not only used the friendship and connection of Montrose to her family to the benefit of her son, but she also made clear her confidence in his ‘power’ to do so.

‘Your Grace has always been pleased to allow my Son that's now in the Castle of Edr: such a share in your friendship that I canot hear of his wanting any effect of favor from those who has power to give it.’

As a consequence of the forthcoming assistance, the Countess reassured Montrose of her son’s fidelity. ‘I am sure your Grace has none in the world that is more faithfully your humble servant then he’.

Another important step taken by female clients seeking a pardon was to recruit other family members and close connections to join them. Women such as Amelia Murray, Lady Lovat (d.1743), and Lady Margaret Nairne, enlisted the support of others in making appeals on behalf of their imprisoned kin, making Jacobite petitioning a collective effort. William Murray, 2nd Lord Nairne, one of the peers imprisoned in the Tower, had received his indictment and sentence of death in January 1716. In February, after a momentary reprieve, Lady Nairne wrote to her daughter Lady Strathallan to encourage the efforts made towards

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380 They were: Lady Margaret Nairne (1669-1747), Lady Margaret, Countess of Southesk (1696-1747), Lady Anne Maule of Kellie (d.1729), Lady Margaret, Countess of Pannmure (d.1731), Katherine Cochrane, Lady Smythe of Metheun (1691-1772), Lady Grizel Cochrane (d.1728), Lady Janet Bruce (nd.), and Lady Anne, Dowager Countess of Hume (nd).
381 Ronald M. Sunter, ‘Graham, James, first duke of Montrose (1682–1742),’ *ODNB*.
383 Ibid.
his release. ‘[T]he Danger is not over yet, so Let not our freinds give over’.385 In
the same letter she praised the Lord Advocate, ‘for writing so offten about my
Lord’, most likely instigated by her persistent correspondence, and asked her
daughter to ‘send this Letter to the Duke of Atholl’, her brother-in-law, for
continued favour toward her lord.386 At the beginning of March, Lady Lovat also
wrote to the Duke of Atholl, her brother, to ‘intreat yu would be pleased to
continue yt compation & doe all yt is posible to preserve a life yt is soe neer &
deare to us.’387 Atholl had several great attributes in his favour. He was a man of
status, political position and power and, being on the right side of the
government, likely one that others would listen to. He was also family. Lady
Lovat encouraged her brother to be persuasive and recruit others to Lord
Nairne’s cause. ‘Ye justice Clark ye one here yt is not friendly, soe yt if yu can
prevaille wth him to be overways disposed it wold doe well, & any other at
London yt thought fitt of yt partie’.388 In May 1716, Lady Nairne wrote to her
sister-in-law, Lady Lovat, and again to her daughter, requesting their continued
assistance.389 In response, Lady Lovat sent word to her daughter’s father-in-law,
Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre (1656-1735), informing him that both she and
Lady Strathallan were to:

advise our friends to make all ye intrest they can while ye justis
Clark is at London for they think one thing he has gon for is to
gett instructions about ye Gentlemens trayalls here, which she
says will be like ye Laws of ye Meads & Persians, unalterable.390

Lady Nairne did not stop with letters to relatives, but also wrote to connections
such as the Duke of Montrose and the Duke of Marlborough.391 The Countess of
Panmure also wrote to family members on behalf of her then exiled husband
and the Scots who had been captured. In a letter to her brother George
Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney (1666-1737), she asked him to contact the Duke of
Argyll in order that a deal be made for the Scots in trouble over the ’Fifteen.
What is interesting is that in her letter she asked him to ensure that they did not
have to make oaths but promise to live peaceably. Perhaps, this diplomatic

385 Chrons, ii, p. 228.
386 Ibid.
387 Ibid., pp. 228-29.
388 Ibid., p. 229.
390 Ibid.
391 Letter to Duke of Marlborough quoted in, Széchi, 1715, p. 32; GD220/5/683, ‘Lady Nairne to the Duke of Montrose’, 9th June,
1716; NRS, GD45/1/211/3, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, ‘Petition to the House of Commons’, 1717.
manoeuvre was suggested to bring peace and order quickly without putting Jacobite Scots in the awkward position of refusing an oath and creating greater difficulties.\textsuperscript{392}

The next step was to take the matter beyond family connections, local magnates, and Scottish politicians and go to the parliament, the court, and the King. Women sought the King’s mercy by employing advocates and/or writers to draft an official petition on their behalf, or they sent their petition via a peer who knew the system, or they tried to place the petition directly into the hands of the King. Lady Nairne was not satisfied with her efforts to get her family members and broader connections to petition on her husband’s behalf. She took the matter to George I, and she was not the only one to do so.\textsuperscript{393} However, Lady Nairne did not go directly, but sought the intervention and patronage of particular ladies of the Royal court. She made her petition via the woman she called ‘Madame Pigbourgh’, otherwise known as Countess Johanna Sophia of Hohenlohe-Langenburg, or Sophia of Lippe-Buckenberg (1673-1743), the Princess of Wales’s Lady-in-Waiting.\textsuperscript{394} She sent her gifts such as ‘an embroidered handkerchief’ made by her daughter, and solicited her intercession. In June 1716, Lady Nairne wrote to Montrose from the Tower of London—where she visited her imprisoned husband—to inform him of her progress with the Countess Sophia. She also sought his advice on how to further proceed with her petition for pardon, having heard that the House of Commons had approved the petitions of some women, ‘but closed the door for all others’.\textsuperscript{395} Initially Lady Nairne avoided the Commons due to such reports, but eventually petitioned them in 1717; however, this was in regards to her estate, rather than her husband’s pardon. In the case of her husband’s release she assumed in her letter to Montrose that the appropriate course of action was to petition the House of Lords, ‘but in this I’ll beg yr Grace Direction’.\textsuperscript{396} His reputation for leniency toward the rebel Scots was well known, as ‘he feared the government would be overly harsh’, and so even under criticism he responded favourably to the petitions he received.\textsuperscript{397} She informed Montrose that her petition had been received by the King, via the Countess to the Princess, who

\textsuperscript{392} GD45/14/249, ‘Countess of Panmure to Earl of Orkney’, December, 1715.
\textsuperscript{393} Sankey, Prisoners, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{395} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{396} GD45/1/211, ‘Lady Nairne’s Petition to the House of Commons’, (1717?); Ibid.
\textsuperscript{397} Sunter, ‘Graham, James’.
ensured it reached the royal hands, being herself sympathetic to Jacobites. 398 
Lady Nairne’s perseverance paid off and success was finally achieved. Lord 
Nairne was reprieved by an Act of Parliament in August 1717. 399 

The Jacobite client made the majority of her petitions in writing, and 
they were composed with varying degrees of formality. According to Daybell, 
every ‘distinct situation required a different form of epistolary writing’, and 
petitioning was one of them. 400 The writing of a letter of petition was a well- 
refined art by the eighteenth century and mastered by members of the elite. This 
type of letter fell into the category of formal letters, which carried with them a 
set of conventions that were more set in stone. 401 In the letters I have studied, 
these conventions were adhered to, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on 
the relationship between the client and patron. For example, Lady Grizel 
Cochrane (nd.), who does not appear to be a Jacobite, wrote simply and rather 
informally to her nephew, the Duke of Montrose. 402 A closer adherence to the 
strictures can be seen the Countess of Panmure’s letters to the same man. 403 

Many books written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 
clearly laid out how certain letters, including the petition, were to be written. 404 
First the letter must contain praise for the addressee, from whom the writer 
sought assistance. Then the writer must ‘stress the “acquaintance with the 
party”… as a reason for granting the request.’ 405 Two formal letters of petition 
written by the Countess of Panmure to Montrose in 1716 are peppered with 
personal elements reflecting their connection and familiarity, which likely aided 
the letter’s favourable reception. 406 

I am so fullie convinc’d of y’ G’s 407 good inclinations to do Kindness 
to y’ friends, that I cannot doubt but you’ll show it and in 
particular to My Lord. 407 
Thirdly, the writer’s request ‘should be “just, lawful, and honest”, and within the 
power of the addressee to perform.’ 408 Montrose had the power to assist

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398 W. H. Wilkins, Caroline the Illustrious Queen Consort of George II. and sometime Queen-Regent. A Study of her Life and Times, London, Longmans, Green, & Co. 1901, p. 239. 
399 Paul Hopkins, ‘Nairne, William, styled second Lord Nairne and Jacobite first earl of Nairne (1664–1726)’, ODNB. 
405 Ibid., p. 70. 
407 Ibid. 
Jacobite prisoners, and did, in fact, aid several, including Col. Urquhart and David Smythe of Methven.\textsuperscript{409} However, the Countess of Panmure’s husband was not a prisoner but an exile, and it was a pardon and reprieve that she sought in order that he might return home to Scotland. Although Montrose had the power, the Earl of Panmure was a peer—the participation of whom was not looked upon kindly by the establishment—and had played a significant role in the 'Fifteen; in his case, a pardon was much harder to achieve.\textsuperscript{410} The fourth requirement of a petition letter was that the writer ‘should explain the “order or means” whereby the request may be carried out.’\textsuperscript{411} Lady Margaret reassures the Duke of the benefit of granting an indemnity as ‘the greatest securitie this present establishment could have’, but can give little else.\textsuperscript{412}

The fifth element, which does not appear in Lady Margaret’s letter, is an excuse for the behaviour of the subject of the petition. This involved a variety of responses. Sometimes excuses were made by the petitioners who declared that the offence was not the accused’s fault, and that they had been coerced. In petitions for Jacobites, the aim of the excuse was to indicate that the subject had changed their allegiance away from that of the Stuarts. Lady Anna Maule made clear her intentions in her petition by denoting the 1715 as a ‘mesurable rebellion’.\textsuperscript{413} Language was important to a letter of petition and the choice of words was key to transmitting the right message. Opposition was important to express, but there were several ways to do this. One was to use language that suggested ‘female weakness and fragility for strategic effect’, as Lady Margaret used in her second letter to Montrose.\textsuperscript{414} This gave the impression of their opposition, even if they could not speak for their husband, whilst simultaneously working on the patron’s sympathies. ‘[I]t is hard poor women should be reduc’d to misery for what they could not help.’\textsuperscript{415} The final element is the expression of ‘gratitude and remuneration’ for the favour, if granted.\textsuperscript{416} In the case of a ‘rebel’ and traitor, the repayment necessary was that of unswerving fealty and humble obedience. Lady Margaret promised Montrose that ‘My Lord ... would live peaceablie hereafter and never give any disturbance to the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{410} Szechi, 1715, pp. 204-5
\bibitem{411} Daybell, \textit{Material Letter}, p. 70.
\bibitem{412} GD220/5/653/1, ’Countess of Panmure to Montrose’, 22nd Feb., 1716.
\bibitem{413} GD220/5/667, ’Countess of Panmure to Montrose’, 8th March, 1716.
\bibitem{414} Daybell, \textit{Women Letter-Writers}, p. 231.
\bibitem{415} GD220/5/653/2, ’Countess of Panmure to Montrose’, 3rd March, 1716.
\bibitem{416} Daybell, \textit{Material Letter}, p. 70.
\end{thebibliography}
Government’ again.\footnote{GD220/5/653/1, ‘Countess of Panmure to Montrose’, 22nd Feb., 1716.} Strict adherence to the epistolary convention did not guarantee success. Despite Lady Margaret’s attempts, her husband never received a pardon, and died exiled in Paris eight years later.\footnote{Stuart Handley, ‘Maule, James, fourth earl of Panmure (1658/9–1723)’, ODNB.}

After the failure of the rising in 1715, Jacobite Scotswomen had to subtly manipulate the manner of their petitions to George I, because he avoided contact with the wives of the prisoners.\footnote{Sankey, Prisoners, p. 30.} Lady Margaret, Countess of Southesk (1696-1747), Lady Anne Kerr, Dowager Countess of Home (d. 1727), Lady Margaret Nairne, and Lady Winifred, Countess of Nithsdale, were among those who petitioned the King. Lady Nithsdale’s approach was considered an absolute failure, even though she managed to orchestrate her husband’s successful escape. Lady Nairne’s on the other hand, was a marked success.\footnote{GD220/5/667, ‘Anna Maule to Montrose’, 8th March 1716.} The other two ladies used the formalities of appeal through other noble sources and the employment of an official to write up their petitions. They even petitioned in French, due to the King’s lack of English, which sought to ensure he could read it if he chose to. The Countess of Southesk made her ‘humble Requete’ written upon paper of the highest quality, emblazoned with a watermark of the fleur-de-lis, and in a professional hand. She spoke of ‘La misere et la Calamite’, while the dowager Countess of Hume referred to her son’s behaviour in the ‘detestable Rebellion’.\footnote{Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 242.} These women did what they could to make their petition more appealing and therefore more successful.

Female clients often wrote what the recipient wanted to hear, rather than what they actually believed or knew to be so. Lady Maule is a perfect example. In a letter to Montrose in March 1716, she described her husband as ‘deeply sensibele of his crime’, and went on to excuse him, attempting to put a distance between her husband and the Jacobites. She said that he had ‘left the rebells a considerable time befor the Pretender went from Perth’.\footnote{Hew Blair-Imrie, ‘Maule, Harry, styled fifth earl of Panmure (1659–1734)’, ODNB; Handley, ‘Maule, James’, John Sinclair, Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 242.} However, her husband had not abandoned the Cause, rather he was intimately engaged in the political and military machinations in 1715/6, and would not have considered his support of James VIII & III a crime. Lady Maule, however, was writing in order to appease Montrose and gain his favour.\footnote{GD220/6/1781/5, ‘The Countess of Southesk to the King’, nd.; GD220/6/1781/6, ‘Dowager Countess of Hume to the King’, nd.}
in the previous century, and the constant changes in government, which happened often in times of rebellion, the ruling elite, were well aware such things could easily happen again. Today’s winners, ‘may become the losers of tomorrow.’\footnote{Sankey, Prisoners, pp. 100-01.} With this in mind the ruling elite in Scotland retained an ‘appreciation on the part of all concerned’, being sympathetic to their apparent enemy.\footnote{Ibid.} This sympathy was taken advantage of by these petitioning women. In November, after the Battle of Sherrifmuir, Harry Maule had engaged in the rescue of his brother, the Earl of Panmure, and although the brothers’s movements are a little hazy, they clearly acted in support of the exiled monarch, as they hosted James VIII & III at Brechin Castle, not long after his landing at Peterhead (22nd December, 1715).\footnote{Handley, ‘Maule, James’.} Again, Lady Anna wrote in a manner to obtain her husband’s reprieve. To ensure Montrose’s patronage, she stated that her husband had been ‘under noe oathes promesces nor engadgments to him or any of his partie’, which meant that he had made no oath, and therefore had not broken an oath. Her husband was not an oath-breaker, a significant point in his favour, highlighted by his wife.\footnote{GD220/5/867, ‘Countess of Panmure to Montrose’, 8th March, 1716.}

Another form of petitioning used by Jacobite Scotswomen involved the services of the legal profession. Petitions written by advocates and writers followed an even more concrete format than those written by the women themselves. They began as petitions begin even today in Scotland:

\begin{quote}
Unto the Right Honourable
The Lord Justice Clerk

The Petition of Jean Lady Dowager of Perth

Humbly Sheweth ...
\end{quote}\footnote{NLS, MS.17518/180, The Fletcher Papers of Saltoun, ‘Petition of Jean, Dowager of Perth’, 1746.}

Then the petition stated the facts and made a form of apology and excuse for the charge, or a complete denial of it, before stating their desire, imploring for mercy, and assuring the recipient of their loyalty, zeal and devotion to the government. In 1746 Lady Jean, Dowager Duchess of Perth, a well-known Jacobite, made a formal petition to the Lord Justice Clerk and the King, having employed Messieurs Graeme (Advocate) and McFarlane (Writer of the Signet) to write on her behalf, regarding the charge of treason in 1746.\footnote{Ibid.} The petition to
Lord Milton began by stating where Lady Perth was and why—according to the authorities—and then denied the allegations, declaring that:

as she is entirely sensible of her own Innocence, in that Respect as well as with Regard to every other Circumstance that can give the least umbrege to the Government, she begs leave to make this Application to your Lops Intreating you wou'd be pleas'd to Enquire into any Circumstances of Guilt allledged against her.430

Then Graeme and McFarlane stated the intention of the petition, which was to seek bail. The deterioration of the health of the prisoner, a reoccurring theme in petitions of this kind, was used as a reason for clemency.

[Y]our Petitioner Humble hopes your Lordship will the more Readily Grant this Request In Consideration of the Period of Life your Petitioner Is now arrived att and the Danger her health is in, if her confinement shou'd continue much longer.431

The writers then inform the recipient, in this case the King, of the ‘good and peaceable behaviour of the said Jean Lady Dowager of Drummond’, to reassure them of the loyalty to follow any show of mercy.432

Did Jacobite Scotswomen use methods that were particular to their sex in their campaigns for pardon? Some women went beyond letter-writing and used their feminine wiles to obtain success. As previously discussed, Ladies Nairne and Nithsdale are well known for their indefatigable efforts to obtain a stay of execution and get their husbands out of the Tower. Like many other petitioning women, Lady Nithsdale dressed in black mourning clothes—indicating the widowed state she was about to enter due to the King’s command—and threw herself on the king’s mercy, but to no avail.433 Lady Isabella Gordon, Countess of Cromartie (1704/5-1769), known as ‘Bonnie Bell’ for her beauty, also petitioned the King in person for her husband in 1746, unsuccessfully.434 However, her petition to Frederick, the Prince of Wales, to intercede on her behalf was successful, and she obtained her husband’s pardon from execution and release from prison.435 Apparently her charms, merits and attractions played a

430 Ibid.
431 Ibid.
434 NA, SP 36/92/2/1, ‘Petition of Isabella Countess of Cromarty’, 1746.
significant role in her success. Janet Duff, Lady Kinloch of Kinloch (b.1710), employed a mighty assault of both charm and cunning to free not only her husband, but also herself. Imprisoned in 1746 for her Jacobite activities, Lady Kinloch was released literally days later and even obtained from her captor, Commander Everard Faulkner, a protected passage from her place of detention in Inverness to her home in Dundee, where she was to remain until the troubles were over. However, she then obtained a pass on a ship to London by way of General William Blakeney, and the assurance that her passage south would be unhindered by government soldiers, which she took to pursue her husband’s release. Lady Kinloch’s good fortune was ordered by top-ranking government officials, even ‘By vertue of an Order from His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland Dated the 26th of May 1746’. How she managed such a quick release when the other ladies waited months before they were shown any clemency, and after much petitioning, is unknown; as is the reason for such favour shown to a Jacobite lady. Lady Kinloch did something to gain not only her freedom, but as good as a government escort to London. Her good fortune continued, and when her husband had been sentenced and remanded in custody, he managed to escape. Whether his wife was behind this is unknown, but quite possible.

Regarding the successes and failures of petitions for pardons, it is important to note that success was neither necessarily gendered, nor a sign of how well the client petitioned. The reality was that the government had to plan how it was going to deal with this large group of criminals, whose crime was treason and required execution by law. The government could not be seen to be soft or lenient, allowing traitors to run amok, but neither could it execute all the Jacobites they captured. Those imprisoned in Scotland had gained such widespread ‘popular sympathy’ that the government was afraid of repercussions. In 1716 they moved ‘eighty-nine prisoners from Edinburgh to Carlisle to be tried by English juries.’ This in itself ‘aroused fury among all

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436 Ibid., p. 436.
438 Ibid.
439 Ibid.
440 Ibid.
classes in Scotland’, but removed the problem from Scottish soil.\footnote{Ibid.} While the reason for the success or failure of certain petitions is hard to determine, it is quite possible that certain prisoners were released as a sign of goodwill and to placate the populus, while others were possibly released due to their connections with patrons of high standing in the government and political circles. Montrose informed Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount Townshend (1674-1738), regarding his cousin James Urquhart, that ‘HRH did not feel justified in making an exception for Col. Urq’; however, Urquhart eventually did receive a reprieve.\footnote{GD220/5/690, ‘Montrose to Visc. Townshend’, 1st Sept., 1716. The Colonel was eventually released and went on to become one of the most notable Jacobite agents for Scotland until his death in 1741.} Whether it was the nature of petitioning by his aunt, Lady Grizel Cochrane, who like the persistent women in the bible wrote over fifty letters for his release; the Duke’s influence; or the good humour of the King? is unknown. What can be said is that connections did not always ensure success. The Countess of Panmure’s failed petitions for her husband illustrate this fact.

Property and Pensions

Jacobite Scotswomen had to petition hard in order to obtain financial stability following the loss of their family estates. Securing the life of a Jacobite confrere was paramount, but not far behind this was elite women’s family livelihood. Petitions regarding the forfeited estates, their jointures, and pensions were significant to elite Scotswomen, who struggled financially because of their husbands’ attainders and forfeitures. With their men in exile, imprisoned or dead, and not in a position to aid their wives and children financially, the women were, in most cases, left in Scotland to fend for themselves. These women had to think of the financial and material welfare of their family, and therefore work in order to get their estates back. They followed much the same pattern and method as the petitions for pardons, mixing perseverance with creativity, as they set to work to protect or regain their family assets. Lady Mary, Viscountess of Kenmure (d. 1776), was one of the Scottish peeresses to suffer the loss of her husband by execution in 1716. After a traumatic time in the Tower of London, awaiting the sentence and date for execution, the grieving Viscountess returned immediately to Scotland. There she
seized the family papers and charter chest in order to hamper ‘the forfeited estates commission’, and claimed that ‘the estate had been conveyed through a trust to her eldest son’. Then when the estates went up for sale, she re-acquired them through the aid of friends, and saved them for her son. Before she left Scotland in haste to follow her captured husband to London, Lady Nithsdale buried the estates papers documenting the transfer of their estates to her son. This was to ensure they would not fall into the wrong hands and be inadvertently destroyed and their estates lost. She managed successfully to secure the estates for her son and in 1723, upon his coming of age, he moved in. However, when it came to her jointure, or any life rents at this time, she was thwarted by this same son, who was unwilling to cooperate.

Securing their jointure was more difficult for some women than for others, and many Scotswomen had to go south to London to petition the parliament. Lady Margaret, Countess of Panmure, for example, wrote many dozens of letters in an attempt to secure her jointure. Much of her correspondence regarding the estates was addressed to an Alexander Hamilton, who conducted her legal affairs in this matter by attending parliament and making petitions to both the King and the House of Commons. However, it appears she began her petitioning with the Duke of Montrose, following up her second letter of petition regarding her husband’s pardon, with a request for her jointure. Before she stated her intention, she justified her petition by asserting her own loyalty, and therefore emphasising the injustice in making her suffer as though she had behaved like her husband:

I cannot but think my case full as favourable and whatever may be said as to the mens having brought their misfortunes on themselves yet I thank God I cannot reproach my selfe in having had any hand in the sad circumstances I am now in which was not in my power to prevent and it is hard poor women should be

445 Paul Hopkins, ‘Gordon, William, sixth Viscount Kenmure and Jacobite marquess of Kenmure (d. 1716)’, ODNB.
447 Maxwell Stuart, Lady Nithsdale, p. 66.
448 Henrietta Taylor, Lady Nithsdale and Her Family, London, Lindsay Drummond Ltd., 1939, p. 175.
449 Ibid.
450 ‘Tis likely Lady Southesk may be now going for London about her jointure, as I hear several other ladies are going.’ ‘The Duke of Mar to Lord Southesk’, in CSP, iii, p. 487, January 28th 1717.
reduc’d to misery for what they could not help. Lady Panmure’s petitioning was unsuccessful in the beginning; her requests were flatly refused in 1716. However, she was persistent and the legal aid of Alexander Hamilton paid off. She met with success in 1717, being granted her jointure as if she was a widow, which became customary for the exiles’s wives.

Pleading upon the mercy of the government with stories of hardship and (relative) poverty, was a common tactic among the petitioners. Lady Jean, Duchess of Perth, petitioned as a widow after the ’Fifteen, although her exiled husband was still alive. ‘Your Petitioner with Four younger Children, are now left Destitute of any Means of Subsistence, nor can Your Petitioner have any Relief without the Aid of this Honourable House.’ In her letter to King George I, Lady Jean referred to those who had received mercy by an Act of Parliament initiated ‘to enable his Majesty to make Provision for the respective Wives and Children’. She then lists them to make her point that as they have received mercy, so should she. Lady Jean then obtained the help of her sister-in-law Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, Duchess of Gordon (1681/2-1760), to corroborate her story and join her plea. Lady Henrietta wrote to three members of the House of Lords, confirming the plight of her sister-in-law, and assuring each of them that Lady Perth and her five young children had nothing to subsist on but the generosity of her friends. Lady Henrietta wrote reaffirming her faith in the recipients of her letters, and therefore the government’s clemency, regarding not only her sister-in-law, but all the women and children who were suffering due to the men’s Jacobitism.

I make no doubt, but when the Case of all the unfortunate Lady’s of this Kingdom and ther poor Children Comes before you, but that you wile have that Compasstion that Every honest good natur’d man must be Sensible off, in Such a circumstance.

This particular tactic of appeal was not necessarily a reflection of actual poverty.

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453 Ibid.
455 E650/63/21, ‘Account due by Lady Panmure to Alexander Hamilton’, July 1718; and, Handley, ‘Maule, James’, ODNB.
459 Ibid.
The Countess of Panmure is a good example, for she had no children to look after, and managed to ensure that not all the estates were sacrificed in the forfeiture.\textsuperscript{460} She was a shrewd estate manager. Nevertheless, she pled to Montrose saying ‘it is hard, poor women should be reduc’d to misery for what they could not help.’\textsuperscript{461} There may have been some women and families who struggled financially, although it was more likely those who had fled abroad, than the women who stayed in Scotland. As for the forfeited estates of the 'Fifteen, the Scottish Commission has been labelled a ‘spectacular bureaucratic fiasco’, on the side of the government.\textsuperscript{462} Many landowners, thwarted it by retaining their properties, or maintaining residence within them after forfeiture, or reacquired them soon after.\textsuperscript{463} In her petition, Lady Perth’s aim was to elicit compassion through the use of female rhetorical strategies, which played on beliefs regarding female weakness, the plight of widows, and the duties of kinswomen to look after their family members.\textsuperscript{464}

Women petitioning for their husband’s estates, jointures, and claims against the estates began primarily with the 'Fifteen, continued after the 'Forty-five, and on through the century. Lady Mary Hamilton of Baldoon (1677-1760), Lady Margaret Montgomerie, Baroness of Sleat (1716-1799), and Lady Ann Cameron of Lochiel (d.1761), are just three examples of at least 20 Scotswomen battling to regain their jointures from the estates well after the dust of a Jacobite rising had settled. Lady Mary petitioned not only for the estates, but for her jointure, which had come from her own family, the Dunbars of Baldoon, to her eldest living son, Basil Hamilton of Baldoon (1696-1742). These petitions went on from 1716 to the early 1720s.\textsuperscript{465} Meanwhile, Lady Margaret’s claims from her husband’s involvement in the 'Fifteen until the mid-1720s.\textsuperscript{466} Lady Lochiel petitioned for the payment of her jointure from Cameron estates of Lochiel, from after the ‘Forty-five until the mid-1760s.\textsuperscript{467} This was almost twenty years after the rising and the death of her husband in 1748. Jointures were one of the

\textsuperscript{460} Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen, pp. 176-7.  
\textsuperscript{461} GD220/5/653, ‘Countess of Panmure to Montrose’, 3rd March, 1716.  
\textsuperscript{462} Sankey, Prisoners, p. 138.  
\textsuperscript{463} Ibid., pp. 138-43. Sankey’s chapter on the Forfeited Estates Commission in 1715 gives a clear account of the collaboration of the Scottish Court of Session, the attainted landowners, and factors to keep the estates in the landowners hands.  
\textsuperscript{464} Daybell, Women Letter-Writers, p. 231.  
\textsuperscript{467} NRS, E768/5,17,28, Exchequer Records: Forfeited Estates 1745: Particular Management: Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Lochiel Estate, Argyll and Inverness Counties, ‘Claims of Anne Campbell, Lady Lochiel’, 1749.
most tedious and time-consuming of all the petitions.

Requests for pensions were common in the patronage system of eighteenth-century Britain. What stands out in Jacobitism is that the claims for pensions and patronage were often directed to foreign courts. Jacobite Scotsmen often applied to various kings, nobles and politicians in numerous courts throughout Europe, seeking positions within their courts, or most commonly within their armies. However, for Scotswomen’s cries for foreign aid were often for pensions. These were most commonly made to the exiled Stuart court, as it stood as the central body of patronage for Jacobites abroad. This significant patron, and the system of patronage, received countless requests, many of which went unfulfilled. For a short period there were two major Stuart benefactors, as there were two royal Stuart courts. Queen Mary of Modena, in St. Germain until her death in 1718 was quite separate from her son, James VIII & III, who was expelled from France after the Treaty of Utrecht. His residence, and therefore his court, moved several times between his expulsion and the death of the queen mother; moving from Avignon and throughout Italy, to its establishment in Rome.

The Stuart Papers are filled with requests for patronage from women. Many Scots appealed for small aids for assistance, for example, to pay for the funeral costs of a Stuart adherent who had died in exile, or the general costs of subsistence.468 There were also those who sought positions, such as the Countess of Nithsdale, who had hoped to be a lady-in-waiting to Princess Clementina, but was overlooked for another.469 The majority of women, however, sought pensions from the exiled court from its beginnings in 1689. As new generations of Scots Jacobites joined the Royals in exile, more petitions arrived. Some women, such as Lady Mary Stewart of Ardsheil (nd.), tried to take advantage of both courts. In 1757 she sought a pension from James VIII & III, when she had already obtained one from the French court and was rebuffed. ‘The King was very glad to understand ... that The Court of France had already given you a pension of 1500 Livres’, replied James’ secretary.470 The exiled court was supported by Rome, and reportedly struggled to maintain what it could,

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468 SP.265.1745.168, ‘Mr Edgar to the Viscountess of Kenmure’, 15th June 1745. She was given 500 livres by King James.
469 NRAS3666.266, ‘Lady Nithsdale to the Countess of Traquair’, 9th March, 1720.
and so often appeals for assistance were turned down. With her French pension, Lady Mary was by no means in need, but as her son, a Jacobite in exile, had died that same year, it is possible she was seeking to make the most of a grievous situation.

While a number of the petitions for both forfeited estates and imprisoned or exiled men came from their wives, they also came from mothers, sisters, aunts and daughters. Petitions written by women followed the same standards and patterns as those written by men. What is most noticeable is that men seldom petitioned for women. This is most likely due to the fact that most of the women imprisoned were widows, or because their husbands and/or sons were also imprisoned, exiled or in hiding, and therefore could not come forward on their lady’s behalf. The only case of men petitioning for a women I have discovered is that of the Countess of Southesk, who was having issues returning to Britain after the ‘Fifteen. Both her grandfather, Alexander Montgomerie, 9th Earl of Eglinton (1660-1729), and her father, James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway (d.1746), successfully petitioned on her behalf for permission to return. Her uncle, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755), obtained a licence that would later allow the Countess to leave the country to visit her exiled husband.

**The Patroness**

The patronage of Jacobite Scots ladies for the Stuart cause was most obvious and active in 1745. Nevertheless, I have found evidence for it in previous risings also. The women able to contribute this kind of support were women from families of wealth and property. Most of them were from the peerage or within the Scottish heritor class, able to access the kind of money and materials sought. I have evidence that twenty-three Scotswomen patronised the Jacobite cause themselves, but there were most likely others. Of these women, five contributed financially, four provided goods and services, including

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471 CSP, ii, ‘James Ill. to Cardinal Albani’, May 26th 1716, p. 188.
473 NRS, GD3/5/920, *Papers of the Montgomerie family, Earls of Eglinton*, ‘Draft appeal by Alexander, ninth earl of Eglinton, on behalf of his grand-daughter, the countess of Southesk’, nd.
474 GD3/5/920; NRS, GD18/8246/5/1-50, *Papers of Clerk family of Penicuik, Midlothian*, ‘Letters to John Clerk from Brigadier John Stewart of Sorbie’, 1715. (John Stewart is the brother of James, Earl of Galloway)
475 Female Rebels.
476 See Appendix III.II.
weapons from the stores of their estates, and thirteen were hosts to either James VIII & III or his son, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and their military entourage. The last woman, Lady Mary, Duchess of Gordon, sought patronage on behalf of a Scottish Jacobite in exile. Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll, patronised the Cause on a level that surpassed most other women, as she laid her home, her goods and services, business, and merchant and family connections at the service of the Stuart court.

So when did the female Jacobite patronage occur and how long was its duration? The sources do not reveal long-term patronage; rather, the evidence shows that these women responded directly to the need of the client at the moment it was required. Most of these were isolated requests, and the patronage was most prevalent between 1705 and 1746, as the women responded to the requests of the Stuarts, and those in military leadership. The majority of activity by a Jacobite patroness took place during the Jacobite plots and risings and was limited within the bounds of these events. I have recorded two women who patronised in the lead up to the 1708, three during the 1715, and 15 who actively patronised the Cause in 1745. What is interesting is that out of the three major events for which there is evidence, the first two saw very few patrons, whereas the last saw a great increase; yet the reason does not appear clear cut. The 1708 involved not only fewer women, but fewer Scots in general. It was an aborted attempt that never quite made it off the ground. This perhaps goes some way in explaining less female attention. According to the evidence, the 1715 saw only a slight increase in female activity, and yet Szechi considers it to be 'potentially the most serious Jacobite rising of the eighteenth century'.

Then there was the 'Forty-five, which saw the largest numbers of women participating on every level. What is interesting is that it has been said that Scottish support for the Cause was, by this stage, on the decline.

What type of patronage did a Jacobite patroness give? According to the sources, the patroness responded to three types of requests from fellow Jacobites: for money, goods and services. Women such as Lady Cunningham (nd.) and Lady Methven (nd.) gave substantial sums of money, between £200

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478 Lady Anne, and her activities, will not be discussed in this chapter, as chapter seven is dedicated to the 1708, which she was central to.
479 Szechi, Jacobites, p. 73.
and £2000 for 'his Royal Highness Service'. They also contributed goods to the Highland Army in the military campaign, providing things such as horses, weapons, shoes and food. Lady Margaret Moncreif (nd.), provided her three best horses for the Prince, and sent the rest onto William, Duke of Atholl. Lady Charlotte Robertson of Lude worked in conjunction with the innkeeper in Dunkeld to ensure that the Jacobite Army was well supplied. These women contributed toward the necessities that kept the army fed, clothed, and armed.

The act of hosting—the patronage of service—was the most overt and noteworthy act of patronage conducted by Jacobite Scotswomen; it was seen most explicitly in the 'Forty-five. Political hosting was a socio-political role that belonged primarily to women in the eighteenth century. Women of the political elite were ‘political facilitators’, who used their position as hostess to “‘inveigle’ potential supporters’. Jacobite Scotswomen turned instinctively toward this form of political patronage when the Prince and his entourage journeyed through Scotland, wining, dining, and dancing him through Perthshire and beyond. The Prince was hosted at both Blair Castle and Lude House, under Lady Charlotte Robertson of Lude (d.1787), and in the home of her mother, Lady Margaret Nairne, her sister, Lady Amelia, Oliphant of Gask (1698-1774), and her Perthshire neighbour, Lady Jean, Duchess of Perth. From Inverness to Edinburgh, elite women hosted the Bonnie Prince wherever he went. However, it was not just a matter of a bed and breakfast; these women catered for a political leader, the representative of the monarch they wanted to return to Scotland. This particular role was rather different from that of the usual political hostess. Instead of trying to cajole supporters to their party, or to support their candidate, these Scotswomen used this form of patronage to aid the victory of a Stuart restoration, ensuring the Prince and his men had the necessary physical, mental and emotional support that such patronage could give.

This type of support, and indeed most forms of patronage toward the Stuarts, was dangerous. It was also very public. Although hosting was contained within the ‘privacy’ of one’s home, it was by no means a ‘private’ affair, or one that went unnoticed. The arrival of a conspicuous number of officers and

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483 Craig, Damn Rebel, p. 22.
484 Chalus, Elite Women, p. 90.
Highland soldiers, either on foot or horseback, accompanied by the very distinctive ‘Bonnie Prince’ to an estate like Moy Hall, for example, just a few miles from Inverness, was quickly noted by local government supporters and the Red Coats stationed nearby. News of the event spread rapidly throughout the locality along traditional lines of communication, that is, word of mouth, to the opposition. In this case it was Lord Loudon stationed in Inverness with his troops. Loudon descended quickly upon the estate with his troops, and what transpired has since been known as the Rout of Moy Hall.\footnote{George Menary, The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden: Lord President of the House of Session, 1685-1747, London, A. Maclehose & co., 1936, p. 265.} Lady Anne and her mother-in-law were imprisoned for their political actions after Culloden.

The act of being a Jacobite political hostess in 1745-46 involved entertaining Charles Edward and his entourage. However, there is one exception. In January 1746 Lady Anne Livingston, the Countess of Kilmarnock (1709-1747), hosted the government officer General Hawley at Callendar House for breakfast before the battle of Falkirk.\footnote{James Balfour Paul, (ed.), The Scot’s Peerage, Vol. V, Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1908, p. 179.} By doing so she created a diversion in an attempt to delay his return to his army camped nearby. Apparently, the General was ‘entertained so agreeably by this lady, that though repeated messages were sent to him, intimating the near approach of the insurgent troops,’ he did not arrive until early afternoon, when it was too late to prevail against the advancing Jacobites—one of whom was Lady Anne’s husband.\footnote{Robert Chambers, The History of Scotland, ii, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1832, pp. 209-10.} Lady Kilmarnock’s political hosting straddles both that of a hostess and an agent, significantly aiding the progress of the Cause, by a victory for the Jacobites.

Were the actions of female Jacobite patronage specific or unique to women? The actions of financial and material patronage were not gender-specific. Both men and women contributed in this manner, and often collaborated together, as seen in the above example of Lady Lude and the innkeeper Mr Scott. However, significantly more men contributed in this manner, as the ownership of land, and therefore the distribution of the wealth of the estate was primarily at their disposal.\footnote{Keith Brown, Noble Society in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2004, p. 155.} Military affairs were also part of their duty and responsibility as men and landowners.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 84, 155.} Nineteenth-century
historiography has referred to female contribution of money and goods only in passing, but the male contributions have stood out for what they were, a treasonable acts of financial and political patronage. Only the government acknowledged the true importance of Jacobite women’s patronage by imprisoning them in 1746.

The act of hosting was also not unique to women; however, it appears that the manner of their hosting was. Although not much is known about the details of what went on at these events, it has been remarked in several sources that under the patronage of hostesses there was always dancing. Whether it was a ball, or the addition of a minuet to the evening’s entertainment, the fact was that the women ‘entertained’. Lady Wemyss, mother to the Jacobite Lord Elcho, is noted in her son’s Short Account as having given a ball for the Prince in which the hostess and the Prince led the minuet. The difference between male and female hosting is difficult to assess, as the hosting reported with any detail was that by women, not men. Very little is recorded when the Prince went to a house without a hostess. The role of political hosting was generally within the province of a wife of a political husband in the eighteenth century. Organising social events within circles of the political elite was distinct to their role as women, and therefore their hosting of the Prince was within that realm.

Conclusion

Women’s involvement in eighteenth-century politics and the patronage system—quite separate from that of the royal court—is a relatively recent area of scholarship that has shown how intimately connected some elite women were to politics, and how often they worked as partners to their political husbands or male relatives.

In the early stages of Jacobitism, before the severity of government retribution, many of these Jacobite Scotsmen, and therefore their women, remained active within Scottish political and civic life, and hence within the regular patronage system. Elite women of landed status were generally ‘the recipients of regular petitions and patronage requests, binding them into the

490 Evan Charteris (ed.), A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746, Edinburgh, Mercat Press, 1973, p. 82.
491 Chalus, Elite Women, pp. 91-97.
492 Ibid., pp. 106-56.
web of patronage'. Here they were ‘expected to use the influence which they “naturally” held over the men around them to solicit petitioner’s jobs, pensions, political favours, or mercy from persecution.’ The participation of Jacobite Scotswomen within these networks and systems was often effected by the revelation of their husbands’ Jacobitism, and in some aspects altered the type and level of their participation, as their husband’s role itself clearly changed. This modified what they sought (petition), what was sought of them (intermediary), and what they could give (patroness). Once their husbands lost their titles, estate, status and positions—either in parliament or local government upon being attainted—there was less a Jacobite Scotswoman could achieve for another politically. Others would not likely have sought their intercession, for these women could no longer assist by exerting their ‘influence’, if their husbands were no longer in a position to exert power and appoint positions within the normal patronage system. It was not until later, from the 1715 on, that the Jacobite heritor class suffered attainders and forfeitures, which affected their power in society. In the early days some Scots statesmen managed to stay afloat politically, even after their position had been exposed by their treasonable actions, for example, William Keith (d.1712), the 9th Earl Marischal of Scotland. He was a Privy Councillor, a member of parliament and an anti-unionist, who was imprisoned in 1708 for his participation in the Jacobite anti-Union plot. Taken to London for trial with a pool of Scots elite, Marischal was later released on caution and without charge, the government finding no evidence with which to prosecute those Scots elite arrested. Later he became ‘one of the sixteen representative peers at Westminster in 1710’. This meant that the Earl’s wife, Lady Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal (1675-1729), also active in the 1708 plot, was still able to act within the regular patronage system.

The fundamental role of Jacobite clients and patronesses was not any different in essence than that of those who participated within the regular patronage system. Rather, it was the context and support of the Stuarts, that meant their participation diverged from the conventional system. The Jacobite

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493 Glover, Polite Society, p. 115.
494 Ibid., p. 115.
495 Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, ‘Drummond, Mary, Countess Marischal (1675–1729)’, ODNB.
497 Nicholson, ‘Drummond, Mary’.
client appealed to the same people as other women did, applying for the interest of loved ones, petitioning for matters related to estates, jointures and pensions, as other women did, for similar issues occurred outside the Jacobite context. In regards to Jacobite patronage and petitioning, both arose with greater intensity and concentration at fixed points in time, that is, after a plot was discovered, or a rising eventuated. When it came to women petitioning for pardon for their family or friends, who were prisoners or exiles, these types of requests appear to have been predominantly linked to Jacobitism; no other cause created such a stir during this period.

Reciprocity, which sits at the centre of patronage, was all about loyalties in the Jacobite context. In their petitions, more often than not, female clients pledged loyalty to the government, from whom they hoped to receive benefits. The patroness, on the other hand, in a sense bought protection and the potential elevation of her family in society by patronising the Stuart cause, if it was successful. Whenever it failed, Scots Jacobites might receive pensions and positions within the exiled court, and other foreign courts; although many did not. The patroness supported the Cause because she desired the same outcome as the client, that is, a Stuart restoration. So the reciprocal gain was, at the very least, the success of the Cause, and the return of a Stuart king.

\footnote{Chalus, Elite Women, p. 108.}
\footnote{Daniel Szechi and Margaret Sankey, 'Elite Culture and the Decline of Scottish Jacobitism 1716-1745', Past & Present, no. 173, November 2001, p. 112.}
Chapter Four: The Confidante

‘Burn all my letters’,\(^{500}\)
Harry Maule of Kellie to his Wife, Anne Lindsay, (1712?).

