

ART. VIII.—*Dame Mary Dacre or Clerk, the White Rose of Scotland.* By W. A. J. PREVOST.

*Read at Kendal, April 4th, 1970.*

THERE were few parts of England and Scotland which were not disturbed or affected in some way by the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. The Prince on board the *Du Teillay* had arrived in Scottish waters from France on 25 July, and as time went on and he had assembled an army, both Cumberland and Northumberland were daily awaiting an invasion into England. The authorities were aware of the Prince's preparations from intelligence reports which were circulated throughout the country, and they were not surprised when news was received that the rebels had left Dalkeith for the south on 3 November. They marched southward in three columns, one division by way of Peebles and Moffat, the middle column by Lauder, Selkirk and Hawick, and the eastern division by way of Kelso. The Kelso column reached Canonbie on the 8th when the van of the Highland army crossed the Esk and was quartered that night at a place in Cumberland called Riddings,<sup>1</sup> just across the Border. Next day, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, 50 or 60 of the rebels, well mounted and thought to be officers, appeared on Stanwix bank. They were fired upon by guns from Carlisle Castle and were forced to retreat. At about the same time, according to a report in the *London Gazette*, the eastern division were marching to "Rowcliff", or Rockcliff, where they crossed the Eden within 4 miles of Carlisle, "and thence to Murray's on Brough Side where they lay that night, about 4 miles south of Carlisle. That afternoon, part of the Moffat division, with the artillery, joined them and all the

rest next day".<sup>2</sup> This partly confirms the story that Highlanders were seen marching through Dalston on a Sunday, possibly Sunday, 10 November.<sup>3</sup> However, the Highland army withdrew eastwards to Brampton on receiving a false report that Wade was on the march from Newcastle, and by 12 November not a Highlander remained in sight of Carlisle. Next day part of the army returned to begin the siege of the city and the Jacobites were then in full control of all that part of the countryside. Dalston is 2 miles north of Rose Castle so that Highlanders were once more swarming in the district at the time when a "Highland Gentleman" was the hero of a pleasing incident which is said to have taken place at the castle on 15 November. The circumstances are as follows.

Squire Dacre of Kirkclinton in Cumberland had, like many others, taken what precautions he could to safeguard his family. He had sent his wife Catherine, the daughter of Sir George Fleming, Bishop of Carlisle, to be under the care of her mother at Rose Castle, the home of the bishops of Carlisle. While there she gave birth to a daughter, on an uncertain date but which one can assume was on or before 3 November when the parish register of Kirkclinton records that Mary, daughter of Joseph Dacre, Esq., was baptised at Rose Castle, as certified by the Rev. Gustavus Thompson, the bishop's chaplain. What happened next is first recorded in 1817 by Mary Dacre herself, then the widow of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, and communicated by "Mary Lady Clerk" to the publisher of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.<sup>4</sup> She signed her letter "Rosemary Clerk", the Christian name Rosemary being apparently a name assumed by her in her old age, for Mary she was christened, Mary she was named in her father's will,<sup>5</sup> and Mary she called herself in her own will.<sup>6</sup> Her story, which she must have inherited from her parents, is as follows:

Sir

According to your request this morning, I send you some account of the particulars that attended my birth, which I do with infinite pleasure, as it reflects great honour on the Highlanders (to whom I always feel the greatest gratitude) that at the time when their hearts were set on plunder, the fear of hurting a sick lady and child instantly stopped their intentions.

This incident occurred 15 November 1745. My father, Mr D'Acre, then an officer of his majesty's militia, was a prisoner in the castle of Carlisle, *at that time* in the hands of Prince Charles. My mother (daughter of Sir George le Fleming, Bart., bishop of Carlisle) was living at Rose Castle, six miles from Carlisle, where she was delivered of me. She had given orders that I should be privately baptized by the bishop's chaplain (his lordship not being at home), by the name of Rosemary D'Acre. At that moment a company of Highlanders appeared, headed by a Captain Macdonald who, having heard there was much plate and valuables in the castle, came to plunder it. Upon the approach of the Highlanders, an old gray-headed servant ran out, and entreated Captain Macdonald not to proceed, as any noise or alarm might occasion the death of both lady and child. The Captain inquired when the lady had been confined. "Within this hour," the servant answered. Captain Macdonald stopped. The servant added "They are just going to christen the infant". Macdonald, taking off his cockade, said "Let her be christened with this cockade in her cap; it will be protection now, and after, if any of our stragglers should come this way: we will await the ceremony in silence", which they accordingly did, and then went into the coach-yard, and were regaled with beef, cheese, ale &c. They then went off without the smallest disturbance. My white cockade was safely preserved, and shown to me from time to time, always reminding me to respect the Scotch, and the Highlanders in particular. I think I have obeyed the injunction, by spending my life in Scotland, and also hoping to die there.

Rosemary Clerk.

P.S. If the above anecdote can be of any interest to you or the public, it is very much at your service. I have mentioned all the names of the persons concerned, which you may retain, or leave out, as you think fit.

Miss Law, Prince's Street, hearing of the above anecdote, sent me a present of the Prince's picture, and that of his lady, the Princess Stollberg.

Edinburgh, April 21st, 1817.<sup>6</sup>

It is sometimes said that this incident occurred on 8 November.<sup>7</sup> This is most unlikely as the Highlanders did not cross the Eden till 9 November. Nor was the infant baptised on 15 November, the date given by Lady Clerk in her letter, which was the subject of Miss Goodwin's paper, *Rosemary Dacre and the White Cockade* (CW1 viii).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the gist of the story is true and accepted by the Dacres as a "family tradition", and this is confirmed by Mrs "Ellen" Maclean of Lazonby Hall in Cumberland,<sup>9</sup> a descendant of the Dacre family and a cousin of Lady Clerk, when she wrote on 19 January 1854 to William Frederick Robertson IX, of Kinlochmoidart, a letter on this very subject. She stated that Captain Macdonald, the hero of the story, was "Kinloch Moidart", of whom more hereafter; "Nor was the Cockade heard of for many years afterwards when Lady Clerk showed it to me . . ."<sup>10</sup>

The White Cockade, which was treasured by the Dacre family, was the emblem worn by the Jacobite followers of the Prince. The wearing of it proved that the wearer was a rebel, a fact which was produced as convincing evidence of guilt of prisoners in the Jacobite trials in 1746. The cockade was chosen as a badge after the Prince had stayed the night of 23 August 1745 with John Cameron, brother of Donald, the Gentle Lochiel, at Fassifern House near Fort William. While there the Prince picked a flower from a white rose which was growing against the wall of the house just below his bedroom window, and this rose seemed to him to be a suitable object for a badge and so it was afterwards adopted. "Prince Charlie's Rose" is still alive and blooming, and is now being carefully tended by Lady Dulverton, the wife of the present owner of Fassifern.

