The French cartographer and the clan chief: archaeological fieldwork in Perthshire, 1763

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ABSTRACT

In June 1763 a Frenchman, identifiable as the cartographer Louis Stanislas De la Rochette, journeyed from Edinburgh into Perthshire in the company of Sir James Macdonald, eighth baronet of Sleat in Skye. Visits were made to the Roman sites at Ardoch, Kaims Castle, Strageath and Dalginross. Bound up with De la Rochette's manuscript accounts of his journey to and sojourn in Scotland are a finished drawing of Ardoch and three of the fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, the latter valuably annotated with measurements, including those of the camp's 'Stracathro-type' gates. The drawings can be compared with those made only a few years earlier by William Roy. De la Rochette, who had come to Scotland in 1763 ostensibly to see to the repatriation of French prisoners of war, became a well-known mapmaker in late 18th-century London.

Preserved at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, is a bound volume of handwritten notes, at one time in the possession of the antiquary George Chalmers (1742–1825) and purchased by the Library in 1949.[1] On the fly-leaf the volume is ascribed to 'Colonel De la Rochette'. Though an identification has recently been made with François-Thomas Moreau De la Rochette,[2] it is beyond doubt (see below) that the writer is in fact Louis Stanislas De la Rochette (1731–1802), a French cartographer; such an identification is assumed in the following pages.[3]

The volume, which consists of some 160 pages in French, using both sides of mostly foolscap sheets of paper, comprises essays in minuscule handwriting on De la Rochette's journey to Scotland in 1763, on ancient Caledonia and its inhabitants, on the campaigns of Agricola, on Arthur's O'on, on the Roman army's order of battle, on the Scottish agricultural economy, on London and on canals in France. There are lengthy accounts of Edinburgh. The author generally writes on the right-hand half of each page, with additional comments placed to the left. Several of the essays survive both as rough drafts and as 'fair copies'. Exactly when they

were written is unclear, but the likelihood is that many were drafted in 1763 (see below) and finalised a few years later.[4]

Nothing appears to be known of Louis Stanislas De la Rochette's place of birth or early life, or what first brought him to Britain. He is described as a one-time pupil of the famous Paris-based cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville.[5] On 2 March 1756, De la Rochette was married at St Martin in the Fields, London, to Margaret Scalé, a likely sister of the cartographer Peter Bernard Scalé, so establishing a link between the two men and showing that De la Rochette was moving in mapmaking circles.[6]

From May 1756 to February 1763, Britain was engaged in the Seven Years War with France. The physician and later revolutionary Jean-Paul Marat, who lived in London between 1765 and 1776, described De la Rochette, with whom he was on friendly terms, as 'un homme de mérite … gentilhomme François [*sic*], nommé en 1760 commissaire général pour l'échange des prisonniers de guerre en Angleterre' ('a man of distinction … French gentleman, appointed in 1760 general commissary for the exchange of prisoners of war in England').[7] A cartographer

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seems an odd choice for such a post, but De la Rochette was prominent in the French expatriate community in London and would have been familiar with the English language.

French prisoners held in Britain numbered 25,000 by the end of the war in 1763; they were widely dispersed. Many were the crews of captured privateers.[8] In addition, the southern and western sea-ports of England housed close on 1,000 Acadians settlers of French extraction, forcibly displaced from Nova Scotia and then deported to Britain in 1756 from the American Colonies.[9] Between December 1762 and March 1763, De la Rochette, acting on the instructions of the Duc de Nivernais, who had been appointed as French Ambassador in London to negotiate a peace treaty between Britain and France, visited Acadian communities at Falmouth, Bristol, Southampton and Liverpool. This aspect of his work is well documented in French archival sources.[10]

Colonel, the rank De la Rochette is accorded on the fly-leaf of the volume, is nowhere else attested for him. So far as we know, he was not at any time a serving soldier.[11] De la Rochette mentions being gratifyingly addressed by one of the French prisoners at Liverpool as 'mon Général';[12] perhaps this form of address was a misunderstanding of his post as *commissaire général* for the exchange of prisoners.

The social circle in which De la Rochette was moving in London at this time is valuably illustrated in the diary of the distinguished French astronomer Jérôme Lalande, who spent the months March–May 1763 in the city and its vicinity. Lalande carried with him many letters of introduction, including one to 'M. de la Rochette', meeting him for the first time on 16 March at the 'hôtel de Nivernois [*sic*]'.[13] Lalande reports on socialising in London with, among many others, De la Rochette and Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, with whom De la Rochette was shortly to undertake an excursion to Perthshire (below p 403). An encounter in London most easily accounts for the swiftness with which De la Rochette was warmly received in Edinburgh by Sir James and the rapidity with which they subsequently set out on their joint tour. It looks to have been the Duc de Nivernais who charged De la Rochette with investigating Roman sites in Scotland (see below, p 416). This was a subject to which he was to devote much time and energy. In any case, his work on behalf of the Acadians and of French prisoners of war was drawing to a close.

Leaving London on or about 12 May 1763,[14] De la Rochette undertook a further journey, initially to the south-west of England, to expedite the despatch to France of prisoners of war and Acadians on ships sent to collect them.[15] It is from this point onwards that his own written account begins. Proceeding, 'par ordre de M. le Duc de Nivernais' ('on the instructions of the Duke of Nivernais'), he went first to Liverpool (where he is attested on 7 June), again to visit French prisoners of war and the Acadians whose plight moved him greatly; he was able to ensure their prompt departure for France.[16] Next, freed from these commitments, he journeyed northwards through Lancashire and Cumberland to Carlisle,[17] then continued via Lockerbie and Moffat, reaching Edinburgh on 12 June 1763.[18] His route through Dumfriesshire took him past the 'noble camp of Burnswork' and the Roman fort of Birrens at the nearby village of Middlebie.[19] When he presented himself at Edinburgh Castle, asking to see French prisoners, he was refused admittance.[20] In fact, at the beginning of May, the prisoners there had been marched to Leith and embarked for home.[21]

This was a time of intense interest in the Roman antiquities of Scotland, particularly the campaigns of Julius Agricola (AD 77–83), for which the Latin biography by his son-in-law Cornelius Tacitus provided the essential chronological and geographical framework. In 1754, Robert Melville of Monimail in Fife, later Lieutenant-General in the British army, made an excursion to visit Roman sites in Central Scotland and in Perthshire (see below, p 410), and soon afterwards identified a series of temporary camps in Angus.[22] In the following year, the Scotsman William Roy, destined to rise in the army to the rank of Major-General and who was then engaged on the surveying of Scotland in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, drew plans of the

sites which De la Rochette was to visit in 1763.[23] At much the same time, William Maitland was assembling materials for his *History and Antiquities of Scotland*, published in 1757. In 1760 Bishop Richard Pococke passed through Perthshire, and has left us accounts of the Roman sites at Ardoch, Dalginross and Strageath.[24] Finally, in 1772 the Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant visited the same sites during his second *Tour* of Scotland and had plans made of Ardoch and Dalginross.[25] This was a time when the epochs in Scotland's prehistory were little understood, and a wide range of sites and artefacts were mistakenly assigned to the Romans.

De la Rochette was aware of the work of 'engineers' in northern Britain in the immediate aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745–6, who, acting on the orders of the Duke of Cumberland, had located 'a chain of Roman camps' in Angus.[26] He is surely alluding to the work of William Roy and his team in 1747–55, though in fact the camps in Angus had been initially located by Robert Melville (see above).

On his arrival in Edinburgh, De la Rochette was received by the 'Chevalier Macdonald', Sir James Macdonald of Sleat in Skye (1742–66), eighth baronet (illus 1), now returned from London, and entertained to lunch and supper with him and his mother, Lady Margaret.[27] Sir James, born in 1742 and succeeding to the baronetcy at age of five, was educated at Eton and subsequently at Christ Church, Oxford.[28] Like many another clan chief of the age, he spent more time in the salons of Edinburgh and London than on his ancestral lands, particularly during the winter

months.[29] Sir James is lauded by contemporaries for his wide-ranging knowledge, his judgement and his character. The essayist Horace Walpole was less impressed, after meeting him in Paris in 1765. 'He is rather too wise for his age and too fond of showing it, but when he has seen more
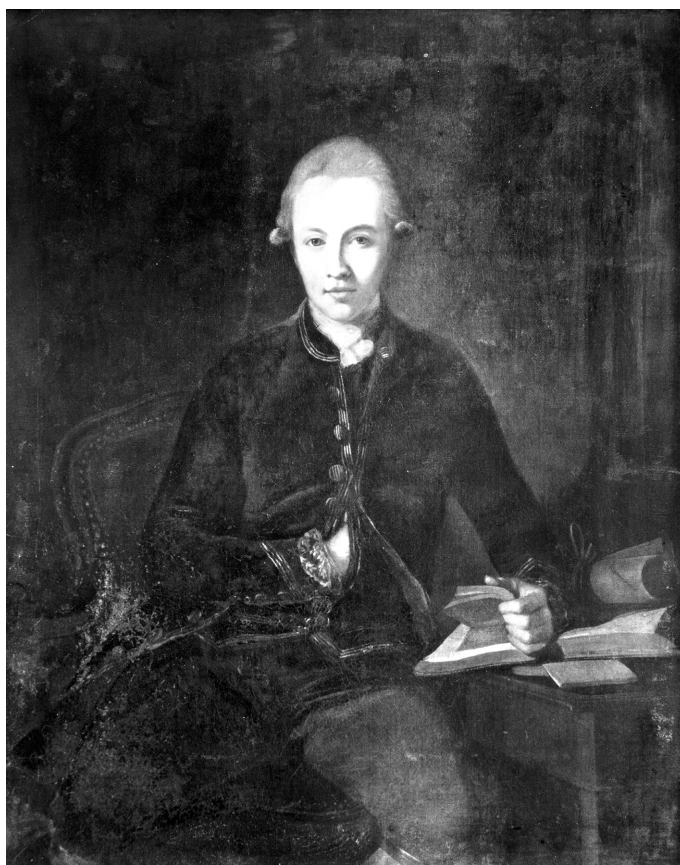
ILLUS 1   Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, by an unknown artist *c* 1766. Private Collection of The Lord Macdonald, reproduced by permission. Photo: © Antonia Reeve, by courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery

of the world, he will choose to know less.'[30] James Boswell, who encountered him in London, mentions his 'haughtiness'.[31]