The privacy and security of correspondence was a concern for elite female writers of the early modern period, particularly in conveying secrets and private information.\(^{501}\) The consequences for discussing illicit political affairs and passing on news and information classed as seditious, were serious. Nevertheless, Jacobite Scotswomen still took the risk to share such transactions with their correspondents. This chapter analyses the role of the confidante in Jacobite political affairs. I will show what Scotswomen did and said as confidantes and informants to Jacobite Scotsmen, and how these women were involved in, if not central to, the political and military machinations of this period.

Being a confidante to a politically active Jacobite was a dangerous affair for both the writer and the recipient if their confidences were discovered. In the Jacobite era many Scotswomen wrote and received letters filled with confidential information, and upon fear of discovery destroyed the evidence after they had read it. It was common in the early modern period for women in particular to burn letters that contained news that they considered either personal or political, as women felt insecure about committing any type of secret to paper, in case it was found by the wrong person.\(^{502}\) It is therefore quite likely that a substantial amount, if not the majority, of clandestine Jacobite letters have been lost to historians. However, there are a number of Scots who kept the correspondences regardless of the danger, which is why there is evidence for the role of confidante. Most of the surviving letters were written by women and received by men who kept them.

Confidantes were correspondents, but not all correspondents were confidantes. Due to the nature of the evidence that such a relationship existed,
that is, letters, it is important to note that not all confidences were put in writing. In the case study of women, there are a total of fifteen confidantes. According to the evidence, seven of these women wrote only as confidantes, four as informants, and four acted as both.\textsuperscript{503}

The concept of an early modern elite woman acting as a confidante and adviser to her political husband has seen little scholarship, both within Jacobite political historiography and eighteenth-century political history more broadly. These roles have, however, been defined, delineated, and defended by Elaine Chalus in her analysis of the varying stages of female political participation in eighteenth-century electoral politics.\textsuperscript{504} Moreover, although James Daybell has not used the terms ‘confidante’, ‘adviser’, or ‘informant’ as I have used, he has described the same roles performed by elite English women prior to the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{505}

The key questions of this chapter are as follows: what did the confidante do? What was her role in Jacobite political affairs? When was the Jacobite confidante most active? I hope to discover whether this role was performed out of duty and obligation, or their own desire and initiative. I also hope to discover whether these actions were out of the ordinary for elite Scotswomen, or as Chalus has found with elite English women of the late eighteenth century, whether it was expected of them to contribute and participate.\textsuperscript{506} These questions are important to ask in order to see yet another way in which Scottish women contributed to the Jacobite cause, and therefore reveal yet another layer to Jacobitism and elite Scotswomen’s political activities.

This chapter aims to augment the scholarship on women’s illicit political ideology and female clandestine activity, which has seen increased attention in the work of Nadine Akkerman, and contributes to the scholarship on news, networks, and Jacobitism.\textsuperscript{507} Lois Schwoerer has argued that Englishwomen participated in the Glorious Revolution, with a few elite ladies in roles described

\textsuperscript{503} See Appendix III.III.
\textsuperscript{504} Chalus, Elite Women.
\textsuperscript{507} Nadine Akkerman, ‘The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control’, in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (eds.), Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2010, pp. 172-84.
as confidante, adviser and even informant.\textsuperscript{508} She has asserted that some elite English women were motivated to participate in revolution politics from the Whig/Williamite side, ‘principally to advance the interests of their families, their husbands, and themselves. At the same time, commitment to religious and political principles underlay their activities’.\textsuperscript{509} However, there is little mention of the women who acted for King James. In regards to Scotswomen, their correspondence and contribution to politics and society, this chapter builds on the attention scholars such as Rosalind Carr, Nicola Cowmeadow and Katharine Glover have given these women, advancing arguments regarding elite Scotswomen’s political contribution in eighteenth-century Scotland.\textsuperscript{510}

The political participation of a confidante was more often performed by nineteenth-century wives of the political elite, also noted as hostesses and campaign workers, according to Chalus. Most female political scholarship focuses predominantly upon the nineteenth and late-eighteenth century where scholars such as Chalus have identified political women.\textsuperscript{511} Jacqueline Eales and Daybell have shown that this role was performed among elite English women from the sixteenth century on.\textsuperscript{512} Until recently, being a confidante was not viewed as a ‘political’ role in eighteenth-century politics and society. In fact, the term ‘confidante’, when associated with women, has been more often associated with a bond and closeness within women’s friendships. It is not often connected to their political relationship with men. Chalus has argued, however, that such roles of the female political elite as the confidante ‘were rooted in the traditional female roles of wife/widow, mother, sister, and daughter’, presenting the fluidity and flexibility of women’s political roles and the interconnectedness between politics and the family.\textsuperscript{513} No doubt this is why such aspects of political


\textsuperscript{511} Chalus, Elite Women, pp. 54, 58.


\textsuperscript{513} Chalus, Elite Women, p. 17.
life have seen limited scholarship. Women have been long associated primarily with domesticity, that is, the home and family life. Their actions, therefore, have been ignored, or seen as irrelevant as they have not been associated with what has been called the political, civic, and mercantile environs.\textsuperscript{514} However, separation of the domestic and the political is not so clear-cut. Eales has argued that the running of government was not only part of the personal patronage of the monarchy but of the powerful elite families as well. ‘This led to a blurring of boundaries between the public and private spheres and it was accepted that high ranking women could [and did] exert political and other influence on behalf of their husbands, sons or wider family and clientage networks.’\textsuperscript{515} Therefore, breaking down elite women’s roles into categories for analysis helps reveal in detail women’s political activity.

The role of the informant is a further extension of the confidante and adviser roles, due to the even more covert nature of their confidences and the type of information passed on. The historiography regarding female political informants in the eighteenth-century, such as those illustrated in this chapter, has also seen very little attention. The various texts on revolutionary politics, and women’s roles within them in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have not acknowledged this as a form of female political support and action.\textsuperscript{516} Daybell has argued that the passing of news between men and women was a two-way street and not simply within the realms of men in the early modern period.\textsuperscript{517} The informant borders the confidante—being an extension of it—and the agent, and has relevant ties and connections to both roles. The role of informant with regard to elite women appears so far to be unique to revolution, treasonable politics, and clandestine activities, and as such needs more attention.

The sources of Jacobite confidantes and those referred to in this chapter come from various collections in the National Library and the National Records of Scotland, and the University of Aberdeen, including various printed collections of correspondence, much of which has not been used in scholarship.


\textsuperscript{515} Eales, \textit{Early Modern England}, p. 46.


\textsuperscript{517} Daybell, ‘Intelligence Networks’, p. 103.
on women to date. The confidante’s role in these collections is usually seen from one side of the correspondence, whether from the women’s, or the men’s letters. Due to incomplete evidence, and in many cases very few letters, it has been hard to establish the extent and depth of the confidante’s role in the relationship. These women may have performed other tasks, or different aspects of the confidante’s role, but the evidence is lacking. The evidence is the correspondence conducted between these Jacobite Scotswomen and their men, whether it be their husbands, other family members—such as a son, a brother, or a brother-in-law—or a close connection. There are two exceptions. First is that of Lady Tullibardine, confidante to her brother-in-law, William Murray, Duke of Atholl (1689-1746). In the small handful of letters between her and Duke William, both sides of the correspondence written during the 'Forty-five survive. The second exception is that of the informant Lady Penelope Mackenzie, Baroness Clanranald. Her role, however, has been revealed in neither her letters, nor any that she received; rather, her actions have come to light via third parties: her brother-in-law, Ranald MacDonald, 14th Chief of Clanranald (1677-1725), and John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar, (1675-1732).

Of the fourteen women for whom there is evidence, four were confidantes to more than one man. Lady Tullibardine was confidante to both her husband, Lord Tullibardine, and her brother-in-law, Duke William, while Lady Margaret, Countess of Panmure, corresponded with both her husband, James Maule, 4th Earl of Panmure (1658-1723), and her brother-in-law, Harry Maule of Kellie (1659-1734). Margaret Nairne was confidante to the Earl of Breadalbane and her husband’s cousin, Charles Fleming. Lady Anne, Countess of Erroll, was confidante to her brother, her son, and Col. Hooke, among others. This means that there are more examples of a confidante/adviser/informant in the statistics than there are women. The majority of the evidence is the letters from women to men; there are only four examples of men’s letters to their confidantes. There are six examples of women who wrote to their husbands, seven who wrote to another male family member, and six who wrote to a friend or connection. Of the men, two wrote to their wives, one wrote to his mother, and the fourth wrote

518 James Erskine of Aberdona (ed.), Jacobite correspondence of the Atholl Family during the Rebellion, Edinburgh, Abbotsford Club, 1840, (hereafter, Jacobite Correspondence); William Fraser (ed.), The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and Leslies, Earls of Leven, Vols.III, Edinburgh, 1890, (hereafter, Melvilles); Earl of Perth; Correspondence; Chrons.
519 Atholl.
520 CSP, ii, pp. 408, 422, 440.
to his sister.521

I have structured this chapter by breaking it into two main sections in order to analyse the differing roles of confidante and informant, which are distinguished by the level of trust and responsibility given to each role, as well as what could be a greater level of initiative in the act of corresponding regarding Jacobite affairs. The structure of the Jacobite confidante follows Chalus’ model, but I have combined her confidante and adviser, due to the similarity of these roles in the Jacobite context. I have also added my own category of informant, as it seems to be a significant role in Jacobitism and potentially other clandestine activities.

The Confidante

Women’s Letters

There were confidantes from the Revolution to the 'Forty-five. Throughout the period news was disseminated from one confidante to another; state affairs were updated; Jacobites and their welfare were reported on; and references to the Stuarts, the exiled court, and/or the Jacobite army were made. There are two confidantes from the Revolution era, one from the 1708, three from around 1710, four from the period of the 'Fifteen, one from the 1719, one from 1721, and only two from the 'Forty-five. These numbers suggest a general scarcity of activity, which is particularly surprising for the 'Forty-five, when Jacobite activity among elite women was the most visible, at least in the sources. This is probably because such letters were destroyed. What the surviving letters show is that this kind of correspondence was conducted, at the very least during the peak moments in the Jacobite era, when activity was high and plans were afoot. It is difficult to analyse the changes over time in the confidantes’ correspondence, due to the majority of the sources being concentrated into very short time periods, usually centred on an event or plot, and most with very few letters remaining.

What did a Jacobite confidante do exactly, and what was the nature of the material with which she was entrusted? The confidante was a recipient of

521 See Appendix III.III.
confidences, and although ‘required to do little in return’, she sometimes offered advice.\textsuperscript{522} In my research the confidante was a trusted intimate of Jacobite Scotsmen in general political matters, but most importantly in the treasonous affairs that surrounded a Stuart Restoration. The passing on of news was a reciprocal part of the confidante’s relationship, which was based upon ‘mutual trust and respect’\textsuperscript{523} This is evidenced in the nature of what men shared with confidantes and expected in return: that is interest, understanding, and support.\textsuperscript{524}

In the early modern period news flowed via a multitude of correspondent networks across Scotland and to the Continent, to and from men and women in the ever-growing hunger for information.\textsuperscript{525} Jacobite Scotswomen were very much part of the need for news, which they passed on, particularly to their Jacobite men. The transmission of news by women has been argued for by Daybell against the archaic view that ‘female correspondents “rarely included even a line of news in their letters”’, unlike their male counterparts.\textsuperscript{526} The fact that most of the letters in this chapter were written by women supports Daybell’s argument. Women passed on news and information they garnered from kin, contacts and newspapers about the state of affairs in Scotland regarding the Cause. This included the reprisals of the government toward Jacobites, and the status of their fellow Stuart supporters, whether prisoners, escapees, exiled or free. Just as newspapers were a source of information of news and events that had passed across Britain and Europe, so were some of these Jacobite Scotswomen, reporting affairs to those abroad. Lady Catherine Sinclair (nd.), wife of John Erskine of Alva (nd.), reported to her husband in exile on the aftermath of the ’Fifteen and what was to become of his fellow Jacobite Scots:

\begin{quote}
Perth, Aberdeen & Inverness are to be fortified if the comon people who are still under Arms will now come & surender they are to be allowd to goe home & I hear some of the Clans have done so... there came ane order to the comon Prissoners either to choose to stand there tryall or be sold to the plantations. I hear
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{522} Chalus, \textit{Elite Women}, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{523} Ibid., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{524} Ibid., p. 57.
\textsuperscript{526} Daybell, \textit{Women Letter-Writers}, p. 152.
that most have choosed to stand their tryall then live Slaves.\textsuperscript{527}

Sometime during 1709 Lady Nairne wrote to John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane (1636-1717), her husband’s cousin with whom she maintained a strong correspondence, to inform him of reports she had from the Rotterdam Gazette, regarding the actions of James Francis Edward Stuart in the battle of Malplaquet. This was a British battle in the Spanish war of succession, in which James fought on the French side against the British.\textsuperscript{528}

\[T\]he Chevalier St George was ten hours a horse back the day the last battle was fought, behav’d wt gt courage, was wounded in the Arm or Shouldr, ... inquir’d what Brittons were prisoners, & sent his own surgeons to those were wounded, & procur’d all their liberty’s from the French General.\textsuperscript{529}

This type of report conveyed by women is contrary to ideas that consider the dissemination of news a purely masculine interest.\textsuperscript{530} It alters once again the perception of eighteenth-century women’s interest and activity, as lacking interest in things political. Lady Nairne further noted to Breadalbane to the reaction of this news down south. ‘[T]his makes his name much up at London, even the Mobs begins to say his a brave youth, can fight stoutly, but Han: is a sill fellow.’\textsuperscript{531} News such as this to any Jacobite, or sympathetic Briton, was good news for the Cause, and may have softened the hearts of people toward their exiled monarch. This is one reason why preventing the spreading of such news and communications was important to the government.

The term confidante implies secrecy and confidence. Women, like men, used their contacts and connections to source covert and important information and to securely pass it on. In this case, writing letters was both a means and an end. Through one letter a confidante may receive an interesting piece of information. She was then able to circulate this news throughout her network and on to her confidante, as was common throughout the period.\textsuperscript{532} Lady Nairne informed Breadalbane, for example, that the ‘great Man, the Earle of Kinowle’ had arrived at Edinburgh, and that they expected him at Nairne House later that week. Thomas Hay, the 7th Earl of Kinnoull (1660-1718/19), was obviously a

\begin{flushleft}\textsuperscript{527} NLS, Acc.5090, Erskine Murray, Edinburgh, Alva, & Stirling, ‘Lady Catherine to John Erskine of Alva’, 23rd March 1716. \\
\textsuperscript{528} NRS, GD112/39/233/18, Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane, ‘Lady Margaret Nairne to Breadalbane’, 1709. \\
\textsuperscript{529} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{530} Daybell, ‘Suche newes’, p. 115. \\
\textsuperscript{531} GD112/39/233/18, ‘Lady Margaret Nairne to Breadalbane’, 1709. \\
\textsuperscript{532} De Vivo, ‘Paoloa Sarpi’, pp. 38-39. \end{flushleft}
great source of information for Lady Nairne, and one of her means to supply her confidantes with current affairs. She assured Breadalbane that ‘all the news he written from Edgb is that he reffers all till meeting, but bids me depend upon hearing Considerable News, both foreign and Domestick’. The news was obviously too sensitive, and perhaps even too lengthy, to be passed via letter, and therefore Kinnoull felt it was safer to convey it in person. From one confidante to another, women such as Lady Nairne greatly contributed to the dissemination of information across Scotland and beyond, keeping the Jacobite community’s wheel well-greased with up-to-date intelligence. The giving and receiving of news and information by letter, or in person, among like-minded Scots, informed, encouraged, and united Jacobites in their mutual Cause.

What did Jacobite men require from their confidantes, and what did they receive? Some women responded to their men’s requests for information and ran errands on their behalf. Lady Catherine Sinclair wrote in response to her husband a long and cryptic letter in June 1716. This particular letter, unlike her other letters, is difficult to understand, as it appears to be a form of code, with many gaps, abbreviations, and single letters used instead of full words. It is worthwhile noting that codes and ciphers were used not just by informants and spies, but by Jacobites in general, in order to safeguard the content of their letters and keep them from being intercepted. It appears Lady Catherine’s husband had requested from her a list of things which she confirmed she had fulfilled. ‘I think I have answered all your questions in yours of the 22 of Ap.’ However, the bulk of the letter refers to money and the general fear of attainders. In regard to their situation, Lady Catherine warns him of the dangers of ‘your remaining at a certain place will no Doubt hasten a sentence which will put us out of all capacity of medleing with any thing that belongs to you.’ She does more than advise her husband; in this case she demands his acquiescence. ‘I expect your complyance in this matter and if it were not absolute necessity you may be assured I wold not ask you to cross your own country if it were not absolutely necessare to do so.’ This advisory action of the confidante could be

535 GD1/44/7/10, Title deeds belonging to Major A Erskine Murray and papers of Sir John Erskine of Alva, ‘Lady Catherine to Sir John Erskine of Alva’, 11th June, 1716.
536 Ibid.
537 Ibid.
538 GD1/44/7/9, ‘Lady Catherine to John Erskine of Alva’, 26 May 1716.
due to her superior knowledge of the situation in Scotland. This was post-1715 and reprisals in the form of forfeitures and attainders, at the very least, were well underway; Lady Catherine had the evidence of the Scotswomen around her who suffered that very fate.

Confidantes writing to exiled husbands kept them abreast of the business in the country regarding Jacobitism. In 1716, a month after the failure of the rising, Lady Catherine wrote to her husband, ‘Monsieur Chevalier Erskine’, who was by then in Paris, assuring him that ‘there is no Prisioners yet except such as have given themselves up.’\(^{539}\) Two weeks later Lady Catherine gave him a fuller account of what was happening in Scotland in the aftermath:

[A]ll the Lords went to the Highlands & the Cl designs to defend themselvs. I heare the fforces are now orderd to goe to the Highlands. Many went to Orkney & there ha’s taken ship. Your fellow travellers & others of which number there was 70 went to Peter Head & could not gett away was obligt to return join with the Cl-ns. They will be exposd to Hardship, but in such case there is no help.\(^{540}\)

At that same time Lady Margaret, Countess of Panmure, wrote to her husband, who had also made it safely over to the Continent, and updated him on what he had left behind:

[T]his poor country is in a sad condition by the March of the Army ... the Duke of Argyll is not yet returned from the north but is expected att Montrose this night ... several of our people has surrenderd themselves to him particularie Poorie and I hear a friend of yrs designs to do the same.\(^ {541}\)

Seven months later she furthered the update, passing on the news of several prisoners from the 'Fifteen, one of whom was a relative, a Mr. George Maule:

[They] are to be removed from thence this day in their way to Carlyle where its said they are to be tryed, the M: of Huntly, Lord Strathallan and Lord Rollo are also to goe at the same time but they will certainlie be caryed to London.\(^ {542}\)

\(^ {539}\) Acc.5090, ‘Lady Catherine to John Erskine of Alva’, 12th March 1716.
\(^ {540}\) Ibid.
\(^ {541}\) NRS, GD45/14/220/1, Papers of the Maule Family, Earls of Dalhousie, ‘Countess of Panmure to Earl of Panmure’, 22nd Feb. 1716.
\(^ {542}\) GD45/14/220/16, ‘Countess of Panmure to Mr Couper’, 3rd Sept. 1716.
Three years later, on the cusp of yet another rising (1719), Lady Margaret, who was planning a visit to her husband, then in Paris, reported to him the news of the Spanish boats that had sailed from Cadiz two months previously, to aid the Jacobite cause. ‘[T]heir is yet no account of the Spanish fleet so its generally believed that they have sufferd much by a storm that happened soon after they sailed’.\textsuperscript{543} She also told him that ‘about 200 of the Dutch troops march’d for Scotland.’\textsuperscript{544} By keeping their men informed, Jacobite Scotswomen kept them close to their cause, country and loved ones, while they were in exile or hiding, and as such were prime sources of information for their men, and potentially the broader community in exile.

Some confidantes acted as secretaries to their husbands as they left for battle, managing aspects of their military role from their writing desk at home. These women performed the role of personal assistant, responding to requests, which they received via messengers. They would then delegate tasks to trusted individuals such as factors, who would run errands, source information, and provide secretarial and managerial assistance for them. Lady Isobell Campbell wrote to her husband, the laird of McNachtane, not long after the battle of Killiecrankie in July 1689, to say she was ‘overjoyed to heir of your weilfaire and victurie’. She then updated him regarding the situation with his men, and those who had promised to join him in the Jacobite army. Many were sick, while one, a Colin Campbell, had not yet returned, and another, James, had gone to Menteith.\textsuperscript{545} ‘[T]he whol chircomstance of affairs but the berar wil give you ane full acunpt of them.’\textsuperscript{546} Lady Jean, Countess of Dunfermline, often received missives from her husband during the Revolution in Scotland in 1689, which entailed lists of things for her to do on his behalf. Lady Jean was careful to ensure that the tasks were properly carried out with stealth, ingenuity and trusted individuals, with the sensitivity all Jacobite activities required. In reply to her husband’s requests she reassured him that she had obeyed every last one. ‘Wilam Gordon was hear this morning I told him your comands so that you may expect to be obeyed very quietly’.\textsuperscript{547} The secretary’s actions were conducted via

\begin{footnotes}
\begin{enumerate}
\item GD45/31/31/1, ‘Countess of Panmure to Earl of Panmure’ London, 20th April 1719.
\item Ibid.
\item NRS, GD26/8/26, Papers of the Earl of Melville; Jacobite Papers, 1689-1746 - Bundles of Letters in the Box, ‘1. Campbell to Laird of McNachtane’, 5th August, 1689?.
\item Ibid.
\item NRS, GD3/5/798, Papers of the Montgomerie family, Earls of Eglinton, ‘Countess of Dunfermline to the Earl of Dunfermline’, 1689., copy. The original, GD26/8/33, is damaged and unable to be viewed.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotes}
correspondence, and/or loyal and trustworthy messengers, who carried out their requests, and reported back, in order that the confidante could assure her correspondent of their completion. As secretaries these women responded to and acted upon requests for these men, and the greater good of the Cause, sometimes acting as a mediator and a manager of affairs from the home base.

**Men’s Letters**

What was the purpose of their news and letter of confidence? When men wrote to their female confidante what did they tell her? Of the four examples of letters from men uncovered in this study there is one husband, one son, one brother, and one brother-in-law. The nature of each of these relationships to the confidante is clearly very different, and can be seen in the supplementary detail that fill the letters. Nevertheless, the significant part of each letter confides some type of Jacobite news. In fact, of the few surviving letters written by men to their confidante, it is noteworthy that they usually contained a narrative of a recent Jacobite event or political affairs. Three out of four of the Jacobite men described scenes of battle and military affairs during the 'Forty-five, giving an account to their confidante of the notable event very soon after the fact. In one such letter to his wife, Lord George Murray describes the march to Linlithgow, the Jacobite army camping out, the sight and number of the enemy, and the preparation for what was to be the battle of Falkirk.548

The news-letter written by a son to his mother, also of the battle of Falkirk during the 'Forty-five, was an account of the enemy troops. Laurence Oliphant, the younger of Gask (d.1792), wrote to Lady Amelia Nairne (nd.) the very night after the battle of Falkirk. He gave his mother an account of the conflict in which he and his father had just engaged. In it he described the scene of battle, the numbers of troops, casualties, and the wellbeing of the officers that were known to his mother. He gave a basic mortality count, the capture of cannons, wagons, and baggage, and briefly referred to the Prince, who ‘was in the second line’, before signing off.549 He neither asked her any questions, nor requested anything of her. The letter could simply have been a son’s way of informing his mother that he was safe and well, knowing she would worry once

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548 Chrons. iii, p. 142.
news of a battle had reached her, and it also seems to have been important for him to share with her his first experience in battle. However, the nature of the letter and the type of information he reports to her sound more like what one would tell a superior officer than one’s mother. The note appears to have been written in a hurry, without the normal formalities that begin and end a letter, and may have been sent to Lady Gask to pass on to someone else, or as a note in his father’s correspondence. This is only speculation, of course; nevertheless, it is likely that this news would have been shared and the note passed on, as the ‘interchangeability of letters’ was common at this time. In this case it detailed a victory for the Jacobite army and the dissemination of such news would have been good for Jacobite morale and wider support.

Two of Prince Charles Edward’s military commanders confided their political and military hopes and fears, as well as on the ground information, to their confidantes. Lieutenant-Generals and brothers George Murray, Lord Tullibardine, and William Murray, Duke of Atholl, both wrote to Lady Tullibardine confiding aspects of their movements and the state of affairs during the ’Forty-five:

On Monday morning (13th) I marched to Lithgow with five Batalions & some horse in order to see what provisions were got there for our enemys, ... In the fornoon we see’d a Reg: of Dragouns & gave chasse for an houre, but could not come up with them. We returned & dined; then just as we were comming out of the town to return, their Dragouns, four Regiments of Regular foot, & some Militia came closs up to us.

Later in the same letter Lord George informed his wife of the movement of Lochiel’s regiment to Alloa and the arrival of the rest of the Prince’s army to join them near Falkirk. He expounded on the number of soldiers, regiments, and horse, etc. and confirmed that a battle was likely to take place within ‘a day or two’. Duke William, however, was not with the army but in Blair Atholl and so he required information regarding the progress of the army, the battle, and his troops. What is interesting is that numerous letters passed between the two brothers themselves, and yet on occasion the letters went via Lady Tullibardine.

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551 Chrons, iii, p. 141.
552 Ibid.
'O emtreat for God’s sake that the Duke of Atholl send off the Men imediately, or they will be too late for Arms, Targets, Tents, & co. Nay for our March which begins on Thursday.'\textsuperscript{553} On other occasions it appears that the letters were for herself, ones in which they confided in their confidante.

The role of the confidante within Jacobitism was not specific to women. Men of likeminded political persuasion not only shared their political thoughts and ideas with each other, they discussed them at length, and many were political confidantes to each other. This was par for the course in the world of politics, and copious collections of letters reveal the trust men placed in each other regarding Jacobite political affairs.\textsuperscript{554} It is important to note that not all elite women were interested in politics, but as was often the case with women from political families, they married into other political families, and thus were used to politics being central to family life.\textsuperscript{555} Like their English counterparts, there were Scotswomen who were very much concerned with politics, and the direction it was heading, particularly with regards to the Union, and their opposition to it, as seen particularly in the work of Nicola Cowmeadow and Rosalind Carr.\textsuperscript{556} That which is gendered, in fact, is the difference between the Material Jacobite woman and the confidante. The Material Jacobite discussed and wrote about politics with her lady friends and other female associates (as seen in the previous chapter), while the confidante listened to and discussed politics with men, being a trusted intimate with whom they could share thoughts, ideas, and secrets, or private matters, in this case regarding Jacobite affairs. A high level of trust and secrecy was absolutely essential for such a political confidante. The Jacobite Scotsman risked more if he was caught. The consequences were far more dangerous for a man than for a woman. This was evident in the punishments meted out to the elite who were imprisoned after the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five. Unlike some men, none of the women were executed. This poses the question, why? Possibly, as I have earlier surmised, because the government felt that women did not present as much of a threat as men. On the other hand, perhaps they simply did not want to execute women, elite women at that, for Jacobite activity. Women were executed for crimes such

\textsuperscript{553} Ibid., p. 94.
\textsuperscript{554} For example: The Stuart Papers from the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle; Melvilles; Chrons.
\textsuperscript{555} Chalus, \textit{Elite Women}, pp. 7-8.
as infanticide, witchcraft and murder, so why not Jacobitism? It was, after all, treason. When looking at the men who were executed for their role in Jacobite affairs, it is important to note that they were arrested during the time surrounding a plot or an attempt, and it was primarily for their role as military leaders and soldiers that they paid the ultimate price. No woman was ever arrested and accused of such activity.

In general political matters female Jacobite confidantes played the same role as their fellow Whig elites, but they also participated in Jacobite politics. These women supported and encouraged their men in the political realm, and even at times gave them advice. Their contributions to Jacobitism reveals the extent to which these women were prepared to not only support their men, but be involved in illicit politics. The extent of this activity is obscured in part due to its clandestine nature and the secrecy surrounding it. However, he evidence shows that one of the most important parts of the Jacobite confidante’s role was the discussion and dissemination of news, therefore significantly participating in the secret but social interaction of the Jacobite political community. Other aspects of the confidante’s role confirmed and fostered Jacobite connections outwith the family and reaffirmed the ‘faith’ in and supported their men within.

**Informant**

What was the role of informants in Jacobite political affairs? The Jacobite informant took a step further than the confidante, providing intelligence to Jacobite men in action. When describing the Jacobite confidante, and the development to the informant, it is important to note that it is a generalisation, and that as such Scotswomen came with various levels of knowledge, awareness, interest, and motivation. In distinguishing between the confidante and the informant, the additional actions of the latter turn the pro-active woman into an initiator. The informant sought out intelligence that was pertinent to then current Jacobite schemes and activities and forwarded it onto their men, to benefit them and the Cause. All of these women provided men with support, a listening ear, and received their confidences. They showed interest, they were politically knowledgeable, at least regarding Jacobite affairs,

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557 Chalus, Elite Women, pp. 59-60.
and many gave an element of feedback or advice. But most importantly these women passed on intelligence, in support of the Stuart cause.

The copying of information and the circulation of others’ letters were ways in which intelligence was passed on by Jacobite informants. This act of sharing, forwarding or copying of letters was a common practice during this period.\footnote{Daybell, ‘Suche newes’, p. 124.} According to the surviving evidence, there are examples of two Jacobite ladies’ involved in forwarding or copying letters. Lady Tullibardine often forwarded her husband’s correspondence to her brother-in-law, Duke William, when the information was of importance, sometimes at her husband’s request. She usually enclosed it within a letter of her own as a cover.\footnote{NLS, MS.5137, Erskine Murray, Edinburgh, Alva, & Stirling, ‘Duke of Atholl to Lady Tullibardine’, 6th Oct., 1745.} On the other hand, the letters of Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Dunfermline, were copied and passed onto another.\footnote{NRS, GD26/8, ‘Jacobite Papers’, Papers of the Leslie family, Earls of Leven and Melville; NLS, GD3/5, Papers of the Montgomerie Family, Earls of Eglinton. The original letters are within the Melville papers, while the copies are retained in the Eglinton papers.} Unfortunately, the scribe of Lady Dunfermline’s letters and the intended recipient remain unknown. That her letters, which contained information pertinent to the military affairs in 1689, were transcribed and passed on, reveals the significant nature of the intelligence she had gathered.

There were seven informants among the case study of women, who, in varying degrees gathered enemy intelligence and relayed the information they had received to either their husbands, or close family connections, to aid the wider cause. Due to their place in society, these women were often in contact with numerous individuals involved with their husband’s affairs, family estate business, and other business and political endeavours. This placed them at the centre of a network of messengers and couriers from whom they obtained information and received correspondence, most particularly when their men were away in exile or at war.

Many of these women passed on information regarding the movements of the enemy troops, keeping the Jacobite army informed. There were two main motives for such actions. One was to assist the Jacobite army in making better tactical decisions, which could lead to military victory. Another was that their information would directly aid their husbands and compatriots, keeping them safe, either during battle, or afterward in hiding or in flight. Naturally, one did
Looking at the first motive, there is evidence of two women during the Revolution in Scotland who wrote to their husbands to pass on military information regarding the enemy, which could have assisted the Jacobite army, and therefore aid in their success. Lady Isobell Campbell (nd.), daughter of Col. Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, 4th Baronet (d.1686), and sister of the later 1st Earl of Breadalbane (d.1717), wrote to her husband, John McNachtane of that ilk (nd.), just three weeks after the Jacobite victory at Killiecrankie on the 17th of July 1689. She informed him that the enemy, led by Major General Hugh MacKay, was marching on Perth. Five days later, Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Dunfermline (d.1710), also sent word to her husband, a senior officer in the Jacobite army, confirming Lady Isobell’s report, that Mackay ‘is Com the lenth of aberdeen with a Considerable fors which maks me fear you’ have an other ingagement. Then just two weeks later, Lady Jean further warned him that ‘Mackay him self is gon south with the rest of his horses, and my Lord Abderdeen tell me ... that ther desing is tou besieg Blair of Atholl’. Lady Jean’s letter provided intelligence to not only her husband but to one of the leading officers in James VII & II’s Scottish forces, in order that they could plan tactically around this information.

Jacobite informants were largely concerned with the welfare of their men at dangerous times, and the type of information they passed on reflected this. In August 1689, not long after Killiecrankie, Lady Jean obtained information regarding enemy troops and warned her husband not to return home, ‘as you valow your own safty and my lyf: for Major Generall Macky has left six hundred men all up and doun in this country...’ Lady Jean continued to gather intelligence, and later in the year, while James was fighting with his troops in Ireland, she wrote again to her husband to inform him of the political machinations and dissent amongst the King’s followers. She told him that Lord Melfort, who was in Ireland with King James, had had fellow Jacobite William Mackenzie of Borlum imprisoned, and ‘is cabaling against you and others, who they think is not of the faction, and wou’d not caire tou be quit of you’.

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561 GD26/8/26, ‘I. Campbell to her husband’, 5th August, 1689.
564 GD26/8/26, ‘I. Campbell to her husband’, 5th August, 1689.
continued to warn him ‘tou be upon your gaird, and not belve ther neues tou easaly, without good proof’. Whether or not her words were heeded is unknown, but Melfort was sent to France, and out of Dunfermline’s way, by James. Lady Catherine Sinclair was another confidante who became an informant to aid her husband’s safety. She told her husband of a scheme she had come upon to capture him in June 1716. According to information she had obtained from ‘Sr. W’ (likely the Earl of Wemyss), ‘they design to intercept you att Gosford if they can’. This illustrates how the Jacobite informant’s domestic role as helpmeet to the men of her family combined with her political interests as she sought both the protection of her relations, and the victory of the Cause.

The informant sometimes communicated with those in the exiled court, keeping them abreast of news in Scotland, and informing them of whatever government action could potentially affect their clandestine activities. During the time between the aborted Swedish Jacobite plot in 1717 and the failed rising in 1719, Lady Penelope Mackenzie, Baroness Clanranald, was in regular communication with her brother-in-law, then the 14th Chief of Clanranald. While he was in exile on the continent, she was in Scotland, whence she wrote to keep him, and the court of St Germain, informed of relevant affairs at home. In one letter she alerted him to the government’s plan to send a considerable number of troops into the Highlands in order to keep those they considered barbaric, troublesome Jacobites under control. This information was gratefully received, and like other such intelligence, it was passed onto the appropriate people. Clanranald informed the Earl of Mar, who was in the service of James VIII & III and would most likely have taken such news to the King. He was further advised by Lady Penelope of five ships that the government had ‘appointed to inspect all the Pedlars … least they should be found smugglers in trade.’ This was vital information for exiles and other Scots who traversed the seas between Scotland and the Continent. Information of this nature was highly valued, and served as a forewarning to the Jacobites who used the many

566 Ibid.
567 Acc.5090, ‘Lady Catherine to John Erskine of Alva’, 13th June 1715.
569 Ibid., p. 543.
ships, shipping channels and ports between Scotland and the Continent, smuggling messages, agents, spies and contraband to and fro.\textsuperscript{571}

How did the informant obtain the information she passed on? Contacts in the market, or trade, of information were important for the informant, as the retrieval of valuable information was critical to her role. In one of the early examples, Lady Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth, wrote to Father Lewis Innes (1651-1738), Catholic priest and principal of the Scots College in Paris and later Lord Almoner to James VIII & III, in Paris and shared with him her thoughts on the outcome of the Revolution, not ten years after it had all begun. She first lamented that King James’ ‘subjects are ruiened & all wayes used by his Enamies (who are at the same time Enamies to God...)’\textsuperscript{572} She later informs him that ‘he hase made on[e] of his confidantes write hither that if the pope would doe some what that way it would be a singular favor’.\textsuperscript{573} At this time Lady Mary was in exile in Rome with her husband, James Drummond, 1st Duke of Perth, who was appointed by James to the position of ‘ambassador-extraordinary to the pope’. Later he was governor to the young Prince, and she was a Lady of the Queen’s bedchamber.\textsuperscript{574} Being the wife of such a well-connected and well-placed Jacobite, herself part of the royal court, gave her access to a great deal of vital news and information necessary to the role of informant.

There were three main sources where news and information in the early modern period was obtained: letters, contacts in the marketplace, and newspapers.\textsuperscript{575} Sometimes, however, the information was unreliable, or inaccurate, and such inaccuracies, especially in a time of war, had to be corrected. Lady Tullibardine found that she had been misinformed by a previous informant about General Cope’s baggage in 1745, an error which she had passed onto Duke William. As soon as she became aware of the mistake she wrote to rectify it:

My intelligence was wrong about part of Cope’s Baggage, &c. being at Alloa, for a Gentleman told me, who came form that place on Tuesday, that it was lying in a Ship at Boristouness, with a man-o-war hard by to guard it.\textsuperscript{576}

\textsuperscript{571} Monod, ‘Dangerous Merchandise’, p. 159.
\textsuperscript{572} SCA, BL2/18/16, ‘Lady Mary, Duchess of Perth to Fr Lewis Innes’, 1696.
\textsuperscript{573} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{574} Corp, ‘Drummond, James’, ODNB.
\textsuperscript{575} De Vivo, ‘Paoloa Sarpi, pp. 38-49.
The role of the informant appears to have been expected of elite Scotswomen who were closely connected with political Jacobite men. It was considered part of their duty to forward on news and intelligence, as with general political and family business. The example of Lady Tullibardine, as informant to her brother-in-law, Duke William, shows that she herself understood this role as her responsibility. She ‘thought it my Duty to acquaint you of what I had heard, imagining that Your Friends wou’d not find time for writing immediatly after the Engagement.’ In September 1745, the day after the battle of Prestonpans had been won by the Jacobites, Lady Tullibardine wrote to Duke William to give him an account of the battle, as she had received it by a ‘Gentleman who came from Stirling’. She informed him of the Jacobite victory, prisoners and casualties, and the run-away General Cope of the government’s army. Duke William, who had not been with the Prince and the Jacobite army at this time but in Atholl raising more troops, received the information from his sister-in-law with alacrity. ‘All friends with me are very thankfull for your obligeing & careful diligence in letting us know the certainty of such valuable & important news.’ Duke William confirmed Lady Tullibardine’s sense of duty with his desire that she ‘continue your useful endeavours towards acquainting us with what you hear is passing of Consequence which may be very serviceable to the Loyal Cause.’ Lady Tullibardine reassured him that she would ‘be sure to inform you of any thing I hear that’s worth while’. Evidence that letters such as Lady Tullibardine’s were used for the purpose of dissemination can be seen in the deposition of Thomas Bissett, the agent of Duke William’s younger brother James, the Hanoverian Duke of Atholl. He stated that:

the Jacobite in the town of Dunkeld & the neighbourhood frequented his house purposely to get news. That he often shewed the Declarant Letters giving account of the victories obtain’d by the rebells over the King’s army.

The duty of the informant served an important purpose in keeping Jacobites abreast of military and political matters, particularly during the risings, which
could be used to further the interest of the Cause.

When was the informant most visible and active in Jacobite political affairs? The role of the informant was fulfilled throughout the Jacobite era, evidenced by examples of correspondence from the time of the Revolution to the 'Forty-five. There is proof for three informants during the Revolution in Scotland, two during the 1708, one around the succession crisis, two during the 'Fifteen, one in the lead up to the 'Nineteen, and two in its wake, with only one active during the 'Forty-five. It seems unlikely that there were so few women who participated in this way, but as with the lack of evidence for the confidante, the destruction of correspondence is a most likely reason that so little survives. Again, much would have been passed via word of mouth, which does not leave a record. The informant’s actions were event specific and dependent upon a plot or rising being prepared or underway. Outwith these times the role would have been put aside, until such time as another attempt was being planned. Nevertheless, the informant would have remained a confidante, and continued to receive political news, particularly from her connection on the Continent, where the heart of Jacobite affairs and plots continued.

The actions of the informant were not specific to women, for many more men played this same role within the Scottish Jacobite elite. Fr James Carnegy and Mr Charles Fleming, for example, worked as informants and agents in Jacobite affairs, particularly in the plan to rise prior to the Union, as well as the aborted invasion attempt in 1708. Their actions can be seen alongside the female informants and agents: the Countesses of Erroll and Marischal, and the Duchess of Gordon, whose actions are discussed in chapter six. What stands out, is the fact that this role has not been acknowledged or recognised, as a female role, and a political one at that. Why?

In the case of the 1708 and of the men and women I have just mentioned, the men have received only slightly more scholarly attention than the women, due to the 1708 itself being relatively neglected. Nevertheless, women generally have not been acknowledged in the role of informant, while men have. This could be due to the fact that women kept a successfully low profile, as they were less likely to be suspected as being involved in such matters. Due to the fact women could not hold public office, or perform many of the official and public

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583 Correspondence, vols.i-ii: Fr James Carnegy was code named Mr Hall in the Correspondence.
roles men did, it has been assumed that their business related only to the family and domestic affairs. Women have been sometimes recognised as messengers (addressed in chapter five), during this period, but the role of informant is different. Although both roles are in fact dangerous, the informant holds a greater position of authority and responsibility than the messenger. The very fact that some of these women were harbingers of important news and intelligence beneficial to the Cause, in the same way that many men were, reveals that women’s roles in this area have not only been understated but ignored.

Families of consequence in the country, such as the Hays of Erroll, often had an agent from whom they would obtain news from the city and abroad, according to J. Stuart.584 In the case of the Countess of Erroll, her agent John Hay wrote her several letters in 1688, informing her of the news of what was going on in the country regarding politics and the movement of both the loyal troops and Williamite supporters.585 This relationship with the agent gave her precious information which she was able to use, either as a tool in trade, or to forward on to those for whom the information would be most valuable.586 It is possible that the information obtained for her by her agent was then passed on to men such as her brother, the 4th Earl of Perth, or her husband, the 12th Earl of Erroll, who were both fighting for King James in 1688. This situation not only further confirms the role of informant, but also reveals that it was status and not gender that was the main differentiator in roles, and that women could and did play the same role as men. In the case of Lady Erroll and her agent, it was a man who obtained and reported information to her. According to Daybell, there was a general rule regarding the order of the flow of information; it went up the social ladder.587 Inferiors reported to superiors, rather than the other way around. However, those on the same social level had a reciprocal understanding of the flow of information and often reported to each other.

The female Jacobite informants were important to their confidantes and contacts, for the intelligence they provided mattered to the Cause. Their contribution in this manner was significant to the men who benefitted directly

585 Ibid., pp. 293-99.
586 Information, according to Daybell, was used in this period ‘as a form of exchange’—information for favour. Daybell, ‘Suche newes’, p. 121.
587 Ibid., pp. 120-1.
from their support and to the reinforcement of the morale of those fighting for a Stuart restoration, although the outcome of the informant’s role, that is, whether their intelligence prevented catastrophe, or aided victory, is unknown. The fact is that Scotswomen played an active part in the various Jacobite risings in the eighteenth-century. Their contribution to Jacobitism is just as significant as other aspects of Jacobite sympathy and action, even if it took place at a writing desk behind closed doors. Their support was just as relevant to the Stuart cause as the men who organised the army, and its march into battle, which was potentially aided by the intelligence of these women.