Mrs Dacre's baby grew up into a most beautiful girl and an amusing story is told how Molly, as she

then liked to be called, was canvassing for one of the candidates at an election for the County of Cumberland. The freeholder whom she had canvassed was so captivated by her charm and personality that he insisted on voting for Molly Dacre, and no one at the poll could persuade him to do otherwise.<sup>11</sup> A woman of such attraction did not lack suitors and it is said that she and a near neighbour of hers, William Scott, were very attached to each other. Scott was a desirable young man, the same age as Molly and with a promising career ahead of him, for he was in due course called to the Bar, knighted in 1788, and created a baron with the title of Stowell of Stowell Park in Gloucestershire in 1821. However, circumstances and lack of means precluded all hope of marriage and it was not until his father's death in 1776 that he inherited property said to have been worth £24,000.<sup>12</sup> Scott was now in a position to make an offer of marriage and this in due course he did, only to be grievously disappointed when he received the following reply which left him under no misapprehension whatsoever.

Dear Willie Scott, I should have been glad to be your wife but on Tuesday next I am to be married to Captain John Clerk and am your affectionate Molly Dacre.<sup>13</sup>

The marriage announcement in the *Cumberland Pacquet* of 30 December 1777 records: "Last week at Kirklinton, Capt. Clarke to Miss Molly Dacre, dau. of Joseph Dacre Esq of that place."

Captain Clerk, R.N., was the son of Sir George Clerk of Penicuik.<sup>14</sup> On the death of his father in 1784 he became the fifth baronet when he retired to live at Penicuik House. It is said that he was a good landlord and did much towards improving the amenities of his estate. "He was no doubt much indebted to the wise help and council of his wife, who was a woman of excellent abilities and great shrewdness and force of character."<sup>15</sup> It was at Penicuik that

Lady Clerk made the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott whose first visit to the house was in 1792 when he was introduced by William Clerk, Sir John's uncle, with whom Scott was closely acquainted.<sup>16</sup>

It is almost a certainty that at that first visit and on future occasions Sir Walter and Lady Clerk talked about the "Forty-Five" and the Highlanders in particular. It is presumed that by then she had made contact with the Kinlochmoidart family, and that she was on friendly terms with one of them is certain, for Donald VII gave her a dress in the old Macdonald tartan of Kinlochmoidart, a gracious act by a young man whose career was afterwards so distinguished.<sup>17</sup> This he did "not later than 1795" and it may have been before 22 August 1794 on which date he was gazetted captain in The First or The Royal Regiment of Foot. He was to see much active service abroad and was a "prisoner of war to the Spaniards, released on parole" in 1797, severely wounded at St Lucia in 1803, gazetted 2nd Lt-Colonel at the age of 33 and made Lieutenant-Governor of Tobago in that same year. He died there on 6 June 1804 as a result of his wounds, on the night before his ship was due to take him home on leave to Scotland.<sup>18</sup>

After Sir John's death in 1794 his widow left Penicuik and retired to a house in Edinburgh. This was No. 100 Princes Street, which is now a comparatively modern building occupied by the Royal Overseas League. Lady Clerk had no intention of spending the rest of her life anywhere else but in Scotland, and one can imagine that she entered into the social life of Edinburgh with enthusiasm. Dean Ramsay, to whom she was well known, said that her figure, as she used to walk about, was as familiar to the inhabitants as the steeple of St. Giles.<sup>19</sup> She has been described as having an erect and alert carriage, together with some old-fashioned peculiarities of costume, which made her one of the most noted personalities of her time.<sup>20</sup>

The tartan dress which had been given to her by Donald Macdonald was very much to the fore on the occasion of the return of the 42nd, The Black Watch, to Edinburgh after Waterloo. The regiment had landed at Ramsgate from France on 19 December 1815, and after a month in barracks in the south proceeded northwards to Scotland by easy stages.<sup>21</sup> It was after four o'clock on the afternoon of Tuesday, 19 March next year when the first division<sup>22</sup> of the 42nd, under the command of Lt-Col. Robert Dick, marched into the Castle. Major-General Hope, commander of the district, and Colonel David Stewart of Garth, who had been wounded while serving with the regiment in Egypt, accompanied Lt-Col. Dick at the head of the column. Not only were the streets of the city crowded as never before with spectators to welcome The Black Watch but the windows and even the house-tops were occupied,<sup>23</sup> while over their heads "from a thousand windows, waved as many banners, plaided scarfs, or other symbols of courtly greetings".<sup>24</sup>

Lady Clerk was there to cheer the troops and, having nothing better to hang from her balcony, stripped off her tartan dress and hung it out as a flag. It caught the eye of Colonel Stewart<sup>25</sup> when he lifted his hat in passing. He called at 100 Princes Street the next day to enquire the history of the flag and presented Lady Clerk with the plaid worn by him at the Battle of Maida in Italy when the British troops defeated the French in 1806.

