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Counting the ‘Cavaliers’: Two Contemporary Analyses of the Political Wing of the Scots Jacobite Underground in the Union Parliament¹

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Underground movements are understandably reluctant to record the names and numbers of their adherents because any such compilation is manifestly a hostage to fortune. Hence very few lists of politically active Jacobites actually compiled by the Jacobites themselves have survived to the present day. In the French foreign ministry archives at La Corneille, however, there is a rare and previously unknown/unused example of such a list. ‘The Rolls of Parliament as they stand’, is a classic printed, marked list of all the lords entitled to sit in, and commissioners elected to, Queen Anne’s Union Parliament. It identifies the political allegiances of the great majority of the sitting commissioners and peers, and in particular the Jacobites among them. Rather better known, yet hitherto seldom consulted or used, is a debriefing document describing the political alignment of a great many of those in parliament and the general political inclination of their constituents written by Captain Harry Straton for the Jacobite King James III and VIII in August 1706. These two sources are the basis of the analysis that follows. The focus is on what these two Jacobite analyses of the state of Scotland and Scottish politics can tell us about the political dynamics of the Scottish Parliament and the country more broadly on the eve of the Union debates.

Keywords: Union; espionage; Whigs; Jacobites; politics; Country Party; government; commoners; votes; Scottish Parliament; Colonel Nathaniel Hooke

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The leaders of underground movements dedicated to the overthrow of the existing order are always understandably reluctant to compile lists of those committed to the cause. The

¹In a clear reference to the Great Civil War, the Jacobites elected in the 1703 Scottish general election adopted the name ‘Cavaliers’ to describe themselves and their dynastic loyalties. We would like to thank the Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères — La Courneuve, for reproducing a copy of La Courneuve, Paris, Affaires Étrangères, Correspondence Politique (Angleterre; henceforth: AECP (A)) Supplément 3, ff. 248–9: ‘Rolls of Parliament as they Stand’, 9 Aug. 1705, and permission to publish an article based upon it, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for a reproduction of MS Carte 180, ff. 212r–220v: [Harry Straton] ‘An Account of the Present State of Scotland in July 1706’, [St Germain] Aug. 1706, (henceforth: Straton, ‘Account of the Present State of Scotland’).

'Immortal Seven' who invited William of Orange to invade England in 1688, for example, did not name those they felt they could rely on to support a Dutch invasion and only signed the invitation each with a code number.² Lists of the faithful are manifestly going to be prime targets for every government spy and renegade wanting to earn some ready cash, and every entry would be a potentially fatal hostage to fortune for those whose allegiance was so recorded.

This is why there are not generally many lists compiled by Jacobites resident in the British Isles of who was a Jacobite. The grand exception in Scotland came in 1705 and 1707, when the Jacobites were obliged to step out of the shadows in order to confirm to 'Colonel refformé' (brevet Colonel)³ Nathaniel Hooke, an Irish officer in French service and Louis XIV's secret envoy to Scotland, that they were willing to rise in support of a French invasion designed to restore the Jacobite King James III and VIII to the throne.⁴ The French government wanted proof of their commitment and they had to provide it. Otherwise, the Jacobite government-in-exile at St Germain-en-Laye was very security conscious, and even when leading politicians like James Douglas, duke of Hamilton, and Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, whom the exiled monarchs and their ministers were trying to win over, tried to elicit the names of their peers who were supporters of the exiled Stuarts, the Jacobite court refused to oblige. To have done so would have been a gross breach of trust, even if the 'great men' who wanted the information for once proved to be reliable supporters of the Jacobite cause.⁵

But early modern parliamentary management, whether by the government or the opposition, required political managers to count heads. Good management was crucial to success in terms of passing or blocking legislation, and good managers therefore needed to know who was for, who was against and who might be persuaded to support their party.⁶ Even when the managers in question were organising the political wing of illegal organisations like the Jacobite movement in Scotland they had to do this. Nonetheless, the leaders of the Scots Jacobites, men such as Charles Home, earl of Home, and William Keith, earl

²TNA, SP8/1/224-7: the 'Immortal Seven' to William of Orange, [London] 30 June 1688.

³*Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke, Agent from the Court of France to the Scottish Jacobites, in the Years 1703-7*, ed. W.D. Macray (2 vols, 1870), i, 203, official instructions for Hooke from Louis XIV, Versailles, 6/17 June 1705.

⁴*Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 425, Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705; ii, 141, list of Scots Jacobites to whom Hooke is to show James III and VIII's 'General Letter', St Germain, 19 Feb./1 Mar. 1707; ii, 235, Hooke list of Jacobites the marquess of Drummond represents, as dictated by Drummond, 2/13 May 1707; ii, 238-9, 'List of those the Lords that sign'd engage for', 7 May 1707.

⁵*Original Papers; Containing the Secret History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover*, ed. James Macpherson (2 vols, 1775), i, 668, Captain James Murray's report to Queen Mary as passed on to Torcy, 11/22 Feb. 1704; i, 703, extracts from Jacobite secretary of state, John, Lord Caryll's, letters to England, 26 Nov./7 Dec. 1705; AACP (A) 249, ff. 84-5: [James to the marquis de Torcy] Bar, 12/23 May 1713.

⁶W.A. Speck, 'The Choice of Speaker in 1705', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxvii (1964), 20-46; H.L. Snyder, 'The Defeat of the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Tack: A Study in the Techniques of Parliamentary Management in the Reign of Queen Anne', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xli (1968), 172-92; Paul Seaward, 'Divisions, Tellers and Management in the 17th-Century House of Commons', *Parliamentary History*, xxxii (2013) 79-102; Robin Eagles, "'A Reward for so Meritorious an Action"? Lord Hervey's Summons to the House of Lords and Walpole's Management of the Upper Chamber (1727-42)', *Parliamentary History*, xxxix (2020), 143-58.

Marischal, were very careful⁷, and any workaday lists, drawn up secretly at Patrick Steel's tavern (the 'Cavalier' — i.e. Jacobite — party's regular daily meeting place before sittings of parliament) or elsewhere in Edinburgh, that may have been used to calculate the Cavalier vote, have not survived.⁸ Presumably they went straight in the fire after they had served their purpose.

There was, though, one circumstance where a list of Jacobite stalwarts and sympathisers in the Scottish Parliament might survive, other than it being captured by the government and duly archived: if the list in question was being sent to St Germain or an external power with a view to demonstrating Jacobite support in parliament. And this indeed was the case with the two lists considered below: the 'Rolls of Parliament as they stand', a previously unnoticed, but extensively annotated, printed list of the nobles entitled to sit, and the commissioners (the equivalent of English MPs) elected to Queen Anne's Union Parliament, and, 'An Account of the Present State of Scotland in July 1706', a better-known, but underused, county-by-county debriefing document written by Harry Straton, a Jacobite agent usually resident in Edinburgh.⁹ Each was a unique product of the time and place where the information was put down on paper; each was intended to produce a particular result. It is correspondingly worth exploring the provenance of each document in detail.

The 'Rolls of Parliament' is the kind of cheap printed list of those sitting, or entitled to sit, in a given parliament that was commonly published in the early 18th century, though more often in England than in Scotland.¹⁰ It was an era of intense party feeling (particularly after the bitterly-fought Scots general election of 1703¹¹) and, as a consequence, there was considerable public interest in the identity of the representatives of the political nation sitting in parliament, so a publisher was fairly assured of good sales regardless of the quality of the product. And indeed the printing of the 'Rolls of Parliament' was not very well done, the spelling of the names of individuals and places on the list is frequently idiosyncratic and the identifications are sometimes inaccurate.¹² Whilst this is par for the course with this type of list, what makes it significant is the handwritten annotation that has been added to the names of the nobles and commissioners listed. In two different hands are what amount to a series of comments on the political alignments of most of the men listed in the two printed columns. In one hand on the left side of most of the entries in each column there are

⁷ *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 378, 399–400, 411, 413, 414, Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705.

⁸ Daniel Szechi, 'Scotland's Ruine': *Lockhart of Carnwath's Memoirs of the Union* (Aberdeen, 1995), 125.

⁹ AECF (A) Supplément 3, ff. 248–9: 'Rolls of Parliament as they Stand', 9 Aug. 1705 (English Short Title Catalogue: Scotland. Parliament. Lists. 1705–08–09 Rolls of Parliament as they stand August 9th 1705. ([Edinburgh: s.n., 1705])); Straton, 'Account of the Present State of Scotland'. A transcription of the annotated 'Rolls of Parliament' can be found in the appendix at the end of this article.

¹⁰ *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley and D.W. Hayton (5 vols, Cambridge, 2002), i, 835–40.

¹¹ K.M. Brown, 'Party Politics and Parliament: Scotland's Last Election and its Aftermath, 1702–3', in *History of the Scottish Parliament Volume 2: Parliament and Politics in Scotland*, ed. K.M. Brown and A.J. Mann (Edinburgh, 2004), 254–86.

¹² 'Rolls of Parliament'; cf. *The Scots Peerage. Founded on Wood's Edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland*, ed. James Balfour Paul (9 vols, Edinburgh, 1904–14), and *The Parliaments of Scotland. Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, ed. M.D. Young (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1993).

simple letter notations: 'W.' for Whig¹³, 'S.' for *Squadron Volante*¹⁴, 'T.' for Tory¹⁵ and 'J. T.' for Jacobite Tory.¹⁶ On the right-hand side of some of them, there are additional comments in the second hand: 'n', for nonjuror;¹⁷ 'J' for Jacobite, against some only identified as Tories on the left-hand side; 'C' for Courtier, i.e. a supporter of the government; 'D.h.' for the duke of Hamilton, which is to say the annotator believed the man concerned was a friend/follower of Hamilton, and so on. The annotations are systematic and not many nobles or commissioners are left unassessed. It thus seems highly likely that considerable effort, clearly involving more than one informed individual, was put into categorising the great majority of those listed.

But what was it for? The 'Rolls of Parliament as they stand' was given to Colonel Hooke by George Gordon, duke of Gordon, on 31 August 1705, just as Hooke was about to leave Scotland to return to France.¹⁸ Hooke had arrived at Slaines castle on the Aberdeenshire coast on board the French frigate *Audacieuse* on 27 July. There he was hidden and extensively briefed by Anne Drummond, dowager countess of Erroll, acting on behalf of the leaders of the Scots Jacobite movement, before being guided to Edinburgh by a trusted gentleman ('Mr Gordon') selected by her. He arrived on 1 August and was temporarily hidden in the house of Elizabeth Howard, duchess of Gordon, the premier Catholic peeress in Scotland, before being transferred to a less high-profile household, that of Anne Douglas, Lady Comiston, where he was securely lodged for the next 24 days or so.¹⁹

Hooke's instructions were to meet in Edinburgh with the leaders of the Scots Jacobites, there ostensibly to attend the 1705 session of parliament, and gauge their willingness to undertake an uprising in favour of the Jacobites' King James. He correspondingly spent most of August being guided around Edinburgh at night to secret meetings by James Carnegie, a Catholic priest and Jacobite agent, and Charles Fleming, brother of the earl of Wigton.²⁰ The details of Hooke's negotiations, which laid the groundwork for the Franco-Jacobite invasion attempt of 1708, need not concern us here.²¹ Suffice it to say, his final report outlined very promising responses from the Jacobite leadership in general, and sustained prevarication from Hamilton.²² Hooke was primarily interested in persuading the Scots to

¹³Generally speaking, Whigs supported the revolution of 1688, saw themselves as defenders of Protestantism and were inveterate opponents of the exiled James II and VII and his descendants. See H. T. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property. Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1977), 57–90.

¹⁴A small, independent, whiggish party centred on John Hay, marquis of Tweeddale, that separated from the Country coalition after 1703. See Brown, 'Party Politics and Parliament', 260, 276, 285.

¹⁵In a Scottish context, a Tory was a supporter of the post-revolutionary monarchy and its prerogatives, though not necessarily of the Presbyterian order in the Kirk. For a more general overview, see Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 13–56.

¹⁶A Scottish Jacobite Tory was a Tory who supported the monarchy and its prerogatives, but wished to see the restoration of both the exiled James II and VII and his heirs and Episcopalianism in the Kirk. See Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites. Britain and Europe, 1688–1788* (2nd edn, Manchester, 2019), 43–60.

¹⁷i.e., someone entitled as a Protestant legally to participate in politics who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to the post-revolution monarchy, thus disqualifying themselves from sitting in parliament and/or voting.

¹⁸'Rolls of Parliament', endorsement by Hooke on reverse side.

¹⁹*Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 372, 375, Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705.

²⁰*Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 372–420, Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705.

²¹For the 1708 invasion attempt, see Daniel Szechi, *Britain's Lost Revolution? Jacobite Scotland and French Grand Strategy 1701–1708* (Manchester, 2015).