**Conclusion**

The study of Jacobite Scotswomen’s letters and their roles as confidante and informant contributes to a knowledge of how women participated not only in Jacobitism, but also in the wider political milieu of the eighteenth century. It reveals that women were far more active in politics and society than they have been given credit for. Jacobite Scotswomen were trusted members of the political and landed elite. They were women in whom leading men placed their trust and confidence, regarding political concerns and should be acknowledged as such. These Scotswomen were important to Jacobitism in terms of the support they gave, the advice offered, and the news and intelligence they obtained and provided. Their roles as confidante and informant not only further informs upon the nature and extent to which Jacobite Scotswomen were active in support of the Stuart cause, they add another dimension to the elite Jacobite Scotswoman and complement Carr and Cowmeadow’s work on eighteenth-century Scottish elite women. It is clear that the women here had a vested interest in being a confidante and informant, and potentially dual motives for their participation. They kept their men abreast of the events and affairs going on regarding Jacobitism, and in some cases kept them safe from the enemy. They also pushed valuable enemy troop information in the direction of the Jacobite army revealing their commitment to the success of the Cause and the restoration of a Stuart king.588

The Jacobite confidante and informant was active during all the major

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588 SCA, BL2/18/16, ‘from Lady Mary, Countess of Perth’, 1696.
Jacobite events: the Revolution, the Franco-Jacobite plot, the ‘Fifteen, the ‘Nineteen, and the ‘Forty-five, with a few examples in between. What has determined the concentration of correspondence at the high points of Jacobite activity is the fact there was news or specific intelligence that needed to be discussed, shared or imparted. Outwith these times the women still sent and received letters to and from these connections; however, the tone and themes of these letters was different, and seldom did they pertain to Jacobitism. Rather, they discussed familial, estate, financial, and other political matters. When the plotting of Jacobitism appeared to have been in hibernation, or it had not yet made it beyond the whisperings in clubs, inns and taverns, the confidante does not appear to have received confidences of this nature, or at least they have not survived. The nature of women’s actions as a confidante appears to have been consistent over the course of the Jacobite era, with examples in each major event. The confidante had the ear of politically and militarily powerful men. She offered advice to them where she could, and passed on news of value and worth, giving them moral support and encouragement. The informant took a step further, initiating action and seeking information in order to assist the men in the field. She did not wait for news to come to her, she sought it out and delivered potentially life- or campaign-saving news. These roles were part of ordinary political roles for women, who normally cooperated with their men in their families’ interest. In this case, however, the outcomes were directed toward political and military ends that were in direct opposition to the state and therefore deemed treasonable.
Chapter Five: Agents and Accomplices

I think it my duty not to undertake so long a journey as to Scotland without letting your Majesty know, in case I can be useful there for your service during the three or four months I design to stay there.\textsuperscript{589}

Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth, to James VIII & III, 20th June 1718.

It was in the role of agent and accomplice that female support of revolutionary politics rose to a new level. These women managed Jacobite affairs and worked clandestinely in Jacobite plotting and planning, as well as dealing with the aftermath of failed risings. They worked alongside men and in many cases helped them to avert government retribution. Many women used their connections and networks within their milieu, while others used their authority as heads of households and estates, for the purpose of bringing about a Stuart restoration. I have evidence of twenty-two women who risked their lives and livelihood to restore the Stuarts to the throne. Some put their resources and connections, others their initiative and nous, behind the Cause. Like the confidantes, these women were greatly valued and trusted members of the Scottish Jacobite elite, due to the level of their knowledge, connections, and intimacy with the heart of the Cause and its plans.

The roles of the agent and accomplice were the most perilous for Jacobite women in Scotland, due to how publicly visible they could be. Some actions were more visible because they were performed outside the home, and witnessed by both friend and foe. Some of these women were the heads of households and managers of large estates, and well-known because of these roles. Moreover, they used their authority over their subordinates and tenants, directing them to join them in support of the Cause. The exposure to more people, and at times public view, meant that their actions in support of Jacobitism had a greater number of witnesses. This was a risk they took, which at times did not go in their favour; many witnesses gave evidence against these

\textsuperscript{589} HMC, The Calendar of Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle, London, 1902, vi, pp. 555-56.
women after the ‘Forty-five. Some of the more public actions deployed by these women were used to create scandal by anti-Jacobite propagandists, giving excuse for government retribution, as evidenced by their arrest and imprisonment in 1745/6. The very public display of Jacobite women and their actions revealed in propaganda could be part of the reason for the government’s response during the ‘Forty-five, as they needed to be seen to be acting against these ‘rebels’. The role of the accomplice in raising troops for the Prince and his Jacobite Army in 1745, for example, saw such repercussions and was also used to discredit Jacobitism, as chapter seven will show. On the whole, and where possible, it was important to keep Jacobite activity secret and away from the eyes of those who did not share the allegiance. Other actions were not necessarily visible in the same way but required contact and communication with other Jacobite agents and sympathisers. These types of meetings or communiques, if discovered, could lead to harsh penalties due to their direct and explicit purpose and intent to restore the Stuarts. It is for this reason that the role and actions of the accomplice and agent were particularly dangerous.

Scholarship on women engaged in this type of political activity in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain is scant, and for Scottish women there is a particular dearth. What is most surprising about this lack of scholarship is that the actions of some of these women were very visible, landing them in prison. These and other actions were well noted in various published and unpublished sources, including testimonies against them and appeals for clemency (as seen previously in chapter three). Historians have looked at aspects of women’s lives during various revolutionary periods throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but most of this does not pertain to, or address, female actions and participation in the revolutions or politics at the time. Also, scholarship seldom addresses elite women’s actions in the revolutions. It is more interested in the lower classes and focuses on the revolutions from the ‘grassroots’, assessing the actions of the ‘sans-culottes’ and their roles in popular protest. Sara Melzer and Leslie Rabine have even argued for these women’s lack of political awareness and understanding.

590 Lyon; Hooke, Secret History; NLS, MS.17518-21, The Fletcher Papers of Saltoun.
existing scholarship on female activity has revealed how women were involved in the significant changes that the American and French Revolutions, for example, brought to their countries, which ultimately revolved around changes in state formation and nation building. However, it has been argued that many of these women acted ‘out of necessity rather than heightened political activism’. Many fought simply for the basic necessities, such as bread and the survival of their family, while others strove for an increase of women’s rights. This reveals how Jacobite Scotswomen were politically aware and understood what they fought for and against.

What work has been done on elite women in revolutionary politics in this period has examined exiled English nuns, who supported the Stuart cause in the seventeenth century, particularly the royalists who supported Charles II while he was in exile. Although cloistered, they were significant to the worldly affair. Claire Walker has revealed the systematic clandestine activities of these women that obtained great financial support for the Cause. They also maintained a postal service to ensure mail passed secretly and securely across the channel between conspirators. Nadine Akkerman’s recent research has revealed further political clandestine activity in the realm of spies, messengers and agents, by elite women such as Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, and Alexandrine, Countess of Taxis, in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, there are still gaps in scholarship on elite women’s participation in revolutionary politics in general and on Jacobite and Scottish women specifically, as agents and accomplices, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like Walker and Akkerman, most scholars tend to focus the bulk of their attention upon a particular woman in their studies. In the case of Scottish Jacobite women there is evidence of actions of at least twenty-two women, which should therefore be explored in some detail.

These women, I argue, played key roles in Jacobite machinations from 1689 to 1746, and this chapter will further inform the argument that Jacobite Scotswomen were very much involved, including at the highest levels, that is in

594 Ibid.
conjunction with the Old Chevalier, Queen Mary of Modena, and leading Scots Jacobites, and that they worked toward a reformation of the state and a reordering of the government. This complements recent scholarship into elite Scotswomen and politics and contributes to restoring their place in Scottish and Jacobite history. It also further develops the notion of women working in the political realm in the eighteenth century, while revealing the extent to which some women were prepared to go to ensure that their political goals were realised.

The chapter is divided into two sub-groups: accomplice and agent. The first and most dominate is the accomplice. These women were literally collaborators with leading Jacobite Scots, both men and women, and aided in matters such as hosting spies, hiding fugitives, raising troops to fight, and delivering secret mail. Most of the women in this chapter's selection were accomplices, and so the first will therefore be the larger section. The second is the agent. These women were central to Jacobite political machinations, working alongside men at the highest levels to bring about a Stuart restoration. They were involved in the plotting and planning of events, and put the full weight of their resources and connections to support the Stuart cause. It is important to note that many of these women—both accomplices and agents—were initiators of their actions, often without recourse to men but ultimately subordinate to them. However, each role differed in responsibility and intensity. The role of agent carried the greater authority and saw the most initiative and autonomy.

Six women have been identified in the role of agent. Four of these women worked together in the same plots from 1705 through 1708, while the other two worked at different times, one in 1714, and the other in 1745. Due to the fact that there is a significant amount of evidence for the 1708 conspiracies, these four women have been selected for a case study in the next chapter. They worked within a network of elite Scots planning to rise against the government in 1706, prior to the Union, and then again to bring about a Stuart restoration by an invasion of French forces in 1708. A detailed analysis of their activities as agents, and other roles as Jacobites, will be of value to the overall thesis. The remaining two women, Lady Nairne and Lady Tullibardine will be used to exemplify the role of agent in this chapter.
The Accomplice

Jacobite risings, particularly the 'Forty-five, brought certain activities of the accomplice out into the open, whilst intensifying others, thus heightening the risk and danger of their actions. One action was to aid fugitives and host spies, agents, or fleeing soldiers. It was essential for the women who did this to keep their actions secret, both for those they aided and for their own sake. The reality was that these actions could easily be made visible. A letter could disappear, be destroyed, or denied—particularly if unsigned or marked with an alias; however, aiding Jacobite spies and agents, or hiding fugitive soldiers, was harder to conceal because they could be, and often were, seen, while those opposed to the Cause could, and did, talk. The case of Isabella Lumisden and her fiancé Robert Strange is one example. He had fought with the Prince at Culloden and then went into hiding. However, it appears likely that someone tipped off the authorities to his hiding place in Miss Lumisden’s house. Apparently just before the Red Coats arrived to arrest him, Miss Lumisden sat down at her spinning wheel and hid Strange beneath the large hooped skirts of her dress. He was therefore overlooked by the soldiers as they searched the house.

Raising troops was the most overt role of the accomplice, as it required a public appearance and the declaration of their intention to recruit. This was often witnessed by many people, such as family, friends, tenants, servants, and neighbours. Word often travelled fast among them of the women who raised men from among their clans and tenantry for the Stuarts. Recruitment of soldiers into the Jacobite army was not always voluntary, and many forced enlistments were made. The reason behind forced recruitments is not straightforward, as Szechi has argued, and there was more than simple unpopularity toward the venture. The men who joined the Jacobite army and testified against their recruiters, did so most likely to save their own neck. Women such as Lady Charlotte Robertson of Lude and her mother, Lady Margaret Nairne, had dozens of depositions against them from such men.

Data collected from both printed and manuscript correspondence,

599 Albemarle, pp. 244-59.
depositions, and some nineteenth-century texts that covered eighteenth-century events, evidence 22 Jacobite Scotswomen performed the role of accomplice. Five women raised troops for the Stuart Prince during the 'Forty-five. Six women hosted Jacobite spies or agents, while four aided fugitives in their attempts to flee the authorities. Six worked as messengers or in the unofficial secret postal service. According to the evidence, 60 percent of the activities of the accomplice are recorded for the 'Forty-five, with 40 percent of the 19 women acting either during the Revolution, the lead up to the 1708, or the 1715. The behaviour of the accomplice appears to have been restricted to the specific events and the periods immediately before or after them, either in preparation, or during the aftermath. Statistics like these raise questions as to why, the raising of troops by elite women was, according to the evidence, concentrated in the 'Forty-five, and why the role of messenger appears to be constant, occurring throughout the Jacobite era? The numbers are small, but the surviving evidence reveals women’s signal part while pointing to the possibility that more women served the Cause in this way.

When it comes to motivating factors, personal finance might be raised. Whether or not these women were in a state of desperation under the prevailing administration is unknown. The idea of throwing their lot in with the Stuarts, just in case they won, for a change in their personal fortunes, is a possible motivation. However, as with most women, their financial situation remains relatively unknown, and in most cases such crises are not shown in the records unless a family declared bankruptcy. The sources do not reveal an attitude of crisis, or a fear among the women of losing their estates due to their financial situation. Nor do they reveal finance as a reason to join the Stuarts. Rather, they knew they were more likely to lose their estates if the Cause failed. Nor does the secondary scholarship aid in identifying details of the financial situation of these families. A poor financial state, however, has been argued as one reason some men joined the Cause, because those who were bankrupt, or had lost their estates in a previous rising and not regained them; they had nothing to lose but their lives and everything to gain. For many others, economic factors such as

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[600] See Appendix III.IV.
[601] Ibid.
[602] Thanks to Alison Lindsay, head of the Historical and Legal Search Rooms at the NRS with whom I had a great discussion on financial affairs in the Scottish estate records.
a loss of position, title, and estates led many Scots to side with the Hanoverians or remain at home, supporting the Stuarts by no more than the raising of their glass, rather than risking all by joining them in battle. The first major loss of estates and fortunes occurred after the 'Fifteen, of which those in the 'Forty-five would have had experience and/or clear knowledge. Many Scotswomen in these circumstances lost their estates due to their husbands' actions, and many ended their lives in much reduced conditions, often in exile where some were financially maintained. Lady Nairne’s estate, for example, was forfeited after the 'Fifteen. One document outlines the inventory that was taken at the house of Nairne, on what was likely a sad day for Lady Nairne, as her personal goods were surveyed in preparation for sale by the estates commission. Lady Nairne was, however, granted a provision by the government out of the estate to provide for herself and her children in 1717.

When Prince Charles Edward Stuart landed on Scottish soil in 1745 and set about mustering an army, women like Ladies Charlotte Robertson of Lude, Anne Mackintosh, Anne Stewart of Burray, Mary Hay, Countess of Erroll, and Margaret Johnstone, Countess of Airlie, joined the Jacobite clan chiefs, nobility, and landed gentry in recruiting for it. It has been reputed that Lady Mackintosh raised 300 men from Clan Chattan, while the number raised by the other women remains unknown. The most disputed case of such an action is that of Jenny Cameron of Glendessary, who by some sources, including anti-Jacobite propaganda, raised 300 Camerons and led them to, and on from, Glenfinnan. However, some eyewitnesses have denied this claim. Tales of their recruitment activities were told by Hanoverian soldiers—which questions the reliability of the sources—and much more compelling is the evidence of some of their own tenants, who were arrested and questioned by the government for their part in the failed rising. In the case of the men arrested in Perthshire, they denounced Ladies Lude and Nairne, claiming the women had forced them either to fight or to suffer the consequences. According to a collection of depositions in the Albemarle Papers, many of these men had absconded from the Jacobite

608 NRS, GD248/48/2/30, Papers of the Ogilvy family, Earls of Seafield; Grant of Grant Correspondence, ‘James Grant, Phopachie, to Ludovick Grant of Grant’, 6th Oct., 1745.
609 Ibid; Albemarle, pp. 244-59.
army before the battle of Culloden in April 1746 but were captured by Red Coats. Lady Lude had apparently threatened both the deserters and those who had refused to join Lord George Murray’s regiment. Deserters were requested to pay back the five pounds it would have cost to find a replacement, while others were threatened that if they refused to join that ‘party of Men [they would] Destroy his house & Effects’. It was mainly those who were caught by the government and imprisoned who testified against the two ladies, and so while their testimony needs to be considered, it should also be questioned, and the possibility taken into account that these men were only looking after their own interest and trying to save their own neck. One Alexander Robertson accused Lady Lude of giving him an ultimatum, to join ‘or pay Fifty pounds Scots betw’ him’ and another Alexander Robertson, which they did not have. Another, Alexander Horne, who had deserted from the Atholl Brigade, was told ‘if he deserted another time he would infallibly be hang’d for a Deserter’. The collection of depositions reveals a quantity of ‘apparently’ unwilling Jacobite soldiers, or self-interested turncoats. The forceful methods of recruitment by women such as Ladies Lude and Nairne reveal that the level of their dedication to this cause was serious, and even to the detriment of others, exploiting the authority they held over their tenants.

The question arises, why did these women perform this particular role of raising troops? Military matters were definitively within the male realm in the eighteenth century, and yet these women stepped in to aid the numerous men who were recruiting for the Prince’s army. In the case of Lady Lude and the Countess of Erroll, these women were widows at the time of the ‘Forty-five and managed the family estates, including its tenants. Lady Lude’s eldest son James Robertson was a minor, being only nine years old at the time of the rising, while Lady Mary Hay, Countess of Erroll, did not have any children, and being Countess suo jure, technically had power and position in her own right. She was known by the hereditary title that the earls of Erroll had—the High Constable of Scotland—and was also a well connected woman who used her position and connections to try and persuade other men of status to join the Prince. Going

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610 Albemarle, pp. 244-59.
611 Ibid., pp. 244-45.
612 Ibid., p. 246.
against the established government was dangerous and could cost them, at the very least, their estates. This would appear to be dissuasive, as it was with many noble families, but these women were noted by their contemporaries as having strong and persuasive characters. This could go some way in helping to understand their actions.\textsuperscript{614} The dedication of these women to the Stuart cause was further enhanced by the fact that they had men—that is potential soldiers—under their authority. Traditionally, the duty of Scottish heritors was to raise troops for the king, and so heritor Ladies Erroll and Lude performed this task, fulfilling not only obligation but desire.\textsuperscript{615} Whether or not this was their prime motivation for raising troops in 1745 is unknown. It was also their state in life as widows that potentially made raising troops both possible and necessary. It is particularly noteworthy for women such as these to participate in this manner in the 'Forty-five, as by this late stage in Jacobitism's history knowledge of the consequences was certain. However, for these women the consequences appear to have been no deterrent. Duty was an aspect of loyalty, which many of the old noble families felt toward the Stuarts. As the Countess of Erroll herself said, 'that ancient friendship has been betwixt our ancestors, which I shall always for my part endeavour to maintain.'\textsuperscript{616}

The united efforts of husbands and wives in political and military matters were not uncommon, as non-elite women often accompanied men into battle. Lady Margaret, Countess of Airlie, and Lady Anne Stewart of Burray raised troops with their husbands.\textsuperscript{617} This type of support, however, was unusual according to the evidence. In the case of Lady Anne Mackintosh, who appeared to raise her husband's clan in opposition to him, it is possible that she was in fact working with her husband, but in another capacity. Aeneas Mackintosh sided with the government in the Jacobite rising in 1745, being a Captain of a company of the Black Watch since 1743. However, it has been suggested that he was secretly a supporter of the Stuarts.\textsuperscript{618} On the 1st of October 1745, just over a week after the Jacobite victory at Prestonpans, it appears that the chief of Clan

Chattan was reconsidering his position. He wrote a letter to his cousin, Ewan MacPherson of Cluny, to whom the Prince was to give command of the troops Lady Anne had raised, stating that he intended to command his own men, and asked Cluny to step down and take the place next to him in command.

Dear Sir, As I am now fully determined to command my own people and run the same fate with them, having yesterday receivd a letter from the Prince and another from the Duke of Atholl.

His reasons given in the letter were a matter of pride, and a resolution to ‘maintain the rank due to my family.’ This did not in effect happen. Rather, Lady Anne raised the troops and placed them under the leadership of MacGillivray of Dunmaglass before they left to join the Prince in early 1746. It is quite possible that this was a charade, planned and played out by both husband and wife, to divide the family politically and thus cover both bases. Mackintosh’s siding with the government would keep the family estates safe, and his life and reputation in order, should the Jacobites lose. Should they win, his wife’s good efforts would ensure his safety in the new regime. Evidence of this can be seen in subsequent events after the defeat of Mackintosh’s regiment near Dornoch by the Prince and his troops. He was captured and placed under house arrest under the guardianship of his wife. So while Lady Anne performed her role as an accomplice in order to advance the Stuart cause, it is possible she simultaneously sought to protect her family interest.

The protection of the estates and the family interest has not often been seen as a female role, yet it most likely involved many women. Some were influenced by disasters of the past, others with hopes for the future. Ladies like the Countess of Panmure worked to retrieve their lost family estates and to regain money and position in the name of the family interest, as discussed in chapter three. This was as a result of the consequences of Jacobitism, that is, the forfeited estates after the ‘Fifteen. With knowledge of the consequences of the 1715, Lady Anne Mackintosh, on the other hand, worked with foresight in

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619 Ibid., pp. 461-64.
620 NRS, GD176/805, Papers of the Family of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, ‘Aeneas Mackintosh to Ewan Macpherson, younger of Cluny’ 1st Oct., [1745].
621 Ibid.
622 Ibid.
624 Shaw, Historical Memoirs, p. 464.
625 Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, ‘Mackintosh, Anne, Lady Mackintosh (1723–1784)’, ODNB.
This gives weight to the argument that Lady Anne worked with her husband to ensure the survival of their estates and family situation. Women in the role of protecting the family interest have been well documented and analysed among the English elite in the eighteenth century. It has been shown how women used various means at their disposal in political life, to secure patronage and protection for their husbands and sons. The role of protecting the estates against the consequences of treason did not usually fall into the realm of a woman’s responsibility while the husband was alive, or at least has not been acknowledged as such. Lady Anne’s actions, like those of numerous Jacobite women, show that women were also very much involved in such activities and worked hard to keep their family interest secure.

Hosting secret agents and spies was another service performed by accomplices. The numerous agents and spies throughout the Jacobite era travelled often between the centre of Jacobite political machinations—the exiled Stuart courts—and the various hubs of Jacobite plotting activity in Scotland. These agents were often housed by various Scotswomen in and around Edinburgh, the central point of contact for much of their business. The evidence that points to this particular role is limited, often with brief references in other people’s letters about the hosts. There are three examples, two of which were women who housed an agent for the Cause several times in the lead up to the 1708. Ladies Largo and Comistoun were both intimately connected with the conspirators in the plotting that surrounded the Union. Whenever the French agent Colonel Nathaniel Hooke travelled to Scotland to garner support for a rising and Franco-Jacobite invasion, he stayed with these women when his business kept him in Edinburgh. The other example can be seen in the early 1690s in an undated letter without subscription, noted simply as, ‘Information for my Lord Sidney, Secretary of State for the kingdom of England. Send to Mr Carstares, to be laid before the King’. This intelligence obtained and forwarded by Williamite supporters was a report regarding James VII & II’s time in Ireland, his removal to the Continent, and a ‘packet’ for the Scots from

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627 Both her father, John Farquharson of Invercauld, and Lachlan Mackintosh, 20th chief of Mackintosh, her husband’s cousin, had fought in the ’Fifteen and had been captured and imprisoned.


629 Correspondence, v.ii.

the French King, Louis XIV. Mentioned among the details of this long letter regarding loyalist movements, plots and plans, is ‘one Mrs Ogilvy sent to Scotland with the answer of some letters she had brought the late Queen from that country.’631 The writer gives the information of her whereabouts, among that of several other Jacobite agents in Edinburgh, most likely with the intention that they will be appropriately dealt with. Mrs Ogilvy was ‘to be found at the Countess of Carnwath’s lodgings in Edinburgh.’632 Lady Mary Seton, the dowager Countess (d.1697/8?), was connected to Jacobite families and loyal supporters of the Stuarts in both the Seton and Dalzell families.633 However, it was her role as a host of Jacobite spies and messengers twenty-seven years earlier that is significant here, and was being monitored by the state and reported to William of Orange. This reveals the importance of this particular role, so much so that contemporaries perceived not only certain families, but indeed certain women, as dangerous, or a threat to political and social stability, requiring that their movements be monitored, a concern which counters the argument that women were neither a threat, nor suspected.634

In and around Edinburgh, Jacobite Scotswomen made their dwellings safe houses for Jacobite fugitives. In the aftermath of Culloden (1746), several women hid Jacobites who were being pursued by the Red Coats while making it known among their friends that their houses were open to those in need. Dame Magdalene Scott, Lady Bruce of Kinross (1670?-1752), a vehement supporter of the Stuart cause, turned her house in the Citadel of Leith into a Jacobite safe-house.635 To house a felon was dangerous, and these women put their own lives at risk by harbouring Jacobite fugitives. Lady Bruce’s house was searched on September 28, 1746, when it was thought the Prince was there in hiding.

After placing sentries quite round the house... to prevent any persons going out or coming in, Captain Hanley, attended by a sheriff-officer, entred the house, and searched it most strictly...
After searching the house and all about it, the Captain told my

631 Ibid., p. 149.
632 Ibid.
633 The Seton’s, Earls of Winton, and the Seton’s of Touch, were both very much connected with the Cause. So were the Carnwaths, both in the Dalzell and Lockhart families. See: Bruce Gordon Seton, The House of Seton. A Study of Lost Causes, Edinburgh, Lindsay and MacLeod, 1941, pp. 454-6; Daniel Szeczi, George Lockhart of Carnwath 1689-1727. A Study in Jacobitism, East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2002.
635 Lyon, v. ii, pp. 106-7, passim; Albermarle, pp. 267-8, 272.
Lady he had further orders which were to search all her papers. Anti-Jacobite contemporaries were opposed to such Jacobite activity, and proved it by informing upon them. ‘My Lady Bruce found out afterwards that she owed this troublesome visit to the indiscreet and intemperate zeal of Mr. George Lindsay, Presbyterian preacher in North Leith.’ It is possible that some of these women were pressured into this particular activity, either by the fugitives landing on their doorsteps in desperation, or by men who could not assist, as they felt it was too dangerous for them. It is possible that unsuspecting widows were pressured, as they did not have men around to draw unwanted attention. Lady Bruce, for example, was an elderly widow, and possibly unsuspected by the authorities. However, with the extent of her activities evidenced in the Lyon, it is unlikely in her case that she was pressured to assist.

Considering the punishments that were being meted out after the ‘Forty-five—for example, the beheading for high treason of William Boyd, Earl of Kilmarnock, and Arthur, Lord Balmerino, on the 18th August 1746—this support reveals the dedication and strong character of such women. In the intelligence sent to Lord Albemarle in September 1746, five months after Culloden and one month after the execution of the two Scots nobles, the informant gave what was believed to be the movements and locations of four particular fugitives of significance: Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Donald Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and Cluny MacPherson. According to the informant, these fugitives were headed to a Quaker’s residence in Aberdeenshire, ‘to find a Ship on that Coast, if that failed there were to go to the South and would conceal themselves at Lady Bruce’s at the Citadel of Leith, or the Lady Cunningham’s of Priestfield near Edinburgh’. These details were confirmed just six days later in a declaration by a tailor in the Canongate, one Donald MacDonald. Given that the Prince, the Camerons and Cluny, were given such information in order for a safe escape, it is unlikely that Lady Bruce or Lady Cunningham were unaware of such plans. The safety of the Prince and other distinguished Jacobites would not depend on a mere chance that these women might let them in at the door. No, these women, their safe houses, and

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636 Lyon, v. ii, p. 106.
637 Ibid., p. 107.
638 Albemarle, p. 268.
639 Ibid., p. 272.
their loyalty for the Stuart cause were known and trusted. Women were long portrayed as fragile and delicate creatures, the weaker sex, particularly during this period, and have seldom appeared in histories, performing risky and dangerous roles. Such portrayals were deemed unfeminine, as such deeds were not expected of women. This is possibly one reason why women were more likely to get away with covert activities.

Scotswomen came to the aid of numerous Jacobite soldiers who were skulking, or hiding from the government after a rising. Assisting such fugitives was likely a community effort in sympathetic parts of the country such as Banffshire and Aberdeenshire, where men such as Captain Andrew Hay of Rannes and Lord Pitsligo hid out. A couple of Scotswomen were among their advocates: Ladies Helen Hay of Rannes and Mary Hay, Countess of Erroll. Returning most often to their own locality, where there were people they knew and could trust, these Jacobite fugitives lurked about the neighbourhood, keeping close to kith and kin, and therefore to food, shelter—albeit rough—and supplies. Lady Mary, Countess of Erroll, was well known for her care for and assistance to such men in the aftermath of Culloden. According to a nineteenth-century account of Jamie Fleeman, a famous eighteenth-century Scottish fool, or jester, Lady Mary consulted their safety by every means she could devise, and as far as was practicable, administered to their immediate wants, while they lurked in the most sequestered spots, and were in continual danger of falling into the hands of those who scoured the country in quest of them.\textsuperscript{640}

As a trusted confidante of Lady Mary, Mr Fleeman was often sent out with messages to inquire as to the wellbeing of her fellow Jacobites, who were lying in concealment in the area.\textsuperscript{641}

The actions of the accomplice generally deviated from gender norms, and in most cases these women participated in areas that had been considered masculine provinces. The raising of troops has always been a male function. The participation of women, for example, in this masculine field of military activity reveals that they were working outside societal norms, and what was usually considered acceptable conduct for women. This could explain why some women

\textsuperscript{640} Pratt, Jamie Fleeman, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{641} Ibid., pp. 11, 21.
were targeted with labels and libel for such participation. In regards to hosting spies and agents, or hiding fugitives, this action was less gender specific; however, women's participation in this area was not expected and so deviated from the norm. Women, particularly women of status and standing, were generally thought to be unlikely participants in clandestine and illicit activities. Therefore it was hoped that they were more likely to get away with such actions without notice. This was certainly not always the case. However, it is possible that the absence of proof may indicate that they were successful in maintaining a low profile.

Passing secret messages and correspondence is as old as the materials themselves, and very much at the heart of governing, leadership, and the politics that goes with it. The actions of Scotswomen in this area of clandestine activity have been noted in scholarship, primarily by those studying women in the royal court—where conspiracies were rife. However, outwith the royal courts, women have seldom received attention in this area. This is surprising, as according to Sara Mendleson, Patricia Crawford, and Claire Walker, ‘it was the negative opinion regarding women’s intellectual capacity and their reputation as gossips that ‘made them so useful to men as emissaries, mediators, and spies’. According to these scholars, women were unlikely to be investigated because it was considered doubtful that they were involved in political machinations, particularly in planning to overthrow the government. However, the evidence of certain women being monitored reveals that this was not always the case. Lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, was monitored in 1705 not only for harbouring the Jacobite agent Colonel Hooke, but also for meeting with other suspect individuals. Although their gender made them seem less likely to engage in such behaviour, their actions in support of Jacobitism caught and drew the attention of Whigs and the authorities to them, revealing to their contemporaries the danger these women could represent.

How did these female spies and messengers contribute to Scottish Jacobitism, and were they successful? Their main contribution to the Cause was

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642 Murray Pittock, 'Ogilvy, David, styled sixth earl of Airlie (1725–1803)', ODNB. Lady Ogilvy was described in the anti-Jacobite pamphlet, Female Rebels, (1747), for brandishing a sword and following her husband into battle. Prints such as Blaikie:SNPG, 20.13, Tandem Triumphans, 1746, were also made to bring attention to the masculinity of female Jacobite activity, in order to denounce it.
643 Akkerman, 'Postmistress', p. 176.
645 Correspondence, i, ‘Mr Hall to Colonel Hooke’, 27th August, 1705, p. 282.
through the forwarding and delivery of clandestine correspondence. Letters from Scottish Jacobite earls, dukes, and viscounts, captains, colonels, and generals, flowed back and forth across the German Sea (North Sea), between Scotland and the Continent, between noble houses and royal courts, and even the King himself. These letters contained news, secret plans, ideas, plots and intelligence, among other things, during the high points in Jacobite history. These letters, of great import to the restoration cause, were written by Jacobite Scotsmen and women, as well as being delivered by them via a postal system/network they orchestrated. There are several ways in which this could have been accomplished. Some women were entrusted with the delivery of mail themselves, others concealed the letters within something obscure and arranged delivery or collection, or wrote letters as covers, inside which the secret correspondence was hidden.

Whether or not the outcome of a messenger’s work was successful is mostly unknown. In the case of these Jacobite Scotswomen’s secret deliveries and postal services to Jacobite agents in both Scotland and the Continent, there is scant evidence of the mail, let alone the outcome. The evidence of their actions is generally found in references from either themselves or others, without knowledge of the results, except in the case of Lady Catherine Carnegie, Countess of Erroll. Lady Catherine is noted in two different collections of correspondence for her connection and actions in support of the Stuart king.\footnote{Melvilles, ii, ‘Lewis, Viscount Frendraught to General Cannon’, 1st Mar., 1690, Bedenalloch, pp. 150-51; William Carstares, ‘Information for my Lord Sidney’, nd, p. 151.}

In March 1690, a letter between the Jacobites, Lewis, Viscount Frendraught, and Major-General Alexander Cannon, was intercepted by the enemy. In this letter Frendraught informs the General that Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan of the Williamite army had arrested the Countess of Erroll and taken her prisoner to Edinburgh. She had been betrayed by a double agent, a Mr Bell from Glasgow, who had seized King James’ messenger Strachan and had him tortured until he confessed that the letters he was carrying were for the Countess. Frendraught bewailed this loss of Lady Catherine, as it ‘gives me a great deall of trouble upon the account of the loss wee sustain by the want of her intelligence’.\footnote{Melvilles, ii, ‘Frendraught to Cannon’, 1st Mar., 1690, pp. 150-51.} It appears that Lady Catherine was acting as an informant and messenger at the very least, if not as an agent for King James. Once the King’s messenger had safely
traversed the Irish Sea, and the letters were in Lady Catherine’s possession, it seems most likely that she would have set about ensuring that the letters and the intelligence were directed to the right people. However, in this case she was caught before she could perform her task. The Countess was likely released shortly thereafter, as she was later referenced in intelligence for William of Orange via Lord Sidney, as attempting to flee the country with Sir William Wallace and several other Highland Jacobites.\(^{648}\) It seems she had given them the slip. Eventually Lady Catherine made it to France, where she was made the governess of the young prince James Francis Edward Stuart until her death in 1693. Prior to her escape into exile and subsequent role as governess, Lady Catherine appears to have been a significant part of the movement of critical information and intelligence between the King and his agents in Scotland during the Revolution. This is most visible in the Viscount’s distress at the loss of ‘her intelligence’, thus revealing the importance of elite women as couriers of top secret information in revolutionary times, to leaders in battle, and even to the King.\(^{649}\)

As messengers Jacobite Scotswomen personally hand delivered secret correspondence as a safeguard against discovery. After the ’Forty-five, Jean Cameron of Dungallon—wife of the well-known doctor Archibald Cameron, brother of the Gentle Lochiel and the last Jacobite to be executed for treason in 1753—was employed by one of the Highland chiefs to transmit messages of intelligence in the area.\(^{650}\) According to two different sources of enemy intelligence, Jean Cameron, who was living in Strontian, western Lochaber, was working alongside the younger Clanranald, who had been left behind by those fleeing Scotland, ’to be at hand to receive such ships and dispatch Expresses with accounts of their news.’\(^{651}\) Jean’s job was to carry the intelligence and the ships’ news to a contact in Dounan in Rannoch, who would then forward them to important Jacobite officers such as Cluny and Ardhseal.\(^{652}\) She was also noted by another government agent, Aeneas McDonnell, as receiving messages from Lochiel. She was requested to deliver them to the Jacobites in hiding with the instructions ‘to come to him, but not in a body so as to be taken notice of’.\(^{653}\)

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\(^{651}\) Ibid.

\(^{652}\) Ibid.

\(^{653}\) Ibid., 23rd Sept., 1746, Edinburgh, p. 238.
Although these are the only accounts of Jean Cameron’s role as a messenger, it is quite likely that she was used at other points throughout the 'Forty-five and its aftermath. Using a Highland lady to deliver messages may have been done at this time with the hope that she was less conspicuous and suspicious than a Highlander on the road, who would likely have been searched for weapons, etc., if seen by the frequent Red Coat patrols. This was therefore a precaution against capture and interception; however, the acknowledgment of her actions in enemy intelligence reveals that the ploy of using a woman had failed. This could likely be due to an informant or a double agent, of which there were several known at this time and in this region. Yet the success of others could be one reason why little is known about such roles performed by Scotswomen.

The management of postal services and networks was another aspect of the accomplice’s role in Jacobitism. Scottish Catholics in Edinburgh ran an informal postal service through an inconspicuous woman. They addressed letters to a Mrs Jean Innes that were in fact for other recipients. Catholic correspondence, as dangerous as Jacobite correspondence, had been running secretly for at least a century before, and now was linked by shared purpose at this time. It is quite likely this postal service was used for Jacobite correspondence among Catholics. The collection of letters contains those that refer to both Catholic and Jacobite affairs and were likely passed discreetly inside a decoy letter addressed to ‘to the care of Mrs Innes near the Canongate Cross, Edinburgh’. Those who were part of the network of Scottish Catholic Jacobites would have known to call at Mrs Innes’s house, where they could collect their dissident correspondence. This informal underground postal network passed many letters, for example, between Father Thomas Innes (1662-1744) on the Continent, who was closely connected with the exiled court and several well-known elite Catholic Scotswomen and Jacobites such as Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth, whose actions are significant to this thesis. One Margaret Mackenzie, alias ‘Lady Nuthill’, appears to have been managing a similar outfit between Scotland and a location, or locations on the Continent around the time of the ‘Fifteen. In a letter to a John Paterson, Lady Nuthill

654 One of the most famous Highland double agents was Alasdair Ruadh MacDonnell of Glengarry. Hugh Douglas, ‘MacDonnell, Alasdair Ruadh, of Glengarry (c. 1725–1761)’, ODNB.
655 SCA, BL3/81/1-10, ‘Blairs Letters’, as an example.
explained the difficulty she was having in obtaining news and letters due to ‘the
great distance and the earmies laying betwixt use and them.’ She reassured him,
however, that ‘If any letters com from theam for you, I shall likways be very
cearfull to send them or whatever accounts I have of them’.657 Lady Nuthill was
an informant at the highest levels, apprising John Paterson, who was then the
secretary to the Earl of Mar, himself secretary of state to the Old Pretender.
These methods employed by Jacobite Scotswomen, in conjunction with the
broader Jacobite network, aided the passing of secret information across the
North Sea divide, making possible the communication between conspirators
and compatriots in both Scotland and abroad.

Disguising letters under the cover of a false name, addressee, or
recipient, and having them delivered to the houses of unsuspected women such
as widows, likely involved many more women. For although these women did
not necessarily take the letters from one port to another, they were responsible
for the receipt of clandestine mail, and their homes became collection points for
their connections, making acquisition of mail easier. It is hard to analyse such
actions over time, for there is a shortage of evidence for the longevity of these
particular activities. There is only one reference for each woman regarding their
involvement in the informal/ad hoc Jacobite postal services. Keeping a
particular house as a postal base may have been ongoing throughout the entire
period with certain women, as was the case with the Catholic mail base in
Edinburgh, but, as the extant evidence indicates, it may only have been
necessary during the peak moments in Jacobite history.

The actions of a messenger were not specific or unique to women, in fact,
many more were men. Some scholars have thought that women were less likely
to be suspected of working subversively, and therefore less likely to be caught.658
However, as I have already shown, certain women’s subversive activities were
known by local government officials, and so these women would more likely
have been on a watch-list. Lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, was one such
woman. Although there is no evidence for her role as a messenger, there were
numerous letters that were sent to various individuals at her residence in
Edinburgh from Scots on the Continent in the 1720s, some of whom were

657 CSP, ii, p. 136, ‘Margaret Mackenzie to John Paterson’, 24th April, 1716.
definitely Jacobites.\footnote{NRS, GD44/43/8/123, Papers of the Gordon Family, Dukes of Gordon, 12th Feb., 1717. An addressed and unsigned letter regarding the Jacobites: Alexander the Duke of Gordon and Fr. Thomas Innes, under their pseudonyms, Mr Dudley and Michel Fribourg.} Everyone knew the Dowager Duchess was a Jacobite. Not only was she an agent in the affairs from 1706 to 1708 (see chapter six), she was also involved in proselytising Jacobitism and Catholicism in Edinburgh throughout the period (see chapter two). In 1711 she gained full notoriety when she apparently gave the Advocates a medal of ‘the Pretender’, news which appeared in several anti-Jacobite pamphlets, calling for her prosecution (see chapter seven). Managing a Jacobite/Catholic postal service in Edinburgh is an activity Lady Elizabeth would have been eager to participate in, but unlikely to have performed, due to the fact her Jacobite reputation was as well-known as that of some of the men. What is interesting is that various women and their treasonable activities were known, but they were not arrested. Apart from the odd occasion, women were not arrested or imprisoned until the 'Forty-five. Why? It is possible that the women who were being monitored were inadvertently providing the state with much wanted intelligence, and so it was in the state’s interest to watch, wait, and glean what they could, such as the identity of other Jacobites.

The glimpses of the female messenger in Jacobite political affairs have revealed that she had an important role to play. Women were directly in contact with numerous Jacobite agents and even the King during Jacobite plots and risings, and delivered their messages across the country, to Ireland, and to the Continent. This kind of action saw women working at the highest levels, in the heat of the action. This role was important to the dissemination of significant Jacobite correspondence, and therefore news and intelligence, which required the utmost secrecy, discretion, and stealth, in order to ensure it reached its destination.

\textit{The Agent}

The agent worked in direct connection to Jacobite political machinations in the pursuit of a Stuart restoration, often in direct communication with the exiled monarch and court. Female agents worked alongside Jacobite men at the highest levels and aided them in orchestrating events and people. This role was
limited to the elite for it demanded they use the advantage of their privileged status, that is, their networks, property, wealth, and authority. The importance of this role in Jacobite affairs was high, as it worked at the very heart of the Cause. Jacobite agents, both men and women, worked secretly behind the scenes, preparing the way for a rising. Without agents a rising was not likely to occur. These agents sought support and favour among leaders in Scotland. They communicated ideas and plans between the exiled courts and Scottish elite, and they helped to orchestrate troops and munitions for war. The importance of these actions to the plot necessitated secrecy to avoid discovery. It is likely owing to their success in remaining secret that I have found so few agents. Due to the lack of evidence and the nature of that which survives, it can be hard to determine exactly what some women were doing at a particular point, and whether or not they were in fact agents. In some cases everything but their Jacobitism is obscure. An example of this can be seen in the person of Lady Jean Gordon, the Duchess of Perth. This woman crops up in evidence throughout the period, mentioned here and there, in matters that seem for the most part insignificant except that she is connected to numerous Jacobites and members of the exiled court and the Scots College in Paris. Her most clearly documented action was the aforementioned removal of her children to France to avoid the Protestant influence over their education after her husband’s death in 1720.\textsuperscript{660} This was motivated by religious beliefs, rather than Jacobite politics, even though these two matters were intimately connected for not only her family, but the exiled court, the Scots College in Paris, and Scottish Catholic Jacobites in Scotland and abroad. Lady Jean wrote to various members of the exiled court on matters regarding the Church, her children, and the Cause.\textsuperscript{661} In a curious letter to the Duke of Mar, Captain H. Straton assures him that the ‘letter under your cover to the doctrix daughter I caused a trusty hand deliver to Fr James Carnegy, so it is not to be doubted but it will go safe to the lady’s hands.’\textsuperscript{662} This letter must have contained something of significance for the need of its route to be recounted, and the woman’s name concealed in code. Twenty years later she is referred to in an anti-Jacobite pamphlet, which describes her as a female rebel and barbarian, killing captured Red Coats protected by Prince Charles.