A few days after their meeting in Edinburgh, De la Rochette and Sir James Macdonald travelled northwards together into Perthshire (illus 2).[32] Sir James himself and his mother,
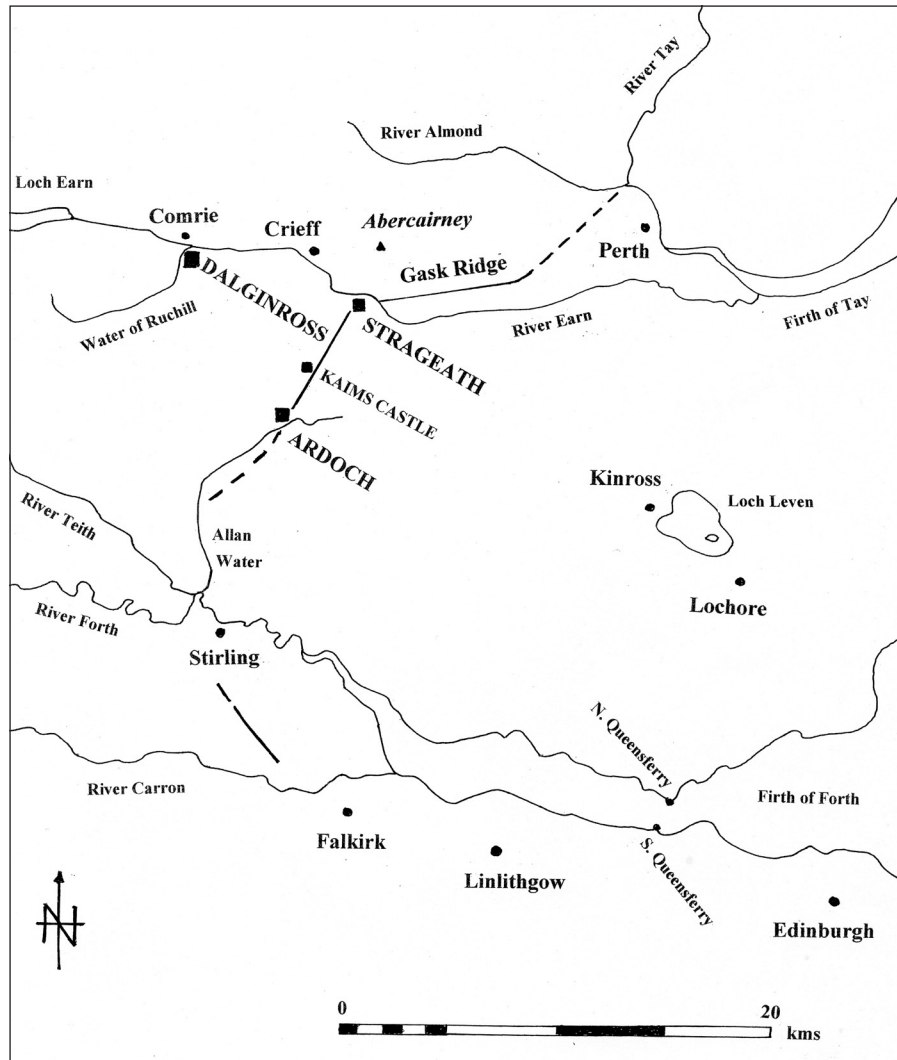
ILLUS 2 Map to illustrate the ground traversed by De la Rochette and Sir James Macdonald in June 1763, showing Roman roads and forts in Perthshire (drawn by L J F Keppie)

doubtless accompanied by retainers, were heading for Skye, where he is attested in July 1763,[33] his schedule presumably determining the timing of the expedition. Their route was from Edinburgh via Linlithgow and Falkirk then to Stirling, where they spent one night. On their northwards journey from Stirling they stopped at the Roman sites of Ardoch and Kaims Castle.[34] De la Rochette surveyed the earthworks at Ardoch fort (see below) and later sketched in

the margin of his notes the relative positions of Ardoch, the fortlet at Kaims Castle and the fort at Strageath, together with a separate drawing of Kaims Castle.[35]

The Roman fort at Ardoch, in a moorland setting high above the junction of the River Knaik with the Allan Water, north of the village of Braco, Perthshire, was the first in Scotland to be recorded by antiquaries.[36] In 1683, the mapmaker John Adair made a plan of it for Sir

Robert Sibbald.[37] All subsequent commentators noticed the site, and soon became aware of the many temporary camps lying to its north-west.[38] De la Rochette describes camps there as lying 'one within the other'.[39] He felt that Sibbald's (ie Adair's) plan of the fort, drawn in 1683, was much better than Alexander Gordon's, drawn in 1723, which he considered 'absolutely false'.[40]
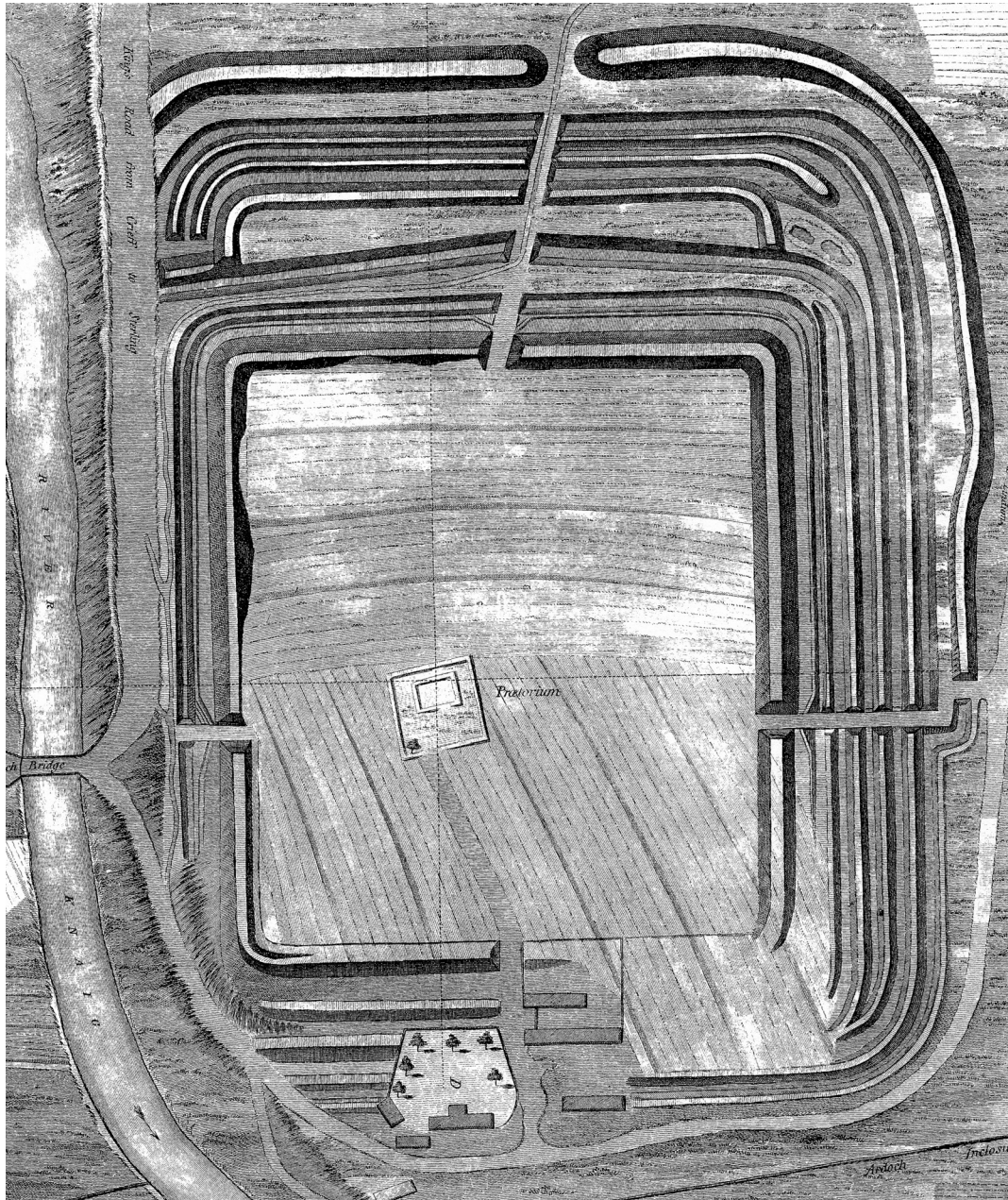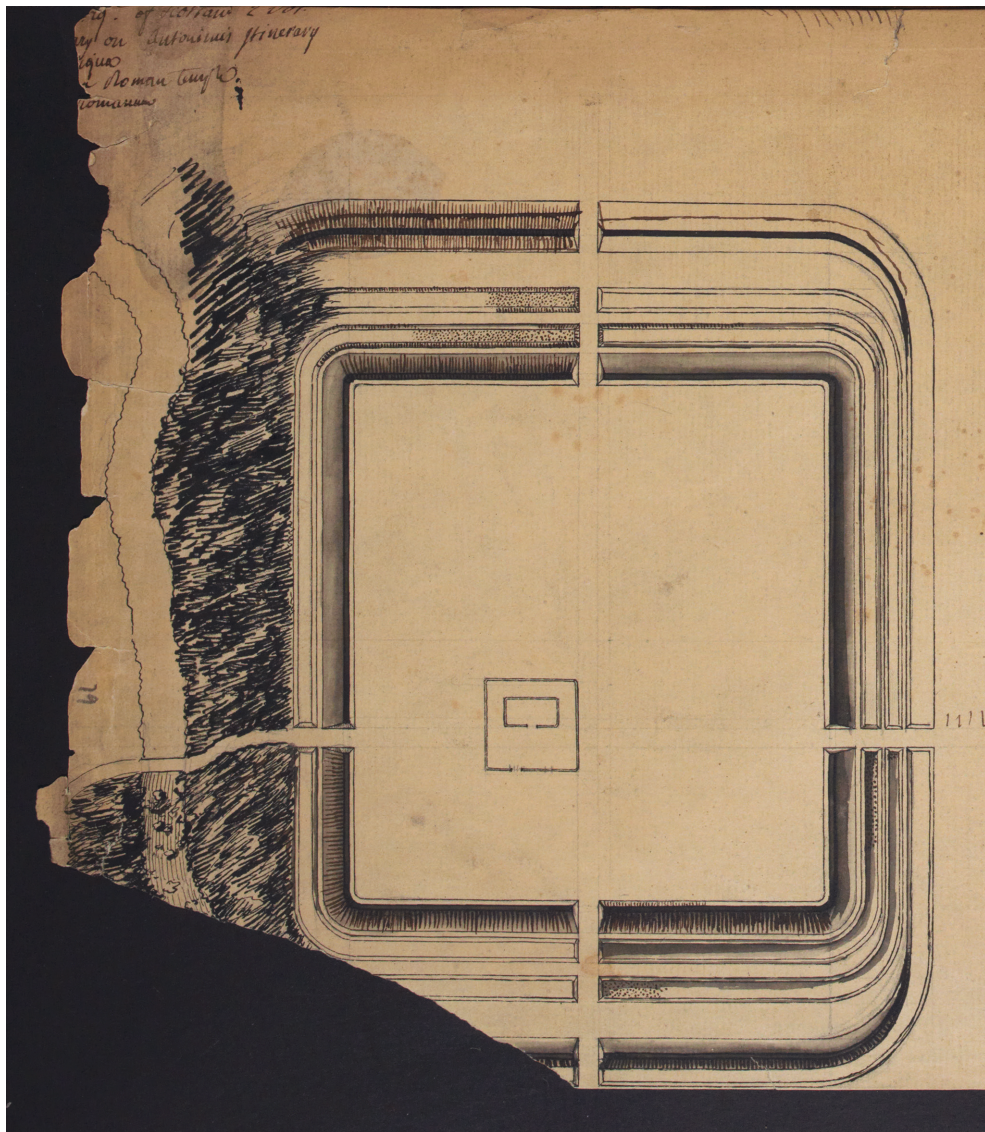

