

ART. XIII – *The Finsthwaite Princess: the making of a myth*
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HISTORICAL legends are widespread and tenacious. Every part of the country has stories of underground passages between monasteries and nunneries, of houses built of old ships' timbers, of illustrious persons living and dying in seclusion.¹ Those strands of fantasy often, and understandably, embroider the story of a man or woman who for some reason or another attracted curiosity, perhaps because they did not fit into a familiar pattern.²

Such a person was the “Finsthwaite Princess”, a figure who has attracted attention for at least a century and a half, and probably since her death. Before considering the rich and fanciful embroideries, it will be as well to state what is actually known about her. The only facts are these:

1. She was buried in the churchyard at Finsthwaite on 16 May 1771 as Clementina Johannes Sobiesky Douglass of Waterside, spinster.³
2. In the year before her death, on 28 April 1770, she was one of three witnesses to the will of her landlord, Edward Taylor (1691-1770) who had at least since 1752 rented Waterside from his nephew, another Edward Taylor (1731-90) of what is now Finsthwaite House. The older Edward let some of the rooms in what was, and still is, a substantial house, just by the bridge over the Lakeside & Haverthwaite Railway near Newby Bridge station. One of the other witnesses was a James Douglas.⁴
3. In 1773 the two front rooms on the first floor at Waterside, “which Captain Douglas had lately”,⁵ were let to William Fell (1746-1841) who plays an important part in what follows.

Let us consider each point in turn. Burial in the churchyard at that time was in effect reserved for the poorer inhabitants and for strangers to the parish. Prosperous or important parishioners were buried under the church floor at the east end where they had their own pews and there were cheaper burial places under the benches towards the west end for the rather less well-to-do.⁶ A list of “Names of Persons interred with the Place and Date of Interment in the Chapel Yard of Finsthwaite” mentions only three before the church was floored, that is to say paved with flags, in 1771: “Robert Gurnels Tomb Stone”, 1725, “Druets Tomb Stone Felix & Ann”, 1730 and 1736, and “Miss Douglas”, 1771.⁷ She is distinguished as “Miss” which is interesting. The list, which was drawn up about 1816, is retrospective, and it is clear from the burial registers themselves that the poorest parishioners were buried outside the church but in unmarked graves. Robert Gurnell of Jolliver Tree was actually buried inside the church but must have had some memorial stone outside, the Druets also had a stone⁸, and the site of Clementina Douglass’s grave was apparently remembered, some forty or more years after her death. So presumably there was already some curiosity about her, as there may have been in her lifetime.

That she was a witness to Edward Taylor’s will argues that she was then over twenty-one years of age and of sound mind.⁹ She signed her own name, Clementina Douglass, as did James Douglas who was most probably her father, brother, uncle, or

cousin. He was known as “Captain Douglas” and left Finsthwaite not long after she died. Edward Taylor was on his deathbed when he made the will and was buried on 9 May 1770. It was presumably convenient to call in the lodgers from upstairs as witnesses. The third was a Margaret Fleming, probably a servant, who signed a mark.¹⁰

From these bare facts a plethora of legends grew and are added to even today. The earliest written account seems to be that by Richard Pedder (1801-91) of Finsthwaite House, in a notebook of about 1870, which he entitled “Notes made by Richard Pedder Esq of Finsthwaite House of the Taylor Family and the Finsthwaite Princess & other Matters of interest found in old papers”.¹¹ On p. 15 he wrote: “Clementina Johannes Sobiesky Douglass lodged at Waterside house for some time. She was ‘quite a grand Lady’ according to report. Who she was or where she came from nothing was ever known and was very intimate with the Backhouses with whom she lodged – She died in 1771 & was buried in the Chapel Garth. On the death of Miss Backhouse in the year [blank in MS] old Ned Fell told me he took her up, & reinterred her in Miss Backhouse’s Grave”.