\textsuperscript{660} NRS, GD24/1/1079E, Papers of the Family of Stirling Home Drummond Moray of Abercairny, ‘Copy clause in the declarator at instance of the Friends of the Family of Perth’, 1720?.
\textsuperscript{661} BL2/266/14, ‘Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth, to Fr. Thomas Innes’, 17th April, 1724.
\textsuperscript{662} CSP, ii, ‘Captain H. Straton to the Duke of Mar’, 28th Feb., 1716, p. 8. The doctrix daughter is Lady Jean Duchess of Perth.
during the 'Forty-five. She must have done something obvious to warrant such an attack, and indeed her recorded participation in the 'Forty-five was as patroness and hostess to the Prince and his entourage. While the glimpses of her activity show her Jacobitism they do not place Lady Jean as an agent, and yet she was imprisoned in 1746 for nine months. The reason given was her failure to write to her Son, as ‘Directed by His Royall Highness’, and while possible, the consequences do not seem to fit the action, or lack thereof. Nevertheless, Lady Jean’s actions and support of the Stuart restoration was worthy of such vilification and punishment, like that of an agent, to be incarcerated and to have a derogatory pamphlet written against her.

The women for whom I have substantial evidence for their actions as an agent are all discussed in greater length in chapter six, in a more in-depth case study of the agent in the lead up to the 1708. Regarding the remaining women, of whom there are two, there is very little evidence, but what there is suggests their actions could have been that of agents, and accords with their reputation for being troublesome women in Jacobite affairs. There are other women who had the character, dedication, connections and resources to have been agents, but as with Lady Jean, the evidence to support their actions is lacking. Some of the Scotswomen whom I believe were agents suffered the government’s retribution during the 'Forty-five when they were arrested and imprisoned. The force of the government’s action against these women reveals that they were more than just mere supporters or meddlesome women. Their actions, which have come up in other categories of this thesis, and their correspondence with the exiled court and James VIII & III himself, reveal that they were more deeply committed and involved, and could potentially have been agents for the Cause.

So what were the actions of the agent, and how did she support the political cause of Jacobitism? The actions of the female agent were, for example, the management of secret signals and messages and the administration of certain lines of traffic of correspondence between Scotland and the Continent. She organised transport and used merchant and shipping contacts both in Scotland and abroad. She organised spies, emissaries, and delegated missions to

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663 Female Rebels.
665 See Appendix III.IV.
her own agents, as well as creating lists of suitable cooperative candidates. She wrote numerous letters of inquiry and even persuasion, and many more in the planning and plotting of rebellion, often in cipher and code. The two examples I will address here are Lady Margaret Nairne in 1714 and Lady Tullibardine in 1745. Their actions evidenced in their correspondence lack a reply and documentation of an outcome, and so little can be determined of the success, or effectiveness, of their actions. What is certain is their commitment and preparedness to act at such a level.

Three weeks before the death of Queen Anne in 1714, Lady Nairne wrote discreetly to John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane, regarding a rather sensitive political matter. Lady Nairne reassured Breadalbane that because '[t]his goin by so safe a bearer, I need not writte in Cypher'. This reveals that on other occasions she had in fact used code for this particular topic of conversation. The letter itself is very brief and a cover to a copy of the last letter she had sent him, which she was re-sending due to its importance. Unfortunately the copy and original letter, to which she refers, do not survive. It is likely that they were destroyed due to the sensitive nature of their contents. The cover letter refers to a list to which she thought the names of ‘Ballig-bork and Bromly’ should have been added, and so included them ‘on the back of this paper, & added to my own copy, also’. It appears that she was constructing a list of noteworthy individuals as potential Jacobite supporters, which was then being forwarded onto Breadalbane and potentially other influential men. The purpose of this list was most likely for the 1715 rising that was then being planned. This letter and Lady Nairne’s list were written toward the end of the succession crisis, which had been central to British politics for sometime and on the cusp of its realisation, with the imminent death of Queen Anne. At this time Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), and William Bromley (1663-1732), the Tory MPs added to Lady Nairne’s list, were suspected Jacobites, and Lord Breadalbane was at this time straddling both sides of the fence. Lady Nairne’s role in this particular escapade is unclear, but it is

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667 Ibid. Ballig-bork = Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), and Bromly = William Bromley, (1663-1732). Unfortunately this was not the case, and they were likely on another sheet. The back of the letter is blank.
obvious that she not only played the role of confidante and adviser, she also contributed on a more intimate level to the greater planning of the event later known as ‘the 1715’.

In the Scottish Jacobite hierarchy, Scotsmen asked Scotswomen they could trust to carry out various assignments, commissioning them as agents in the field. In October 1745, just weeks after the victory at Gladsmuir, Duke William wrote to Lady Tullibardine to employ her for such a task. Cooped up at home due to ill health, the Marquess turned to his confidante and informant, and sought to employ her good offices in and around Stirling, in what she did best, gathering intelligence. Firstly, he informed his sister-in-law of a skulking mischief-maker who had been creating havoc in the area, ‘a very dangerous as well as disagreeable Person to all Honest People in this Shire’. It was someone she knew, or would have known of, one James Bisset, the commissary from Dunkeld. According to Duke William, he was a favourite of his younger brother’s, the Hanoverian Duke of Atholl, James Murray.

I am told he had been running about serving seditious & Rebellious Sentiments everywhere, at last ’tis said he is gone to Stirling with design to do mischief by the assistance of that Garrison.

Duke William then requested her assistance in obtaining information on the whereabouts of this rebellious mischief-maker. ‘[S]ince your Lap says you will be some days near that Place, if any body about you could be employed to get certain Accounts of his motions’. Duke William then furthered her task, asking her to ensure that Bisset would ‘be apprehended & safely secur’d’, ... a Singular service done both to our King & Country. Whether or not Lady Tullibardine was able to carry out this request is unknown. However, the fact that she was entrusted with this assignment reveals not only the level of trust Duke William had in his sister-in-law, but also the lengths he knew she was prepared to go for the Cause. Had she been less than dedicated to the success of the Stuart cause, it is unlikely that he would have asked such a request, considering also that she was six months pregnant. These actions of elite Scotswomen were either insignificant to scholars, or simply overlooked, as seen

670 Ibid.
671 Ibid.
672 Ibid.
by their absence in scholarship. In some cases when these women have graced the scholars’ page, there have been erroneous interpretations of their actions. According to Glover, for example, Lady Tullibardine ‘did not take the autonomously active role like that of her counterparts.’ However, I believe that such an evaluation downplays the significance of her participation, and women’s participation in general, and contributes to the long-held neglect of women’s roles in politics, and national affairs. Granted, her participation was different than that of those who raised troops, like ‘Colonel Anne’ Mackintosh, or brandished a sword in the market square, like Margaret Murray of Broughton, who may also have been guided by male instruction, but Lady Tullibardine was no less active in her support of the Stuart cause. Her actions were generally discreet and not well known because the nature of her assignment required them to be so, but the fact was she had been given this mission, and likely many more, working covertly as Duke William’s agent.

The actions of the Jacobite agent were not specific to women, and if anything, involved far less women than men, according to the extant sources. The best examples of the agent are given in the next chapter, and they too reveal that women performed much the same role as men did in the same or similar circumstances. However, men were more mobile than women, and generally male agents were the ones who traipsed across land and sea. In some cases the female Jacobite agent appears to have delegated men subordinate to herself to carry out certain tasks on her behalf. This was the case with Lady Tullibardine, who was requested to obtain through others the whereabouts of a particular seditious deviant. The question then of who recruited the women to be Jacobite agents comes to mind. Lady Tullibardine’s brother-in-law apparently sought her services. However, in the cases of most women, the recruiter is unknown.

It is possible that some of these women volunteered, that is, sought a commission to serve as an agent. Lady Anne, Countess of Erroll, known for sending emissaries to gather knowledge for her own work to bring an end to the Union and a restoration of James Francis Edward Stuart, appears to have approached Queen Mary of Modena in 1705. According to Col. Hooke’s collection of correspondence, Lady Erroll’s first letter to the Queen was written three months after the Queen wrote to her in June 1705. However, the nature of

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673 Glover, Polite Society, p. 131.
674 Correspondence, i, ‘Colonel Patrick Graham to Lord Perth’, 22nd March, 1705, pp. 163-66.
the Queen’s letter to Lady Erroll appears to be one in the middle of a conversation, as letters often were with some correspondents, rather than following the formal introduction, followed by a request for service. It is possible Hooke had not seen Lady Erroll’s previous letters with the Queen, who writes ‘Having waited a great while and expected with impatience ... our great friend ... has at last resolved to send one to you ... who is faithful and zealous in our cause.’ In a reply Lady Erroll told the Queen what Scotland would need in terms of troops, money, etc., for a successful rising. Lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, also sought a part in the anti-Union Jacobite plotting. Through numerous letters to Col. Hooke, Queen Mary, and other agents, she sought the active participation of those on the Continent and in the exiled court.

The actions of the agents and accomplices were the most dangerous because they were overtly treasonous, directly involved in conspiracies against the state and monarch. They were performed by women of status and standing in society; women with estates, power, wealth, connections, and influence over the people they governed, such as their subordinates and tenants. These particular aspects of the elite were necessary in revolution and war, as with the clan and feudal system of loyalty, service and protection, and used to raise significant numbers of soldiers to join a particular side. A Scotswoman who had estates with tenants, horses, weapons, food, and money at her disposal, with servants and employees to govern, kith and kin to influence, and business connections to exploit, had the power to provide for the significant needs of an army, and contribute greatly to its growth, survival and potential success. Such a woman was a threat to the government.

Conclusion

The roles of the Jacobite agent and accomplice involved greater levels of initiative and autonomy, with greater exposure to danger. These women provided additional support not only to the Cause in general, but also to individual Jacobites throughout the period, when the men were down and out, or in need of assistance, or simply a trustworthy compatriot for a covert assignment. Perhaps without the accomplice fewer men would have been
recruited to join the Prince, and more men in hiding would have been captured. It is possible that even the efforts of particular Jacobite agents would have been thwarted, if not hindered or made more difficult, by these women’s lack of support. The position in society of widows made running a safe-house for escapees more secure, as women were less likely to be suspected. Had this task been relegated to men, it is likely that greater attention and suspicion would have been focused in their direction, making their residence an un-safe house, as the political leanings of elite men were often known, or suspected, due to their more public roles in politics, business, and society.

Not just any woman could be an agent or an accomplice. Most roles had specific requirements in order to be adequately performed, some more demanding than others. The host and the messenger required the least and could have been performed by a woman from any stratum of society, as long as she had accommodation and the means to sustain a guest. Status and wealth made it easier, however, for the messenger to perform her role, particularly in the case of the management of postal services and the shipping of letters, which required connections. The raising of men for the army on the scale these women achieved required land over which one governed, with tenants or clansmen over whom one had the authority to command loyalty. This was something only the clan chiefs, nobility, and heritor class had. For the role of the agent, the elite woman was the most likely candidate, due to the level of intimacy and trust, on top of the wealth, power, position, and connections, which they had. Ultimately, the elite had access to what was necessary to make these roles possible.

The actions described in this chapter reveal that Scotswomen in the eighteenth century had the means and opportunity to participate in political affairs and were even encouraged to do so by their men. There appears to be no instances throughout this same period of so many Scotswomen participating in the political realm as they did for Jacobitism. The Union did attract attention from some elite Scotswomen, as seen in Cowmeadow and Carr’s research; however, their focus is limited to only a few women, and only some were Jacobites. The circumstances provided by the political milieu created by Jacobitism in Scotland were such that they allowed greater opportunities for elite Scotswomen’s political participation.

676 Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen; Cowmeadow, ‘Redefining,’; Carr, ‘Female Correspondence’; Carr, ‘Political Agency’. This perhaps calls for further inquiry into female participation in Union and anti-Union politics.
Chapter Six: A Case Study of Action in the 1708

*For God’s sake! What are you thinking of? Is it possible, that after having ventured all to shew our zeal, we have neither assistance nor answer*. 677

Lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, to unknown, 1707.

‘The 1708’ was a largely patriotic and nationalistic affair, orchestrated largely by Scots Jacobites. While it drew many who were not ideological Jacobites, the Jacobites themselves—who were religiously or politically motivated—acted for what they believed was best for the country. The Union was not it. The Countess of Erroll wrote to inform her brother in exile of the state of affairs in Scotland in 1705:

There is now such appearance of a treaty of Union as makes all true hearts more afraid than ever, and makes all that has any kindness for their country fly with earnest hopes a sincere wishes to their King and what friends he has, to make some relief, or all is inevitably lost, being betrayed by a set of men whose present interest is their only idol. 678

Later in the letter she alluded to the ‘setting up to oppose’ the Union, which involved the French agent, Colonel Hooke. 679

The attempted Franco-Jacobite invasion of 1708 sits in the midst of the Spanish War of Succession. Although not directly related, the Jacobite plot obtained French support because Louis XIV wanted to divert British attention from the war in Flanders, which was not going well for the French. 680 Already over-committed on several fronts, Louis’ army could hardly afford another war and more troops, but the distraction of the English army was vital, and therefore seriously considered. Their long standing enmity with England, and the Auld Alliance with Scotland, increased the likelihood of support, but the immediate

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679 Ibid.
need for Louis to win the war of Succession ultimately motivated French assistance of the Scottish Jacobites.681

Meanwhile, the early 1700s in Scotland saw a battle in parliament and beyond, among peers, politicians, and people of different groups and factions regarding the move toward a union between Scotland and England. Within these opposing factions there was talk of ways to resist a union, even via a rising. There were anti-unionists who supported the Duke of Hamilton and others the Duke of Atholl; however, the two could not set aside their differences and unite. Colonel Nathaniel Hooke, agent of Louis XIV, worked simultaneously for the French king and the exiled Stuart court, and was sent to find out the state of affairs and support regarding a restoration in Scotland. Whilst there, he was to negotiate with notable men such as Hamilton and Atholl, first for a rising in 1706 and then a Franco-Jacobite invasion in 1708, neither of which came to fruition. Without external military aid the likelihood of the success of a rising in Scotland at this time was slim, due to the deterioration of Scotland’s military fabric and the lack of confidence and ground support.682 The failure of the 1708 brought almost a decade of negotiations, plotting and planning to an end.683 It was to be another seven years before another attempt would be made.

The plotting in the lead up to the failed coup d'état in 1706 and invasion of 1708, took place when the parliamentary union between Scotland and England was a contentious issue within politics in both kingdoms, and hotly debated in Edinburgh. The movement of some Scottish parliamentarians toward a union led many others, both Whigs and Jacobites, Protestants and Catholics, and other Scotsmen and women, to work secretly for the overthrow of the government, and the return of the Stuart monarchy to Scotland.684 Anything was better than a union, in the eyes of many Scots, even a papist monarch.685 In Scotland the Union was among other things, a patriotic, dynastic, and therefore Jacobite issue, bringing many unlikely subjects together to thwart the

682 Szechi, Carnwath, p. 69.
684 Sir Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun is an example of one who was not a Jacobite, but an anti-unionist, and one of many who wanted to preserve the Presbyterian settlement in Scotland. Allan Macinnes, 'Jacobitism in Scotland: Episodic Cause of National Movement?' in The Scottish Historical Review, vol. 86, no. 2, no. 222, October, 2007, p. 239.
government’s plans. It also inspired women to act on a significant level.\textsuperscript{686} They were concerned for the wellbeing of their country and joined several Scotsmen in their attempt to thwart the Union and bring about a restoration.\textsuperscript{687}

The plan to invade, for Scots, was intimately tied up with Jacobite and Scottish anti-Union politics, the focus of which was to replace the head of state and unravel the Union. This chapter explores and emphasises the previously unacknowledged, yet significant, contribution made by Scotswomen, most notably Lady Anne Drummond, the Countess of Erroll (1655/56-1714).\textsuperscript{688} It will show that she was a manager and organiser of the affair on the Scottish side. She worked with, and was supported by, a number of staunch Jacobite adherents, both men and women from the families of Scotland’s landed elite and nobility.

While historiography of the combined factors of the Union and Jacobitism has received some attention, the involvement of Scotswomen in these events, especially the plots hatched between 1703 and 1708 have received little more than passing comment, and by very few historians.\textsuperscript{689} John S. Gibson, in his work \textit{Playing the Scottish Card}—sourced primarily from the \textit{Correspondence Colonel N. Hooke} and his \textit{Secret History}—and Daniel Szechi, in his \textit{Britain’s Lost Revolution}?, have recorded the presence of these Scotswomen on the Jacobite/anti-Union scene between 1705 and 1708.\textsuperscript{690} Gibson has described their roles and activities as little more than passive support, which belies their actual agency, the results of which have been attributed only to the men involved. Gibson’s work (1988) is resonant with that of John Malcolm Bulloch, published almost a century earlier, in which he described the Countess of Erroll as little more than a ‘warm supporter’ in this event.\textsuperscript{691} Szechi, on the other hand, acknowledges the significant roles played by two of these women, the Countess of Erroll and the Duchess of Gordon.\textsuperscript{692}

Scholarship on the 1708 is limited and the event dismissed by arguments

\textsuperscript{687} Ibid., pp. 342-3.
\textsuperscript{688} Ibid., p.14.
\textsuperscript{691} J. M. Bulloch, \textit{The 1st Duke of Gordon}, Huntly, 1908.
\textsuperscript{692} Szechi, \textit{Lost Revolution?}, pp. 96-7.
such as the ‘episode and the little support aroused within Scotland demonstrated the gulf between anti-Union sentiment and Jacobitism.’\textsuperscript{693}

Meanwhile, others have argued for a slightly greater connection between the two. Allan Macinnes has argued that Jacobitism, this ‘covert but sustained movement in Scotland’, had ‘acquired new impetus and direction’, as a result of the Union.\textsuperscript{694} Whatley has acknowledged that the Jacobites were ‘the largest single body of anti-unionists in the Scottish parliament’, and refers briefly to the plot that involved Hooke, the exiled court, and Scottish Jacobites.\textsuperscript{695} He even credits a group of female Presbyterians for their anti-Union sentiment at this time but does not connect any anti-Union women with Hooke’s plot.\textsuperscript{696}

Macinnes has argued that in Scotland in the lead up to Union, there was an identifiable Jacobite presence in parliament that was sustained by extra-parliamentary activism made potentially potent by the embedding of Jacobites in the military, in the customs and other fiscal services, and in commercial networks at home and abroad.\textsuperscript{697}

This encapsulates those involved in the 1708 plotting in Scotland, but delves no deeper into the event that occurred as a result of Union at the hand of Scots Jacobites.\textsuperscript{698} Szechi, however, has argued that the 1708 was ‘Britain’s lost revolution’, and that the plans made by the French and Scots Jacobites led Britain to the brink of ‘a military and constitutional upheaval’.\textsuperscript{699}

The neglected team of anti-Union Jacobite conspirators, who plotted, planned, sought support within parliament and from the numerous lairds, chiefs, and magnates throughout the country included several elite women. These women, of whom seven have been identified, worked toward a French invasion and Jacobite rising in Scotland in 1708. As this is a case study of female Jacobite action seen in one particular event, I will be analysing the most significant aspects of their actions, which also includes the roles of adviser, informant, accomplice and agent, whilst also looking at their use of coded letters

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{693} Keith M. Brown, \textit{Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715}, Basingstoke, 1992, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{694} Macinnes, ‘Jacobitism in Scotland’, pp. 229, 239. I would like to here acknowledge Professor Allan I. Macinnes who drew my attention to the sources relating to Colonel Hooke and the Scottish Jacobite women that set me upon this amazing path.
\textsuperscript{695} Whatley, \textit{The Union}, pp. 45, 260.
\textsuperscript{696} Ibid., p. 288.
\textsuperscript{697} Macinnes, \textit{Union and Empire}, p. 246.
\textsuperscript{698} Ibid., p. 244.
\textsuperscript{699} Szechi, \textit{Lost Revolution?}, p. 10.
\end{footnotesize}
and the guise of legitimate business used for smuggling agents and correspondence.

The chapter is broken down into six main parts with a thematic approach. The first section introduces these women and places them in a Scottish historical context. Then there are four main categories of action analysed: agent, accomplice, adviser and informant. Then the last section focuses upon an important aspect of the women's clandestine activities, their secret letters and their use of codes and ciphers. In this chapter I argue that these women, two in particular (the Countess of Erroll and the Duchess of Gordon), played significant roles in Scottish Jacobite affairs in the lead up to the 1708. They worked with numerous Jacobite Scotsmen, as well as the conduit of the whole affair, Colonel Hooke, in order to establish support for a successful rising in Scotland.

**The Women Involved**

The prime contact, organiser and covert operative of the 1708 on the Scottish side, was Lady Anne, Countess of Erroll. She was the daughter of James Drummond, 3rd Earl of Perth (1615-1675), and Lady Anne Gordon (d.1656), daughter of George Gordon, 2nd Marquis of Huntly (1592-1648/9), and Lady Anne Campbell (1594-1638). In 1674 she married John Hay, 12th Earl of Erroll (d.1704), and Lord High Constable of Scotland. Her brothers were the notable Scots exiled for their Jacobitism and close associates of King James VII & II: James, 1st Duke of Perth (1648-1716), and John, 1st Duke of Melfort (1650-1714/15). They had been close to the King during his time in Scotland as the Duke of York, and subsequently converted to Catholicism. The Duke of Perth, who joined the exiled King James in 1696, was appointed governor of the young prince, James Francis Edward Stuart, and was Lady Anne’s contact in the court at St Germains.

The second most significant woman was Lady Elizabeth Howard, the Duchess of Gordon (d.1732). She was the daughter of Henry Howard, 6th Duke of Norfolk (1628-1684), and Lady Anne Somerset (1631-1662), daughter of Edward Somerset, 2nd Marquess of Worcester (1602-1667), and Elizabeth Dormer (d.1635). By this time she was estranged from her husband George, the
1st Duke of Gordon (1649-1716). However, through the *Correspondence* collection they appear to be on amicable terms, being connected for the sake of the Cause. The two women came from Jacobite families, married like-minded men, and brought up their children with the same religio-political ideologies and sympathies, being themselves significant agents and cultivators of Jacobite culture and politics in Scotland.

The other five women I have so far identified as involved in the Scottish-Jacobite anti-Union intrigues between 1703 and 1708 were Lady Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal, (1675–1729), daughter of the 1st Duke of Perth, niece of the Countess of Erroll, and wife of the 8th Earl Marischal (1662-1712); Lady Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth (1653/4-1726), sister-in-law to both the Countess of Erroll and the Duchess of Gordon; and Lady Anne Graham, Countess of Callendar (d.1714?), and mother-in-law to the Countess of Erroll's youngest daughter, Lady Margaret Hay, called ‘femme de grand esprit et zelée Jacobite’.700 As is evident, this was very much a family affair, with each of these ladies sharing close family ties as well as Jacobite and patriotic loyalties. The two ladies known in Hooke's correspondence as ladies Largo and Comiston I have identified as Margaret Rutherford, Lady Durham of Largo, daughter of Sir Thomas Rutherford of Hunthill (d.1668), who was a 'confidante' of the Duke of Hamilton, and Lady Anne Douglas, known as Lady Comiston, daughter of William Douglas, 2nd Lord Mordington, and wife of Patrick Portfield of Comiston (d.1710).701 These two women played an important part in Hooke’s secret missions in Scotland, which made the plotting possible, by secretly accommodating him and organising his secret messages and clandestine meetings. They also acted as contacts between wavering Scots such as the Duke of Hamilton, the other agents, and the dedicated core.

When the war over the Spanish succession had been raging for four years, Colonel Hooke—Irish born but a naturalised Frenchman—was introduced to the exiled Queen via the Duke of Perth. He presented an opportunity to remove 'an enemy of France' and bring about another restoration while 'unravelling the Union of England and Scotland.'702 Then, through the Duke of

700 Ibid., ‘Abridgment of Mr Leviston’s Memoirs’, nd., p. 79.
Perth and Queen Mary of Modena, the Countess of Erroll was introduced to Hooke. The Countess had been in frequent correspondence with her brother, the Duke of Perth.\textsuperscript{703} He was her intimate contact at the exiled court of St Germain and placed the authority of Hooke’s missions to Scotland in her hands. ‘He will take what shape or figure you please, he will follow your direction absolutely, and so you have but to consult your own measures and give him his.’\textsuperscript{704} Lady Anne had been married to John Hay of Killour, the 12th Earl of Erroll and High Constable of Scotland (d.1704), who was also heavily involved in this affair until his death. She was widowed six months before her recorded involvement in Hooke’s Correspondence. They had at least four children, and those who survived to adulthood became Jacobite supporters. Her son Charles, the 13th Earl, was during this time often in Edinburgh in parliament, and part of the stalwart opposition in the Union debates, along with his cousin the Earl Marischal. Meanwhile, the Countess of Erroll was based at home in Scotland’s northeast, between their castles, Delgatie, and Slains on the coast. Slains was a central landing point for ships from the Continent, which carried anything from goods and weapons, to letters and spies; and Lady Anne, who had been described by George Lockhart of Carnwath as a ‘very pragmatical woman’, that is, shrewd, became Colonel Hooke’s contact regarding his operations in Scotland from 1705 to 1708.\textsuperscript{705}

Lady Elizabeth, who was based in Edinburgh at her residence in Castlehill, was more central to affairs within the capital and Hooke’s mission while he was based there.\textsuperscript{706} Lady Elizabeth had two children, both of whom became strong Jacobite adherents. Her daughter Lady Jean Gordon became particularly involved in Jacobite intrigues, even marrying the Jacobite Duke of Perth’s eldest son, Lady Erroll’s nephew, and raising her own Jacobite family. Lady Elizabeth appears to have dedicated herself fully to the Cause after her separation from her husband in the late 1690s—which included a brief sojourn in a Continental convent before her return to Scotland—until her death in 1732. The events surrounding the Union are the first in which she is recorded as...
having been an active adherent of the Stuart cause. Throughout this period, the Duchess of Gordon was in regular contact with the Countess of Erroll, via correspondence, reporting news and the extent to which she had fulfilled her orders, as these ladies worked together, albeit at opposite ends of the country, for the return of the Stuarts.

*The Agents*

In the early 1700s political discussions were underway in the ‘private’ quarters of Madame Maintenon and Queen Mary of Modena where these ladies gained a hesitant agreement of assistance from Louis XIV for James VIII & III and the Stuart cause. After that, the support of the Scottish nobles and clan chiefs was necessary for a possible restoration attempt. Continuous efforts were then made to garner such support throughout Scotland. One report from the Duke of Perth in 1705 outlines the nature of sympathetic Highland clans and Lowland houses, that is, those who would possibly rise for James if he landed in Scotland. Two years after the Jacobite intrigues had begun, and on the heels of the ‘Scotch plot’ of 1703, Lady Anne appears in the evidence as a key player in the Jacobite plotting. She first appeared in the *Correspondence* in March 1705, giving an account of affairs in Scotland to her brother at the exiled court, and stating what Scotland needed to regain control, ‘about ten or twelve thousand men,’ and ‘weapons to arm twenty thousand men, ... [and] MORE money’. It is likely that Lady Erroll’s report and demands were passed from Perth to Queen Mary, who wrote to her three months later.

Just weeks after her letter to Perth, Lady Anne sent emissaries throughout the country, one to each of the various sympathetic parties in Scotland: the Highlanders, the Catholics, and the Episcopalians, in order to see if they were ‘ready to begin and venture all’. By the end of June the Queen had written to Lady Anne, placing her central to the intelligence missions, requesting that she ‘enter into all particulars with ... [Hooke], and answer fully to all his questions ... [and] advise him which way to go forwards, and how to

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709 Ibid., ‘What follows was dictated to me by the Duke of Perth,’ 30th April, 1705, pp. 166-7.
address himself to other friends’. Upon receiving the information from her emissaries, it appears Lady Anne forwarded a report on the sympathetic clans to her brother. This information was then collated in a letter to Hooke, which he was able to show Louis and his ministers, reassuring them of Scotland’s support for an invasion. Through her own initiative, helped by the position of her brother and supported by Queen Mary, the Countess ultimately became an agent of the exiled court. She was given the responsibility to introduce Hooke to Scottish Jacobites, to inform, direct, and assist him in every possible manner. As a political partner, Lady Anne placed all of her services, skills, and resources at the disposal of Hooke and the Stuart cause.

Lady Anne, being one of the prime agents in Scotland, managed the affairs, contacts and communication network for Hooke’s missions, and like a good administrator, had a hand in the organisation of intelligence, ensuring that what she received was passed on to the right people. Between 1705 and 1707 she corresponded and coordinated secret correspondence and clandestine meetings between the agents of Louis XIV and the exiled Stuart court and Jacobite supporters in Scotland. By June 1707, Lady Erroll had received numerous letters from various Jacobites in Scotland stating their hopes, plans, and ideas for action, which she then delivered into the hands of Colonel Hooke. The English James Grahme wrote ‘Some Thoughts concerning the Restoration’, while others put together ‘a Scheme concerted by several Noblemen and Gentlemen to be sent to King James’, and a ‘Copie of a Lettre design’d to be sent from some principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in Scotland to the King with the foregoing Project’. Lady Erroll added her own eight pointed ‘Reasons for the Restauration of King James the Third’, hoping that these documents would be further evidence of Scotland’s support.

Lady Anne had a stream of information flooding in, and acted as a central pool of intelligence between Scotland and the Continent, which she gathered and dispensed as necessary. Toward the end of August 1705, Lady Anne received a letter from her Scottish Jacobite cousin Charles Fleming, who informed her of the success of Hooke’s journey throughout the country so far. ‘All those who see

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712 Ibid., ii, ‘Some Thoughts concerning the Restoration’, June 1707, pp. 330-31; ‘Copie of a Lettre design’d to be sent from some principal Noblemen and Gentlemen in Scotland to the King with the foregoing Project’, June 1707, pp. 335-6.
Mr Leslie [Hooke] are extraordinarie well pleased with the proposal.\textsuperscript{714} He went on to explain the ‘length they will be able to go in assisting the loyal part of this nation, who are willing to venture all to restore their lawfull King and preserve their antient freedom.’\textsuperscript{715} Then deferring to the Countess, Fleming informed her of the developing plans ‘for next year’s campagne.’\textsuperscript{716} He asked her to make the judgment as to who should be sent over, as she is frank, and knows the mind of her brother. He also asked her to take over the communication to these particular individuals regarding the campaign.\textsuperscript{717}

Further evidence of Lady Anne’s central role in receiving communiqués and forwarding on important information can be seen in early 1707, before the Act of Union came into effect. Father Lewis Innes wrote to Lady Erroll to inform her of the latest developments coming from the exiled and French courts for a rising:

I must beg you to deliver to one Mark Tyler, + if you know such a man; it is to tell him that his kinswoman Sara Brown ++ has writt pressingly of late to have some pieces of good hair stuff $ sent home, because they will sell well, and that she is assured by making a present of that kind to gain Mr. Cary and Rory Dougall || to come in to the wedding. Upon this hopes, Robin Green, £ who has been long desiring that wedding, is resolved to send some pieces of the best hair stuff and also some silk stuff. ** And if that marchandise turn to advantage, Ned Smith +++ and his brother James ++++ hope to obtain afterwards some pieces of good ribbon, $$ but that is what Robbin cannot furnish at present.\textsuperscript{718}

These details were written in code, disguising the rising and invasion as a wedding, and the necessary contributions as various women’s hair accessories needed for such an occasion, thus providing the Countess with the most up-to-date intelligence from abroad.\textsuperscript{719}

The Countess’ residence at Slains Castle was used like a secret post office,

\textsuperscript{714} Correspondence, i, ‘Charles Fleming to Countess of Erroll’, Edinburgh, 27th August, 1705, p. 284.
\textsuperscript{715} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{716} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{717} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{718} Ibid., ii, ‘Fr Innes to Lady Erroll’, 17th Jan., 1707, p. 103. Arms were to be sent by the Duke of Hamilton; Louis was to grant money for a rising; and the King and Dowager Queen at St Germain were to obtain for them troops.
\textsuperscript{719} Ibid.
where mail would be sent for another to collect, whether it came from Scotland and was going to the Continent, or vice versa. Some of the mail was passed on by hand to a visiting ‘friend’, other letters were forwarded by personal messenger to the addressee, and some were shipped to France. Toward the end of Hooke’s first mission, the Earl of Erroll wrote home to his mother, requesting that,

The three letters herewith sent open, after you have read them, they may be altered in the folding if necessarie, and clos’d as Mr Leslie advises; I think it would be proper that two of them be sealed with red wax.

Lady Anne was thus acquiring more intelligence before forwarding it on. It appears that letters written to the Countess were kept aside until Hooke returned to Slains after his sojourns in Edinburgh and beyond. There at the Castle, Hooke copied the relevant parts of the Countess’ correspondence, keeping detailed records, and himself using the information to further the Cause.

Another aspect to the agent’s role was the recruiting and mediating in the preparatory stages of the 1708. Lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon, who was intimately involved in gathering support for a Stuart restoration, did her utmost almost from the moment of Hooke’s arrival in Edinburgh, working alongside several other Jacobite adherents in and around the city. She gathered support and recommended trusted men as agents such as John Gordon and James Ogilvy, the younger of Boyne, to Hooke’s service and, therefore, the Cause. Meanwhile, she also tried to ensure that Hooke met with the interested parties during his short stay. Lady Elizabeth planned various meetings in her residence in Castlehill with staunch Jacobites such as James Maule the 4th Earl of Panmure, and the Catholic prelate, Bishop Thomas Nicolson. She also acted as an agent for the Duke of Atholl and her estranged husband, the Duke of Gordon, being the contact between these two gentlemen, the sympathetic Presbyterians, and Colonel Hooke. According to Hooke, Atholl and Gordon were ‘narrowly watched in the country’, due to their well-known Jacobite sympathies.

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721 Ibid., ‘Earl of Erroll to the Countess his Mother’, 28th August, 1705, p. 286.
723 Hooke, Secret History, p. 180; Gibson, Scottish Card, p. 59.
and opposition to the Union. Therefore, the Duchess had been appointed mediatrix.\textsuperscript{724} Her contact with the sympathetic Presbyterian contingent in regards to the Cause became almost a daily occurrence. The information and proposals she received from it was forwarded on to Hooke, keeping him up-to-date of what appeared to be growing support. Hooke, meanwhile, encouraged the Duchess to keep the Presbyterians in good humour.\textsuperscript{725}

As an agent, the Countess of Erroll was the link and negotiator between her connections at home and abroad. Being a member of the Scottish elite in Perthshire and the Northeast of Scotland—with family ties to the Drummonds of Perth, the Hays of Erroll, the Gordons of Huntly, and the Keiths Marischal, et al.—Lady Anne used her connections to further the Cause. Before Hooke arrived in August 1705, the Countess sought to ensure that his ship docked safely and discreetly, without being accosted in Scottish waters, and avoiding arrest upon landing. She arranged with Captain Thomas Gordon (1658-1741), another family connection, and the officer of the Royal Scots Navy in charge of the waters off the east coast of Scotland, certain secret signals that were then forwarded on to Hooke's shipping connection in France for Hooke’s arrival at Slains.

Carron shall hoise an Hollands ensign at the main top-mast head ... Captain Gordon shall answer by hoising the Scots ensign at the main top-mast head ... And she shall not enquire after, pursue, or concern himself with any such ship.\textsuperscript{726}

At the end of Hooke’s first mission to Scotland, the Countess of Erroll had devised another set of signals to be used upon the return of the French frigate the \textit{Audacious} to collect Hooke, which she communicated to Carron in September that year. Much more detailed than the first, the fourteen signals were designed to convey messages from the castle to the outlying ship. These signals contained a combination of details including a particular coloured sheet, which would appear in a certain window, or a number of windows, a certain number of times.

If a blew cloth be put out; then Carron must stay away as many weeks, if exposed after the same manner, as it is put out different

\textsuperscript{724} Hooke, \textit{Secret History}, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{725} Ibid., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{726} Correspondence, i., ‘Signals agreed on between Captain Thomas Gordon, commanding the guard-ship, and Mr Carron, at the Slaines, by the Countess of Erroll's means’, Aug., 1705, p. 336; and, ‘Signals to be made between M. Carron and the Countess of Erroll at Carron's arrival on the coast’, Slaines, 3rd Sept., 1705, pp. 337-8.
times. If a black cloth is put out; then all is ruin'd, we are beset, and can do nothing, nor is it safe for Carron to come ashore.\textsuperscript{727}
The ship would simply lie in wait just off the coast for the right sign, one that would signal the opportune time to collect Hooke.

The agent used her business and mercantile knowledge and contacts to further the interest of the Stuart cause. The Countess's proximity to and intimacy with naval connections, and to general shipping and export merchants meant she could utilise these ordinary avenues of business and communication for Jacobite/anti-Union political ends. In early 1706 Lady Anne wrote to her brother Perth in Paris requesting his assistance in the matter of a ship that was sailing from Scotland to France:

There is one Taite, a master of a ship in Leith, that I am told is gone abroad with a cargo not wholly agreeing with his pass ... he is ... very serviceable to all that concerns our friends as far as can be in his power.\textsuperscript{728}

The nature of this letter leads one to believe that the ship was smuggling goods, or perhaps secret mail, agents or spies, as Lady Anne acted to ensure its safe arrival and unloading at its destination.

Throughout the \textit{Correspondence} collection there are numerous shipping and mercantile references, discussions of ships and products of trade are mentioned, as well as letters to and from various Captains of ships. The letters that involved Lady Erroll reveal that family business, particularly trade and shipping, was used as a cover to smuggle Jacobite-related materials and that business contacts were used to facilitate Jacobite plotting across the German Sea. This was central to keeping open the lines of communication between Scotland and the Continent to the smuggling of messages and agents, in the planning of the 1708.

The agents were messengers and administrators of matters in this particular Jacobite affair. Through their initiative, correspondence and intelligence, the general organisation of sympathisers and plotters was orchestrated and managed, making possible both events on the Scottish side and the dissemination of information to the Continent.

\textsuperscript{727} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{728} Ibid., ii, ‘Countess of Erroll, to Duke of Perth’, 25th Feb., 1706, p. 42.
Agents were high up on the ladder of intensity of Jacobite support, and thus often performed numerous roles simultaneously. Another of Lady Anne's roles was informant. Once she had gathered necessary information, Lady Anne passed it on to those whose was the ultimate decision to provide the necessary financial and military support for a Jacobite plot to unravel the Union and restore the exiled king. Lady Anne became an indispensable tool in the intrigues, with her most frequent contact being her brother Perth, her main connection to the exiled court. To Perth the Countess passed on information regarding the political status of events in Scotland, both regarding Union politics and the anti-Union plot. However, more often than not the information she passed on revealed the fraught nature of their attempts to put an end to the Union. Regretfully, on one occasion she had to inform Hooke that her cousin Fleming had thrown all the letters away, for fear of being found out. And on several occasions Lady Anne had to pass on dismal reports that unity among their friends and their support for the cause was waning, for example:

There is several unfortunate divisions fallen amongst our friends since ... [Hooke] went away, and that company which had for several years traded together with great unanimity and firmness is now look'd upon as very near broke, for the chief merchant of it did much disoblige some of his partners, by making steps without their knowledge, which they did not think for their interest nor for the interest of trade in general.

Perth, and therefore the exiled court, was kept well abreast by the Countess of the difficulties Jacobite plotting faced in Edinburgh.

As an informant, the agent was a source and contributor to the acquisition of intelligence and necessary for the accuracy of Jacobite plotting. Information regarding the willingness, supportiveness, and trustworthiness of various potential adherents, especially significantly influential men, was of great importance to the planning of events. Toward the end of August 1705 the

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Duchess of Gordon informed Lady Anne of the situation with the Duke of Hamilton.

Our principall marchant was very shy and backward at first, which made others so too... but as I was privately informed, since that time came to very well, and I suppose its only to be looked upon as a poynit of his policy.\

Just days later the Duchess wrote again regarding 'the private intelligence or fears I had got about our great marchand'. Not only did his commitment to the Cause appear to be wavering, but 'his pretensions [were] to the estate', that is, the crown. The Duchess of Gordon wrote numerous such letters to the Countess of Erroll from her central location in Edinburgh, many of which were replies to her solicitations for information.

The importance of such information, relayed to the necessary contacts on the Continent, helped to determine the extent of support in Scotland, and whether an invasion would be supported on Scottish soil. Lady Elizabeth informed the Countess of Erroll about what she had learnt of the allegiances of certain men of position and power in Scotland, upon whom many, including Louis XIV and Queen Mary of Modena, had rested the success of the cause. In 1706 Lady Anne wrote to Hooke regarding the most recent developments in Scotland, gathered from one of her main sources, whether her son the Earl, the Duchess of Gordon, Charles Fleming, or one of her emissaries. She informed Hooke of the ‘over cautiousness of our great friend’, and the opinion of the Duke of Hamilton, ‘who has severall times by too much of all that politique spoiled matters,’ putting the cause in jeopardy. This was only weeks before George Lockhart of Carnwath (1681?-1731) boldly declared ‘the commencement of Scotland's ruine’ by Hamilton's betrayal. From the four main areas of opposition toward the Union—the Kirk, the Convention of Royal Burghs, the Covenanting Remnants, and the Jacobites—it was the latter two who would likely 'extend to a coup d'état.' However, the Countess of Erroll feared this

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731 Ibid. 'Duchess of Gordon to the Countess of Erroll', 29th August, 1705, p. 325.
732 Ibid., 2nd Sept., 1705, p. 327. Written in lemon.
733 Ibid.
734 Ibid., ii, 'Countess of Erroll to Colonel Hooke', Slaines, 26th Aug., 1706, p. 68.
735 Szechi, 'Scotland's Ruine', p. 106.
736 Macinnes, Union and Empire, p. 276.
opportunity would be lost by Hamilton’s indecisive and erratic behaviour.\textsuperscript{737} The Duke of Hamilton and the Duke of Atholl, two of the most important recruits to the Cause, were not shy. Both men, each dubious of the other, were reluctant to commit, due to the possible political and economic ramifications if the adventure failed.

The informant in the lead up to the 1708 was important for keeping the major decision-makers informed of the political situation, the shifts in personal allegiances, and changes in levels of commitment. The sources of Ladies Anne and Elizabeth’s intelligence were often their contacts in parliament or their emissaries. This information was then sent as far as the French ministry and Louis XIV and would most likely have been influential in their decision to invade.

\textit{The Accomplice}

Agents delegated and subcontracted various tasks to other agents and accomplices. One of these tasks was the housing of spies and agents, as seen in a previous chapter. Lady Elizabeth oversaw Hooke’s accommodation to ensure his presence in Scotland remained unknown, as ‘Edinburgh is so small that you only have to appear twice to be recognised and to become the subject of gossip.’\textsuperscript{738} Lady Elizabeth put Hooke in the care and houses of various Jacobites such as ladies Largo and Comiston. These two women, along with Lady Elizabeth, moved Hooke secretly from one place to the next, usually at night, to ensure his visit was kept secret. For the duration of August Hooke was based just outside Edinburgh, in Comiston Tower, where the Duchess of Gordon, and others, were able to organise secret meetings between themselves and several personages, such as the Earl of Erroll and the Earl Marischal. Both of these men went out to meet with Hooke away from Edinburgh’s watchful eyes.\textsuperscript{739} Ladies Largo and Comiston worked with the Duchess of Gordon and Mr. Carnegy to ensure that Hooke’s stay in Scotland was both productive and secret.\textsuperscript{740}

Lady Largo, code named ‘Felix’, accommodated Hooke in her house just

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{737} Correspondence, ii, ‘Countess of Erroll to Colonel Hooke’, Slaines, 26th Aug., 1706, p. 68.
\textsuperscript{738} Gibson, \textit{Scottish Card}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{739} Ibid., pp. 45-6.
\textsuperscript{740} Ibid., p. 43.
\end{footnotes}
off the Canongate. She was both an intimate friend of Hamilton and his connection to Hooke. On several occasions Lady Largo secretly led Hooke under the cover of darkness to the Duke’s nearby residence in Holyrood House to discuss the affairs of the Union and a potential rising.  