²²*Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 383–98, 405–8, Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705.

rise without anything more than the promise of French aid, but failing that he was directed to bargain them down to asking for the absolute minimum of direct French support, and prohibited from concluding any kind of a treaty himself.²³ That Louis and his ministers wanted to do themselves, and so Hooke was instructed to arrange for fully authorised Jacobite emissaries to go to France to negotiate any formal treaty.²⁴

All of which makes the origin and purpose of the 'Rolls of Parliament as they stand' list rather mysterious. Hooke noted on the back of the list that he received it from the duke of Gordon. But, as a Catholic, Gordon could not sit in parliament, so the annotations that make the 'Rolls of Parliament as they stand' list so interesting, and represent the investment of time and energy by the annotators, are very likely to have been written by at least one person (probably two) other than the duke. Whoever they were, they clearly had inside knowledge of the political positions of those sitting in the Scottish Parliament at that time. But it is not clear what the duke and the annotators intended to achieve. There is a further endorsement in Hooke's hand, also on the back of the list, which suggests Hooke passed on a copy to King James, so it is possible Hooke was just the courier as far as the duke and the annotators were concerned, and that they, at least, thought the Jacobite monarch would be interested to know who his friends and enemies were in the Scottish Parliament, but ultimately we cannot be sure of their reasoning because we have no idea who they were.²⁵ It is certain, however, that Hooke and the French government were totally uninterested in Scots constitutional politics and the role of the Cavalier party within it. When Hamilton forthrightly demanded money from Louis to enable the duke to buy support among the Burgh commissioners (Hamilton believed many of these were poor and/or venal and their votes could consequently be bought), Hooke coolly replied, 'that he had not explained what use gaining the Burgh Commissioners would be to the King's [Louis XIV's] service'.²⁶ And when Hamilton claimed that he would thereby be able to stop the Union, Hooke responded, 'the King's service would scarcely be advanced if he achieved this'.²⁷ When he returned to France, moreover, and passed on a copy of the list to King James (subsequently lost, it would appear, with most of the Stuart papers lodged in the Scots College in Paris at the time of the French Revolution) Hooke then filed the original; he did not even bother to give it in with his report on his mission, for he was well aware that his superior, the French foreign minister Jean Baptiste Colbert de Croissy, marquis de Torcy, would not be interested. France's strategic goals would be far better served by a national rising in Scotland against a union with England, followed by a war between the two nations, than by successful resistance to a union in the Scottish Parliament.²⁸ The only reason the list finally ended up in the French foreign office archives was because almost all of Hooke's papers were seized at the time of his death for fear of embarrassing revelations leaking into the public sphere.²⁹

²³ *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 182–3, Hooke memo for Torcy, 16/27 May 1705.

²⁴ Szechi, *Britain's Lost Revolution?*, 173.

²⁵ 'Rolls of Parliament', endorsement by Hooke on reverse side.

²⁶ *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 385: Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705 ('qu'il ne m'avoit dit de quelle utilité ce seroit au service du Roy, de gagner les deputez des bourgs dont il parloit').

²⁷ *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 386, Hooke's 1st report, Fontainebleau, 6/17 Oct. 1705 ('le service du Roy ne sera gueres avancé quand il sera venu au bout de tout cela').

²⁸ Szechi, *Britain's Lost Revolution?*, 150–97.

²⁹ *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, i–viii; ii, 560–3.

The provenance of 'An Account of the Present State of Scotland in July 1706' is very different.³⁰ Captain Harry Straton, the writer, was years later described by Maurice Moray of Abercairny as 'a man of great integrity and honour', held in 'good esteem, as indeed he deserved', by Hamilton and Charles Middleton, earl of Middleton and at that time principal Jacobite secretary of state.³¹ Straton's connection with both men stemmed from the fact that he was a long-standing Jacobite agent who acted as the main liaison between Jacobite-inclined parliamentarians and the exiled court.³² He received letters from St Germain either via the regular post or smuggled in via his contacts in the Scots mercantile shipping community (his background is obscure, but he appears to have originally been the master of a merchant ship). He would then disseminate St Germain's news and instructions among trusted members of the Scottish elite in and around Edinburgh and among Jacobite parliamentarians when parliament was in session. They in turn used him as a conduit for transmitting their letters and opinions back to the government-in-exile.³³

Which is why Hamilton chose him to carry a message to St Germain in the hope that the exiled Stuart monarchs could persuade the French government to do something he had been badgering them to do for the previous three years: give him a large quantity of money. The duke was quite charmingly frank in admitting that some of this would be spent on his (massive) debts, but he promised he would spend the rest of it on patronage within the parliamentary community with a view to offsetting the patronage resources available to the Scottish government.³⁴ The duke was quite rightly concerned in the summer of 1706 that the managers of the Scottish Court Party would be bringing all the resources they could spare, plus the support of an army of promises, in order to win a majority in the forthcoming session of parliament, the politics of which were certain entirely to revolve around the recently negotiated treaty of Union.

The Jacobite king and the queen-regent, Mary of Modena, knew in advance that getting the French to send money would be the key objective of Straton's mission, and they were generally interested in the possibility of achieving a Jacobite restoration through parliamentary action of the kind that had brought about the restoration of Charles II in 1660,³⁵ which made them sympathetic to Hamilton's argument that this was vitally necessary to stop the passage of the Union. But in this instance, their interest in parliamentary action was eclipsed by a more exciting possibility: that they might secure a major, French-supported rising in Scotland that would be capable of overthrowing the political order established after 1688.³⁶ Hence, when Straton arrived at St Germain in August 1706, he soon learned that neither the French nor Jacobite governments were prepared to send large amounts

³⁰Straton, 'Account of the Present State of Scotland'.

³¹GD 24/1/872/1/3: 198. See also Szechi, 'Scotland's Ruine', 125.

³²Daniel Szechi, *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1698–1732* (Scottish History Society, 5th ser. ii, Edinburgh, 1989), 152, 159, 210, 226, 241.

³³Szechi, 'Scotland's Ruine', 220–1.

³⁴Daniel Szechi, 'Playing with Fire: The 4th Duke of Hamilton's Jacobite Politics and the Union', in *Peers and Politics, c. 1650–1850: Essays in Honour of Clyve Jones*, ed. R.A. Gaunt and D.W. Hayton (Oxford, 2020), 67–71.

³⁵See: MS Carte 129, ff. 427v–445v; Jacobite court lists of English, then British, MPs 1700–10; Daniel Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710–14* (Edinburgh, 1984). James II and VII was similarly interested in such a possibility: Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Revolution Settlement, 1689–1696', *EHR*, cviii (1993), 610–28.

³⁶BL, Add. MS 20293, ff. 7–8: Queen Mary to Cardinal Filippo Antonio Gualterio, St Germain, 12/23 Apr. 1703; *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, i, 191–2, Hooke to Torcy, St Germain, 25 May/5 June 1705.

of money to Hamilton, but that James was very interested in the state of Scotland. This is why the Jacobite king ordered him to write the 'Account'. According to George Lockhart of Carnwath, what the Jacobite king wanted was 'a character of every man in the Scottish Parliament as they stood affected to him and were capable to serve him', but the 'Account' is a much broader assessment of Scotland than that.³⁷ It seems likely that James in fact asked Straton for as full an analysis as he could give of the state of the army and the country, including the degree of support a Jacobite rising would receive. Certainly, Straton opens the 'Account' with an assessment of the senior officers in the Scots army and the likely sympathies of their subordinates. The commander-in-chief, David Leslie, earl of Leven, is characterised as 'a notorious Whig and Hanoverian', his major-general, William Ker, marquess of Lothian, as 'such as the comander in chiefe, but of less capacity', while major-general James Maitland is described as 'a souldier since he was a man, and if his capacity is as good as his experience is long, he may be as good an officer; he is thought to have some good inclinaciones and it is presumed he may be treated with', and so on.³⁸ The 'Account' then progresses from county to county through Scotland and has two clear strands to it, as may be seen in his observations on Ayrshire:

If the Earle of Eglington³⁹ is not Sheref of this shyre I know not who is. But I am sure his Lordship professes much loyallty, and have often heard him do so. And this I know, that about two years agoe when Killburny was by the Princess Anne created Lord,⁴⁰ he, the Lord Eglington, had the interest in that shyre against Staires⁴¹ and all other opposers to carry the election for Brisbein younger of Bishoptoun,⁴² a loyall, honest man and a closs adherer to the Cuntry party. The other 3 [*sic*] Commissioners for that shyre are: Cathcart of Carleton,⁴³ sometymes Court but for the most part of the Cuntry party; Mr Francis Montgomery, allwayes with the Court. Many of the gentry in this shyre are weill affected, but the Comons generally Whiggs. For the toun of Aire John Muire,⁴⁴ ane ingrained Whigg is Commissioner, and the most of the toun are said to be like him.⁴⁵

The first is an assessment of who has greatest political influence in the county and the political inclinations of the shire commissioners (and any resident peers). The second strand is an estimate of the likely support for a Jacobite rising.

With regard to the second strand, there is definitely a strong inclination towards the positive in his assessment and so, even in Whig strongholds like Roxburghshire, he observes: 'the gentry of this shyre are generally well affected, and a good many of them not yet taken

³⁷Szechi, 'Scotland's Ruine', 126.

³⁸'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 212r.

³⁹Alexander Montgomery, 9th earl of Eglinton. The sheriff was in fact Hugh Campbell, earl of Loudoun.

⁴⁰David Boyle of Kelburn, created Lord Boyle by William III and II, was promoted to earl of Glasgow in 1703.

⁴¹Sir John Dalrymple, 1st earl of Stair.

⁴²John Brisbane of Bishopton.

⁴³Sir Hew Cathcart of Carleton.

⁴⁴John Muir of Park; Muir was certainly 'ingrained', having been a lay Presbyterian preacher, active during the revolution, during which time he was a Convention member and even then pro-Union.

⁴⁵'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 216r.

the oaths'.⁴⁶ In more pro-Jacobite areas such as Angus he waxes enthusiastically: 'To name all the loyall gentry of this shyre were to name almost evry one in it ... In short this shyre is so intyrelly loyall that there is scarce any in it of birth, breeding or estate, but what is so. And so are all the Comons, some feu Whigs excepted, most, if not all, in the toun of Dundie'.⁴⁷ At another point in the text, however, Straton admits with regard to Inverness-shire that, 'I never was in this shyre, nor in any benorth Aberdeen, and as I remember, I am not much aquanted with any of note here save the two Commissioners', and with respect to Argyllshire that, 'I can say litle about it'.⁴⁸ Straton, in other words, did not stray far beyond the southern Lowlands and so could not offer much more than hearsay regarding the political inclinations and the state of public opinion in the west and north of Scotland. As in the Lowlands, we know from other sources that these areas too were divided in their political attachments, with the county of Ross being staunchly Whig; elsewhere in the Highlands, there were eight Presbyterian clans, six of which mobilised against the Jacobites during the post-1707 risings.⁴⁹

What Straton could comment on more authoritatively were the political inclinations and general voting pattern of sitting peers and commissioners in the Scottish Parliament, which forms the major strand of his analysis. Straton clearly socialised with the Country Party parliamentarians on a regular basis and probably attended some at least of the debates in parliament. His knowledge of these men was thus a great deal better, and his text is littered with phrases suggesting that, in many cases, he had personal knowledge of the peers and commissioners he was describing. '[A] good natured man'; 'has often said he never would do any thing against the King'; 'he is, to my certain knowledge, loyall'; 'a notorious Whig and Hanoverian'; 'did lately to my self exprest much loyallty'; 'to my knowledge well affected and [a] constant adherer... to the Cuntry party', and so on.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, when reading the document, it is essential to keep in mind that, in this strand, Straton was specifically pursuing Hamilton's agenda. If he was going to persuade St Germain and the French that it was to their advantage to give Hamilton the money the duke needed to defeat a Union bill in the Scottish Parliament the starting point had to be that there was sufficient Jacobite/anti-Union support to swing the vote. Hence, once again, Straton's analysis was almost certainly optimistic. Indeed, he implicitly admits as much when he describes parliamentarians like the *Squadron* Commissioner James Haliburton of Pitcur as 'loyall', then glosses the text with the statement, 'some have suspected Pittcurr because of his intimacy with Jerviswood and some feu of that kidney. For my share I can not doubt him for he has often, with great asseverations, said to my self that he never would act or doe any thing against the King or his interest'.⁵¹ (On this point, Straton was to be mightily disappointed, in that, in the 25 divisions on the Union in 1706, Haliburton voted solidly with the court. Worth noting too is that Haliburton was an Angus (Forfarshire) laird, in a country which was otherwise — Straton and others justifiably claimed — largely Jacobite.⁵²) Similarly, Straton puts the best

⁴⁶'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 215r.

⁴⁷'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 218rv.

⁴⁸'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 219rv.

⁴⁹A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), 177–81.

⁵⁰'Account of the Present State of Scotland', ff. 212rv, 216v, 217r, 218v.

⁵¹'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 218r.

⁵²C.A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2014), 388–90.

interpretation he can on the likely conduct of the loyally Argathelian⁵³ Commissioner for Renfrew, Colin Campbell of Woodside, 'a man reputed to have loyall inclinaciones, but is thought to be a litle overawed and influence[d] by his cheif, Argyle. Yet some that know him told me that no influence would bring him to be for Hanover'.⁵⁴ This inclination to be upbeat does not substantively derogate what Straton's 'Account' can tell us about the politics of the Union Parliament, but it must be borne in mind if the document is used to calculate the number of parliamentarians inclined towards Jacobitism.

