

Autobiography of
JOHN McADAM
(1806–1883)

WITH SELECTED LETTERS

edited by Janet Fyfe, PH.D.



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PREFACE

I should like to thank especially Captain Alex McAdam, who has carefully preserved the papers of his grandfather and given permission for their publication. His assistance, and that of his niece, Miss Moira McAdam, has been invaluable.

The suggestion to edit John McAdam's autobiography came originally from Dr William Ferguson, for whose constant encouragement and help I am truly grateful.

Much of the work was completed during my tenure of a Visiting Research Fellowship at the Instituté for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, January to April, 1979. For an ideal working environment I am grateful to the Honorary Director, Professor William Beattie, and Secretary, Miss Margaret Jardine.

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My transcription of the manuscripts was carefully checked by Mr Clifford Collier. Any errors that remain are my responsibility; that there are not more of them is due to Mr Collier's conscientious performance of a tedious task.

Mrs Rosemary Wallace is much to be commended for her excellent and speedy production of the final typescript. For arranging for this assistance, and many other kindnesses, I thank Miss Ishbel MacGregor, Administrative Secretary, School of Library and Information Science, University of Western Ontario.

Those letters not in the possession of Captain McAdam are published through the co-operation, and with the permission, of the archivists and librarians in charge of them: Dr W. A. L. Seaman, County Archivist, Tyne and Wear County Council, Dr György Pajkossy, National Library of Hungary, Dr István Kállay, Hungarian

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JANET FYFE

University of Western Ontario

December, 1979

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Introduction

JOHN McADAM was born at Port Dundas, Glasgow, on 5 August 1806, the second son of James McAdam, formerly a farmer in Stirlingshire and now a carter and vintner, and Helen Baxter. After a brief, but apparently thorough, schooling, and a period of miscellaneous occupations including driving carts, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker in Glasgow and later went into business on his own account.

Under the aegis of such veteran reformers as James Turner of Thrushgrove, John Ure and John Tait, McAdam entered active political life in the agitation leading up to the 1832 Reform Act. In a newspaper article which McAdam preserved, with no source, date or signature but obviously written by a former member of the Reform Association in 1859 or the early 1860s, the writer recalled the famous 'Black Flags' demonstration of Saturday 12 May 1832 as 'an exceedingly bold movement', the credit for which, he believed, was 'due to Mr John McAdam, one of the most resolute, active, and honest men I have ever met'. There were then three major associations in Glasgow working for Parliamentary Reform, the Political Union, the Reform Association and the Trades' Committee. McAdam belonged to them all, and already at that early date showed that capacity for bringing together people of diverse social classes and diverse shades of opinion to work together for a common cause which was to be so marked a characteristic of his later work.

Between July 1833 and the spring of 1847 his participation in Glasgow politics was interrupted by his emigration first to Upper Canada and then to Mississippi. The prime importance to McAdam of his North American stay was in the effect which experience of life in a republic had on his later republican beliefs and in the fortuitous introduction he was given to the ideas of Mazzini by attacks on them in the Native American press.

On his return to Glasgow he immediately took up where he left off and very quickly became prominent, along with his brother William, in the Chartist movement. Again, he showed his talent for reconciliation in an attempt to unify the disparate elements of Glasgow Chartism. His brother was now a successful master potter and, instead of resuming his own trade, McAdam joined him in the Hyde Park Pottery. This partnership, both in business and in politics, lasted until 1879 when the pottery was closed, William emigrated to New Zealand, and John retired to live with his now very numerous family. He had married in 1851 and had ten children of whom two died in infancy.

Linked with McAdam's work for the Chartist and later Reform movements was his support for the European nationalist movements which were so constant a concern of British foreign policy and British public opinion throughout the nineteenth century. He was an enthusiastic propagandist and fund collector for the Polish, Hungarian and Italian movements and a personal friend of many of their leaders throughout his life. This is perhaps his greatest, though not his only, claim to remembrance, and it receives a proportionate measure of attention in the Autobiography.

In June 1873, at a meeting of Glasgow citizens, presided over by Bailie Young, McAdam was presented with an inscribed clock and five hundred and fifty-two sovereigns in recognition of his long-continued services to the cause of reform at home and abroad. In thanking the citizens for this testimonial, McAdam told them what he intended to do with the money. It may, he said:

enable me to help other good movements without trenching on my family's means; and, should competent critics advise publishing, may enable me to render what justice I can to the memory and services of men – some of them forgotten – during the last forty years; and to explain many circumstances, connected especially with Italian movements, which could not at the time be explained with safety to the brave men engaged . . .¹

¹ *Glasgow Herald* (11 June 1873), 4

It would appear that the competent critics did advise publishing, for shortly afterwards McAdam began to write his autobiography. At the time of his death, in November 1883, he had completed a rough draft of the whole and revised some sections of it. The manuscript remained, and still remains, in the possession of his family, unpublished until now.

Because McAdam was unable to complete his work, some anomalies remain in the text. The dates of writing and revision, as might be expected, vary from section to section. At the top of the first page, the date of June 1877 has been crossed out and replaced by October 1880. Some later parts, however, are dated 1876, and throughout there are sections which have been copied *verbatim* from still earlier writings. The final two paragraphs must have been written in 1883, as he there refers to his age as seventy-seven. Further complications in dating arise from McAdam's habit of continuous revision. Apparently he re-read the manuscript at intervals and made small corrections to bring it up to date. For example, in a section written in 1876 he mentioned several people as being still alive at that date, then later deleted the name of one who had died in the meantime. Such later corrections are mentioned in footnotes only when they affect the sense of the passage.

The manuscript consists of loose pages, mostly unnumbered and some of them out of order. The sequence, therefore, had to be re-created. Interspersed are newspaper clippings, usually with no indication of source or date. Some of them, referred to in the text and with their intended locations marked, were obviously meant to form part of the text, though whether in whole or in part is not always clear. Generally they have been included in the printed text only to the extent that they add substance to it. Other clippings, which were probably left in the manuscript by accident after having served as aids to McAdam's memory, have been omitted altogether.

Part of the Autobiography seems to have been based on Journals kept by McAdam contemporaneously with the events described. Other sources, besides the newspaper clippings, were the many letters he wrote for publication in Glasgow newspapers, and his voluminous, carefully preserved, correspondence with the leaders

of the Continental revolutions and their British sympathizers. No autobiography, obviously, can be wholly free from the defects of subjectivity and imperfect knowledge, but McAdam has obviously tried to be truthful and accurate and to that end has supplemented the uncertain memories of his old age with the written evidence he had accumulated in the past. The many comments made by his contemporaries about his truthfulness and trustworthiness are justified by the accuracy of the Autobiography.¹ The facts he presents have been editorially verified by evidence from other sources wherever possible. The few discrepancies which have been found, which are mostly on matters as minor as the attribution of the proposal of a motion at a meeting to someone who only seconded it, have been recorded in the footnotes.

A selection of McAdam's letters follows the Autobiography. Some of these exist in draft form among McAdam's own papers as well as in the form received by the recipient. The latter has, as a rule, been the form used for the transcription. Some, however, exist in the draft form only, and exceptionally, a few of these have been used. It is probable that the recipients' copies were identical with the drafts since this is so with those which exist in both forms and since the drafts and the recipients' replies are congruous. The drafts of letters to Joseph Mazzini seemed especially worth including on grounds of rarity. Mazzini's habit of destroying letters immediately on receipt makes it unlikely that any actual letters received by him will ever be found.

Three different categories of McAdam's letters are included, though the categories are not reflected in the arrangement, which is chronological. The first category consists of family letters, some of which were written with the understanding that extracts might be published in the newspapers, as indeed they were. These are kept with the Autobiography at Bedlay Castle. Letters included, or mentioned, without citation of the source, are from this collection. The second category consists of letters to other British radicals who shared his twofold concern for Parliamentary Reform at home and the struggle for liberty against despotic Governments abroad. Of these, the letters to Joseph Cowen Junr, R. B. Reed and Charles

¹ For example, John McGavin, *Glasgow Herald*, loc. cit., and Archibald Hamilton of Dalzell, below, p. 11

Hadfield of Newcastle are held by the Tyne and Wear Archives Department, and the one to George Jacob Holyoake by the Co-operative Union Library, Manchester. The third and perhaps the most important category consists of letters to the European revolutionaries themselves, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Louis Kossuth, the former Governor of Hungary, and his fellow-exiles, Ferenc Pulszky and S. Vukovics. These are held by the International Institute for Garibaldian Studies, Geneva, the Museo del Risorgimento, Milan, the Hungarian National Archives and the National Library of Hungary. Other letters may still be discovered, but the essential nature of McAdam's relationships with these renowned Europeans is already quite clear from those we have, particularly when their letters to him are studied in conjunction.

Unfortunately, the inclusion of letters to, as well as from, McAdam would have stretched this volume to inordinate length. Mazzini and Kossuth, especially, were prolific letter-writers who wrote regularly to McAdam from 1857 to 1871 and from 1859 to 1880 respectively. To select only a small number of their letters would have been both difficult and misleading, for it is as inter-related series that their significance emerges most strikingly. Also, it seemed more important to publish the letters written by McAdam, the originals of which are widely dispersed, than those to him, the originals of which are all to be found in or near Glasgow. Original manuscripts of both Mazzini's and Kossuth's letters are in the collection at Bedlay Castle, and many of Mazzini's and one of Kossuth's are in Glasgow University Library. Letters from Garibaldi are similarly divided between Bedlay Castle and Glasgow University Library. There are also letters from Louis Blanc, Karl Blind and other correspondents both European and British at Bedlay Castle. The William Burns' collection at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, contains a draft of a letter from Burns to McAdam about Garibaldi.

A few of Mazzini's and Kossuth's letters to McAdam have been published. Mazzini's letter of condolence on the death of McAdam's baby daughter, Mary, written on 17 October 1857, appears in a slightly shortened version in Edyth Hinkley's *Mazzini: the Story of a great Italian*, and some, for example, those of February 1860, and 22 August 1862, are included in the major published collection of

Mazzini's letters, the Edizione Nazionale.¹ Kossuth, who requested the return of some of his letters for the purpose of using them in the preparation of his autobiography, printed one in its entirety, without giving the name of the recipient, in his *Memories of my Exile*.² Very often, McAdam passed on both their letters and those of his other famous correspondents for publication in the Glasgow newspapers, and some of them received still wider circulation by being copied in the national press.

McAdam also wrote many letters to newspaper editors himself, on a wide range of subjects from the iniquities of Napoleon III to the plan for installing a memorial window to John Pringle Nichol in Glasgow Cathedral. These too have had to be omitted here for reasons of length. However, the subjects they cover are mostly also discussed in the Autobiography or the personal letters, so this omission is less serious.

Except for the omission of the section on McAdam's American experiences, the Autobiography has been printed almost in its entirety. Only a few passages identical to passages in letters, or repeating in virtually identical form matter already included, have been omitted. The letters, similarly, are generally given in full except for the conventional greetings and salutations. They are headed by the date only, as repetition of the same few addresses seemed unnecessary. Most of the Glasgow letters are on the business stationery of the Hyde Park Pottery, 45 Hyde Park St, a few from McAdam's residence at 509 St Vincent St, and the final two from 175 Berkeley St.