Mr Hall vint sur les dix heures me conduire chez Madame de Largo, qui me mena au travers les gardes dans la com du Palais, et puis par un chemin detourne dans l'apartement du Duc du Hamilton.

As a Jacobite/anti-unionist and as Hamilton’s confidante, Lady Largo sought to gain Hamilton’s support for a rising. However, in early September 1705, according to another of his confidantes, Fr James Carnegy, something was amiss with the Duke. ‘[H]is carriage the two last days in Parliament looks so ill ... I am afraid he has taken wrong measures.’ In a panic Hall requested that Hooke ‘write such a letter ... to Felix as I desir’d’ so that Hamilton ‘may have nothing to lay to your charge’. It is clear by these directions that Lady Largo, who often acted as an intermediary between Hall, Hamilton and Hooke, had a certain degree of influence over Hamilton, and Hall wanted Hooke to use it. Not long after that letter from Hall, he received news that Hamilton had ‘but erred only in one vote’ in parliament, which would explain his disagreeable countenance, ‘giving the Queen the nomination of the Commissioners for the Union’.

These ladies were key to aiding Hooke in his various meetings, making them possible by the use of their residence, or acting as messengers and go betweens to set up meetings, and sneaking Hooke about the city at night. In a number of Hooke's letters, he bids his service to the significant ladies who have made his missions possible, rather than to the men with whom he tried to negotiate support.

[H]e desires you to give his service to Sir John Gray and his cousin Felix, and to all whom you know to be his friends, particularly to Beda and Cornelius Gray; Felix will soon

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741 Ibid., p. 48; Correspondence, ii, ‘Mr Hall to Colonel Hooke’, 18th Dec., 1705, p. 18.
742 Correspondence, i, ‘Memoire donne a Messieurs de Torcy et de Chamillart a Fontainbleau’, 17th Oct., 1705, p. 383; Mr Hall came about ten o'clock to take me to Madame de Largo, who led me through the guards in the com of the Palace, and then diverted through a path to the apartment of the Duke of Hamilton.
743 Ibid., ‘Mr Hall to Colonel Hooke’, 3rd Sept., 1705, p. 333.
744 Ibid.
receive the Rubans‡‡ your brother∫∫ promised him.745

The men of influence were often busy in parliament and tried to ensure they did not get caught out in these negotiations, as they had a position they could lose, while the agents, both men and women, secretly went about plotting and setting things in motion.

Accomplices played an important and successful role in Hooke’s Scottish missions, particularly in the security they maintained. They were so successful that even Lady Erroll bewailed it.

You being in this country is very honourably minded by all who had the happyness to see you, and the good effects of your negociation is yet lasting amongst us. I confess there was several misfortunes in the conduct of it, especially that of its being kept but too private.746

Apparently it should have been more public than it was, particularly in Edinburgh, for want of support from those, who had they known, would have given it.747

**Adviser**

Elite Jacobite Scotswomen performed the art of persuasion, a more subtle, yet pointed method of giving of advice. In the final days before the Treaty of Union was inaugurated, Fr James Carnegy, who often mediated on Hamilton’s behalf in regard to the Jacobite/anti-Union affairs, wrote to the Countess Marischal to confide possible options regarding a Stuart restoration. The first was to make James VIII King of Scotland, which did not require French support. The second was to restore him in England, which would require Louis XIV to send ‘as many troops as joyned with ours’ to conquer England.748

Further on in the letter Hall asks Lady Mary to negotiate with Colonel Hooke, regarding the upcoming plans.

I humbly think the higher you can bring our friend Mr Lesly, the

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745 Ibid., ‘Colonel Hooke to Mr Hall’, 10th Oct., 1705, p. 365. Key: Mungo = Mr Hall; ∫∫ = Duke of Hamilton; ¶ = Lady Largo; ** = Duchess of Gordon; ++ = Countess Marischal; ‡‡ = Money; ∫∫ = Colonel Hooke.


747 Ibid., pp. 67-8.

748 Ibid., ‘Mr Hall to the Countess Marischal’, 30th April, 1707, p. 226.
King will have a surer game, and not be obliged to grant conditions disgracefull to his sovereignty and noxious to our religion.\textsuperscript{749}

Lady Mary, being a trusted confidante of both Fr James Carnegy and Colonel Hooke, and a reliable representative among the elite Jacobite Scots, was to act as a courier for Hamilton's messages to Hooke and to convince him of the virtue of the Duke's design. The act of persuasion and negotiation is a step beyond that of adviser. It takes on an authority of its own, further affirming these women as agents and significant players in political machinations.

As central agents performing numerous roles in the 1708 restoration attempt, the Countess of Erroll and the Duchess of Gordon were impatient at the slowness of their supporters to act and made their complaints known. In early 1706, both ladies wrote numerous letters to Hooke and other connections on the Continent, in which their frustrations were evident. The Duchess often wrote directly to Hooke about her ardent desire to aid a restoration attempt, sometimes impatient for an answer. 'I woud fain know from you how you think I may be employed this year, for there's a squadron to fitt out here.'\textsuperscript{750} More than six months after Hooke's first mission to Scotland in 1705, nothing had yet happened. On 29th August 1705, Lady Elizabeth wrote to Lady Anne reporting on the progress of the negotiations about arms. 'The danger of concerting measures makes a bargain hard to be agreed upon, and without concerting it's hard to determine upon solid grounds.'\textsuperscript{751} Lady Elizabeth, the main female contact in Edinburgh, also struggled with the dilatoriness of Hooke, the exiled court, and ultimately the French king, to respond. In March 1707, Queen Mary wrote to the Duchess to explain the reason for the delays, whilst trying to assure her that she had done all she could.

I did only fear our business woud be long delay'd, but I did not think it quite lost as you seem to apprehend it. However if I had thought so I could not have pressed more than I have done the only man that can help us; but it has been in vain.\textsuperscript{752}

The Queen also wrote to the Countess with similar reassurances and

\textsuperscript{749} Ibid., Mr Lesly = Hooke.
\textsuperscript{750} Ibid., 'Duchess of Gordon to Colonel Hooke', 5th Mar., 1706, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{751} Ibid., i, 'Duchess of Gordon to the Countess of Erroll', 29th August, 1705, p. 324.
\textsuperscript{752} Ibid., ii, 'The Queen to the Duchess of Gordon', 15th Mar., 1707, p. 174.
explanations but appears more frank in this communication about the reality of
the situation and the potential for action.

I fear the best time is past, and it is not reasonable to expose one's
friends for ever, nor is it my son's interest they should do any thing
rashly, and contrary to the rules of prudence and discretion.753

It appeared that those on the Continent had given up hope of French support,
and were recommending Lady Erroll to ‘throw not away a certainty for an
uncertainty’.754 Although Hooke was being sent again, ‘he brings but little
courage’ and ‘without any marchandises’.755

The long wait for foreign support pushed the Scots Jacobite advisers to
demand action. By 1 May 1707, Lady Elizabeth appeared to vacillate between
anger and despair, so great was her frustration at France's lack of action. Her
letters continually reflected her fear of lost opportunities. Lady Elizabeth
bypassed the exiled court and Colonel Hooke in one instance and wrote directly
to one of Louis XIV's ministers, Monsieur de Chamillart. In her letter to
Chamillart, the French Minister of Finance and Secretary of State for War, Lady
Elizabeth stated her opinion in no uncertain terms, knowing it would most likely
be shared with the King.

For God's sake! What are you thinking of? Is it possible, that after
having ventured all to shew our zeal, we have neither assistance
nor answer.756

I have found no further evidence of such liberally expressed views and demands
in political situations of elite women to men, let alone a King. Lady Elizabeth
was a strong personality, and cases of strong, passionate, politically minded
women are being increasingly brought to light in eighteenth-century
scholarship.757 This reveals that women like Lady Elizabeth were potentially the
most powerful women in the Jacobite era in Scotland.758

As a trusted political adviser Lady Anne did give counsel on numerous
occasions, particularly to Hooke. This aspect of her role as agent was a

753 Ibid., 'Queen to Countess of Erroll', 15th Mar., 1707, p. 172.
755 Ibid., 'Mr Hall to the Countess of Erroll', 17th Mar., 1707, pp. 191-2.
756 Hooke, Secret History, p. 115.
757 Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen; Cowmeadow, ‘Redefining Scottish Noblewomen’s Political Activity in the Era of Union,’ in
at Empire, c.1696-1706’, in Women's History Magazine, vol. 61, Winter (2009), pp. 14-20; Carr, ‘Political Agency’; Elizabeth Ewan,
758 Chalus, Elite Women, p. 70.
requirement, which was made clear to her by Queen Mary, who asked her to 'advise him which way to go forwards'.\textsuperscript{759} Several times Lady Anne recommended patriotic individuals, such as John Moray, to Hooke's and Queen Mary’s service, whilst warning them against others.\textsuperscript{760} During the first mission in 1705, the Countess advised Hooke to be on his guard with the Duke of Hamilton, whom she suspected of having a foot in each camp, and therefore believed he was not trustworthy. Hooke later related this in a narrative of events and confessed that 'her reasons prevailed upon me.'\textsuperscript{761}

Lady Anne also worked as a valued partner to her son, Lord Charles Hay, the 13th Earl of Erroll, participating on every level from confidante to adviser and personal aide. At this time the Earl was usually away from home on business, or in Edinburgh in parliament, and wrote often to his mother, requesting information or apprising her of the latest developments. In this particular collection of letters, the Errolls corresponded regarding the details of Hooke's missions and the political crisis in parliament. However, only the Earl's letters to his mother have been preserved. Lady Anne passed her son's news on to her contacts, particularly her brother Perth and the Queen. The Earl also wrote regarding various 'arrangements' they had with merchants, shipping, and trade to the continent, which included plans for incoming agents, arms and ammunition, under the guise of victuals, bolls and goods.\textsuperscript{762}

Mr Leslie will be with you in the North, but is only to be in the same equipage he was in last time you saw him... The Boyne merchant who was here most of the winter I find intends to drive a little trade to Norway and to carry some victual with him, so if he wants an hundred bolls or thereabouts to make up his loading, I think you may trust him with so much!\textsuperscript{763}

The structure of intrigue and correspondence that the Countess built with her son and other Jacobites was an underground network in which various secret methods, such as name changes, had to be employed in order to maintain its clandestine nature, while they continued to plot and plan.

Paul Monod has argued that it was easier for Jacobites to write than to

\textsuperscript{759} Correspondence, i, 'The Queen to the Countess of Erroll', 25th June, 1705, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{760} Ibid. 'Countess of Erroll to the Queen', 5th Sept., 1705, p. 300.
\textsuperscript{761} Hooke, Secret History, pp. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{762} Correspondence, ii, 'Earl of Erroll to his Mother', 18th Mar., 1707, pp. 193-4.
\textsuperscript{763} Ibid.
acknowledging the significance of Jacobite correspondence while simultaneously distinguishing the writing of letters from action. This relegates correspondence to the realm of passivity, diminishing its importance in political affairs. He argues that words were no substitute for action, and that letters were not real weapons.\textsuperscript{764} Brandishing a sword and leading an army to war is certainly an outwardly more ‘active’ role, militarily; just as sitting on the bench in parliament is more ‘active’ politically. Yet, Jacobite plots, risings, or attempts at restoration, which involved both battles and parliamentary debates, had a significant social and political impact via the thousands of penned words and secret letters.

What shows the importance of the kind of correspondence conducted by Jacobites throughout this period is the fact that it was classed as treason. Jacobites had to write their letters in code, cipher, or even invisible ink, while many burned them once they had been read. Evidence of the unheeded instructions such as 'Burn this' in the Correspondence, reveals the seriousness with which they took their letter writing and the significant role it played conveying vital information.\textsuperscript{765}

\textit{Coded letters}

The art of secret correspondence, involving codes and ciphers, allegorical messages, invisible ink, pseudonyms, trusted messengers, and smuggling networks, was used by the women in the period surrounding the 1708. The cause and their livelihoods—if not their lives—depended upon the secrets of their messages reaching only the intended recipients. Apprehension that letters were often lost, destroyed, or intercepted, is a sign of the precarious situation in which writers placed themselves, and suggest that they feared being monitored by spies sent to 'ensnare the faithful subjects.'\textsuperscript{766}

In many of her letters, Lady Anne refers to the lack of replies due to letters that were lost, destroyed, or potentially intercepted; this filled her with dread. Near the end of January 1706, she wrote to Hooke:

\textsuperscript{765} Correspondence, ii, 'Duke of Perth to Lady Marischal', 10th Feb., 1707, p. 130.
\textsuperscript{766} Hooke, Secret History, p. 123.
You may easily believe that I was much troubled upon hearing that our cousin was necessitated to throw away his letters; for, besides all the ordinary times of writing diligently, I was two nights without going to bed or quitting any of my cloths.\textsuperscript{767}

These moments of anxiety and fear of discovery did not stop Lady Anne from continuing to work. Her zeal was not undiminished by the great risks she took; rather, they inspired her to use new, more inconspicuous methods, when old ones seemed thwarted.

Like other secret networks of the period, documented in the work of Bannet and Daybell, Lady Anne applied the art of secret letter writing and delivery.\textsuperscript{768} The various methods the Countess used were codes and ciphers, allegorical and double-voiced messages, lemon juice for invisible ink, personal trusted couriers, and informing the recipient by letter that the news would be given verbally by the messenger, or at the next meeting. In early 1707, Lady Anne received a letter from her cousin Fleming explaining that she would receive the information from the agents themselves. ‘Coll. Hooke, Mr Robert Moray, and Colonell John Moray... will lay before you the design and plan of affaires... proposed for our King and countrys interest.’\textsuperscript{769} This was the safest method and meant that discovery of the letter would not give away any plans.

So firmly entrenched in this network of conspiracy was Lady Anne that she had her own collection of pseudonyms. Some she used, and others were used by connections in reference to her. She was known as: A. Broun, Mr Poltney, Mr Johnstons, C.E., the good lady, a mistress, Mrs Hays, your good friend, and Mrs Poltney.\textsuperscript{770} It is assumed that Lady Anne was privy to the ciphers and codes used, as many of the letters that survive are the coded messages that she wrote or received. The most complex were the coded allegorical messages that contained substitute words for places and things, as well as pseudonyms for the people mentioned. To confuse things further, the same person was often referred to by another pseudonym in the same letter.

Lady Anne wrote several letters in lemon juice on the back of notes regarding something inconsequential and mundane. In August 1705, while

\textsuperscript{767} Correspondence, ii, ‘Lady Erroll to Colonel Hooke’, 27th Jan., 1706, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{768} Bannet, Empire of Letters; Daybell, Material Letter, pp. 148-74.

\textsuperscript{769} Correspondence, ii, ‘Mr Fleming to Countess of Erroll’, nd. (1707?), pp. 177-8.

\textsuperscript{770} Correspondence, i & ii.
Hooke was in Edinburgh on his first mission to Scotland, Lady Anne wrote a secret message in lemon juice under the guise of a list of goods she required to be shipped as her cover. On the list were goods such as ‘A barrel of pickled Limons’ and ‘A barrel of Figgs’, and last of all, ‘One hundred red Herrings’. The red herrings appear to have been a clue for the recipient as to the guise and perhaps a signal to look for something more. She goes on to say,

I was then determined to do what you have desired as to our ship, which if it please God come well here, shall be kept as near as possible till I hear again from you. I fear nothing but want of provision if they come, and I shall do what can be done to suply them.

The arrival of money and ammunition from France were often a concern for the Jacobites in Scotland at this time, and possibly what she was concerned about in this letter.

In September, Lady Anne wrote to her brother asking him to forward the invisible letter on the reverse of his to Colonel Hooke. First, she informs him of the ‘unfortunate divisions fallen amongst our friends’, but then reassures him that she will fully inform him. ‘I shall not fail when the ship goes for Havre... to give you all particulars at more length’. On the reverse, in her letter to Hooke, Lady Anne mentions ships, goods and traders, but even in lemon juice, she seems unwilling to go into detail, and her vagueness becomes like a code.

... that you will be pleasd to advertise some body at Havre de Grace to take care of what is intended for my brothers and yourself on board of it, which may secure such things better than any advice can be given from this side.

Lady Anne appears to rely on messengers, or physical evidence, rather than letters to convey information. In this letter, Lady Anne seems not only to be sending something secret to France—possibly packets of correspondence—she also uses the wrong passes for the destination ports, both of which could get the Captains and merchants into trouble. ‘[T]hey go to that place upon a pass that is not for that port, and, seeing what I had to send could go to no other, I caused them hazard it, and I entreat you may be pleasd to notice their safety’. It is

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772 Ibid.
774 Ibid.
unclear as to what she was sending and why the goods could only arrive at this specific port.

The themes of shipping and trading were used as popular codes by Ladies Anne and Elizabeth and other members of their network, due to their strong mercantile and Continental connections. In 1707 the Duchess of Gordon wrote of a bargain between John Ker of Kersland—a turncoat—and King James VIII & III, as one between the ‘meal munger’ and the ‘Young merchant’. The shipment of salmon was by far the most frequently used diversion in Lady Anne and her brother’s correspondence. Although it seems relatively innocent and legitimate at first, its frequent inclusion in the collection and often dubious context in the letters have led me to believe it is a code. The legitimacy of trading salmon, unless they were smuggling it, is a distinct possibility, but it seems more likely to have been a convenient cover for their clandestine activities. In September 1705, Erroll wrote to her brother Perth regarding salmon ships going to Lisbon.

I have taken care of late to let you know what has been doing amongst us, and how your friends in this country is, though I doubt not about this time, when the ships with salmon are so frequently going off for Lisbon, you will get accounts of all that concerns our trade from better hands.

This could refer to their trade endeavours, but the very next reference connects Hooke and their ‘friends’ with this same business. ‘There has been little worth writing since our factor Mr Leslie parted, for our friends has been much taken up in packing and ordering what was not then ready of the goods to be sent.’ This seems to refer to aspects of the ongoing Jacobite plotting. At that same time Lady Erroll wrote to Hooke, again in lemon juice, and gave him instructions regarding the shipping network, shipping times, and his use of them.

I earnestly recommend ... to your care ... that you will be pleas’d to advertise some body at Harve de Grace to take care of what is intended for my brothers and yourself on board it.

775 Ibid., ii, ‘Duchess of Gordon to Lady Erroll’, 9th April, 1707, p. 207.
777 Ibid., pp. 358-59.
778 Ibid., p. 359. Written in Lemon.
After further instructions she warned Hooke. ‘I entreat you may be pleas’d to notice their safety, for I should be very sory if honest people came to convenience by complying with my desire,’780 Here she reveals the very sensitive, if not secret, nature of what is being shipped, i.e. something that could get others into trouble.

A month later the Countess Marischal, the Duke of Perth’s daughter, code named ‘Cornelius Gray’, was referenced in a letter from Fr James Carnegy to Hooke as having sent ‘a barrell of salmon to his father, he wou’d send another to your lady.’781 A couple of months later a Monsieur Brebner wrote to the Duke of Perth, informing him of his ship loaded with ‘Aberdeens Salmon’ and bound for Havre, being captured by a privateer.782 He had been given a blank French pass from the Countess of Erroll, allowing him to import legal goods into France, and a letter of recommendation to her brother.783 The letter from the Countess was accompanied by 'six barrells of salmon and a packet I suppose with some Glasgow plaids'.784 The shipping of salmon appears often enough to arouse suspicion, and I would argue it has a double meaning. Its appearance almost a dozen times in the letters in this collection leads me to believe it is an allegorical message, as everything else pertains to Jacobite negotiations in Scotland in favour of the ‘Pretender’ between 1703 and 1709. On the occasion that a letter has elements that do not pertain to Jacobite negotiations in Scotland, Hooke leaves out the irrelevant details and makes reference to this by stating that the text is only an extract, or he explains it in a subtext. ‘[Then she goes on ... to give an account of his pictures, books, and jewels, which she sends to his son...].’785

While it is possible that salmon was actually sent across the Channel, it may have been a cover, concealing secret packets of mail beneath. It is also possible that the salmon reveals a Scottish smuggling network, used simultaneously by Jacobites who wanted to avoid English taxation, ‘and why shou’d we not be allow’d to take all methods possible to blind the English from seising us.’786 The question as to whether or not the use of salmon was a code requires further

780 Ibid.
783 Ibid.
784 Ibid.
786 Ibid., i, ‘M. Brebner to Duke of Perth’, 28th Dec., 1705, p. 475; Lenman, Jacobite Risings, p. 216.
analysis. However, the fact that salmon is so frequently referred to within these collections suggests that it is.

Conclusions

Women were fundamental, and their actions consequential to the Jacobite anti-Union plotting of the 1708. The Countess of Erroll, the Duchess of Gordon, and the other Jacobite ladies were important players, significant to the success of Colonel Hooke's espionage missions, to the failed plans to rise in 1706, and to the aborted invasion in 1708. Hooke acknowledged the significance of these women’s participation in the political machinations at this time.

Jacobitism survived as long as it did because of its strong elite culture and political networks in Scotland and on the Continent, according to Daniel Szechi and Margaret Sankey. These networks formed the fundamental basis for the Franco-Jacobite invasion attempt in Scotland in 1708. I have argued that a handful of Scotswomen, wives of some of Scotland’s most powerful men, were central to this plot and were significant contributors to the Cause. These Scotswomen were among those who cajoled, intrigued, and worked for the return of the exiled monarchy, within a politically and religiously charged, patriotic culture surrounding the Union of 1707. These women, I contend, were instrumental in maintaining, managing, and manipulating political networks in Scotland and abroad, to prevent or undo the Union and bring back the Stuart king. Some of their actions involved the organisation of clandestine meetings, in order to plot, and woo potential candidates of support, as well as smuggle secret mail and agents across the German Sea through legitimate business connections.

The roles enacted by women in these events were a combination of roles men perform, with those they did not. Men were also agents and significant to these affairs, as the historiography has brought to light. Both men and women negotiated politically among the leading men, such as clan chiefs, nobles and politicians, for example, the Dukes of Hamilton and Atholl, the Earls Marischal and Erroll, Colonel Hooke, and the exiled Jacobite Duke of Perth. Women also

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sought support for the Cause, for example, the Duchess of Gordon's negotiations with the disaffected Presbyterians, the Countess of Erroll's deliberations with the exiled court, Lady Marischal's with Hooke, and Lady Largo's with the Duke of Hamilton. However, where their roles truly differed, being more effectively performed by women, was in the discreet organisation of meetings in their homes, or under the cover of darkness, and the housing of agents, as was the case with Lady Largo and Lady Comiston. The repercussions of the plotting of 1708 ended with the arrest and imprisonment of approximately 20 to 30 notable Scotsmen, but none of the women.\textsuperscript{788} The Countess of Erroll, central to the same political machinations as her son, wrote to the Duke of Montrose in May 1708, petitioning for his release. He had been imprisoned on suspicion of disaffection, while she had not.\textsuperscript{789} Considering the extent to which she was party to the events, it is surprising she herself was not arrested, bearing in mind her mother-in-law had been arrested nearly 20 years previous. Obviously her part had remained a secret.

In Hooke's correspondence, these women's roles were clearly evident. Yet, historiography has not only neglected their actions in these political machinations, but in most other eighteenth-century revolutionary, and regular political affairs. The boundaries regarding activity in revolutionary politics appears to have been generally more fluid for elite women than for men, who were often constrained within the formal realm of politics, risking positions for untoward actions. In many cases, however, women's actions have gone unreported and undocumented, except on certain occasions such as these, which could explain the general neglect in scholarship. However, even here, where there is documentation, scholarship has failed to take it up. It is important to see how women's political actions distinctly effected and assisted men's contribution.

It appears that these Scotswomen were some of the most active in Scotland in the lead up to the 1708, supporting Hooke, and garnering support across the country. Their strength of their actions revealed here is contrary to any previous accounts of this event, or any other scholarly accounts of revolutionary, Jacobite, and eighteenth-century political historiography.

\textsuperscript{788} Gibson, \textit{Scottish Card}, p. 142.
\textsuperscript{789} NRS, GD220/5/169, Papers of the Graham Family, Dukes of Montrose; Correspondence of the Dukes of Montrose, 'Countess of Erroll, to Montrose', 4 May 1708.
Regardless of their ultimate failure, the plans for the 1708 might not have reached the levels of organisation and support that it did in Scotland, without these women.
Chapter Seven: The Petticoat in the Pamphlet. Anti-Jacobite Propaganda

'Had they confined themselves to mere Speculations, and restrained their scene of Action to their Drawing Rooms and Toylet... the Misfortune might be esteemed tolerable.' 790

Female Rebels, 1747.

In this chapter my aim is to explore the contemporary reaction and response to Jacobite women, their political allegiance and involvement in the Cause as portrayed in printed materials published in the Jacobite era. 791 I will explore how anti-Jacobite propaganda criticised Scottish Jacobite women in general, and whether and how the authors utilised contemporary ideologies in their critique of their adversaries. I will also ask what this reveals about the aim of Whig propaganda, and how seriously the Whigs took the threat of female involvement in Jacobite affairs. As well as examining the portrayal of Jacobite women in propaganda, this chapter analyses the connection between the propaganda and the historical actors and their actions.

Regarding anti-Jacobite propaganda, it is important to note that there was no organised or systematic government propaganda scheme in place to combat the Jacobites' attempts to regain the throne for the Stuarts. This form of organised propaganda developed with the French Revolution and with subsequent governmental campaigns the world over since. 792 However, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century '[c]ontemporaries accepted that all forms of polemic were part of a chain of communication and propaganda.' 793 Therefore the anti-Jacobite polemic investigated in this chapter is considered propaganda, that is, ‘the expression of opinion in an attempt to persuade’, used by outspoken Whigs, Hanoverian supporters, and those with political, moral or gender

790 Female Rebels, pp. 6-7.
Contemporary reaction to Jacobites in general, via printed media, was represented in numerous sources, including ballads, broadsides, poetry, pamphlets and tracts, newspapers and histories, novels and journals, etchings and engravings. The amount of general anti-Jacobite material published and disseminated between 1688 and 1766 was simply immense. Anti-Jacobite polemic published at the time is collectively measured into the thousands. The most common form used to address the female Jacobite was the pamphlet.

Scholars from both the historical and literary fields have investigated previously neglected aspects of Jacobitism; even so, the extensive pamphlet material and propaganda published during the exiled Stuart era has not been fully researched, and much of what has targeted Jacobite women still remains neglected. W.A. Speck, for example, is one historian who looked at propaganda and satire, as seen in ‘the print, the canto and the libel grave’, in the political milieu of the Augustan period, and yet overlooks anti-Jacobite material. He argues that the eighteenth century, in contrast to the seventeenth, ‘was one of political tranquility, scarcely disturbed even by the 'Fifteen or the 'Forty-five', or any other Jacobite foray, and that ultimately Jacobitism was never a threat to national security. Considering the extent of the evidence, his omission of anti-Jacobite propaganda printed during the era researched (1660 to 1740), is surprising. Szechi has labelled this approach ‘a school of pro-establishment thought’ that rejects Jacobitism’s viability.

The quantity of both Jacobite and anti-Jacobite propaganda, most of which was printed and distributed via London’s pamphlet shops, should reveal the Cause’s greater significance in contemporary politics and society, and the concern of many throughout Britain for and against the issue. The purchase of satirical prints of women was popular in the eighteenth century, and generally

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795 Mabel D. Allardyce, (ed.), *Aberdeen University Library MacBean Collection a catalogue of books, pamphlets, broadsides, portraits, etc., in the Stuart and Jacobite collection*, Aberdeen, University Press, 1949, p.ix. The pamphlet is between 8 and 96 pages in quarto, and the prose broadside is a single sheet.
796 Prints, both pro- and anti-Jacobite in nature, are to be found in numerous collections, but most evident in the MacBean Collection in the UA, the NLS's Blaikie Collection and the BL's collection of satirical prints, and their Schlich and Broster collection of Jacobite leaflets and pamphlets.
799 Ibid., pp. 19, 28.
quite affordable, according to Cindy McCreery, revealing that access to them was not difficult.

The greatest interest shown by historians in Jacobitism and propaganda has been in regards to their own print culture, that is, what Jacobites wrote rather than what was written about them. Murray Pittock, Jeremy Black and Paul Monod have written extensively on Jacobitism, and each looked in some way at Jacobite literature, culture and propaganda, revealing their significance in the British state from 1688. Through their studies on Jacobitism's poetry, balladry, pamphlets, newspapers and journals, peddled ‘to tens of thousands’, they argued for the significance of Jacobitism both politically and militarily in the eighteenth century, against the scholars who have disregarded its value or importance. Monod has argued that Jacobite propaganda was central to the survival of a political identity and culture, as it promoted ideas and images, without which ‘there would have been no Jacobitism at all.’ Monod, Black and Pittock have discussed Jacobite propaganda, whilst only referring to an anti-Jacobite response as par for the course. Their research covers predominantly ballads and newspapers, and does not cover the pamphlet. However, Black has argued that 'pamphlets were central to political propaganda, and vigorous pamphlet controversies ... established the subject matter of controversy in particular years', such as the risings and other politically significant events. A focused study upon anti-Jacobite, anti-Stuart propaganda is still to be undertaken.

Satirical prints of women, which form a small part of the anti-Jacobite polemic published during this period (usually as an image within a pamphlet), have been scrutinised by Cindy McCreery. She has argued that the late-eighteenth century witnessed ‘a growing perception of women’s increased visibility within society [which] contributed to a rise in satirical prints of

804 Monod, English People, p.91.
women.' Anti-Jacobite printed polemic long preceded this “golden age’ of English satirical prints’; however, the active Jacobite woman's visibility may be the very reason she was so vehemently attacked. McCreery has argued that ‘[e]xposure in satirical prints is the price women [paid] for their controversial behaviour.’ It appears that satirical prints against political women began to be viewed with fascination, but changed ‘with these women’s social and political influence to condemnation.’ McCreery has argued that the hypothetical, or generic ‘transgressive woman’ could be appreciated in print, but the ‘actual politician, such as the Duchess of Devonshire’, could cause consternation. This will be taken into consideration in this analysis.

The anti-Jacobite pamphlet in general constituted a rather large proportion of printed material throughout the period. The most commonly addressed topics in these pamphlets were religion, the Pretender, hereditary right, and national security, each one intertwined and indivisible from the other. However, one of the more minor topics addressed and woven into the main themes by Hanoverian propagandists was that of the Jacobite woman. Those who have given more attention to anti-Jacobite propaganda targeting women are scholars of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English literature. Literary scholar Jill Campbell has approached Henry Fielding’s (1707-1754) work using a gender framework, analysing his portrayal of Jacobites whilst utilising two anti-Jacobite pamphlets, Female Rebels (1747), and A Brief Account of the Life and Family of Miss Jenny Cameron (1746). These pamphlets support her argument regarding the contemporary use of gender ideologies in anti-Jacobite polemic. Campbell argues that ‘anti-Jacobite polemic of the period ... is synonymous with the dissolution of proper gender roles.’ She goes on further to claim that the political patriarchal theories regarding power, government, and gender roles, which were debated in British political philosophy, originally by theorists such as Sir Robert Filmer

806 McCreery, Satirical Gaze, p. 6.
807 Ibid., p. 34.
808 Ibid., p. 114.
809 Ibid., p. 143.
812 Anon., A Brief Account of the Life and Family of Miss Jenny Cameron, the Reputed Mistress of the Pretender's Eldest Son, London, 1746; Female Rebels.
813 Campbell, Natural Masques, p. 137.
(1588?-1653) and John Locke (1632-1704), were linked to the ‘Whig depictions of Jacobitism’ in their printed propaganda.\footnote{Ibid., p.145.} However, she overstates the significance of the polemic that targets women by failing to take into account their absence in the majority of materials printed in the anti-Jacobite paper war.

Further studies on women and anti-Jacobite propaganda continue to focus on these particular pamphlets, and their gendered portrayal of Jacobite women in Hanoverian propaganda during the ‘Forty-five.\footnote{Andrea Kathryn Hickman, Women in Propaganda During the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion: How the Use of Women in the Hanoverian and Jacobite Satire Illustrated the Appropriate Roles for Men and Women in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Master's Thesis, The College of Charleston & The Citadel, Charleston, 2005. Also, Carine Martin's doctoral thesis, Jean Cameron (1700?-1772) et ses représentations: Analyse de la signification culturelle d'une héroïne Jacobite, was conducted in France, as a doctorate in language and English Literature. It is in French and has not been translated into English.} Andrea Hickman uses these pamphlets as a case study to analyse the appropriate gender roles defined by the prevailing Whig government in eighteenth-century British society. She argues for the separation of the spheres, and that anti-Jacobite propaganda was used to relegate women to the private realm.\footnote{Carine Martin, 'Female Rebels': The Female Figure in Anti-Jacobite Propaganda’, in Allan Macinnes, et al. (eds.), Living with Jacobitism, 1690-1788, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014, p. 98.} Carine Martin, however, has argued that these texts used gender ‘to delegitimise the ’45’ and therefore the Stuart cause.\footnote{Carine Martin, ‘Female Rebels’: The Female Figure in Anti-Jacobite Propaganda’, in Allan Macinnes, et al. (eds.), Living with Jacobitism, 1690-1788, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014, p. 98.} Building on from the conclusions of Hickman, Martin, and Campbell, which place gender as central to anti-Jacobite polemic, my aim is to further investigate the nature of the criticism of Jacobite women. My objective is to analyse the relationship between the critique and the protagonists and whether or not it relates to the actual female actions, whilst investigating significant aspects of the pamphlets themselves and their authors. I will be examining the greater Jacobite period and not just the ‘Forty-five, that is, 1688 to 1766. I will investigate these same pamphlets, including a number of different pamphlets printed during the Jacobite era that target female adherents to the Cause, many of which have not yet been discussed in scholarship to date.\footnote{See Appendix VII.}
Table I: Anti-Jacobite Pamphlets published in the Jacobite Era.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women in Anti-Jacobite Pamphlets</th>
<th>Anti-Jacobite Pamphlets in General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1688-1698</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709-1718</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719-1728</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729-1738</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739-1748</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749-1758</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>600</td>
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<tr>
<td>1759-1768</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769-1778</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table I. demonstrates an approximate proportion of materials that pertained to women. This illustrates that it played a minor part in the overall propaganda war; however, I would argue it still retains an element of importance due to the fact that polemicists did use it.

In order to explore contemporary reactions to, and representations of the female Jacobite in print media and their purpose in the Whig cause, I have divided the chapter into three main sections. In the first section I will explore the ways in which Jacobite women were criticised in contemporary media. I will explore the nature of the propagandists’ approach to their target—as both a 'generic' Jacobite and a well-known one—through the portrayal of the authorial voice, its message and effect in the reading of the pamphlet. The second section will analyse the method of attack of the polemicist on the Jacobite woman, whether through harsh and direct means, or by a more subtle and indirect process. In the third section I will be looking at the three main tropes that were used, their significance, and how they were employed to critique Jacobite women through the use of contemporary religious and gender ideologies.

**Female Action and the Pamphlets**

What did the pamphleteers accuse these women of? The female Jacobite supporters were criticised either for their allegiance to the Cause, or for some specific seditious activity. The general vilification of Jacobite women is seen clearly in the three tropes discussed in section three. However, the revelation and critique of actual Jacobite action always appeared in direct relation to specific women, as mentioned in section one, outlining who they were, what they did, and what the authors thought of it. Although the material about them was often grossly exaggerated, if not completely fabricated, these named individuals inspired propaganda and could be the reason that women appeared to the extent they did in anti-Jacobite polemic.

Jacobite women were accused of raising troops, leading men, exerting authority over them, and fighting in battle. All of these actions were linked

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819 See Table I, p. 207, created for this research.
820 The generic Jacobite woman had no name to identify her with a contemporary woman; however, more often than not her national identity was clear, even if other details were not.
directly to military engagement, taking adherence to the Jacobite Cause to the extreme, and violating all ideals of feminine propriety. Those reproached in texts for specific participation were: Jenny Cameron of Glendessary, Lady Anne Mackintosh, Lady Jean, Duchess of Perth, and Lady Margaret, Countess of Airlie. Jenny Cameron was accused in A Brief Account (1746) of aiding Prince Charles Edward Stuart by raising 250 men for him. In the Memoirs (1746) she was accused of commanding that troop of Camerons and leading them in battle as their Highland Chief would have done. According to the pamphlets, she led the men to Glenfinnan dressed in a riding habit and 'instead of a Whip ... [she] carried a naked Sword in her hand.' Aeneas Macdonald—an alleged witness to the event—disputed this, declaring that Jenny Cameron had walked away with the other spectators. The newspapers and pamphlets tell a very different story, remarking on the loyal support Miss Cameron gave the Prince by riding with him, tending him when he was unwell, and ultimately becoming his mistress. She was then apparently captured and imprisoned in Stirling Castle in 1746. Regardless of the facts, the legend that was created and sustained by the pamphlets endured, and Jenny Cameron continued to appear in the news, and her pamphlets were advertised in the classifieds until after 1753.

Lady Anne Mackintosh also appeared in the pamphlet about Jenny Cameron, as likewise having raised troops for the Prince. She did in fact raise her husband’s clan for the Stuart Prince, as previously discussed. This is well known and has been verified in numerous sources but never grossly exaggerated or disputed. However, Arbuthnot used Lady Anne’s actions, and her husband’s capture by Prince Charles Edward, to create the image of an unappealing lady to eighteenth-century society, the 'perfect Amazon'. He stated that 'she challeng’d her Husband ... to a single combat, because he refus’d to take the Part of the Pretender’, after which 'She muster’d a good body of men, and commanded them herself'. As mentioned in chapter five, 'Colonel Anne',

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821 Brief Account, p. 60; Arbuthnot, Memoirs, pp. 254-5.
822 Brief Account, p. 61.
823 Lyon, i, p. 291.
825 Anon., The Life of Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother to Donald Cameron of Lochiel, chief of that clan. With a curious print of Dr. Cameron, and another of Miss Jenny Cameron, in her military habit, London, 1753.
829 Arbuthnot, Memoirs, p. 251.
actually placed the troop of 300 men she raised under the command of MacGillivray of Dunmaglass, for which she was later arrested and imprisoned in Inverness. It is quite likely that Lady Anne Mackintosh was added to the Memoirs to legitimise and give weight to the Jenny Cameron tale and further his general vilification of Jacobite women.

Pamphlets targeted specific Scotswomen for using their authority and position to raise monies through the collection of taxes, whilst encouraging and even forcing their tenants to fight for the Prince. Lady Jean Gordon, the Duchess of Perth, was one such woman. She was maliciously slandered in Female Rebels (1747), turned from a woman of religious and political conviction into an unnatural and monstrous creature. The Duchess was portrayed as unfeminine, immoral, and un-Christian. She and her companion, the Countess of Airlie, were depicted as barbarians who raised troops, led men, tortured them and reigned supreme over them. As a matter of fact, the Duchess never travelled with the Jacobite Army. Rather, her agency was put into practice in her natural realm of authority as the Duchess of Perth. The Countess, Lady Margaret, did follow her husband throughout the campaign; they were only newlyweds and she was reluctant to leave his side. She was not the only woman who did this; many of the soldiers' wives followed the army around Scotland and even to Derby. According to Seton and Arnot, they were known as ‘the regimental women’ or ‘camp-followers’. There is no evidence that the Countess supported her husband and the Jacobite army with anything other than her presence. Nevertheless, like the Duchess of Perth, she was also arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. It is likely these noteworthy facts brought media attention to her existence as a Jacobite lady of consequence, and thus she became a target for anti-Jacobite propaganda.

The representation of the Jacobite Scotswomen identified in the pamphlets was likely inspired by reports of these women’s exploits in newspapers, correspondence, and by word of mouth. These particular pamphlets were written by the Scottish pseudonymous author, Arbuthnot. His
possible connection with Scotland could explain his local knowledge of events; however, the family and clan histories that accompany the women in these pamphlets are filled with inaccuracies and errors, suggesting he was possibly a Lowland Scot or an Englishman; regardless, it appears he was deliberately trying to mislead the reader. Arbuthnot embellished the stories about the known Jacobite Scotswomen, adding every kind of 'unnatural', unattractive, and unacceptable detail to make their agency abhorrent in the eyes of the readership. This type of propaganda was very loosely based on fact. The fragment of truth was the women’s Jacobite actions, which gave the propaganda greater weight. By contrast, pamphlets that castigated the unknown 'generic' Jacobite woman were complete fabrications, and simply denigrated Jacobite women and their political allegiance. Both types of propaganda were fashioned by Whig polemicists, and their ultimate purpose was to discredit the Stuart Cause.

**Jacobite Women and Their Critics**

**Printing and Publication**

After the Revolution of 1688, 'the pamphlet was the pre-eminent model of speaking in print, the foundation stone of any project to sway public opinion.' Whig polemicists used this means as their main form of attack against Jacobitism, although periodicals, newspapers and various other forms of publication were also used. The pamphlets printed against Jacobite women—whether as a dedicated text or as a smaller segment of another published work—were, however, few. Approximately only one percent of about 3,000 pamphlets were aimed at Jacobite women, referred to them, or indirectly critiqued their behaviour.

The anti-Jacobite pamphlets are relatively irregular from 1690 to 1711, with one printed every five or so years. Then in 1711 a broadside was published which saw two subsequent re-printings in the same year, revealing the relative

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837 Raymond, Pamphlet, p. 381.
838 See Table I., p. 207. This information has been collated through numerous databases and collections, such as EEBO, Eighteenth-Century Online, the MacBean Collection, the Blaikie Collection and the BL’s collection.
significance of its topic. One of the re-prints was another broadside, its title slightly altered, while the other was a pamphlet. There was one in 1715 and then a leap of thirty years before a dramatic rise of eighteen pamphlets published between 1745 and 1747, with another two in 1753, all of which pertained to the ‘Forty-five, as the table shows. The visible increase of pamphlets produced between 1745 and 1746, in comparison to the previously quieter years, could explain why some of them have received scholarly attention, while most have not.

The size of these pamphlets and the number of pages dedicated to women in these works varies across the period. In 1690, the main pamphlet published was The Character of a Jacobite, which seemed to set the standard for pamphlets regarding the ‘character’ of a Jacobite, and had many of its parts replicated and republished in numerous pamphlets in later years. These female Jacobites are described as ‘Carnal Harlots’ who ‘adhere to Spiritual Whore mongers.’ These ‘Strumpets are the greatest Fools in Nature... [and] such Syrens as they being lookt upon to be no less clapt in their Understandings than their Bodies. There is no fear of such Amazons as these... they that seek for shelter under the Wings of Tyranny and Popery’. This pamphlet was 28 pages long, with the last four pages dedicated to the ‘Female Jacobite.’