2

Hooke and the French government may have been indifferent to the political alignments of Scotland's parliamentarians, and Straton's interpretation of the situation in Scotland may have been too positive, but, for historians of the Union period, the two sources make for a highly revealing record. The Union has long been a contested issue for historians, dating back to the period itself, first with the pro-government agent Daniel Defoe's *History of the Union of Great Britain* (1709), and in 1714 the more acerbic and possibly treasonable *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland from Queen Anne's accession to the Throne, to the Commencement of the Union* (1714), compiled by the ardent Jacobite and virulent opponent of incorporation, George Lockhart of Carnwath. Whilst, over the following two centuries, the debate ebbed, flowed and extended to include, for example, consideration of the international context in which union was forged, over time, and, certainly by the mid-twentieth century, the dominant interpretation was whiggish, that is that the Union was judged to be a necessary and desirable measure if Scotland was to prosper and develop as a modern nation. Associated with this interpretation were works in the 1950s and 1960s that emphasised the importance of economic factors in garnering support for the measure in the Scottish Parliament.⁵⁵ At the same time, however, and especially from the 1970s, such benign attitudes to the making of the Union were subject to scathing attacks by Namier-inspired historians and others who played down economic arguments for the Union, instead foregrounding the part played by political jobbery in the passage of the Union legislation through the Scottish Parliament.⁵⁶ Patrick Riley asserted that, far from being the product of vision and an act of statesmanship, the Union was something else altogether, a vehicle designed to fulfil the short-term ambitions of English politicians and their Scottish allies, and brought about by secretive manoeuvres and squalid venality.⁵⁷ It was this kind of underhand dealing that explained why Scotland's Parliament rejected union in 1702–3 but narrowly supported it in 1706–7. The allegation of widespread bribery of Scotland's political class by English ministers, national betrayal, and the lack for the most part of any semblance of principle — not a new argument but one which had been very much a minority view held mainly by Home

⁵³ i.e. a client of John Campbell, duke of Argyll.

⁵⁴ 'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 216v.

⁵⁵ For a comprehensive, critical, survey of the historiography of the Union up until the 300th anniversary in 2007, see A.I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), 12–50.

⁵⁶ See William Ferguson, 'The Making of the Treaty of Union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review*, xliii (1964), 89–110; William Ferguson, *Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1977).

⁵⁷ P.W.J. Riley, *The Union of England and Scotland: A Study in Anglo-Scottish Politics of the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1978), 311–14.

Rulers of the 19th century and later 20th century — was appropriated and advanced by nationalist historians, whose views usefully coincided with the rise in electoral support in Scotland for the Scottish National Party.⁵⁸ From around 2007, however, the tercentenary of the Union, while not denying self-aggrandisement as a motivator, or that patronage was part of the process by which parliament was managed, unionist concepts and convictions were examined afresh.⁵⁹ Indeed, Unionists' principles have now been 'sympathetically restored', with greater emphasis being placed on the roles of ideology and religion in the making of the Union. The latter was no longer a 'cloak' for nefariousness but a significant driver of political activity and a fundamental dividing line. The longevity of an interest in union on the part of some of its proponents has also been highlighted, which reduces the impact of the charge that bribery of various kinds was required to take Scotland's parliamentarians into a closer union with England.⁶⁰ The scarring experience for several of them as Presbyterians of oppression and enforced exile in the Low Countries during the Restoration era remained with them — Presbyterian memory — through the 1690s and afterwards, and, in some cases, survived through to the Union and even Sheriffmuir.⁶¹

Albeit the primary purpose of the two documents under review was to assess the strength of the support there was inside and beyond parliament for the Jacobites, they also tell us much about those inclined to support the Revolution settlement, union and the house of Hanover. Indeed the 'Rolls' shows with remarkable precision the political make-up of the Scottish Parliament according to the key issue of the time, certainly for the French (but also Catholic-fearing Scottish Presbyterians): dynastic affiliation. Furthermore, given that Straton was indeed familiar on a personal level with, or was at least very well-informed about, many of the politicians of the period, his 'Account' helps us to penetrate at least some of the obscurity that confronted Patrick Riley in his attempts to understand better why individuals during the autumn of 1706 voted as they did.⁶²

It was in February 1705 that the terms of the English Aliens Act had become public. By the end of the year, Scotland would be expected to have agreed that the succession after Queen Anne died should go to Sophia, electress of Hanover, otherwise Scottish trade with England would be blocked and Scots resident or trading in England would be treated as aliens. This threatening stance on the part of London ministers came on top of two English Acts (in 1701 and 1702) that could be interpreted as undermining Scottish sovereignty.⁶³ Yet it would appear that, despite the putative clash over English and Scottish sovereignty, the Whig cohort remained both firm and sizeable. Of the 235 names listed in the 'Rolls' in the late summer of 1705, 93 were believed to be Whigs, the largest of the categories identified, with 39.5% of the total. Another 19 members of the Parliament were listed as belonging to the *Squadron Volante*, or new party, formed in 1703. These two bodies of parliamentarians

⁵⁸See, for example, P.H. Scott, *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union* (Edinburgh, 1992); P.H. Scott, *The Union of 1707: Why and How* (Edinburgh, 2006).

⁵⁹Ian McLean and Alastair Macmillan, *State of the Union* (Oxford, 2005); C.A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006); Jeffrey Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union of 1707* (Edinburgh, 2007); Colin Kidd, *Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500–2000* (Cambridge, 2008).

⁶⁰Alasdair Raffe, '1707, 2007, and the Unionist Turn in Scottish History', *HJ*, liii (2010), 1071–6.

⁶¹C.A. Whatley, 'Reformed Religion, Regime Change, Scottish Whigs and the Struggle for the "Soul" of Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, xcii (2013), 66–99.

⁶²Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, 273–5.

⁶³McLean and McMillan, *State of the Union*, 20.

provided the bedrock of support for union the following year. This evidence adds further support for those historians who have argued that there were in the Scottish Parliament significant numbers of individuals who either themselves or their descendents were in the Whig camp long before the Union was debated; a few, such as Cockburn of Ormiston (listed as lord justice clerk in the 'Rolls'), and John Dalrymple of Stair had advocated it as far back as 1689. Second largest was the Jacobite-Tory group, with 69 affiliates, 29.3% of those who sat in parliament. To these can reasonably be added the 54 Tories, accounting for 22.9% of the whole. Together, these last two groupings comprised 52.2% of the nobles and commissioners and therefore — if they were to vote in unison — they had a very slim majority in the Parliament. In light of this clear indication of how delicately balanced political opinion in the Scottish Parliament was, it is little wonder that the queen and court in London, and the Jacobites in Scotland and at St Germain, put so much effort into promoting their respective causes. The 'Rolls' indicate that both enjoyed large bodies of support, but required the tools of management if they were to be sure of winning the day over union. In the event, the court side used these to better effect than did the leaders of an opposition that was poorly led and deeply divided.⁶⁴ The futures of the respective dynasties — Hanoverian and Stuart — and indeed the religion, nature of governance and foreign alliances of the two nations were at stake. In London, latent neuroses about the threat of popery, slavery and wooden shoes judged sure to follow a Jacobite restoration, were stoked up. Potential confrontation between England and Scotland excited fears of civil war, a Jacobite insurrection aided by French troops and concern that a Jacobite king might repudiate the existing National Debt, with deleterious financial consequences for English state-building ambitions.⁶⁵

Such anxieties help explain why, as has been demonstrated by a recent study of Scottish military history, regiments of the English army were readied in the north of England and in Ireland in 1706–7 in order to defend the status quo, if necessary by crossing the border into Scotland.⁶⁶ The same circumstances — the prospect of armed confrontation — meant that Straton's detailed assessments of the loyalties and abilities of the commanders of Scotland's armed forces, the whereabouts and strengths of the garrisons and his careful enumeration of the numbers of soldiers under their command would have been especially valuable to French military strategists. Straton's count of the total strength of the Scots army — between 2,500 and 2,860 — was higher than some historians have allowed. Yet the number still justifies the term 'anorexic', which has been used to describe the condition of the Scots military at this time, and may have been one of the pieces of information used to encourage the French to attempt an invasion in 1708, especially if placed alongside Straton's ally the duke of Hamilton's estimate that 30,000 Scots, plus Highlanders, could be raised for the Jacobite cause.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 320–32.

⁶⁵McLean and McMillan, *State of the Union*, 48–9.

⁶⁶J.C.R. Childs, 'Marlborough's Wars and the Act of Union', in *A Military History of Scotland*, ed. E.M. Spiers, J.A. Crang and M.J. Strickland (Edinburgh, 2012), 342.

⁶⁷Childs, 'Marlborough's Wars and the Act of Union', 338. The final plan for the *Entreprise d'Écosse* relied on an estimate of 2,165 government troops physically present in the ranks in Scotland as opposed to on the payroll: *Correspondence of Colonel N. Hooke*, ii, 16, list of Government forces in Scotland, compiled by Charles Fleming and Captain John [Moray], 19/30 Jan. 1706; ii, 437–43, plan for 'l'Entreprise d'Écosse', by Hooke, the duc de Chevreuse and François de Callières, Paris, 22 July/2 Aug. 1707.

Further encouragement may have come from Straton's assessment of the whereabouts and strength of Jacobite support among the 'comons'. Potentially, one of the most valuable aspects of Straton's 'Account' is his estimation of the strength of support there was for the respective causes below the level of the political elites. Here, however, we should be clear that his comments relate to the locations and degrees of backing there were for the competing socio-political positions: the Revolution, presbyterianism and Queen Anne and the alternative, a second Restoration, Episcopalianism and James VIII; but not union. It is beyond doubt that there was little enthusiasm for the proposed incorporating union among ordinary people in 1706–7. While many were probably undecided, in some quarters there was outright anger at the prospect. This was manifested in the form of public burnings of the articles of union and other demonstrations of opposition, including what appears to have been the very real threat of an armed rising by Presbyterians in the south west of the country.⁶⁸ Yet, on the religious-dynastic issue, it seems that opinion was much more evenly divided. A case in point is Lanarkshire, the populace of which was 'generally Whiggish'. Regardless, on the Union question we know that the County of Lanark was among the loudest and most united in its opposition to incorporation (it was here that the manifesto calling for a rising originated, penned by the Rev. Robert Wylie), with ardent Jacobites such as Lockhart of Carnwath joining forces with 'true blue' Presbyterians on the issue.⁶⁹

Straton's comments were invariably brief, largely impressionistic — and as we have seen, optimistic — but even so indicated he felt confident enough to distinguish between parts of the country that were 'loyal' or 'well affected' (to the Jacobite king) or, alternatively, Whig. This, for Straton, was a clearly identifiable division, as exemplified by what he reported about Berwickshire, where both gentry and the ordinary people were well affected, 'and generally all are so that are not Whigs either here or elsewhere in Scotland'. Albeit sweeping, patchy (as noted already, he was much better informed about Lowland towns and counties), and allowing for his overly positive reading of what he observed, that Straton was able to identify and report what he did suggests a visible degree of political commitment at the lower levels of Scottish society that hitherto most historians have tended either to overlook or downplay. Recent work, however, has begun to uncover much more political engagement on the part of the ordinary people in the early modern period than had been suspected (other than with the National Covenant in 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643), either in the form of petitioning, oaths, or more dramatic evidence of popular opinion.⁷⁰ That Straton identified substantial bodies of 'loyal' citizens in the Lowlands prior to the 1707 Union — which is generally assumed to have been 'a transformative element in the popularity of Jacobitism'⁷¹ — is of importance historiographically. It underlines what has become increasingly apparent from recent work on confessional cultures, namely, the presence of a sizeable and strengthening Jacobite presence in Scotland in the wake of the revolution, especially among Episcopalians, for whom 1688 'provoked a sudden divergence'

⁶⁸Karin Bowie, 'A 1706 Manifesto for an Armed Rising against Incorporating Union', *Scottish Historical Review*, xciv (2015), 237–67.

⁶⁹*Addresses Against Incorporating Union, 1706–7*, ed. Karin Bowie (Scottish History Society, 6th ser. xiii, Edinburgh, 2018), 96–101, 193–4, 249–56, 259–61.

⁷⁰See Karin Bowie, *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland, c. 1560–1707* (Cambridge, 2020); Alasdair Raffie, *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714* (Woodbridge, 2012), 217–19, 226–33.

⁷¹Murray Pittock, *Culloden* (Oxford, 2016), 16; Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2009), 51–2.

between them and the Presbyterians, and this not only in the north east but also in the Lowlands more generally.⁷² Furthermore, Straton's analysis provides us with more evidence than has been available hitherto of just how widespread identification with the Jacobites was and, as important, where that support lay. It helps, too, to underline the case made by Murray Pittock and others for the risings of 1715 and 1745, that the Jacobite armies were far from being solely Highland-based, but recruited a high proportion of their soldiers — as much as 60% — in the Lowlands.⁷³ What the 'Account' shows is that there were potential recruiting grounds for the Jacobites in the south or, if not this, there was certainly widespread sympathy for the cause that pre-dated 1707. This was what Scottish Jacobite leaders believed to be the case, and what French emissaries like Hooke in 1705 and 1707 were there to establish.⁷⁴ It made sense, therefore, in 1708, 1714 and 1745 for the Jacobites to play the anti-union card, exploiting the antipathy there had been to union in the months leading up to May 1707, the support there was for the movement pre-1707 and the deep dissatisfaction there was immediately after the Union was implemented and during the first three decades afterwards.⁷⁵

There are, of course, limits on how far this argument can be taken. It is more difficult to form firm conclusions about some towns and counties than others. References to 'many' loyalists among the common people in Edinburgh (along with most merchants and tradesmen), Berwick, Linlithgow and Stirling, are much less convincing than the greater certainty that 'most' were loyal in Angus, Fife (except those 'under the direction or influence of presbyterian Ministers'), Kincardine and possibly Inverness and Elgin. Straton was on surer ground in identifying the loyal inclinations of the gentry. This was notably so in Midlothian, Haddington (burgh and county), Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirk (town), Peebleshire, Lanarkshire, Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Renfrewshire, Linlithgowshire, Stirling, Perth (county and town), Fife (county), Angus (county), Kincardineshire, Aberdeenshire, Inverness-shire and Elgin (county). He came to a similar conclusion for Dumbartonshire, although this was partly by inference as the two elected shire commissioners, William Cochran of Kilmarnock and Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, were among the 'most loyal' of their kind. But, as this relatively short list indicates, there were many smaller towns, even in the Lowlands, that he appears to have known little or nothing about. Having said that, the number of localities identified as largely Jacobite is impressive.

