Bonnie Prince Charlie's Governor: James Murray, Jacobite Earl of Dunbar

Edward Corp



(Fig.1)

In 1725 King James III decided to remove his son Prince Charles from the care of women and entrust his upbringing to a group of men. This change was normally done in the Stuart royal family when a boy was seven years old, but in 1725 Prince Charles was only four. The reason why James did this was because Prince Henry had just been born, and because he wanted the available women to look after Henry rather than Charles. It was difficult, if not impossible, to recruit single women to come from England to Rome to look after his children, so he felt that the women who were already there would be better employed looking after the new baby. There was also the question of accommodation in the Palazzo del Re. There was only one nursery, and King James needed it for Henry rather than Charles. Of course the women concerned, and particularly Queen Clementina, strongly opposed this change, but James overruled their opposition.[1]

Prince Charles was then provided with a team of men to look after him, supervised by an under-governor, all of whom were Catholic. But King James, who strongly believed in religious toleration, wanted to appoint a Protestant governor to be in overall control, and he selected James Murray for this position. He further announced that he had given Murray a peerage and that his son's new governor would be styled the Earl of Dunbar. It will be argued here that the choice of Dunbar as governor was a serious mistake, but in doing so it must be admitted that it is difficult to think who else James might have appointed.

It is not necessary to summarise all of Dunbar's career before 1725, but a few facts should be mentioned concerning his previous connection with the exiled court.[2]

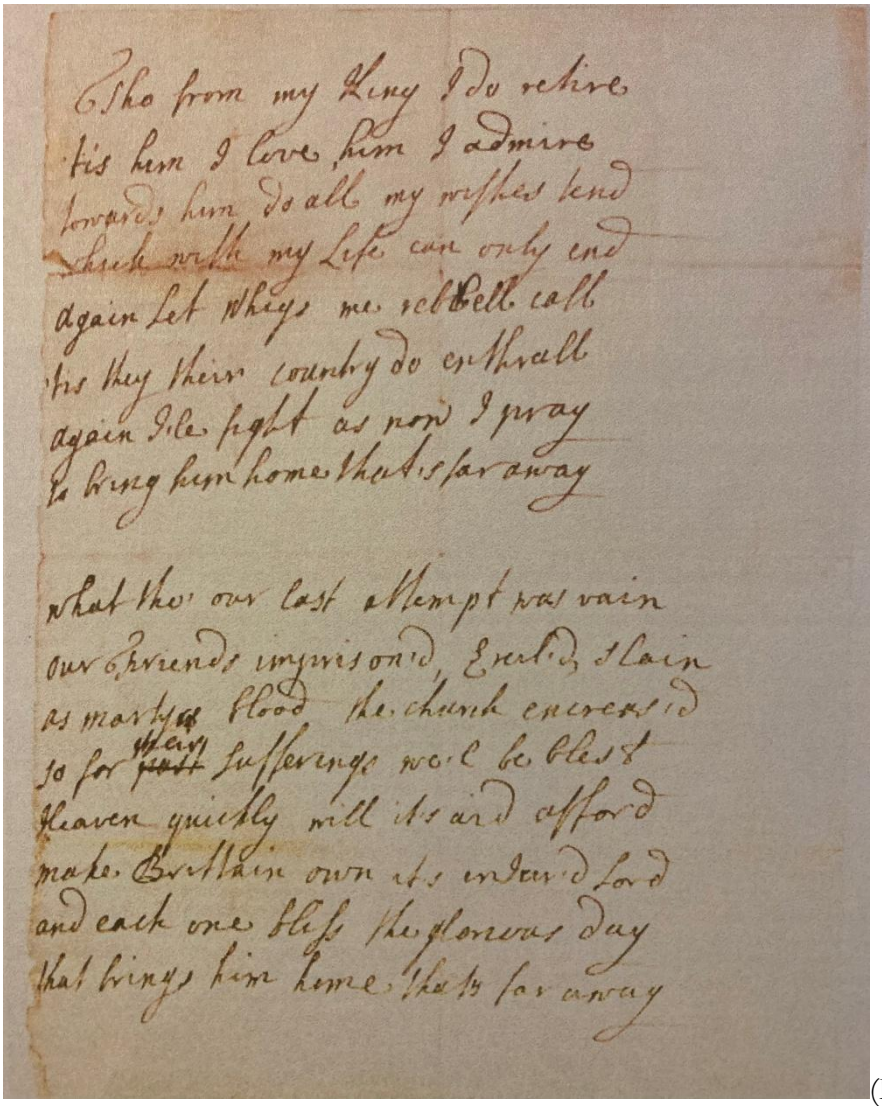
Dunbar had been an MP from 1711 to 1715, had supported the 1715 rising in Scotland, and been briefly imprisoned in London. He was then invited by James III to join him at Urbino in 1718. James was warned by several Jacobites, and by the Earl of Oxford, that Dunbar was rude and arrogant and that he should not be given responsibility,[3] but James ignored these warnings because Dunbar's sister Marjory was married to John Hay, Jacobite Earl of Inverness who had become his favourite. Dunbar arrived at Urbino with his sister in June 1718 and on the very next day was sent by the king to Ohlau in Silesia to negotiate his marriage to Princess Clementina Sobieska with her father Prince James. The success of this negotiation gained Dunbar the favour of King James, but it also made him increasingly arrogant. Both he and his brother-in-law Lord Inverness were strongly disliked by the great majority of the Jacobite courtiers, and their influence with the king was deeply resented, especially when the two men were given responsibility for making all the arrangements for the marriage between James and Clementina.