Single-sheet broadsides were published satirising the female Jacobite, once in the year 1700, twice in 1711, and once again in 1745 and 1746. The periodicals that most particularly targeted Jacobites, including its women, were Fielding’s True Patriot and The Jacobite’s Journal, and Joseph Addison’s (1672-1719) The Freeholder. Addison indirectly targeted Jacobite women in eight of his essays in The Freeholder, approximately five pages for each. Fielding, on the other hand, directly satirised Jacobite women. This can be seen in his second essay of the Jacobite’s Journal, dated December 12th 1747, and in three other essays, where he refers to Jacobite women negatively in passing. The majority of the remaining pamphlets published between 1745 and 1746

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840 A Person of Quality, The Character of a Jacobite; By what Name of Title soever Dignify’d or Distinguish’d, London, 1690.
841 Ibid., p. 25.
843 See Appendix VI.
845 Coley, Jacobite’s Journal, nos. 2, 3, 6, and 13.
average about 40 pages, or 5 sheets in quarto. The *French Flail* is the smallest pamphlet printed on one sheet in quarto. The *Harlequin Incendiary* (1746) was printed on 3 sheets, while the *Memoirs of Jenny Cameron* (1746) was the largest pamphlet printed on 35 sheets in quarto, being 280 pages.846

Unlike the various histories of the rebellions, most publications of these texts targeting women do not appear to have been reprinted. Their popularity cannot be measured due to the absence of surviving records. The various tales on the life of ‘Miss Jenny Cameron’ were the exception. They were republished in numerous versions, and some reached a second edition.847 *A Brief Account* was published by several different publishers in London, and saw a reprinting in Dublin.848 The *Memoirs*, on the other hand, was published in London in 1746, and then in five versions on the continent: two in Frankfurt, another in Hamburg and Leipzig, and the last in Munich, each one printed in German in the year 1747.849 In 1750 the London edition was republished in Boston, Massachusetts.850 The pamphlets published abroad reveal the international dimension of Jacobite politics and their significance on the world stage. The publication of anti-female-Jacobite propaganda in Edinburgh, however, was small. Although Edinburgh was one of Britain’s major publishing centres since James IV’s patent in 1509, and a central location for Jacobites and their plotting, its contribution to the publication of this material is insignificant. Only three publications and one unfinished manuscript came out of the Edinburgh. While three pamphlets can be attributed to the Dublin presses, two were reprints of London and Edinburgh publications. The lack of polemic to come out of Scotland against its ‘rebellious’ women reveals something of Scottish inhibitions to publish material against the women who supported the Cause.

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848 *Brief Account*, was printed and sold by T. Gardner, at his printing office at Cowley’s-Head, opposite St. Clement’s-Church in the Strand, in 1746, and by R. Goadby at the printing office in Yeovil, in 1746.
The identity of the women portrayed in anti-Jacobite propaganda was often revealed in the texts. The author highlighted their national identity, their class, and even their names in his attempt to persuade the reading public against the Stuart cause. The total number of textual documents I have sourced that relate to Jacobite women is 32, of which 24 make a direct attack. Of the 24, approximately three-quarters of the materials target Scotswomen. Forty-five percent of the pamphlets clearly name and identify who the woman described is, while twenty-one percent portray a generic Jacobite Scotswoman. Twenty-five percent portray either an English or a ‘British’ Jacobite woman. The remaining eight documents are written to Whig women, both Scots and English, and rather than directly attacking Jacobite women, the author commends behaviour contrary to that displayed by female Jacobites, encouraging female readers to support their country against the Pretender.

What is interesting about these figures is the shift of the identity of the target across the Jacobite era. The texts regarding English Jacobite women were printed during, and in the wake of, the Revolution of 1688-9. The Revolution started as an English movement, instigated and led by Englishmen, but it was largely opposed by the English too: their Catholics, dissenters and Nonjurors. However, the Scots were also involved on both sides of the Revolution, and although it was largely embraced by the political elites, most Scots nobles were considered passive. English Jacobites of both genders were therefore the prime target of anti-Jacobite pamphlets printed in London by a Williamite contingent during this period. The remaining 75 percent of texts printed targeted Jacobite Scotswomen, which can be explained by the changing nature

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851 Generic Jacobite Scotswoman: Copy of a Letter, The French Fial; Letter to the Author; Fielding, Jacobite's Journal. Generic English Jacobite woman: Character of a Jacobite; Female Duel; Anon., The Character of a Tacker. To which is added, The Character of an Anti-Tacker by the same hand, 1705; Freeholder; Anon., An Epistle from a British lady to her Countrywomen on occasion of the present rebellion, London, 1745.
852 Anon., The Female Volunteer: or, An Attempt to make our Men Stand, London, 1746; Anon., The Young Women and Maidens Lamentation, London, 1688; Thomas D’Urfey, The Maiden-Warrier: Or, the Damsels Resolution to Fight in the Field, by the side of Jockey her entire love, London, 1689; D’Urfey, The Scotch Virago, London, 1689; Anon., An Epilogue Recommending the Cause of Liberty to the Beauties of Great Britain. Spoken by Mrs Oldfield. At the Theatre-Royal, London, 1716; An Epistle; James Eyre Weeks, The Amazon, or Female Courage Vindicated and asserted from the Examples of Several Illustrious Women, Address’d to the Ladies of Great-Britain, and Ireland on the present Occasion, Dublin, 1745; Female Volunteer; Freeholder.
of Jacobitism and the direction it took in the subsequent years.

From the English-bred plots of the 1690s there was a shift in the early 1700s. Plots and rumours of plots to return the Stuarts to the throne began to involve notable Scots and Scotland itself. Two examples include, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat (1667-1747), who was behind the Scotch plot of 1703-4, and for which he was briefly imprisoned, and Dr. Archibald Cameron (1707-1753) who was involved in the Elibank plot (1753), after which he was executed, although primarily for his role in the 'Forty-five. Most importantly, there were the risings. Whether failed, attempted or simply planned, each rising used Scotland as its base and backdoor into England, due to the loyal support of many of the Highland chieftains, confirmation of which had been garnered by both the Countess of Erroll and Colonel Hooke, in 1705 and 1707, and at other times by various agents. Each attempt to regain the throne throughout the period was bolstered by a large Scottish contingent at the exiled court, which grew with each failed rising. However, the most significant factor to effect the change of the prime Jacobite target in propaganda from the English to the Scots was Prince Charles Edward raising a 'Highland Army' in Scotland, followed by the invasion of that army into England in early November 1745. The English were not at all pleased. Very few English Jacobites joined the southward-moving army, making it a predominantly Scottish quest. This placed Anglo-Scottish relations in a more precarious position than it had been for many years and more clearly defined Jacobites as Scots.

The nationality of specific elite Jacobite ladies was, in the surviving documentation, predominantly Scottish. Although Englishwomen, and British ladies—usually classed as 'truly English'—were identified in a general sense, it was the women from the Scottish Jacobite nobility who were pilloried in the propaganda. Four documents printed in 1711 illustrate the treasonable actions of the Duchess of Gordon in favour of the Stuart monarchy. These texts describe a meeting of the Edinburgh Advocates on the 30th June 1711. On the meeting’s agenda was the issue of a medal of ‘the Pretender’ given to them by the Duchess, Lady Elizabeth (d.1732). In the two broadsides she is simply described as the Duchess of Gordon, associating her with one of the ‘most

855 Correspondence, i & ii.
856 An Epistle, p. 17.
857 Scotch Loyalty, Scotch-Loyalty Exemplify’d, Scotch Medal Decipher’d; A Welcome to the Medal, 1711.
potent’ of Scottish clans; however, in the single pamphlet issued about the same event, the Duchess’ identity is revealed as that of the English house of Howard, the Dukes of Norfolk. The broadsides, being common street literature since the sixteenth century, would have been read or heard proclaimed by a larger audience than that of the pamphlet. Each broadside was only a single sheet and cost about a penny, which made it far more affordable than the pamphlet, which was three sheets in quarto and cost three pence. The broadside did not have to be purchased for its contents to be known, as it was often stuck to walls in taverns and houses, or shouted aloud in the streets. The knowledge therefore, of the ‘Duchess of Gourdon’ committing high treason was available for all to hear. However, those who could afford the pamphlet would get the exegesis that followed, decrying the behaviour of this Catholic English Lady, who married into a noble Scottish family, and the complaisant Edinburgh Advocates. These texts came on the heels of the General Assembly of the Kirk in 1711, which had formally accepted the Protestant-Hanover Succession as part of the Union in 1707. The report of the Duchess’ daring gift to the Advocates was used to ‘confirm the general impression of a Scottish establishment incurably hooked on Jacobitism’ and to discredit the Tory ministry.\textsuperscript{858}

The final paragraph of one broadside declared that ‘the Government has given order for prosecuting the Dean, Mr Frazier, Mr Dundass, not excluding the Duchess of Gordoun, and other disaffected persons’.\textsuperscript{859} The pamphlet elaborated upon the meaning and consequence of her actions in particular detail, ultimately describing the seditious political allegiance of the traitrix, labelling her the ‘Lady treasurer of the Pretender’.\textsuperscript{860} \textit{The Flying-Post} replicated the ‘Scotch’ broadside, prefacing it with several paragraphs describing the event as proof of the ‘Height of Treasonable Insolence the Jacobite Faction in that part of the Island is arriv’d to.’\textsuperscript{861} Several newspapers replicated the report, while others restructured it in their own words. Each described the apparent event and its repercussions, which caused the Edinburgh Advocates to reject the medal and make a solemn declaration regardless of what may have been reported by the propagandists. They stated ‘their duty and loyal affection to her

\textsuperscript{859} Scotch-Loyalty Exemplify’d.
\textsuperscript{860} Scotch Medal, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{861} British Mercury, August 1, 1711 - August 3, 1711, Issue 213, London; The Flying-Post, or The Post Master, July 31, 1711 - August 2, 1711, Issue 3095, London.
Majesties person and government and the protestant succession as by law established’. They also reaffirmed ‘their detestation of all practices that directly or indirectly may contain the least insinuation to the contrary, or any incouragement to the pretender.’

This particular event caused great controversy and scandal in the political scene in Edinburgh, and consternation as far south as Westminster; it made headlines in several London newspapers. So serious was the Duchess of Gordon’s gift that James Dundas of Arniston, who had apparently accepted the medal on behalf of the Advocates, ‘was subsequently tried for sedition’, which ended his career in public life. The fact that the Duchess was not tried is probably because she was a woman, and as such without public office. Each of these texts and newspapers were printed and sold in London, and likely sent throughout all the counties of Britain confirming Jacobite tendencies among the leading nobility and intelligentsia of Scotland, as had been seen just three years earlier in the failed attempt in 1708, an adventure in which the Duchess of Gordon was involved. This scandal was further used by those with anti-Scottish and anti-Jacobite agendas in subsequent years.

George Lockhart of Carnwath (1689-1727) wrote about this event in 1711 in his memoirs in defence of his own person, the Scots, and the faculty thus attacked, stating the

many gross lyes, groundless misrepresentations and false insinuations, with which this scurrilous libell doth abound, being more than enough to convince any man that nothing in it contained hath any the least pretence to be credited.

He was referring to the work of John Oldmixon, which twisted the event on its head and declared that

the Advocates of Edinburgh, gave the Dutchess of Gordon to understand, That hearing she had some Medals of the Chevalier de St. George, they should take it very kindly if she would do them the Favour, to let one of them have a Place among their

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863 Pinkerton, Minute Book, p. 294.
865 Pinkerton, Minute Book, p.294fn.
rarities.\textsuperscript{867}

While he acknowledges the Whig faction in Scotland, his representation further paints a Jacobite, and therefore treasonous, image of many Scots, particularly the faculty of Advocates, and the Duchess specifically.\textsuperscript{868} Oldmixon’s \textit{Memoirs} was another anti-Jacobite and anti-Scottish text that was more political propaganda, than a historical memoir, as he declared that ‘North-Britain is a Nation of Jacobites’.\textsuperscript{869}

References to well-known elite women in anti-Jacobite polemic instead of simply using unknown ‘generic’ Jacobite women gave greater weight to the propagandists’ arguments. After the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, another pamphlet was published upbraiding the actions and behaviour of two significant ladies, both of whom were considered to be heavily involved in the ’Forty-five: the Duchess of Perth—daughter of the above mentioned Duchess of Gordon—and the Countess of Airlie. It was entitled \textit{The Female Rebels} (1747).\textsuperscript{870} The identification of the so-called perpetrators gave credibility to the polemical narrative, making it easier for readers to believe and be convinced by. That they were Scottish ladies, rather than English, added to the propagandists’ claims to authenticity due to the long-standing anti-Scottish sentiment held by the English.

An exception to the category of the named women is Jean Cameron of Glendessary, another Scotswoman in anti-Jacobite propaganda. She was allegedly the daughter of a deceased laird and, until the ’Forty-five, a woman unknown to Scottish society. Her identity cannot even be confirmed. She became noteworthy through the subsequent propaganda war that targeted Jacobite Highland women. The question ‘who is Jenny Cameron?’ and ‘which Jenny Cameron is it?’ have been asked repeatedly by historians and antiquarians over the last 250 years. Robert Chambers, a nineteenth-century author and publisher, wrote that ‘her history is one of the most obscure affairs connected with the insurrection.’\textsuperscript{871} According to ‘Jacobus’, a pseudonymous contributor to the 1907 debate in \textit{The Scotsman}, the story of Jenny Cameron ‘is

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{867} John Oldmixon, \textit{Memoirs of North Britain; Taken from Authentic Writings, as well Manuscript as Printed}, London, 1715, p. 252.
\textsuperscript{868} Ibid., p. 37.
\textsuperscript{869} Ibid., pp. 252-63.
\textsuperscript{870} \textit{Female Rebels}.
\end{flushleft}
full of Nile sudd, choked with the weeds of traditions and lying legends, and no clear way seems out of it, so much romance [has] overgrown it.” Regardless of her identity, Jenny Cameron amassed more propaganda against her name than any other woman during the Jacobite period, mentioned in pamphlets, histories and ballads, newspapers and journals. A musical pantomime was even written about her and the Young Chevalier, and according to the pamphlet, performed in the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane in 1746. Polemicists and novelists like Henry Fielding also utilised the character of Jenny Cameron in their texts. In *Tom Jones* (1749), the heroine, Sophia, is mistakenly identified as Jenny Cameron, ‘the Pretender’s mistress on the run from the King’s forces’. The total amount of attention Jenny Cameron received from propagandists and satirists is comparable with the attacks received by the most notable Jacobite men such as Lord Balmerino, the Earl of Cromarty, and the Earl of Kilmarnock—all of whom were executed for their part in the ’Forty-five. Due to the mysterious nature of her identity, it seems probable that the character of ‘Jenny Cameron’ was merely a personification of Scottish Jacobitism itself.

The actions of certain Jacobite Scotswomen generated a media response and likely gave impetus to the continuing works printed against them and the so-called generic Jacobite woman. The pamphlets that identify specific women constitute a third of the thirty-three targeting women. The generic female Jacobite in the pamphlets, however, constituted the majority, that is, the remaining two-thirds. They cover the entire period, from 1690 until after the ’Forty-five, and target both the English and Scottish Jacobites. Two of these are broadsides, one printed in 1700 and the other in 1746. The remainder is split between pamphlets and periodicals, initially published on an individual basis. Each of these covered both national identities, and women from both the elite and lower classes ‘not past the age of breeding’. In the generic texts, the main identity made clear was national, and often times religious, while class could at times be deciphered. The trend of whether the target of the pamphlet was clearly identified, or not, came down to specific actions performed by the real life protagonists. The identification of Jacobite women as English was a pre-1705 phenomenon, with Scottish women labeled frequently thereafter. This

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872 Ibid.
873 Harlequin Incendiary.
874 Campbell, *Natural Masques*, p.133.
875 Freeholder, No.15, Friday, February 10, London 1715; Letter to the Author.
change likely came after the Union and after several notable Scotswomen’s allegiance and activities became more widely known.\textsuperscript{876}

\textit{The Authorial Voice}

Satire and propaganda are not just about the object of ridicule and vitriol; rather, this form of literature reveals just as much about the author, society and the driving force behind its production.\textsuperscript{877} Moving from the target to the authorial voice of these pamphlets, there are a number of different voices, methods and approaches taken to attacking and reproaching Jacobite women. For example, in many instances the gender and nationality are intentionally misleading and form part of the propagandist’s tactic to lead and persuade the reader to make the author’s intended conclusions. Most of the authors of these pamphlets were anonymous, or simply unidentified, but much can be surmised about the writer, or their intended persona. It was common from the last decade of the seventeenth century for printed materials to remain unattributed, as the literary stage was left with 'aging court poets... and a rabble of anonymous lampoonists'.\textsuperscript{878} Some of these anonymous writers took up the pen against Jacobites, as did a number of well-known writers in the generations that followed, such as Addison, Fielding, and Thomas D’Urfey (1653?-1723). However, the known author remains in the minority; most works were published by unidentified writers. The political allegiance of the authors was usually understood through the voice of the text and the nature of the commentary, while their gender and nationality was at times obscured and ambiguous, masked beneath the veils of satire, misdirection and the pseudonym.

The Englishman often made his national identity known directly through patriotic references to the 'true English Nobility' and 'the Ancient Honour of the English Nation'.\textsuperscript{879} He also made his identity visible by clear anti-Scottish sentiment, such as is seen in the \textit{Letter to the Author of the National Journal}.

\textsuperscript{876} Seventeen of the thirty-three pamphlets appear to refer to, or directly target Scottish women, while only three refer to English women. Five remain unstated and obscure, three refer to British women and the final four refer to an English noblewoman, who married a Scot, had Scottish children, and resided in Scotland—the Duchess of Gordon.


\textsuperscript{879} Character of a Jacobite, pp. 6, 13.
The writer of this 'letter', which was printed as a Broadside, conflated Scots and Jacobites and recommended that 'all the Corn in Scotland, designed for seed, as well as all the Cattle... [be] seized... which would infallibly starve all those rebellious Wretches'. His gender is revealed by the callous nature and expression of his feelings toward the women and children, which completely lacks the 'feminine feeling' expected of women of the era. He declared that 'all Jacobite Women, who are not past the Age of Breeding, should be ------, because there is no Doubt but many of them will breed Jacobites', and the children should be knocked on the head, because 'if they are suffered to live, many of them... will grow up to be Rebels.' The English female voice often directed her attention to British women, as in the title of the pamphlet, An Epistle from a British Lady to her Countrywomen (1745). However, in the text itself, the author raised her questions to English women, without even a mention of the other 'British' identities: Scottish, Welsh or Irish, making clear her identity and her intended audience are English. ‘What English Woman could behold her husband a Slave?’ she asks. The Scottish voice, on the other hand, can be identified in several ways, including attention to the title, for example, A Copy of a Letter from a Young Lady in the Country, to a Lady in Edinburgh (1746), or in the author's pseudonym, such as Archibald Arbuthnot, a very Scottish name. In both of these examples the gender persona is also made apparent.

Other identifiers in the pamphlets make the gender of the authorial voice known to the reader. These include the obvious identifier of an author's name, such as, Thomas D'Urfey, Joseph Addison, and Henry Fielding, or, through grammatical key words, such as the use of pronouns, by which the authors identify themselves either with the women being critiqued, or against them. One such example is seen in The Character of a Tacker (1705). In this pamphlet the author expounds on the identity of a 'female-Tacker', who is a Jacobite, and thinks 'it a great piece of Ingratitude to forsake a Religion ... which has been so kind as to Canonise so many of their Sex'. In this way the author distances

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880 Letter to the Author.
881 Ibid.
882 Ibid.
883 An Epistle, p. 1.
884 Ibid., p.17.
885 Arbuthnot, as identified by the NLS.
887 Character of a Tacker, p. 1. (The emphasis is mine.)
himself from the 'female-Tacker[s]' by the use of the third-person plural, rather than using the co-identifying first-person plural.\textsuperscript{888}

The range of authorial voices of the pamphlets includes both male and female, Scots and English, but the Englishman's voice was the most dominate critic, he was ultimately the voice of anti-Jacobitism. His voice is heard in approximately 40 percent of the selected pamphlets established above. The Scots-male and English-female voices account for approximately 12.5 percent each, whereas the Scottish female voiced her opinion in around 13 percent of the pamphlets. Finally, the remainders of approximately 20 percent are unidentified in both gender and national identity. I think, however, that they were likely written by men, both because of the greater tendency and opportunity for men to print and publish, and because of the propensity for men to write about political matters.

The female voice in anti-Jacobite propaganda is the most interesting for its diversity in method and tactic in stating its opposition to the Cause. It was used both to target Jacobite women and to encourage the Whigs against them, during the 'Forty-five. One pamphlet, \textit{Copy of a Letter}, was designed as a letter of concern and complaint from one lady to another; in it the Jacobite ladies of Edinburgh are openly critiqued. For example, the author complains that 'some even became Poetesses on the Charmer's Accomplishments, and were transformed... from Ladies of pretty good Sense, to Ladies of the most exquisite Wit and Humour.'\textsuperscript{889} Three other pamphlets, \textit{An Epistle} (1745), \textit{The Amazon} (1745), and \textit{The Female Volunteer} (1746), encouraged Whig women to stand, to fight, or to be in some way patriotic in this rebellion, which meant standing in opposition to Jacobitism.\textsuperscript{890} These pamphlets employed the same classical imagery of the female warrior used also by those who attacked Jacobite protagonists, only instead of exploiting them to satirise Jacobites, they made them models to inspire the Whig woman, to 'cut down A bold Pretender to her Monarch's Crown'.\textsuperscript{891} In \textit{The Amazon}, the female warrior image was then further purified by the addition of a biblical heroine, Judith, who cut off the Assyrian general Holofernes’ head to protect the Jewish people.\textsuperscript{892} This image

\begin{footnotes}
\item[888] Ibid., p. 1.
\item[889] \textit{Copy of a Letter}.
\item[890] \textit{An Epistle}; \textit{The Amazon}; \textit{The Female Volunteer}.
\item[891] \textit{The Amazon}, p.8.
\item[892] 'The Story of Judith', in \textit{The Amazon}, pp. 5-8.
\end{footnotes}
associated Hanoverian Britain with the chosen people in need of protection from foreign pagans, (like the popish Stuarts) and British ladies with their saviour Judith.

The London pamphlet, *The French Flail* (1746), is the most interesting of all. In the short seven-pages, the author 'Nectymene' writes a brief preface to the gentlemen 'Criticks', inscribed to 'the Guild Brothers and Burgesses of Edinburgh', before she addresses the military leader of the Hanoverian army, the 'Commander in Chief of His Majesty's new rais'd Regiments of Ladies.' In this text, Nectymene, otherwise known as the Owl of Minerva, satirises these military giants for being unable to keep the Stuart's Highland army out of Edinburgh, by suggesting a most foolish measure for future defence: *The Female-Guard-de-Ville*. This corps was to be armed with 18-inch flails, slingshots and a pouch of small stones, but 'whose brilliant Eyes and waving flowing Locks will destroy more than any Arms'. In this way, Nectymene, a female voice, simultaneously embarks upon a course of self-irony, placing the Whig woman in the role for which Jacobite women were most often satirised. The fact that the author chose to identify with the owl of Minerva puts the author's identity, and therefore credibility, into disrepute. Although the owl was often considered wise, in its associations with Minerva, it was also considered as one of 'the lowest forms of life', an 'evil portent, usually one foretelling death' in medieval and classical traditions. So the use of the owl in the female voice appears to be self-mockery. It was not uncommon for female writers at this time to laugh at the numerous foibles of their fellow members of the fair sex in print, whether in conduct literature, novels, or pamphlet material. However, the writer was probably male, writing in a female voice, which thus alters the message. The writer clearly mocks the failure of the Hanoverian army in Scotland; yet the use of a female army as a suitable tour de force seems to combine satirical intents against both the Hanoverian failure and female army supporters. This reflects the knowledge of a contingent of women among the

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893 *French Flail*, pp. 2-3. Nyctimene, from Roman Mythology, was the daughter of Epopeus, 'who was changed into an Owl after incest with her father', by Minerva, the Roman goddess for the arts, medicine and wisdom. John C. Hirsh, 'Classical Tradition and "The Owl and the Nightingale"', *The Chaucer Review*, vol. 9, no. 2, Fall, 1974, p. 146.

894 *French Flail*, p. 3.

895 Ibid., p. 3.


It is noteworthy that the female voice in propaganda came to the fore during and after the 'Forty-five. This complements the historical evidence for female agency in two ways. First, it reveals the capacity of women to act and 'voice' their opinion in various aspects of public life, including politics and printing. Second, it is further evidence for the response of women to Scottish political affairs, particularly where it regards Jacobitism, in what was a 'divided society'. From 1694 to beyond the 'Fifteen, politics and society were fragmented by the disputes amidst Whigs and Tories, and the differences between them became ever more demarcated. It was then that 'many upper-class women took an eager interest in politics and were strongly partisan. Some were far more passionately involved than thousands of men who had the vote'. During this period of turmoil in British political history, 'the rhetoric of patriotism allowed women a discursive space in which to fashion a more public role'. This was even more evident in Scotland, with greater agency being assumed by Jacobite Scotswomen throughout the period, as so much of the battling took place with Scots on Scottish soil. Women of a number of 'British' identities voiced their opinions on female political actions. This was not uncommon in Scottish politics, according to scholars Rosalind Carr, Nicola Cowmeadow and Katharine Glover. What was uncommon was women's participation in treasonable political affairs.

The style of publication further suggests the gender of the voice, as texts were printed in the most common form of publication of female literature, women's correspondence. By using this literary style the writer draws the reader immediately into the personal and private space of female gossip and conversation, generating an interest and curiosity in the reader. This style united the private female scribal-realm with the more public print-world, whilst

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898 Evidence of Duchess of Gordon's actions in: Pinkerton, The Minute Book, pp. 293-94. The agency of several other women, such as Lady Anne Mackintosh in the Lyon; the correspondence between Lady Amelia Murray and her husband Lord Tulibardine, in which she aids his service to the Prince through the passing of information, in, Erskine, Jacobite Correspondence. These are just a few examples of primary sources of female agency. Barker and Chalus, Women's History, reveals female political agency in eighteenth-century Britain, while the following reveals female political agency in Scottish early modern politics: Carr, 'Female Correspondence'; Glover, Polite Society; Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen.


900 Ibid., p. 82.

901 Ibid., p. 97.


903 Carr, 'Female Correspondence'; Cowmeadow, Scottish Noblewomen; Glover, Polite Society.


905 Ibid., p. 97.
retaining a strong element of femininity through its passivity and vastly private ambience. The writers employed this method, used often for 'public political commentary', to speak out against the female adherents of the Stuarts.\footnote{Ibid., p. 97.}

I cannot help censuring these of my Sex that have given up with their Honour, and laid it at the feet of an adventurous Stranger. What I mean by this, is not that I suspect that all those Ladies who have given Testimony of a loose unrestrained Behaviour, are quite sunk into immoral Practices, but that their Part has been unworthy of a Woman of Virtue, and a Lady that calls herself a Christian.\footnote{Copy of a Letter.}

Whether it was by a Hanoverian polemicist or a Jacobite activist, female political action was portrayed in this selection of pamphlets and broadsides. In anti-Jacobite propaganda, the pseudonym was often linked to the message of the text. In the \textit{Character of a Jacobite} (1690), the author titles himself 'A Person of Quality', which seems to imply that the subjects of his pamphlet, upon whom he is about to pour liberal insults, are not.\footnote{Character of a Jacobite.} Archibald Arbuthnot, author of several anti-Jacobite pamphlets, including those about Jenny Cameron, described himself 'One of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge' and Minister of Kiltarlity, in a town situated in Inverness-shire.\footnote{Arbuthnot, \textit{Memoirs}; Arbuthnot, \textit{Das abwechselnde Schicksal in dem Leben Simon, Lord Lovat}, Hamburg, 1747.}

According to the catalogue of the NLS Special Collections, this name was a pseudonym. The use of 'Archibald Arbuthnot' then is curious.

By the use of his self-description, Arbuthnot immediately identifies himself as a Scottish Minister of the Kirk based in the Highlands. As a Presbyterian minister and part of an organisation created to extirpate the popish elements of the Scottish Highlands, the author immediately assumes respectability. He also targets a specific audience, Scottish Presbyterians, those most likely to respect his position. In works about his most popular subject, Miss Jenny Cameron, his identification as a minister of the Kirk grants greater legitimacy to his work, and encourages the reader to take seriously his critical dissertation on the nature of a woman who supported the popish Stuart Prince. The choice of the family name 'Arbuthnot' may have also been an attempt to associate himself with the famous, yet deceased, Scottish satirist, Dr. John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), a physician and faithful subject of Queen Anne, to bring
even greater credibility to his pamphlets.910

The author’s actual identity in anti-Jacobite pamphlets was more often than not unattributed or disguised; however, it is significant for what it says about the pamphleteer, or what they wanted the reader to think about them as the author. When it contributed to the impact of the pamphlet, and broadened the scope and meaning of the message, the pamphleteers revealed something of their persona through a pseudonymous identity. Even when the pamphlets remained unattributed, the gender and national identity of the authorial voices were often apparent through language and their identification with their subject, or their opposition to them. The majority of the opposing voices to Jacobite Scotswomen were male and English—further evidence of the eighteenth-century anti-Scottish sentiment that often described Scots as uneducated, uncouth, and a ‘threat to British social order’.911 What was interesting was the rise of the female voice during the ’Forty-five, which came at a time when female Jacobite action was also on the increase. It could point to the increasing political and literary agency of women in the eighteenth century, but perhaps it was only a new tactic adopted by anti-Jacobite propagandists who hoped that the use of the female voice would be more effective in the paper war against Jacobitism.

**The Tropes of the Jacobite Woman**

Connecting themes of religion, social mores, and the sexual morality of women, to issues of patriotism and national security, anti-Jacobite satirists mocked and vilified female Jacobite adherents, representing them as papists, Amazons and whores. By the time the Jacobites began to seek the Stuart restoration, these age-old representations of women were firmly entrenched in literary satire and writing directed at women.912 Papists had been mocked since the reformation; whores had been vilified since before Tamar, and the Amazons since the seventh century before Christ.913 Each one of these tropes became central to the satirical tradition established against women because they were

910 Angus Ross, ‘Arbuthnot, John (bap. 1667, d. 1735)’, ODNB.
considered evils, vile elements of western civilisation that needed to be purged before they infected the rest of society. Women, considered the weakest members of society in regard to their bodies, mental capacity, and emotional stability, were believed most likely to fall victim to such disorders, and so were easy targets of such propaganda.

In the first two parts of this section I will explore the themes of religion and morality and how polemicists used the tropes of papist and harlot to critique women and their participation in realms of masculine sovereignty and the Stuart Cause. The third part will explore the trope of the Amazon—a well-known and well-used image, but in anti-Jacobite polemic became the new 'monster'—and how the authors used this trope, and other masculine attributions, to critique Jacobites of both sexes. The use of this type of gender ideology raises the question as to who was in fact the real target of this particular style of propaganda.

The Papist

The Popish menace—whether real, perceived, or invented—was central to polemic and Protestant propaganda since the Reformation in the sixteenth century. From the reigns of Mary Queen of Scots in Scotland (1542-1587), and Mary I (1553-1558) in England and through the numerous plots to reinstate Catholicism throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a tradition of anti-popery was established in printed literature in Britain. The 'language of anti-Catholicism was developed and used to consolidate ... national characteristics, as well as to conduct domestic and international polemical and political arguments.'

914 In Scotland key components of anti-Jacobitism were strongly linked with opposition to Catholicism and Episcopalianism. This was firmly established in the Revolution Settlement of 1690, which settled Presbyterianism as the Church of Scotland. According to Whatley, ‘[a]ny understanding ... of anti-Jacobitism which fails to take account of Presbyterianism's crusading mission in seriously incomplete.'

915 Writers portrayed an ever present popish menace to encourage anxiety in politics and

915 Christopher Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change, Scottish Whigs and the Struggle for the 'Soul' of Scotland, c.1688-1788', The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. XCII, 1, No. 233, April 2013, p. 73.
the populace. Rendered in the numerous printed materials that appeared throughout the seventeenth century, the language of anti-Catholicism contributed to controversy, aided the spread of rumour, and intensified polemic and panic. Fear of the popish menace rose in propaganda to exacerbate the situation of the exiled Stuart monarchy from 1688 and to ensure they would not return. Inspired by the established tradition of anti-Catholic rhetoric, anti-Jacobite political propagandists took up the same polemical pen. Now the menacing papist had a new identity, the Jacobite, the lover of 'Popery and Tyranny'.

In 1690, a 'Person of Quality' opened his pamphlet with antipathy for the Stuart supporters, firstly by associating them with papists. ‘Jacobites in general are a sort of Animals sprung from the Corruption of King James’s Evil Government... permitted to glister in the dark of Popery and Tyranny.’ Once this was established, and after listing every vile invective ever written against men, the author moved onto the ‘Females’. These women were far from ‘anything of the Modest and the Vertuous’ of their sex; rather, the female Jacobites ‘embrace[d] the Royal Person’, hugging his interest, which was ‘the Whore of Babel’s Cause’. They were described as the ‘Goats’ in the great eschatological analogy, from whom the sheep shall be separated, and then thrown into the fire, ‘where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.’ This associated Jacobite women with the greatest fear early modern society still held, that of losing one’s soul.

In 1705, the author of the Character of a Tacker agreed with the previous pamphleteer in his lurid account of the ‘Female Tackers’, who were ‘generally Papists’ supporting the ‘Tackers Cause’, and therefore judged to be condemned with the ‘Goats’. What is interesting about the notion of female Tackers is that a ‘tacker’ is a political epithet given to a member of the House of Commons who favoured tacking a money-bill to another bill to make sure it passed through the House of Lords. At this time the epithet was directly associated with the bill against Occasional Conformity, which sought to bring an end to the

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916 Character of a Jacobite, p. 1.
917 Ibid.
918 Ibid., pp. 24-25.
920 Tacker, p. 1.
1689 Toleration Act and was heavily debated between 1702 and 1704. The bill was tacked by Tories, who were often identified with Jacobitism, which in turn was associated with popery. The issue of the tack was a parliamentary one, well outside the purview of women, and yet the pamphleteer was determined to dedicate a paragraph to them. By doing this, the author seems to indicate some kind of political voice, or involvement of these papist Jacobite women with the tack, whether through the channels of patronage, or through family connections with political men, the common and acceptable form of female political agency. The author, however, did not actually mention any female action, or even allude to their manipulation of the male Tackers in the pamphlet. His gripe against women in the political realm may simply have been another complaint he had against certain aspects of society, which he lists freely in the pamphlet. Women were simply added as ammunition for the Whig propagandist’s invective against Tories and Jacobites, associating one with the other and popery.

According to Character of a Jacobite, Jacobite women were ‘the greatest Fools in Nature’ who sought ‘shelter under the Wings of Tyranny and Popery.’ The presumption of the intellectual weakness of women was made clear in anti-Jacobite polemic and the ancient view of women as dullards was exploited to explain their support for the Stuarts. According to Raymond, ‘[g]ender was a shaping metaphor in political argument... integral to the unfolding of the [popish] plot’, and ‘a crux in the Glorious Revolution’. It was also a strong factor in Whig polemic against the Cause. The place of women, as illustrated in contemporary print materials, was in subordination to their husbands, and their ‘natural inferiority’ was reiterated in sermons, conduct literature and pamphlets.

Ten years after the bill against Occasional Conformity was thrown out, Jacobites were rising with James VIII & III on British soil, and Joseph Addison had begun publishing bi-weekly essays against the Cause. Several of the essays

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922 Ibid.
924 Barker and Chalus, Women's History, p. 219.
925 Character of a Jacobite, p. 28.
926 Raymond, Pamphlets, p.320.
927 Ibid., p.276.
in the *Freeholder* (1715-16) were directed specifically at women. In number 15, Addison embarks upon a project for the ‘Female-Patriots springing up in this Island’, encouraging them to use the fan ‘against Popery, by exhibiting the Corruptions of the Church of Rome’ as images on their leaves, as part of the battle against women who supported the Pretender. The battleground, according to Addison, was the ‘Opera and the Play-house’ as opposed to ‘Preston and Perth’. Meanwhile, in his satirical piece, he recommended the use of the fan with anti-Catholic imagery as a weapon, whilst instructing Whig women to:

> [S]how their Disbelief of any Jacobite Story by a Flirt of it. To fall a Fanning themselves, when a Tory comes into one of their Assemblies... raising an Abhorrence of Popery in a whole Crowd of beholders.

These images reveal the ever-present relationship between religion and politics during the Jacobite era, and how propaganda ensured that the identity of one would immediately imply the other. In the eyes of contemporary propaganda, the female Jacobite could only be a papist, the monster of early-modern British society.

Anti-Catholic rhetoric was employed to associate Catholicism with femininity and Protestant Christianity with masculinity. Anti-Jacobite Whig propagandists took up this rhetorical strategy, representing traditional weaknesses long associated with women, as irrationality, passion, emotionality and the tendency to heresy, sin and evil (including popery after the Reformation), and connected them to these papist traitors called Jacobites. In *Character of a Jacobite* they were described as 'the Dreggs and *Caput Mortuum* of Humane Society, fit for nothing but to be thrown upon the Dung-hill'. 'As for the Females', the author began, they were 'Common Harlots and Misses of the Town'. He then went on to describe a popish prostitute, the very lowest of society in both morals and religion, and portrayed fit for hell, with her promiscuity, idolatry and disordered masculine man-hating ways.

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928 Addison, *Freeholder*. The collection was reprinted in 1746, at the height of the Jacobite Rising.
929 Ibid., pp. 86-7.
930 Ibid., p. 87.
931 Ibid., p. 87.
934 Ibid., pp. 24-5.
‘[F]emale lust and dishonesty’ were conflated with political agency in support of the exiled Monarchy in such anti-Jacobite pamphlets as those that pertained to Jenny Cameron. The tropes of harlot, whore, or strumpet, were commonly used in anti-female Jacobite polemic. In such polemic, women were ‘the lusty sex [and] never entirely in control of themselves’, thus prone to falling down the immoral pathway of perdition. This propaganda pandered to Calvinist dogma that had been established as the system of social control after the Reformation; it still ruled in eighteenth-century Scotland, which viewed women as sexually promiscuous and dangerous. The serious nature of sexual immorality—which covered a broad spectrum, including adultery, prostitution, and illegitimate childbearing—bore a stigma, a mark of disgrace and was considered a sin, a grave offence against God, oneself, and society. The portrayal of Jacobite women as sexual sinners was an attempt to inform the public of the dangers of adherence to the Stuart Cause and to discredit it in society. Through their 'tales' propagandists presented images of women who were headed down the wrong path, potentially shunned from all good society whilst placing their lives and souls in danger. This was a warning to men and women alike of the detrimental power of Jacobitism. In post-Reformation Britain, it was believed that female sexuality was dangerous, and according to Jean Marsden, the epitome of 'public spirit and ultimately of patriotism' was married chastity. Sexual immorality and adultery were not just considered sins against the spouse but sins against society and the nation. Eighteenth-century contemporaries believed that an unchaste woman could 'destroy the structure of inheritance ("posterity") on which the nation is built', ruining the aristocracy and ultimately, 'through it the destruction of the state itself.' The method used to deal with such sexually ravenous women was to place them as an object of satire and derision.

In the *Character of a Jacobite*, the author describes female adherents to

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939 Marsden, 'Sex and Satire', p. 47.
940 Ibid.
‘the Whore of Babel’s cause’ as ‘the Whores in England.’ Women, who, by their promiscuity in both politics and sexual relations, have found themselves diseased with either the pox or scrofula, ‘no less clapt in their Understandings, than in their Bodies.’ As the propagandist has illustrated that Jacobite women are whores, he is warning the readers that they will spread the contagion, poisoning society, which in early modern times was considered a curse upon the sinful and unclean members, and even the nation. It was a clear sign of God’s punishment for sin. The writer’s use of language connects sexual depravity with political loyalty to the Stuart Cause, and infectious diseases such as the ‘French’ pox with Jacobitism, a scourge on British society and to be avoided like the plague. The author continues the hyperbole, warning his readers to keep far from Jacobite women. They were ‘Syrens’, creatures from Classical mythology that were known for their seductive and alluring qualities, who might lead others into Jacobitism. Women ‘were credited with an inner weakness that could all too easily lead them through the assertion of their sexual and emotional power to defy the patriarchal order and break its boundaries.’ For this reason they were portrayed openly in order that they could be identified, controlled and potentially eliminated.

In A Brief Account Jenny Cameron’s Jacobite activities are secondary to her sexual exploits. The document begins with a brief history of the Cameron clan for a show of authenticity before it turns to Jenny's family and her personal history. In this main part of the document, we read of Jenny's years of ‘education’ in debauchery in Edinburgh, her sexual exploits in a French convent, and then in Paris before finally returning to Scotland and committing incest with her brother. Only after the death of her sister-in-law and her brother, when she becomes her nephew's guardian and manager of the estate and family affairs, does she set forth with Cameron troops to meet the Prince. The sordid tale served as a warning to all those who might consider the validity of the Stuart Cause that it is supported by the 'dreggs' of society.

In the Copy of a Letter (1745), the young scribe criticises other ladies

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941 Character of a Jacobite, p. 25.
942 Ibid., p. 27.
943 Ibid.
945 Fletcher, Sex and Subordination, p. 24.
946 Brief Account.
'respecting the young Gentleman called the Prince', merely for being 'Spectators to all his publick Appearances'. Their behaviour is deemed 'unworthy of a woman of virtue'. The intention of this pamphlet writer was simply to tarnish the character and reputation of the subjects in the hope of persuading others against the Cause. However, the description of the female Jacobite adherents was not as harsh as in the previous pamphlets; nevertheless, the use of invective was still potent, revealing the serious and detrimental effect of a damaged reputation. In this pamphlet, Jacobite women in Edinburgh were accused of prostituting their 'Modesty, may I not say Virginity', having 'given up with their Honour, and laid it at the Feet of an adventurous Stranger'. Giving attention and admiration to the Stuart Prince was in itself enough to cause consternation in the print world. 'O would these ladies learn Moderation and bridle each Passion that inclines to Looseness or Indifference.' Their only fault was to show 'violent Raptures and Encomiums' to a mere mortal, revealing how little a Jacobite woman had to do to attract negative press, particularly in the realm of her purity and chastity.

For centuries the vision of female nature simply 'oscillated between impossibly pure and irredeemably depraved'; however, anti-Jacobite propaganda focused on the depraved nature, accusing Jacobite women of being disordered elements of society and a canker on the body politic, in opposition to its health, stability and wellbeing. This image of the impure woman, or rather the harlot, was consistent in propaganda throughout the entire period. The harlot was portrayed in the first pamphlet in 1690, but was most prevalent in the numerous Jenny Cameron sagas after 1745. It appears that the connection between Jacobitism and sexual depravity was made by propagandists without evidence, but rather due to religious and political allegiance that they deemed unacceptable.