With this we come to two or three consistent themes in the story – the “grand lady”,¹² intimacy with the Backhouses of Jolliver Tree (though Richard Pedder does not specifically mention that house), and reburial, which later assumes the form of the discovery in the grave of some fair hair and/or a knot of blue ribbon. Ned Fell, Richard Pedder’s informant, was Edward Fell (1792-1873), a labouring man who was also for some years the parish clerk, as were before him his father William Fell I (1746-1841), a collier/husbandman, and his elder brother William Fell II (1777-1856), a basket-maker.

William Fell I was in his mid-twenties when Clementina Douglas died and if anyone began to pass down stories of the strange woman with the mysterious names it must have been he.¹³ And he had a connection with Jolliver Tree, where he was living when his first child was born in 1772. Only hearsay connects the Princess with Jolliver Tree, but the local tradition is very persistent. One writer to the *Barrow News* in 1968 recalled that a friend of his “who only died in the last few years at the age of 104, told me of her great grandfather being given charge of the young princess when he was at Jolliver Tree farm”.¹⁴ This could well have been William Fell I, some of whose great grandchildren were born in the 1860s. William Fell’s two sons would have been familiar with what their father said and were perhaps not above enlarging upon it.

The identity of the Miss Backhouse in whose grave Clementina Douglas was said to have been reburied presents a problem. The Backhouses lived at Jolliver Tree between 1728, when James Backhouse (1695-1762) married its widowed owner Mary Gurnell, and 1762 when he died. Richard Pedder was not specific as to which of them knew the Princess but others maintain that she was at Jolliver Tree until the death of James.¹⁵ And who was Miss Backhouse? Her title implies some kind of gentility. James Backhouse had two daughters but they both died in infancy. His nephew and heir John had three, Mary born in 1756 who died a year later, and two others who both married, one of whom was born well after the Princess died. Richard Pedder seems to imply that Clementina was reburied in Miss Backhouse’s grave for some sentimental reason. Only two unmarried Backhouse daughters were buried in the period after Ned Fell grew up, Ann in 1842 and Agnes in 1844. Both

were twenty, both either in service or living at home. Neither could have known Clementina Douglas. And why rebury her anywhere?

The latest twist in the burial saga comes in a note dated 18 March 1959 by the Revd R. W. Pedder of Finsthwaite House, then the vicar of Finsthwaite: "Eleanor Hunter (Plum Green) [told me that] Joseph Charles Hunter dug up the grave of the Princess when the old church was being demolished to make room for the new one. That his father also Joseph Charles pointed out to him where the Princess's grave was traditionally supposed to be. It was Joseph Charles Hunter junior who actually found the fair golden hair & reburied it with the other remains (but no blue ribbon) under the present cross set up by Canon C. G. Townley at a much later date but when Joseph Charles Hunter was still living".¹⁶

The "fair golden hair" had appeared earlier. In 1914 Canon C. G. Townley wrote the first draft of an article on the Princess which appeared in the Finsthwaite parish magazine in 1922 and was subsequently slightly extended and issued as a separate pamphlet.¹⁷ In 1914 he said that William Fell II (1777-1856), clerk and sexton, told how his father had worked for the Princess at Waterside. "She was furrin" and so were her servants. William Fell dug up the hair and showed it to several people in the parish. The hair is, however, first said to have been found in 1867,¹⁸ eleven years after the death of William Fell II, and tradition, ever accommodating, said that the Princess had fair hair. Great play was made by Canon Townley with Scott's description in *Redgauntlet* of the Young Pretender's mistress, Clementina Walkinshaw, with her "locks of paley gold", but that is to anticipate what comes later. Elsewhere the hair was said to have appeared in 1887 when an adjacent grave was opened.¹⁹

The knot of blue ribbons became attached to the Princess, not by Canon Townley but at a later date. The author of a letter to the *Barrow News* on 17 May 1968 said that it "was placed in her vault and, when the tomb had to be opened for Mrs Taylor's funeral years later, these ribbons were found to be quite fresh. The bundle of blue ribbons were said to have been given by king George of England, or one of his militiamen when searching the neighbourhood – not thinking that the gift was given to a child who may [sic] have one day returned to Scotland and carried on the Stuart line".