As it happened Clementina was stopped at Innsbruck on her way to Italy, by order of the Emperor, and placed under house arrest. So the wedding was postponed. Instead the king moved his court from Urbino to Rome and went off to Spain with Inverness to join an invasion fleet, planned to take an army to England and achieve a restoration. At this point he made a fatal error of judgment. He not only appointed Dunbar to be his acting secretary of state, but also placed him in charge of the entire management of the Jacobite court. This made Dunbar, who had only been at the court a very short time and hardly knew the people there, even more rude and arrogant, especially to the Scottish nobles and the few ladies who were there, though not of course to his sister Lady Inverness. The situation was made even worse in the spring of 1719 while James and Inverness were still in Spain. Clementina escaped from Innsbruck with some resourceful Irish military officers and arrived in the Papal States. The arrogant Dunbar met her at Bologna, and went through a proxy marriage ceremony with her, something which the king had authorized him to do, even though he was a Protestant. This made Dunbar even more self-important and arrogant, and even more positively disliked by the Scottish nobles and the household servants. When James returned with Inverness to Italy after the failure of the Spanish invasion attempt, he was met with a series of complaints from his courtiers, all of which he brushed aside, making it clear that he fully supported Dunbar. Even Queen Clementina, with whom he now solemnized his marriage, was

ignored. She had been deeply offended by Dunbar's behaviour towards her, but the king put all his trust in his favourites, Inverness and Dunbar, the latter of whom he confirmed as acting secretary of state. From the very beginning of their marriage, therefore, Clementina strongly disliked both Inverness and Dunbar, and was offended by the way that they and Lady Inverness behaved towards her.[4]

During 1720 the situation steadily deteriorated. The Jacobites in England and Scotland would not correspond with Dunbar, so James knew he had to replace him with a new and official secretary of state. But it soon became clear that no Jacobite was willing to come to Rome to take up the post so long as Dunbar and Inverness remained there as the king's favourites. Eventually James realized that he would have to tell Dunbar to leave, but he was determined to keep Lord and Lady Inverness. This meant that he could still not recruit a new secretary of state and had to appoint Inverness to take on the role in an acting capacity.

Dunbar left Rome in February 1721, five weeks after Prince Charles was born, and went to live in Lorraine, France and the Austrian Netherlands. But before he left he composed this poem in two stanzas:[5]


Tho from my King I do retire
'tis him I love, him I admire
towards him do all my wishes tend
which with my Life can only end
again let Whigs me rebell call
'tis they their country do enthrall
again Ile fight as now I pray
to bring him home that's far away

what tho' our last attempt was vain
our friends imprison'd, Exil'd, slain
as martyrs blood the church encreas'd
so for their sufferings we'l be blest
Heaven quickly will it's aid afford
make Brittain own its indu'd Lord
and each one bless the glorious day
that brings him home that's far away

(Fig.2)

Tho from my King I do retire
'tis him I love, him I admire
Towards him do all my wishes tend
Which with my Life can only end
Again let Whigs me rebell call
'tis they their country do enthrall
Again I'le fight as now I pray
To bring him home that's far away