McAdam's desire to immortalize his obscure fellow-workers led him to include several long lists of names in the Autobiography. To attempt to identify these in footnotes would have resulted in a vast disproportion between footnotes and text on several pages. Therefore, biographical footnotes have been replaced by a Biographical Appendix, except in a few instances where an incidental mention of a person who played no permanent or important role in McAdam's life warranted only a brief clarification of his identity or probable

¹ Edyth Hinkley, *Mazzini: the story of a great Italian* (London, 1924), p. 268; Giuseppe Mazzini, *Epistolario*, xxxix, 73. In: *Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, lxxvii (Imola, 1934); *Ibid.*, xlv, 71. In: *Scritti* . . . , lxxiii (Imola, 1936)

² Louis Kossuth, *Memories of my Exile* (New York, 1880), pp. 443-6

identity rather than the fuller type of entry attempted in the Appendix.

It has not been possible to identify with certainty all the persons mentioned, especially as, in spite of his generally high degree of accuracy, McAdam's spelling of personal names was often incorrect. The Biographical Appendix, therefore, contains a few entries for people with names slightly different to those which McAdam may have mis-spelt, who otherwise match his description. It would be too much to expect that no errors have been made in identifying obscure people with indistinctive names, but hopefully the errors have been few: Some names have been omitted because no information could be found without extensive search not warranted by the value of the information, and others, such as Lord Palmerston and King Victor Emanuel II, have been omitted for the opposite reason that they are too well known to require an entry.

McAdam's spelling of names was not only sometimes incorrect, but also inconsistent. If he has once spelt the name correctly, other erroneous spellings have been corrected without mention, but, if he has spelt it incorrectly throughout, a footnote draws attention to the mis-spelling on its first occurrence. If the correct spelling is in doubt, McAdam's spelling has been retained. McAdam's use of M' for all names beginning with M', Mc or Mac has been changed according to the person's usual designation or in cases of doubt to Mc. Abbreviated first names have been extended when the person is generally referred to by the full name and the correct extension of the abbreviation is known.

McAdam's spelling of place names is equally erratic. Simple misspellings, such as his habitual use of Britian for Britain, have been corrected but spellings which represent older usages have been retained, with clarification in the notes if necessary.

In general, obsolete spellings which were correct in the nineteenth century have been retained, as well as spellings which are, or were, unusual but acceptable alternatives according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Simple errors have been corrected.

As far as possible the text has received minimal editing. However, some of McAdam's idiosyncrasies are beyond what can reasonably be reproduced on the printed page and even in manuscript act as a barrier to understanding. He used virtually no punctuation except a

dash indicating comma, full stop or parentheses interchangeably. Appropriate modern punctuation, as close as possible to McAdam's apparent intention, has been substituted. Neither did he use apostrophes, and these too have been supplied. Single, double and triple underlinings mark different degrees of emphasis in almost every sentence. Except where the sense does seem to require special emphasis, these have been disregarded.

The names of newspapers are generally in inverted commas, with often either single or double underlining in addition. These varied styles have been reduced to a standard italic.

McAdam indicated both quotations and quotations within quotations by double inverted commas, sometimes with rather confusing effect. Standard single inverted commas, with doubles for included quotations, have been used instead.

Many more nouns were capitalized in the manuscript than was customary in the nineteenth century, or is customary today. Only where there seems to be some good reason for leaving them have they been retained. Especially if McAdam has sometimes capitalized a particular word or type of word and sometimes not, editorial preference has been to use lower case letters.

Ampersands have been extended, except in company names such as Day & Co. McAdam's frequent use of &cc, or &cc, &cc, has been reduced to a single etc.

The form of numerals and dates used by McAdam has been retained.

Small parts of the Autobiography and of the letters to his mother and brother are missing, either because the corner is torn off or because there are small holes in the paper. Where the sense is obvious, the missing sections have been supplied in square brackets, without explanation.

The Autobiography of a man who started his working life driving carts and ended as the trusted confidant of former ministers and heads of state could not but make interesting reading. McAdam never forgot or denied his working-class origin. Late in life, remembering no doubt his own debt to the Calton weavers' book club in youth, he took up the cause of free public libraries in the interest of the young working-class men whom he assumed would be their principal beneficiaries. In his work for the Italian national

movement, he stressed the need for contributions from the workers as much to show their solidarity and their worth as for the relatively small sums they could afford to contribute. His claims to speak for the working-classes, at a time when he himself was a prosperous business man, were sincere and not at all patronizing, and though not every worker accepted these claims, many of them did and almost all of them at least respected him. At a meeting in 1864, George Newton, unimpeachably plebeian himself, spoke in his praise. 'Although', he said, 'there are many poorer higher men in Glasgow than Mr McAdam, it seems Mr McAdam's purse does not take away his brains, as it does in many cases; he is still content to be ranked among the working classes, and I, as a working man, am proud to call him brother.'¹ Throughout his life, McAdam used 'worker' as a strong term of commendation, and even when he applied it to, say, a wealthy middle-class merchant, there is a discernible undertone of class pride. McAdam's *Autobiography*, then, may validly count as a worthy addition to the genre of working-class autobiographies, in spite of his eventual emergence out of that class. Since historians have relied heavily on a mere handful of working-class autobiographies, such as those by Joseph Arch, Samuel Bamford, Thomas Cooper, William Lovett and Alexander Somerville, for their knowledge of working-class life and attitudes in the nineteenth century, the publication of a new example should be welcomed.

Although McAdam was absent from Glasgow during much of the Chartist agitation, his *Autobiography* adds considerable detail to the study of Scottish Chartism, in its post-1847 phases. It does not alter the accepted picture of the domestic side of that movement to any great extent, but it does emphasize very strikingly the international aspects both of Chartism itself and of subsequent Reform movements. The involvement of Scottish Chartists in foreign affairs is shown to have been greater and longer-lasting than was once thought, and, although George Julian Harney did lecture in Scotland and had some influence, the existence of a different type of Chartist internationalism to that associated with him and the Fraternal Democrats is demonstrated. Even allowing for the natural tendency of an autobiographer to see himself as more of a central figure than

¹ *Glasgow Herald* (20 April 1864)

he perhaps was in reality, it is obvious that McAdam himself was responsible for much of the help given by radicals, especially working-class radicals, to the European revolutionary movements and for establishing among the radicals the view that these movements were intrinsically connected with their own struggle for Parliamentary Reform at home. Both were equally important components of the larger cause of 'civil and religious liberty', which knew no national bounds. The Autobiography illustrates the extension of Glasgow radical activity beyond the local to the national and international scenes; it also illustrates the continuity linking the various Reform movements in Glasgow from about 1830 to the 1870s, including the periods of apparent dormancy. What provided this continuity, in McAdam's own, probably correct, opinion, was the interest in foreign affairs. Support for the victims of Austrian tyranny, he wrote in 1857 in his pamphlet, *Mazzini vindicated by a Sketch of his eventful Life, and the Struggle for Italian Liberty*, 'has kept together a nucleus on which to rally, of real active men, who almost to a man will come out... [in support of] earnest action for Parliamentary Reform'.

Closest to McAdam's heart was his work for Italy. He was an ardent Mazzinian, who never failed to support Mazzini in his efforts towards the goal of a free, united and republican Italy. At times he and his friends were almost the only uncompromising supporters Mazzini had in Britain besides the ever faithful Ashurst/Stansfeld 'clan' in London and Jessie White Mario. He publicized Mazzini's ideas in public meetings, in newspaper publicity, in the above-mentioned pamphlet, written at a time when Mazzini's reputation in Britain was at a low ebb, and in every other conceivable forum on every possible occasion. He collected money for Mazzinian schemes from 1857 until Mazzini's death, sometimes when no-one else was able or willing to do so, as Mazzini recognized, for example, when he complained that 'the £100 from Glasgow will constitute the whole of my little Treasury'.¹ McAdam had immense admiration for Garibaldi also, collected funds for his expeditions, concerned himself with the welfare of the Glasgow volunteers who joined him in 1859, and made arrangements for his expected visit to Glasgow in 1864, but his primary allegiance was to Mazzini and

¹*Mazzini's letters to an English family*, ed. E. F. Richards (London, 1920), ii, 190

on several occasions he tried to persuade Garibaldi to work in harmony with him. Much of this could be pieced together from newspaper reports and other sources, but the primary, most detailed and reliable sources are the Autobiography and correspondence. Furthermore, they are important sources for our knowledge not only of McAdam's own contribution to Italian freedom but also of the nature and extent of general Scottish support and sympathy for the Italians, and the reasons it was unusually intense and constant in comparison to that afforded by other parts of the United Kingdom.

Of even greater interest to European historians, perhaps, is the evidence supplied by the Autobiography and correspondence on the inter-relationships of the various European movements, particularly the Italian and Hungarian. When Mazzini and Kossuth were at loggerheads, McAdam acted as an intermediary between them, tried to prevent their disagreements from harming their respective causes, and saw to it that the details were, as far as possible, concealed from their enemies. He constantly urged the necessity of co-operation both on Mazzini and Kossuth themselves and on their supporters in Hungary, Italy and Britain. The relationship between Mazzini and Kossuth has not as yet received detailed consideration by historians over the whole period of their activities. Such a study is perhaps more likely to be undertaken now that an important new source has been revealed. That a comparatively unknown Scotsman played so important a role in this relationship has certainly never been recognized before.

McAdam's personal friendships with the European leaders were a matter of great pride to him. He met each of them a few times only, and considering the difference in their stations he might have been tempted to exaggerate the intensity of their feelings for him or to construe as personal what was really only functional. The correspondence and other evidence suggests that this was not so. Mazzini, Garibaldi, Kossuth, Louis Blanc and Karl Blind really did think of him as their friend as a few examples of their expressions of esteem will show.

In writing of him to other people, Mazzini sometimes expressed irritation, called him 'that tiresome man' in one letter, but on the whole the references are affectionate and there is no reason to believe him insincere when he wrote to McAdam himself on 15 June 1859:

'I do not *thank* you for all that you do: I increase my esteem and affection for you. . . . Your letters breathe goodness and it comforts one to meet with it.' Much later, in 1865, Mazzini sent him a presentation copy of one of his publications although McAdam already had two hundred unsigned copies. He had been asked for a copy by someone else, and: 'I thought immediately that it was impossible for me to address a copy – which I never do spontaneously except to intimate friends – to anybody in Glasgow without addressing one to you, my best and oldest friend there'.¹

Garibaldi also wrote gratefully and affectionately after McAdam's visit to Caprera in 1860: 'We were together for a few hours and I love you like a childhood friend'.² Their later correspondence concerned mainly small domestic matters, requests for a few turnip seeds and potatoes, complaints about unsatisfactory servants, condolences on the death of friends. These are not usually topics of concern between distant acquaintances. In 1864, Mazzini described him to Giuseppe Guerzoni as an intimate friend of Garibaldi's.³

Louis Blanc's two earliest letters to McAdam were written to thank him for his hospitality during the Glasgow visit of July 1860.

The note I sent you yesterday was so hastily written that it must have conveyed to you a very inadequate idea of the feelings of esteem and sympathy with which you have inspired me. But this much I wish you to bear in mind, that whatsoever may eventually accrue from my journey to Glasgow, I take it to have been a most fortunate one; for, as I think I told you yesterday in my letter, there is no treasure on earth which I value so much as the friendship of an honest, upright man.