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947 Copy of a Letter.
948 Ibid.
949 Ibid.
950 Ibid.
951 Ibid.
Early modern satirists often lampooned politically active women for metaphorically tossing aside the petticoat and assuming the breeches, and they did not spare Jacobite women. One of the dominant concepts used for the female adherents of the Stuarts was the classical Amazon. On the political and inter-relational level, the Jacobite-petticoat was in control, but when it came to military action, the petticoat was tossed aside and the Amazon stepped forth, revealing a type of woman who did not need men but replaced them and used them when necessary. The trope of the Amazon was a popular concept for criticism of women in the political, military, and even domestic realms (which was most common in general satire against women), portraying them as forthright and domineering. Jacobitism, and its politics, being strongly connected to violence and war—demonstrated by the many risings, plotted, attempted and failed—drew writers to portray women as warriors in these frays. This portrayal confused the gender roles of Jacobites, depicting weak and impassioned men alongside brutal and barbaric women. According to polemicists, these women embraced radical opinions and asserted them 'with greater constancy and violence, than the Generality of Mankind.' Campbell has argued that anti-Jacobite propaganda such as this was a 'warning that a reversion to older notions of masculine and feminine identity' were associated with the 'old line of Stuart kings... [a] retrograde political regime' that would 'dramatically diminish male control' in society. This image of the dominant woman was central to the portrayal of Jacobite women in the Female Rebels (1747). It is there that the Duchess of Perth was represented as a woman who lorded it over her weak husband, revealing that the anti-Jacobite propaganda simultaneously attacked both women and men.

The indirect assault on Jacobite men employed several methods. The first method was to make them seem effeminate by ascribing certain feminine qualities and behaviour to them, some of which would have also been

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953 Female Rebels, p. 6.
954 Ibid., p. 5.
955 Campbell, Natural Masques, p. 134.
956 Female Rebels. It is important to note that the author has made many errors in the details of this pamphlet regarding the Duke and dowager Duchess of Perth. The general familial details are correct; however, the Duchess’s name is registered as Margaret, not Jean, and her age is recorded as being about 28, but she was about 62. The Duke is represented as her husband, but was in fact her eldest son of the same name, who was unmarried. Propagandists confused the Duchess with Margaret Murray of Broughton, who did travel with the Countess of Arisie during the ’45. Craig, Damn Rebel Bitches, p. 83.
considered undesirable for women. The problem with effeminate men was based on the contemporary understanding of effeminacy. According to Kathleen Wilson, in the eighteenth century effeminacy was 'denoted a degenerate moral, political, and social state that opposed and subverted the vaunted "manly" characteristics - courage, aggression, martial valour, strength - constituting patriotic virtue.' The ‘Person of Quality’ described Jacobite loyalty 'like a Woman's Affection, generally too much or too little.' He associates male Jacobites with other perceived female tendencies, likening the longing ‘the Society of Jacobites’ had for King James VII & II, with the unusual desires of pregnant women, who crave ‘Coals and Foul Tobacco Pipes’. Later in the same paragraph, the author compares these men with women who ‘mourn at Funerals for the Dead, 'til they make themselves Drunk for Sorrow’, finding in them the attribute of unrestraint. These images of ‘feminine foibles’ were barely tolerated in women in polite society, let alone in men. Just as women had prescribed conventional behaviours which made the perfect ‘Lady’, so men had a long list of what constituted acceptable masculine behaviour. Anti-Jacobite propaganda’s negative portrayal of such men as the allegedly henpecked Duke of Perth was used to reinforce eighteenth-century societal norms found under the Protestant Hanoverian regime. It insinuated that the Stuart monarchy and effeminate Jacobite leadership in Britain would impact heavily upon the order and stability of society, if they came back into power.

The second method was to ascribe masculine traits and conduct to Jacobite women, contrasting them to the “softness”, “timidity”, “modesty”, and “compassion” of the Whig women—the authentically feminine women. Propagandists described their activities and attitudes as violent and barbaric, which were long considered to belong to the realm of uncivilised men. For example, in Female Rebels, the Duchess of Perth and the Countess of Airlie were described as vengeful and cruel, ‘the scourge of their own men’, who found pleasure in torturing them and the Hanoverian prisoners in their care, thus revealing their lack of femininity. This was considered unnatural—a term

958 Character of a Jacobite, p. 21.
959 Ibid., p. 23.
960 Ibid.
961 Campbell, Natural Masques, p. 142.
962 Female Rebels, p.50.
often associated with the contemporary histories, memoirs and propaganda by writers at this time. This placed Jacobite women far from the contemporary image of the 'ideal woman', who according to the Judith Drake, 'could exert a cultivating influence over men, and teach them the gallant and complaisant manners that would make for smoother social interaction' in society.\footnote{Judith Drake, Essay in Defence of the Female Sex', in William St Clair and Irmard Maassen (eds.), Conduct Literature for Women, 1640-1710, i, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2002, p. xxxviii.} Further along in the pamphlet the author describes another cruel notion of the ladies. Together they plan an attack on the garrison at Fort William. Approaching the commanding officer on duty, they 'proposed, that to strike Terror into the Garrison, and oblige them to surrender, the unhappy prisoners should each be crammed into the Mouth of a Cannon, and shot at the Place'.\footnote{Ibid., p. 148.} These images were used to show the unnatural and monstrous character of Jacobite women and the lack of control Jacobite men had over them, and therefore the unnatural and disordered state of Stuart authority.

Another method was to portray Jacobite women in a manner that showed them as dominant over men, their husbands in particular. This kind of female behaviour was considered unacceptable for women in the eighteenth century, as continually reiterated by writers of conduct advice, sermons, and most other literature that referred to the relationship between, and role of, the sexes.\footnote{Female Rebels, p. 29.} A woman's foremost duty was obedience to her husband.\footnote{Female Rebels, p. 51.} These pamphlets used unnatural images of women to cast aspersions upon the 'masculinity' of their Jacobite menfolk by inverting their roles. It portrayed the men as under a petticoat-government, unable to control their own affairs and their household. The portrayal of Jacobite men as impotent went so far as to describe them as unwilling to stand and take arms, which their women either did for them or forced them to do.

In \textit{Female Rebels}, the Duchess of Perth, described as a woman of cruelty and ferocity, 'began to tamper with her Husband to join' the Prince once he had landed.\footnote{Female Rebels, p. 29.}

\begin{quote}
[S]he sweetened him, cajoled, threatened, and caressed him by Turns: Sometimes she was all Mildness, and would attempt to reason him into her Measures; at other times she was all Fire and
\end{quote}
Flint, and would need storm him into her Terms.\textsuperscript{968}
So much did she vex him that upon the approach of the Prince, the Duke was
going to leave, 'but the Dutchess ... declared she would ... deliver him up
Prisoner to the Prince, as soon as he arrived.'\textsuperscript{969} However, 'upon the Prospect of
Battle,' the Duke went to leave the Prince, his army and the Duchess, for fear of
what was to come. The Duchess looked 'him full in the Face when he had just
began the Preamble to his Adieu, burst out into a Laugh, and in a merry Tone
told his Grace', in no uncertain terms, 'You are going to Battle'.\textsuperscript{970} The portrayal
of the Duke was a poor reflection on Jacobite male honour, ultimately signifying
the male Jacobite did not have any.

Many aristocratic men in positions of power in early modern society
often used images and representations of themselves as an expression of their
authority, and to promote themselves and their 'capacity, responsibility, or right
to attempt to control, govern, or regulate... other groups'.\textsuperscript{971} In a similar fashion,
anti-Jacobite propaganda created an inverted image in textual representations
of Jacobite men and women in order to reveal that adherents of Jacobitism were
neither capable nor responsible, and therefore did not have the right to govern
others. There are various types of masculinities, appropriate for different social
groups, positions, and situations, 'demonstrated through different forms of
behaviour', each of which have their own 'codes of masculine conduct and
identities'.\textsuperscript{972} It is in the realm of power and governance, on local and higher
levels, that anti-Jacobite propaganda targeted Jacobite men like the Duke of
Perth, the Earl of Airlie and the Duke of Gordon, men who had power over
numerous groups in society due to their aristocratic status, landed wealth and
tenants, over whom they had authority. Through the portrayal of weak,
effeminate, henpecked men, propagandists sough to invert the Jacobite image
and contest Jacobites’ power and the potential for further advancement and
broader influence upon the people under their dominion and society at large.
‘[A] patriarch's right to control others in the household’ was largely
unchallenged during the early modern period, except in propaganda.\textsuperscript{973} Anti-

\textsuperscript{968} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{969} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{970} Ibid., p. 34.
\textsuperscript{971} Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, \textit{Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and
Others}, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{972} Ibid., pp. 4-5.
\textsuperscript{973} Ibid., p. 10.
Jacobite writers used inverted images of men and women to show that society under the governance of a Stuart King would severely hamper patriarchal society, encouraging unbalanced matriarchal households, and the potential for an unnatural matriarchal state.

The Amazon and overtly masculine descriptions of women, coupled with the emasculation of men, were relatively consistent images throughout the Jacobite period. These tropes were used in the first and the last pamphlet, and several in between, showing the relevance of the image to contemporaries between 1688 and 1766. The Amazonian trope was used purely in the negative sense in regards to Jacobite women, but as a positive one for the female Hanoverian supporters.\textsuperscript{974}

The whore, the papist and the Amazon, were images of unruly women, women without self-control. They were examples of non-conformists to contemporary society, seeking their own interest, instead of the common good, and this was considered dangerous to the patriarchal order of society. The propaganda set them as examples of disorder and appealed to the masculine sensibilities of those who governed by simultaneously satirising both men and women, and therefore mocking those who supported Jacobitism and Stuart rule.

\textit{Conclusion}

\textit{I cannot think it an unreasonable Conclusion,}
\textit{that the Cause must needs be bad at least weak,}
\textit{when we find so much under Petticoat Patronage.}\textsuperscript{975}

\textit{Female Rebels, 1747.}

Pondering the representations of Jacobite women in the cultural climate between the Revolution and the aftermath of the 'Forty-five, it is fundamental to consider what purpose satirising these women had for the writers, and how their work contributed to the greater Whig cause. The purpose appears simple, to make Jacobitism and the Stuarts ‘abhorrent or ridiculous... the ultimate goal

\textsuperscript{974} James Eyre Weeks, \textit{The Amazon, or Female Courage Vindicated}, London, 1745.
\textsuperscript{975} \textit{Female Rebels}, p.6.
of satire,’ and therefore, malign their Cause.\textsuperscript{976} Vitriolic and satiric propaganda was used to argue the dangerous repercussions the return of the Stuarts would have upon British society, as well as giving ‘an impression of widespread discontent, with an implicit threat of popular disorder’.\textsuperscript{977} The propaganda was used as if it was evidence of the disordered nature of the Stuart’s faithful followers, that is, its women, who according to propaganda, had the power to overturn the hierarchy of society, aided by the weakness of Jacobite men.

In the latter part of the century, satire and oppositional publications against women, in text and image, became a common part of print media.\textsuperscript{978} Anything deemed outside the acceptable norms of society were mocked and ridiculed in this format, and possibly purchased and/or read by many. This form of attack that grew in number and consistency throughout the Jacobite era, could have been one of several starting points for such propaganda against women in later years, as ‘Female participation in politics attracted more attention than perhaps any other ‘male’ role’.\textsuperscript{979}

Anti-Jacobite propaganda that targeted its female conspirators was an attack on both Jacobite men and women. The focus on women, however, relegated female political allegiance and action, placing it outwith acceptable female conduct. ‘Behaving like a man... confirms her predisposition to behave as an unnatural and indecent woman’, giving credence to anti-Jacobite denunciation in print.\textsuperscript{980} Such publications formed a strong part of pro-ministerial literary propaganda that used satire in the interest of the Protestant-Whig-British national identity they sought to create. This process required identifying the enemy as the polar opposite to the government ideal. Therefore identifying a Jacobite as a Catholic, a dominant, immoral woman, with a weak henpecked-man, or as a mindless barbarian, was not in the national interest, and must be opposed.

The image and representation of masculinities as able to govern and control others was used and, in this case, manipulated in the Jacobite era for propaganda purposes.\textsuperscript{981} Jacobite men in these pamphlets were ridiculed for...

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{976} Newlyn, ‘Satiric Tradition’, p. 286.
\item \textsuperscript{978} McCreery, Satirical Gaze, pp. 1-34.
\item \textsuperscript{979} Ibid., p. 141.
\item \textsuperscript{980} Ibid., p. 71.
\item \textsuperscript{981} Broomhall, Masculinities, p. 10.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
their lack of control as Jacobite women were satirised for assuming it, as was common in the early-modern print. According to Karen Harvey, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British male was ‘anxious to defend patriarchal authority in public’. 982 By associating Jacobitism in opposition to that, with women at its head, having ‘broken the unspoken contract balancing the roles of responsibilities of gender and social rank, on which social stability rested’, Whig propagandists did just that.983

Pamphlets such as Female Rebels, The Character of a Jacobite, and those relating to Jenny Cameron, portray the lustful, dominant, popish woman, and worked together to shape an anti-Jacobite mentality by using the established tradition of satire and polemic. This ‘perpetuate[d] the dominant value system, in the process illuminating the central struggle for power between the sexes,’ whilst proving the inherent evil of the Stuart monarchy.984 The Stuarts return to the throne would lead Britain down the road of tyranny and popery, and, according to this propaganda, a matriarchal society.

Four of the women identified in the pamphlets had been arrested and imprisoned prior to the pamphlets’ publication.985 Their notoriety likely inspired polemicists to make the most out of this unusual situation. It was not often that elite women in Scotland, or anywhere for that matter, were arrested and imprisoned without charge or trial. It is a sign that the government finally took the actions of Jacobite Scotswomen seriously and wanted to ensure they did not occur again. The propaganda and negative media attention hurled at these women ensured that their names and reputations were forever tainted by the slur of Jacobitism. The government likely hoped that both the propaganda and arrests were the final knock on the head to Jacobite political action by women, as mockery of their actions reduced their potency, and possibly made them a laughing stock in society.

982 Harvey, ‘Masculinity’, p. 311.
983 Glover, Polite Society, p. 129.
984 Newlyn, ‘Satiric Tradition’, p. 293.
985 Seton and Amot, Prisoners, i, pp. 214-5.
Conclusion: Locating the Female Jacobite within the Larger History of British Politics.

The great risques you have run,
and still expose yourself and family to,
are such unquestionable proofs
of your unparralell’d zeal for that interest
that your doing what is in your power and prudence
upon this occasion is not to be doubted of.

Charles Fleming to Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll (1707?)

The historiographical recognition of elite women in the political realm in the early modern period has blossomed in recent years, moving from a focus on women’s participation in court politics to local and parliamentary elections. Much of the burgeoning scholarship, with its focus upon Englishwomen and the latter part of the eighteenth century, has looked at electioneering, party politics and ‘issues-based campaigning’, with an increasing resurgence towards patronage. Indeed, English ladies such as Georgiana, the Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806), and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Countess of Bute (1718-1794), have frequently graced the pages of academic studies due to their role in political life. Particular attention has been devoted to women’s importance to state formation, empire building and rebellious political activity.

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This rethinking of women’s involvement in politics has involved research into women’s surreptitious political activities, involving news, intelligence, and secret correspondence. Secret letters fill the private collections and state papers, and have been described by one scholar as ‘the by-products of internal plots and external threats’. Written by men in power, such documents are revelatory of diplomatic and military activities of the period. James Daybell has argued that ciphered and clandestine letters by elite women were used beyond the well-researched Elizabethan era, and right throughout the early Stuart period. This research confirms and extends the use of such secret political correspondence throughout the Jacobite era. The informants’ actions, which tied in closely with that of a spy, were often situated at a writing desk and behind closed doors, as they involved the transmission of sensitive information. Nevertheless, women aided Jacobite intrigues and the men in the field by their intelligences, and therefore contributed to the reinforcement of Jacobite efficacy and morale. This contribution is just as noteworthy, and just as relevant, as other forms of Jacobite support and action, as it gave vital information that aided the men who conspired, organised the army, and led its march into battle. It was a necessary means in a period of political conflict.

Debates surrounding the historical theory of the distinctiveness between, or isolation of, women’s and men’s spheres of influence, have come to a head in recent years. Research has revealed that by broadening the concepts of politics, society, and public life, the way is opened for women’s participation in them to be historically accepted and therefore documented. Widening the definition of politics to include the social realm as a real and valid venue for politics has opened door to elite women’s activities in political life. This area of research has taken politics to the social realm, which often involved political hosting and other social events such as, balls, dinner parties, card games, the Assembly rooms, the theatre or the opera. In the social arena both men and

991 Ibid.
992 Ibid.
993 Ibid.
994 Colley, Britons, p. 250.
women intermingled, discussed various political issues, advised, intrigued and cajoled, or applied pressure upon one contact for another, seeking patronage. This research has ratified such political actions among the Scottish Jacobite elite. Yet it has further revealed that politics also entered the domestic realm, broadening the venues of political action even more. There, women raised the next generation of Stuart supporters, obtained much of their intelligence via correspondence or emissaries, wrote secret and often coded letters, and hosted significant Jacobites or gave patronage to them, especially the Prince and his Highland Army. Jacobite women’s participation in politics exposes weaknesses with the artificial construct of ‘separate spheres’, revealing a greater fluidity between both the public and private realms, and therefore women’s ability to influence one from the other.996 The correspondence of women from the privacy of their domestic quarters could, and did, impact affairs outside in the political world more than previously considered, as this thesis has revealed.

Rank and family were significant to women’s participation in political life. Patronage was often at the heart of women’s involvement, which was conducted within ‘landowning networks bound together by family connections and dynastic marriage alliances’.997 Elite Scotswomen as wives, mothers, daughters, and/or sisters were educated in the workings of the patronage system. Patronage was a ‘unique, intermediate area of political involvement’, in which elite Scotswomen partook within their Jacobite as well as non-Jacobite networks throughout Scotland, Britain, and the Continent.998 Within the patronage sphere, women utilised their skills and connections to the Jacobite advantage. The status, position, power and wealth of Jacobite Scotswomen made their role in political patronage not only possible, but a responsibility. The sending and receiving of ‘regular petitions’ bound them into the web of patronage, as seen particularly with Jacobite Scotswomen’s petitions regarding the forfeited estates, pleas for pardons, and the material and financial support they granted the Jacobite Army.999 Wealthy widows and heiresses in particular, were often very powerful women and wielded an influence over others due to their position and financial independence in society, as has also been seen in

998 Chalus, Elite Women, p. 110.
this research with women such as Lady Lude, Dame Magdalene Scott, and the Countess of Erroll.\textsuperscript{1000}

The nature and meaning of political allegiance in the eighteenth century has often been documented as a man's role inside a male domain. However, recent scholarship on elite women's activities in the political realm have revealed that elite women's political allegiance and interest could and should have been expressed.\textsuperscript{1001} In this thesis I have shown how Jacobite Scotswomen expressed their political allegiance and participated in certain aspects of political life. Since a certain type and amount of participation was expected of elite women in political families, many elite Scotswomen found it within their realm of responsibility to become active adherents of Jacobitism. It was simply part of their duty as women, particularly as wives, to take part in political life. Jacobitism was just one side to the British political story, an extension of their political duties. While Jacobite political action did not involve elections and general issues in the nation, it was based upon the politics of who ruled, and how they ruled the nation. This thesis has revealed what many Scotswomen did to show their support for the exiled Stuart monarchy and how they contributed to the cause of their restoration. I have shown that this involved a significant contingent of Scotland's female elite, which made an impact on the broader socio-political realm in Scotland. This research has brought a more in-depth perspective of this alternative dimension of elite Scotswomen in eighteenth-century political affairs, and has built upon the work of scholars such as Walker, Glover and Akkerman.\textsuperscript{1002}

These investigations alter the prevailing interpretation and communication of Scottish Jacobitism, which has been predominantly male-focused. It has broadened the perspective of Scottish Jacobitism to include different forms of political participation, by different participants, and by a greater number of them than previously thought. There are few references in scholarship to Jacobite Scotswomen’s roles, let alone interpretations of their

\textsuperscript{1000} Chalus, Elite Women, pp. 222-3; Innes, and Rendall, 'Gender and Politics', p. 45.
\textsuperscript{1001} Chalus, Elite Women, p. 21.
involvement in scholarship. This thesis has augmented Scottish Jacobite history to include the vigorous and deliberated efforts by some elite women to pull together numerous plots and attempts to restore the King to the throne; while it also shows that others were involved in much of the background work. Together they formed the backbone of Jacobitism. Their actions promoted and sustained Scottish Jacobite culture and community, preserving its growth and continual support throughout the century.

Many of the functions performed by elite women in scholarship were considered within the realm of acceptable feminine behaviour and within traditional gender frameworks, as the family was central to the influence and expression of their political actions. What is different here is that elite Jacobite Scotswomen used these same acceptable feminine roles, including letter writing and organising social events, for an unacceptable cause, as they actively promoted and worked within political networks and illicit affairs. Due to the objectionable and treasonable status of Jacobitism within society, many of the actions revealed in this thesis fall outwith the realm of acceptable feminine behaviour. This thesis has given a detailed analysis of the proscribed political behaviour of Scotland’s female elite in the eighteenth century. It reveals the seriousness to which numerous leading women took their political and religious ideologies and the extent to which they were prepared to act.

Elite Scotswomen had a political voice. This has been seen in the hundreds of letters penned in their hand, writings which show that these women’s words and actions gave strength to their own political ideologies and to the Cause in Scotland. From the very outset of the Revolution in Scotland, women were ardent supporters of what became classed as treason. In various ways and on numerous levels of dedication, risk, and intensity, they made their political voice heard through their continual support of the exiled monarchy, and the men who championed it.

Working within the family—the bedrock of society, culture and

community—Jacobite Scotswomen ensured the continuity of Stuart loyalty by raising and educating their children in the principles of religion, virtue, morality, duty, and political persuasion. These women also took their political activities beyond their families and drew more supporters to the Cause from their broader networks and connections. This recruitment by encouragement or persuasion was not just whispered between men in the inns and taverns, clubs and coffee houses, but written about in letters and discussed by women who had just as much heart and stomach for the battle ahead. The Ladies Nairne and Lude, a mother-daughter team of ‘evangelists’, are prime examples of women using their influence beyond the home and in the wider community.

Jacobite Scotswomen wrote letters that gave support to the Cause and acted as evidence of their support. From confidante and adviser to agent and informant, these well-connected women used their skills and nous to support the subversion of the established political order. They were party to the numerous plots and plans of Jacobitism.1005 These roles demonstrate that they were creative in putting to use their knowledge and connections—whether personal, business/mercantile, or political—properties and wealth in order to serve the greater good in backing the Stuart cause.

Nevertheless, adherence to Jacobitism was a serious offence, for according to those in authority, it led to social instability at the highest levels, and was thus abhorred by the government and those who supported the status quo. It was treasonous to actively support a Stuart restoration and as such active adherents were subject to severe retribution. The punishments meted out varied in intensity from attainters and forfeited estates, to imprisonment, exile, and for some, death. Elite Scotswomen usually experienced these consequences secondhand, through the conviction of a male relation, and seldom as a direct consequence of their own political actions. Apart from the imprisonment of one elite woman in 1690 and thirteen in 1745-46, most elite female activists were left alone by the government. As discussed in chapter three, the penalties for women were simply not as harsh as those inflicted upon the leading men, and many women managed to get away without facing any repercussions at all.

Even so, it took about half a century for the government to appreciate fully the threat posed by elite Scotswomen, and therefore to react against them.

This is something few scholars have acknowledged, and none have explained. However, MacKenzie and Pittock have aptly argued that women ‘could speak treason, or display Jacobite emblems ... with little fear of serious consequence for themselves’ as their perceived lack of political capacity made them in the view of the state comparatively ineffective in the explicitly public and state crimes of sedition and treason.

Their claim of the government’s perception of women’s ineffective political capacity appears to have been true for most women up until the last rising. Thereafter, certain women were targeted by the government for their pronounced political proficiency, such as the thirteen ladies imprisoned during the ’Forty-five. This reveals that once alerted to the danger the government took women’s actions seriously.

Most of the elite women imprisoned in the ’Forty-five had publicly opposed the government, in what was classed as open rebellion, and led others to do the same. They were effective in mobilising large numbers of recruits for the Jacobite army, obtaining arms and munitions, money and goods for the Cause. While history has shown that women were in fact executed for dangerous and abhorrent crimes such as murder, infanticide and witchcraft, for the crime of treason, Jacobite women were not. In Scots law, such behaviour from women warranted them to be ‘drawn and hanged, instead of being burnt, [as] formerly’. A further question then needs to be asked: is it possible that it was the status of these women that prevented any further action being taken? Or were they simply not perceived to be a great enough threat? While an in-depth investigation of this is outwith the bounds of this thesis, I would surmise that both status and perception were very much related to the consequences, or lack thereof, that Jacobite women experienced.

The government’s lack of action, or delayed reaction to female Jacobite activity could be due to several factors. Firstly, it could be that the number of

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1008 There was the arrest of the Countess of Erroll in 1690, and then 13 elite women in 1746, as well we the watching of the Countess of Carnwath and Mrs Ogilvy. All of which are examples of the state’s opinion of their effective political capacity.
1011 Seton and Arnot, Prisoners, i, pp. 212-17. The camp followers and regimental women, for example, who were arrested in 1746 were later transported to the Americas after a period of imprisonment, while the elite women were eventually released on bail.
active female supporters, and therefore the noise of such action, was not loud enough to create notice in the early part of the century. This however does not explain the arrest of Lady Erroll in 1690. Secondly, the nature of their actions remained relatively discreet until 1745. Thirdly, the government was ultimately reluctant to take the same steps against elite women as they had against the men. The number of men executed, compared to those arrested, was small, and designed to make an example of them. They simply did not execute everyone they arrested; many were transported, died in prison, or released. And finally, Scottish authorities were more lenient with their own rebels than the English had been. When Scots were executed after being arrested and imprisoned, it was on English soil. For Scots would not have allowed the execution of Jacobites in Scotland, enemy or not. A possible explanation argued by Sankey is that a ‘remarkable sympathy between the rebels and their ostensible enemy, the Whig establishment in Scotland’, ensured that ‘Jacobites in the hands of Scottish officials ... received almost no punishment at all’. These Jacobite women were imprisoned in Scotland and in the hands of Scottish authorities. Prosecuting and executing elite Scotswomen was certainly not on their agenda. After the failed Jacobite attempt in 1708, many elite men were arrested because they stood openly against the government and were ready to lead their clans and men in a rising for the Stuart king. Only a handful of them were actually involved in the plot; most simply stood up when called on to do so. The women involved, however, such as the Countess of Erroll and the Duchess of Gordon, were heavily involved in the conspiracy, and yet were not arrested, imprisoned, or even implicated.

Jacobite women were more heavily targeted by Whig propagandists and polemical writers than by the government, as this thesis has shown. Their political involvement is revealed to some extent, even if exaggerated and satirised, through eighteenth-century broadsides and pamphlets. Polemicists’ ‘apparent’ reaction to women in political and military affairs was a cover for trying to dissuade elements within society from accepting and encouraging Jacobite support. They used persuasive methods of rhetoric geared at

1013 Approximately 3.26% of prisoner from the ‘Forty-five were executed, four of whom were peers; in Bruce Gordon Seton, and Jean Gordon Arnot, *Prisoners of the ‘45*, Edinburgh, Scottish Historical Society, vol. i, 1928, p. 152.
1015 Ibid., pp. 99-100.
feminising men and masculinising women, refiguring women into vile beasts and disagreeable creatures. Jacobite women were represented as the lowest in society: prostitutes, papists and Amazons. Women’s involvement in the Jacobite cause was known to contemporaries and used by Whig writers to disparage the Cause. Satirising women for their political activity in both print and text was common and popular in eighteenth-century Britain. Women were satirised because they were acting in what was considered a male role. In eighteenth-century society there lay a contradiction. Elite women from political families were expected to participate on certain levels within the political realm, albeit predominantly on a socio-political level. However, for these same actions, deemed acceptable among the elite, these women were mocked, scorned, and lampooned in pamphlet and print. According to Cindy McCreery, they were accused in various ways of ‘behaving like a man’, and acting ‘as an unnatural and indecent woman’. Their accusers were not likely members of the elite, and therefore without the same understanding of ‘acceptable roles’ for elite women in politics. Nevertheless, this research has contributed to such scholarship and to the beginnings of eighteenth-century satirical works on women, and anti-Jacobite propaganda.

Over time the greatest changes and developments can be seen in the amount of evidence for women’s involvement in the Jacobite era. According to the evidence, it is clear that there were more Jacobite women active in the ’Forty-five than in other periods of Jacobite campaigning. While the example of the 1708 and its comprehensive sources show considerable activity, it reveals only seven women. The ’Forty-five, on the other hand, reveals over 200 women, and a greater variety of actions and types of support, such that landed 13 women in prison. The evidence reveals the number of Jacobite women in action escalated over the period, visible through the increasing number of sources. For example, there are very few sources for female activity during the Revolution, their actions revealed in a handful of personal and state correspondences. The 1708 has a collection of more comprehensive and detailed sources in the two-volume printed collection of correspondence and a contemporary narrative of

1017 McCreery, Satirical Gaze, p. 71.
1018 See Appendices III.I-IV.
events by Colonel Hooke.\textsuperscript{1019} The 1715 and its aftermath have a greater amount of sources, although these are limited in nature predominantly to petitions, with some female correspondence.\textsuperscript{1020}

The 'Forty-five, however, witnessed a marked increase in the number and nature of sources, such as petitions, testimonies, letters, memoirs, historical accounts, reports, prints and propaganda. Many of the deposited collections in the NRS have a Jacobite collection pertaining to this rising, mainly correspondence and printed materials. One reason for the abundance of sources in this period is that many family collections retained Jacobite related material rather than destroy it. The reason why is unknown; however, knowledge of Jacobites’ actions became more widespread due to the rise in printed media. The government’s retribution against Jacobites also generated more state papers regarding attainders, imprisonments and executions, as well as official and unofficial correspondence, and propaganda. Other contributing factors to the growth of sources was the transportation of hundreds of Jacobite Scots to the Americas, the enacting of the Dress Act 1746—which banned the use of tartan and firearms by Scots—and finally the imprisonment of women without trial.\textsuperscript{1021} All of these government responses were recorded, and thus increased the visibility of Jacobite women in action. The random nature of the evidence, and ultimately its deficit, in the times between and around the major Jacobite incursions (1689-92, 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745), shows that perhaps women’s Jacobite activities waned. So while it appears that more Scotswomen became active in their support of the Stuart cause by the 'Forty-five, it is only the surviving evidence that has made their actions visible to the historian.\textsuperscript{1022}

\textsuperscript{1019} Correspondence, i & ii; Hooke, Secret History.
\textsuperscript{1020} NLS, MS.17518-21, The Fletcher Papers of Saltoun; Collections in the National Records of Scotland Archive; NRASZ34, Murrays of Atholl Papers, Blair Castle, Perthshire; and NRAS3666, Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair, Innerleithen, Peeblesshire.
\textsuperscript{1021} Seton, and Amot, Prisoners, vols. iii; NRS, RH15/38/105, Hugh Forbes, Advocate, three imprisoned by magistrates of Musselburgh, for 'poverty and tartan', 1747.
\textsuperscript{1022} The ‘Genuine List’ and the Lyon in Mourning are two such sources. Both documents must be taken with due scrutiny because of the potential of each to have bias motives, that is, to vindicate themselves and condemn the other. In the case of both documents, they give the impression of great female support for the Cause, one from a Whig perspective, the other from a Jacobite.
It is significant to note, however, that the majority of women collated in this research have come from two main sources created at this time: *The Lyon in Mourning*, and the ‘Genuine List’. These two sources alone, particularly the ‘Genuine List’ (1747), account for most of the women’s actions becoming visible to the historian. Its contents are coming to light only now through this thesis. The ‘Genuine List’ is an interesting document of considerable value when taking into account the political demographics of elite women residing in Edinburgh after the last Jacobite rising. The women on the list come from many of the families of the landed and titled elite, as well as those among the civic elite in Edinburgh. A question that could be asked of this list, and of elite Jacobite Scotswomen in general, is whether they were Jacobites for ideological reasons (therefore likely in opposition to their family members), or were they Jacobites due to family tradition?

The nature of their allegiance could further enlighten our understanding of their motivations to support the Cause, which were addressed earlier in this research. Some women, such as Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth, were from known Jacobite families and therefore their allegiance could be classed as being on a level of family tradition. Her parents, for example, were both supporters, but her father had become a political recluse due to his illicit religious and political stance, fearful of repercussions. Her mother, however, was no shrinking violet, and under regular surveillance due to both her Jacobitism and her Catholicism. Lady Jean then married a Jacobite, who along with his father before him, was exiled due to his Jacobitism, as were her two sons in later years. Lady Jane Douglas, on the other hand, is possibly an example of an ideological Jacobite. She was from a well-known Whig family, both her brother and father being supporters of the Revolution. At the time of the 'Forty-five she was staying at her residence in Drumsheugh, where she secretly sheltered the Jacobite fugitive Chevalier de Johnstone. Her allegiance could be classed as ideological, as her actions were clearly Jacobite, in direct opposition to her

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1024 Sig MS. ‘An Impartial and Genuine List of the Ladys on the Whig or Jacobite Partie’, 1747?
1025 The civic elite denotes the women from families from the political, legal, medical and military professions. This may also include merchants, and shipping barons.
family’s position.

Lady Henrietta, Duchess of Gordon, is an interesting case. While she has been noted as a Whig and Hanoverian supporter in some texts, including the 'Genuine List', having come from a Protestant-Whig family, she married a Catholic Jacobite.1028 According to the evidence, however, she hosted the Prince and his army when they passed by Prestonhall House, Dalkeith, on their march south to London in 1746.1029 This was a bold move considering the family’s interest, as her resolve to raise her children Protestant after her husband’s death (1728) had won her favour in the General Assembly and the government, who had granted her an annual pension.1030 According to the evidence, she certainly had some kind of Jacobite allegiance; however, she put this aside after the Jacobites’ failed exploits in 1746 and took on a convincing government stance. Lady Henrietta’s allegiance could be classed as ideological, as it was opposed to her own family’s political background. Her husband’s Jacobitism was less likely to be influential, due to his being deceased at the time of her actions. Further research into each family as to whether or not they were a political family may shed more light upon this question, as women of the political elite ‘were expected to be politically aware and involved.’1031 While familial tradition may be behind the allegiance of certain women, it would be ignorant to assume that ideological motives did not also inform their adherence. Women were not necessarily blindly political, even if they were influenced by their family’s views. Many held their own strong beliefs affirming their allegiance. However, without the evidence as to how and why these women were politically involved, and why they became active Jacobite supporters, only informed speculations can be made.

This thesis has shown that alongside the many Scotsmen involved in the numerous Stuarts restoration attempts, detailed in numerous Jacobite histories, there were also many Scotswomen. While fewer women participated than men, I have shown that these women helped turn the wheels of Scottish Jacobitism. The roles of women are hard to compare to the great political acts and military feats of men. However, I would argue that in a complex political movement such as Scottish Jacobitism, there were many cogs in action working simultaneously

1029 Rosalind K. Marshall, ‘Gordon, Henrietta, duchess of Gordon (1681/2–1760)’, ODNB.
1030 Ibid.
1031 Chalus, Elite Women, p. 21.
and in cooperation with each other to enable the continuation and growth of the movement over the century. The cogs of women’s participation may seem small in comparison to men’s, but they were important and necessary for the continuation and preservation of Scottish Jacobitism, and simultaneously reveal elite Scotswomen’s political interaction.
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PREFACE TO THE APPENDICES

The first appendix lists all the women who have been identified in my research as Jacobite women. They are listed under their various names, aliases and titles, with information regarding their dates, Jacobite actions, and sources from which they were identified. The second appendix comes in two parts. The first is a list of the women in the prosopographical analysis. This list has been constructed in a similar manner to Appendix no. I, and also includes the creed of women’s natal and marital families, as well as their marital and natal geographical regions, according to the structure created for analysis. Appendix II, part II, divides the women in the prosopographical analysis into each of the time periods in which they are analysed. It also elaborates on their geographical region, giving the shire in which they were born, and then married into. This section complements the four main maps in this chapter. It is important to note that while I have noted where these women hail from, and the family region they married into, it is not always known where they spent most of their time. Many spent several months of the year in Edinburgh, as it became fashionable to spend at least the summer months in the city, and some dwelt their permanently. Several women went into exile with their husbands never to return, while others moved back and forth between continental Europe and Scotland.

Appendix no. III is divided into four main sections, according to the categories and strategies of political interaction, and therefore relate to the chapters they are named after. Each table outlines the women who have supported the Cause in various ways, noting the general time period in which this occurred, as well as their actions/form of support. Each of these four tables within the third appendix correlates with chapters two to five.

The fourth appendix lists the ciphers and pseudonyms that have been discovered within the sources, most of which pertain to some Jacobite Scotswomen; others pertain to significant Jacobites, or are codes used in the sources that pertain to aspects of Jacobitism. The code names are listed beside the original names, along with the era within which this occurred, and the sources where these were found. The fifth appendix is a list of the Jacobite fans that have been found within museums, galleries, and collections throughout the world, although most are predominantly located in Britain. This appendix lists
the dates it is believed the fans were created, their titles, artists, their provence or collections, and the institutions in which they can be found. The sixth and final appendix is a list of anti-female Jacobite propaganda printed between 1688 and 1750. The propaganda is listed according to the date of publication, with details such as the author/engraver, title, and place of publication. I have also included the location of the particular source I used for this research, so it is important to note that there will likely be other libraries, or archives, that hold these printed materials. Finally I note the type of printed material and its size; that is, whether it is a pamphlet, a broadside, or a newspaper or journal article.
### Appendix No. I: Jacobite Scotswomen

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<tr>
<th>Maiden Name</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Married Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Participation:</th>
<th>Era</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>Mrs</td>
<td>Referred to as Jacobite; benefactor</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lyon/MS</td>
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<td>Bruce</td>
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<td>Bruce</td>
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<td>Lady</td>
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<td><a href="http://www.cfss.org.uk">http://www.cfss.org.uk</a></td>
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<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
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<td>Cameron</td>
<td>[daughter Jean of Dungallon]</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Cameron</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>Cameron of Dungallon</td>
<td>(d.1753?)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>[see Appendix IV]</td>
<td>Messenger; informant</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>JG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cameron of Glendessary</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apparently raised troops; propaganda</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Pam.</td>
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<td>Isobel</td>
<td>McNachtane</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Confidante</td>
<td>89</td>
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<td>Anne</td>
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<td>(d.1761)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Baroness of Lochiel (1717)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>NRS</td>
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<td>Jacobite Title/other names &amp; aliases/aka</td>
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<td>Era</td>
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<td>Isabel</td>
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<td>(b.1675?)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Baroness Lochiel, (1717)</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Anne</td>
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<td>(d.1779)</td>
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<td>d.1693</td>
<td>Countess of Errol</td>
<td>Governess to Old James Ed. Stuart; Exile</td>
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<td>89-93</td>
<td>Mel; WC</td>
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<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Elphinstone</td>
<td>(1710–1765)</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>MS; Lyon; NRS</td>
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<td>Smythe</td>
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<td>Lady Methven</td>
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<td>Mrs</td>
<td>Messenger; aid</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>Participation:</td>
<td>Era</td>
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<td>Mrs</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Janet</td>
<td>Primrose of Dunipace/Innes</td>
<td>(d.1758)</td>
<td>Lady Cuninghame</td>
<td>Accomplice; Patroness</td>
<td>45 Alb.; NRS</td>
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<td>Mrs</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Dalzell</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>1. Gordon of Kenmure/2. Lumisden</td>
<td>(d.1776)</td>
<td>Viscountess of Kenmure/Lady Lumisden</td>
<td>(2. husband Baronet Lumisden, 1740)</td>
<td>Ambassador; Material Jacobite</td>
<td>15-45 SCA; JP</td>
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<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>Porterfield of Comiston</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Host; Accomplice</td>
<td>05-08 Hooke</td>
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<td>Isabel</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Miss - 1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Miss - 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Jane</td>
<td>Stewart of Grandtully</td>
<td>(1697/9-1753)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Host</td>
<td>45 ODNB E</td>
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<td>Anne</td>
<td>Hay</td>
<td>(1655/6-1714)</td>
<td>Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>[see Appendix IV]</td>
<td>89-07 Hooke C Y</td>
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<td>Elizabeth</td>
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<td>Viscountess of Strathallan</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>SP; NLS</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Drummond</td>
<td>Frances</td>
<td>de Rosas y Melendez de la Cueva</td>
<td>(d.1712)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Duchess of St Andrews (1717)</td>
<td>Exiled court</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>SP</td>
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<td>Henrietta</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>Drummond [of Blair]</td>
<td>Joan</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Referred to as Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Katherine</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Lady, of Melfort</td>
<td>Exiled court</td>
<td>89-15</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drummond</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Keith</td>
<td>(1675–1729)</td>
<td>Countess Marischal</td>
<td>Accomplice</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Hooke</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Mary</td>
<td>de Rosas y Melendez de la Cueva</td>
<td>(d.1726?)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
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<td>Anne</td>
<td>Mackintosh of Mackintosh</td>
<td>(1723-1784)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Baroness Mackintosh (1717); Colonel Anne (’45)</td>
<td>Raised troops</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>NLS; NRS; Alb.; Lyon.</td>
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<td>Murray of Broughton</td>
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<td>Raised troops</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>NLS; Chamb.</td>
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<td>Material Aid</td>
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<td>Miss (sister)</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>Fraser</td>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Hay of Rannes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Aided escaped prisoners</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
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<td>Jean</td>
<td>Wedderburn</td>
<td>(m.1724)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
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<td>Gellotrie</td>
<td>Clementina</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>Jeanie</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>Gibson</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
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<td>Goldie</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Married Name</td>
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<td>Jacobite Title/other names &amp; aliases/aka</td>
<td>Participation:</td>
<td>Era</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Gordon</td>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>Mackenzie</td>
<td>(1704/5-1769)</td>
<td>Countess of Cromarty</td>
<td>Bonnie Bell</td>
<td>Petitioner</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>NRS</td>
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<td>Gordon</td>
<td>Jean</td>
<td>Drummond</td>
<td>(1682/3-1773)</td>
<td>Countess of Perth</td>
<td>Marchioness of Stobhall &amp; Duchess of Perth, (1701); also [see Appendix IV]</td>
<td>Host; Petitioner</td>
<td>15-45</td>
<td>NLS; NRS; Hooke</td>
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<td>Jean</td>
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<td>(d.1710)</td>
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<td>89</td>
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<td>Mary</td>
<td>Drummond</td>
<td>(1653/4-1726)</td>
<td>Countess of Perth</td>
<td>Countess of Stobhall &amp; Duchess of Perth, (1701)</td>
<td>Client; exiled court</td>
<td>89-19</td>
<td>Hooke; SP</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lady Gordon</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Susie</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td>Goods for Flora</td>
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<td>MS</td>
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<td>Isobel</td>
<td>Stewart of Ardsheal</td>
<td>(b.1718)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Recruit; naming; petition; exile.</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
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<td>MS</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>Cochrane</td>
<td>(d.1779)</td>
<td>Countess of Dundonald</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS; Lyon.</td>
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<td>Jacky</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
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<td>MS</td>
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<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Maule</td>
<td>(d. 1731)</td>
<td>Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>Petitioner; Confidante</td>
<td>07-19</td>
<td>NRS</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>Hay</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Livingston</td>
<td>(d.1714?)</td>
<td>Countess of Linlithgow</td>
<td>Confidante</td>
<td>07-15</td>
<td>Hooke</td>
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<td>Hay</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>[Falconer of Delgaty]</td>
<td>(1676-1758)</td>
<td>Countess of Erroll, suo jure</td>
<td>Raised troops</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Cof E; JF</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Participation:</td>
<td>Era</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hay, of Bilton</td>
<td>Miss - 1</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Miss - 2</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Miss - 3</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Miss - 4</td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Hay, of Bilton</td>
<td>Miss - 5</td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>45 MS</td>
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<td>Hay, of Bilton</td>
<td>Miss - 6</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hay</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>(a very old maid)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hepburn</td>
<td>Hatty</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss, of Keith</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hepburn</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss, of Keith</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbert</td>
<td>Frances</td>
<td>Mackenzie</td>
<td>(1660-1732)</td>
<td>Countess of Seaforth</td>
<td>Marchioness of Seaforth, (1690?); Duchess of.</td>
<td>Exiled court</td>
<td>89-15</td>
<td>JP</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Herbert</td>
<td>Winifred</td>
<td>Maxwell</td>
<td>(1672-1749)</td>
<td>Countess of Nithsdale</td>
<td>[see Appendix IV]</td>
<td>Material Jacobite; Client; Patroness</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NRAS;</td>
<td>TA C</td>
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<td>First Name</td>
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<td>Dates</td>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>Hewat</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>Miss - 3</td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Forbes</td>
<td>(m.1749)</td>
<td>Mrs</td>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>45-53</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Houston, of Houston</td>
<td>Anny</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>Howard</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>(d.1732)</td>
<td>Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>[see Appendix IV]</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>89-19</td>
<td>Pam.; Hooke; NRS</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>Innes</td>
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<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Ogilvy</td>
<td>(1724-1757)</td>
<td>Countess of Airlie</td>
<td>Accomplice</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>S&amp;A</td>
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<td>Baby/Buby</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>MS</td>
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<td>Kennedy of Culzean</td>
<td>Susanna</td>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>(1690-1780)</td>
<td>Countess of Eglinton</td>
<td>Patroness; Host; Educator</td>
<td>15-45</td>
<td>Trad.</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>Lindsay</td>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>Maule</td>
<td>(d.1729)</td>
<td>Lady of Kellie</td>
<td>Petitioner; Confidante</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>NRS</td>
<td>Y</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Livingston</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>Boyd</td>
<td>(1708/9-1747)</td>
<td>Countess of Kilmarnock</td>
<td>Host; Accomplice</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>ODNB; NRS</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>Lockhart, Mally, Carnwath's sister</td>
<td>Rebbecka</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>Lumsden</td>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>Strange</td>
<td>(1721/2–1808)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Ambassador; Accomplice; exile</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS; Lyon; Mem.; NRS</td>
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<td>Lyon</td>
<td>Cecilia</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Cicie</td>
<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
<td>45-53</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
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<td>First Name</td>
<td>Married Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Jacobite Title/other names &amp; aliases/aka</td>
<td>Participation:</td>
<td>Era</td>
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<tr>
<td>MacDonal</td>
<td>Kate</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
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<tr>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>Flora</td>
<td>MacDonald</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
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<td>(1698-1774)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Baroness of Oliphant</td>
<td>Confidante</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>NRS</td>
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<td>Max</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Graeme of Inchbrakie</td>
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<td>Lady Caithness</td>
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<td>45 Lyon</td>
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<td>Mary</td>
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<td>45 Lyon</td>
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<td>Rattray</td>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>Elphinstone</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>In Jacobite group, the Leith Ladies</td>
<td>45 Lyon</td>
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<td>Robertson, of Lude</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Jean</td>
<td>[unmarried]</td>
<td>(1680-1760)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Wearing tartan</td>
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<td>Lady Largo</td>
<td>[see Appendix IV] Accomplice; Agent</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Anne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Duchess of Bucleuch <em>suo jure</em></td>
<td>Referred to as Jacobite; Material Jacobite - portrait</td>
<td>15 NLS; Blk</td>
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<td>Lady</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>45 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>(Lady's Magdalene's sister)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>45 MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>Magdalene</td>
<td>Bruce of Kinross</td>
<td>(1670?-1752)</td>
<td>Dame</td>
<td>Host, Accomplice; Patroness; Ambassador</td>
<td>45 Lyon</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>Marjory</td>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>d.1746</td>
<td>Viscountess of Stormont</td>
<td>Patroness</td>
<td>15-45 Lyon</td>
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<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
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<td>Seton</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Lockhart</td>
<td>(d.1697/8?)</td>
<td>Countess of Carnwath</td>
<td>Accomplice</td>
<td>89</td>
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<td>Miss, of Houston</td>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>Lady Moncreif</td>
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<td>Murray of Broughton</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Murray of Broughton</td>
<td>(d. 1818)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Jessie</td>
<td>MacDonnell of Keppoch</td>
<td>(d.aft 1757)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>Baroness MacDonnell of Keppoch</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Peer</td>
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<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Carnegy, Sinclair</td>
<td>(1696-1747)</td>
<td>Countess of Southesk</td>
<td>Educator; Petitioner</td>
<td>15-45</td>
<td>NRS; FP</td>
<td>E?</td>
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<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Gordon</td>
<td>(d. 1762)</td>
<td>Countess of Aboyne</td>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Lyon</td>
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<td>Ann</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>Babbie</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Miss</td>
<td>Associated with, or referred to as a Jacobite</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MS</td>
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<td>Stuart, of Bute</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Menzies, of Weem</td>
<td>(b. 1710)</td>
<td>Lady Menzies</td>
<td>Host, Accomplice</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MHP; Lyon</td>
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<td>Lucy</td>
<td>(nd.)</td>
<td>Lady</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>Miss</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>(nd.)</td>
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<td>Wallace of Craigie</td>
<td>Euphemia</td>
<td>Drummond</td>
<td>(1652/3-1743)</td>
<td>Countess of Melfort</td>
<td>Duchess of Melfort, (1692)</td>
<td>Exiled court</td>
<td>89-15</td>
<td>SP; BW</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>First Name</td>
<td>Married Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
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Appendix No. I: Jacobite Scotswomen