What tho' our last attempt was vain
Our friends imprison'd, exil'd, slain
As martyrs blood the church increased
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Make Brittain own it's injur'd Lord
And each one bless the glorious day
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During the four and a half years that he was away from the court in Rome, Dunbar thought of returning to Scotland. His father was still alive, but his elder brother was unmarried and in ill-health. So he hoped one day to succeed to the family peerage. Fearing, however, that he would be arrested and interrogated by the Whig government of George I in London, he decided to live permanently in Lorraine. He was there at the beginning of 1725 when he received a letter from the king inviting him to return to the court in Rome. Queen Clementina, who by then thoroughly detested Lord and Lady Inverness, was not consulted, but James had decided he wanted to appoint Dunbar to be the governor of the four-year-old Prince Charles. To add to Clementina's discomfort, the king now formally appointed Inverness to be his official secretary of state.





(Figs. 3, 4 and 5)

Dunbar knew that he was not qualified to become the little boy's governor, but he had to accept the position when King James summoned him to return. His only or main source of income was the pension that he received from the king, so he was not in a position to refuse. He arrived in September, well aware that he would never now be able to return to Scotland to inherit the family peerage, even if his elder brother never married and had a son. The immediate result was that Queen Clementina left the court and took refuge in the Convent of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere,

saying that she would not return unless her husband both selected someone else to be Prince Charles' governor and ordered Lord and Lady Inverness to leave the court. King James refused to do either of these and showed his support for Dunbar and Inverness by making them Knights of the Order of the Thistle, so Clementina remained in the convent for nearly two years, and James moved his court to Bologna in 1726.

This essay is concerned with Lord Dunbar, not the separation of the king and queen, so it is only necessary to say that a compromise was eventually reached, whereby Lord and Lady Inverness left the court in April 1727, but Dunbar remained the governor. Clementina eventually joined the court at Bologna a few months later. The court then returned to the Palazzo del Re in Rome at the beginning of 1729, when Prince Henry was just four years old. Dunbar was appointed to be his governor as well, which meant that the women looking after him had to be pensioned off. James therefore treated the two boys equally, but there was absolutely no need to hand Prince Henry over to be cared for by men when *he* was only four years old.

Dunbar was therefore governor of Prince Charles for thirteen years, from September 1725 until Charles' 18th birthday in December 1738. He was governor of Prince Henry for nearly fourteen years, from June 1729 until Henry's 18th birthday in March 1743.