The ribbons have nothing at all to do with the Princess. In a note in the second volume of the Finsthwaite parish register, 1790-1813, it is recorded that ribbon found in the grave of Anne Taylor of Stott Park, buried on 25 September 1763, was seen again when her father Robert was buried on 6 April 1772, and also when the grave was reopened in 1812 and 1827 for other family interments.²⁰ These burials were all inside the church, not in the churchyard.

Joseph Charles Hunter II, the swill-maker whose daughter Eleanor spoke to Roland Pedder, lived from 1858 to 1935. He was therefore alive in 1873 when the old church was demolished, but at fifteen years old why should he then have dug up the grave unless out of curiosity? There was no need for anyone to do so. The new church did not extend so far as to threaten it, and in fact the position of the later cross is exactly that described in the list of churchyard burials made about 1816, "5¹/₄ yards from E side of 3rd window [on the south side]".²¹ Hunter's father, Joseph Charles Hunter I (1831-1918) would have known Ned Fell and both men would probably have heard of the position of the grave from him. Ned Fell would have

known of it from his father, apart from the fact that Richard Pedder noted that he, as parish clerk, actually had the list of churchyard burials in his possession.

However much the stories became garbled over the period from 1771 there is a perfectly clear link of acquaintanceship over two hundred years from William Fell I to Eleanor Hunter and Roland Pedder. William Fell I would certainly have known of the Princess although she had probably moved from Jolliver Tree before he lived in one of the houses there. In 1773 he actually rented the rooms at Waterside in which she and James Douglas had lived, and he had seven more children baptised from there between 1774 and 1792. He lived well into the adult lives of his sons William II and Edward, and they would all have known Richard Pedder. J. C. Hunter I was born in Hawkshead in 1831, established a swilling business in Finsthwaite, and survived until 1918, again far into the lifetimes of his son and granddaughter whom Roland Pedder knew. So in the village at least there was a direct though meandering connection with Clementina Douglas herself, and a persistent survival of her story.

It was when outsiders began to busy themselves that matters got out of hand, and most particularly with the introduction of the Young Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, who never figured in the pure village tradition. In 1897 Miss Mary Wakefield, author of *Cartmel Priory and Sketches of North Lonsdale* (1909), wrote to *Notes and Queries* about the Princess. "The proverbial oldest inhabitants", she wrote, "remember their fore-elders always speaking of her as 'the Princess' and that she as a young woman came somewhere about 1745, with two servants, and resided in extreme privacy as a sort of lodger at this lonely Waterside farm, which has, however, in former days boasted more importance as a residence than it possesses at present". She was answered by Andrew Lang, who had previously interested himself in Clementina Douglas but had come to the sensible conclusion that she was "either a harmless enthusiast, or a member, perhaps illegitimate, of a Jacobite family. Among such houses Clementina was a popular Christian name for girls".²²

Miss Wakefield also reported another story, not recorded by Richard Pedder, to the effect that shortly after the Princess died a stranger came and planted on her grave a solitary Scottish thistle. "Finsthwaite churchyard", she said, "bristles with Scotch thistles, and the particular sort of thistle does not grow in the neighbourhood". In 1899 H. S. Cowper wrote that he was "credibly assured that the thistles which abound in the churchyard were planted by a recent vicar".²³ A century has since passed and the thistles are long gone.

Miss Wakefield obliquely raised the question of Clementina Douglas's connection with the Young Pretender by remarking that "Prince Charlie was in Kendal, some nine miles from Finsthwaite, on 22 November, 1745 and stayed over Sunday the 24th, accompanied by three ladies, one of whom was 'the Lady Ogylvie'. Could the mysterious lady of Finsthwaite have been one of them?" She did not suggest that Clementina was Charles's daughter. That idea had evidently already occurred to Andrew Lang but he pointed out that if she had come to Finsthwaite as a young woman about 1745 then Charles could not possibly have been her father as he himself was then only twenty-five. Someone must have started this particular hare but it clearly did not form part of the local tradition. Nor did the date 1745, though it has since become gospel.