ILLUS 3   The fort at Ardoch, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by William Roy, 1755. North is at the top (reproduced from *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793: pl xxx)

Ardoch remains Scotland's best preserved Roman fort.

The travellers called on the landowner Sir William Stirling at Ardoch House, who showed them a perfectly preserved 'petite urne' ('small urn') in his possession, made of 'terre rougeâtre' ('reddish clay'), which was said to have been found in the Roman fort and was filled with ashes and some skull fragments.[41] The urn was shown by Sir William to a succession of visiting antiquaries. According to Bishop Richard Pococke, who was at Ardoch in 1760, 'Sir William showed us a small Urn of Earth found in a Camp with the usual ornaments of lines, it

Illus 4   The Roman fort at Ardoch, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by L S De la Rochette, June 1763 (NLS MS 3803, fol 79). © The National Library of Scotland. North is at the top

contained pieces of a burnt skull which I saw'.[42] Thomas Pennant reports in 1772 that a 'piece of money' was found in it.[43]

De la Rochette himself gives useful additional details, which he presumably gleaned from Sir William, that the urn was 'set upside down within six stones'.[44] He is surely describing an inverted cinerary urn within a stone-lined cist, which can be ascribed to the Bronze Age. However, like other antiquaries of the time, he assumed a Roman date.[45] The urn itself does not appear to have survived.[46]

De la Rochette 'measured' and 'took the plan of' the fort at Ardoch on 18 June and three days later returned there, presumably to complete his survey.[47] His plan (illus 4) shows the ditches defending the fort, as well as a building at its centre, which antiquaries termed the *praetorium*, or headquarters, in reality a medieval chapel and graveyard.[48] The earliest plans show the *praetorium* aligned, as here, on the ramparts. However, William Roy's plan of the fort, drawn in 1755, is a much better representation (illus 3),[49] with the *praetorium* set, correctly, at an angle to the ramparts. The defences are also very accurately traced by Roy, in particular the multiple ditches on the north side of the fort, which provide testimony to a reduction in its size. The steep slope on the west side to the River Knaik is dramatically depicted by De la Rochette, with a track from the west gate of the fort leading down to and across it. This is a finished drawing, which it can be presumed was based on field observations, but the latter are not to be found in the bound volume of notes.

In Perthshire, the travellers lodged at Abercairney House near Crieff.[50] Sir James Macdonald's mother was sister to Lady Christian
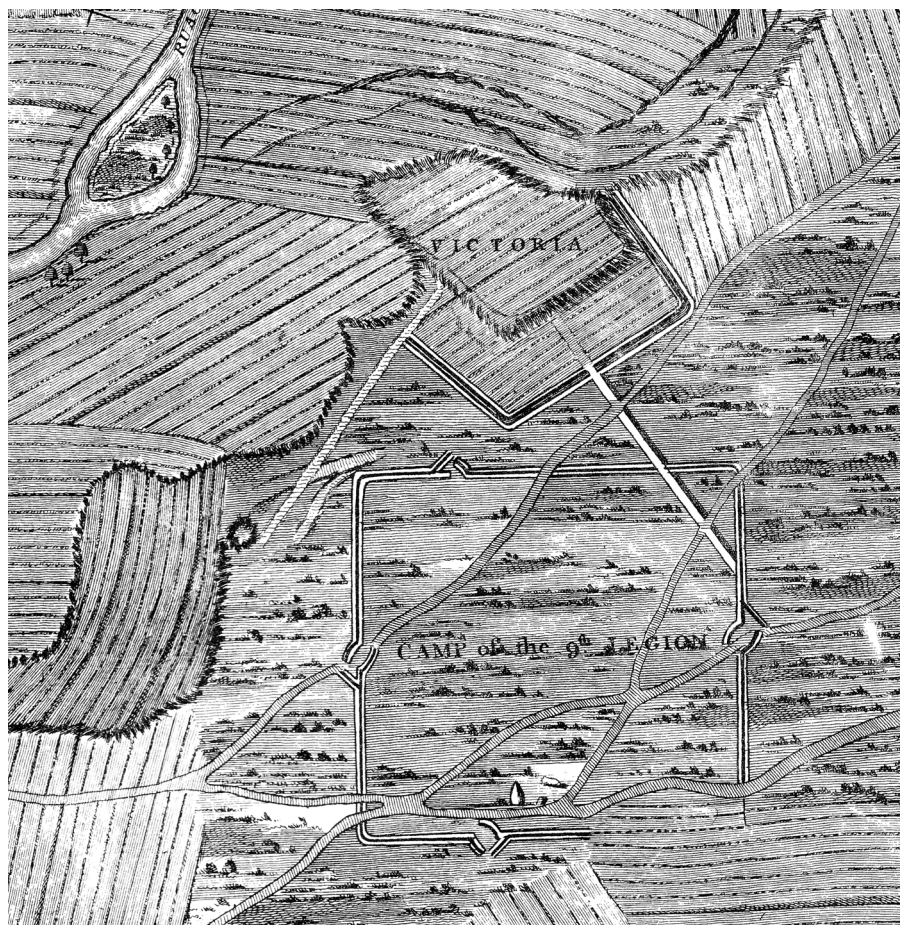

Illus 5   Aerial view of the Roman fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, seen from the south-west, 1977 (RCAHMS: PT/5581), looking north-east. The standing stones (see illus 10) lie at the road junction, centre right (© Crown copyright. Licensor: RCAHMS)

Montgomerie, wife of the Laird of Abercairney. With Abercairney as their base, the travellers went on 19 June to the fort of Strageath, which lies on the south bank of the River Earn, at the western end of the Gask Ridge (illus 2).[51] First recorded as a Roman fort by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1695,[52] Strageath was drawn several times by visiting antiquaries.[53] In the 18th century its ramparts and ditches were much more prominent than nowadays. There is no hint in the notes that Strageath was surveyed by De la Rochette in 1763, and no drawing of it survives, but presumably it *was* drawn, since in a list of proposed illustrations (below p 416) De la Rochette included a plan of it.[54]

The fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, at the head of Strathearn, on the southern edge of the village of Comrie, were visited on 20 June (illus 2).[55] The fort there, set within an outer enclosure, occupies a plateau overlooking the junction between the River Earn and the Water of Ruchill and is eroded by the latter.[56] An associated temporary camp lies to the south, its 'Stracathro-type' gateways showing that it belongs to the Flavian period of the later 1st century AD (illus 5).[57] The area is also rich in

Illus 6   Roman fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by William Roy, 1755 (reproduced from *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793: pl xi). North is at the top

Illus 7   The Roman temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by L S De la Rochette, June 1763 (NLS MS 3803, fol 77). © The National Library of Scotland. West is at the top

prehistoric archaeological remains. The Roman site at Dalginross was first surveyed by Alexander Gordon, in a single day, probably in the summer of 1723.[58] A few years later it was visited by the Revd John Horsley or his representative, whose much more recognisable – though distorted – plan shows the camp's elaborate gate-defences.[59]

In June 1754 Robert Melville was at Dalginross in the course of a walking tour, undertaken in the company of two of the antiquary

Sir John Clerk's sons, which encompassed, in a clockwise route, the Antonine Wall and its forts, then the West Highlands to Fort William, finally Angus and Perthshire. Roman sites observed during the second half of their journey were limited to 'some remains of *castella* (being earthen redoubts of a square or rectangular form), and the vestiges of a small intrenched camp at Dealgin-Ross in the head of Strath-ern'.[60] In 1755 William Roy surveyed Dalginross, naming the fort as *Victoria* (illus 6), a Roman place-name thought to reflect Agricola's military successes in the area.[61] Dalginross was drawn again during Thomas Pennant's *Tour* of Scotland in 1772 (illus 13).[62] Two locally produced plans, held at Perth Museum, are dated 1786 and 1802.[63]

In his revised edition of William Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1789, Richard Gough records, in relation to Dalginross, 'a prevailing notion of the country people there some time ago reported to general Melvill [*sic*] by M. de la Rochette, the eminent geographer, who travelled that country with the much regretted Sir James Macdonald, that this camp had been cast up by Roman soldiers who had taken Jerusalem'.[64] This observation removes any uncertainty over the identity of the author of the manuscript notes, and establishes a link, also attested later (see below, p 417), between De la Rochette and Robert Melville.

Three drawings of Dalginross, prepared in pencil and subsequently inked in, are preserved in the bound volume of De la Rochette's notes. The annotations are mostly in French, with a few in idiomatic English, in the same handwriting, and some in a mixture of English and French. The pencil annotations are worthy of study in their own right, as a preliminary stage in his recording of the remains.

The first drawing by De la Rochette to be considered here, the largest of the three, shows what must be the temporary camp, sketchily delineated as a rectangle, in relation to the surrounding mountains, the River Earn and the Water of Ruchill leading into Glen Artney (illus 7).[65] There is little correlation with the actual dimensions of the camp, and its orientation in relation to the river courses is incorrect; the fort, which lay between it and the rivers, is not

shown. De la Rochette's reference points were a 'tumulus',[66] a 'maison blanche' ('white cottage') and the 'maison du curé' ('manse'), the latter some distance away at a hamlet in the mouth of Glen Artney.[67] The depiction of the mountains matches the style used by the cartographer De la Rochette in his published maps. A bridge across the River Earn, opposite the camp's north-east corner, leads into 'Combrie' [Comrie]. Roads are shown arriving from 'Ardoch' and 'Strageth', entering the camp by its east gate. The former emerges from the hills to the south. These roads do not correspond with the modern tracks drawn by William Roy in 1755 (see illus 6). One annotation refers to a 'camp des anciens habitants du pays qui y camperent avec leur Reine suivant une tradition' ('camp of the ancient inhabitants of the locality who camped there with their Queen, according to a tradition'), whose location is indicated by an arrow, with the annotation 'lointain' ('far distant'). The hillfort at Drummond Hill, fully 26km north of Comrie, may be meant.[68] Perhaps De la Rochette was told of it when undertaking his survey of Dalginross; there is no suggestion that he himself went there.

The second drawing of Dalginross, on the back of the first, is a detailed plan of the temporary camp and fort in relation to the Water of Ruchill (illus 8).[69] The plan is copiously annotated with measurements in feet, showing the lengths of the ramparts and the angles between the sides of camp and fort. Drawings of parts of the west defences are now concealed from view in the binding of the volume. As drawn by De la Rochette, the camp measures *c* 1,000ft (314m) east/west by 940ft (286m) north/south, measurements very similar to those recorded by William Roy in 1755.[70]

The temporary camp possessed elaborate gateways which have been designated the 'Stracathro-type' – from the Roman site in Angus where they were first observed from the air by J K St Joseph in the 1950s.[71] The defences of such gateways generally consisted of a curving feature known as a *clavicula* and a straight spur projecting at 45°, the rampart in both cases accompanied by a ditch. Some of these camps also featured, as here, an internal *clavicula* consisting of a curving length of rampart apparently without an accompanying ditch.[72] The
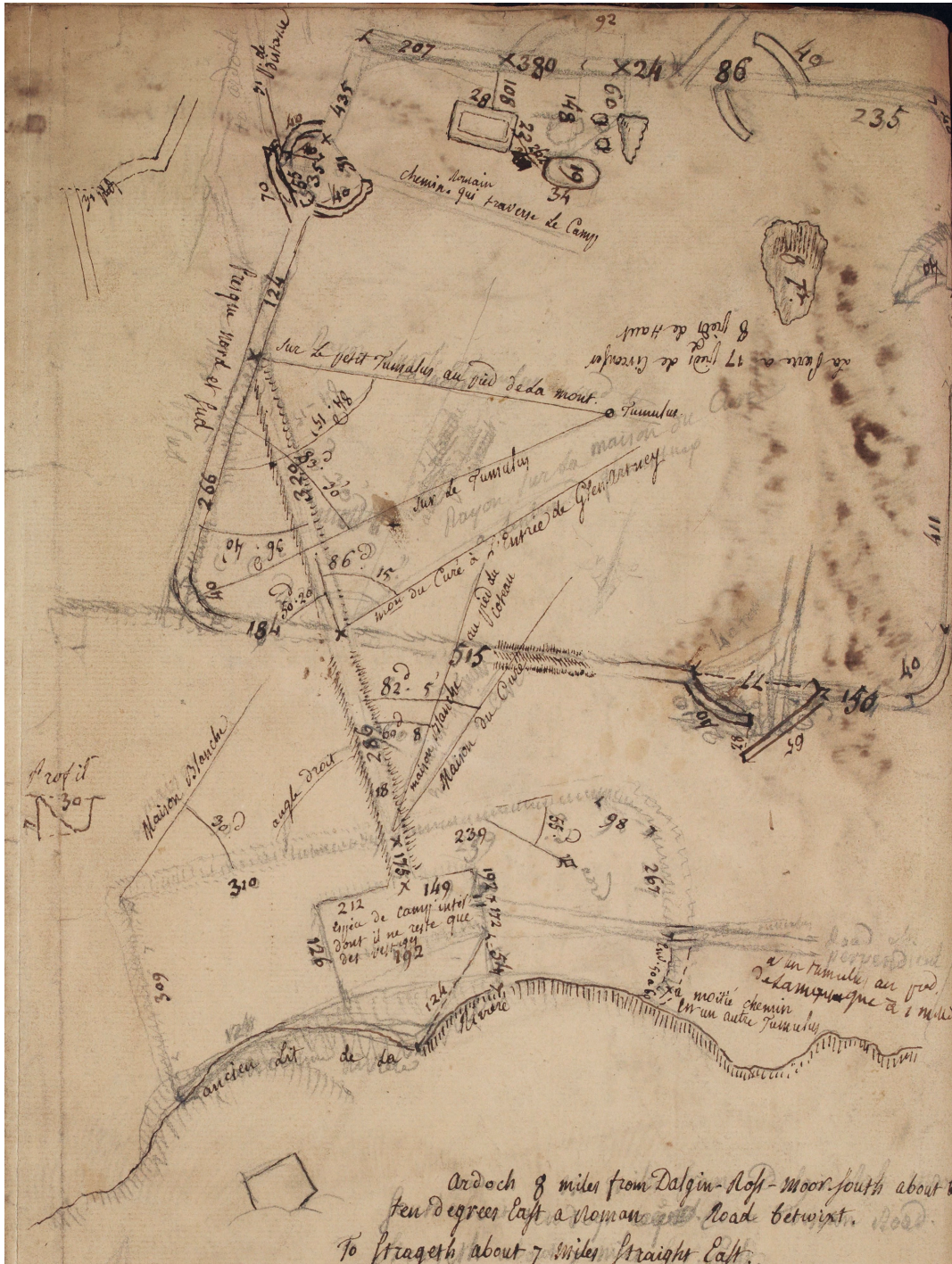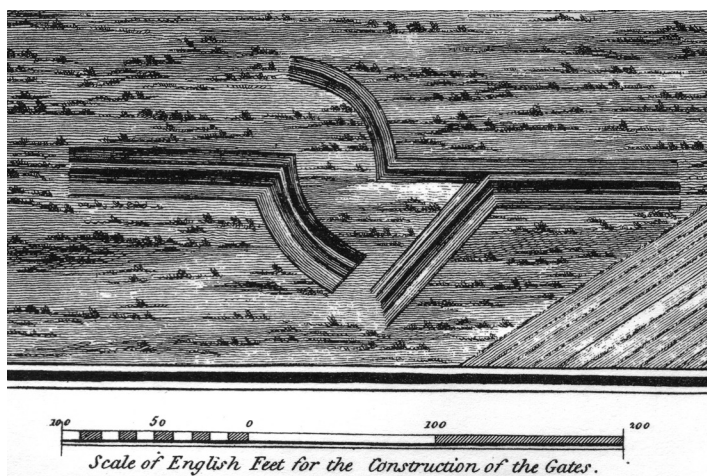
ILLUS 8   The Roman fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by L S De la Rochette, June 1763 (NLS MS 3803, fol 78). © The National Library of Scotland. South is at the top

unusual form of the gateways soon attracted the antiquaries' attention.[73] De la Rochette shows them as 77–86ft (23.4–26.2m) wide, with the external *claviculae* 40ft (12.2m) long and the projecting spurs 65–70ft (19.8–21.3m) long, measurements confirmed by excavation at the east gate of the camp in 1990, when recutting of the ditches was noted.[74] The internal *claviculae* were 40ft (12.2m) long. These measurements are similar to William Roy's plan of 1755 (illus 6). The sheet also includes an outline sketch of the gate-defences. Curving internal *claviculae* are shown at the west, east and south gates, but not at the north gate; the latter is similarly absent on

camp of which only faint traces remain'). Some antiquaries regarded the fort as a *praetorium* (headquarters) serving the site as a whole.[76]