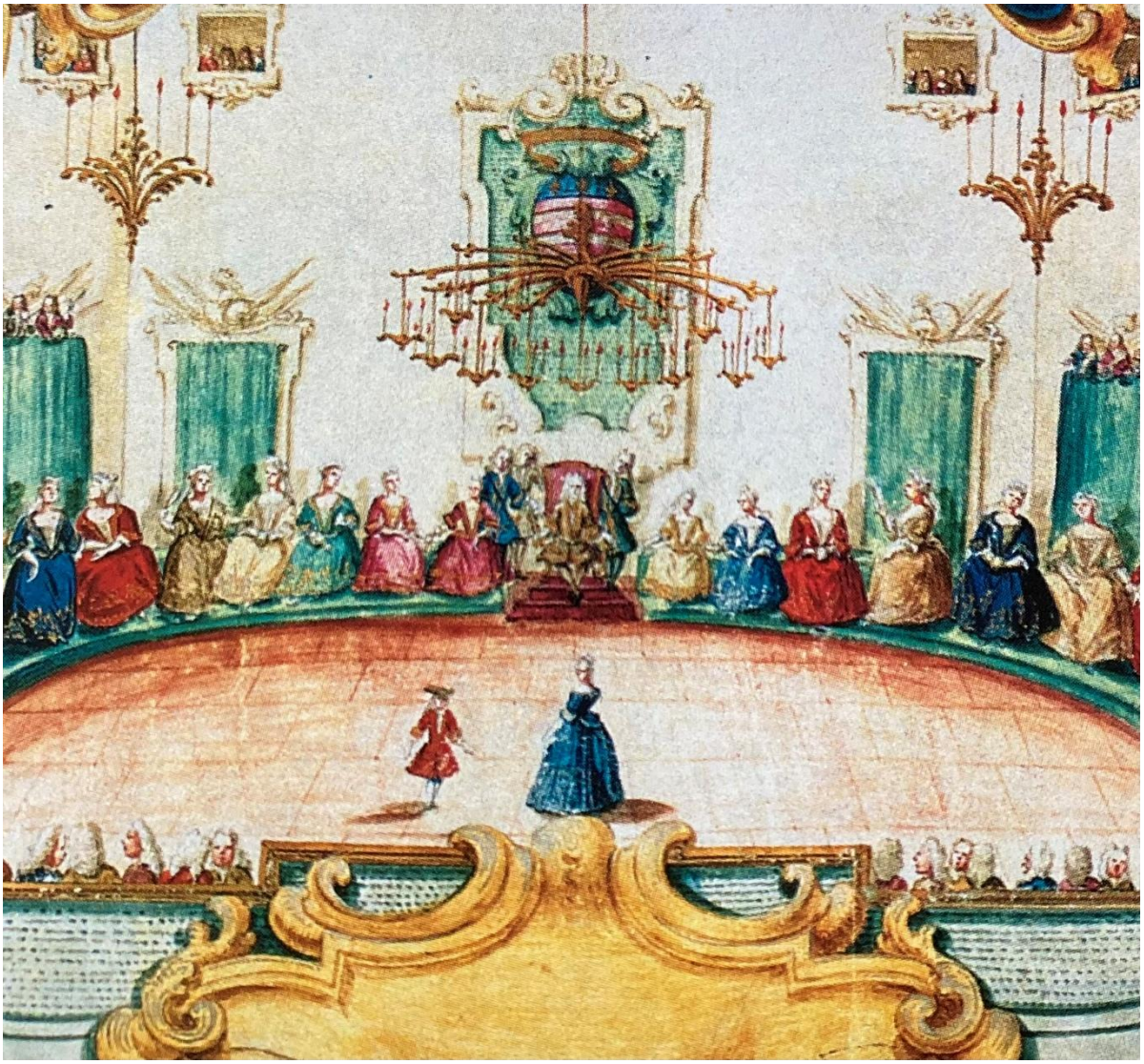
This essay will concentrate on Dunbar and Charles, not Dunbar and Henry. We should keep in mind that the very young and adolescent Charles had to put up with having Dunbar as his governor for these thirteen years. It is not necessary to speculate what effect this had on his personality then or later, except to say that Charles grew up to be both very immature and rebellious, what we might call a typical difficult teenager.

So let us now consider what qualifications the governor of Prince Charles should have had. First of all he should have been married, with his wife and his own children at the court. He should therefore have been a family man, and this is what James' own governor had been at Saint-Germain. James' governor had been the 4th Earl (later Duke) of Perth, who was at the court with his wife and their two young sons. Dunbar was unmarried, and in one of his letters wrote that he had no intention of ever getting married.[6] As already stated he was rude to the ladies at the court when he was in charge in 1719. It seems that Dunbar did not like women.

The second qualification for the post of governor of the Prince of Wales was that whoever held the post should have been an hereditary peer in his own right. Dunbar was only the second son of a Scottish Viscount, and therefore a commoner, and had to be given a Jacobite peerage to make his appointment seem acceptable. And here of course was the problem. There was only one peer at the court who could have been given the post, and that was the 5th Earl of Nithsdale, but he had been selected to be the queen's first gentleman. There were no English or Scottish peers living in exile in France and Spain who could have been given the post, and by 1725 no one in England or Scotland was willing to be attainted, and thus lose all his family's possessions, to join a king in exile who might never be restored.

The third qualification to be Prince Charles' governor was that the man selected should have been agreeable to the boy. Of course Dunbar was not agreeable to Charles, who blamed him for the separation of his parents. But there was much more to it than that, because Dunbar was obviously a bad choice for other reasons, and that became increasingly evident as the boy grew up. So we need to consider what Bonnie Prince Charlie was like. What motivated him, beyond of course a compelling desire to achieve a restoration for his father and himself ?

People might have different answers to this question, but they are likely to include the following three things. The first is that Prince Charles liked women: dancing with them when he was a boy, (Fig.6) and sleeping with them when he was a man. All his biographers mention Clementina Walkinshaw with whom he had a daughter, his cousin the duchesse de Montbazon with whom he had a son, and the princesse de Talmont. When he marred Louise of Stolberg he did not give her the queen's apartment in the Palazzo del Re, but obliged her to share his apartment and sleep with him every night, which was a clear break with the royal convention of having separate apartments and bedchambers.[7] I am not aware of any surviving evidence that Dunbar was interested in women, whether dancing with them or otherwise. We know that he was rude to the women at the court, and that they disliked him, and he had no idea of how to behave respectfully to the queen. Added to that, as already mentioned, he himself said that he had no intention of ever getting married. The only woman with whom he ever seemed close was his sister Lady Inverness.