Later Louis Blanc was aggrieved at McAdam's addressing him as 'My dear Sir', which he considered an inappropriately cold greeting to a friend, urged him to visit him in London and Brighton (as McAdam did on at least one occasion), and, after his return to France, assured him of his continued remembrance in spite of 'the

¹ Glasgow University Library, Ms. Gen. 530/61, and 530/24

² Glasgow University Library, Ms. Gen. 530/72

³ *Epistolario*, xlvii, 69. In: *Scritti editi ed inediti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, lxxviii (Imola, 1938). Letter of 31 March 1864

great cares and anxieties' of his public life as a member of the National Assembly.

Kossuth's letters both before and after his retirement to Collegno del Barracone are the most friendly and intimate of all, confiding details of his family and financial affairs that he would almost certainly have been reticent about to all but close friends. On the occasion of the presentation to McAdam in 1873 he wrote regretting that no-one had thought to ask him to contribute:

This I sincerely regret both on private and public grounds in as much as it is a fact that we modest labourers on the field of national independence and of national liberty here on the Continent have even more reason to be grateful to you than your own countrymen . . . therefore remembering, as gratefully as I do, that for the last 25 years there scarcely ever was an effort in the liberal line on the Continent, to which, when applied to, you had not lent an active practical support, we are so greatly indebted to you that to me at least it would have given an intense satisfaction had I been allowed a modest share in the public acknowledgment of your meritorious services.

There was no political necessity for Kossuth to continue writing to McAdam after his retirement, – though the publicity McAdam gave to his views was doubtless pleasing to him, it was hardly essential – so the constant lengthy letters must be considered as disinterested acts of friendship. In his *Memories of my Exile* he mentioned McAdam as holding 'the first place among my Glasgow friends'.¹

McAdam's final assessment of his life's achievements, that 'it is something to have won the confidence and be called friend by such men' was, therefore, no idle boast. Even if the Autobiography and correspondence did no more than commemorate these friendships, they would be worth preserving. They did, however, do more than this. Beyond their significance as a record of McAdam's own friendships, activities and achievements lies their wider significance as a record of seventy-eight years of Scottish social and political progress and as a picture, more or less detailed, of many different aspects of life and opinion in nineteenth-century Scotland.

¹ Kossuth, *op. cit.*, pp. 258–9

Autobiography

Oct. 1880

My friends advise me to narrate my early life and wanderings, and give an account of the various public movements in which I have taken part during the last half century, as a duty which I owe especially to the memory and services of men otherwise unrecorded, most of them dead, and nearly all forgotten by the present generation, which though liberal and considerate in these improved times, almost forgets now the earnest workers of the old Radical days, the Reform Bill, and Chartist movements. I will attempt my pleasant task in a plain unpretending manner, calling things by their right names, and explaining many circumstances unknown to the general public, as faithfully as I can remember them.

As we like to know the antecedents of our fellow travellers in a book on a journey, like other autobiographers I must risk egotism as a consequence. I may state briefly that my parents belonged to Stirlingshire, whence they removed to Glasgow two years before my birth on August 5th, 1806. They were honest, intelligent, country people. Allow me, however, to hasten through my doubtless interesting childhood of which I have but a very faint remembrance, my earliest distinct recollection being the first 'corderoy calshes'¹ made big for my growth, and folded up in the legs, and – evil omen of my future – a tenacious clay hole, in which I was bogged to the knees.

After the usual curriculum of dirt pies, and other pre-academical road-side tuition, I was sent to 'Cowcaddens Academy' where kindly hearted James Gordon was assumed to give all the requirements of an English education, Latin included. How he managed this last, I fear he could not have explained in the grand old language.

¹ 'A portion of dress for boys. For younger boys it is a sort of slip-dress buttoned behind, forming jacket and trousers, and a jacket is worn above.' *Scottish National Dictionary*

Indeed it has puzzled me since how he got through with nearly two hundred scholars at all, as he had but one assistant and the 'Monitor system' was to him unknown. Our discipline was rather loose. I was a quaint little fellow, and too much indulged by him, and I fear I must go back to this period for my initiative of heckling. One afternoon before Candlemas day, when we presented our 'offerings', he said: 'Now boys, be here tomorrow, and each bring a new scholar'. Considering his crowded school, I very naturally responded: 'whaur are ye gaun to pit them maister, unless yet pit up shelves for them'. I did not however get my Latin from him, but from Mr James Phillips in Cochrane Street.¹ He was considered an excellent Latinist. My class prize Horace inscription, dated May 1816, would infer that I was a diligent scholar, only we had no examinations. Our merits were discussed, and the prize awarded by each class, so I fear that the boys were a little biassed in their decision between my competitor, the late Mr James Crum of Busby, and myself. One thing is certain, the little I had learned was soon rubbed out in the abrasions awaiting me on leaving good old 'Jac. Phillips'. My parents' reduced circumstances, compelling me in my small way to help them in life's battle, driving carts, and more other humble employments than would have qualified me as an American President for office, painfully interesting no doubt to me, but of no consequence to others, until my father's death in my sixteenth year.

I may remark here on the improved circumstances of the young for getting into the most favoured trades. I was active, intelligent, and tolerably well educated. Being extremely anxious to become an engineer, I made many weary applications, meeting only humbling refusals from some who knew my worthy father, and my desire to help my mother's young family. Premiums were then common with apprentices. I had no money, nor the luck to meet some Glasgow Cheeryble, so with a sad heart bound myself for six years to St Crispin's gentle craft. Oh! how I hated it when too late, and counted the weary days until I could go to some other trade. I might have run off to sea, but a true friend to my father was my cautioner

¹ Probably Rev. James Phillips, a former Reformed Presbyterian minister who taught in Glasgow from about 1812 to 1826. W. J. Couper, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1925), pp. 94-5

for twenty pounds penalty, which I saw my master wished me to incur. So I served out these weary years, that yet come back on me in my dreams. My stipulated working days averaged thirteen hours, and my average wages weekly for the six years was four and sixpence per week.

Though from being suffocated with gas some years previously I was slightly affected with asthma, my otherwise strong constitution enabled me to stand these long hours, but it aggravated the disease, which afterwards settled down in its most painful form for many years. Yet I was happy, and worked overwork at home, making fair wages, though I fear I would not have had a Savings Bank qualification for the franchise, never but once having had a pound of my own in that time. During my few spare hours I had ample means of indulging my passion for reading, having joined a Book Club, common in these days of dear literature. The members, mainly Calton weavers and warpers, were very indulgent, giving me often first choice of books. If since then, I have been of service to working strugglers, I owe it much to their kindly counsels. For an early perusal of the newest publications, I was also indebted to poor old Thomas Templeton, bookbinder to a large circulating library – boy hearted, foolish old man. Years after, he was executed for killing his wife in a drunken frenzy. Great exertions were made to spare his life. Most certainly he would not be executed in these humaner days.

One great help, before I was able to earn much and most needed it, was a lady, who to me will ever be my ideal of the true Scottish woman, comely, frank, and kindly, Mrs Walter Stewart of Haghill.¹ No matter how trifling the message, the numerous boys going to her house got threepence – up to sixpence each errand – nor did she give it inconsiderately, for on learning that I bought books, she often gave me bread and cheese besides. This may seem unworthy of record, but it is my most pleasing memory, and has affected all my after life. I can now understand this good old lady, but we poor boys could not then see why she often wore a short gown and petticoat, when she might have worn silks, or allowed her handsome young daughters to scrub the floors, when her gifts to us could have more than paid for extra servants.

¹ Probably the wife of Walter Stewart of Walter Stewart & Co., brewers, Haghill

My six years expired in Feby 1828. My employer asked me to remain, but I had counted the weary days too long with him, having in vain tried for work in that dullest season of a very dull year. I commenced on my own account with a mere trifle and was doing well, when I got into Love and into Politics at the same time. Admitting the first soft impeachment, I shall personally retire, since there is nothing more remarkable in my reminiscences, than in those of the one thousand and one interesting young men we meet with every day. My political experiences may however be more remarkable, on account of the men and circumstances with which I have been connected for more than fifty years.

Until early in 1830 I had meddled little with politics. Indeed little had been doing since the 'Radical days' unless some expression of sympathy with Catholic Emancipation, though public opinion had grown steadily for Parliamentary Reform since the ill advised attempt of 1820. I saw poor old James Wilson's head held up then, with the exclamation of: 'Behold the head of a traitor', and my first political impression was made by a stern response behind me: 'No! it is the head of a good true Scotsman'.¹ To the paid espionage of the Government, and criminal subserviency of our Local Authorities then, we are indebted to the spirit which has ever since kept Glasgow in the front ranks of all liberal movements.

Two wants greatly embarrassed popular action. The Assembly Rooms, Trades Hall, and churches, were mainly in the disposal of parties unfriendly. Even the right of meeting in the Green was disputed, and unless a very mild drawn article from the *Chronicle* occasionally, nothing emanated from the Press unless permitted as an advertisement at the maximum rate, so we resolved to establish a *Trades Advocate* for Radical Reform in Parliament, and improving the moral and social conditions of the working-classes. Into this I entered earnestly, being appointed delegate for the great Northwest Quarter, which I remained during all the exciting years of the Reform Bill agitation.

The Trades Committee was at first composed of delegates mainly, and a few others interested in establishing the newspaper, in two thousand shares at five shillings each, keeping Trades matters and politics separate. It preceded both Political Union, and Reform

¹ James Wilson was hanged and beheaded for high treason on 30 August 1820

Association. This last comprised the leading Whigs, with some leading members of the Trades Committee and Political Union to render it effective in the sunshine of the movement. The Glasgow Political Union was made of sterner stuff, and arose from the necessity of devoting exclusively its energies to the political struggle. Its members never flinched under the most trying circumstances, and ever acting in unison with the Trades Committee and kindred associations contributed greatly towards our success. Publicity to our Press movement being difficult and costly, we established a *Herald to the Trades Advocate*, two-penny unstamped, conducted by the late Mr Alexander Campbell. It served to advertise our progress for nearly a year, evading the Government duty of four pence, and the tax of one and sixpence on each advertisement, until the birth of the *Trades Advocate*, at seven pence per copy, not half the size of our penny papers, or one twentieth of their issue or advertisements. It was ably edited for the first year by Mr John Warden. The celebrated John Tait then conducted it under its new name of the *Liberator*, until his untimely death in 1836, when it fell into the hands of Dr John Taylor, under whose management it expired.

This John Tait was born at Catrine in 1795. After many vicissitudes as soldier and civilian, he prominently served the Reform cause, by his ready pen, honesty of purpose, and above all that self denial – and cheering help to us young bloods, by directing unseen our youthful efforts – which modern leaders ought now to imitate. This kindly feeling in him gave me a prominence to which neither my age nor my abilities entitled me. I was both ardent and industrious, though so cautious in our fiscal arrangements that they named me ‘Joseph Hume’. Such was the self denial of these Committees during the Reform Bill struggle that I question if ever so much public work was done as cheaply, or protracted movements so creditably wound up, as in Glasgow when the Reform Bill was won in 1832.

The first political connection of the working men and middle class Reformers was established by the Trades’ Hall political dinner Jan'y 3rd 1831 ostensibly to commemorate ‘the three days in Paris’, six months previously, but really following up the example of Paisley some weeks before, as an occasion for uniting all classes of Reformers in the struggle anticipated. One member had proposed a

dinner for the Trades Committee only, but on my suggesting the more extended plan it was at once acted on, and was a decided success. Wallace of Kelly and other eminent gentlemen attended and our working men gave proofs of capacity on that occasion which secured for them afterwards the hearty cooperation of the best men of a class who had not hitherto cooperated with them.