Other places, however, were staunchly Whig. This Straton did acknowledge (sometimes with obvious disapproval — bad enough that Ayr's aforementioned commissioner John Muir was an 'ingrained Whigg', but compounding the offence was that most of the town, 'was said to be lyke him'). In language and sentiment not unlike the searing descriptions of his political enemies by the arch-Jacobite George Lockhart of Carnwath, Straton was equally frank about the commissioner George Baillie of Jarviswood in Lanark, once of the

⁷²J.S. Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Houndmills, 1999), 88–9; Alasdair Raffé, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660–1715', *EHR*, cxxv (2010), 592; Raffé, *Culture of Controversy*, 42.

⁷³Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (2006), 118–27; Pittock, *Myth*, 54–7; see too Darren Scott Layne, "'Spines of the Thistle": The Popular Constituency of the Jacobite Rising in 1745–6', University of St Andrews PhD, 2016.

⁷⁴J.S. Gibson, *Playing the Scottish Card: The Franco-Jacobite Invasion of 1708* (Edinburgh, 1988), 9–19, 46.

⁷⁵Szechi, *1715*, 56, 61, 66–70; C.A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707–1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), 55–61.

Country Party, but now (1706) a leading figure in the *Squadron*, who ‘is every way wrong’. He was also dangerous, Lockhart describing Jerviswood as being of the ‘Rebellious Race’ (that is, a Presbyterian), and the ‘Hardest Headed Man of all his Party, to whom he was a kind of Dictator’.⁷⁶ Not dissimilarly written off was Lord William Forbes, from Aberdeenshire, ‘a bigotted Whig, little sense, little estate and disloyal’.⁷⁷ The other urban Whig strongholds listed were: Edinburgh (the magistrates, but less so merchants and tradesmen); Dumbarton (again this is by inference, the burgh Commissioner being Sir James Smollet, ‘a noted courtier’); Linlithgow, represented by ‘a most bigotted Whigg’, Walter Stewart of Pardovan; Stirling, and Dundee. In addition, there were whiggish counties: Dumfries, where ‘the comon people’ were ‘generally Whigs’, as was also the case in Lanarkshire, as noted already. The south-west of course had been the main Covenanter hub in Scotland in the 1670s and 1680s, where William of Orange’s advent had been eagerly anticipated and warmly welcomed by conventiclers from a range of occupations including artisans, chapmen and small merchants.⁷⁸ The region incorporated Nithsdale and Galloway where armed ‘countray people’ had been at the forefront of assaults on Roman Catholics and Episcopalian clergy during the period of the revolution — in part fomented by rumours of the arrival of counter-revolutionary mercenaries from nearby Ireland.⁷⁹ Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Kincardineshire were similarly depicted as Whig strongholds. Fife is almost impossible to call, and depends on what proportion of the inhabitants were independent of their ministers and elders; both the commissioners for the county and those representing the burghs were just about equally divided between Jacobites and, on the other side, courtiers and Whigs.

That in a small number of counties Straton believed the sympathies of the common people differed from the local nobility, and the elected commissioners, is worth noting. Probably fairly typical was Roxburghshire, about which Straton remarked that the ‘comons that are not Whiggs are here & every where inclined to follow their masters’. Alternatively, as just noted in Fife, it seems Presbyterian ministers may have been unusually influential.⁸⁰ Yet this is likely to have been a matter of degree only; the evidence suggests that, in the period under review here, the Kirk, its General Assembly, the commission thereof and the synods and presbyteries, kirk sessions and individual ministers were actively engaged to protect and promote the causes with which it was concerned, not least its rivalry with the Episcopalians, as the division between the two confessions widened and hardened.⁸¹ Presbyterian pulpits were the prime channel through which the Kirk’s political views were broadcast and heard by parishioners, the sermon being the means by which the shared values of Scotland’s Whigs could be promoted.⁸² Notwithstanding Jacobite hopes that some

⁷⁶[Lockhart of Carnwath] *Memoirs Concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, 108.

⁷⁷‘Account of the Present State of Scotland’, f. 212r.

⁷⁸Whatley, ‘Reformed Religion’, 81–3.

⁷⁹Alasdair Raffé, *Scotland in Revolution, 1685–1690* (Edinburgh, 2018), 106–30; Jeffrey Stephen, *Defending the Revolution: The Church of Scotland, 1689–1716* (Farnham and Burlington, 2013), 33.

⁸⁰‘Account of the Present State of Scotland’, f. 218r.

⁸¹Raffé, ‘Presbyterians and Episcopalians’, 588, 591, 596–8.

⁸²C.A. Whatley, ‘“Zealous in the Defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty”: The Making of Whig Scotland, c.1688–c.1746’, in *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788*, ed. A.I. Macinnes, Kieran German and Lesley Graham (2014), 55–7.

Presbyterians might ally with them, and Kirk distaste for incorporation when it was initially proposed, their abhorrence of a 'Popish Pretender' was unshakeable.⁸³

By contrast, for Straton it was generally noblemen and others who would be key to the success of the Jacobite cause. One of these was James Murray, 2nd duke of Atholl in Perthshire, listed in the 'Rolls' as a Jacobite Tory, yet considered by Straton in 1706 as in need of further persuasion to bring him 'intyrelly to the King's interest', above all because 'he has many vassalls and a great following of good men'.⁸⁴ Indeed, Atholl had recently mustered 4,000 'well armed' men, who were potentially a prize asset. Among the others who were also thought to hold similar sway were, in the north east, William Keith, 10th Earl Marischal, who would be 'much followed by the gentry and comons', and John Lyon, 4th earl of Strathmore, in the Jacobite heartland of Angus, who 'many' would follow 'upon a good occasion'.⁸⁵ But not all: Straton may not have known that it was against Strathmore's wishes, along with those of his fellow Jacobite-Tory kinsman, Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, that in 1702 the presbytery of Forfar had appointed a Presbyterian minister in place of the previous Episcopalian incumbent.⁸⁶

To be fair, there were counties where Straton conceded the landed elite had much less influence. In Renfrewshire, for instance, the gentry were 'reputed' to be well affected, but the 'Comons' were for 'the most part Whiggish'. The same was true of Dumfriesshire as well as Ayrshire. The most striking example, however, is Lanark, where, despite the dominance in the county of the politically prominent Hamilton family — at the head of which at the time were Anne, 3rd duchess, and her son, James, 4th duke of Hamilton — Straton reported that 'The comons of this cuntry are generally Whiggish & consequently not well affected'. Of this dichotomy the duke was well aware, and was the reason he dared not distribute the store of two thousand arms he had on his estate to his tenants.⁸⁷ Attitudes, however, were not fixed, and could bend with changing circumstances: popular opposition to the Union in Lanarkshire became intense. Indeed, its immediate impact was sufficiently damaging to induce some inhabitants, including some of Lockhart of Carnwath's strongly Presbyterian tenants, to side with the Jacobites even before the end of 1707.⁸⁸ Post-1707, however, this was unusual. When it came to choosing between the post-revolution status quo and the so-called Pretender and his successors, Scotland's Presbyterians invariably opted for the former. Rumours to the contrary — in particular, of Presbyterian-Jacobite alliances — were mainly just that, and dismissed as Jacobite propaganda.⁸⁹

It was among the higher echelons of society and within the formal political system that personal and familial influences may have had greater impact. It has been cogently argued that, since the reign of William III and II, the existence of competing factions and local noble interests had made government in Scotland peculiarly difficult. Indeed, when it came to the Union votes in 1706, it has been suggested that the party lines evident at that time were more or less 'a register of the old party interests', as they had been since 1698, based in

⁸³ Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 205–7.

⁸⁴ 'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 217r.

⁸⁵ 'Account of the Present State of Scotland', ff. 218v, 218r.

⁸⁶ W. Mason Inglis, *Annals of an Angus Parish* (Dundee, 1888), 145–7.

⁸⁷ Gibson, *Playing the Scottish Card*, 52.

⁸⁸ Daniel Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1689–1727: A Study in Jacobitism* (East Linton, 2002), 69–70.

⁸⁹ Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 326, 376–9.

large part on the followings of leading magnates.⁹⁰ Testimony to the authority and powers of patronage wielded by such individuals over some of their peers, but more so those of lesser rank — lords and shire and burgh commissioners — is also provided in Straton's 'Account'. The Argyll and Hamilton interests, and that of James Douglas, duke of Queensberry, are the most prominent of those associated with the management of parliamentary commissioners, although Sir John Dalrymple, 1st earl of Stair, had some influence over John Stewart of Kinwhinlick, one of the commissioners for the shire of Bute.⁹¹ Given the importance of the *Squadron* for the successful passage of the articles of Union through the Scottish Parliament, Straton's observations about how influential John Ker, earl of Roxburgh, and his allies were are telling. Roxburgh and Thomas Hamilton, earl of Haddington, had, he noted, used their considerable interest to block the political aspirations of the young Jacobite-supporting Alexander Home, earl of Home, in Berwickshire. Roxburgh himself was listed by Straton as a Whig, as were most members of the *Squadron*. Accordingly, Straton had barely concealed contempt for the 'sett' that included Roxburgh, John Hay, marquess of Tweeddale, John Hamilton, earl of Rothes, and Ballie of Jerviswood, each of whom had managed to draw commissioners into their camp. These included William Bennett of Grubbet, formerly of the Country Party — who Straton implies was lured away by his appointment to the post of muster master general for Scotland. Yet Bennet's Whig leanings and active support from early in 1706 for the Union can alternatively be attributed to his long-standing pre-revolution commitment to Presbyterianism, visceral hatred of Roman Catholics, fear of French aggrandisement and loyalty to the memory of King William (in whose army he had served). He was also for the Hanoverian succession and free trade with England and became a confirmed unionist with the concession by England's Union negotiators of compensation for the Scots' losses at Darien.⁹² This had not been on offer in 1702, when half hearted negotiations for union had taken place.

But what is most striking about the two documents is that they emphatically point to a political nation that was sharply divided between the supporters of the Revolution settlement and those who wanted to reject it in favour of a second, Jacobite, Restoration. That individuals were designated in our sources primarily as Whigs and Jacobites tends to support the proposition that the Revolution of 1688–9 may have been, as was suggested earlier, the fundamental dividing line, rather than personal loyalty.⁹³ This was so in the case of a number of influential Court supporters who operated both within Parliament and, like the Rev. William Carstares, inside the Church of Scotland and key civic institutions.⁹⁴ It certainly was for the *Squadron*.⁹⁵ In this view, political principle as defined by religious affiliation (Presbyterianism versus Episcopalianism and Catholicism) and competing approaches to monarchy — divine right and absolute as opposed to constitutional,⁹⁶ were the main

⁹⁰P.W.J. Riley, *King William and the Scottish Politicians* (Edinburgh, 1979), 141–64.

⁹¹'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 216v.

⁹²Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 249–50.

⁹³A.J. Murdoch, 'The Legacy of the Revolution in Scotland', in *The Scottish Nation: Identity and History*, ed. Alexander Murdoch (Edinburgh, 2007), 39–51.

⁹⁴Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 88–9, 332, 339.

⁹⁵D.J. Patrick and C.A. Whatley, 'Persistence, Principle and Patriotism in the Making of the Union of 1707: The Revolution, Scottish Parliament and the "Squadron Volante"', *History*, xcii (2007), 178.

⁹⁶It is worth noting, however, that the Scots Jacobites had become strong supporters of a de facto constitutional monarchy by the early 1700s, for which see Szechi, *Britain's Lost Revolution*, ch. 4.

determinants of one's political position. It was where men stood on this boundary that was the principal concern of the Jacobites' agents and their allies at the court of Louis XIV, and less so where support for union might come from — although in the eyes of many of those who voted for the Union, this measure was a bulwark against the restoration of King James, French aggrandisement and France's Catholic allies, and a means of securing Protestantism in the British Isles and Europe.