Although the Prince was often rumoured to have had more than one child by his

mistress, Clementina Walkinshaw, and Jacobite history is strewn with such theories, it is generally accepted by serious historians that their (and his) only child was Charlotte, later Duchess of Albany, born in 1753, as Charles himself attested in 1785. Great play has been made of a letter written by Clementina Walkinshaw to James III's secretary in 1760 in which she said "... before 1745 I lived in London, was between then and 1747 undone" and went on to speak of "an obstacle in the way, which has done him [the Prince] no service, and me great hurt".²⁴ Some commentators have taken this to refer to the birth of a child to her, but if so it can hardly have been the Prince's. In any case, it seems impossible that a daughter of the Pretender could have been hidden from the British government in the eighteenth century.

Again, the Princess's surname was adduced as a kind of proof of her origin, as Charles Edward was known to have used the name Douglas as an alias on his clandestine visits to London after the failure of the '45. Andrew Lang says the name was not used before 1744; others suggest 1750 or 1753.²⁵ As we do not know when Clementina Douglas came to Finsthwait, and given the existence of James Douglas, the question of the surname seems irrelevant.

In 1913 Canon Charles Gale Townley of Townhead, Staveley-in-Cartmel, interested himself in the Princess, perhaps because his family owned an example of the medallion struck to celebrate the marriage in 1719 of James III, the Old Pretender, and Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski of Poland. The medal is variously said to have come into the family as a gift or bequest from the Finsthwait Princess herself to her friend Jane Penny, whose elder sister Mary married Colonel Richard Townley of Belfield, Rochdale, in 1765. Canon Townley stated in 1914, in the earliest version of his article on the Princess, that he had no idea of how the medallion had come to the family. However, Jane Penny and her sister inherited Jolliver Tree on the death of James Backhouse in 1762, as the next heirs of his wife. James had only a life interest in it after his wife died in 1744. It is therefore possible that Jane Penny did know the Princess if she lodged with Mr Backhouse.

Later versions of the medallion's part in the story have asserted that both the Backhouses and the Taylors were Roman Catholic, and therefore sympathetic to the Jacobite cause.²⁶ They emphatically were not. James Backhouse was one of the chief movers in the establishment of the church at Finsthwait in 1724; all his children were baptised there, and he and his wife were buried there. Edward Taylor of Waterside was likewise a member of the Church of England.

Canon Townley also drew into the story the name of Dr William King (1684-1763), principal of St Mary's Hall, Oxford, and an undoubted Jacobite sympathiser for a great part of his life. Snatching at a coincidence of surnames, he argued that Dr King had arranged for Clementina Douglas to be hidden away in Finsthwait through the good offices of his "kinsman . . . [who] . . . married Miss Taylor, the heiress of Finsthwait House". "Everything", he continued, "points to Dr. King having arranged with his kinsman for the unfortunate Princess being secretly brought from Scotland and placed with his wife's relatives, first at July Flower Tree,²⁷ where she remained until the death of Mr. James Backhouse, Mrs King's Brother-in-Law, its owner; and then at Waterside, with Mrs. King's brother – Mr. Edward Taylor".

None of this bears up under serious examination. It is true that Isabel Taylor,

sister of Edward (1731-90), married a James King of Liverpool at Cartmel in 1751. He was a naval surgeon; in 1751 he was thirty-five years old, and had lately served in HMS *Loo*. He died in 1782²⁸ and their son James inherited Finsthwaite House from his uncle in 1790. But James King was no connection of Dr William King.²⁹ James Backhouse was not Mrs King's brother-in-law. His wife Mary was indeed born a Taylor but not of the same family as the Finsthwaite House Taylors.³⁰ Nor was Edward Taylor of Waterside Mrs King's brother-in-law – he was her uncle.

Clementina Douglas's possible connection with Jolliver Tree, to which I shall return later, led Canon Townley to make a further suggestion. At the end of his article he wrote: "The two houses in which the Princess lived, differ in this respect from others in the district, in that in both is to be found oak panelling, by contrast [sic] to their having been prepared for the reception of some highly placed person". Jolliver Tree was built by Mary Backhouse about 1730; the panelling is original and not inserted. At Waterside there is deal, not oak, panelling on the first floor where the leased rooms were, but again the suggestion that the existence of panelling argues an important inhabitant is deeply flawed. In this instance it was probably installed when the house was extended upwards into a third storey by the then owner, Richard Robinson, in the 1730s. It seems extraordinary that Canon Townley, whose knowledge of the district was so extensive, should not have noticed that quite ordinary farmhouses frequently have panelled rooms.

