

From ‘the land of cakes’ to Cadiz and Across the Atlantic: The Stuart Papers as a Source for Investigating Scottish Merchants in the Eighteenth Century

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The Royal Archives at Windsor Castle are home to the Stuart Papers, the documents of the royal family of Britain and Ireland during their exile in continental Europe after 1688. While the papers have traditionally been used to study the political machinations of various politicians and plotters during the eighteenth century, beside the various schemes for restoration are letters concerning Scottish merchants established on the Continent. One such example is the company of Robert Main & Co., who resided in the southern Spanish city of Cadiz where they traded in products across the Spanish empire. Notably, this merchant house used their connection to the Stuart Court in Rome to secure their business and through an exploration of this relationship as revealed in the Stuart Papers, this article advocates their wider use in researching Scottish commercial networks in the period.

In the eighteenth century, Scottish merchants set out across Europe and the globe in great numbers, establishing trade links that forever changed Scotland. Although previously able to circumvent the English Navigation Acts and participate in the wider Atlantic economy, in the wake of the Union of 1707 Scots gained improved access to what was now a British imperial project, disproportionately joining the empire’s bureaucracies, buying lands across the globe, and later invoking new ideas regarding free trade.² Many forms of Scottish trading networks existed outside of this and numerous works have shown how Scots operated within and between other European states and empires, often with the support of Catholic colleges or the exiled Stuart Court, amid a wider

¹ The PhD research on which this article is based is supported by the William R. McFarlane Scholarship.

² A. I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007), 186–7; B. Lenman, ‘Scots and Access to Spanish America from Before the Union to 1748’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 38:1 (2018), 73–87, 76; T. M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire, 1600–1815* (London, 2003), 227–33; D. J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester, 2005), 11–12, 19; E. Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: an Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, 2011), 124; E. Filor, ‘The intimate trade of Alexander Hall: salmon and slaves in Scotland and Sumatra, c 1745–1765’, in (ed.) M. Finn and K. Smith, *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* (London, 2018), 318–23.

‘global turn’ in histories of Scotland.³ While numerous collections exist for studying these merchants via state and personal records such as port books, letter books, and legislation, this article seeks to show how the Stuart Papers housed at Windsor Castle, digitised in 2018 as part of Gale’s State Papers Online, are another useful source for investigating early modern Scottish commercial activities.⁴ The papers are the principal archive of the exiled Stuarts after 1688, the Catholic claimants to the Scottish, English, and Irish thrones. Their supporters, known as the Jacobites, led a series of unsuccessful risings in Scotland and England seeking to restore the Stuarts, most famously in 1745. This article proceeds with an overview and uses of the Stuart Papers, followed by a case study of the Scottish Jacobite merchant house of Robert Main & Co. in the southern Spanish port of Cadiz. This serves to highlight the reach of the Stuart Papers in investigating the lives, networks, and activities of merchants in the 1730s to the 1750s, and advocates their wider use in researching Scottish merchants in the eighteenth century.

The Stuart Papers are an enormous resource. Alongside the Cumberland Papers, the extant collection comprises 245,000 documents and is built out of two collections which were brought to Britain between 1810 and 1817.⁵ The papers are principally the correspondence of the Stuart Court in exile, after 1718 based in Rome, with their adherents and politicians across Europe. Few original letters exist prior to 1701, and the papers continue into the nineteenth century. These provide detailed, if uneven, coverage of the period, in part because many documents have been burned in past centuries alongside those of related collections such as Stuart documents deposited with the Scots College in Paris.⁶ Despite this, this article will argue that the collection has great value for understanding the lives and activities of those Scots often hidden in more conventional sources.

Existing studies have deployed the Stuart Papers to great effect. In addition to innumerable works investigating the military and political history of Jacobitism, the papers have been used to explore the social history of Jacobite exiles in

³ Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 228; D. Hancock, ‘The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots’ Early-Modern Madeira Trade’, *The Business History Review*, 79 (2005), 467–91; S. Talbot, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations, 1560–1713* (London, 2014), 139–43; K. Bowie, ‘Cultural, British and Global Turns in the History of Early Modern Scotland’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 92 (2013), 38–48, 42.