It is safe to say that she was one of the guests at the Assembly on the night of 21 March which the *Courant* reported was one of the most brilliant of the season. "The whole of the officers of the gallant 42nd Regiment were present. On their entering the room, Mr Gow played the 'Black Watch', after which the dancing commenced to the favourite of the 'Ranting Highlandmen' and the 'Waterloo Reel' which con-

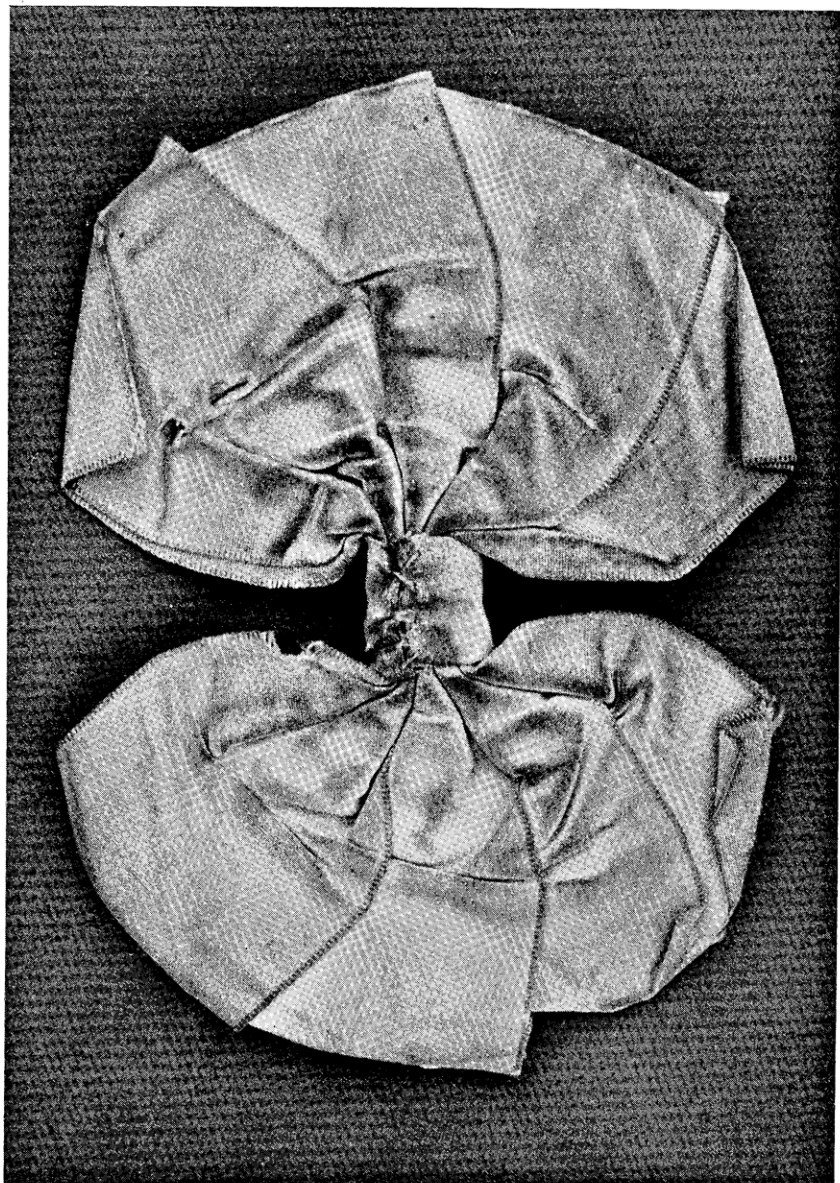
tinued with great spirit to a late hour.' A piece of the tartan dress was given by Mrs Wedderburn, Lady Clerk's niece, to William James, the eldest son of William Robertson IX, of Kinlochmoidart, whose widow passed it on to the family and it is now in the possession of Commander David Robertson-Macdonald XIII.<sup>26</sup>

If there had been any doubts about Lady Clerk's feelings towards the Highlanders and her interest in anything to do with the '45, these were dispelled when her letter appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* with her story of the White Cockade. This badge, as Sir George Clerk, the 8th Baronet, told Miss Goodwin, was always worn upon her birthday,<sup>27</sup> with the addition, according to Sir Walter Scott, of "a white rose as a kindred decoration".<sup>28</sup> This yearly ritual earned Lady Clerk the pet name of The White Rose of Scotland,<sup>29</sup> and Scott's story is no doubt correct for he was a frequent visitor to 100 Princes Street. He knew the lady well and this is confirmed by R. W. Chambers in his account of an incident of which he was a witness, together with Sir Walter's own assertion.<sup>30</sup>

Chambers, then a young man, recalled "a walk he had one day with Sir Walter, ending in Constable's shop, No. 10 Princes Street. When Lady Clerk was purchasing some books at a side counter, Sir Walter, passing through to the stairs by which Mr Constable's room was reached, did not recognise her ladyship, who, catching sight of as he was about to ascend, called out, 'Oh, Sir Walter! are you really going to pass me?' He immediately turned to make his usual cordial greetings, and apologised with demurely waggish reference to her odd dress: 'I'm sure, my lady, by this time I might know your back as well as your face'."<sup>31</sup>

Scott was certainly in touch with Lady Clerk when preparations were being made in Edinburgh for the





*By kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Atholl.*

A white cockade, worn by Lord George Murray.



*By kind permission of Lord Dulverton.*

Fassifern House, showing the Prince's rose in the centre of the photograph.

visit of King George IV to Scotland in 1822. She had heard that the King was a collector of Jacobite relics and that His Majesty had wished to obtain a dirk that had belonged to the Prince, but the chieftain, in whose possession it was, refused to part with it. Amongst her "no small number" of such relics was a travelling case containing a knife, fork and spoon of the finest silver which had also belonged to Prince Charles Stuart. The letters "C.S." were marked on them, and the handles were richly embossed with the thistle and the ends of them were adorned with the rose. Her decision to hand these to Scott for presentation to the King showed great generosity on her part.<sup>32</sup>