Tom Cross, in his pamphlet *A Lakeland Princess* (1945, repr. 1955), went a step further into fantasy. He pointed out, quite rightly, that at Waterside there is a moulded plaster overmantel with two sets of initials which he rendered as RTH 1676 and CRA. 'RTH', he wrote, "are no doubt Taylor initials – as both Finsthwaite House and Waterside housed many generations of the Taylor family. CRA probably stand for Charles, Roi Angleterre [sic]". The solution is much more prosaic. Such inscriptions commonly commemorate a husband and wife, in this case Christopher and Agnes Robinson. RTH, which is in fact RTA, are the initials of Richard Taylor of Waterside (d. 1706) and his second wife Ann (d. 1712). His daughter and only child Agnes (d. 1700) married a Kendal joiner, Christopher Robinson (d. 1690) at Witherslack in January 1676. Her father added an extension to his house for Christopher and Ann, consisting of two rooms, one above another. The overmantel is above the ground floor fireplace and dates both the marriage and the extension.

More recently two versions of an even more fanciful twist to the story have come my way. In the 1970s I was told that a story had been circulating the public houses of Barrow (in itself a remarkable notion) to the effect that in 1940 the Home Office had sought the exhumation of the Princess or an examination of her grave because, as she might have had a claim to the throne of Scotland, she would be an object of interest to the Nazis if the Germans were to invade, or that fifth columnists might interfere in the matter in the German interest as a means of destabilising the British monarchy. Not surprisingly I was told by the late Stephen Kellett of Finsthwaite, the churchwarden at the time, that no such application had been made. The fantasy is, however, a remarkable instance of the tenacity and inventiveness of the popular mind.

In 1997 a lecture was given in Grange which included the staggering suggestion that HRH the Duke of Edinburgh had actually attended the exhumation in December 1940 on behalf of the Royal Family and the government, as both

considered the matter to be of sufficient importance to require a royal presence. The idea hardly needs comment except as a further example of myth-making. Prince Philip was nineteen years old, a junior officer in the Royal Navy, and not a member of the British Royal Family. The lecturer explained the Princess's presence in Finsthwaite by saying that she and her parents were on their way to Scotland when they met with some emergency near Levens and were diverted to Finsthwaite in safe Roman Catholic country. Mother and child were separated from the father and the child remained incognito in Finsthwaite. Again, refutation or comment would be superfluous, but the incident serves to make the point that the story of the Finsthwaite Princess seems to be never-ending.

I am inclined to believe that Clementina and James Douglas did lodge at Jolliver Tree until the death of James Backhouse in 1762. His wife, the former Mary Taylor, who inherited the farm after the deaths of both her brothers, married a Quaker-turned-Anglican from Cartmel Fell, Robert Gurnell, in 1715³¹ and they had an only son John who would have been the heir to her property had he lived. In 1729, a year after her second marriage to James Backhouse, she placed Jolliver Tree in trust for her new husband and her son John Gurnell.³² At about the same time she built a second, larger, house next door to the old one in which she and Robert Gurnell had lived. In style it bears a close resemblance to the oldest part of the present Finsthwaite House which was built over quite a long period in the 1720s and '30s. Mary Gurnell was a wealthy woman by local standards. As well as inheriting her father's property she was also a legatee under the will of her uncle, Edward Taylor of Craikside (d. 1729). It seems likely that the new house was intended both to provide a more suitable home for Mary and her prosperous second husband and to improve the property for her young son.