⁴ S. Talbot, ‘Beyond “the Antiseptic Realm of Theoretical Economic Models”: New Perspectives on Franco-Scottish Commerce and the Auld Alliance in the Long Seventeenth Century’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 31:2 (2011), 149–68, 149.

⁵ [https://www.rct.uk/about/press-office/press-releases/papers-of-the-exiled-stuart-kings-published-online-for-the-first#/#/](https://www.rct.uk/about/press-office/press-releases/papers-of-the-exiled-stuart-kings-published-online-for-the-first#/); W. Seton, ‘The Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 18:71 (1921), 171–80, 171.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 173–4; J. Black, ‘The Archives of the Scots College in Paris on the eve of their destruction’, *Innes Review*, 43:1 (1992), 54–5, 59; E. Corp, ‘An inventory of the archives of the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1689–1718’, *Archives*, 23 (1998) 118–46, 118.

Europe.⁷ Such studies have shown connections between these merchants to have spread across the Continent from France to Russia, and that they frequently looked to the Stuart Court for support and patronage.⁸ These studies have also made use of many manuscripts in the National Records and Library of Scotland, and other useful papers available to investigate Scottish Catholics in Europe are found in the Scottish Catholic Archives, now based in Aberdeen.⁹ One notable limitation in many existing studies is that they are largely reliant on printed calendared editions of the Stuart Papers. These calendars are forty-five of the 541 volumes of manuscripts that make up the Main Series, which were published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission from 1902 to 1923, and cover the years up to 1720.¹⁰ There is thus great scope for new discoveries in the remaining materials.

The use of the Stuart Papers has often been contested. Historians urge caution for the documents are often employed to claim Jacobite sympathies for non- or semi-committed Jacobites.¹¹ Naturally, figures who corresponded with the Stuart Court will appear as though they had Jacobite objectives for their actions and this can distort historians' understandings of their true motivations.¹² In recent decades, however, the papers have increasingly been utilised in studies of the British and Irish in Europe. This is because they offer a glimpse of the lives of those in Europe who looked to the Stuart Court for direction and patronage, and also because of the limitations of official sources for investigating illicit activities and networks.¹³ While the far more comprehensive records of the Aylward family kept at Arundel Castle have been used recently by Giada Pizzoni to explore the trading strategies of British Catholic merchants in this period, such materials are rare in their completeness, time span, and detail.¹⁴ As

⁷ E. Cruickshanks and H. Erskine-Hill, *The Atterbury Plot* (Houndmills, 2004); D. Szechi, "Cam ye o'er frae France?": Exile and the mind of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716–1727, *Journal of British Studies*, 37:4 (1998), 357–90; M. A. Lyons, "'Digne de compassion": Female dependants on Irish Jacobite soldiers in France, c.1690–c.1730', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 23 (2008) 55–75.

⁸ Talbott, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations*, 143; S. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kīn, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden, 2006).

⁹ B. Neveu, 'A contribution to an inventory of Jacobite sources', in (ed.) E. Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), 138–58, 145; M. T. R. B. Turnbull, 'Scottish Catholic Archives: A 2013 to Remember', *Scottish Archives*, 19 (2013), 18–21.

¹⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King Preserved at Windsor Castle*, 1–7 (London, 1902–1923).

¹¹ C. Jones, 'Jacobitism and the historian: The case of William, 1st Earl Cowper', *Albion*, 23:4 (1991), 681–96, 682, 693.

¹² C. Jones, '1720–23 and all that: A reply to Eveline Cruickshanks', *Albion*, 26:1 (1994), 41–53, 43.

¹³ É. Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2001), 36; Talbott, 'Beyond "the Antiseptic Realm"', 149–50.

¹⁴ G. Pizzoni, *British Catholic Merchants in the Commercial Age: 1670–1714* (Woodbridge, 2020).

such, in new research in Scottish trading communities in early modern Europe, historians must be more innovative in their selection and use of sources.