The Reform Bill after many changes reached the House of Lords, which fortunately was so avowedly hostile to the measure, as for the time to unite in Glasgow, men of very different shades of liberalism. Among the delegated members of Trades Committee I remember Daniel McAulay, Joseph Miller, John Tait, Robert Meggett, David Walker, James McAdam, George Donald, Charles McKay, Alexander Baird, James Nish, two John Stewarts, Matthew Cullen, James King, Abram Duncan, John McArthur, Alex Williamson, William Cameron, Alexander Rodger (the Poet Sandie Rodger), Patrick McGowan, John McKechnie, James McDonald, Thomas Tennant, John Gilmour, Thomas Steel, James Dunn, Henry Dunn, Hugh D. Graham, William Hume, Alexander Campbell, George Allan, James Burne,¹ Robert Gilfillan, Robert Craig and others like myself of the Radical school.

Connected with the Political Union organized Decr 1831 were equally advanced liberals such as William Lang, George Ross, James Moir, James Turner of Thrushgrove, John Ure of Cray, Thomas Atkinson, John Douglas of Barloch, William Gardner, A. Hedderwick, James Lang, Peter McKenzie, Robert Lamond, William Craig, James Wallace, Alexander Kellar,² and others unconnected with Trades or Districts, who worked cordially with the Trades Committee during the Reform movement. The Reform Association comprised nearly all the Whig gentlemen in Glasgow, many of them eminent in commerce, manufactures, and literature, some of them very advanced in political opinion, and nearly all remained true to their professions as they understood them. The Pattisons, Dunlops, Tennents and Tennants, Stirlings, Speirs and Coupers, Professors Mylne, Millar, and Sir D. K. Sandford, W. P. Paton, Walter Buchanan, James Lumsden, Thomas Muir, Thomas Davidson, Robert Wallace of Kelly, James Oswald, William Bennett, the

¹ Probably James Burn, author of *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy* (London, 1855)

² Probably Alexander Keiller. See Biographical Appendix

Maxwells of Pollok, William Dixon, Allan Fullarton, Rev. George Harris, Charles Gray, William Bankier, David Bell, William Gemmell, George Crawford, James Hedderwick, Alexander Johnston, James Gourlay, and many others differing in some particulars, but all agreed on the Reform Bill. I belonged to all these associations. Of these men very few are now alive. This summary may explain how the Glasgow men stood towards the end of 1831.

After some months finessing in the House of Lords, during which time the people were earnestly agitating, the Bill passed a second reading by a majority of nine in April 1832. The masses rejoiced but thinking men now prepared themselves for the real struggle, until when on May 7th the Reform Ministry was placed in a minority of 35. They resigned, and William the fourth, the faithless 'Sailor King' requested Wellington to form a new administration. As Glasgow was at that eventful crisis a fair specimen of national sentiment, I shall confine myself to it though the Northern and Birmingham Political Unions were equally decided in their action, and every city and village in England and Scotland spoke out boldly and promptly. And as I really did take a prominent part in this crisis I may be pardoned for a little egotism under the circumstances.

On receipt of the news of our defeat on May 7th a meeting of Reform Committees was held in their rooms, when a Vigilance Committee of seven was appointed to watch events. On Friday the 11th at noon the news came that Earl Grey had resigned, when a meeting of the Reform Association was held in the Black Bull Hall which we attended. John Tait protested against their proposed adjournment until the Monday following to consider what they should do then. 'Now was our time for action to strengthen our friends in London.' Dr Walker, now of Townhead, bitterly reproached the timid Whigs, whom he likened to 'Snakes basking in the sunshine of Reform, but ready to slink into their holes when the dark day came'. After an animated discussion in which I took part and assured them of an immense meeting next day, we adjourned until then when I promised to bring ten thousand men to the door, to accompany them to the Kings Park.

The Vigilance Committee then on their own responsibility issued enormous placards, and sent out runners in every direction, to arrange for the meeting next day at 4 o'clock. The Political Union

also made arrangements, and we called a meeting of delegates for that evening to explain our reasons for this sudden action. Some of them questioned our assuming the responsibility but on my repeating John Tait's argument for it, they concurred at once, and set about preparing an earnest 'Phisical Demonstration'. Many of us slept none that night. Flags were dyed black, emblems were prepared, veritable skulls and 'other things' were provided, and the people were calm but determinedly resolved for any emergency. Warrants were in hand against the most prominent of us, the military served with 40 rounds of ammunition, and officers with buglers were to be stationed in 'Monteith row', buildings overlooking the place of meeting.

Mr Thomas Atkinson rode out to Pollok House to request the veteran Sir John Maxwell to take the Chair, the various Districts were mustering, in many cases travelling during the night, and the then important North West Quarter took ground on the Black Quarry Knowes to receive the Reformers North of Glasgow, and to await the summons of their friends, who took possession of the half hearted Reform Association then assembled in the Black Bull Hall. The expected message came urging us to 'march in double quick'. We hurried on, gathering as we came, until reaching the Hall hot and excited. I pressed through our friends who manned the passage, and exultingly exclaimed that I had redeemed my pledge. Men smiled at the time, and when my blood cooled I felt half-ashamed of my enthusiasm, but my blood warms still when I remember how stately old Sir John Maxwell seemed when whirling his hat round he exclaimed, 'I go for one'. I hope the writer of a very graphic account of that day will excuse my giving a brief extra [account].

I was told that the view was sublime from the hustings, but I had no eyes for anything but the speakers, and for some old soldiers who marshalled one division into the Green, kept us in good order there, and above all brought us out with a regularity which astonished us afterwards and spoke stronger to the enemies of the people than even the inspiring language of the speakers on the platform. Brave old Sir John took the chair. His son, the last Sir John Maxwell of that patriotic family, spoke manfully and well. Patrick McGowan, Thomas Atkinson, John Dykes, Sir D. K. Sandford, William

Gardner, Hugh Grahame, Daniel McAulay, James Turner of Thrushgrove, John Douglas, and Robert Lamond, spoke to the Resolutions in thrilling and eloquent terms, but the culminating point was when Dr Walker, in denouncing the House of Lords, bade the people tell them 'that it was no longer the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. It was now the Bill or the Barricades. The Reform Bill must be passed or blood should flow.' Notwithstanding this high excitement, no Saturday night in Glasgow was ever quieter. Men having expressed their determination went quietly home, as the leading members of the Reform Association had timidly done hours ago from the Black Bull Hall, when we had left them sitting.

We had them all however in the following Thursday, May 17th. Word came that Earl Grey had been recalled, and 200,000 assembled in the Green, with James Oswald of Shieldhall in the Chair, supported by the Maxwells of Pollok, Wallace of Kelly, Admiral Fleming, and all the leading Glasgow Reformers whether of 'sunshine' or shade. Those who spoke to the Resolutions were Sir D. K. Sandford, John Douglas, Colin Dunlop, John Ure of Cray Ure, Thomas Atkinson, Henry Dunlop, Abram Duncan, Andrew McGeorge, William Dixon, William Gilmour, Daniel McAulay, John Tait, David Bell, Hugh Tennent, John Pattison, Thomas Muir, James McDonald, Thomas Davidson, Robert Bartholomew, Joseph Miller, William Gray, Allan Fullarton, William Craig and John McAdam.¹ I give the names specially because all of them I think are now 'sleeping the sleep that knows no waking' unless Joseph Miller and John McAdam while the same number of the Saturday speakers, Dr David Walker, Patrick McGowan and William Gardner, newspaper reporter, are still spared amongst us.² And of all the parties elsewhere named James Burne, James Moir, James Lang only are alive. This Thursday meeting exceeded the Saturday one in numbers and was possibly the most numerous and densely packed of any meeting ever held in Scotland. There was certainly more display in

¹ 'Mr McAdam . . . complained of Earl Grey's fear for his order, and hoped he would see the necessity of yielding it to the people's rights. If he deferred the Bill on this ground the hands now held out should be clenched, and he and the order crushed together. (Great applause).' *Glasgow Chronicle* (18 May 1832)

² Originally McAdam listed three names in both categories but later crossed out Thomas Davidson and wrote 'dead' above his name

their great 'Procession' some months after, as there was a few years ago at the great Bright meeting, but the day of the 'Black Flags' was the most memorable in our Scottish political annals, and an old man must be excused a little egotism, when describing 70,000 men assembled at 18 hours notice, under high excitement, speaking out resolutely, and going home calm and determined to have their rights. We heard no more of the State warrants, and it was well known afterwards that the soldiers would not have acted against the people.

Public sentiment having won the Reform Bill, considerably diluted, then commenced the scramble of candidates in anticipation of a dissolution of Parliament. Popular opinion was in favour of John Douglas and Sir D. K. Sandford. The middle class Whigs favoured James Oswald and in connection with him John Crawford, who was really the most eligible. A few stood by Joseph Dixon simply because he had voted for the Reform Bill, but the great bulk of influential men voted for James Ewing, in spite of his avowed Toryism, and he was returned with James Oswald by 'splitting votes' as our first representative to the new Parliament in spite of the very men who had worked so hard to get two members for Glasgow.¹ I fear I was rather impudent at that time, and was I believe in Anderston the first who started the now very praiseworthy institution of 'heckling'. It was of no avail, and having been requested by the late Sir John Maxwell to give him a hand in the County, in fulfilment of a promise given in a feeling of gratitude, for his own, and his father's manly devotedness on the day of the 'black flags', I started for the Upper Ward, regardless of my own candidature, for I must explain that some wags to choke me off Oswald and Crawford had announced me as a candidate for Glasgow in a very humerous proclamation circulated among my expected constituents and affixed to the church doors at Black Quarry.

My *debut* in the County election came off with great success. One afternoon in Bailieston church, when Mr Buchanan of Drumpeller, the Tory candidate, having made some very foolish statements, I

¹ McAdam himself voted for Sir D. K. Sandford. *Glasgow Electors. List of the names and designations of the persons who voted in the first election of two members to serve in Parliament for the City of Glasgow under the Scotch Reform Bill: 18th-19th Dec. 1832. Collated from the original lists.* (Glasgow, 1832)

asked him some very pertinent questions, he lost his temper, his tenants rallied round their Laird, and there might have been an end of my canvas had the colliers and weavers not come to the rescue. So they managed to get no Committee appointed then, and off I tramped for Airdrie to play the same game that night. They did not there even show fight but ran from the church. After a libation over our success with the worthies of Airdrie, I left very late via Shotts Iron Works on my route for Carluke, Lesmahago, Strathaven, Hamilton and other villages, where I had some chance to operate, for no good could be done among the farmers, they being generally subservient to either the Douglas or Hamilton interests. I reached Shotts near day breaking in a half frozen condition, and after meeting some hours footed it again to new fields of victory. I was in dead earnest though I can laugh now at my Quixotry, 'nor did I meet a foeman worthy of my steel' until I encountered a new antagonist in the person of Gen. Hamilton of Dalzell.

This eccentric but truly excellent gentleman was originally on Mr Maxwell's Committee, but having taken offence at some act of his in connection with Renfrewshire, after many false starts, he fairly entered independently of the regular Reform party, and from his estimable character, and advanced liberal sentiment, threatened to divide the liberal vote, which would have secured Lanarkshire for the Tories. As this is the only speech of mine that ever satisfied me, and as I promise not to inflict another, I shall give the main points verbatim as stated in the newspapers, as it explains exactly my rather peculiar position as an errant politician, when meeting with him in Hamilton church.