The outer enclosure, as measured by De la Rochette, was 549ft (169m) east/west by at least 309ft (94.2m) north/south, with an unknown area lost to erosion. Its rampart can be seen turning at the north-west corner. De la Rochette's plan includes a 'Profil' of a ditch, which is shown as 30ft (9m) across and 7ft (2.2m) deep, presumably of the fort or of its outer enclosure;[77] the measurements are too great for it to be supposed that the defences of the temporary camp are being depicted.

ILLUS 9   One of the gates of the Roman temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by General William Roy, 1755 (reproduced from *Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain*, 1793: pl xi, inset). The interior of the camp is at the top

William Roy's plan of the site (illus 6). The north and south gateways are out of position. A length of road, designated 'chemin Romain', is shown crossing the camp from east to west.

The fort itself, as surveyed by De la Rochette, measured 361ft (110m) east/west by up to 364ft (111m) north/south over the ramparts. Roads lead away from its west gate and from its south gate, the latter crossing the north and east defences of the adjacent temporary camp.[75] The fort is set within an elongated enclosure and designated 'loggia de camp intér[ieur] dont il ne reste que des vestiges' ('lodgement of the inner

In the early 18th century, the earthworks at Dalginross had been very well preserved. Alexander Gordon records that the ramparts of the fort were 'visible above fourteen Feet in Height and seventeen in Breadth', perhaps computing their measurements from the top of the rampart to the bottom of the ditch.[78] By the time of William Roy's visit in 1755, they had been reduced by ploughing.[79] Very little now remains at ground level. However, aerial reconnaissance over many decades has revealed as cropmarks the ditches of the temporary camp, the fort and the outer enclosure, together with buildings in the fort's interior and lines of pits within the camp, which are aligned on the gates.[80]

Features depicted by De la Rochette in the south-eastern quarter of the camp, close to its south defences, include a number of standing stones,[81] which are 'tied in' to the adjacent south rampart. The tallest is mentioned in a letter of 1728 written by Alexander Gordon to Sir John Clerk.[82] According to William Roy 'there stands a high stone, and two lesser ones are lying by it, which it is said were likewise erect some years before these observations were made' (see illus 6).[83] Bishop Pococke in 1760

Illus 10 Two of the 'standing stones' within the Roman temporary camp at Dalginross, photographed from the East in 2014. © Margaret J Robb
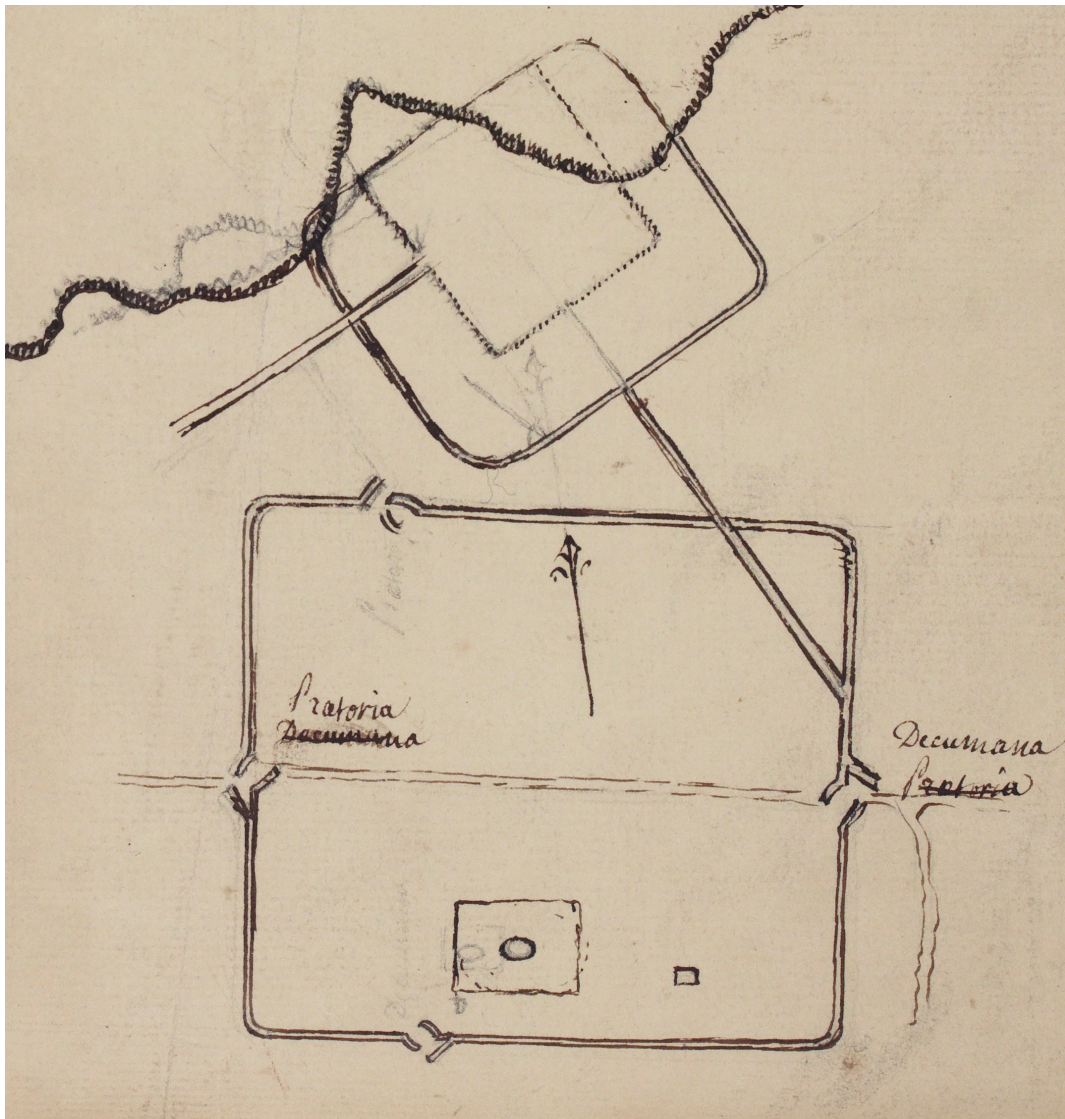
Writing in 1757, William Maitland interpreted the standing stones at Dalginross as belonging to 'a Caledonian druidical temple' erected before the Romans arrived.[87] In line with the antiquarian belief that the plain here was the site of the Battle of Mons Graupius in AD 83,[88] Bishop Pococke in 1760 imagined that the largest stone had been 'placed over Aulus Atticus Commander of a Cohort who fell in this action'.[89] Similarly, De la Rochette considered it to be a sepulchral monument to a Roman officer.[90] Other antiquaries preferred to site at Dalginross the night attack on the Ninth Legion in AD 82 during Agricola's sixth campaign.[91] Accordingly, Thomas Pennant in 1772 supposed that the tallest stone was 'perhaps erected, after the retreat of the Romans, by the Caledonians, over some chieftain slain in the fight' against the Ninth Legion.[92]

A third drawing by De la Rochette shows the temporary camp and the fort, with the latter restored to its likely shape before erosion by the Water of Ruchill (illus 11).[93] The outer enclosure is here much less elongated than on De la Rochette's second drawing, and nearer to its actual dimensions. The enclosure and fort share their north defences. The four gateways of the temporary camp are accurately placed, with two of them named as *porta praetoria* and *porta decumana*, the names later transposed.[94] A road is shown linking the east and west gates. Other roads lead away from these gates, matching those on the first drawing (above p 409).

Though De la Rochette apparently spent only a single day at Dalginross, much was achieved. The first drawing has only generalised measurements and could have been compiled relatively quickly, with the mountain ranges and other features added later. However, the second is the product of detailed surveying. The third is close to a final drawing and is similar in its essentials to the plans prepared by William Roy (illus 6) and Thomas Pennant (illus 12).