The case study explored here is that of the trading house of Robert Main & Co. in Cadiz in the middle of the eighteenth century, principally through the letters of one of the partners in the business, the Scot Edward Marjoribanks. The Stuart Papers involving Marjoribanks begin in 1733 and continue to 1754, and are principally made up of the correspondence between him and James Edgar, the exiled King James VIII's private secretary. Consulting these documents, one is able to identify the general contours of his trading partnerships, some of the products he traded, and the wider networks he operated within from Cadiz. In 1717, Cadiz had replaced Seville as the seat of the *Casa de Contratación de Indias* (House of Trade with the Indies) and since 1679 had been the port from which the ostensibly annual *flota* and *galeón* fleets sailed to Spanish America.¹⁵ Cadiz was thus a major entrepôt where traders from across Europe could access the lucrative Spanish American markets and where they exchanged American products. Ventures trading to Canton such as the Ostend and later Swedish East India Companies, who made substantial use of their Scottish, Irish and Jacobite connections to facilitate their trade, also stopped at the city to procure silver.¹⁶ The position of Cadiz was challenged at this time, however. In these years European powers, most notably France and Britain, had sought to circumvent the monopoly trade to Spanish America, and in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, Britain had gained the Asiento contract to traffic enslaved Africans to the region.¹⁷ To discharge this contract, the South Sea Company had been founded and used slave-ships to introduce contraband directly into Spanish territories in the Americas while also adding a ship to the annual fleets sailing from Cadiz.¹⁸ Although undermined, Cadiz remained a highly important port for facilitating European access to the wider world.

A partial reconstruction of the activities of Marjoribanks and his business partner Robert Main is possible using collections in Britain and Sweden. From the letters of the merchant and one-time paymaster of British troops

¹⁵ M. del Carmen Lario, 'The Irish Traders of Eighteenth-Century Cádiz', in (ed.) D. Dickson, J. Parmentier and J. Ohlmeyer, *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, 2007), 211–30, 212–13; C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (London, 1918), 189; Ó. R. Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire, 1600–1825* (Dublin, 2010), 236.

¹⁶ J. Parmentier, 'The Irish Connection: The Irish Merchant Community in Ostend and Bruges during the late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 20 (2005), 31–54, 41; P. Monod, 'Dangerous merchandise: smuggling, Jacobitism, and commercial culture in Southeast England, 1690–1760', *Journal of British Studies*, 30:2 (1991), 150–82, 174.

¹⁷ S. J. Stein and B. H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (London, 2000), 136–8.

¹⁸ Ibid.; A. Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire* (Philadelphia, 2016), 35.

at Gibraltar, William Chalmers, held in the National Library of Scotland, it is clear that Main had a long-established trading venture in Cadiz and that from 1735 Chalmers had put money into Robert Main & Co.¹⁹ The company's relationship with Chalmers was fractious, as after 1740 they had stopped sending him business accounts and only in 1752 did they agree to repay him his investment.²⁰ Although lacking detail, Chalmers' letters give a view of their activities, noting the participation of the company in a licensed ship trading to Veracruz and also that Marjoribanks visited London in 1749.²¹ The wider activities of the company are apparent in a journal kept by Colin Campbell, captain of a Swedish East India Company vessel, who noted that 'mr maine & mr marjoribanks merchants at Cadiz came aboard stay'd a little while' and provisioned his ship for its voyage to Canton.²² Evidence in the National Archives further shows the company's concern with British prisoners in Spain in 1741 and corroborates Main's earlier relations with the English merchant Joseph Bowman.²³ From these documents, the degree to which Main and Marjoribanks' Jacobitism influenced their activities and relations is unclear.

Augmenting these sources with evidence from the Stuart Papers reveals a far more detailed picture. Upon sailing to Cadiz in 1733, Edward Marjoribanks was able to secure the promise of the exiled Stuart monarch to protect the trade of himself and his business partners, then comprising Main, Bowman, and Robert Black, in the event of a war between Britain and Spain.²⁴ The partners further gained a recommendation to the court of Spain after the petition of James VIII to a friendly Cardinal.²⁵ Similar requests for patronage appear frequently in the Stuart Papers. In addition to requests for alms and monies for repatriation to Scotland, the papers contain examples of Scots both in Scotland and Europe

¹⁹ The National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) MS 15405, fol. 11, Bowman & Sons & Main to William Chalmers, August 1730, Cadiz [?]; NLS MS 15406, fols 130–1, William Chalmers to [Samuel Chalmers], 13 May 1749, Aberdeen.