(Fig 6)

The second thing which motivated Prince Charles was hunting and military campaigning. He very regularly went riding and hunting in Italy once he was eighteen years old and free from Dunbar's control. Other members of the Stuart court in Rome liked hunting, but no references have been found that Dunbar was one of them. Charles was also well aware that a restoration would involve an invasion of England, so he took a strong interest in military matters. Unfortunately he had little opportunity to go on a military campaign before coming to Scotland, and his attempt to join the Imperial army fighting against the Turks was opposed by the Emperor. But Charles was tough and manly, as he showed when he went into hiding in the summer of 1746 after Culloden. It is notable that when he went to Scotland he was accompanied by the man who had been his under-governor, but not the man who had been his governor.

The third and probably the most important thing which motivated Prince Charles, was music, both as a performer and as a listener. He was passionately keen on what we today would

call Italian baroque and pre-classical music. He played the cello to a very high standard and was taught by Giovanni Costanzi, a celebrated composer at the time and the best cellist in Rome. Charles organized regular concerts in the Palazzo del Re, which were felt by some people to be the best concerts in Rome, and he went several times each week to the operas performed in the Roman theatres every carnival season. His enthusiasm was such that he went to see and hear nearly all of the performances of each opera that was performed in the three Roman operas theatres. He particularly loved the operas in the so-called *galant* style by the Neapolitan school of composers, such as Leonardo Vinci and Nicola Porpora, and then their successors.[8] And later when he was in Paris he went very regularly to the *Académie Royale de Musique* to attend the *tragédies lyriques* and *opéra-ballets* of Jean Philippe Rameau and his contemporaries.[9]

So we need to know what Dunbar's attitude was to music, and fortunately we have the evidence in one of his letters. He said that he strongly disliked all Italian music, and that French music had 'the same effect upon me as scraping with the point of a knife on a dish' and that it makes 'me spit prodigiously'.[10] And that is the man who always had to accompany Prince Charles to the opera theatres in Rome and sit in a box with him until the prince was eighteen years old. And even after he had escaped from his governor's control in 1738, Dunbar was still present in the box because he remained the governor of Charles' younger brother Prince Henry until 1743. It must have been very irritating for the rebellious young Charles always to share a box at the opera with Dunbar, knowing that his governor had absolutely no appreciation of something which he and his brother passionately enjoyed.

The Jacobites in Rome and elsewhere in Europe were well aware of this situation and set about trying to undermine Dunbar's position. They were led by one of the two Anglican chaplains at the exiled court named Ezekiel Hamilton and had the full backing of both the Duke of Ormonde and particularly the Earl Marischal. Hamilton created a pretended chivalric order called the Order of Toboso, a Spanish word which means a Scottish Thistle, and he gradually enrolled senior members of the court as knights of the order, most of whom were Scottish. There were not many Scots at the exiled court, but they all seem to have joined, except of course Dunbar and the king's private secretary who remained neutral. Even Charles and Henry both joined the Order of Toboso. In June 1731 the Earl Marischal came to Rome to live in the Palazzo del Re as the king's principal minister, with the intention of getting Dunbar dismissed. He wrote in one of his letters later that year that Prince Charles 'has already got the better of his Governor', and told his brother that Dunbar was detested in Rome and that he and others were doing all they could to get him

dismissed. But they failed because King James continued his 'esteem and regard' for Dunbar. Early in 1733 Marischal gave up and left the court, but Hamilton and the other Toboso knights continued trying to undermine Dunbar and let Prince Charles escape from his control. It was reported that Charles 'made all sorts of insults, and even wanted to kick his Governor … and threatened to kill him'.[11]