When Mr Hamilton had concluded, a young man rose, and wished to ask him a question or two. He was, he said, a stranger in Hamilton, but he felt the people of Hamilton would not consider him presumptuous in so doing, or yet consider him the 'well fed agent' of Mr Maxwell, to whom Mr H. had alluded. (There Mr Hamilton rose, and bore testimony to the good character and zeal in the good cause of the individual, whom he characterised as one who would not tell a falsehood to promote the interest of any of the candidates). He would therefore, in the first place set Mr Hamilton right in his charge of blasphemy

against Mr Maxwell, as he had heard his lecture in Strathaven Church, and that he could assure Mr H. and the Meeting, that Mr M. never used such an expression, or anything that could be interpreted as such, and that he, Mr H., ought to be very sure of his information before he so cruelly charged a man who had spoken and acted for the county in the manner Mr M. had done. In regard to Mr M. making application to the Glasgow Political Union, for their support of him for that, or for any other place, he must only say that the insinuation is totally without foundation, except in the brain of the persons who had sent Mr Hamilton to stand for the county. He was a member of their Council, and would have been among the first to have learned of such an application. And further, that the people of Glasgow never for an instant thought of Mr Maxwell standing for any other place, but that for which he had so nobly struggled in the days of corruption, at a ruinous expence and much bodily fatigue. But he could assure the meeting, that had Mr Maxwell given the least hint of a wish to stand for Glasgow, he would have got the undivided support of the Reformers of that city: and their hearts would be cold, and devoid of gratitude indeed, if they did not so. They yet remembered the eventful day when the Grey Ministry had resigned, when deserted by their Cotton, Sugar, and Iron aristocracy, when not a person of any note except Sir D. Sandford, Mr Atkinson, and a few others, would come boldly forward with them, that Mr Maxwell and his venerable father were with them in their hour of danger: and that they did not shrink, although they well knew that the military were under arms, with sixty rounds of ball cartridge served out, and orders to march on the people, should they get the signal from the officers and a bugler posted on the surrounding houses. They remembered the danger Mr M. was willing to risk, when he offered, in conjunction with Sir D. K. Sandford, to ride post haste at their own expence to London, with the Resolution passed at their meeting, which in the eyes of a Tory Minister would have been counted treasonable, therefore, Mr Hamilton should get more correct information in future. He considered, from what had followed from him on

his own, and his indirect commendation of Mr Buchanan's political creed, that should the people take him off his general professions, and put him to a strict ordeal, that he would fall far short of the standard required for a common sense Reformed Parliament; and should they follow the same measures with Mr Maxwell they would find him by far the most liberal. He considered Mr Hamilton to be juggled by the Tory faction, as he boasted of the support he could get from them, should he be hard pressed, it being very unlikely they would support one whose general professions went farther than Mr Maxwell's, did they consider him sincere in these general professions. He must look upon it as a mere manoeuvre of the enemy to divide the Reformers, as by that means the Tories, if they mustered more than one third (as could not be doubted from the great influence they yet have among their tenantry and others) should both the Reform Candidates come to the Poll, will be enabled to outvote the honest party, and thrust in one of their own kidney. He would therefore, with the utmost deference, ask Mr H. if he would be willing to make a joint canvass with the person who with him should be considered by the people the most liberal, and ascertain who had the majority of votes, and who was in the minority to retire, and by that means keep the Reformers united, (great cheering).

Mr Hamilton now rose and said he would not upon any account make such a canvass with Mr Maxwell, as he considered him a bad man, who had personally offended him; and that he considered Mr Buchanan or himself would be the best member. (Great confusion and cries of No! No!) Mr Smith and a number of other persons now rose and questioned Mr H. whose answer met with much disapprobation. He would not stand by any specific question, but when hard pressed left it for some other which he again left in the same manner. At 5 o'clock the meeting separated, highly indignant at his shuffling answers, after giving a vote of thanks to the Chairman and another to the stranger for the manner in which he put the questions, who on returning thanks, said, that as he had some time in his power, he would make a point of attending

their county meetings as much as possible, and bring Mr H. a little to his senses in point of veracity.

This being my only speech that satisfied myself my readers must excuse me. It went against my heart to thwart Mr Hamilton, who was nowhere in the election, nor did Mr Buchanan poll as high as was expected through the powerful Douglas interest, Mr Maxwell being returned by a very large majority. It was on this occasion I made the acquaintance of my memorable friend Mr James Smith who afterwards took a leading interest in British, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, and American liberal politics.

With the Hamilton episode I may conclude this division of my political career though during the next six months I took share in the little that could be done. We were disheartened by the undue family influences brought to bear on the Counties and small Burghs. My customers many of whom had urged me on, went with their trade to tradesmen 'not quite so patriotic' (though I must do myself the justice to state that I had not been unpunctual), but above all I was with others of my family and friends smitten with the Canadian fever and was resolved on cultivating my own acres there. See me then, after a farewell supper and presentation from the Trades' Committee, about the first of July 1833 a full steerage passenger on the good ship *Cartha*, spanking down the Clyde on our way to Quebec.

I was however again installed in office, the Captain having called me up with another passenger to form a Committee and Regulations for our numerous passengers, nearly all of whom were Highlanders from Perthshire. After conditioning for me one of their number to assist us through the Gaelic, and after a very depressing sea sickness, I settled down to work on board and earned as much as assisted me materially when I landed after a passage of nearly 8 weeks with 3 whole sovereigns in my pocket.

McAdam arrived in London, Upper Canada, in October 1833. He worked there as a shoemaker and also acquired some tracts of land on which he hoped that he and his brothers might settle. His family, however, decided not to join him, and McAdam himself became dissatisfied with the aristocratic government of Upper Canada. He moved, therefore, in the

summer of 1835, to the United States, 'a country, which we have been taught to look on as the asylum of the oppressed of other lands, and worth and talent the only distinction of her citizens'.¹

For more than a year he resided in Indianapolis, where he made some money by horse trading. Believing that this would be an even more profitable occupation in the South, he invested all he could raise in a string of horses and set off with them to Louisville, Kentucky. Unfortunately the market in horses had fallen, so he did not make his fortune by this venture. He continued to Vicksburg with his one remaining horse and there, he relates, he was cheated out of both it and the proceeds of the Louisville sale by a fellow Scot. In Vicksburg, he was consequently reduced to resuming his trade of shoemaking. Except for some months in 1837 and 1843 when he travelled throughout the United States as an itinerant shoemaker and small trader, he remained in Vicksburg until 1840 and then in Jackson until 1847, when he returned to Glasgow.

On my arrival in Glasgow, circumstances induced me to change my intention of returning to my business in Mississippi, and go in with my brother William McAdam, whose continuous sympathy and active help to the various movements I have been engaged in during the last 25 years has aided me to do some service and to possibly obtain more credit for it than is strictly mine.

Previously in 1847 Free Trade and Corn Law Repeal had been wrung out of the political necessities of Sir Robert Peel, and a spirit of enquiry was abroad, but I found Glasgow Parliamentary Reformers at variance regarding the Peoples' Charter, the 'Moral Suasion' party restricting itself to Vote by Ballot, Household Suffrage, Triennial Parliaments, Redistribution of Electoral Districts etc., while the 'Democrats' went for the whole Charter, and affiliating with those [who] supported the ill considered Land Scheme of Mr Fergus O'Connor and the Irish Repealers, would not cooperate with the less advanced in any local movement.

It was unfortunate also that Mr O'Connell had anything to do with the People's Charter, since his very handing it publicly to Mr William Lovett, bidding him 'never to cease agitating until this is the law of the land', gave more telling effect to his fierce denunciations, when a few months afterwards he deserted the British Chartists

¹ Letter to William McAdam, 15 June 1835. McAdam Collection, Bedlay Castle

because they were less pliant than his own countrymen. In Ireland however a new party had arisen, less subservient to him and the priests, the Young Irelanders being likely to aid in the impending European movement, and thinking it advisable I called a meeting of the active Reformers in Glasgow and explained to them the necessity of united action in the anticipated crisis. I was disappointed, as both sections suspected me of a desire to create a third party and we could do nothing then and indeed ever since. Unless under some special pressure they have seldom worked unitedly together.

The storm which burst over Europe soon after compelled us into action. Our first earnest meeting was on the occasion of Councillor James Moir's election to the City Council and it answered a double purpose.¹ It was a test which quietly set aside the *irreconcilables* who would not unite and the mere 'Whigs' who would not work for any real reform and harmonised the working elements of the old Radical and Chartist parties, which has ever since kept Glasgow in the front ranks on all liberal questions.

Among those of the old Radical and Reform Bill promoters who came out in 1848 I should mention James Turner of Thrushgrove, James Moir, James Couper, James Lang, George Ross, John Stewart, Matthew Cullen, Dr David Walker, James Smith, late of Hamilton, W. P. Paton, William McAdam, James McAdam, James Gourlay, Alexander Campbell, John McKechnie, John Tennant, Hugh Tennent, James Rattray, William Stirling, William Gemmell, Rev. Dr William Anderson, Walter Buchanan, Prof. Thomas Thomson, Dr John Aitken, William Bankier, John Knox etc. With them also who had acted prominently in the Free Trade and Chartist movements, and ever since in support of Parliamentary Reform and Continental freedom, Prof. John Pringle Nichol, Andrew Paton, James Wilkinson, William Govan, William Govan Junr, William Govan, printer, Robert Kaye, John Murchie, James Adams, George Adams, Charles Wright, John Stevenson, J. W. MacGregor, William Gregory Langdon, Samuel Bennett, William Bennett, John Murray, Wm. C. Morrison, Rev. Charles Clarke, William Smeal, William Teacher, Joseph Townsend, Henry N. Smith, Robert Buchanan, Alexander Watt, Sir James Anderson, Robert Malcolm, George Troup, Thomas Brown, John McCalman,

¹ Moir was elected to the City Council on 7 November 1848

William McNab, John Nicol, Prof. John Nichol, Prof. Edward Caird, John Burt, Finlay McFadyen, William Anderson, William Burns, Benjamin Conner, David Johnston, W. C. Pattison, George Newton, Rev. Mr Crosskey, James King, Henry Carrigan, James Martin, Robert Dalglish M.P., Edward Alexander Junr, George Alexander, John Ure, John Young, George Smith, Thomas Smith, Daniel Paul, Duncan Sherrington, George Anderson, John McGavin, James Roy, George Roy, James Addison, Thomas Haddow, Robert Simpson, Alexander Graham, James Walker, J. Barr Robertson, William H. Brown, George Harrower, Robert McTear, Donald Kempt, George Jackson, James Ross, George Ross, George Anderson M.P., William Baxter, John Gardner, Malcolm McFarlane and others, who nearly all acted faithfully to their antecedents in the movements originated by them during more than thirty years.

Besides the above we had good friends who took no prominent part, yet without solicitation subscribed liberally when means were wanted. Among others I may mention Robert Barclay, the eminent shipbuilder, who I never met with, but who for years sent to me considerable sums with R.B.'s compliments. Another gentleman in the same way for nearly twenty years largely contributed, especially towards Italian Independence. On the occasion of Garibaldi's nearly successful and last attempt on Rome, unsolicited he gave me three separate hundred pounds, and when giving the last hundred offered to make it five hundred. We have often wondered since whether the few hundreds declined then, if reaching Garibaldi through Mazzini's hands as ours did, when the Italian Government, in dread of Louis Napoleon, confiscated larger supplies of ammunition from England might not have prevented the Franco-Prussian war. Garibaldi had beaten both French and *papalini*, but had to retire in good order with empty guns. Had the French been beaten then, their arrogance would have been less, and they would not have provoked their just humiliation from Prussia. These and like instances of implicit trust in our Committees enabled us to act and remit with promptness and secrecy at the time and has been proudly accepted as ample recompense for our successful labours.