²⁰ NLS MS 15406, fols 101–2, William Chalmers to Robert Main & Co., 20 October 1748, Aberdeen; NLS MS 15405, fol. 96, Robt Main & Co., 26 May 1752, Cadiz.

²¹ NLS MS 15406, fols 130–1, William Chalmers to [Samuel Chalmers], 13 May 1749, Aberdeen; NLS MS 15406, fol. 134, William Chalmers to Mr Marjoribank, 27 June 1749, Aberdeen.

²² Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek, Svenska ostindiska kompaniets arkiv, H 22:3 C, Journal or Diary of Transactions aboard the Ship Fredericus Rex Sueciae bound from Gottenburg in Sweden To Canton in China beginning 15th february 1735, 24 March 1735.

²³ The National Archives (hereafter TNA) SP 89/41, fol. 286, Robert Main & Co., to Messrs. Gulston, Jackson & Stert, 9 July 1741, Cadiz; TNA PROB 11/666/198, fols 29–31, Will of Joseph Bowman of Cadiz, 26 July 1734.

²⁴ The Royal Archives (hereafter RA) SP/MAIN/165, fol. 41, Edward Marjoribanks to Colonel Daniel O'Brien, 28 September 1733, Amsterdam; RA SP/M/19, fol. 121, Warrant or Writ to Messrs Marjoribanks, Main, Baumans, Black, Cadiz, 13 January 1734.

²⁵ RA SP/MAIN/167, fol. 124, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 13 January 1734, Rome.

seeking to use their connections to the Stuart Court to secure passes to trade.²⁶ Such activities were usual among Scottish merchants across Europe and Siobhan Talbott has argued that this practice, even when involving Jacobites or seeking the support of James VIII, was often apolitical.²⁷ Like Main, Bowman and Black had long been settled in the city and notably had had previous dealings with British officials there.²⁸ Robert Black was a member of a Presbyterian Scots-Irish trading family spread across the Atlantic who had supported the revolution deposing James VII yet, as with other members of the Black family based in France, differing politics did not prevent interaction with Jacobites.²⁹ Evidently, the support of the exiled Stuart king for the business did not preclude the involvement of non-Jacobites.

The protection sought by Marjoribanks was highly valuable in these years. Upon the frequent declarations of war between the countries, British and Irish traders in Spain would be kept under close surveillance and their ships seized;³⁰ in Spanish America, employees of the South Sea Company were routinely imprisoned.³¹ The fact that at least two of the partners appear to have been Protestants could have created further barriers to their activities, so much so that English Protestants frequently converted to Catholicism in order to protect their Spanish trade.³² Marjoribanks' letters reveal that shortly after royal protection was gained, he and Main 'resolved to Establish a Scots house of Bussiness' under the name Robert Main & Co., with the involvement of an unidentified Mr Urquhart.³³ Urquharts abounded in Cadiz in these years.

²⁶ RA SP/MAIN/118, fols 126–7, Thomas St Clair to James VIII, 31 July 1728, Madrid; RA SP/MAIN/265, fol. 32, Robert Edgar to James Edgar, 25 May 1745; RA SP/MAIN/324, fols 114–15, R. Macdonald to Charles Edward Stuart, 9 September 1751, Paris.

²⁷ The National Records of Scotland GD24/1/859/30, Thomas Gordon to Robert Arbuthnot, 30 October 1725; S. Murdoch, 'The French Connection: Bordeaux's "Scottish" Networks in Context, c. 1670–1720', in (ed.) G. Leydier, *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Newcastle, 2007), 26–55, 36, 41; S. Talbott, 'Commerce and the Jacobite Court: Scottish Migrants in France, 1688–1718', in (ed.) A. I. Macinnes, K. German and L. Graham, *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond* (London, 2014), 99–110, 106–8.