Nevertheless, if Captain Straton's verdicts about individual politicians are taken seriously, what becomes apparent are considerable variations in the strength of commitment there was to the Whig cause. Those most steadfast included a number of the officers of state, such as the treasurer depute, David Boyle, earl of Glasgow, and Adam Cockburn, Lord Ormiston, justice clerk of the court of session, and judged by Lockhart to be a 'bigotted Presbyterian' who would stop at nothing to promote the interest of the post-revolution church and state.⁹⁷ Others in important positions who were perceived to have been of a similar stamp included Leven, rightly described as a 'notorious' Whig.⁹⁸ Leven was one of several Whigs whose commitment to the post-revolution state was forged in exile under the later Stuarts, and in the service of William of Orange. Similarly, in that he had probably lived in exile in Leiden or Utrecht, was Walter Stewart of Pardovan, Commissioner for the burgh of Linlithgow, although in his and a handful of other cases, this did not necessarily mean support for incorporating union: Stewart, like many Presbyterians, feared for the independence of the Scottish church and the civil rights of Scots in a union that privileged the Church of England.⁹⁹ Of greater interest to Straton were Whigs who were not necessarily for the Hanoverian succession and therefore might be friendly to the Stuart alternative, such as John Pringle in Selkirk, despite his being much influenced by Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh, the Lord Register.¹⁰⁰

Perhaps surprisingly, the 'Rolls' and Straton's analysis reveal relatively few parliamentarians who seem to have been regarded as straightforwardly unprincipled. This is not to deny that there were those who looked to their own interest first, rather than that of any party, let alone the nation. Examples include the governor of Stirling castle, John Erskine, earl of Mar, who was 'much reputed' to have 'loyal inclinations'. Despite considerable effort by Hamilton to bring him in, Queensberry's 'bait' of a secretaryship of state had drawn him away from the Country Party.¹⁰¹ His deputy governor, colonel John Erskine, was even more open to offers, Straton noting that he will 'always be for what the Court has a mynd to', so long as he enjoys 'any tollerable good post'. On the other side, too, there were those whose support was less secure. In Berwickshire, for example, Sir John Swinton of that ilk 'sometimes trims', but, thought Straton, he was 'for the most part with the Cuntry party'. John Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, much acclaimed by posterity as a fervent anti-unionist, was viewed rather more circumspectly by Straton, who was uncertain as to

⁹⁷ [Lockhart] *Memoirs Concerning the Affairs of Scotland*, 129.

⁹⁸ Richard Saville, *Bank of Scotland: A History, 1695–1995* (Edinburgh, 1996), 827, 909.

⁹⁹ Bowie, *Addresses*, 295–334; Stephen, *Defending the Revolution*, 153–204.

¹⁰⁰ 'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 215.

¹⁰¹ 'Account of the Present State of Scotland', ff. 213, 214. N.B. Hamilton is identified here as 'Arran' (courtesy title of the heirs to the dukes of Hamilton) because Straton was writing for the Jacobite court, who refused to recognise titles created since 1688 (with the permission of King William, Anne Hamilton, duchess of Hamilton in her own right, passed the title to her son James in 1698).

his loyalty, 'for he has varied in Parliament as he had employment from the Court', but was now (1706) with the Country Party again and, for a time, kept in line by the duke of Hamilton.¹⁰²

However, as noted earlier, there was a large Whig component in Parliament. Their number – 93 – was not sufficient to carry the Union, assuming the vast majority were so minded, even with the support of the 19 peers and commissioners identified as *Squadrone*. A concern for some Presbyterians was not union with England as such, but an incorporating union that would leave the country — and the Church of Scotland — defenceless against the decisions of a British parliament, for a few a monstrous affront to presbyterian principles dating back to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643.¹⁰³ Thus, to achieve a working majority, the court needed to tempt at least half a dozen opposition or otherwise 'loyal' (i.e. Jacobite) members to join them. With a parliament of 235 members, this was only a tiny fraction. Hardly enough to justify older depictions of the Union as a 'political job', an argument that has become increasingly difficult to sustain.¹⁰⁴ Who these men were forms part of Straton's 'Account', with Queensberry being far and away the most successful recruiter from the ranks of those whose natural inclination was to side with the Jacobites. It is here that we find the most blatant instances of the use of bribes of one sort or another. Mar, as we have seen, had been lured away from the Country Party by Queensberry by the offer of the post of secretary of state, while it was the prospect (but not necessarily the promise) of a 'patent of honour' that persuaded the 'weak but rich' William Morrison of Prestongrange to go over to the court.¹⁰⁵ John Ker, Lord Bellenden of Broughton, 'of very ordinary capacity and little or no estate' (having 'squandered' it), had formerly been a Jacobite, but by 1706 had also been bought with the offer of a minor post.¹⁰⁶

At the same time, during the winter of 1705–6, the *Squadrone's* numbers increased. And it was towards union that the *Squadrone* were moving. Indeed, prior to his arrival at St Germain, Straton believed Roxburgh, Tweeddale and Haddington had been for the house of Hanover but against a union.¹⁰⁷ By summer 1706, however, their position had changed, albeit that within the party its members' commitment to, and reasons for, favouring incorporation varied, although most were fervently anti-Jacobite and had hopes that a union would deliver economic advantages.¹⁰⁸ Yet *Squadrone* support (it had 25 adherents by the time of the divisions over the Articles of Union), was crucial in securing the passage of the Act of Union. What seems to have precipitated their alignment with the court was the resolution of the Darien issue — namely that the English union negotiators in 1706 (unlike their counterparts in 1702) were not only prepared to compensate the Scottish subscribers

¹⁰²'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 214r.

¹⁰³Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 319.

¹⁰⁴W. Ferguson, 'The Making of the Treaty of Union of 1707', *Scottish Historical Review*, xliii (1964), 89–110; P.H. Scott, *1707: The Union of Scotland and England* (Edinburgh, 1979), 39–46; on the other hand, see McLean and McMillan, *State of the Union*, 28–30; Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 266–9.

¹⁰⁵'Account of the Present State of Scotland', ff. 213r, 215r.

¹⁰⁶'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 212r.

¹⁰⁷'Account of the Present State of Scotland', f. 214.

¹⁰⁸Whatley, *Scots and the Union*, 268–9.

to the company but also to inject some much needed liquidity into the cash-starved Scottish economy.¹⁰⁹

3

So where do these two Jacobite analyses leave us? In the first instance, they offer a unique and fascinating glimpse of the Jacobite perception of the strengths and weaknesses of the political parties struggling for control of the Scottish Parliament. The Scots Jacobite movement's political wing was more powerful in Queen Anne's parliament than Jacobites were to be in any other parliament of the 18th century, and in Scotland nothing else like the 'Rolls' or the 'Account' has survived the vicissitudes of the Jacobite risings and subsequent centuries of archival happenstance.¹¹⁰ More broadly, the 'Rolls' indirectly, and the 'Account' directly, shine a new light on the state of opinion in the country on the eve of the Union debates. Harry Straton's analysis has to be read, and used, with care, but there is nothing else like it. It is a systematic attempt to assess the mood of the Scottish nation by a seasoned political agent. He undoubtedly wanted to produce a particular result (money for Hamilton), by his secret visit to St Germain, but he also sought loyally to answer the Jacobite king's fundamental question: who were his friends and who were his enemies, and how were they distributed across the nation? Straton may well have wanted to shade his answer to serve his friend Hamilton, yet he also wanted to serve his king. Hence the 'Account' is at source an honest attempt to answer King James's question.

What the 'Rolls' and the 'Account' reveal, too, is more than the annotators, or Straton, intended. It is clear from both that Scotland was very narrowly divided in 1705–7. Although the Whig interest was both large and of a similar mind, it was the marginal, more venal, Jacobites and Tories who cast the balance in favour of the Union. Whilst the *Squadron* and other Whig alignments grew in strength and resolution, crucial but very small numbers of men like Mar, Bellenden and Morrison of Prestongrange changed sides if not for 'English gold', then the prospect or equivalent of it. Ironically, it seems that wavering on the part of a handful of fringe Jacobites and Tories may have been the critical political weakness that brought the Union to pass. Hamilton's repeated pleas for money with which to stop the Union may not, then, have been entirely self-serving. If he could have bought and sold with French gold the mercenary men on the fringes of the Jacobite/Tory bloc, the Union Bill might have been defeated, with who knows what consequences for the history of Scotland and England.

Rolls of Parliament as they stand

9 August 1705

The transcription below is of La Courneuve, Affaires Étrangères, Correspondence Politique (Angleterre) Supplément 3, ff. 248–9: 'Rolls of Parliament as they stand', 9 Aug. 1705,

¹⁰⁹C.A. Whatley, 'The Making of the Union of 1707: History with a History', in *Scotland and the Union, 1707–2007*, ed. T.M. Devine (Edinburgh, 2008), 34. cf. Riley, *Union of England and Scotland*, 260–8.

¹¹⁰See *British Parliamentary Lists 1660–1800. A Register*, ed. G.M. Ditchfield, David Hayton and Clyve Jones (1995), 144–51.

supplemented in the case of statements by Straton about that peer/Commissioner's political inclinations by excerpts from Bodleian, MS Carte 180, ff. 212r–220v: [Harry Straton] 'An Account of the Present State of Scotland in July 1706', [St Germain] Aug.? 1706 in footnote form. Unfortunately, the full text of the 'Account' is too long to be published here. Contractions have been expanded and the spelling of the names on the list have been corrected and modernised throughout following Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, and Young, *Parliaments of Scotland*.

Key

'ct': Courtier, i.e. firm supporter of the government in almost all circumstances; 'J': Jacobite; 'JT': Jacobite Tory; 'S': *Squadron Volante*; 'T': Tory; 'W': Whig; *: unclear what this signifies. Many entries have no annotation, presumably because the annotators did not know their political inclination, the person concerned was not resident in Scotland, or the holder of the title was a minor or a woman.

Lord High Commissioner¹¹¹

	Officers of State who are Peers		Officers of State	
W.	Lord High Chancellor ¹¹²	}	Secretary ¹¹³	
W.	Lord High Treasurer ¹¹⁴	}	Treasurer Depute	— Earl of Glasgow
	Lord President of the Privy Council ¹¹⁵	Lords }	Register	— Philiphaugh ¹¹⁶
W	Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal ¹¹⁷	}	[Lord] Advocate	— Sir James Stewart ¹¹⁸
		}	[Lord] Justice Clerk	— Ormiston ¹¹⁹

¹¹¹John Campbell, duke of Argyll.

¹¹²James Ogilvy, earl of Seafield.

¹¹³In August 1705 William Johnston, marquess of Annandale, was joint secretary with Hugh Campbell, earl of Loudoun.

¹¹⁴The treasury was actually in commission at this time. The commissioners were: James Ogilvy, earl of Seafield, lord chancellor; James Douglas, duke of Queensberry; James Graham, duke of Montrose; James Stewart, earl of Galloway; David Carnegie, earl of Northesk; Archibald Douglas, earl of Forfar; David Boyle, earl of Glasgow, treasurer-depute; Lord Archibald Campbell; William Ross, Lord Ross; Francis Montgomery. The commission was, as noted, predominantly Whig, except for Galloway, who was a crypto-Jacobite, Northesk, who was certainly a Tory later in his life, and possibly Ross, who was a Jacobite in the 1690s but subsequently submitted to, and strongly supported, the post-revolutionary regime.

¹¹⁵William Johnston, marquess of Annandale.

¹¹⁶Sir James Murray of Philiphaugh.

¹¹⁷James Douglas, duke of Queensberry.

¹¹⁸Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees.

¹¹⁹Adam Cockburn of Ormiston.

[Annotator's marks]	[Politics]	[Title/Name]	[Further comments]	['Account of the Present State of Scotland' ¹²⁰]
Dukes of				
1 ¹²¹ —		Hamilton Buccleuch ¹²² Lennox		
2. —		Gordon		Jacobite ¹²³
	W.	*Queensberry		
	W.	*Argyll		
		Douglas		
3. —	J. T.	Atholl		Jacobite? ¹²⁴
Marquesses of				
	S.	Montrose		Jacobite? ¹²⁵
	S.	Tweeddale		Whig ¹²⁶
	W.	Lothian		Whig ¹²⁷
	W.	*Annandale		
Earles of				
	W.	Crawford		
4 —	J. T.	Erroll		Jacobite ¹²⁸
5. —	J. T.	Marischal		Jacobite ¹²⁹
	W.	Sutherland		Whig ¹³⁰

¹²⁰The party alignments noted in this column are our interpretation of Straton's comments on the individual concerned. N.B. on 219r HS comments that he has never been north of Aberdeenshire and that therefore his observations on places and people there are all derived from others. On 219v he also says that he can say little about Argyllshire.

¹²¹It is not clear what these numbers, inserted by one of the annotators, mean. Presumably, Hooke was told orally and passed this on to the Jacobite government-in-exile.

¹²²As a woman, Anna Scott, duchess of Buccleuch in her own right, could not sit in parliament.

¹²³220r: 'is of so known and undoubted loyalty that I shall not presume to say any thing in particular about his grace'.

¹²⁴217r: 'it is hoped his lordship is, or will be, right. And to my certain knowledge many of the King's freinds are using there utmost endeavours to bring him intyrelly to the King's interest; and they seem hopefull to prevaiill. And it is of great consequence to the King's service to have him so because he has many vasalls and a great following of good men, and, as I am credibly informed, most of them such as allways will be loyal tho he should prove otherways. And it is certain he lately mustered above four thousand men, well armed'.

¹²⁵216v: 'it is hoped that his lordship, whatever mistakes he has committed, will in the main prove for the King's interest'.

¹²⁶214r: 'much for Hanover'.

¹²⁷212r: soldier 'of less capacity' than Leven.

¹²⁸218v: 'of unquestionable loyalty, loved and respected, and has much interest in this shyre, particularly in elections for Parliament, and upon a good occasion will be [followed] both by gentry and comons'.

¹²⁹218v: 'of unquestionable loyalty, loved and respected, has great interest in elections for Parliament and upon a good occasion will be much followed both by the gentry and comons'.

¹³⁰212v: 'of ill principles', i.e. Whig.

¹³⁰212v: 'of ill principles', i.e. Whig.