Key:

Alb = The Albemarle Papers
Atholl = Murrays of Atholl Papers
Bk = Blaikie Collection
BW = Charles Rogers, The Book of Wallace.
FMcD = Ruairidh H. MacLeod, Flora MacDonald
FP = Family Papers
Gask = Jacobite Lairds of Gask.
Hooke = Correspondence of Col. N. Hooke
JF = Jacobite Peerage
JG = Pratt, The life and death of Jamie Fleeman.
JG = Jacobite Gleanings
Let = Evidence of their letters
Lyon = Lyon in Mourning
Max = Maxtone-Graham, ‘Bundle of Jacobite Letters’
Mel = The Melville and Leven Papers
MHP = Military History of Perthshire
MS = ‘Impartial & Genuine List’
NLS = National Library of Scotland
NRAS = National Register of Archives for Scotland
NRS = National Records of Scotland
Pe = The Peerage
Re = Religion
S&A = Seton & Arnst, Prisoners of the ’45
SCA = Scottish Catholic Archives
SP = Stuart Papers
SPD = State Papers Domestic
TA = Traquair Archives
Trad. = Chambers, Traditions of Edinburgh.
WC = The Papers of William Carstares

[see bibliography for further details on texts]

Appendix No. II: Women from the Prosopographical Study

Key:

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<td>P</td>
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NB: The column referencing the titles of these women includes what could be classed as honorary titles, rather than simply those that had been inherited, or endowed. There are various instances where these women have been recorded with the title of ‘Lady’, for example. It reveals their position and status in society, and in their locale. Regarding the religion of these women, there are various assumptions that could be made, but have not due to lack of evidence. The assumptions that have been made and are mentioned in the thesis are based on some form of evidence that spoke of either their, or their family’s religious stance.

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<th>Geographical Region of Jacobite Scotswomen: North or South of the Tay (%)</th>
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<th>Married North of the Tay</th>
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<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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NB: Due to the fact that several women had more than one husband, and often from a different area, I have calculated these statistics based upon the first marriage. Otherwise the percentages would add up to over 100%.
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<th>Maiden Name</th>
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<th>Married Name</th>
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<th>Marital Family</th>
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<th>Marital Region</th>
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<td>[see appendix no. IV]</td>
<td>1745</td>
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<td>nd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>P</td>
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Appendix No. II: Women from the Prosopographical Study
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<td>Baroness of Clannanald, suo jure (1716)</td>
<td>1689-1719</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Continent</td>
<td>Highlands (Western Isles/Exile)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacLeod</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>Mackinnon of Mackinnon</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>nd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Highlands (Western Isles)</td>
<td>Highlands (Western Isles)</td>
<td></td>
<td>imprisoned: London Messenger's House; Liberated (on bail): July, 1747.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacLeod</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>MacDonald of Clannanald</td>
<td>Lady Clannanald</td>
<td>(1700-1781d)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Highlands (Western Isles)</td>
<td>Highlands (Western Isles)</td>
<td></td>
<td>imprisoned: London Messenger's House; Liberated: 4th Jul., 1747.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxwell of Nithsdale</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>Bellew</td>
<td>Baroness of Dale (1)</td>
<td>(d.1733)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Dumfries)</td>
<td>Ireland (Exile)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxwell of Nithsdale</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Stuart of Traquair</td>
<td>Countess of Traquair</td>
<td>(1671-1759)</td>
<td>[see appendix no. IV]</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Dumfries)</td>
<td>Lowlands (Peebles)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menzies</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>Mackintosh of Mackintosh</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>nd.</td>
<td>Baroness Mackintosh (1717)</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Highlands (Inverness)</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Highlands (Inverness)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery of Eglinton</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>MacDonald of Sleat</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(1716-1799)</td>
<td>Baroness of Sleat, (1716)</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jac/Han</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Ayr)</td>
<td>Highlands (Western Isles)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery of Eglinton</td>
<td>Euphemia</td>
<td>Lockhart of Carnwath</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(1678-1738)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Ayr)</td>
<td>Lowlands (Clydesdale)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mordaunt</td>
<td>Henrietta</td>
<td>Gordon of Gordon</td>
<td>Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>(1681/2-1766)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>North East (Banff)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>Nairne</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(1692-1754)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray of Atholl</td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>Fraser of Lovat</td>
<td>Baroness Lovat</td>
<td>(1666-1743)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jac/Han</td>
<td>Jac/Han</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Highlands (Inverness)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>Sinclair</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(1732-1777)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiden Name</td>
<td>First Name</td>
<td>Married Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Jacobite Title/other names/aka</td>
<td>Era</td>
<td>Creed: Natal</td>
<td>Creed: Marital</td>
<td>Natal Family:</td>
<td>Marital Family:</td>
<td>Natal Region</td>
<td>Marital Region</td>
<td>Notes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(1710-1766)</td>
<td>Lady Tullibardine</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray of Stormont</td>
<td>Marjory</td>
<td>Hay</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(d. in or after</td>
<td>Countess (1728) &amp; Duchess of Inverness (1727)</td>
<td>1715-1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire/Exile</td>
<td>Imprisoned: Dec., 1746, Edinburgh Castle; London, Messenger's House; Liberated: 1747.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairne</td>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>Robertson of Lude</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(d.1787)</td>
<td>Countess of Robertson of Lude of Lude</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairne</td>
<td>Louisa</td>
<td>Graeme of Orchill</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(d.1782)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairne</td>
<td>Marjory</td>
<td>Robertson of Struan</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(d.1793)</td>
<td>(husband Baronet of Robertson of Robertson of Struan)</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>Magdalene</td>
<td>1. Clerk, 2. Bruce of Knuross</td>
<td>Dame</td>
<td>(1670? -1752)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Lothians)</td>
<td>Lowlands (Fife)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stuart of Bute</td>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Menzies of Weem</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(d.1723)</td>
<td>(husband Sir Robert Menzies of Weem, 3rd Bt.)</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hanoverian</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Highlands (Bute/Arran)</td>
<td>Perthshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>1. Carnegie, 2. Sinclair</td>
<td>Countess of Southesk</td>
<td>(1696-1747)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Galloway)</td>
<td>1. Perthshire (Forfar) 2. Highlands (Sutherland + Exile)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wemyss</td>
<td>Frances</td>
<td>Steuart Denham</td>
<td>Lady</td>
<td>(1722-1789)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Jacobite</td>
<td>Lowlands (Fife)</td>
<td>Lowlands (Lothians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>
## Appendix no. III part I: The Preservers of Jacobite Culture and Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Time/Dates</th>
<th>Notes: (* Please note that specific dates are not always possible, and so a date of the general period is noted. If it pertains to an extended period, then no dates are placed unless the specific dates are known.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Christian Stewart, Countess of Bute</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Noted as raising her son with the same zeal she has for the Cause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Amelia Murray</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Daughter writes on her mother’s behalf and at her instruction to her Jacobite Uncle, forwarding information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Jessie MacDonald of Keppoch, Baroness MacDonnell</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Had a daughter born early 1720s, whom was named Clementina. Another born in February 1746 at Keppoch, around the time of the Prince’s stay, who was named Charlotte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Both children were raised to be Jacobites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fled Scotland with her sons to Continent to ensure they were raised Catholic and Jacobite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Murray, Viscountess of Stormont</td>
<td></td>
<td>Raised several Jacobite children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Southesk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Children named Clementina and James.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Children and grandchildren were raised Jacobite supporters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Mary Maxwell, Countess of Traquair</td>
<td></td>
<td>Son names Charles, who became the co-founder of the Scottish Jacobite Association in 1739.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Son named James Francis Edward. All her children became Jacobite supporters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Helen Fraser, Lady Hay of Rannes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter named Clementina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>Lady Susanna Kennedy, Countess of Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sought to influence nephews: William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine (1689-1746), Charles Murray (1691-1720), and George Murray (1694-1760). Raised some Jacobite children and had Jacobite step-children and step-grandchildren: step-mother to Grace Montgomery, Countess of Carnwath, and Euphemia Montgomerie, Lady Lockhart of Carnwath, and Margaret Montgomerie, Lady MacDonald of Sleat; step-grandmother of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Southesk, and mother to Alexander, the 10th Earl, all Jacobites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Instructed young people in Jesuitism and Jacobitism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Catherine Hamilton, Countess of Dunldonald</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Dame Magdalene Scott, Lady Bruce of Kinnross</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Jean Cameron of Dungallon</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Inches</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Isabella Lumsden, Lady Strange</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Persuaded her lover to join with the Prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Charlotte (Nairne) Robertson of Lade</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Margaret Montgomerie, Lady MacDonald of Clanranald</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Florence MacDonald of Kingsburgh</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Catherine (Stewart), Murray of Broughton</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Transcribed manuscript of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Euphemia (Stewart), Murray of Broughton</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Transcribed manuscript of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Abomyne</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Transcribed manuscript of Prince Charles Edward Stuart in Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Mary Dalzell, Viscountess Kenmure</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>Found and brought back from Paris, while in exile, a prophecy re: the Stuarts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>1716-1725</td>
<td>Wrote Jacobite poems and sent them to her husband in exile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>Rachel (Houston), Mrs Forbes</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Contributing stories and forwarding letters to Bishop Forbes. They were among the coterie that surrounded the Episcopalian Bishop in Leith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>1704</td>
<td>Letters written regarding the Scotch plot and other political matters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Time/ Dates</td>
<td>Notes: (*) Please note that specific dates are not always possible, and so a date of the general period is noted. If it pertains to an extended period, then no dates are placed unless the specific dates are known.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material Jacobite</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Wrote regarding political situation and social elements such as Jacobite toasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material Jacobite</td>
<td>Jean Campbell, Mrs Cameron of Dungallon</td>
<td>1737-40</td>
<td>Had her portrait painted with a tartan wrap &amp; roses in hair leading up to the '45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material Jacobite</td>
<td>Lady Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Writes in her letters referring to revolution and the current political situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material Jacobite</td>
<td>Lady Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale</td>
<td>1715-1749</td>
<td>Writes to her sister-in-law re: all political matters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix no. III part II: Petticoat Patronage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Robertson, Oliphant of Gask</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Petitioned King for redress for her mother’s house, which was burned in 1716 by soldiers (1721). Petitioned for assistance for her brother, and for the family estates which were forfeited (1719).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Stewart, Countess of Southesk</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Petitioned King for her husband’s pardon, &amp; her dowry: success for a pension but not for her husband’s reprieve from exile.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Mary Gordon, Viscountess Kemnure</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Secured her husband’s estates, with help of friends, after his execution, by purchasing them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Amelia Murray, Lady Lovat</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Petitioned Sir Patrick Murray of Ochteryte on behalf of her brother, Lord Nairne, seeking his pardon. Also encouraged friends to use their influence in his favour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Ann Lindsay, Lady Maule</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Petitioned for her husband’s pardon, implicated in the 1715 rising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Catherine Sinclair, Lady Erskine of Alva</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Petitioned for her husband’s pardon. However, the pardon which he received was likely due to his extensive silver mines on his estate which he used as a bartering tool in his own petitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Katharine Cochrane, Lady Smyth of Methuen</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Petitioned for her husband’s pardon, implicated in rising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Christian Stewart, Dow. Countess of Bute</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Petitioned the exiled King, via Earl of Mar, for her title and her husband’s honour as a faithful subject, (he was then deceased).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Petitioned the King for the release of her husband, but helped him escape after his sentence was pronounced for execution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Frances Wemyss, Lady Steuart Denham</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Petitioned for her husband’s pardon, Sir James Steuart Denham.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Isabella Gordon, Countess of Cromartie</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Made a humiliating mea culpa before her husband’s judges on the 30th July. On 1st August he was sentenced to death and his estates and title forfeited. Petitioned also for her pension.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Janet Duff, Lady Kinloch of Kinloch</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>She was imprisoned and released shortly thereafter. Then went to London to petition for her husband, but failed. However, she petitioned successfully for the family estates after her husband was executed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Jean Cameron of Glendessary</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Petitioned for her own release from Edinburgh Castle, for the sake of her disabled brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Anne Drummond of Strathallan</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Petitioned for her mother, Viscountess of Strathallan, who was imprisoned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Drummond of Strathallan</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>She petitioned the Barons of the Exchequer for her liferent of her father’s property, and succeeded. She was the daughter of Lady Strathallan (nee: Nairne).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Naime, Drummond of Strathallan</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Petitioned for her own release, plus an informal request to her sister for money for ‘Willy’, who needed help. He was serving the Prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Margaret Chalmers, Lady Balmerino</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Petitioned for her husband, Lord Balmerino, but he was executed. She died a year later from grief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Mary Stewart of Ardalshiel</td>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Petitioned the exiled King, for a pension but was refused, due to having petitioned the French government and succeeded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1689-1708</td>
<td>Petitioned for pardon for her son (1708), brother (1689), and her nephew (1693). Also seeks the patronage of Countess of Roxburgh for her nephew between 1696-1701?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Naime</td>
<td>1708-1716</td>
<td>Petitioned Queen (1708), and the King (1716) for a pardon for her husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>1708-1745</td>
<td>Petitioned for a pardon for her imprisoned husband (1708), and herself imprisoned (1746). Also petitioned for the estates after the 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>1716-1717</td>
<td>Petitioned King James VIII &amp; III, London, etc. for her son’s release.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>1716-1723</td>
<td>Petitioned for her husband, George Maule, and nephew, the Marquess of Tullibardine. Also petitioned for her jointure, but initially refused (1716). Sought from Duke of Montrose interest for her husband and her jointure (1719). Husband died in exile, but she managed to re-purchase most of the family estates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Client</strong></td>
<td>Ann Campbell, Lady Lochiel</td>
<td>1747-1753</td>
<td>She petitioned on three separated occasions for the estates: 1747, 1749, &amp; 1753.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Supported agents and plots. Used her house as a place for landing, hiding, smuggling etc. Provided necessary items for Col. Hooke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Lady Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>Cannon and arms provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Lady Mary Gordon, Viscountess Kemnure</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Made a banner for her husband’s regiment in the Jacobite army.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Hosted Prince at Brechin Castle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Lady Margaret Naime</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Hosted Prince at Brechin Castle, which belonged to the Panmures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Lady Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>Sought patronage on behalf of another exile in need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Patroness</strong></td>
<td>Amelia Murray, Lady Tullibardine</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted Prince and his company at Tullibardine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Anne Farquharson, Lady Mackintosh of Mackintosh</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted the Ball at Holyrood with Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth, and Lady Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale; and hosted Prince at Moy Hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Catherine Cochrane, Lady Smythe of Methven</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Gave money - £200 - for the Prince in 1745.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Charlotte Nairn, Lady Robertson of Lude</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted Prince and his company at Blair Castle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Christian Menzies, dow. Lady Mackintosh</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Host Prince at Moy Hall, with Lady Anne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Anne Livingston, Countess of Kilmarnock</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosts Prince at Callendar house, and later entertains General Hawley and his troops as a distraction/diversion from pursuing the Highland army just before the battle of Falkirk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Anne Murray of Stormont</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>The Stormont ladies were known as benefactors of the Episcopalian Bishop Forbes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Anne Murray of Stormont</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Gave money - £2000 - for the Prince in 1745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>She ordered a breakfast prepared for the Prince when he was passing Prestonhall gate; also patroness of John Alexander, portrait painter &amp; Jacobite - brother to Cosmo Alexander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Jane Douglas of Douglas</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted Prince and troops at Douglas Castle, then later helped him to escape.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Marjory Murray of Stormont</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>The Stormont ladies were known as benefactors of the Episcopalian Bishop Forbes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>She hosted the Ball at Holyrood with the Duchess of Perth, Lady Mackintosh, and Lady Murray of Broughton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Margaret Fergusson, Lady Murray of Broughton</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>She hosted the Ball at Holyrood with the Duchess of Perth, Lady Mackintosh, and the Countess of Nithsdale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Margaret Smyth, Lady Moncreiff</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Provided her three best horses for the Prince in 1745, and sent the rest to the (Jacobite) Duke of Atholl to use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Mary Stuart, Lady Menzies of Weem</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted Prince and his company at Castle Menzies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Hosted Prince at Drummond Castle on the 1st February 1746; and hosted the Ball at Holyrood Palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Patroness</td>
<td>Lady Susanna Kennedy, Countess of Eglinton</td>
<td></td>
<td>Patroness of Jacobite poets, William Hamilton of Bangour &amp; Allan Ramsay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Letter from her brother and agent, re: exiled Jacobite matters (1688-1693). Letters to and from her son, Col. N. Hooke, and other Jacobite agents, re: the 1706 and 1708 plots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Lady Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>1696-1717</td>
<td>Letters to Innes the priest and Jacobite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td>1709-1715</td>
<td>Letters to the Earl of Breadalbane, (1709). Letters to Charles Fleming, her husband’s cousin and Jacobite, (1715).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Anne Lindsay, Lady Maule of Kellie</td>
<td>1710-1719</td>
<td>Letters to her husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Anna Ros[e], Lady Balmerino</td>
<td>1710-1713</td>
<td>Letters to Harry Maule of Kellie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>1716-1720</td>
<td>Letters to her husband, often regarding the attainder (1716-1720), among other matters, both personal and political. Letters to her brother-in-law, Harry Maule of Kellie. One in particular re: expenses for munitions (1725-1726).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Catherine Sinclair, Lady Erskine of Alva</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Letters to her husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Lady Mary Hay, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>Letters to Major-General Thomas Gordon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Lady Amelia Murray</td>
<td>1745-1746</td>
<td>Letters to her husband, George Murray, and letters both to and from her brother-in-law, William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine, (Jacobite Duke of Atholl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Confidante</td>
<td>Amelia Nairne, Lady Oliphant of Gask</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Letter from her son, Gask the Younger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1688-1697</td>
<td>Letters from her brother (agent), and John Hay (1688) with information. Letters to and from Col. Hooke, her son, and other agents, regarding the 1706 and 1708 plotting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Isobel Campbell, lady of McNachtane</td>
<td>1689-1690</td>
<td>Letters to her husband regarding troops movements during the revolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Lady Jean Gordon, Countess of Dunfermline</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Letters to her husband with information, during the revolution, which were also copied and forwarded on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Letters to the Earl of Breadalbane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Lady Penelope, Baroness Clanranald</td>
<td>1716-1718</td>
<td>Letters written regarding information that Lady Penelope had forwarded on to Clanranald, who passed it onto the Earl of Mar (1716), advising of boat movements. Then later advising on troop movements (1718).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Margaret Mackenzie, ‘Lady Nuthill’</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Informant to John Paterson.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Lady Amelia Murray</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Letters to her husband, George Murray, and letters both to and from her brother-in-law, William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine, (Jacobite Duke of Atholl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Informant</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Panmure</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Letters to her brother-in-law, Harry Maule of Kellie, under cover to Aberdeen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates:</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Catherine, Dow. Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Imprisoned for sending correspondence to Bonnie Dundee and James VII in bags of oatmeal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Grace Montgomerie, Countess of Carnwath</td>
<td>1691</td>
<td>Hosted on a small scale - housed Mrs Ogilvy, who had with her letters, replies from those she had taken from Scotland to St Germain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Anna Douglas, Lady Porterfield of Comiston</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Housed the agent Col. Nathaniel Hooke while in Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Margaret Rutherford, Lady Durham of Largo</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Housed the agent Col. Nathaniel Hooke while in Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Jean Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Entrusted with a letter bearing information from the exiled court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Margaret Mackenzie, aka Lady Nuthill</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Ran correspondence b/w Scotland &amp; exiled court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Dame Magdalene Scott, Lady Bruce of Kinross</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted on a small scale - had a safe house for Jacobites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Helen Fraser, Lady Hay of Rannes</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Helped to hide her son, while he tried to evade the soldiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Jean Campbell, Mrs Cameron of Dungalston</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>She carried news and dispatches from Clanranald to a Cameron for Cluny and others in hiding, after the '45; and was also used as a messenger to round up Lochiel's men in hiding for meetings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Anne Farquharson, Lady Mackintosh of Mackintosh</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Raised troops, &amp; protected Prince Charles from enemy soldiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Anne Carmichael, Lady Stewart of Burray</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Imprisoned for helping her husband to get men to join the prince.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Charlotte Nairn, Lady Robertson of Lude</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Raised troops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Cunningham</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Hosted on a small scale - safe house for Jacobites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Isabella Lumsden, Lady Strange</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Fed the Prince in his escape, visited her husband in prison, and passed on stories from MacLeod to Forbes after the '45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Florence MacDonald of Kingsburgh</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Helped to raise troops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Influenced gentlemen to join the Prince, and helped to raise men to fight amongst her own, but was most well-known for her care and assistance for those skulking in the aftermath of Culloden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Mary Hay, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Helped to raise troops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Johnston, Countess of Airlie</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Managed monies on behalf of the Cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Accomplice</td>
<td>Katherine Murray of Broughton, Mrs McDougall</td>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Worked as an agent of James VIII &amp; Queen Mary of Modena, with her brother, Duke of Perth, Col. N. Hooke and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agent</td>
<td>Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Errol</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Worked as an agent of James VIII &amp; Queen Mary of Modena, with the Countess of Erroll, Col. N. Hooke and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agent</td>
<td>Lady Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>She wrote to the Duke of Marlborough in secret, trying to keep it from his wife, regarding the then upcoming plot of 1708.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Agent</td>
<td>Lady Margaret Nairne</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Worked as an agent for her brother-in-law, the Marquess of Tullibardine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix no. IV: Ciphers and Pseudonyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Name</th>
<th>Cipher Alias</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>Dilton’s Aunt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>a mistress</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>A. Broun</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>Mr Johnstons</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>Mr Poltney</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>Mrs Hays</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>Mrs Poltney</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>the good lady</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll</td>
<td>your good friend</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholocs</td>
<td>Henry Ker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Dundas, Countess of Bute</td>
<td>Mrs Cary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. Dil, CC1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Dundas, Countess of Bute</td>
<td>Broomly</td>
<td>1721-1729</td>
<td>Stuart Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Gordon</td>
<td>my mistresses husband</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Hamilton</td>
<td>Mas. John</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Hamilton</td>
<td>Sir John Kerr</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duke of Hamilton</td>
<td>Sir John Scot</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Erroll</td>
<td>his sister Mrs Elizabeth</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Erroll</td>
<td>Mr Bateman</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earl of Hume</td>
<td>cousin Matthew</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Jeroboams</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>Mrs Dobie; Mrs Harrison</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>Beda</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Name</td>
<td>Cipher Alias</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>Doll Freeman</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>Dorothe Grime</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>E. Dalison</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>E.D.</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>E.S.</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>his mistress</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>Mrs d’Alanson</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon</td>
<td>your mistresses husband</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobite court of St. Germain</td>
<td>Ned’s family/ Edward’s family</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>SCA. Archive office notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacobites</td>
<td>Mark Ker; Mark</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8; PTI, Sze.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Cameron of Dungallon</td>
<td>Mrs Chalmers</td>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Jacobite Gleanings, p.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Gordon, Lady Drummond</td>
<td>Mrs Dilton</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8, Ged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Gordon, Lady Drummond</td>
<td>The doctrix’s daughter</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Stuart Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Mackenzie</td>
<td>Lady Nuthill</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Stuart Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Rutherford, Durham of Largo</td>
<td>Chas. Scott [signed]</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Rutherford, Durham of Largo</td>
<td>Felix</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Rutherford, Durham of Largo</td>
<td>Mrs Felix</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal</td>
<td>Cornelius Gray</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Drummond, Countess Marischal</td>
<td>the lady</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Gordon, Duchess of Perth</td>
<td>Old Mrs Grant, Mrs Hyres</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Keith, Countess of Wigton</td>
<td>Mrs Weston</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>SCA. MacW, CC1/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Maxwell, Countess of Traquair</td>
<td>Mrs Young</td>
<td>1715-1720s</td>
<td>NRAS.3666 Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Charles Fleming</td>
<td>gentleman last mentioned</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke’s Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Name</td>
<td>Cipher Alias</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Charles Fleming</td>
<td>Mr Charles F.</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hall</td>
<td>Mungo Johnstoun</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hall</td>
<td>Mungo Johnstoun</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Jean Murray</td>
<td>Mrs Jean Milton</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. Sze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>William Smith</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Mary of Modena</td>
<td>James, (Sir)?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. PTI, Sze.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Mary of Modena</td>
<td>Newton</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>SCA. Sze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Mary of Modena</td>
<td>Mr Peter Gray/Sir Peter</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Joseph Kerr</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scottish Jacobites</td>
<td>Mark Ashton</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaines Castle</td>
<td>the place</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King (in exile)</td>
<td>his uncle, Thomas Ker</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King (in exile)</td>
<td>Mr Thomas Adams</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King and Queen (in exile)</td>
<td>Your friends</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King and Queen (in exile)</td>
<td>your house</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The King of France</td>
<td>Mr James Ferguson</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The King of France</td>
<td>Mr James Home</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The King of France</td>
<td>Sir James Leslie</td>
<td>1705-1708</td>
<td>Colonel Hooke's Correspondence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale</td>
<td>Mrs Johnson</td>
<td>1715-1720s</td>
<td>NRAS.3666 Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winifred Herbert, Countess of Nithsdale</td>
<td>W. Joanes</td>
<td>1715-1720s</td>
<td>NRAS.3666 Stewart Family, Earls of Traquair,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix no. V: Jacobite Fans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Artist</th>
<th>Provenance/Collection</th>
<th>Location: Institution/Collection</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>Untitled. Satirical print/fan [Fan celebrating Henry Sacheverell and his supporters]</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Purchased from Edward Hawkins (estate of); Previous owner/ex-collection: Mrs Warren</td>
<td>British Museum, London</td>
<td>Inscribed in pen and ink on the backing sheet (now separated), evidently reproducing an earlier text, an 'Explanation' over five lines: 'The Lillies among Thorns: are an Emblem of the Church Militant. The Grove of Palms, with Crowns of Glory, streaming upon them, and over them a figure of the New Jerusalem: are to signify the Rewards reserv'd in Heaven for the Persevering Righteous'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>An Historical Emblematical Fan in Honour of the Church of England, and of Such her Pious Genuine Sons, that with Primitive Bravery have suffered for, and defended her Holy Doctrine in the most perilous Times.</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Purchased from Edward Hawkins (estate of); Previous owner/ex-collection: Mrs Warren</td>
<td>British Museum, London</td>
<td>Fan with an emblematic image satirising the outcome of Sacheverell's impeachment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746-47</td>
<td>The Allegorical Stuart Fan</td>
<td>Sir Robert Strange</td>
<td>Lady Charlotte Schreiber Collection</td>
<td>British Museum, London</td>
<td>These sticks, according to Alexandre, p.17, displays 'a genre consistent with Italian fans for the tourist market of about 1770s. Paper, hand-coloured etching, [see notes on BM Fans sheet]. Mounted in the 1770s, in Italy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Medallion Fan</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Drambuie collection, on loan to the NTS Culloden Visitor centre.</td>
<td>Culloden Visitor Centre, Culloden</td>
<td>Fan has been found, and emailed a copy to me. All they know is that it came with the house, when it was given to the NT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746-47</td>
<td>The Allegorical Stuart Fan</td>
<td>Sir Robert Strange</td>
<td>Helene Alexander Collection</td>
<td>Fan Museum, Greenwich</td>
<td>The style of the sticks is consistent with the period of 1745, according to Alexandre, p.15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746-47</td>
<td>Allegory of the Rancour of Bonnie Prince Charlie</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Uncertain. Was part of the Coll. of the 3rd Marchioness of Bristol in the 1870s.</td>
<td>Ickworth House, Suffolk/National Trust</td>
<td>Has a biblical motto and tartan draped. The Reverse has a redbrick-built 'gatehouse' and dover carrying the banner ... 'My House shall be called the House of Prayer.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746-47</td>
<td>The Allegorical Stuart Fan</td>
<td>Sir Robert Strange</td>
<td>According to Alexander [p.15], in the same family. Details: J.M.M.Warrender, descendant of George Warrender of Lochend - Han.</td>
<td>National Museum, Scotland, Chambers Street</td>
<td>The style of the sticks is consistent with the period of 1745, according to Alexandre, p.15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Medallion Fan</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Donated 1994</td>
<td>National Museum, Scotland, Chambers Street</td>
<td>Has a biblical motto and tartan draped. The Reverse has a redbrick-built 'gatehouse' and dover carrying the banner ... 'My House shall be called the House of Prayer.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Stuart Succession Fan</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>on display in British Galleries, room 54b, case 13</td>
<td>V &amp; A Museum, London</td>
<td>The 'sticks and guards resemble those of the Neapolitan and Roman fans of the 1770s, the leaf has been altered... only the central group is in evidence' the rest painted over... H.A. p.17. Mounted in the 1770s in Italy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746-47</td>
<td>The Allegorical Stuart Fan - altered</td>
<td>Sir Robert Strange</td>
<td>Given by HM Queen Mary, in storage</td>
<td>V &amp; A Museum, London</td>
<td>In the article Alexandre questions whether the rice paper was used to either conceal the rose, or preserve the image, p.15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1746-47</td>
<td>The Allegorical Stuart Fan</td>
<td>Sir Robert Strange</td>
<td>West Highland Museum, Fort William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix no. VI: Printed Propaganda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author/ed/ engraver</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Place Printed</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Type:</th>
<th>pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Young Women and Maidens Lamentation: or, Their bitter Sighs and Sorrow to hear the Old Women are prest to go with the Army, while they themselves are slighted and dejected which are able to perform far better Service.</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Printed for P. Brooksby, J. Deacon, J. Blare, J. Back</td>
<td>NLS</td>
<td>Broadside</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>D'Urfrey, Thomas</td>
<td>The Maiden-Warrior: Or, the Damsels Resolution to Fight in the Field, by the side of Jockey her entire love. To an Excellent New Tune.</td>
<td>[London]</td>
<td>Printed for P. Brooksby, ...</td>
<td>NLS</td>
<td>Broadside</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>D'Urfrey, Thomas</td>
<td>The Scotch Virago</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Printed for the Author</td>
<td>NLS &amp; ECCO</td>
<td>Pamphlet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Person of Quality</td>
<td>The Character of a Jacobite, by what name or title soever dignified or distinguish'd</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Printed for the Author</td>
<td>NLS &amp; ECCO</td>
<td>Pamphlet, 28 pages</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>An excellent new song call’d, The Female Duel; or, The Victorious Williamite Lady, Who was challeng’d to Fight a Duel by a Jacobite Lady</td>
<td>[London]</td>
<td>P.Pelcomb</td>
<td>BL &amp; EBBRO</td>
<td>Single Broadsheet. Song/Ballad</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Character of a Tacker. To which is added, The Character of an Anti-Tacker by the same hand</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>UA &amp; ECCO</td>
<td>Pamphlet, 2 pages</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Scotch Loyalty, Or, An Account of the Scotch Lady’s Present to the Scotch Advocates; with their Proceedings and several Speeches in receiving the Pretended Prince of Wales’s Medal</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1. G. Hollis in Fleetstreet &amp; 2. S. Popping</td>
<td>NLS &amp; ECCO</td>
<td>Single Broadsheet.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711, 1713</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Scotch-Loyalty Exemplify’d, in the Behaviour of the Dean of the Faculty, and his Brethren, at Edinburgh, in relation to the Reception of a Medal of the Pretender, presented to them by the Dutchess of Gourdon, with Her Grace’s, and Their several Speeches thereupon, as, also, the Number of Those that were For and Against admitting it amongst their Rarities,</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Printed &amp; sold by S. Popping</td>
<td>ECCO &amp; NLS</td>
<td>Single Broadsheet.</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>A Welcome to the Medal; or an Excellent New Song; Call’d The Constitution Restor’d, in 1711. To the Tune of Mortimer’s-Hole</td>
<td>Oxford [at the theatre]</td>
<td>Printed &amp; sold by S. Popping</td>
<td>NLS &amp; ECCO</td>
<td>Pamphlet, 24 pages in quarto, 3 sheets</td>
<td>24 p. In quarto, 3 sheets</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<td>1715</td>
<td>Addison, Joseph</td>
<td>The Freeholder</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>ECCO</td>
<td>Journal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Copy of a Letter from a Young Lady in the Country, to a Lady in Edinburgh, concerning the Behaviour of the Ladies that visited P. Charles, when he was in the Abbay, December 25th 1745</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>The Caledonian Mercury</td>
<td>UA &amp; ECCO, Newspaper, &amp; Single Broadsheet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>MSS, unknown</td>
<td>An Impartial and Genuine list of the ladies on the Whig... or Jacobite Partie. Taken in hand merely to show that the common Acusation and Slander, Rashly Thrown on the female Sex As their being all Jacobites is false and Groundless. As upon a calculation the whigs are far Supe=rior in number and not inferior either in Rank, Beauty or Solidity</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>MSS</td>
<td>Signet Library &amp; NLS, Broadside 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>An Epistle from a British lady to her Countrywomen on occasion of the present rebellion, 1745</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>M.Cooper, at the Globe, Pater-noster-Row</td>
<td>NLS &amp; ECCO, Pamphlet 17</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Gentlewoman</td>
<td>Two Letters from A Gentlewoman near Edinburgh, to her Daughter in London</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>J. Robinson</td>
<td>ECCO, Pamphlet 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Extract of a letter from a lady of Preston, to a Friend in Town, dated December 14</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>General Evening Post, December 14, 1745 - December 17, 1745, Issue 1907. 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Weeks, James Eyre</td>
<td>The Amazon, or Female Courage Vindicated and asserted from the Examples of Several Illustrious Women, Address'd to the Ladies of Great-Britain, and Ireland on the present Occasion, and Humbly Inscribed to the Countess of Chesterfield</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>James Esdall</td>
<td>ECCO 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>Fielding, Henry</td>
<td>The True Patriot</td>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>A True Modern Whig</td>
<td>A Letter to the Author of the National Journal</td>
<td>London ?</td>
<td>NLS</td>
<td>Single Broadsheet. 1</td>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Female Volunteer: or, An Attempt to make our Men Stand</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>M. Moore</td>
<td>UA, Broadside 1</td>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The French Flail; or, a letter to his excellency, the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's new raised regiments of ladies.</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>UA &amp; ECCO</td>
<td>Pamphlet, 7 pages. 7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Challenge, by a Highland Lady confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, to the Author of the Female Volunteer at London, in Hudibrastick Verse</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>UA</td>
<td>Section in a Pamphlet, 5 pages. 5 [pp.9-13]</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>A Brief Account of the Life and Family of Miss Jenny Cameron, the reputed mistress of the Pretender's Eldest Son.</td>
<td>London, Dublin; 1.T. Gardner, 2nd Ed. 2.R. Goadby. 3. Pamphlet, 68 pages. 68</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>Arbuthnot, Archibald</td>
<td>The Life of Miss Jenny Cameron, the reputed mistress of the deputy Pretender</td>
<td>London; for C. Whitefield; NLS Pamphlet, 64 pages. 64</td>
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<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Harlequin Incendiary: or Colombine Cameron. A Musical Pantomime.</td>
<td>London; M.Cooper, at the Globe, Pater-noster-Row; ECCO Pamphlet, 22 pages, a play. 22</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Arbuthnot, Archibald</td>
<td>Die Schöne Schottländerin, oder, curieuse Lebens- und Liebes-Geschichte der Myladi Jenny Cameron, grand-maitresse des jungen englischen Cron-Prätendenten Carl Eduard Ludwig Casimir ... Aus dem Holländischen ins Deutsche übersetzt durch einen Nieder-Sachsen, namens Lebecs</td>
<td>Frankfurt; sold by L. Gilliver; Mrs Dodd; and G. Woodfall; 3. G. Faulkner &amp; R. James [Dublin] NLS &amp; UA Pamphlet, 64 pages. 64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Female Rebels: being some remarkable incidents of the lives, characters, and families of the titular Duke and Dutchess of Perth, the Lord and Lady Ogilvie, and of Miss Florence M'Donald. Containing several particulars of these remarkable persons not hitherto published.</td>
<td>Edinburgh; reprint-London; Dublin</td>
<td>NLS Pamphlet, 64 pages. 64</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Fielding, Henry</td>
<td>The Jacobite Journal</td>
<td>London; NLS Journal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Arbuthnot, Archibald</td>
<td>Besondere Nachrichten der Jungfer Hannchen Cameron, einer weltbekannten Conversations-Dame des jungen Prätendenten worinnen von ihrem Geschlechte, ihrer jungfräulichen Aufführung und ihren Liebeshändeln ausgesuchte Umstände vorkommen</td>
<td>Hamburg; Munchen</td>
<td>Worldcat Pamphlet, 79 pages. 79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747</td>
<td>Arbuthnot, Archibald</td>
<td>Die schöne Schottländerin, oder, Curieus Lebens- und Liebes-Geschichte der Myladi Jenny Cameron, Grand-Maitresse des jungen englischen Cron-Prätendenten Carl Edvard Ludwig Casimir auch wie selbige indem sie aus Schottland nach Franckreich flüchten wollen, unter Weges aufgecapert und als eine Staats-Gefangene nach Amsterdam gebracht worden</td>
<td>Franckfurt; Leipzig</td>
<td>Worldcat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>The Fool: Being a Collection of Essays and Epistles, Moral, Political, Humorous, and Entertaining, vol.1</td>
<td>London; Nutt, Cooke, &amp; Kingman; ECCO</td>
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<td>1746, 1750</td>
<td>Arbuthnot, Archibald</td>
<td>Memoirs of the remarkable life and surprizing adventures of Miss Jenny Cameron, : a lady, who by her attachment to the person and cause of the young Pretender, had render’d herself famous by her exploits in his service; and for whose sake she underwent all the severities of a winter’s campaign</td>
<td>London, Boston</td>
<td>R. Walker</td>
<td>NLS</td>
<td>Pamphlet, 280 pages</td>
<td>280</td>
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