²⁸ TNA SP 94/213, fol. 450, Certificate of divers Merchants with relation to Mr Pringle, 11 August 1721, Cadiz.

²⁹ J. Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (New Haven, 2009), 130–5, 143–4.

³⁰ Ó. R. Morales, 'Identity and Loyalty: Irish Traders in Seventeenth-Century Iberia', in (ed.) Dickson, Parmentier and Ohlmeyer, *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks*, 197–210, 197.

³¹ Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade*, 55; TNA SP 35/64/2, fol. 114, Messrs. Lock, Patton & Shippen to the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company, 6 June 1727, Mexico; Cambridge University Library Add. 4265, fols 16–18, Instructions to the Eng. Plenipries W. Stanhope & H. Walpole, 1728.

³² TNA PROB 11/666/198, fol. 29, Will of Joseph Bowman of Cadiz, 26 July 1734; del Carmen Lario, 'The Irish Traders of Eighteenth-Century Cádiz', 215.

³³ RA SP/MAIN/177, fols 193–4, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 22 February 1735, Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/181, fols 52–3, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 19 July 1735,

A possible Christopher Urquhart is listed as commanding *flota* ships bound for Spanish America in 1729 and 1732, and a John Urquhart is identified by Allan Macinnes as serving in the Spanish navy and repatriating his money to Scotland via Cadiz throughout the 1730s.³⁴ Before forming this new partnership, Marjoribanks had requested once again that James VIII guarantee ‘in case of warr we may safely enjoy our freedom and liberty to trade’, noting a ‘numbr of good friends treading this way’.³⁵ As a reward for securing the protection of the exiled king a second time, Marjoribanks was to be awarded a quarter share of the profits of their venture based on a fund of fifty thousand dollars.³⁶ From this basis, the business began to trade.

The protection granted by James VIII was key to the continuation of their trade after 1739 when war broke out between Britain and Spain. While other British merchants sent their ships away and secured their effects in anticipation of the conflict, Robert Main & Co. continued trading in part because Father William Clarke, one-time rector of the Scots College in Madrid and King Philip V’s confessor, was in place to protect their interests at the Spanish Court.³⁷ The Scots colleges across Europe, in addition to producing priests for the Scottish mission, provided institutional support to Jacobite exiles and had produced a number of advisors to the exiled Stuarts.³⁸ Before and after the closure of the Scots College in Madrid in 1734, Father Clarke supported Stuart interests in Spain such as in forwarding letters from Marjoribanks to Rome and offering advice on the prospects for promotions for Jacobites in Spanish service.³⁹ Through this and other links, Stuart patronage networks were sustained in their long exile.

While Jacobite beliefs were often inconsistent and conditional, there is little doubting the sincerity of the Scots’ convictions in the period covered. After describing himself, Main and Urquhart as in ‘readyness to pay my Loyal obedience to his [James VIII’s] Commands’ in 1735, when war came Marjoribanks travelled to Madrid to offer his services to the exiled Duke of

Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/182, fol. 51, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 27 August 1735, Rome.

³⁴ *The Daily Journal*, 28 August 1729; *The Daily Journal*, 30 June 1732; A. I. Macinnes, ‘Union, Empire and Global Adventuring with a Jacobite Twist’, in (ed.) A. I. Macinnes and D. J. Hamilton, *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680–1820* (London, 2014), 123–39, 134.

³⁵ RA SP/MAIN/177, fol. 193, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 22 February 1735, Cadiz.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ RA SP/MAIN/208, fol. 16, Edward Marjoribanks to Daniel O’Brien, 15 July 1738, Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/182, fol. 51, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 27 August 1735, Rome; T. McInally, *The Sixth Scottish University: The Scots Colleges Abroad, 1575–1799* (Leiden, 2012), 50.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 47–51, 104.

³⁹ RA SP/MAIN/208, fol. 144, William Clarke to James Edgar, 18 August 1738, St Ildefonso; RA SP/MAIN/158, fol. 109, William Clarke to James III, 11 February 1733, Seville.