De la Rochette displays in his notes a commendable awareness of the geographical setting of the sites, in line with his cartographic interests. In order to undertake his surveys, he presumably carried with him, or had acquired in Edinburgh, some instruments of his profession; conceivably he had a lightweight folding chain

mentions 'a great stone set up on end and a little further another with three small ones near it'.[84] The stones must have been erected in the 3rd millennium BC, though the great antiquity of such monuments was not as yet appreciated (see below). They were presumably standing while the camp was in occupation by Roman forces.[85] The largest stone, albeit not as tall as it once was, is designated 'Roman Stone' on current OS sheets, the name by which it is known locally (illus 10).[86] De la Rochette also depicts it separately at a larger scale, with its dimensions given as 17ft (5.3m) in circumference and 8ft (2.5m) in height.
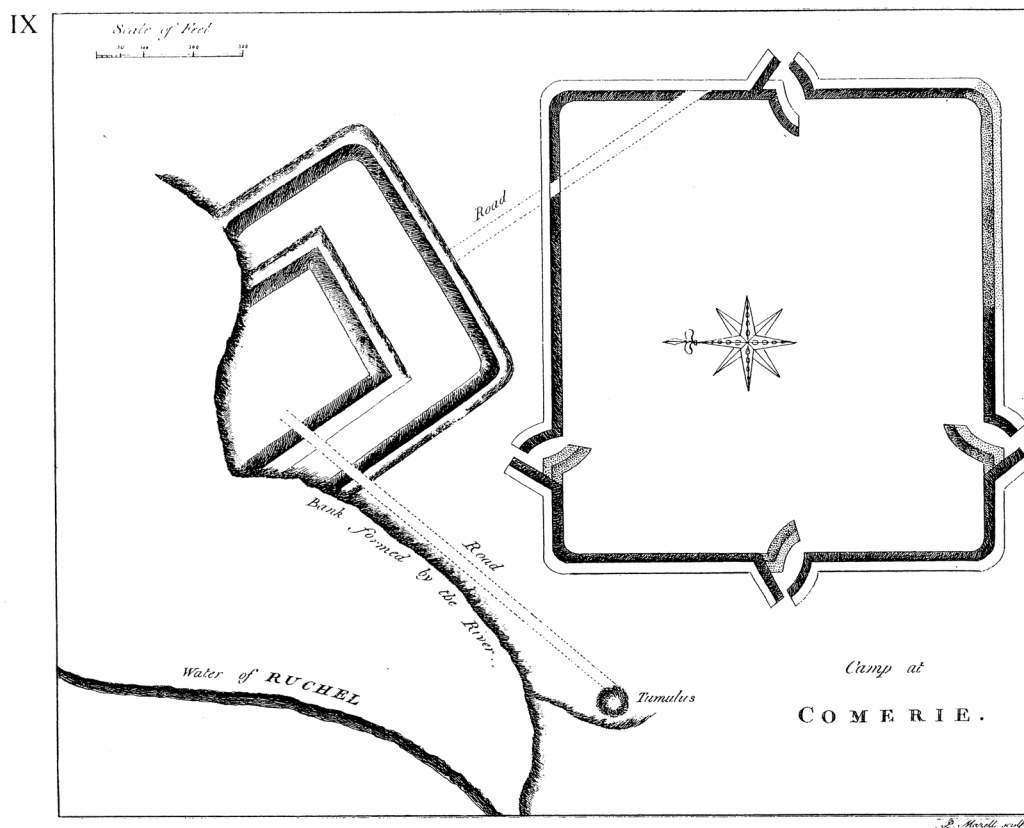
Illus 11 The Roman fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, as drawn by L S De la Rochette (NLS MS 3803, fol 29). © The National Library of Scotland. North is at the top

and a small surveying compass.[95] He lacked the back-up team available to William Roy, but was perhaps accompanied by a servant familiar with cartographic practices.

De la Rochette comments on the fine preservation of the Roman roads he saw, northwards from Ardoch, and eastwards from Strageath along the Gask Ridge towards Perth, which, following Sibbald, he names as 'street way'.[96] He searched out the road which he expected would link Dalginross with Strageath, and found a few traces.[97]

After his inspection of these sites, De la Rochette travelled eastwards from Abercairney, in part using the Roman road along the Gask Ridge, which continued to serve as the main

IX

Scale of Feet

Road

Bank Formed by the River

Road

Water of RUCHEL

Tumulus

Camp at

C O M E R I E .

D. Mazell sculp.

Illus 12 The Roman fort and temporary camp at Dalginross, Perth and Kinross, as drawn in 1772 (reproduced from Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides MDCCLXXII*, 1776. Volume 2: 96 pl ix)

highway leading towards Perth. In his own words, 'nous l'avons suivie [*sic*] en voiture pendant tres ou quatre milles' ('we followed it in a carriage for three or four miles'). There is no indication that he was aware of the watch-towers sited at intervals along its length, which are first reported by Thomas Pennant in 1772.[98] After overnighting at Kinross (illus 2),[99] he viewed the supposed Roman camp at nearby Lochore, then considered another possible site of the night attack by the Caledonians on the Ninth Legion in AD 82 (see above),[100] before continuing to Edinburgh, presumably crossing the River Forth at Queensferry. He reached Edinburgh on 23 June. By contrast, Sir James Macdonald headed westwards from Abercairney towards Skye. Letters were passing between De la Rochette and

his erstwhile superior, the Duc de Nivernais, now back in France; Nivernais was soon aware of the former's travels in the North with Sir James.[101] Though the notes give no indication of the length of De la Rochette's sojourn in Scotland, it is described by the philosopher David Hume, who met him in Edinburgh,[102] as 'the short stay he made in this country'.[103]

Gaining access, it would seem, to the Advocates' Library in Parliament Square, Edinburgh,[104] De la Rochette became aware of the writings of Scottish historians from Hector Boece and George Buchanan onwards, and antiquaries including William Camden, David Buchanan and Robert Gordon of Straloch, many through his reading of Sir Robert Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries* (1707) and Alexander

Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726). De la Rochette consequently possessed a good knowledge of classical authors and their allusions to Scotland and its tribes, and a commendable awareness of epigraphic, numismatic and artefactual evidence for the Roman presence. He was interested too in the philology of Gaelic place-names, Highland customs including bagpiping, the clan system and the agricultural economy,[105] and knew of the recent publication by James Macpherson of the Ossianic corpus.[106] He found Scotland a depressing place, especially on Sundays. It was 'the land of bibles', reflecting the high level of literacy.[107]

De la Rochette's particular antiquarian interest is revealed as the Scottish campaigns of Agricola in AD 77–83 (cf above p 402) and the sites associated with them.[108] He penned a detailed account of these campaigns as rough notes and also as a fair copy. We might well have thought that he intended a publication, but in fact his notes were principally intended as raw material for a projected work by his patron, the Duc de Nivernais, on Tacitus' biography of Agricola. In August 1763, Nivernais in Paris was looking forward to receiving what he anticipated would turn out to be 'des excellents matériaux' ('some excellent materials').[109] In his notes, De la Rochette sometimes addresses the reader as 'Monsieur,' or 'Mon cher Seigneur', likely to mean Nivernais.

Nivernais' edition of the *Agricola* was eventually published in 1796, after he had endured a period of imprisonment during the French Revolution. Tacitus' Latin text is accompanied by a bare translation with a few footnotes, in one of which he displays knowledge of antiquaries such as Boece, Camden, Sibbald and Alexander Gordon, information likely to derive from De la Rochette, though the latter is not acknowledged.[110] De la Rochette's site-drawings may also have been prepared with a view to despatch to Nivernais. Certainly his notes include several lists of potential illustrations, presumably intended to accompany the written account.[111]

We take our leave of De la Rochette in Edinburgh. As his southwards journey is not described in his notes, we cannot say whether it included further visits to towns where French prisoners were being (or had been) held, for example on England's east coast.[112]

In 1764, Sir James Macdonald travelled to Paris with Henry Scott, third Duke of Buccleuch, a fellow student at Eton and Christ Church, and the latter's tutor – Adam Smith – who had recently resigned the chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University for this much better paid post. In Paris they were fêted at the Court of King Louis XV, where they met the philosophers Voltaire and Hume. Macdonald's health was causing concern; in the autumn of 1765 he sought warmer climes.[113] He was at Rome in December of that year before moving on to Naples, for a time in the company of the novelist Laurence Sterne.[114] In Rome he saw the monuments of the city and on the Bay of Naples visited Pompeii and Herculaneum, even climbing to the crater of Vesuvius.[115] He also visited the Roman sites west of Naples including Cumae, Baiae, Lake Avernus and the Lucrine Lake. In a letter to William Weller Pepys, another fellow student at Eton and Oxford, he confided that 'I feel the enthusiasm of quotation come on me every step I go ... [T]he satisfaction of treading that ground with Virgil in your hand is inconceivable'.[116]

Macdonald's worsening physical condition can be documented in his own letters and those of his correspondents. In July 1766 at the age of 24, he died at Frascati in the hills above Rome, to be buried at Rome in the Protestant (non-Catholic) Cemetery near the Porta Ostiense. The monument erected over his grave (illus 13), which was designed by the famous architect and engraver G B Piranesi, took the form of a simple pillar, in origin a piece of Roman column; on one side a raised ansate panel in the Roman style bore a lengthy Latin inscription composed by Piranesi himself, praising Sir James' intellectual gifts and high moral qualities.[117] His coeval, James Boswell, wished he had possessed Macdonald's accomplishments,[118] subsequently lauding him as the 'Marcellus of Scotland', after the son-in-law of Augustus who had died at the age of 19, his youthful promise likewise unfulfilled.[119] On learning of Sir James Macdonald's death, De la Rochette added, as a marginal note, to one of his accounts of their joint expedition a

rather inaccurate version of a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid*, popular in the 18th century, 'hunc tantum terris ostendunt fata' ('the Fates are giving mankind only a brief glimpse of him'), a line which alluded to Augustus' son-in-law, Marcellus.[120]

De la Rochette spent the rest of his life in London. Over a period of 40 years he put his name to a wide range of maps, in association with London publishers, especially William Faden, which had considerable longevity in circulation.[121] Reviews of his maps praise his skills as a draughtsman.[122]

Illus 13 Inscribed pillar marking the grave of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, photographed in 2011. © Margaret J Robb, by courtesy of the Protestant Cemetery, Rome

In later life he also published on ancient geography.[123] By the 1770s, if not earlier, he was resident in Pimlico, close to the Thames near Westminster. In 1777, he was denounced to the Foreign Office as a spy working for the Marquis de Noailles, then French ambassador in London.[124]

Richard Gough's testimony (above, p 410) establishes a connection between De la Rochette and Robert Melville, a link confirmed by two brief notes to Melville written by De la Rochette in 1789 and 1790, the first responding positively to an invitation to visit him at his house in London, the second returning an atlas of Spain and several books borrowed from Melville's library.[125] In 1791 he dedicated to Melville a map he had prepared of Southern Spain.[126] Given his skills and interests, De la Rochette must surely have met William Roy, who was permanently based in London from 1763. However, there is no indication that De la Rochette had access to either Roy's written text or to his drawings of the sites, which remained unpublished until 1793. Conversely, Roy does not mention De la Rochette.