The King on board the *Royal George* arrived in Leith Roads on 14 August when Sir Walter went out to the yacht and presented the Saint Andrew's Cross badge, prepared for His Majesty by the Sisters of the Silver Cross, and at the same time gave him Lady Clerk's Jacobite relic which was received most graciously.<sup>33</sup> The King landed the following day and proceeded by way of Holyrood Palace to Dalkeith House where he was lodged for most of his stay. At Dalkeith he was conveniently placed to attend the various functions arranged for him in Edinburgh and elsewhere in the Lothians. He drove to Holyrood Palace on Tuesday, 20 August, where he arrived at 2.20 in the afternoon for the Drawing-room when about 500 ladies of the most distinguished rank were presented.<sup>34</sup> At the Drawing-room and at the Caledonian Hunt Ball held six days later in the Assembly Rooms the King "took particular notice" of Lady Clerk<sup>35</sup> who also received the distinction of being one of the 74 ladies whose dresses were described in the *Courant*.<sup>36</sup>

She wore "a white satin dress, tastefully ornamented with vandyke satin at the bottom, and surmounted with rows of rich gold trimming, the bust richly

trimmed with fine point lace and gold; train of purple satin, richly trimmed with tulle and gold. Head-dress, an elegant gold embroidered turban and gold band, with black and white feathers". She was then in her 77th year and was still a remarkable woman who surely remained an outstanding personality for the remainder of her days, though her memory for past events may not have been always very reliable.

Her trust deed and settlement was signed on 11 December 1827 and two codicils were added not long before her death.<sup>37</sup> In the first codicil, dated 11 July 1834, made when she realised how soon and sudden her death might be, she wished her funeral to be private and her burying place to be in the churchyard of Penicuik. This was in the burial enclosure of the Clerks<sup>38</sup> where there was a place left for her between Sir James, the third baronet, and Sir John, her husband. She directed that her servants were to be given decent mourning and certain of them were to be provided with annuities. "The Ring of Jupiter and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, I leave to Mr Dacre or whoever of the family is in possession of the Kirkclinton Estate, as it was found in that church yard in a Roman urn . . ." <sup>39</sup> She left to Sir George Clerk the Penicuik diamonds, and to Sir George and Lady Clerk "Two suits of table linen, napkins, etc., that have 'Free for a blast' wrought on them". "Free for a blast" is one of the mottoes of the Clerk family, together with *Amat victoria curam*, and it originates from the reddendo for the barony of Penicuik which is the service of blowing a horn whenever the king comes hunting.

In the second codicil, dated 13 September 1834, she left to Sir George Clerk the pictures of Prince Charles and the Princess of Stolberg which she had originally directed to be returned to Miss Margaret Craigie, who had given them to her but who had died after the first

codicil was signed. Two similar portraits, according to her letter to *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1817, had been presented to her by Miss Law of Princes Street.

"Dame Mary Dacre, otherwise Clerk", died at her house in Princes Street on 1 November 1834. Amongst the various items listed in the inventory of her effects<sup>40</sup> it is noted that she left her plate specially bequeathed to Mrs Charles Dacre, widow of Major Charles Dacre of the Honourable East India Company's Service. Her bed and table linen were also left to Mrs Dacre, and her books to the Rev. Mr [Edward] Anderson, her nephew. She possessed £6,400 stock in 3% Government Consolidated Annuities, and the value of her estate in Scotland amounted to £1,860. 1s. 11d. She was also in receipt of a pension from His Majesty, doubtless on account of her late husband's service in the Royal Navy, for there was due to her from 30 September to 1 November the sum of £8. 8s. 8d. to which her estate was entitled.

Her house is described as having four floors and garrets and containing 14 fire-rooms, including the kitchen and garrets, besides closets, wine and beer cellars, pantry and other conveniences, 3 cellars in front and one under the stair leading down from the pavement of Princes Street to the sunk area . . . , and having a passage by a stair and door to the meuse lane, with the pump, well and ashes pit and whole other privileges.

There is no mention in her testament of the White Cockade which, we are told by R. Chambers, "the lady kept to her dying day".<sup>41</sup> It has been lost, a matter of little import since it is not required as evidence to prove that part of Lady Clerk's story. However, on reading her letter to *Blackwood's Magazine* again it does seem that she may have confused the incident of her birth and the incident of the White Cockade unintentionally. It is quite certain that she

was not born before 1 November 1745, for the notice of her death on 1 November 1834 which appeared in the *Courant*, states that she was then "in her 89th year". She would have been 89 two days later if the entry in the Kirkclinton parish register is correct, and Miss Goodwin has shown in her paper that there is good reason to suppose that it is. Nevertheless, Lady Clerk is not likely to have erred in naming Captain Macdonald as her hero, about whose identity there has been much speculation.

The names of three Macdonalds are on the short list for the honour of being the Macdonald who was at Rose Castle on 15 November 1745. They are Major Donald of Tirnadriss, Major Donald IV of Kinlochmoidart, and Captain Ranald, one of Kinlochmoidart's brothers.

It is said by "some authorities"<sup>42</sup> that Tirnadriss was the man. It is true that he was a chivalrous Highland gentleman, that he and his family were well known in Carlisle and that they were befriended by the Warwicks of Warwick Hall at the time of his trial and execution at Carlisle in 1746. He could have been at Rose Castle at the time of the Siege of Carlisle, for he was a major in Keppoch's regiment in which he served until his capture at the Battle of Falkirk in January 1746.<sup>43</sup> He was not a Kinlochmoidart and there is no evidence to prove his claim.

Major Donald of Kinlochmoidart's claim is due entirely to Sir Walter Scott who knew the story of the incident at Rose Castle and made use of it in the first edition of *The Monastery* which was published in 1820.<sup>44</sup> In the later editions of 1829 and 1830 Scott added a note in which he gave his version of the story and in which he referred to the Captain of the Mountaineers whom he named Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart. This was taken by some writers to refer to Major Donald IV.<sup>45</sup> It is clearly a mistake as

the Major never crossed the border into Cumberland. He was captured at Lesmahagow on 12 November 1745<sup>46</sup> by some country people when he was hastening south to join the Prince after an unsuccessful mission to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod to prevail upon them to support the cause.<sup>47</sup> Sir Walter may have intended to write "Ranald" instead of "Donald", an easy slip to make. Had he done so he would have been correct, for in the absence of Major Donald in the north, Captain Ranald, his brother, had taken over the command of the Kinlochmoidart men who formed part of Macdonald of Clanranald's regiment.<sup>48</sup> It was "Kinloch Moidart", wrote Mrs Maclean; *ipso facto* it was Ranald; and Ranald "it must be" according to the Kinlochmoidart family.<sup>49</sup>