Although from my boyhood I had warmly sympathised with the oppressed Peoples in their death bondage to despot and priest, it is only 40 years since I gave public expression to it in America and the

occasion of it was a malignant attack in the American newspapers on the Young Italy party, then being organized by Joseph Mazzini. At a public meeting in Vicksburgh, Mississippi and through the press I vindicated his services to human freedom from the aspersions of the 'Native American' press. This newspaper war drew my attention more to that great man's aims and aspirations, so that on my return to Scotland I took action more preparedly and with greater interest than I otherwise could. Circumstances also brought me into contact especially with the leading movers in that wonderful episode of freedom commencing in 1848.

Italy from her geographical position, hemmed round by the Alps and sea, and its community of interests should have been the most united country in the world, but whether from the intrigues of the Church, or the degeneracy of her people during the middle ages, she has for hundreds of years been a common prey to the crowned bandits of Germany, France and Spain, and only by galvanic starts at brief periods has had local snatches of freedom, though her educated men have continuously written and conspired in her behalf. Rienzi was before his day because of the superstitions of Europe, as Mazzini was because of the brute force of its despotisms, which necessitated the Carbonari and other secret societies, like freemasonry previously in other countries reorganized to shield the dawning intellect and aspirations of Europe from despotism and priestcraft. Since it is beyond my limits to detail the various efforts for independence, I will confine myself to the past 40 years, during which Joseph Mazzini was the soul of every movement, and begin with a brief sketch of his eventful life.

Giuseppe Mazzini was born at Genoa in 1805, his father being an eminent physician in that city. He studied law, but very soon devoted himself and fortune to the emancipation of his country, and at once became obnoxious to his native despots, for on the excitement consequent on the French revolution of 1830 he was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona, where he first learned the fact of the Polish revolt, his mother who was permitted to send him food, having enclosed in a loaf of bread a slip of paper with the words: 'Poland has arisen'. On his release he proceeded to Marseilles, where he founded the society of Young Italy, and established a journal devoted to Italian nationality. During two or three years he

remained there, and with wonderful boldness and ability, extended its influence over Italy and neighbouring countries, when Louis Philippe became alarmed, and by similar plans, and precisely the same charges as have been made from time to time by Louis Napoleon, endeavoured to brand him as the hirer of assassins.

Gavioli, an Italian refugee, stabbed two Italian spies in broad day in the south of France, whither they had followed him. He was imprisoned, when a forged document was then published in the French official papers, to which Mazzini's name was adhibited, purporting to be a death warrant emanating from him against the spies. However the composition was so bad, and the French so imperfect, that the French courts rejected it, and Gavioli was convicted only of unpremeditated homicide. The object was then, as many times since, to draw Mazzini from his shelter. In 1836 the Swiss Diet wished to expel him, and this slander was reproduced and as promptly refuted, and when a French official published it, Mazzini carried him before the courts, and he only evaded conviction by the plea that he had charged *Mazzini* only, and as the prosecutor was a man of the highest character, he could not be the one referred to. An attempt was made to revive it in this country in 1844, when Mazzini so boldly exposed the base letter opening in our Post Office, through which the brothers Bandiera and others were murdered.

Attilio and Emilio Bandiera were sons of Baron Bandiera, an admiral in the Austrian service. His name was execrated by his countrymen in Venice as an active enemy to their liberties, which galled these noble impulsive young men, also in the Austrian marine. They conspired with their countrymen and were betrayed first to their father, then to the Austrian government. They fled to Corfu in February 1844, where they received news of a movement in Calabria, and feverish for action, determined to join it. 'Then began', says Mazzini, 'between the two brothers on one side and myself and a friend at Malta on the other, a too unequal struggle, we endeavouring to dissuade them from acting immediately and alone, they determined to force for themselves a path to action, as they believed that an example was wanted to teach the Italians to die if unsuccessful. They knew the desperateness of the enterprise, and on the eve of their departure for Calabria, Emilio wrote to Mazzini:

One line from me also, because this will probably be the last words you will receive from us. May Heaven bless you for all the great good you have done to our country. On the eve of our danger, I proclaim the gratitude and veneration that every Italian owes to you. Our principles are your principles, and I glory in this, and in my own country. Arms in hand, I shall declare all that you have always declared. Adieu, adieu! poor in all things, we elect you our executor, that we may not perish in the memories of our fellow citizens.

The sequel is known: these young men writing incautiously to Mazzini, then residing in London, their letters were opened at our post office and the contents made known to the Austrian authorities, who threw emissaries in their way representing Calabria as being ripe for revolution. When they disembarked on the 16th June, a traitor left them to inform the Government. Having wandered three days in the mountains, they reached San Giovanni, and were surrounded by a large force, prepared to meet them, and except two who escaped, all were killed or taken. The brothers with seven of their number were shot at Cosenza. Previous to this Mazzini had taken a personal share in several attempts to revolutionise North Italy, and for this he was sentenced to death by Charles Albert. Louis Philippe also, alarmed by his founding the society of Young Europe, and his fearless proclamation of the Young Europe of Nations as opposed to the Old Europe of Kings, tried to secure his person. Therefore feeling unsafe in Switzerland in 1837 he took shelter in London where he resided mainly during the next ten years, when besides his immense literary labours, he ever took a lively interest in those exiles less able to stem adversity, gathering the poor Italian boys together, gratuitously educating them, and winning their young hearts to the ranks of their country in its coming hour of trial. Some of these youths devoted their lives to Italy, and all that I ever met with spoke affectionately of his parental care. Indeed there seems something in Mazzini which charmed all who came in contact with him, not his face, though intellectually pleasing, nor his unassuming winning manner, so much as a feeling that this brave, gentle, worn man, represented the grand intellect and aspirations of his country.

During these ten years, unless the Bandiera and some abortive attempts, the fire merely smouldered, until Sept 1847, when a few brave men combatted the strong garrison of Messina in Sicily, and though beaten persisted, increasing in numbers and organization, but unwilling to spill blood needlessly, they implored their King to do them justice, till at last disgusted with his contemptuous refusals in December, they placarded their ultimatum on the walls of Palermo, that they must have justice or appeal to arms on January 12th following. From this and the general preparedness of entire Italy, it will be seen that organization existed, and that they waited the opportunity which the French revolution gave them in February 1848.

The Lombards rose immediately after, Milan, Rome, Florence, Genoa and other important cities taking the lead in driving out the Austrian and petty tyrannies, and Mazzini entered his country after an exile of 17 years, amidst the joyful tears and blessings of his countrymen. The Provisional Government paid him the highest honours, and Charles Albert King of Piedmont sent for him, but he would not join with the traitor, though he gave him every aid so long as there was a hope that he would be true to Italy.

Charles Albert having been chosen leader of the Italian confederation was at the head of 40,000 men, and Garibaldi believing he would defend Milan marched to his support. As described by a youthful chivalrous officer, Jacopo Medici, who fell afterwards valiantly defending the key to Rome:

Garibaldi was about to quit Bergamo, to proceed by a forced march to Monza, when we saw appear in the midst of us, his musket on his shoulder, Mazzini, who demanded to make one as a private soldier to the legion which I commanded, and which formed the vanguard of the division of Garibaldi. A general exclamation saluted the great Italian, and the legion unanimously confided to him its flag, which bore on it the words 'God and the People'. Hardly was the arrival of Mazzini known in Bergamo when the population hurried to see him. They crowded around him. They begged him to speak. His speech will dwell on the memories of all who heard him. He recommended them to erect barricades to defend the

town, in case of attack during our march upon Milan and whatever might happen always to love Italy and never to despair of its salvation. His words were quoted with enthusiasm, and the column set off amidst marks of the liveliest sympathy.

The march was very fatiguing, the rain fell in torrents, we were soaked to the very bones. Although habituated to a life of study, and scarcely built for the violent exercise of a forced march, especially in such bad weather, his serenity and confidence were never diminished for an instant, and, notwithstanding our remonstrances, for we feared for his health, he would neither stop nor abandon the column. It even happened that, seeing one of our youngest volunteers slightly habited and without any defence against the rain and sudden chilling of the atmosphere, he forced him to accept his cloak and he never himself wore it.

Arrived at Monza, we learned the fated news of the capitulation of Milan, and that a very numerous body of Austrian cavalry had been sent against us, and was already at the opposite gates of Monza. Garibaldi, much inferior in force, not wishing to expose his little corps to certain and useless destruction, gave orders to fall back on Como, and placed me with my column in the rear to cover the retreat.

For the young volunteers, who asked only to fight, this order for retreat was the signal of discouragement, and so it was made from the beginning with some disorder. Happily it was not the same with my rearguard column, [which], always pursued by the enemy, threatened every instant with being overwhelmed by very superior forces, never flinched, remained united and compact, showing itself always ready to repel every attack, and by its bold countenance and good order, compelled the enemy to respect it during the whole passage.

In the march, full of danger and difficulty, in the midst of a continual alarm, this strength of soul, the intrepidity, the decision which Mazzini possesses in so remarkable a degree, and of which he afterwards gave so many proofs at Rome, never failed him, and excited the admiration of the bravest. His presence, his words, the example of his courage, animated

with such enthusiasm these young soldiers, who, besides, were proud of sharing so many dangers with him, that it was determined by Mazzini, the first, in case of combat, to perish one and all in defence of the faith of which he had been the apostle, and whose martyr he was ready to become, and contributed very much to maintain that order, and that resolute attitude which saved the rest of the division.

This testimony of one who so ably conducted that retreat, and so soon after sealed its truth with his blood, sufficiently refutes Mazzini's enemies' charges of his want of courage and disregard to the safety of his compatriots. Even the real friends of Italy do not know the dangers he had especially since that time risked and escaped. His care for his friends was such that he could honestly assert: 'no man had been brought into trouble by correspondence on *his part*'.

On the 4th of August, Milan capitulated, and from Como, Mazzini crossed the Alps to Lugano, two or three friends only accompanying him, and walking forty miles one night, he remained at Lugano, until the flight of the Grand Duke of Tuscany on the 7th Feby 1849 called him to Florence, where he was elected a deputy and member of the Provisional Government, and in the former capacity sent to them, to carry the adhesion of Tuscany to the Roman Republic, then being established, after the flight of the Pope, and the suppression of the Inquisition. There elected by free open vote to the Triumvirate with Saffi and Armellini, his eloquent appeals and proclamations thrilled the heart of Europe. France in the interests of the Papacy, unitedly with Naples, Austria, and Spain, invaded the Roman Territory with 92,000 soldiers, to oppose which the Republics had only 13,000 volunteers, who however disastrously routed the Neapolitans, baffled the Austrians and Spaniards, and twice beat the French, superior in numbers, holding them at bay for two months, and only in consequence of a truce violated by the French General, surrendered in June 1849, when the French had in violation of the truce gained possession of the heights commanding Rome. The people were famished, and their last cartridge spent. Garibaldi however would not capitulate, but with his legion, which embraced the Poles and others, not Italian, in the Army, forced his

way. He saved his high character as a soldier, and his men, many of whom might have been excluded from the benefit of the capitulation. Many of them escaped, and Garibaldi, after the most painful episode in his eventful life, reached a place of safety, having lost his beloved wife under very mournful circumstances.