Just a few weeks after marrying for a third time, at St George's Church, Hanover Square, De la Rochette died in London on 14 June 1802. 'At his house in Pimlico, aged 71, the Sieur De la Rochette, a celebrated geographer, universally regretted, for the mildness of his manners, by all who had known him'.[127] He was buried in the churchyard of St George's.[128]

The manuscript notes were, for a time, in the possession of the antiquary George Chalmers (see above p 401), the author of the multi-volume *Caledonia* (1807 onwards). In a footnote placed at the end of his account of Agricola's campaigns in its first volume, Chalmers observed that 'the late M. de la Rochette, who was a French engineer, that had inspected the Roman camps, in Scotland, observing the mistakes of Roy, had prepared materials, for writing an account of Agricola's campaigns; as Mr. Faden, the King's geographer, informs me'.[129] This not entirely accurate observation must derive from a conversation between De la Rochette and William Faden, who had worked closely with De la Rochette over many years

(above p 417), presumably after the publication of William Roy's *Military Antiquities* in 1793. Which 'mistakes' he planned to remedy are not specified.[130] At any rate, they were sufficient, we are told, to prompt De la Rochette to consider publishing his account of Agricola's campaigns, in fact written many years earlier. Chalmers also observed, with regret, that he had 'endeavoured in vain to secure the papers of M. de la Rochette before his death'. The papers would have been of value to him when he was compiling the first volume of his *Caledonia*.

On 23 November 1821, William Faden forwarded to Chalmers a 'memorandum of the late Mr Delarochette relative to his researches for the antient Camps in Scotland. I found it accidentally with other papers'.[131] The accompanying letter carries an indorsement in Chalmers' hand that the 'memorandum' concerned 'Roman camps in Scotland and particularly those in Perthshire'; it presumably constitutes an element within the body of notes we now have. Perhaps Faden himself had come into the possession of De la Rochette's papers at the time of the latter's death in 1802 and later passed them on to Chalmers.

The manuscript volume in the National Library of Scotland thus reveals two somewhat improbable antiquaries on the Perthshire scene in 1763, the one a London-based French cartographer, the other a clan chief. The notes document their precisely dated visits to Roman sites, and act as a check on William Roy's measurements of a few years earlier. De la Rochette's drawings of Dalginross are remarkable for the picture they provide of a skilled cartographer at work. That Sir James Macdonald emerges, briefly, as an antiquary chimes with his close knowledge of classical sources, presumably including Tacitus' biography of Agricola. Whether he contributed in any practical way to the surveys remains unknown.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ENDNOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE ENDNOTES

BL   British Library, London
NA   National Archives, London
NGR National Grid Reference
NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

1 NLS MS 3803. See National Library of Scotland 1966: 296.
2 Waldmann 2014: 49, following Monod-Cassidy 1980: 25 fn 17. I am grateful to Dr Iain Gordon Brown for alerting me to Waldmann's monograph. François-Thomas Moreau de la Rochette (1720–91) was later keeper of the French king's nurseries near Paris. Another De la Rochette, Alexandre-Robert d'Hillaire de la Rochette (1730–1801), was a diplomat dealing with French-Canadian affairs in the 1760s.
3 The handwriting of NLS MS 3803 matches two notes signed by De la Rochette the cartographer (NLS MS 9846, fols 26, 59).

4 De la Rochette mentions (NLS MS 3803, fol 84) a meeting in London with the philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius, which should belong in 1764. The Duke of Cumberland, who died in 1765, is described as 'late' (ibid, fol 6). On a separate sheet (ibid, fol 28) are notes drawing upon Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Scotland* in 1769 and 1772 (Pennant 1776a; 1776b).

5 Anon 1801: 558.

6 St Martin in the Fields marriage records, accessed for me by Morag Cross via Ancestry.com.

7 De Cock 2003: 359. We know nothing of his role in any exchanges, for which see Abell 1914: 25; Charters 2012: 92.

8 Abell 1914; Charters 2012; eadem 2014: 172.

9 Gaudet 1906: pp xvi–xvii, 195–6; Griffiths 1974; Hodson 2012: 62, 83.

10 Gaudet 1906: 196; Griffiths 1974: 83. In a Foreign Office document of 22 November 1763, De la Rochette is described as 'clerk of Nivernais' (NA SP 78/259, fol 29).

11 An enquiry to the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes, Paris, yielded no information on him.

12 NLS MS 3803, fol 83.

13 Monod-Cassidy 1980: 25; Waldmann 2014: 50.

14 Monod-Cassidy 1980: 65.

15 Griffiths 1974: 80; Hodson 2012: 84.

16 NLS 3803, fols 83, 95; Griffiths 1974: 80.

17 At Carlisle he hired a carriage for his onward journey to Edinburgh (NLS MS 3803, fol 84).

18 NLS MS 3803, fols 83–4, 95–6, 107–13. Nivernais had demitted his post and left Britain even before De la Rochette reached Edinburgh.

19 NLS 3803, fol 2. His comments on these two sites derived from Alexander Gordon (1726: 17).

20 NLS MS 3803, fol 85. According to De la Rochette, the prisoners there numbered several hundred. For a contemporary account see Anon 1759.

21 Abell 1914: 269; Allen 1985: 162; Tabraham 2004: 25.

22 Roy 1793: p vi; Balfour-Melville 1917; Jones and Maxwell 2008; Jones 2011: 15; Keppie 2012: 90.

23 Roy 1793; Macdonald 1917; O'Donoghue 1977; Hodson 2007; Hewitt 2010; Jones 2011: 12; Keppie 2012: 91.

24 Pococke 1887: 240–5.

25 Pennant 1776b: 96, 102, pl ix–x.

26 NLS MS 3803, fol 6.

27 NLS MS 3803, fols 84, 108. Macdonald left London for Scotland on 11 May (Monod-Cassidy 1980: 63).

28 Mackenzie 1881: 239; Macdonald and Macdonald 1904: 94; Nicolson 2012: 197.

29 Prebble 1975: 142; Nenadic 2007: 46, 53. Sir James' health was always delicate (below p 416).

30 Lewis 1960: 343.

31 Pottle 1950: 56.

32 They left Edinburgh on 17 June (NLS MS 3803, fol 112).

33 NLS MS 1309, fol 224. Cf Monod-Cassidy 1980: 63.

34 NLS MS 3803, fols 115, 116. The latter is named by De la Rochette as 'Camps Castle,' following Gordon 1726: 42.

35 NLS 3803, fol 115.

36 NGR NN 839099. See Sibbald 1695: 1096; idem 1707: 37.

37 NLS Adv MS 15.1.1, fol 144; Sibbald 1695: 1102; idem 1707 at p. 52.

38 Gordon 1726: 41 with pl 6; Horsley 1732: 44 with pl; Maitland 1757: 195; Pennant 1776b: 101 pl x; Roy 1793: 62, 126, pl x, xxx; Scott 1793: 494; Christison et al 1898: 399.

39 NLS MS 3803, fol 115.

40 NLS MS 3803, fol 44 with Gordon 1726: 41 pl 6.

41 NLS MS 3803, fols 5, 115.

42 Pococke 1887: 240; cf Scott 1793: 495. In the same passage Pococke reports the discovery near Ardoch House of three stone-lined cists containing inhumations, which Sir William opened up.

43 Pennant 1776b: 103.

44 NLS MS 3803, fols 5, 115. De la Rochette made a drawing of it, which has not survived among his notes (ibid, fols 29, 31, 79).

45 Sir Robert Sibbald illustrates several Bronze Age urns in his treatises, without giving provenances, attributing them to the Roman period (1707: at p 52; 1711: 19 with Tab 3).

46 The urn at Ardoch was, we are told by De la Rochette, presumably on Sir William Stirling's authority, the sole survivor of 600 that crumbled to dust upon discovery (NLS MS 3803, fols 5, 44). Alexander Gordon mentions the much earlier discovery of 'Medals and several Urns' in a barrow west of the River Knaik (1726: 41). The cemetery of the Roman fort itself remains unlocated.