Ranald was the third son of Ranald III of Kinlochmoidart. In 1730 Clanranald gave him a tack of the lands of Daliburgh in South Uist, and in 1745 he was on the mainland when the *Du Teillay* was anchored in the Bay of Lochnanuagh with the Prince on board. He was then about 40 years of age though always described as a "youth".<sup>50</sup> Young Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart, Ranald's brother, were already on board when they were joined by Ranald who had come off the mainland to the ship to enquire for news; and it was Ranald whose promise to assist the Prince shamed Clanranald into declaring himself.<sup>51</sup> Ranald received a commission with the rank of Captain in the Clanranald Regiment and accompanied the Jacobite army to England, taking part in all the engagements. It is said that after the defeat of the Prince at Culloden he took refuge in a cave,<sup>52</sup> but he was one of those men who had been out in the '45 who were fortunate in being included in the General Pardon. In 1748 he married Marcella, the daughter of Angus Beg Macdonald of Dalilea, and in 1749 was given by Clanranald a tack of the lands of Irine by Roshven on

Loch Ailort. He was afterwards known in the West Highlands as "Captain Ranald Macdonald of Irine".<sup>53</sup> By 1754 he was said to have fathered 6 children and according to reports they had 21 children in all. In 1781 he was evicted from Irine by Clanranald and he is afterwards heard of in Langel in 1782.<sup>54</sup> Langel lies 2 miles to the east of Shiel Bridge and about the same distance to the west of Dalilea on the north shore of Loch Shiel in Moidart and not far from Glenaladale where he died, so it is said, from drinking a bowl of sour cream.<sup>55</sup> It is almost a certainty that he was laid to rest in true Highland fashion in the burial ground on Eilean Fhianain or Green Isle in the middle of Loch Shiel.

The graves on Green Isle are not generally marked with names and the almost complete non-existence of local records has so far kept the date of Ranald's death a secret, but it is evident that he lived for some years after Mary Dacre had married a Scotsman. It is said that he was about forty years old when he joined the Prince, so that when Lady Mary came to live at Penicuik he would then be nearly eighty. Nevertheless one may be allowed to put two and two together and believe that Clerk and Macdonald were then no strangers to each other.

### **The Macdonalds of Kinlochmoidart.**

After the '45 the estate of Kinlochmoidart was forfeited but was restored to the Macdonalds in 1784. It remained in the family until 1883 when William Frederick Robertson IX contracted to sell it shortly before his death on 22 February and it was bought by Robert Stewart of Ingliston, in May, a few weeks later. The island of Shona Beag, Deer Island and Green Island in the Barony of Moidart were not sold and these three islands remained Macdonald property.



The family made every effort to retain a footing in the country of their forefathers, and Ada, the wife of William David Robertson-Macdonald X, built Invermoidart, the house on Shona Beag which was occupied by members of the family for many years. After her death the property passed through several hands<sup>56</sup> till in 1941 it was made over to Commander Alan Robertson-Macdonald, R.N., XIII, who sold Shona Beag and Green Island six years later. Shona Beag is in Loch Moidart, "in a place of such loveliness" so well described by Wendy Wood,<sup>57</sup> and it is good to know that the Macdonalds still belong, for Deer Island remains in the family. It was disposed by Commander Robertson-Macdonald in 1965 to his son David, a retired Lt-Commander R.N.

The descent of this family from John, son of Alan IX of Clanranald, is recorded by Alexander Mackenzie in *The Macdonalds of Clanranald* (1881), in his *History of the Macdonalds . . .* (1881), and by the two ministers, Angus and Archibald Macdonald, in *The Clan Donald* (1904). Other sources of information are available, including *Fasti* under Moffat parish and J. G. Macvicar for the Macvicar branch, the Robertson-Macdonald papers in the National Library of Scotland, a history written by David Macdonald Robertson-Macdonald XII in the hands of Commander Alan XIII, and Colin S. Macdonald's typescript in the Edinburgh Record Office.

The many names of the family which are mentioned in the text of this paper and in the references are to be found in the skeleton pedigree opposite page 180. *The Clan Donald* pedigree ends before 1900 and the pedigree attached has been completed up to date.