Ormonde.⁴⁰ Later letters indicate that he visited the court in Rome.⁴¹ As noted, loyalty to the Stuarts was not ubiquitous among British and Irish merchants in Spain. Óscar Morales highlights the example of tensions between Stuart and Hanoverian supporters in Bilbao, and incidents such as occurred in 1717 in Cadiz, when a group of Irishmen were accused of attacking a portrait of King George I, suggest that while some merchants would act apolitically, others did not.⁴² The loyalty of Robert Main & Co. would later save their trade. While the diplomatic weight and connections of James VIII meant that they were initially protected by the governor in Cadiz, Marjoribanks and his partners faced increasing difficulties as the war progressed and were imprisoned by Spanish authorities in 1742.⁴³ Seeking to help them, Edgar contacted Father Clarke and Andrew Galwey, who were then able to secure their release.⁴⁴ This Andrew Galwey was likely the Irish merchant previously involved in a scheme to establish a Swedish colony in Madagascar with the aid of reportedly Jacobite pirates.⁴⁵ Showing the seriousness with which James VIII viewed his promise of protection, letters from Edgar advise Father Clarke that he was free to invoke the name of the exiled Stuart king in his negotiations for their release.⁴⁶ Free, yet suffering a loss in credit, Marjoribanks was able to secure a *cédula* from Philip V, formally confirming James VIII's protection.⁴⁷ In this way the partnership was secured and the company continued to trade into the 1750s.

The letters provide insight into what the court gained from protecting this business. Main and Marjoribanks frequently supplied the court with products such as snuff and Malaga and Canary Island wines while also keeping them up to date with the growing colonial conflict between Britain and Spain.⁴⁸ Furthermore

⁴⁰ RA SP/MAIN/177, fol. 193, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 22 February 1735, Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/223, fol. 51, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 4 June 1740, Madrid.

⁴¹ RA SP/MAIN/310, fol. 152, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 15 September 1750, Cadiz.

⁴² Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 190; TNA SP 94/213, fol. 98, Thomas Westcombe to Paul Methuen, 10 May 1717, Cadiz.

⁴³ RA SP/MAIN/221, fol. 32, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 8 March 1740, Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/231, fol. 120, James Edgar to William Clarke, 22 March 1741, Rome; RA SP/MAIN/241, fol. 122, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 16 May 1742, Rome.

⁴⁴ RA SP/MAIN/241, fol. 150, James Edgar to Andrew Galwey, 24 May 1742, Rome.

⁴⁵ NLS MS 992, fols 1–3, Memorandum on Jacobite intrigues in Sweden; H. M. Lewis, 'A "Project was contrived and carried on with great secrecy": International Irish Jacobite Networks and the Madagascar Project, 1718–1723', *Northern Studies*, 52 (2021), 140–7.

⁴⁶ RA SP/MAIN/241, fol. 121, James Edgar to William Clarke, 16 May 1742, Rome.

⁴⁷ RA SP/MAIN/243, fol. 109, Edward Marjoribanks to Colonel Daniel O'Brien, 6 August 1742; RA SP/MAIN/246, fol. 76, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 24 December 1742, Madrid.

⁴⁸ RA SP/MAIN/231, fol. 166, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 4 April 1741, Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/333, fol. 45, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 20 June 1752, Cadiz; RA SP/MAIN/263, fol. 43, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 6 March 1745, Rome;

the Stuart Court solicited their advice on where was best to establish other exiles in business.⁴⁹ Although these Scots at Cadiz were not involved in directly supporting risings, unlike Jacobites in France such as Anthony Walsh, the slave trader who landed Prince Charles at Moidart, this information kept the court informed about political and military developments which they sought to exploit to effect a restoration.⁵⁰ The supply of such information continued even after the failure of the 1745 rising. In later letters, Marjoribanks refers to a visit to 'my friends in the land of cakes' to settle the affairs of his deceased brother, after which he informed Edgar of the changed morality of his countrymen and the persecution of Episcopalian ministers.⁵¹ Using their commercial and private connections, Robert Main & Co. were thus able to consistently furnish the exiled Stuarts with useful information, opinions, and products.