Mazzini, however reluctantly, submitted, to spare his people in the hopeless struggle. During thirty days his clothes were never off, and his black hair became grey during that month's anxiety and toil. For some days he wandered pale and worn through the streets of Rome. Even the French soldiers respected one whose power had been unmarked with vengeance. Evading French vigilance he retired to Switzerland, and thence to London. When we consider that in the Papal States, and the Bourbon governments in Italy, nearly 7,000 political executions took place within a very few years, it is creditable to the Roman Republic, that not one death, not even one imprisonment, for political offences occurred during these exciting and eventful months. Strong proof of this was given by the British Consul at Rome, who was prejudiced against the Republic and favourable to the papacy. Mr Freeborn writing officially to Lord Palmerston says:

Rome is perfectly tranquil. Nothing is attended to now but arms, money, and men. Although a Republic is an unfortunate form of government, I must say in justice to the present Ministers, that their conduct is exemplary, and that of the people more so. Order and obedience to the law is the order of the day. The Republic of course must succumb under such force, but I must in justice state that the men in power have under all the circumstances shown courage and moderation. No works of art have ever been secreted, or offered for sale. On the contrary they have been restored, preserved, and protected. It would appear my Lord from what I have been able to learn, that General Oudinot calculated on the reactionist party in this city, but not an individual made his appearance, for this reason, that the mass of the people are ill disposed to the restoration of the Ecclesiastical Government. It is my duty to state to your Lordship, that anarchy has not existed in the city of Rome, and that crime has diminished.

In the face of this unbiassed testimony however, Mr More O'Ferrall, Governor of Malta, refused an asylum there to Roman refugees, with passports viséd by the British consul at Rome and Civita Vecchia. Honest Joseph Hume brought this case before the country, and Lord John Russell extricated his papal subordinate out of this disgraceful matter, in a manner not quite in keeping with his lordship's general character, but it drew attention to the question in this country, and from that period the active sympathy of our people may be dated.¹

From 1849 to 1853 Mazzini was quietly educating and organizing. A rising in Milan on Feby 6th was unsuccessful, though well planned. On Sundays the soldiers were paid, and afterwards scattered about the city. Sunday was therefore the day selected, four o'clock the hour. The Castello was to be first surprised, a flag hung from the walls, and a gun fired, as a signal to the parties chosen in different posts of attack. Mazzini, Saffi, and other leaders were at their posts, and all Italy waited anxiously for the insurrection; but the leader who was to surprise the Castello did not make the attack, whether through treason, cowardice, or some mistake I have never learned, and the various parties at other points, waiting the signal and getting none, concluding they were betrayed, or that counter orders had been given, retired, and such was the organization that though all Italy was straining and burning for action, with the exception of one party, who disobeyed orders and succeeded most signally in their attempt, and 200 men who were chosen to attack the soldiers scattered in town, no man stirred, and quiet was so soon restored, that it was considered in this country only a petty riot, and slaying the soldiers in the streets instanced only as another proof of aimless Italian treachery and revenge.

Mazzini after many dangers arrived in London, when a circumstance connected with this abortive attempt caused much annoyance to the friends of European freedom. When in exile at Kutahia, Governor Kossuth had unitedly with Mazzini prepared a proclamation, intended among other points, to influence the Hungarian soldiers in Italy, in the event of a rising there, and I have always

¹ Moncton Milnes raised the question of the Roman refugees in Parliament, supported by Joseph Hume. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. Third Series, cvii (London, 1849), 1161-2

understood, that Mazzini being *there*, was to be the judge of the time when it should be issued. No occasion offered, the proclamation lay in abeyance until Feby 1853 when Mazzini issued it. The attempt failed, and Kossuth disclaimed it, at a time when Mazzini had barely escaped his enemies, and he indignantly answered Kossuth's disclaimer, by stating – what was true – that Kossuth was a party to the proclamation, and also asserting what Kossuth disputed, that it was agreed that he should be the judge of the time of its publication. Those who knew how imperative was the necessity for Italian soldiers in Hungary, and Hungarian soldiers in Italy harmonising, through their respective chiefs, regretted this misunderstanding, though we knew they would both be true to the cause when the occasion offered.

I should here refer to a circumstance which has more than anything else tended to disunite the real advocates of European freedom, and exemplifies the heartless falsehood of the Hapsburgh dynasty. In 1848 when the King of Sardinia entered Lombardy, the Austrian Government was hard pressed by the Hungarians for its aid, to settle the difficulties existing through its own intrigues in Croatia and other provinces, and to otherwise render operative the Hungarian Constitution, but the Viennese cabinet demanded that Hungary should vote troops to put down the Italians. This they declined, unless Constitutions also were given to the Italian dependencies. Orders therefore were ostensibly sent to General Radetzky to offer independence to Lombardy, and a constitution to Venice, but he did not do so, being secretly instructed by the Court, which informed the Hungarians that their liberal offers had been refused by the Italians. The troops were then voted, though conditions were attempted by the most advanced liberals, and their being used against Italy revived all its prejudices against the Hungarians, who on their part considered the Italians unreasonable in their demands. From this base duplicity of the chivalrous Radetzky, arose the misunderstandings between the Italian and Hungarian leaders.

Kossuth arrived in England in Oct 1851, and after a most cheering reception visited America and returned to London, where he remained in privacy until 1854, when on the occasion of his invitation to Glasgow I was first put in communication with him. It is painfully interesting to note how men even so eminent as this noble

Hungarian, are affected by a well told lie. He was accused of employing Mr Hale to manufacture rockets.¹ This was distinctly proven false, still at the instigation of our German connections our Government hired spies to watch his house, and a succession of calumnies issuing from some Government journals, drew a cloud over the man, who so shortly before had been lionised in London and the principal towns of England, but good came from this – he now came among our *people* who felt indignant at this breach of hospitality, and prepared by the continuous silent teachings of the party of European progress, they welcomed him, listened to his eloquent pleadings for the oppressed nationalities, and resolved to act unitedly for Italy and Hungary.

Both these countries possessed in Glasgow at that important crisis, an advocate, whose high character, and profound intellect did much to rally its working element, and give tone and dignity to our efforts. Possibly no man in Britain, certainly no man in Scotland, did so much as Prof. John Pringle Nichol, the eminent astronomer, to draw out our *élite*, but as I write, I read the names of those who went with him to the City Hall platform on his first appearance, plebeian to a man, but workers, and the men who have made Glasgow respected in foreign lands, who drank in Kossuth's wondrous eloquence, began an organization, which though unsuccessful thus far for Hungary, materially helped towards the splendid success of Garibaldi in Italy.

Some time after a young English lady, Jessie Meriton White came to Scotland, to solicit aid for the Italian movement.² She was generously received in Hawick, Paisley and other towns, and came to Glasgow where she shared the hospitality extended to those apostles of freedom by Prof. Nichol, who urged me to help her in her laudable mission. She is certainly a lady of courage and talent, and enlisted more sympathy and material aid for the cause than any other in England or Scotland. She told me that she must leave for Italy, to take part in an important enterprise and unless I helped all her good work would be lost in Scotland. I felt reluctant on account

¹ *The Times* (15 April 1853), p. 4, col. 6; (18 April 1853), p. 4, col. 5; (26 April 1853), p. 6, col. 1

² Jessie Meriton White lectured in Glasgow on 24 and 25 February 1857. *Glasgow Sentinel* (28 February 1857)

of bad health, but who could refuse the earnest pleadings of so fair an enthusiast, so I acted for some years, though much distressed with asthma, brought back on me in consequence of getting overheated some time before, in the last contested election of poor Mr McGregor, when he was returned so creditably to Parliament by the Reformers of Glasgow, in spite of the exertions of some of those who had originally elected him.¹

I had almost omitted to mention a circumstance that occurred with me before that time, having in 1851 married.² I have had no reason to regret this step, though like my auld fren Sandy Rodger I am almost in a minority of spoons, and like him also, with his verses, their romping and rackets compel me to collate these mementos, when they are all asleep in bed.

Kossuth from time to time came among us cheering us by his brave words. Some of his letters addressed to me were published over Europe and America, and his high character and open action was more acceptable to the British people, than the unavoidable secrecy and mystery compelled on Mazzini who was silently sowing the seed for Garibaldi, though it was painfully interesting to me to know of his many fruitless attempts, and to hear daily aspersions on his good name and the unmanly calumnies on Miss White by the *Times* and other leading newspapers. Mazzini's compatriot the Triumvir Saffi also came among us and lectured in the City Hall, and his gentle scholar like appearance and carriage gave us a very favourable opinion of Italian statesmen.

Miss White left us hurriedly in June 1857 to take part in an enterprise. A body of Italian patriots embarked at Genoa as passengers in the *Cagliari* steamer bound for Naples. They were commanded by Pisacane, a brave and experienced officer. Nicotera, since so distinguished under Garibaldi and now a member of the Italian Parliament, was second in command. Like many of these fine young men he had no money, but he cast even his sleeve buttons, and other trinkets, into the fund for this expedition, which was intended first to liberate a number of political prisoners from the island of Ponza, then to operate on the mainland. They rose on the first evening, took possession of the steamer, and compelled Watt

¹ John McGregor, MP for Glasgow, 1847-57. The contested election referred to took place in 1852

² To Mary McIntyre

and Park, the Engineers, to do their duty, and Capt. Daneri piloted them to Ponza where they liberated the prisoners, but disembarking on the mainland, they were slain or captured. Pisacane was in cold blood literally hewed in pieces and the others taken to prison.

The *Cagliari* also was captured, and Watt and Park marched to prison with the others. It was in vain they pled that they were forced, which they really were, to work the engines. Miss White came forward and testified, that she had written the note in English to Pisacane, as he had not English, to tell the engineers that they must work the engines or be killed. The Neapolitan authorities would not be convinced, and our wiseacres in Parliament, even our press, assented to the charge against the poor young lads of having willingly 'navigated' the *Cagliari*. I remember how amused we were when it was explained at a public meeting that on the Mediterranean engineers had even less to do with 'navigating' a steamship, than our own engineers on the Clyde.

Miss White got prison for her share, and got anything but manly protection from our minister, Sir James Hudson, but public opinion got hot here. She was not cruelly treated and was soon liberated. Not so the poor engineers, who for eight months were confined in the filthiest manner in that hot climate, uncared for by our government, unless what the Acting Consul in Naples, Mr Barbar, was permitted to do. Some part of the apathy of our government and people may be attributed to an English clergyman there, well named 'Pugh', who wrote to the London newspapers that they were quite comfortably lodged and cared for until Park's father with Consul Barbar almost forced their way in, and found them in the greatest filth, misery, and despair.

I called a public meeting then, which was attended by our esteemed City members Messrs Buchanan and Dalglish. Bailie James Couper took the Chair and a sum was subscribed on sight and sent off next day, to employ proper counsel to defend them. We were proceeding with our collection when Consul Barbar suggested that we should stop short and demand compensation from the Neapolitan government. We obtained their freedom and £1,500 each, as a poor recompence for Watt's shattered intellect and Park's broken constitution. Watt lay for years in his father's home in

Newcastle. Park I saw in Italy, and never will forget his grateful expression, when forcing me to accept for my wife a handsome souvenir of the visit: 'Take it, had it not been for you, my bones would now be lying in Naples'.