47 NLS MS 3803, fols 5, 103, 115.

48 NLS MS 3803, fol 79; Ross 1898. The plan was drawn at a scale of 1in = 12ft (1:144).

49 Roy 1793: pl xxx.

50 NLS MS 3803, fols 103, 112.

51 NGR NN 898180. See NLS MS 3803, fols 112, 116. For modern appreciations of the site see Frere and Wilkes 1989: 3; Lockett 2002; Woolliscroft and Hoffmann 2006: 111.

52 Sibbald 1695: 1096.

53 Gordon 1726: 42 pl 7; Horsley 1732: 44 with pl; Roy 1793: 128 with pl xxxii. There are written accounts by Maitland (1757: 196), Pococke (1887: 245), and Pennant (1776b: 89).

54 NLS MS 3803, fol 29.

55 NLS MS 3803, fols 112, 116, 117.

56 NGR NN 773210. See Crawford 1949: 41; Frere and St Joseph 1983: 129; Woolliscroft and Hoffmann 2006: 49; Jones 2011: 179 illus 109.

57 On possible reoccupation of the fort in the second century AD, see Woolliscroft 2002; Woolliscroft and Hoffmann 2006: 52.

58 Gordon 1726: 40 pl 5 with Keppie 2012: 74.

59 Horsley 1732: 44 with Keppie 2013: 16.

60 Gough 1789: 414*; cf Balfour-Melville 1917: 123 fn 4.

61 Roy 1793: 64; Rivet and Smith 1979: 499.

62 Pennant 1776b: 96 pl ix.

63 Macdonald 1939: 252. Mark Hall, Perth Museum, afforded access to them.

64 Gough 1789: 414* fn (d); cf Gordon 1726: 39. A connection is supposed between the capture of Jerusalem in AD 70 during the First Jewish Revolt and the troops in Agricola's army; Gough accepted that this was chronologically possible. An annotation on one of De la Rochette's plans of Dalginross (see illus 7) alludes to this suggestion (NLS MS 3803, fol 77).

65 NLS MS 3803, fol 77. The plan is not to scale.

66 The tumulus, or 'castell doin dalig' (Macdonald 1939: 252 with fig 2; Crawford 1949: 42), which features on several antiquarian plans of the site (see illus 6, 12), was interpreted in the 18th century as a Roman burial mound heaped up over those who had fallen in battle.

67 Presumably at Dalrannoch. In 1784 a new manse was built close to the Roman temporary camp (Baxter 1794: 184).

68 NGR NN 778473. As suggested to me by David L Strachan, manager, Perth and Kinross Heritage Trust.

69 NLS MS 3803, fol 78. The plan was drawn at a scale of 1in = 20ft (1:240).

70 Roy 1793: 63.

71 St Joseph 1958: 92.

72 Jones 2009; 2011: 49.

73 Gordon (1726: 39) reports 'three Turrets projecting from the Area in a semicircular Form, very large'; Maitland (1757: 196) mentions 'triangular outworks'; Pennant notes 'curtains within and without' (1776b: 97); and Pococke (1887: 243) records a 'semicircular fossee' at three of the gates.

74 Rogers 1993: 280; Jones 2011: 179.

75 For these roads, see Horsley 1732: 44; Maitland 1757: 196; Pennant 1776b: pl ix (here illus 12); Roy 1793: pl xi (here illus 6); Pococke 1887: 243; Crawford 1949: 43.

76 Maitland 1757: 196; Roy 1793: 62; Pococke 1887: 243.

77 For small-scale excavation of the defences of the outer enclosure in 1961, see Robertson 1964: 196, where its ditch is noted as 5m (16ft) across and 1.2m (4ft) deep; there was no trace of an accompanying rampart.

78 Gordon 1726: 39.

79 Roy 1793: 64; cf Stuart 1845: 196; Macdonald 1939: 258 fig 2.

80 Woolliscroft and Hoffmann 2006: 51, fig 16; Jones 2011: 179, illus 109.

81 At NGR NN 774206. See Coles 1911: 59.

82 NRS GD 18/5023/3/41; Keppie 2013: 16 has the details. The stone also features on the Revd John Horsley's plan of the fort (1732: 44).

83 Roy 1793: 64 with pl xi (illus 6).

84 Pococke 1887: 243; cf Pennant 1776b: 96 pl ix; Stuart 1845: 198.

85 Consideration of their present alignment has suggested that the stones may not be in their original positions (Coles 1911: 59). One recent proposal, by way of explanation, is that they could have been overturned when the camp was laid out, and re-erected later (Jones 2011: 92). For a stone circle within the defences of the Roman temporary camp at Rey Cross, County Durham, see Welfare and Swan 1995: 60 with fig 48.

86 All three stones are shown on OS 1:10,000 sheets.

87 Maitland 1757: 196.

88 Gordon 1726: 39.

89 Pococke 1887: 243. For Aulus Atticus see Tacitus, *De Vita Agricolae* 37.6.

90 NLS MS 3803, fol 46.

91 Maitland 1757: 197; Gough 1789: 414*; Roy 1793: 64 with pl xi (here illus 6). Pococke (1887: 240) suggests Ardoch as the location of this event.

92 Pennant 1776b: 98.

93 NLS MS 3803, fol 29. The plan was drawn at a scale of 1in = 36ft (1:432).

94 The Latin names of the gates are copied from Alexander Gordon's description of Dalginross (1726: 39 with his pl 5), based ultimately on Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 1.23. Initially De la Rochette had pencilled in these names at the north and south gates.

95 For the surveying equipment available to the 18th-century cartographer, see Laurence 1716; Adams 1791; Richeson 1966: 141; Andrews 2009: 230. In 1723–5 Alexander Gordon measured the course of the Antonine Wall using a 'mathematical instrument', identified as a Gunter Chain (Gordon 1726: 49, 64; Keppie 2012: 74).

96 NLS MS 3803, fols 5, 116 with Sibbald 1695: 1096; idem 1707: 37.

97 NLS MS 3803, fol 5.

98 Pennant 1776b: 90; cf Kemp 1791: 481; Chalmers 1807, Vol 1: 146; Christison et al 1898: 427; Christison 1901.

99 NLS MS 3803, fol 112. Time constraints count against a sojourn in Perth. In any case no French prisoners are attested there.

100 NLS MS 3803, fols 4, 112, 118, 120. On modern interpretations of the site at Lochore, see Crawford 1949: 144; Maxwell 1990: 78.

101 D'Eon de Beaumont 1765: 100, 105.

102 NLS MS 3803, fol 113.

103 Greig 2011: 390 no 209. For Hume's dealings with De la Rochette, see Waldmann 2014: 49.

104 NLS MS 3803, fol 5.

105 NLS MS 3803, fols 83, 104, 122, 124. See also Rackwitz 2007: 266, 461.

106 NLS MS 3803, fols 16, 18.

107 NLS MS 3803, fol 113.

108 The travellers must have crossed the line of the Antonine Wall while travelling between Linlithgow and Falkirk on 17 June, but De la Rochette does not mention it.

109 D'Eon de Beaumont 1765: 105.

110 Nivernais 1796: 98.

111 NLS MS 3803, fols 29, 31, 79. The lists include drawings of Ardoch, of the urn found there, of Roman dispositions at the battle of Mons Graupius (based on Tacitus' text), of the 'camp de Strageath' and of 'Dalgin-ross-muir'. When De la Rochette says in his notes that he is 'sending' (presumably to Nivernais) the urn which the travellers viewed at Ardoch (above p 406), he surely means a drawing of it (ibid, fol 5).

112 Abell 1914: 268; Charters 2012: 92. He might alternatively have returned southwards by sea.

113 Gaussen 1904: 277.

114 Cash 1986: 234.

115 Gaussen 1904: 281; Ingamells 1997: 622.

116 Gaussen 1904: 282. The Sixth Book of Virgil's *Aeneid* recounted Aeneas' visits to Cumae and Lake Avernus, from which access was gained to the Underworld.

117 Battaglia 1994; Stanley-Price 2010.

118 Brady and Pottle 1955: 200.

119 Hill 1934: 82 n 1.

120 NLS MS 3803, fol 84, with Vergil *Aeneid* 6.869.

121 Worms 2004; Worms and Baynton-Williams 2011: 193, 221.

122 Anon 1801.

123 De la Rochette 1797a; 1797b. An interest in Roman place-names is evident in his manuscript notes (NLS MS 3803, fols 5, 12, 25).

124 NA SP 78/301, fol 235. Some of his official activities in 1763–4 attracted government disapproval (NA SP 78/259, fols 29, 106, 177; SP 78/262, fol 213). Dr Iain Gordon Brown, *in* Piggott and Robertson 1977: no 34, suggested that De la Rochette was on a spying mission in Scotland in 1763. There is no hint of this activity in his surviving notes.

125 NLS MS 9846, fols 26, 59, the latter including a dismissive comment on the quality of the *vin de pays* of Burgundy.

126 NA MPH 1/1195, item 9; Beech 1998: entry 4172.

127 *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1802: 877. Several children outlived him.

128 Snell 1904: 165.

129 Chalmers 1807, Vol 1: 114.

130 For Chalmers' disparaging attitude towards the work of William Roy, see Chalmers 1807, Vol 1: 114, Vol 2: 63–4.

131 BL Add MS 79532 D, fol 23.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

Add MS 79532 D, fol 23
> Letter of William Faden to George Chalmers, 1821.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES, LONDON

MPH 1/1195, item 9
> Map of Southern Spain (Baetica), 1809, copied from an original dated 1791.

SP 78/259, 78/262, 78/301
> Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, France, 1577–1780.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, EDINBURGH

Adv MS 15.1.1
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MS 1309
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MS 3803
> Papers of L S De la Rochette, 1763 onwards.

MS 9846
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