The Stuart Papers have global reach intersecting European empires. The papers include details of the lives of Jacobites in the Americas such as George Patterson, who had sailed to Europe from Newfoundland, and Anthony Walsh in the French Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue.⁵² The Marjoribanks–Edgar correspondence illustrates how the Stuart Court linked Scottish exiles in Europe to those as far away as Spanish America. In 1738, Edgar wrote to Marjoribanks and described how a Captain Francis St Clair, a soldier in Neapolitan service, 'has been pressing me to use all my endeavors to find out at vera cruz or mexico his uncle Capn Wachope's Testament'.⁵³ The Wauchope and St Clair families had long ties to the Jacobite cause. After their chapels near Edinburgh were raided in the revolution of 1688–89, various family members followed King James VII to his war in Ireland and eventual exile.⁵⁴ Some secured employment in Spanish service and there is evidence for a Captain Wauchope commanding

RA SP/MAIN/201, fol. 131, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 29 October 1737, Cadiz.

⁴⁹ RA SP/MAIN/208, fol. 40, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 20 July 1738, Rome; RA SP/MAIN/209, fol. 96, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 20 September 1738, Rome.

⁵⁰ N. Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612–1865* (Houndmills, 2007), 106–11.

⁵¹ RA SP/MAIN/341, fol. 181, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 22 July 1753, Nerac; RA SP/MAIN/352, fol. 85, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 26 November 1754, Paris; RA SP/MAIN/351, fol. 68, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 11 October 1754, Paris.

⁵² RA SP/MAIN/312, fol. 50, George Patterson to James VIII, 30 October 1750; RA SP/MAIN/406, fols 143–4, Anthony Walsh to Charles Edward Stuart, 20 April 1761, Cap François, St Domingue.

⁵³ RA SP/MAIN/211, fol. 151, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 14 December 1738, Rome.

⁵⁴ A. Raffé, *Scotland in Revolution, 1685–1690* (Edinburgh, 2018), 113; R. A. Hay, *Genealogie of the Sainteclaires of Rosslyn* (Edinburgh, 1835), 165–6; J. F. Leishman, 'Henry Ker of Graden', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 5:18 (1908), 181–90, 182–3; J. Paterson, *History and Genealogy of the Family of Wauchope of Niddrie-Merschell* (Edinburgh, 1858), 36.

Spanish forces in Cuba in 1720.⁵⁵ Marjoribanks was able to discover that Captain Wauchope had lost much of his wealth through a failed attempt to smuggle brandy to Veracruz and Portobelo, and thus there was little for St Clair to gain.⁵⁶ This explanation, given to Marjoribanks by Irish merchants with links to the region, was not accepted by St Clair, who accused them of disguising the misappropriation of his uncle's wealth.⁵⁷ This example at once reveals the geographical scope of information kept in the Stuart Papers, but also suggests the integration of Scottish Jacobites with the substantial Irish community that existed in Cadiz in this period.⁵⁸ The papers thus offer unique access to historians seeking to investigate an Atlantic community often concealed in conventional sources.

The involvement of these Scots with Irish Jacobite merchants and bankers was not limited to Cadiz. The Irish had far fewer restrictions than Scots to their trade in Spain and several Irish regiments fought in the Spanish army.⁵⁹ While Steve Murdoch has recognised the support of the Irish College for Scottish merchants in Bordeaux, many works that investigate these communities often neglect their links to British exiles in the same cities, a fact made apparent in the Stuart Papers.⁶⁰ Marjoribanks was evidently connected to the Irish banker Patrick Joyes, who himself was supported by the Stuart Court and held money for Britons with links to the Spanish Empire, such as factors of the South Sea Company.⁶¹ Indeed, this banking house was utilised by other Jacobites in Cadiz

⁵⁵ TNA CO 23/1/1, fol. 127, Richard Ffarrill and Wargent Nicholson to Governor Rogers, 4 April 1720, Havana; The British Library Add. MS 40,812, fol. 64, EV [Edward Vernon] to [Josiah] Burchett, 12 September 1720; C. Headlam, *Calendar of state papers, Colonial series, America and West Indies: March 1720 to December 1720* (London, 1933), 33.