Matters came to a head later that same year, 1733, because the other Anglican chaplain, who was Welsh and named Daniel Williams, died. When Hamilton looked through the dead man's papers he discovered five poems written about him in Williams' handwriting which he (Hamilton) 'considered as violent satyrs against him'. Hamilton was absolutely furious but could not believe that the poems had been composed by Williams, whom he claimed must therefore have merely copied them 'in pure obedience to a Powerful Patron'. Examining the poems in detail convinced him that they must have been composed by a Scotsman. He observed that 'there are not only Scotticisms in these Poems, but Scots words truly spell'd, which many who know a little of the Scots Language are not able to do, and Mr Williams was as great a stranger to that Language, as he was to the Ancient Arabick, or to the modern Crime(an) Tartar, for he was a Welsh man born, as you might have easily known by his accent'. As far as Hamilton was concerned the poems must have been composed by Lord Dunbar, who was the most 'Powerful Patron' at the court. So he complained to the king, who then consulted Dunbar. The latter denied that he had written the poems, which unfortunately have not survived. Perhaps Dunbar composed them, perhaps he did not, but we may note that he did not tell the truth. And this is because his principal argument for saying that he could not possibly be their author was because he told the king he was 'known never to have written one line in verse during his whole life'. Yet we have already seen the poem that he wrote to the king when he left the court in 1721. Dunbar probably did compose the poems satirizing Hamilton, but it is hard to believe that he could have forced Williams to copy them out. It seems much more likely that Williams chose to copy them of his own free will.[12]

In any event the king supported Dunbar against Hamilton and ordered the latter to leave the Palazzo del Re. He also persuaded the Pope to expel Hamilton not only from Rome but also from the Papal States. Hamilton never forgave Dunbar, and his later correspondence is full of vitriolic comments about him. On one occasion he even pretended that Dunbar had wanted to join the Order of Toboso, so wrote to instruct all its members that 'His company is to be avoided by all honorable knights and squires, and … he ought to be condemned to admire himself, to laugh at his own insipid jokes and to read his own dull and malicious poems'.[13] Yet the king had fully

supported Dunbar whose position, if anything, seems to have been strengthened, not weakened, by the activities of Hamilton and the Order of Toboso. In the absence of Hamilton, the self-styled Grand Master, the knights all joined a newly created lodge of Freemasons to continue the struggle against Dunbar, but in the years which followed the Freemasons were no more successful than the Toboso knights in getting Dunbar dismissed.

In December 1738 Prince Charles achieved his majority, followed by Prince Henry in March 1743. Dunbar therefore became unemployed. War had finally broken out between France and Great Britain, so the two princes left Rome in 1744 and 1745, hoping to join a French fleet to invade the south of England. And now, at last, King James finally turned against Dunbar who had been such a destructive influence at the court since his first arrival back in 1718. The reason for this is because Dunbar had always been anti-French and had made no secret of it. Now all Stuart hopes of a restoration depended on the French, and the French ambassador in Rome made it obvious that he disliked and distrusted Dunbar. After 1743 the king merely used Dunbar to run errands. But the failure of the French to launch an invasion of England, and then to give Prince Charles sufficient support in Scotland, was criticised by Dunbar, whom the king now described as 'the person of all at Rome' who is 'the least agreeable to me'.[14]

Dunbar left Rome in April 1747 and went to live with his widowed sister in a country house called Belvédère which she rented outside Avignon. He was living there when Prince Charles was arrested in Paris, imprisoned in the Château de Vincennes, and expelled from France. Because Charles was now also feeling hostile to the French, he and Dunbar struck up an unexpected alliance. For two months in the winter of 1748-49 Charles was at Avignon and he and Dunbar met each other from time to time.[15] Writing to Rome, Dunbar annoyed James by defending the irresponsible way that Charles had behaved in Paris and how he had refused to leave when urged to do so by Louis XV as well as own father.[16] The two men then seemed to have kept in touch to some extent, and Prince Charles even invited Dunbar to visit the court in Rome after he eventually returned there in 1766.[17]

Dunbar's last years were uneventful. His letters tell us about the plants and crops that he cultivated in his garden. They also tell us that he always wore the blue sash of the Order of the Thistle, with a St Andrew medal at his right hip, and a St Andrew star on the left side of his coat, on formal occasions in Avignon.[18] He remained very conscious of his Scottish identity and pursued his love of poetry, possibly even writing some. He greatly admired James Macpherson's Ossian

poems when they were first published in 1761 and even paid money to have the first volume translated into Italian.[19] At the end of 1765 he was visited by James Boswell who was keen to meet the man who had been Bonnie Prince Charlie's governor.[20] Two years later he and his sister left Bélvedère and went to live in the centre of Avignon.[21] Lady Inverness died there at the end of 1768, and left all her money and possessions to her brother.[22] Dunbar himself died in August 1770 and left everything (about 40,000 livres) to Cardinal York.[23]