John Gurnell died in 1733 and as Mary's son by James Backhouse also died young, in 1752 at the age of twenty, she had no direct heirs and James Backhouse had only a life interest. His own will³³ disposed only of the property in Finsthwaite which he owned in his own right, that is to say Chapman House Farm, the present Church View Cottage, and some land. The new owner of Jolliver Tree, Mary Backhouse's heir at law, was Jane Penny (1735-1815), the daughter of her cousin Mary who had married William Penny of Penny Bridge in 1732. Nothing suggests that she ever lived at Jolliver Tree, which seems to have been let after she inherited. She was "of Penny Bridge" in deeds of the 1770s and '80s and later lived at Townhead, Staveley-in-Cartmel, with her nephew William Townley, who inherited Jolliver Tree from her.³⁴ So she could well have met Clementina Douglas if she visited her aunt Mary's husband at Jolliver Tree before 1762. If they thus became friends perhaps the medallion did indeed come into the Townley family in this way.

Is it possible to make any suggestions as to the identity of the Princess and how she came to Finsthwaite? I can only surmise that James Douglas was her father and that he had been a soldier in the army of Prince Charles Edward, a committed Jacobite who had given his daughter her highly suggestive names. After the failure of the '45 such men were to a great extent an embarrassment in their own country and a quiet life in Furness might have seemed attractive. He could also well have owned the medallion. It is also worth noting here that there are in the immediate neighbourhood two small crystal hearts; in the centre of each is the silver head of a man, believed to be the Young Pretender. Were they perhaps given to friends by

Clementina Douglas or by James Douglas before he left Finsthwaite? Such souvenirs were commonly treasured in Jacobite families.³⁵

And why Finsthwaite? Assuredly not because it was a hotbed of Jacobite sympathisers. It is not, however, unreasonable to seek for a connection with Scotland, and James Backhouse had a long-standing one. He was a partner in the Newland Company from its beginnings in 1747, with Richard Ford of Ulverston and his son William, and Michael Knott of Rydal. In 1752-3 the company, seeking new supplies of wood for charcoal-making, went to Scotland and established the Bonawe furnace at Taynuilt on the shores of Loch Etive. Michael Knott's son George spent several summers at Bonawe in the 1770s. Is it not possible that James Backhouse visited the company's Scottish property too or that James Douglas was introduced to him by one of the men who went up and down between Furness and Scotland?³⁶ If so, after the death of his wife in 1744, James Backhouse had a large house in which he would have been alone when his son died in 1752 and in which there would have been plenty of room for him to take in James and Clementina Douglas. After 1762 the farm passed to Jane Penny. Property must try to earn its keep and it would have been natural for Miss Penny to install a proper agricultural tenant. At Waterside there was just such another large house lived in by two elderly people who were glad enough to let rooms.

All that can only be conjecture, but it is at least based upon facts, not upon fiction. It would make life a little easier if we knew how old the Princess was. A search through the International Genealogical Index for Scotland produced only one Clementina Douglas, baptised in 1723 in Forfar, the daughter of William. On the face of it that one seems unlikely to have been the Finsthwaite Princess.

In 1913 Canon Townley sought to perpetuate the name of Clementina Douglas by appealing for funds to erect a stone over her grave. In a letter to the *Ulverston News* on 25 January he said: "it is surmised that in 1745 she accompanied the army of Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, on its disastrous march to Derby . . . and that she left it at Kendal in order to find a safe retreat from the enemies of the Stuarts". The stone, a white marble cross, was duly erected at a cost of £8.³⁷ It bears her names as recorded in the register, the date of her burial, and the inscription "Behold thy King cometh". The appeal provoked a certain amount of discussion about the Princess³⁸ and led Canon Townley to write his pamphlet, the draft of which is dated 31 February 1914. When it appeared in the parish magazine in 1922, and was then issued separately, that which had been supposition in 1914 had become fact.³⁹

Numerous visitors have sought out the grave and do so still. Some write to local newspapers and magazines asking for information or offering suggestions. At fairly regular intervals someone writes an article about the Princess. Most such authors re-work the myth without enquiring too closely into the facts. Some add embellishments of their own.⁴⁰

Whatever the truth may be, the story of the Finsthwaite Princess is persistent and enduring. As a writer to the *Barrow News* put it in 1968, "perhaps history and legend should be kept apart, so that the former does not destroy the latter".⁴¹ In fact they feed each other, and both need to be reviewed from time to time. Perhaps H. S. Cowper should have the last word: "We venture to think that the true story would prove much less sensational than the tradition".⁴²