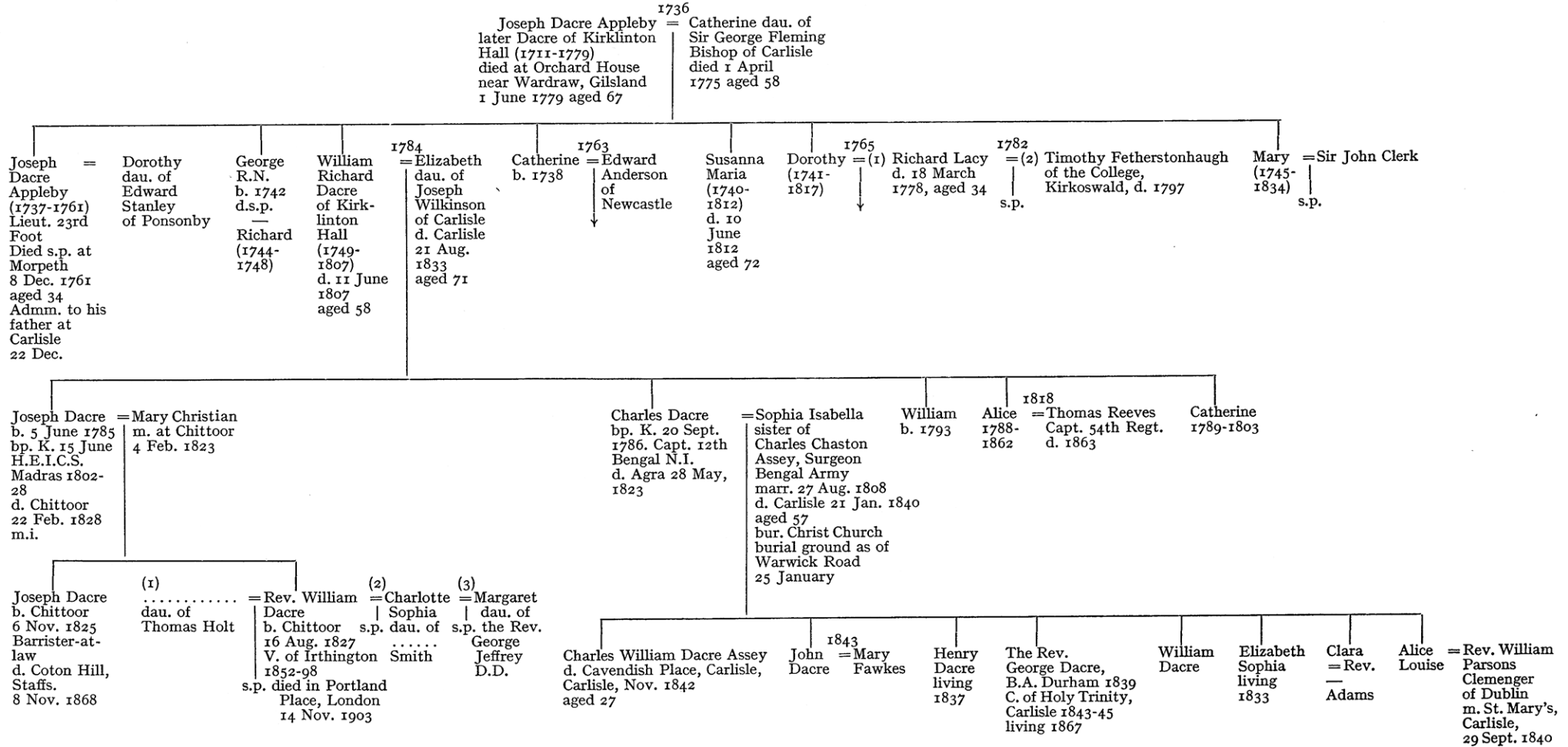
### Acknowledgements.

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### References.

- 1 John Home, *History of the Rebellion* (1802), 141. For Riddings see D. J. Beattie, *Prince Charlie and the Borderland* (1928), 45 f.
- 2 *Scots Magazine*, November 1745, 529.
- 3 Rev. James Wilson, *Rose Castle* (1912), 60.
- 4 *Blackwood's* (1817), May, 129.
- 5 Record Office, Carlisle. Will proved 11 June 1779.
- 6 Samuel Jefferson, *History of Carlisle* (1838) omits part of the letter.
- 7 E.g., Rev. Charles Macdonald, *Moidart* (1889).
- 8 Ellen K. Goodwin, "Rosemary Dacre and the White Cockade", CW1 viii 237.
- 9 Mrs Eleanor Maclean, dau. of the Rev. J. Dacre Carlyle. She married in 1841 Lt-Col. Henry Dundas Maclean of the Ardour family and the builder of Lazonby Hall.
- 10 Robertson-Macdonald papers. National Library of Scotland, MS. 3952, ff. 48-50.
- 11 *Lord Eldon's Anecdote Book*, edd. A. L. J. Lincoln and R. L. McEwen (1960).
- 12 Lord Stowell (1745-1836). He married (1) 7 April 1781, Anna Maria, eldest dau. of John Bagnall of Early Court, Berks. DNB.
- 13 John J. Wilson, *Annals of Penicuik* (1891), 159.
- 14 See *My George Clerk and the Royal Hunters*, CW2 lxiii.
- 15 John Wilson, *op. cit.*, 159.
- 16 Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott* (Macmillan, 1914), i 39.
- 17 Letter 22 July 1969. Mrs Gertrude Robertson-Macdonald to W.A.J.P.
- 18 Lt-Col. Donald's dossier in the Scottish United Services' Museum Library, Edinburgh.
- 19 John Wilson, *op. cit.*, 158, quoting Dean Ramsay's *Scottish Life and Character*, 1st edition.
- 20 Cassell's *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii 124, 125.
- 21 James MacVeigh, *Historical Record of the 42nd Royal Highlanders*, i 399.
- 22 The second division under the command of Major Menzies entered Edinburgh the next day, preceded by a party of the 6th Dragoon Guards with the their band. *Edinburgh Courant*, Thursday, 21 March 1816.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 J. MacVeigh, *op. cit.*, 399. Quoted from Anton's *Military Life*.
- 25 David Stewart of Garth was gazetted Brevet Col. on 4 June 1814, Major-General in 1825, and died when Governor of St Lucia, 18 December 1829. He was the author of *Sketches of the Highlands, Highland Regiments . . .* (1821).
- 26 Letter 22 July 1969. Mrs Gertrude Robertson-Macdonald to W.A.J.P.