6. —	J. ct. T.	Mar		Courtier ¹³¹
		Menteith ¹³²		
	S.	Roths		
	W.	Morton		
xx	W.	Buchan		
	W.	Glencairn		Jacobite ¹³³
~	ct. T.	Eglinton		Jacobite ¹³⁴
		Cassilis ¹³⁵		
	J. T.	Caithness		Jacobite ¹³⁶
7. —	J. T.	Moray.	n[onjuror].	Jacobite ¹³⁷
	J. T.	Nithsdale		Jacobite ¹³⁸
		Winton		
	J. T.	Linlithgow		Jacobite ¹³⁹
8. —	J. T.	Hume		Jacobite ¹⁴⁰
	J. T.	Perth		
	J. T.	Wigton		Jacobite ¹⁴¹
9. —	J. T.	Strathmore		Jacobite ¹⁴²
		Abercorn		
	S.	Roxburgh		Whig ¹⁴³
10. ~	J. T.	Kellie		Jacobite ¹⁴⁴
	S.	Haddington		Whig ¹⁴⁵
11. ~	J. T.	Galloway		
	W.	Lauderdale		

¹³¹213r: HS does not know him well, but, 'he was much reputed to have loyall [i.e. Jacobite] inclinaciones' and HS knows he was 'very much courted' by Hamilton who, 'thought him self sure of him.' 213v: But Queensberry, 'drew Marr from the Cuntry party', with office of secretary of state.

¹³²Merged with the earldom of Airth in 1661. No recognised heir in 1705.

¹³³212v: 'I know [he] is loyally inclined', i.e. Jacobite; 'has often said he never would do any thing against the King'.

¹³⁴216r: 'I am sure his lordship professes much loyallty and I have often heard him doe so'.

¹³⁵A minor in 1705.

¹³⁶219v: 'is very loyall, but it is thought will not come to Parliament because he has no inclination to take the oaths'.

¹³⁷217v: 'of undoubted loyallty ... never having taken the oaths'.

¹³⁸215v: 'a man of undoubted loyallty [i.e. Jacobite], much loved and respected'.

¹³⁹217r: 'he is, to my certain knowledge, loyall, and was from his infancy so educat, under the government of a most loyall mother, sister to the late Marquess of Montrose. He is now in Holland under the conduct of a loyall, honest and knowing gouvourner'.

¹⁴⁰214v: 'it is not doubted but he will follow the example of his most loyall, worthie father'.

¹⁴¹215v: 'he is, and will allwayes I hope prove loyall [i.e. Jacobite]'.

¹⁴²218r: 'of undoubted loyallty, much loved and respected, particularly by the gentry of the shyre, and has great interest in the elections of members for Parliament, and many will follow him upon a good occasion'.

¹⁴³214r: 'much for Hanover'.

¹⁴⁴217v: 'has loyall inclinaciones, but is frequently kept out of Parliament by the influence of his lady and her father Ballcaras'.

¹⁴⁵214r: 'much for Hanover'.

	J. T.	Seaforth		
	J. T.	Kinnoull		
	W.	Loudon		
	W.	Dumfries ¹⁴⁶		
		Stirling		
		Elgin		
	T.	Southesk	child	Jacobite ¹⁴⁷
	J. T.	Traquair		Jacobite ¹⁴⁸
'ambed'	W.	Wemyss		
	W.	Dalhousie		Courtier ¹⁴⁹
	J. T.	Airlie		Jacobite ¹⁵⁰
	W.	Findlater		
	T.	Carnwath*		
		Callander ¹⁵¹		
	W.	Leven		Whig ¹⁵²
		Dysart		
12.	J. T.	Panmure	n[onjuror]	
	~T.	Selkirk		
	~T.	Northesk		
	J. T.	Kincardine		
	W.	Balcarres		
	W.	Forfar		
		Aboyne		
		Newburgh		
	W.	Kilmarnock		
	J. T.	Dundonald		Jacobite ¹⁵³
	T.	Dunbarton		
	W.	Kintore		
	J. T.	Breadalbane		
13.	~T.	Aberdeen		Jacobite? ¹⁵⁴
	W.	Dunmore		
	W.	Melville		
	W.	Orkney		

¹⁴⁶An error. In 1705, Penelope Crichton was countess of Dumfries in her own right and as a woman could not sit in parliament. The family was, however, generally Whig in sympathy.

¹⁴⁷218r: 'loyally educate, and to my knowledge most zelous that way'.

¹⁴⁸215v: 'a worthis honest man and of most unquestionable loyalty [i.e. Jacobite]'.

¹⁴⁹212r: HS notes he has a small estate, is not a good manager and has to take refuge in the Abbey on occasion, but comes of 'a loyall family', so it is, 'presumed he has good inclinations', i.e. Jacobite; 214r: 'he is, and will be, for the court' in Midlothian.

¹⁵⁰218r: 'loyall, as are the most of his name evry where'.

¹⁵¹James Livingstone was also the earl of Linlithgow.

¹⁵²212r: 'a notorious Whig and Hanoverian'.

¹⁵³216v: 'I am assured by his nearest relations that he is loyall'.

¹⁵⁴218v: 'reputed loyall', whereas his son, Lord Haddo, 'did lately to my self exprest much loyallty'.

		Tullibardine ¹⁵⁵	
	~T.	Ruglen ¹⁵⁶	
	J. T.	March	
	W.	Marchmont	
	W.	*Seafield	
	W.	Hyndford	Whig ¹⁵⁷
	~T.	Cromartie	Uncertain ¹⁵⁸
	W.	Stair	
	W.	Roseberry	
	W.	*Glasgow	
	~ J. T.	Bute	Jacobite ²¹⁵⁹
	W.	Hopetoun	
		Viscounts of	
		Falkland	
		Dunbar ¹⁶⁰	
14.	J. T.	Stormont	Jacobite ¹⁶¹
15.	J. T.	Kenmure	Jacobite ¹⁶²
	~T.	Arbuthnott*	Jacobite ¹⁶³
		Frendraught	
	J. T.	Kingston	
16.	J. T.	Oxfuird	n[onjuror].
		Irvine ¹⁶⁴	
17.	J. T.	Kilsyth	Jacobite ¹⁶⁵
		Dunblane ¹⁶⁶	
	J. T.	Preston ¹⁶⁷	
		Newhaven ¹⁶⁸	

¹⁵⁵Attached to the dukedom of Atholl; used as an honorary title for the duke's eldest son.

¹⁵⁶'Rutherglen' on the original document. There was, however, no earl of Rutherglen in 1705, but John Hamilton was earl of Ruglen.

¹⁵⁷213r: 'not well affected to the King's interest'.

¹⁵⁸219r: 'has changed so [often] and trimmed so much that I know not what to say of him'.

¹⁵⁹216r: 'reputed well affected', and, 'of the Cuntry party'.

¹⁶⁰'Dumbar' in the original MS; Robert Constable, Viscount Dunbar, was English, lived in England and may have been a crypto-Catholic. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

¹⁶¹217r: 'of undoubted loyallty'.

¹⁶²216r: 'of most undoubted loyallty, never having taken the oaths'.

¹⁶³218v: 'is loyall and has often professed so to my self'.

¹⁶⁴Edward Machell, Viscount Irvine, was born in England and lived there all his life. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

¹⁶⁵217r: 'I am confident [he] is loyall'.

¹⁶⁶Sir Thomas Osborne, duke of Leeds and Viscount Dunblane, lived in England. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

¹⁶⁷Though he is listed as a Jacobite Tory, Edward Graham, Viscount Preston, lived in England. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

¹⁶⁸William Cheyne, Viscount Newhaven, lived in England and sat in the English parliament as MP for Amer-sham. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

	T.	Strathallan ^{x169}		
		Teviot		
	~ J. T.	Dupplin	D[uke]. H[amilton]	
	W.	Garnock		
	W.	Primrose		
			Lords of	
	W.	Forbes		Whig ¹⁷⁰
	J. T.	Saltoun		Jacobite ¹⁷¹
	J. T.	Gray	family	
n.		Ochiltree ¹⁷²		
	W.	Cathcart ^x		
18.	J. T.	Sinclair	n[onjuror]	Jacobite ¹⁷³
		Mordingtoun ¹⁷⁴		
	J. T.	Sempill		Jacobite ¹⁷⁵
	W.	Elphinstone		
	~T.	Oliphant ¹⁷⁶		
		Lovat ¹⁷⁷		
		Borthwick ¹⁷⁸		
[impenetrable erasure]	W.	Ross		
	W.	Torphichen		
		Spynie ¹⁷⁹		
	J. T.	Lindores		
19.	J. T.	Balmerino		Jacobite ¹⁸⁰
	J. T.	Blantyre	D[uke]. h[amilton].	
	W.	Cardross ¹⁸¹	E[arl] of B[ucha]n.	
	W.	Cranstoun		
	W.	[Balfour of Burleigh		

¹⁶⁹James Drummond, Viscount Strathallan, was a minor in 1705.

¹⁷⁰212r: 'a bigotted Whig, litle sense, litle estate and disloyall'; 219r: one of the local 'rank whigs'.

¹⁷¹219v: 'I know him and his son to be very loyall'.

¹⁷²This peerage became extinct in 1675 but was apparently still being contested by collateral heirs as it was still being entered in the Master Roll of the Scottish Parliament.

¹⁷³217v: 'eminently loyall, never [having] taken the oaths'.

¹⁷⁴James Douglas, Lord Mordingtoun, appears to have been Catholic or crypto-Catholic and took no part in public affairs.

¹⁷⁵216v: 'I know [him] to be loyall and [he] is of the Cuntry party'.

¹⁷⁶A Catholic.

¹⁷⁷Simon Fraser of Beaufort, the claimant to this title, was in prison in France in 1705.

¹⁷⁸This title was in abeyance between 1675 and 1720.

¹⁷⁹This title was in abeyance by 1705.

¹⁸⁰214r: 'a very loyall bold man [i.e. Jacobite], and of good partes. Very significant in Parliament and allways of the Cuntry party.'

¹⁸¹David Erskine, Lord Cardross, inherited the title of earl of Buchan in 1695.

		Jedburgh ¹⁸²		
		Maderty ¹⁸³		
		Coupar ¹⁸⁴		
		Napier ¹⁸⁵		
		Cameron ¹⁸⁶		
		Cramond ¹⁸⁷		
	W.	Reay		
20.	J.T.	Forrester		Jacobite ¹⁸⁸
21.	J.T.	[Forbes of] Pitsligo		Jacobite? ¹⁸⁹
		Kirkcudbright ¹⁹⁰		
	T.	Fraser		Jacobite? ¹⁹¹
	T.	Bargany	J[jacobite].	
		Banff		
	W.	Elibank		
		[Falconer of]		
		Halkerton		
22.	n. T.	Belhaven	J[jacobite].	Country ¹⁹²
x		Portmore ¹⁹³		
		Abercrombie ¹⁹⁴		
	T.	Duffus	J[jacobite].—	Jacobite? ¹⁹⁵
	W.	Rollo		
	T.	Colvill [of	J[jacobite].	Jacobite? ¹⁹⁶
		Ochiltree]		
		Ruthven [of		
		Freeland] ¹⁹⁷		

¹⁸²William Ker, eldest son and heir to the marquess of Lothian.

¹⁸³Subsumed in the viscounty of Strathallan in 1686.

¹⁸⁴Subsumed in the barony of Balmerino in 1669.

¹⁸⁵Elizabeth Napier, Baroness Napier of Merchiston, died 11 Aug. 1705 and her son Francis Scott did not succeed until 1706.

¹⁸⁶Thomas Fairfax, Lord Fairfax of Cameron, lived in England and was one of the MPs for the county of Yorkshire. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

¹⁸⁷William Richardson, Lord Cramond, lived in England. There is no record of his having attended or voted in the Union Parliament.

¹⁸⁸217r: 'I am confident [he] is loyall'.

¹⁸⁹219r: 'reputed loyall and with the Cuntry party.' Interesting that HS knows so little about Pitsligo and appears not to have met him.

¹⁹⁰In abeyance, 1661–1721.

¹⁹¹219v: notes that though he has a commission in the army, 'he is thought to be loyall'.

¹⁹²214r: 'what to say of his loyallty I know not, for he has varied in Parliament as he had employment from the Court, but now he is of the Cuntry party again'; thinks Hamilton, 'may have the influence to keep him right'.

¹⁹³David Colyear was created Lord Portmore and Blackness in 1699, but then promoted to earl of Portmore in 1703; the compiler of the 'Rolls' clearly failed to update the 1705 edition.

¹⁹⁴This peerage became extinct in 1681.

¹⁹⁵219v: 'the loyall Lord Duffus is dead and his eldest son is with ane English squadron in the West Indies'.

¹⁹⁶217v: 'is thought weill affected and is a closs adherer to the Cuntry party'.

¹⁹⁷Jean Ruthven, Baroness Ruthven, inherited the title in 1701, but as a woman could not sit in parliament.

W.	Rutherford Bellenden [of Broughton] Newark ¹⁹⁹	n[on].j[uror].	Courtier ¹⁹⁸
J. T.	Nairn [Churchill of Eyemouth ²⁰¹		Jacobite ²⁰⁰
~T.	Kinnaird Glasfoord ²⁰³	J[acobite].	Jacobite ²⁰²

Comissioners of the Shires*EDINBURGH*

S.	Sir Robert Dundas of Arniston		Whig ²⁰⁴
T.	Sir Robert Dickson of Inveresk	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Jacobite? ²⁰⁵
T.	George Lockhart of Carnwath	J[acobite]	Jacobite ²⁰⁶
T.	Sir James Foulis of Colinton	J[acobite]	Jacobite ²⁰⁷
<i>Haddington</i>			
T.	Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Jacobite? ²⁰⁸ Country ²⁰⁹
T.	William Nisbet of Dirleton	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Jacobite ²¹⁰

¹⁹⁸212r: 'Ballantain', of 'very ordinary capacity and litle or no estate'; rated 'very loyall' (i.e. Jacobite) in 1688 and early 1690s, but 'having squandered a good estate', Queensberry, 'bought him at the price of this post'.