It is not the present author's intention to speculate what effect having Dunbar as his governor during his thirteen formative years, from four to eighteen, might have had on Prince Charles' development and subsequent personality, but it is something which should be taken into account by future historians. It certainly had political consequences because some Jacobites doubted that there would ever be a Stuart restoration so long as the king employed Inverness and Dunbar, the men who effectively destroyed his marriage with Queen Clementina. The presence of these two men at the court in Rome stopped much more able men already in exile from joining the court. And moreover they were not trusted because their families in Scotland had sworn allegiance to both George I and George II. Inverness's older brother, who became 8th Earl of Kinnoull, served George II as British ambassador at Constantinople from 1729 to 1736, and he brought up his son to be a Whig. Dunbar's younger brother William was also a Whig by political persuasion. He became Solicitor General in the Whig ministry in 1742 while Dunbar was still in Rome, and then Attorney General, Lord Chief Justice of King's Bench, Chancellor of the Exchequer and a long-term member of successive Whig cabinets in London while Dunbar was at Avignon. He was also given both an British and a Scottish peerage by George II, as Earl of Mansfield.[24] Dunbar's older brother David married and had a son in 1727, and then succeeded his father as 6th Viscount Stormont. He brought up his own son, the 7th Viscount, to be a loyal servant of George II and George III. Having been Minister at Dresden and Warsaw, Dunbar's nephew was British ambassador at Vienna when he (Dunbar) died in 1770, and he later served as British ambassador at Paris. The fact is that Inverness and Dunbar were not only strongly disliked because of their behaviour, but also distrusted because their families in Scotland and England were so obviously Hanoverian and were given important positions of trust by George I, II and III. So by way of conclusion here is what we might regard as a typical letter written in 1726 by a Jacobite living in the Château de Saint-Germain in France, which may be regarded as representative of opinion among the exiles: 'be assured', he wrote, 'those two sparks Hays and Murry (that is Inverness and Dunbar) desire James' restoration as much as I desire to hang myself, but their business is to serve King George.'[25] Whether they could not be trusted because of their families' Whig loyalties, or

whether it was because by destroying the marriage of James and Clementina they provided the Hanoverians and Whigs with significant anti-Stuart publicity, either way the two men could be considered as serving the interests of King George.[26] And it was one of them, Dunbar, who was entrusted with the upbringing of the man who was destined to become the celebrated Bonnie Prince Charlie. The Stuart court in Rome would have been a much happier place if Dunbar had never returned in 1725, and it could be argued that Bonnie Prince Charlie would have had a much more satisfactory childhood and adolescence if he had had someone else as his governor.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Francesco Trevisani, *James Murray (later Earl of Dunbar)*, 1719
2. A poem written by James Murray (later Earl of Dunbar) in February 1721
3. Francesco Trevisani, *John Hay, Earl of Inverness*, 1724
4. Antonio David, *Marjory Hay (née Murray), Countess of Inverness as Diana* painted for her brother, 1724
5. Antonio David, *Marjory Hay (née Murray), Countess of Inverness as Flora* painted for her husband, 1724
6. Leonardo Sconzani, *Prince Charles dancing with a lady in Palazzo Marescotti* at Bologna on his sixth birthday, 31 December 1726 (detail). King James is sitting on the throne in the middle, and Lords Dunbar and Inverness are probably two of the three men standing beside him in attendance

NOTES

1. All information about the Stuart court in Rome is taken from Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), particularly chapters 6 to 8, 10, 15 and 16.

2. For a summary of Dunbar's career before 1725 see Edward Corp, 'James Murray, Jacobite first Earl of Dunbar, 1690-1770', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Fourth Supplement*, on internet (Oxford University Press, 2008). For Dunbar's career at the Stuart court from 1718 to 1719, see Edward Corp, *The Jacobites at Urbino* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009), chapters 5, 6 and 8 to 13.

3. Henrietta Tayler (ed.), *The Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719* (Edinburgh, 1938), p.22; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Stuart Papers VI* (HMSO, London, 1916), p.345, Menzies to Mar, 21 April 1718.

4. Edward Corp, 'Queen Clementina at the Stuart Court', in Richard K. Maher (ed.), *The Irish to the Rescue* (Peter Lang, Oxford, 2021), pp.121-45.

5. Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, Stuart Papers (RA. SP) Box 3/9/2, a poem in the handwriting of Dunbar, written immediately before he left the Stuart court in February 1721.

6. Tayler (ed.), *The Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719*, p.129, Dunbar to Lady Inverness, no date given (1724): 'I am resolved not to commit matrimony.'

7. I am very grateful to Stefano Baccolo and Calum Cunningham for this unpublished information which is based on their researches in the annual *stati d'anime* of the people who lived in the Palazzo del Re, showing the occupants of every apartment in the building. (Archivio Storico Vicariato di Roma, parish of Santi Apostoli). The subject will be discussed in their forthcoming book on the court of Prince Charles after 1766.

8. Corp, *The Stuarts in Rome*, chapter 13.

9. It was at the *Académie Royale de Musique*, the Paris Opera, that he was arrested on 10 December 1748. (Frank McLynn, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (Pimlico Edition, 2003), p.362).

10. RA. SP 289/110, Dunbar to Edgar, 5 February 1748.

11. For the Order of Toboso, see Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy*, pp.324-27. The quotations are on p.325.

12. For the details of the controversy caused by these Scottish poems and Dunbar's denial, see Edward Corp, 'The Mystery of the Jacobite Poet', *The Gale Review*, 14 May 2019, on internet. This article gives the detailed references for the quotations and reproduces all the relevant documents.

13. Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy*, p.326.

14. Ibid., p334.

15. McLynn, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, pp.371, 375-76. The correspondence seems to imply that Charles might even have lived at Belvédère with Lord Dunbar and Lady Inverness

16. Pope Benedict XIV, *Correspondance de Benoît XIV*, ed. Emile de Heeckeren (2 vols., Paris 1912), vol. 1, pp.464, 467, Benedict XIV to Cardinal de Tencin, 19 February and 5 March 1749.

17. RA. SP 446/109, Dunbar to Prince Charles, 2 January 1769.

18. RA. SP Misc 24, p.13, Pietro Marsi's accounts with Dunbar, January 1755; 417/68, 186, Dunbar to Lumisden, 3 June and 8 July 1763; 444/151, Dunbar to Lumisden, 13 August 1768.

19. RA. SP 422/121, Dunbar to Lumisden, 8 August 1764; 434/157, Dunbar to Lumisden, 5 April 1766.

20. RA. SP 431/102, Dunbar to Lumisden, 28 December 1765.

21. RA. SP 441/171, Dunbar to Lumisden, 2 October 1767; 442/110, Dunbar to Lumsden, 7 November 1767.

22. Bibliothèque Municipale d'Avignon, MS 1614, f.516, The Will of Lady Inverness, 11 August 1756.

23. B.M. d'Avignon, MS 1614, ff.61-66, The Will of Lord Dunbar, 10 April 1769; British Library Add. MSS 34641, p.81, 'Montant … due à Son Altesse Royale … le Cardinal Duc d'Yorck … 40,039 livres 17s 7d de la succession de Mylord Dumbard … decedé à la fin de Juillet 1770', 17 June 1771.

24. William Murray, the future Lord Mansfield, wrote to Lord Inverness from Paris on 6 August 1725 asking him to 'make a tender of my duty and loyalty to the King' (James III). He added that 'the greatest glory I can aim at is to be able to serve his Maty in any way that he pleases to command me' (Tayler, (ed.), *The Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719*, p.230). Some Jacobites in exile wondered if Lord Dunbar's professed loyalty to King James was any more reliable than that of his brother.

25. Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy*, p.169.

26. It should be noted that King James argued that it was not Inverness and Dunbar but Queen Clementina who was serving the interests of King George. She told her father that he 'accused her of cooperation with the Hanoverian court and all of his enemies'. Clementina told her husband shortly afterwards that 'his accusation that she had cooperated with the Elector of Hanover was absolutely terrible'. Aleksandra Skrzypietz, 'Marital Crisis between Maria Clementina née Sobieska and James Stuart in the Light of her Correspondence with her father', in *I Sobieski a Roma: La famiglia reale polacca nell Città Eterna*, eds. Juliusz A. Chroscicki, Zuzanna Flisowska and Pawel Migasiswicz (Wilanow Palace Museum, Warsaw, 2018), p.369, Queen Clementina to Prince James Sobieski, 19 January 1726; and p.372, Queen Clementina to King James III, 12 February 1726.