LADY CLERK'S RELATIVES



- 27 E. K. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, Sir George Clerk, 8th Bart. (1852-1911), succeeded 1870.
- 28 *Introductions and Notes . . . of the Author of Waverley* (1833). Note to *The Monastery*, chap. ii, 393. Sir Walter writes that Lady Clerk wore the Cockade on 10 June, the Old Pretender's birthday!
- 29 *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii 123.
- 30 R. Chambers (1802-1871). Ed. of the *Book of Days*, 2 vols., 1862-1864. DNB.
- 31 *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii 124, 125.
- 32 (a) R. Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland*, 4th edition (1822), 254. (b) R. Chambers, *Book of Days*, i 519, 520, wherein there is an illustration of the knife, fork and spoon, and where Chambers confirms that the donor was Lady Clerk. (c) *Old and New Edinburgh*, ii 124.
- 33 *Scots Magazine*, August 1822, 501.  
R. Mudie, *op. cit.*, 90.
- 34 *Scotsman*, 24 August 1822.
- 35 R. Mudie, *op. cit.*, 254.
- 36 *Edinburgh Courant*, 22 August 1822.
- 37 Commissariat of Edinburgh. Record of Inventories. 18 July 1834 - 7 February 1835, 688-699.
- 38 Sir John Clerk, 1st Bart., raised a mausoleum, with the enclosure, in memory of his wife. The memorial ends with the date 1684. Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments (Scotland), *Midlothian* (1929), Penicuik.
- 39 Caracalla and Geta were the sons of the Roman Emperor Septimus Severus.
- 40 Edinburgh Inventories *ut supra*, *loc. cit.*, 688, 691.
- 41 R. Chambers, *Book of Days*, i 520.
- 42 Seton Gordon, *Highways and Byways in the West of Scotland*, 161.
- 43 *Prisoners of the '45* (Scottish History Society), i 316.  
*Two Jacobite prisoners in Carlisle in 1746*, CW2 lxiv 319-335.
- 44 Sir Walter Scott, *The Monastery*, i 105.
- 45 E.g., Alex Mackenzie, *History of the Macdonalds* (1881), 463.
- 46 *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 November 1745.
- 47 *Scots Magazine*, November 1745, 540.
- 48 *Prisoners of the '45*, i 314, 315.
- 49 Letter 22 July 1969, Mrs Gertrude Robertson-Macdonald to W.A.J.P. See also Augustus Muir, *Scotland's Road of Romance* (1934), 116-117, and his meeting with "a charming white-haired old lady" then living on Shona Beag in Moidart. She was Katherine Beckwith Macdonald Macvicar (1855-1939).
- 50 Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, *1745 and After* (1938), 54.
- 51 John Home, *op. cit.*, 39-40.
- 52 Robertson-Macdonald papers, ff. 201, 205b. Letter 17 March 1876 from Major Mackenzie, Boulogne.
- 53 Angus and Archibald Macdonald, *The Clan Donald* (1904), iii 299.
- 54 Colin S. Macdonald, *The Clanranald Macdonalds of Moidart*. Typescript, 1955, and Supplement, 1967, in Record Office, Edinburgh, 10, 14, 114.
- 55 Letter 18 August 1969. Mrs Gertrude Robertson-Macdonald to W.A.J.P.
- 56 Disp. in 1921 to Ada Littleedale's trustees.  
Disp. in 1934 to Katharine Beckwith Macvicar.  
Disp. in 1940 to Frances and Sarah Macdonald Robertson-Macdonald. Inverness Search Sheet in the Sasine Office, Register House, Edinburgh.
- 57 Wendy Wood, *Moidart and Morar* (1950), 55.
- 58 Donald VII was an Ensign in the army in 1788, Captain 22 August 1794, and in 1803 was a 2nd Lt-Col. at the age of 33 after 15 years' service.
- 59 Margareta, Margarita, Margaret. She married Lt-Col. Robertson on 2 October 1799.
- 60 Lt-Col. Robertson, a cadet of the family of Strowan, was the son of William Robertson (1721-1793), Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Historiographer Royal for Scotland. On his wife succeeding to the estate he assumed the name of Macdonald in addition to his own.

- <sup>61</sup> William Frederick Robertson (1802-1883) was an Episcopalian and as such was largely instrumental in the building of the Church of Saint Finan, Kinlochmoidart. The foundation stone was laid on 12 May 1857 by "Mrs Robertson, of Kinlochmoidart, as representative of her relations". (Robertson papers, MS. 3952, f. 73.) He was known as Robertson. A letter, 18th September 1854, from Lord Lovat to "William Robertson, Esq., of Kinlochmoidart", reads that Lord Lovat was "glad to include his name on a list of Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Inverness to be submitted to the Queen". (*Ibid.*, MS. 3952, f. 52.) Also in the National Library of Scotland is a copy of the contract of marriage between Robertson and Sarah Adams Beck, dated 1828. (*Ibid.*, MS. 3952, f. 86.) He was buried in the family burial place on Eilean Fhianain in Loch Shiel where there was erected by subscribers in 1885 a monument to his memory and also to his wife and family. He was "Representative by his mother of the Macdonalds of Kinlochmoidart". (*Ibid.*, MS. 3952, f. 222a.)
- <sup>62</sup> See *Fasti*, ii 217, under Moffat Parish wherein there are notes about Macvicar's career together with the names of his 9 children and their dates of birth, which are as follows: Patrick, b. 1840, d. 1880; Margarita Macdonald, b. 22 December 1842, m. 1863 Andrew W. Green; Pauline Trevelyan, b. 1844, d. 1916; David Robertson, b. 2 December 1847, d. 1900; Jessie Macdonald, b. 8 December 1848, d. 8 September 1933, m. Rev. Walter Weir, for whom see *Fasti*, viii; Agnes Gibson, b. 1849, d. 24 August 1920; Haliburton John, b. 1851, d. 1885; Katherine Beckwith Macdonald, b. 1855, d. 10 March 1939; Symers Douglas Macdonald, b. 1857, d. 27 February 1932.
- <sup>63</sup> These 5 sons of W. F. Robertson are as follows: William, b. 26 May 1828, d. June 1828, William James, b. 26 May 1828, d. June 1869 (twins); William Francis, b. 1832, d. 1835; William Coker Adams, b. 1837, d. 1841; William Anstruther, b. 1839, d. 1859.
- <sup>64</sup> William David Alexander Robertson-Macdonald X, formerly merchant in Liverpool, died at Kinlochmoidart aforesaid. He married 3 August 1870 Julia daughter of Thomas Littledale of Derby, descended from the Littledale family of Whitehaven.
- <sup>65</sup> Married 6 August 1889.
- <sup>66</sup> See *Who's Who*, 1961.
- <sup>67</sup> Calendar of Confirmations, 1939, record that Katherine Beckwith Macvicar, sometime of 34 Morningside Park, Edinburgh, late of Invermoidart, by Acharacle, Inverness-shire, died 10 March 1939 at Acharacle. In the Valuation Roll of the Parish of Arisaig and Moidart for 1932/33 she is shown as being the tenant of Shona Beag and Deer Island, the proprietor being the trustees of the late Mrs Ada Julia Macvicar. Her name is there recorded as being Miss K. B. Macdonald Macvicar.
- No 34 Morningside Park had been bequeathed to her by her sister Agnes.
- <sup>68</sup> A son, Alan William Lewis, with issue Anthony and Caroline.