¹⁹⁹Jean Leslie, styled Baroness Newark, claimed the title in 1694 and was recognised at the time as the heir, but as a woman could not sit in parliament.

²⁰⁰217r: 'of undoubted loyalty, not having taken the oaths to Princess Anne, and not only (as I am certainly informed) gives good advyces to his brother the Marquess of Athol, but advysed and assisted the Lord Stormont and others hou to manage the Marquess in order to bring him heartiely and intyrelly to the King's interest and service'.

²⁰¹A subsidiary title of John Churchill, duke of Marlborough.

²⁰²218r: 'is very loyall'.

²⁰³The title became extinct in 1703, after the compiler published the 'Rolls of Parliament as they stand'.

²⁰⁴214r: 'a Whigg and courtier'.

²⁰⁵214r: 'much with the cuntry party, but sometymes varies', but HS has 'often heard him, with great asseverations say that he never would do any thing against the King'.

²⁰⁶214r: 'unquestionably loyall and of the cuntry party'.

²⁰⁷214r: 'unquestionably loyall and of the cuntry party'.

²⁰⁸214v: 'thought tollerably well affected, but pevish and humorsome. However he allwayes keeps by the Cuntry party and seemes to have weight in Parliament'.

²⁰⁹214v: 'owns himself of republican principles, yet he allwayes opposes the Court with vigour, speaks boldly and weill, and has often said to my self that he will to the utmost of his power oppose Union and Hanover succession as thinking both destructive to the nation'.

²¹⁰214v: 'well affected [i.e. Jacobite] and is of the Cuntry party'.

S.	John Cockburn younger of Ormiston		Courtier ²¹¹
		<i>Berwick</i>	
S.	Sir Robert Sinclair of Longformacus		Jacobite ²¹²
S.	Sir John Home of Blackadder		
T.	Sir John Swinton	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Country ²¹³
	of that Ilk		
T.	Sir Patrick Home	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Jacobite ²¹⁴
	of Lumsden		
		<i>Roxburgh</i>	
S.	Sir William Ker of Greenhead		Jacobite ²¹⁵
W.	Sir Gilbert Eliot of Minto		Whig ²¹⁶
W.	Archibald Douglas of Cavers		Whig ²¹⁷
S.	William Bennet of Grubbet		Courtier ²¹⁸
		<i>Selkirk</i>	
W.	Mr John Murray of Bowhill		Whig ²¹⁹
W.	Mr John Pringle of Haining		Jacobite ²²⁰
		<i>Peebles</i>	
W.	William Morrison of Prestongrange		Courtier ²²¹
W.	Alexander Horsburgh of that Ilk		Jacobite ²²²

²¹¹214v: 'is now of the Court since his father came in to be Justice Clerk and Lord of Session'.

²¹²214v: 'reputed loyall [i.e. Jacobite] and [has] allwayes adhered to the Cuntry party'.

²¹³214v: 'he somtymes trims, but for most part is with the Cuntry party'.

²¹⁴214v: 'reputed loyall [i.e. Jacobite] and [has] allwayes adhered to the Cuntry party'.

²¹⁵215r: 'reputed ane honest weil affected [i.e. Jacobite] man, but a litle influenced by his chiefe, Roxburghe'.

²¹⁶215r: 'came in by a trick, he is intyrely wrong'.

²¹⁷214v: 'intyrely managed' by Queensberry.

²¹⁸215r: 'he was on the Cuntry party till Tweddal, Roxburgh and others of that sett broke off. He is now Muster-Master generall and Courtier'.

²¹⁹215r: 'intyrely governed by his brother' the clerk register.

²²⁰215r: 'intyrely governed' by the clerk register, but HS has heard 'that he expressly capitulated (being unwilling to dipp) with the nou Clerk Register that he should not be desyred to be for the Hanover succession', and he and his father are, 'reputed weil affected [i.e. Jacobite]'.

²²¹215r: 'a weake but rich man expecting a patent of honor and intyrely managed by Queensberry'.

²²²215r: 'reputed loyal [i.e. Jacobite], and he professed so to my self'.

	<i>Lanark</i>		
W.	William Baillie of Lamington		Country ²²³
S.	George Baillie of Jerviswood		Whig ²²⁴
T.	John Sinclair junior of Stevenson	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Country ²²⁵
T.	James Hamilton of Aikenhead	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Country ²²⁶
	<i>Dumfries</i>		
W.	Sir John Johnston of Westerhall		Courtier ²²⁷
W.	William Douglas of Dornock		Courtier ²²⁸
T.	John Sharp/Shairp of Hoddam		Jacobite? ²²⁹
T.	Mr Alexander Fergusson of Isle	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Jacobite ²³⁰
	<i>Wigton</i>		
W.	Mr William Stewart of Castle Stewart	Lord Galloway's ²³¹ brother	
	John Stewart of Sorbie	his uncle ²³²	Courtier? ²³³
	<i>Ayr</i>		
W.	Mr Francis Montgomerie of Giffen		Courtier ²³⁴
W.	Mr William Dalrymple of Glenmure		

²²³215v: 'of the Cuntry party, much managed by [Hamilton]'.

²²⁴215v: 'has intyrelly left [the Country party] and is evry way wrong'.

²²⁵215v: 'of the Cuntry party, much managed by [Hamilton]'.

²²⁶215v: 'a very old man not able often to attend Parliament', plus 'of the Cuntry party, much managed by [Hamilton]'.

²²⁷215v: 'led both by imployment and Earl Annandaill'.

²²⁸215v: 'intyrelly led by Duke Queensberry'.

²²⁹215v: 'he professes loyallty [i.e. is a Jacobite], but is intyrelly led by Duke Queensberry'.

²³⁰215v: 'keeps by the Cuntry party and is reputed loyall [i.e. Jacobite] and I heard him lately say that he would be against the Union and Hanover'.

²³¹*Recte*: Galloway.

²³²Sir Robert Grierson of Lag.

²³³215v: 'generally for the Court', but 'in two severall sessions voted the great resolve'.

²³⁴216r: 'allwayes with the Court'.

	Sir Hew Cathcart of Carleton		Country? ²³⁵
T.	John Brisbane of Bishopton	D[uke]. h[amilton].	Jacobite ²³⁶
		<i>Dunbarton</i>	
J. T.	Mr William Cochrane of Kilmarnock	[married] to Lady Callendar's sister ²³⁷	Jacobite ²³⁸
J. T.	Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss	father in law to Grant's son ²³⁹	Jacobite ²⁴⁰
		<i>Bute</i>	
T.	Mr Robert Stewart of Tillicutrie		Jacobite ²⁴¹
T.	John Stewart of Kinwhinleck		Courtier ²⁴²
		<i>Renfrew</i>	
J. T.	Sir John Houston of that Ilk		Jacobite ²⁴³
	Mr John Stewart yr of Blackhall		Jacobite ²⁴⁴
W.	Sir Robert Pollock of that Ilk		Courtier? ²⁴⁵
		<i>Stirling</i>	
T.	John Graham of Killearn		Jacobite ²⁴⁶
J. T.	James Graham of Bucklyvie		Jacobite ²⁴⁷
J. T.	Robert Rollo of Powhouse		Jacobite ²⁴⁸

²³⁵ 216r: 'somytmes Court, but for the most part of the Cuntry party'.

²³⁶ 216r: 'a loyall, honest man and a closs adherer to the Cuntry party'.

²³⁷ Lady Grizel Graham, daughter of the 2nd marquis of Montrose.

²³⁸ 216r: 'notarly knowen to be most loyall', and 'constant' to the 'Cuntry party'.

²³⁹ Sir James Grant of Grant.

²⁴⁰ 216r: 'notarly knowen to be most loyall', and 'constant' to the 'Cuntry party'.

²⁴¹ 216r: 'reputed well affected', and, 'of the Cuntry party'.

²⁴² 216v: 'for the most [part] with the Court', and, 'much influenced by Staires and the President of the Session'.

²⁴³ 216v: 'to my knowledge well affected and [a] constant adherer... to the Cuntry party'.

²⁴⁴ 216v: 'to my knowledge well affected and [a] constant adherer... to the Cuntry party'.

²⁴⁵ 213r: 'whiggishly inclined', but Cochrane of Kilmarnock has told HS that Pollock has told him ('with great asseverations') that, 'when the King comes he shall have him and his troupe'. ... [216v:] 'intyrely courtier, yet to my knowledge privately pretends that he will be right upon a fair occasion'.

²⁴⁶ 217r: 'eminently loyall and constant adherer... to the Cuntry party'.

²⁴⁷ 217r: 'eminently loyall and constant adherer... to the Cuntry party'.

²⁴⁸ 217r: 'eminently loyall and constant adherer... to the Cuntry party.' N.B. HS does not specifically mention Powhouse, but clearly intended to include him with the other two barons: 'all three...'.

		<i>Linlithgow</i>		
	J. T.	Thomas Shairp of		Country ²⁴⁹
		Houston		
	W.	Mr John		Country ²⁵⁰
		Montgomerie of		
		Wrae		
		<i>Perth</i>		
	S.	John Haldane of	leads Montrose	
		Glenneagles		
D[uke]. of	T.	Sir Patrick Murray		
A[tholl].		[of] Ochteryre		
	S.	Mungo Graham of		
		Gorthie		
D[uke]. of	T.	John Murray of	J[acobite].	
A[tholl].		Strowan		
		<i>Kincardine</i>		
	J. T.	Sir David Ramsay		Jacobite ²⁵¹
		of Balmain		
	T.	Sir Thomas	C[our]t[?]	Country ²⁵³
		Burnett of		
		Leys ²⁵²		
		<i>Aberdeen</i>		
	J. T.	Alexander Gordon		Jacobite ²⁵⁴
		of Pitlurg		
	T.	John Udney of that	Ab[erdeen]	Jacobite? ²⁵⁵
		ilk		
	W	William Seton of		Jacobite? ²⁵⁶
		Pitmedden		
		junior		

²⁴⁹216v: 'of the Cuntry party and ... chosen by the interest of [Hamilton] and Lithgow'.

²⁵⁰216v: 'of the Cuntry party and ... chosen by the interest of [Hamilton] and Lithgow'.

²⁵¹218v: 'is loyall and keepest stedly with the Cuntry party'.

²⁵²Exclamation mark added by annotator to the misspelled original, viz: 'Sir Thomas Burnet of Lies!'.

²⁵³218v: 'tho he was very farr wronge at the Revolution he sometymes varies in Parliament. He has for the three last sessions been for the most with the Cuntry party, particularly for the grand resolves, and spoke boldly against the Hanover succession when proposed by [Marchmont], and told my self a weeke or tuo befor I came from Scotland that he would to the utmost of his pour oppose the Union'.

²⁵⁴219r: 'I am informed [was] chosen as [a] loyall, honest [man]', and 'allways behaved well in Parliament and clossly adhered to the Cuntry party'.

²⁵⁵219r: 'I am informed [was] chosen as [a] loyall, honest [man]', and 'allways behaved well in Parliament and clossly adhered to the Cuntry party'.

²⁵⁶219r: 'I am informed [was] chosen as [a] loyall, honest [man]', and 'allways behaved well in Parliament and clossly adhered to the Cuntry party, Pittmedde[n] excepted, who left it last session'.

	J. T.	James Moir of Stoneywood <i>Inverness</i>	Jacobite? ²⁵⁷
	J. T.	Ludovic Grant of that Ilk	Jacobite? ²⁵⁸
	T.	Alexander Grant Ar[gyll] junior of that Ilk <i>Nairn</i>	Courtier? ²⁵⁹
		Hugh Rose of Kilravock	Jacobite? ²⁶⁰
	W.	John Forbes of Culloden <i>Cromarty</i>	Courtier? ²⁶¹
Tarbat's son ²⁶²	T.	Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty	Courtier? ²⁶³
	T.	Mr Aeneas Mcleod of Cadboll <i>Argyll</i>	Courtier? ²⁶⁴
	W.	Mr John Campbell of Mamore	Courtier? ²⁶⁵
	W.	Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck	Courtier? ²⁶⁶
	W.	James Campbell younger of Ardkinglas <i>Fife</i>	Courtier? ²⁶⁷
	S.	Sir William Anstruther of that Ilk	Courtier? ²⁶⁸

²⁵¹218v: 'is loyall and keepest stedy with the Cuntry party'.

²⁵⁷219r: 'I am informed [was] chosen as [a] loyall, honest [man]', and 'always behaved well in Parliament and clossly adhered to the Cuntry party'.

²⁵⁸219r: 'allways adhered to the Cuntry party and to my certain knowledge very warmly opposed the Hanover succession'.

²⁵⁹219r: 'last session Courtier'.

²⁶⁰219r: 'reputed loyall, and for the most part with the Cuntry party'.

²⁶¹219r: 'comonly with the Court'.

²⁶²Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat was created Viscount Tarbat in 1685, but promoted to earl of Cromartie in 1703.

²⁶³219r: 'much under [the] influence of [Cromarty], but frequently with the Cuntry party'.

²⁶⁴219r: 'much under [the] influence of [Cromarty], but frequently with the Cuntry party'.