Notes and References

- ¹ I once heard a man telling his companion as they passed my house that everyone in Finsthwaite was Roman Catholic as it was so remote a place as never to have been reached by the Reformation. On the subject in general, see A. H. Thompson, "Superstitions regarding the Middle Ages", *Trans. Leics. Archaeol. Soc.*, xxv (1949), 33-50.
- ² See e.g. the story of the "Gentlemanlike Foreigner" in J. C. Dickinson, *The Land of Cartmel* (1980), 100.
- ³ The entry is particularly carefully written as though the vicar was anxious to get the names right. The double "s" in Douglas may be a product of that anxiety. From 1725 all dates and details of Finsthwaite residents are from the Finsthwaite parish registers which are printed to 1840 by the Lancashire Parish Register Society, 135 (1993). Before 1725 Finsthwaite residents appear at Colton or Hawkshead.
- ⁴ For the Taylor pedigree and the leasing of Waterside, see Janet D. Martin (ed.), *The Account Book of Clement Taylor of Finsthwaite, 1712-1753*. Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 135 (1997), xi, xv; the date of death of Edward Taylor (1731-90) is given incorrectly on p. xi as 1791. The will is in Lancashire Record Office (= LRO), WRW/F; the probate copy is at Finsthwaite House.
- ⁵ LRO, DDPd 26/338, f.78v.
- ⁶ The arrangement is noted in the first parish register: Cumbria Record Office, Kendal (= CRO(K)), WPR 101/I1.
- ⁷ CRO(K), WPR 101/I67.
- ⁸ Felix Druit or Drewet was buried, a labourer of Backbarrow, on 8 July 1730. On 8 Sept. 1733 his widow Ann, lodging at the house of Rowland Lickbarrow at Backbarrow Bridge, made a will (LRO, WRW/F) in which she left money to her landlord's son and daughter and a guinea to her landlord "he laying or causing to be laid over my husband's grave and mine a Tombstone the Charge not exceeding one Guinea and inviting such a number of Neighbours and friends to my funeral as were at my husband's". She was buried on 7 Feb. 1737. The stone, now much worn, is still *in situ*. The inscription reads: "Here ly the bodys of Felix & Ann Druit he of Nottingham & she of Darbyshire Anno 1736". Felix Druit was a worker at the Backbarrow Company's furnace: A. Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District* (1908), 286.
- ⁹ H. S. Cowper wondered if she was a lunatic: *Hawkshead* (1899), 253n. When I was a child my mother told me that she was and that she was immured in Finsthwaite Tower. That, however, was not built until 1799 and for quite another purpose.
- ¹⁰ Was Margaret Fleming the Douglasses' servant? If she was it might serve to explain why a Margaret Fleming from Staveley was buried in Finsthwaite on 21 March 1792.
- ¹¹ At Finsthwaite House.
- ¹² It is hard to see exactly when she became "Princess" but it may have been either in her lifetime or shortly after her death. It was certainly before Richard Pedder's time.
- ¹³ William Fell's grandfather Richard, a labourer of unknown origin, came to Finsthwaite and worked in the neighbourhood until he died in 1729: see Martin (ed.), *Account Book of Clement Taylor*, 230. His wife left the parish about 1733 but their five children remained there and members of the family, a prolific one with varying fortunes, lived in Finsthwaite into the twentieth century.
- ¹⁴ *Barrow News*, 17 May 1968.
- ¹⁵ In Canon Townley's draft article of 1914 the information is said to have come from John Fell of Flan How, Ulverston: LRO, DDTy 11/5.
- ¹⁶ At Finsthwaite House.
- ¹⁷ LRO, DDTy 11/5, draft 31 Feb. 1914, and the edition of 1922.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, letter to the *Yorkshire Post*, 1 May 1913, from H. W. Fitzpenny of Hull.
- ¹⁹ LRO, DDTy 11/5; repeated by e.g. T. Cross, *A Lakeland Princess* (1945), 15.
- ²⁰ CRO (K), WPR 101/I2.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 167; in the same collection one of the plans for the new church shows its exact relation to the old, which occupied the space covered by the nave of the present building.
- ²² *Notes & Queries*, 8th ser., xi, 66, 23 Jan. 1897, and *ibid.*, 110-1. The same conclusion was drawn by Clementina Walkinshaw's biographer, C. L. Berry, in *The Young Pretender's Mistress* (1977), 32-3.
- ²³ Cowper, *Hawkshead*, 253n.
- ²⁴ Quoted in e.g. D. Daiches, *Charles Edward Stuart* (1973), 292, and in many other places.
- ²⁵ A. and H. Tayler (eds.), *The Stuart Papers at Windsor* (1939), 238.