⁵⁶ RA SP/MAIN/213, fols 53–4, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 27 January 1739, Cadiz.

⁵⁷ William L. Clements Library, Shelburne Papers, vol. 44, fol. 607, Thomas Butcher to Peter Burrell, 9 December 1738, Caracas; RA SP/MAIN/216, fol. 25, Francis St Clair to James Edgar, 31 May 1739, Barleta.

⁵⁸ S. Fannin, 'Carew, Langton and Power, an Irish trading house in Cádiz, 1745–1761', in (ed.) M. B. Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal, *Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna*, 1 (Malaga, 2002), 347–52, 348; S. Fannin, 'Index of wills made by Irish residents in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz [with index]', *Archivum Hibernicum*, 69 (2016), 151–206.

⁵⁹ Morales, 'Identity and Loyalty', 198; Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire*, 236; D. M. Downey, "'Beneath the Harp and Burgundian Cross": Irish Regiments in the Spanish Bourbon Army, 1700–1818', in (ed.) H. O'Donnell, *Presencia irlandesa en la milicia española* (Madrid, 2014), 85–93.

⁶⁰ Murdoch, 'The French Connection', 39.

⁶¹ RA SP/MAIN/272, fol. 48, Messrs. Patrick Joyes & Co. to James Edgar, 11 January 1746, Madrid; TNA PROB 11/681/264, fol. 331, Will of John Spackman, Factor to the Honorable South Sea Company in Buenos Aires, 24 December 1734.

to send money to William Clarke.⁶² While in Madrid in 1740, Marjoribanks had recommended the brother of Joyes to the vacant Bishopric of Tuam, in gratitude to the banker.⁶³ While this was unsuccessful, similar recommendations to ecclesiastical posts by Jacobite merchants were common in this period and were at times accepted.⁶⁴ In showing these connections, the Stuart Papers thus demonstrate the wider commercial networks that Scottish merchants operated in and underline their relevance as a source for investigating these exiles as part of larger exile communities and institutions often linked by common loyalty to the Stuarts.

This article has sought to show that the Stuart Papers are a rich source for investigating Scottish merchants in the eighteenth century. The case study of Robert Main & Co. demonstrates not only how Scots in Cadiz used their connections to the Stuarts to secure their trade, but how the protection of the exiled monarch was the basis on which businesses were built and maintained, a fact hidden in other sources. It has also highlighted the papers as a source for breaking down national historiographies of the Scottish and Irish abroad, to instead see their common connections in their loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. Finally, this essay has shown that the Stuart Papers can reveal transatlantic networks of information and support for this group, stretching from Mexico to Naples and back to Scotland, and thus provide useful sources for increasingly global studies of Scotland. This is not to say that the papers should supplant existing materials, which are often better suited to closer analysis of the trading activities of merchants and can give a more balanced view of commercial connections outside of political Jacobitism. Rather, this article advocates the use of the Stuart Papers to bring to light Scottish merchants' activities in Europe and the Americas that do not frequently appear in more traditionally consulted sources.

⁶² RA SP/MAIN/178, fol. 49, Patrick Joyes to William Clarke, 28 March 1735, Madrid; B. García-Álvarez de la Villa and K. Terry, 'Terrys in Spain and Latin-America: exile and rise of an Irish merchant family', *Estudios Irlandeses*, 11 (2016), 69–81, 73–4.

⁶³ RA SP/MAIN/223, fol. 51, Edward Marjoribanks to James Edgar, 4 June 1740, Madrid.

⁶⁴ RA SP/MAIN/225, fol. 11, James Edgar to Edward Marjoribanks, 13 July 1740, Rome; RA SP/MAIN/163, fol. 44, Nicolas Geraldin to James III, 8 July 1733, St Malo; TNA SP 78/208, fol. 143, [?] to Waldegrave, 30 June 1735.