²⁶⁵219v: 'are and will be as [his] cheife Argyll is'.

²⁶⁶219v: 'are and will be as [his] cheife Argyll is'.

²⁶⁷219v: 'are and will be as [his] cheife Argyll is'.

²⁶⁸217v: 'he often varies in Parliament and is sometymes with the Cuntry party'.

J. T.	David Bethune of Balfour	Jacobite ²⁶⁹
J. T.	Major Henry Balfour of Dunbog	Jacobite ²⁷⁰
T.	Robert Douglas of Strathendry	Courtier? ²⁷¹
	<i>Forfar</i>	
J. T.	Mr Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse	Jacobite ²⁷²
J. T.	Mr James Carnegie of Phinhaven	Jacobite ²⁷³
S.	James Haliburton of Pitcur	Jacobite? ²⁷⁴
J. T.	David Graham of Fintry	Jacobite ²⁷⁵
	<i>Banff</i>	
T.	James Ogilvie junior of Boyne Alexander Duff of Braco	Jacobite ²⁷⁶
	<i>Stewartry of Kirkcudbright</i>	
W.	William Maxwell of Cardoness	Whig ²⁷⁷
T.	Alexa[n]der McKie of Palgown	Jacobite ²⁷⁸
	<i>Sutherland</i>	
	David Sutherland junior of Kinnauld ²⁷⁹	

²⁶⁹217v: 'I know [him] to be well affected and [a] closs adherer to the Cuntry party'.

²⁷⁰217v: 'I know [him] to be well affected and [a] closs adherer to the Cuntry party'.

²⁷¹217v: 'has by some people the reputation of being weill inclyned to the King's interest, but he often varies in Parliament and is thought to be much under the influence of Earl Rothes'.

²⁷²218r: 'loyall ... most remarkably so'.

²⁷³218r: 'loyall'.

²⁷⁴218r: 'loyall', but 'some have suspected Pittcurr because of his intimacy with Jerviswood and some feu of that kidney. For my share I can not doubt him for he has often, with great asseverations, said to my self that he never would act or doe any thing against the King or his interest'.

²⁷⁵218r: 'loyall ... most remarkably so'.

²⁷⁵218r: 'loyall ... most remarkably so'.

²⁷⁶219v: 'is reputed, and very much pretends to be loyall; he has sometymes varied in Parliament, but last session he clossly adhered to the Cuntry party'.

²⁷⁷216r: 'a rank Whigg and Hanoverian'.

²⁷⁸216r: 'to my knowledge is loyall and honest and generally knowen in that cuntry to be so'.

²⁷⁹Expelled from parliament in 1704.

	Alexander Gordon of Garty	Courtier? ²⁸⁰
	<i>Caithness</i>	
J. T.	Sir George Sinclair of Bilbster	Jacobite ²⁸¹
J. T.	[Sir] James Sinclair of Stemster	Jacobite ²⁸²
	<i>Elgin</i>	
	James Brodie of that ilk ²⁸³	
	[Alexander Dunbar of Westfield] ²⁸⁴	
	<i>Stewartry of Orkney</i>	
	Sir Archibald Stewart of Burray	Courtier? ²⁸⁵
	[Alexander] Douglas of Egilshay	Courtier? ²⁸⁶
	<i>Clackmannan</i>	
	Mr Alexander Abercromby of Tillibody	Jacobite? ²⁸⁷
	<i>Ross</i>	
T.	Kenneth MacKenzie of Scatwell	Courtier ²⁸⁸
	Mr Simeon Mckenzie of Allangrange ²⁸⁹	

²⁸⁰219v: selected by Sutherland; 'supposed to have inclinations to loyalty, but often varies in Parliament'.

²⁸¹219v: 'the shyre (as both Commissioners of it informed me) is intyrely loyall.' By implication so is he.

²⁸²219v: 'the shyre (as both Commissioners of it informed me) is intyrely loyall.' By implication so was he, but he is now deceased; a Jacobite replacement expected.

²⁸³Excused attendance of parliament from 1704 onwards owing to illness.

²⁸⁴Died before parliament met in 1703.

²⁸⁵220r: 'reputed loyall, but much influenced by the Duke of Queensberry, yet voted the grand resolves, and as I am weil informed have often declared [he] will never doe any thing against the King's interest'.

²⁸⁶220r: 'reputed loyall, but much influenced by the Duke of Queensberry, yet voted the grand resolves, and as I am weil informed have often declared [he] will never doe any thing against the King's interest'.

²⁸⁷220r: 'reputed loyall and is of the Cuntry party'.

²⁸⁸220r: 'reputed loyall, but much influenced by [Cromarty]'. Mistakenly states Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch is the other Commissioner, but he died in 1704.

²⁸⁹Some confusion here. The Master Roll of Parliament states that Alexander MacKenzie of Scatwell and Kenneth MacKenzie of Gairloch were the barons for Ross.

		Monro Newmure [Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch] ²⁹⁰	
	J. T.	George MacKenzie of Inchculter	Jacobite ²⁹¹
		<i>Kinross</i>	
	S.	Mr John Bruce of Kinross [‘88’ hand-written at the bottom of the page] <i>Commissioners for the Burghs of</i>	
Edinburgh	W. W.	Sir Patrick Johnston Robert Inglis	
Perth	J. T.	Alexander [Robertson of Craig]	Jacobite ²⁹²
Dundee	W.	John Scrymgeour [of Kirkton]	
Aberdeen	T.	John Allardyce xx	
Stirling	W.	Lieutenant Colonel John Erskine	Courtier ²⁹³
Linlithgow		Walter Stewart [of Pardovan]	Whig ²⁹⁴
St Andrews	J. T.	Alexander Watson [of Aithernie]	Jacobite ²⁹⁵
Glasgow	W.	Hugh Montgomerie [of Busbie]	
Ayr	W.	John Muir	Whig ²⁹⁶
Haddington	T.	Alexander Edgar	Jacobite? ²⁹⁷

²⁹⁰Deceased 3 October 1704.

²⁹¹220r: ‘a loyall, honest man and stands firm with the Cuntry party’.

²⁹²217v: ‘to my knowledge’, Rob[ert]son is a Jacobite, ‘and has allwayes clossly adhered to the Cuntry party’.

²⁹³213v: ‘one that is suposed will allwayes be for what the court has a mynd to, so long as he enjoys any tollerable good post’. 217r: a ‘thorow paced courtier’.

²⁹⁴216v: ‘a most bigotted Whigg’.

²⁹⁵218r: ‘all these members for the townes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King’s interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party’.

²⁹⁶216r: ‘ane ingraned Whigg’.

²⁹⁷214v: apparently he is a surgeon, and ‘by many thought loyall, but some tymes a litle influenced by Tweddall only (as it is said) because he has much of his employment from that lord and others of his kidney thereabout. However he is most with the Cuntry party’.

Dysart		[John] Black		Jacobite ²⁹⁸
Kirkcaldy	J. T.	James Oswald [of Dunnikier]		
Montrose	T.	James Scot [of Logie]	Eglinton ²⁹⁹	Jacobite ³⁰⁰
Cupar		Patrick Bruce [of Bunzion]		Whig ³⁰¹
Anstruther Easter	S.	Sir John Anstruther [of that ilk]		Whig ³⁰²
Dumfries		Robert Johnston [of Kelton]		
Inverness	J. T.	Alexander Duff [of Drummuir]		Jacobite ³⁰³
Burntisland	S.	Sir John Erskine [of Alva]		Jacobite ³⁰⁴
Inverkeithing	T.	James Spittal [of Leuchat]		Whig ³⁰⁵
Kinghorn	W.	Mr James Melville [of Halhill]		Whig ³⁰⁶
Brechin	J. T.	Francis Mollison		Jacobite ³⁰⁷
Irvine	T.	George Munro	Egl[inton]	
Jedburgh	W. ³⁰⁸	Walter Scott		
Kirkcudbright	W.	Sir Andrew Hume [of Kimmerghame]		Whig ³⁰⁹
Wigton	xW.	William Coltrane [of Drummorall]		

²⁹⁸ 217v, 218r: 'all these members for the townes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party'. There is a problem here in that HS has David Christie as Commissioner for Dysart, but he in fact died in 1703. It is not certain if HS was therefore referring to John Black.

²⁹⁹ The annotator presumably thought Scot was influenced by the earl of Eglinton.

³⁰⁰ 218r: 'tho he was the first that left the Cuntry party upon the ... place, he allwayes did and does [218v] pretend much loyalty and has often sworn to my self that he never will doe any thing against the King's interest'.

³⁰¹ 218r: 'intyrely devoted to Rothes'.

³⁰² 217v: 'such as his father'.

³⁰³ 219r: 'reputed loyall and adheres to the Cuntry party'.

³⁰⁴ 218r: 'all these members for the townes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party'.

³⁰⁵ 217r: 'influenced by Tweddale and Yester'.

³⁰⁶ 218r: 'much, if not intyrely under the influence of the Earl of Leven'.

³⁰⁷ 218r: 'so loyall and honest that no art could yet prevaiill with him to give the Court one single vote, even tho he is very poor'.

³⁰⁸ Annotation badly blotted.

³⁰⁹ 216r: 'Hanoverian'.

Dunfermline	J. T.	Sir Peter Halkett [of Pitfirrane]	Sq[quadrone]	Jacobite ³¹⁰
Pittenweem		George Smith [of Gibliston]		Jacobite ³¹¹
Selkirk		Robert Scott		
Dumbarton	W.	Sir James Smollett [of Stainflett]		Courtier ³¹²
Renfrew	W.	Colin Campbell [of Woodside]		Whig? ³¹³
Dunbar	J. T.	Robert Kellie	W[hig]	
Lanark	W.	Mr William Carmichael [of Skirling]		
Arbroath		John Hutchison		Jacobite? ³¹⁴
Elgin	J. T.	Mr William Sutherland	L[or]d Duffus[s] son	
Peebles		Archibald Shiells		Courtier ³¹⁵
Crail		George Moncrieffe [of Sauchope]		Jacobite ³¹⁶
Tain	T.	Captain Donald McLeod [of Geanies]		
Culross	W.	Sir David Dalrymple [of Hailes]		Courtier ³¹⁷
Banff	W.	Sir Alexander Ogilvie [of Forglen]	brother of L[or]d Banff	
Whithorn	W.	Mr John Clerk [of Penicuik]		
Forfar	T.	Mr John Lyon		Jacobite ³¹⁸

³¹⁰218r: 'all these members for the townes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party'.

³¹¹218r: 'all these members for the townes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party'.

³¹²216r: 'a noted courtier'.

³¹³216v: 'a man reputed to have loyall inclinaciones, but is thought to be a litle overawed and influence[d] by his cheif, Argyle. Yet some that know him told me that no influence would bring him to be for Hanover'.

³¹⁴218r: 'reputed loyall'.

³¹⁵215v: 'as I remember, for the Court'.

³¹⁶218r: 'all these members for the townes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party'.

³¹⁷218r: 'intyrely Courtier'.

³¹⁸218r: 'ane honest, loyall man'.

Rothesay	T.	Mr Dougald Stewart [of Blairhall]	Jacobite ³¹⁹
Nairn	W.	John Ros[e of Newck]	
Forres	W.	George Brodie [of Aslisk]	
Rutherglen North	W.	George Spence Sir Hew Dalrymple	
Berwick Anstruther Wester	S.	Sir Robert Anstruther [of Wrae]	Jacobite ³²⁰
Cullen	W.	Mr Patrick Ogilvie [of Cairnbulg]	
Lauder	T.	Sir David Cunningham [of Milncraig]	
Kintore	W.	[Sir] George Allardyce [of that ilk]	
Annan	W.	Mr William Johnstone [of Sciennes]	
Lochmaban		Mr John Carruthers [of Denbie]	
Sanquhar New Galloway		William Alves George Home [of Whitfield]	Jacobite ³²¹
Kilrenny	J. T.	Mr James Bethune [of Balfour]	
Fortrose		Mr Roderick MacKenzie [of Prestonhall]	
Dingwall	J. T.	John Bayne [yr of Tulloch]	
Dornoch	W.	John Urquhart [of Meldrum]	ats [sic] Meldrum ³²²

³¹⁹216v: 'brother to Bute ... he is loyall, active and bold, speaks well in Parliament and tho he is Sheriff depute of Edinburgh he closely adheres to the Cuntry party'.

³²⁰218r: 'all these members for the tounes in Fyfe, except such as are above distinguished, are generally believed to be honest men, weill affected to the King's interest, and I know most of them to be so. And all of them are constant adherers to the Cuntry party'.

³²¹216r: 'a very loyall, honest man'.

³²²Of Meldrum; son of Adam Urquhart of Meldrum.

Queensferry	W.	Mr James Stewart [of Goodtrees]	[Lord] Advocate's son
Inveraray	W.	Daniel Campbell [of Shawfield]	
Inverurie	W.	Sir Robert Forbes [of Learney]	
Wick	T.	Mr Robert Fraser	
Kirkwall	W.	Mr Robert Douglas	
Inverbervie		Mr Alexander [Maitland of Pitrichie] ³²³	
Stranraer	W.	George Dalrymple [of Dalmahoy]	son to [the Earl of] Stair
Campbeltown	W.	Mr Charles Campbel [‘67’ written in right hand corner of page]	Courtier ³²⁴

³²³ Changed his name from Arbuthnott to Maitland in 1704.

³²⁴ 219v: ‘are and will be as [his] cheife Argyll is’.