- ²⁶ It is not clear where the Roman Catholic theory started. It was certainly put forward in *Cumbria*, Dec. 1986.
- ²⁷ The alternative name for Jolliver Tree.
- ²⁸ LRO, DDPd 12/3.
- ²⁹ D. Greenwood, *William King: Tory and Jacobite* (1969), 22, though his genealogy is imperfect. In 1914 Canon Townley appealed to *Notes & Queries* for information about Dr King: 11th ser., ix, 230.
- ³⁰ Martin (ed.), *Account Book of Clement Taylor*, 230-31.
- ³¹ Their marriage bond is in LRO, ARR 11.
- ³² LRO, DDTy 2/2/3.
- ³³ LRO, WRW/F, and printed, not altogether accurately in J. Foster (ed.), *Wills and Administrations of the various Backhouse Families* (1894), 213.
- ³⁴ LRO, DDPd 26/309-10, 312, 319-20; Cumbria Record Office, Barrow (= CRO(B)), BPR 17/M1-2. Her will is LRO, DDMc 32/32.
- ³⁵ Sir Walter Scott remembered many who remained sentimentally faithful to the cause. In his own introduction to *Redgauntlet* (1824) he wrote: "Their love of past times, their tales of bloody battles fought against romantic odds, were all dear to the imagination, and their little idolatry of locks of hair, pictures, rings, ribbons, and other memorials of the time in which they still seemed to live, was an interesting enthusiasm".
- ³⁶ On this see Fell, *Early Iron Industry of Furness*, 390 sqq., and T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (1970), 22-4, 27-32. James Backhouse sold his share in the Newland Co. in 1761: CRO(B), Furness Collection, Z34. For Bonawe, see G. P. Stell and G. D. Hay, *Bonawe Iron Furnace* (Historic Scotland, 1984, repr. 1995) and C. Tabraham, "Life after the Blast", *Country Life* 25 October 1984. The connection with Bonawe was first made by H. E. Barker of Backbarrow in Cumbria, May 1963, and in the *Barrow News*, 24 May 1968. If it is well-found it is interesting that the fame of the incomers has long outlasted the Furness iron industry.
- ³⁷ LRO, DDTy 11/5.
- ³⁸ e.g. in *Notes & Queries*, 11th ser., viii, 232, and ix, 230.
- ³⁹ There are copies of both in LRO, DDTy 11/5.
- ⁴⁰ e.g. R. S. in *Barrow News*, 17 Oct. 1958, *Barrow News*, 3 Feb. 1961, H. E. Barker and others in *Cumbria*, May 1963, various authors in *Barrow News*, 10 May-21 June 1968, J. Marsh in *Cumbria*, Dec. 1986, J. C. F. Barnes in *The Scots Magazine*, April 1993. There are undoubtedly others, and the Princess gets her full measure of attention in the wilder works on Lake District folklore. M. Pennall of Kendal who initiated the correspondence in May and June 1968 stated that "someone died in Backbarrow a few years ago who said he was descended from the Royal Stuarts". The eminently sensible H. E. Barker, a lifelong resident of Backbarrow, replied that he "must have been too near the screen to see the picture for I never saw or heard of him": *Barrow News*, 24 May 1968.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.*, 21 June 1968.
- ⁴² Cowper, *Hawkshead*, 254.