## APPENDIX.

### THE DACRES OF LANERCOST. By C. Roy Hudleston.

The family of Dacre of Lanercost, from which Lady Clerk was descended in the female line, was founded by Sir Thomas Dacre, who obtained a grant of the dissolved Priory of Lanercost in 1543. The male line failed with his descendant, James

Dacre, who died in 1716. James's half-sister Dorothy married at Lanercost on 16 November 1686 Joseph Appleby, and to their grandson, Joseph Dacre Appleby, James Dacre left Walton lordship and Castlesteads, with a request that he would take the name of Dacre. Joseph Dacre Appleby, believing that he could only relinquish the surname of Appleby by Act of Parliament, did not take the name of Dacre until about 1743, when he became satisfied that he could use the name of Dacre only.

This Joseph, born in 1711, married in 1736 Catherine,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Sir George Fleming, Bart., Bishop of Carlisle, and had a large family of sons and daughters (see chart pedigree), one of whom was Mary, later Lady Clerk. Joseph's parents were Joseph Dacre Appleby and Susannah Maria Gilpin: excellent studies of them are to be found in the *Gilpin Memoirs*, pp. 46-50. Susannah Maria's sister Dorothy married in 1734 Major Eaglesfield Griffith (see CW2 lxiii 206-209) and it was while staying with them in Edinburgh that Joseph Dacre Appleby — Lady Clerk's father — escaped death by drowning, thanks to his aunt's premonition. The story was told by Lady Clerk in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for June 1826 at p. 736, and it is also given in the *Gilpin Memoirs*, p. 47. Briefly the story is that when Joseph was staying with his uncle and aunt he made various expeditions to places of interest in and around Edinburgh with friends of his own age. On his return from one of these expeditions he told his uncle and aunt that at 6 a.m. on the following morning he and his friends were going fishing at Inchkeith, and had hired a boat. During the night Mrs Griffith had a series of vivid dreams in which she saw a boat sinking. Finally she went to her nephew's room and begged him not to go fishing. With some difficulty she persuaded him, pointing out that he was an only son, under the protection of her husband and herself, and if anything happened to him it would be the death of her. Joseph thereupon sent his servant with a note to Leith to say that he was prevented from joining them. Lady Clerk's account concludes as follows:

The morning came in most beautifully, and continued so till three o'clock, when a violent storm arose, and in an instant the boat and all that were in it went to the bottom, and were never heard of, nor was any part of it ever seen.

I often heard the story from my father, who always added, "It has not made me superstitious, but with awful gratitude, I never can forget, my life, by Providence, was saved by a Dream."

<sup>1</sup> Portraits of them, painted by George Senhouse, were bequeathed by their daughter Susan Maria Dacre to Lady Clerk. Susan Maria's will is dated 14 May 1798, proved Carlisle 25 June 1812. For George Senhouse, who was a pupil of Arthur Devis, see Edward Hughes, *North-Country Life in the 18th century*, ii (Cumberland and Westmorland) 89-101.

There is an excellent account of Joseph Dacre Appleby or Dacre<sup>2</sup> in the letter written by his kinswoman, Mrs Maclean (see *ante*) from Lazonby Hall, on 19 January 1854. She writes that he was:

a man of great weight & importance in the country, & who *ruled* the borders very judiciously, although perhaps not always according to strict Law. He had a stick, the measure of it I do not know, which was called *Condign*, & a round of beef & good ale in his kitchen. The first, if necessary, was employed to enforce obedience or to administer justice, the opponents then shook hands cordially, & were finally sent to eat as much beef & drink as much ale together as they liked. This mode of judgment succeeded well, & was known & winked at by the Government & Judges, as I have heard from family tradition, & from Lord Wallace who remembered the Squire (my great Uncle, his sister being my great Grandmother) who was a great friend of his Father's, then Attorney General. I thought this system of Law might be new and *instructive* to you.

This letter was written by Mrs Maclean in response to an appeal from William Frederick Robertson IX of Kinlochmoidart for help in the building of St Finan's Church, Kinlochmoidart. Mrs Maclean writes:

I should have answered your inquiry immediately, if I had known where the present representative of the Dacre family now is, & I hoped to ascertain it, in which I was delayed by the death of our friend Mr Hope Wallace as Colonel Maclean was occupied for his family & not going to Carlisle as usual & I will delay no longer. I wish I could help you & your church & if Mr Dacre *could* do so, I am sure he would, for he is *not* a Roman Catholic, & is a very good & serious minded man, but the family has melted away; & unfortunately the property also.

Mrs Maclean goes on to explain that Joseph's grandson [Joseph Dacre, 1785-1828]

went to India, married a dark woman, died there, & his two sons came back to Cumberland. The younger is a clergyman, a curate, the elder tried farming & has the property of Kirkclinton (diminished & of small value) & he has now returned to the study of the law in London, I believe, but I have not ascertained. He is very gentlemanlike & amiable, & did *more* than he was able to afford for the rebuilding of his own church at Kirkclinton.

The accompanying chart pedigree shows Lady Clerk's relatives, all descendants of her father, Joseph Dacre, by his marriage to Catharine Fleming.

<sup>2</sup> For the part played by Joseph as Colonel of the Light Horse during the '45, see G. G. Mounsey, *Authentic Account of the occupation of Carlisle in 1745*. 49, 62, 66, 70, 125, 167, 240. After the surrender of Carlisle, Joseph Dacre and his brother-in-law, Humphrey Senhouse, retired to Rose Castle. They were there on 30 December 1745 "and in great concern about their behaviour at Carlisle, for it's apprehended a very strict enquiry will be made into the giving up of the place" (Joseph Nicolson to Mr Waugh). Their fears were groundless and both served on the Grand Jury when the trials of the Jacobite prisoners opened at Carlisle on 12 August 1746 (Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 247).

THE MACDONALDS OF KINLOCHMOIDART