In connection with this, Consul Barbar was promised promotion, both in and out of Parliament, and Mr Galwey who had long been superannuated, at that time dying, the public naturally expected that Mr Barbar who had long acted for him, and done *all* the work for a moiety of the salary, would at last have got the Consulship of Naples, but the place was given to a Mr Bonham, with influential connections of course, but a mere stick of official sealing wax, as I experienced two years after, when I gave him my opinion of what were his duties, and quickened his motions a little anent some of our Garibaldian legion. Mr Barbar wrote to me, that he was coming to London to give up diplomatic service rather than go at a reduced salary to Candia. I advised him rather to go and that we would appeal to the country. He came down to Glasgow to thank the Engineers for a handsome testimonial they had sent him. I took him round among them. He was kindly remembered by Messrs Buchanan and Crum Ewing and received the genial hospitality of our other esteemed Member Mr Dalglish. He went off to his 'banishment' in Candia, where he died soon after, leaving his wife and family of 6 young children in very destitute circumstances.

I was simultaneously written to by his brother in Malta, his sister in England, and his poor widow in Naples, and at once wrote to Earl Russell who in the frankest manner sent me one hundred pounds, but regretting that it did not lie in his department to place her on the pension list. I knew this well enough before, but I knew also that he had less *finesse*, and more generosity, than Lord Palmerston in a case like this. However in connection with the Engineers we sent his wily lordship a memorial, signed by some thousands belonging to that body, and after considerable fencing and circumlocution, on my hint of bringing it before Parliament, he intimated that he had put her on the pension list for fifty pounds, but that I must not give publicity to it, as it had not yet received the Queen's signature, and that it would not be according to diplomatic etiquette.

This magnificent sum, not the tythe of pensions bestowed on

some state harlots, this poor woman lived not long to enjoy.¹ I saw her in Naples grateful for even this little help, surrounded by her 6 children. She died soon after leaving no provision, and as her pension died with her, her relatives again wrote to me, and I again applied to Earl Russell, who promptly as before, sent me a second hundred pounds, referring me again to Lord Palmerston, who declined continuing the pension until her youngest, a boy, was able to provide for himself, but eventually I wrung out of him another hundred pounds, which I lodged with our faithful banker in Naples, Mr Pook, to supplement the help extended to these poor orphans by their uncle Dr Schmidt, who had faithfully protected them. I have dwelt longer on this matter than usual, as an interesting instance of the manly and prompt generosity of the veteran Reformer, Earl Russell, as compared with the 'judicious bottle holder', Lord Palmerston, whose spirited foreign policy was guided mainly by the necessities of his party. 14 years afterwards, Earl Granville sent me one hundred pounds for the deaf son of Mr Barbar, previous to the accession of the last D'Israeli administration and this was the reward to poor Barbar, who had done his duty, too well.

In 1857 Tibaldi's pretended plot against Napoleon's life was made an occasion to drive Mazzini from this country. This, and kindred slanders, have repeatedly since then, been brought up by the enemies of Italian freedom against him and his friends. At that time I endeavoured to show the unlikeliness of so poor a man, and so old a conspirator as Mazzini, paying money to men he did not know, for work he did not approve of, he not being in London at the time, but on the frontiers of Italy as the following note to me will show.²

May 20th 1857.

My Dear Friend,

The amount of the subscriptions you have sent have just come to hand, and this proof of your persevering activity and of the real interest of your countrymen in our National cause

¹ McAdam was extremely indignant about attempts to have a state pension awarded to Emma Lady Hamilton's daughter, Horatia. John McAdam, *Mazzini vindicated by a sketch of his eventful life: and the struggle for Italian liberty* (Glasgow, 1857), p. 4

² McAdam, *op. cit.*, p. 9

reaches me on the Continent. I am approaching my own land. Nobody can on such a ground as ours prophesy events at a determined time, but all that I learn convinces me that I am better here than in England now. I trust that your energy and that of your brave countrymen will not diminish. Besides all that you are doing now, the Petitioning movement ought to be brought to a close as rapidly as possible. The country must be organised for a great effort, for a wide powerful manifestation should events take place. If only we can be left uninterfered with by others to our old warfare with Austria, and our own tyrants the King of Naples and the Pope, depend upon it we shall conquer. The link that your efforts have actually established between Great Britain and Italy may prove henceforward one of the greatest steps for the advancement of mankind within our century, and the cordial welcome given by our Genoese patriots to our friend Miss White, might prove to you, that we are not an ungrateful people.

Ever in the cause of God and Liberty

Joseph Mazzini

Not one word even to me about Louis Napoleon, though he knew my opinion of the cold blooded murderer of the Romans and his own people, at the very time his death would have necessitated Mazzini as the head remaining in London, the real centre of the movement, in the crash of despotisms which must have followed. Orsini's attempt on Jan'y 14th 1858 was also charged on him by Louis Napoleon and for this he was in his absence sentenced to death. Knowing that for more than a year previously he had not been on friendly terms with Orsini, as might have been seen by Orsini's published letters, I wrote to Mazzini, representing how inconvenient any sentence against him in France would be in his visits to Italy, and that he could easily disprove any complicity with Orsini. He answered me to the effect that I was right in my surmises, but that 'it is no time when a brave mistaken man's back is at the wall to disown ancient friendships'. Then followed Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill so indignantly repudiated by our countrymen, [and] some other shallow charges culminating in the malignant unmanly attack on the Whig Government, through its youngest member Mr Stansfeld.

The sentiment evoked on that occasion even among the old sturdy Tories, will, we trust, teach party politicians not to fight their battles over the backs of men striving to obtain for their respective countries institutions as liberal as our own.

Felice Orsini was certainly as purely patriotic a homicide as any of the many lauded in our Scripture or Classic readings, most of whom had personal motives, killed their men in comparative security or had secured the means of retreat. Orsini had none of these. He devoted his life to the work, knowing *he* had no chance of escape, as he had tried single handed several times to approach Napoleon, and found him then as ever surrounded by police in various disguises, which answered as well to guard him as to give him the character of courage and popularity with the people. The bomb bursting exposed that deception, since two thirds of those struck were soldiers or disguised spies. Orsini died like an ancient Roman, calm and dignified, and Italy and the world owes to his self sacrifice the important forward movement next year of France against Austria. Had he made this same attempt on Louis Napoleon in Britain, he or anyone sheltered and protected by our laws would have been criminal, but Orsini had a perfect right to the life of his mortal enemy in France or in Italy, whatever differences of opinion we may have regarding the policy of his attempt.

Towards the end of April 1857 a very important meeting was held in Glasgow with the Lord Provost in the Chair.¹ Messrs Walter Buchanan and Robert Dalglish, our city members, Mr Craufurd, M.P. for the Ayr Burghs, Prof. Nichol, Messrs H. E. Crum Ewing, J. A. Campbell, Walter Crum, William Murray, James McClelland, Andrew Bannatyne, W. P. Paton, W. & J. McAdam, Robert Buchanan, Councillors Couper, Fowler, and Aikman, Rev. William Arnot and H. W. Crosskey, Bailie Lamb of Paisley, and the élite of the Friends of Italy in Glasgow. Miss Jessie Meriton White and some ladies sat apart. She afterwards expressed her delight with the noble resolutions passed in favour of Italian nationality and left for the enterprise in Italy which was again fruitless. This meeting gave us assurance of support from a higher class of citizens than had

¹ For an account of this meeting see *Report of the Proceedings of a Public Meeting of the Citizens of Glasgow, held in the Merchants Hall on 28th April, with a view to consider the present condition of Italy (Glasgow, 1857)*

hitherto taken part, who never deserted us until Garibaldi's wonderful success of 1860 was complete in Sicily and Naples.

During 1857, 1858 and 1859 these and like movements kept our hands full in Glasgow. Some earnest workers came forward and we helped Hungary but especially Italy from the constant aid quietly given by wealthy and liberal friends of European freedom. I may instance one gentleman, Robert Barclay, the eminent shipbuilder who for many years sent me large sums anonymously 'with R.B.'s compliments' and it was only 48 hours before his death that I found out my unknown donor, on the occasion of sending me thirty pounds for the brave Poles in their last glorious struggle. The veteran Reformers, Hugh Tennent, Walter Buchanan, W. G. Langdon, Robert Dalglish, Joseph Townsend, John McGavin, W. P. Paton, the Tennants, Campbells, Ewings, Crums, Coats of Paisley and others, united with our working men in winning the gratitude of the Italian and Hungarian leaders, by their constant sympathy with them in their then apparently hopeless efforts.

In February 1859 Baron Poerio, the description of whose cruel imprisonment by Mr Gladstone more than any other circumstance exposed the cruelties of the Italian governments, with about 70 other political prisoners were pardoned by King Bomba, but were shipped off to New York, first in a Neapolitan transport to Cadiz, thence in an American ship.¹ Scarcely however were they clear of the steamer's guns, than a deputation waited on the captain, respectfully representing that he must land them in Britain. He refused of course, since his freight was not all paid, and the exiles not being navigators were puzzled how to manage their prize. This however had been provided for by the Committee and an affecting episode occurred. Raffaele Settembrini a handsome young lad, dressed in the uniform of a mate of the Galway line of steamers, which he was, suddenly stepped up beside his father, placed his hand on his shoulder and offered to pilot the ship in to a British port. This fine young fellow had been enabled to find his way to Spain, where he signed articles with the American captain as a common sailor, determined to liberate his father and the other exiles. They were landed in Cork where Sir John Arnott and others generously welcomed them. Some

¹ Gladstone exposed the conditions of the Neapolitan prisons in his *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the state prosecutions of Neapolitan Government* (London, 1851)

of these poor men had been more than ten years in prison, and when landed kissed the soil in raptures. Our citizens through the late James McClelland Junr sent over six hundred pounds to the fund subscribed, for such as had no means of their own.

Lord John Russell's solemn protest against foreign interference in Italian affairs on the occasion of his receiving the freedom of the City of Aberdeen in Sept 1859, was taken advantage of by our Committee in the following December, to send him an address, reminding him of his well timed declaration. The London newspapers commented on it as 'a pawkey Scotch trick', but it came at the proper crisis. It was an extremely well written document, and was extensively circulated on the Continent. Garibaldi himself a year afterwards at his own fireside referred to it and spoke of Lord John's services with glistening eyes, and again in London almost his first words to me were expressive of gratitude to that honest straightforward statesman.

I must however return to the illustrious Kossuth to keep my narrative connected, and it may be well to give in this place a sketch of his life. He was born in 1802 near Tokay, his father being an advocate and of the untitled Magyar nobility, a man of stern, resolute character, but kindly in his family ties. Louis was his eldest, and received an excellent education, completed in the Protestant college of Eperjes, to aid which, under the oppression of the Austrian Jesuits he appealed to us in his exile, but owing to the indifference of our Protestant clergymen here, during all these Antipapal struggles, we did less than I expected for my earnest efforts, and our ministers possibly at that time had some other things on hand, properly named 'Schemes'.

During his boyhood he was much distinguished by his ability, and when he came of age, he had already acquired considerable reputation by his knowledge of law, and his brilliant eloquence. He was a great bear hunter, but some humane sentiments in a poem he had read determined him to abandon it and devote himself entirely to his profession and literature, and he received from an old lady the management of her large estates. At that time many Poles had taken refuge in Hungary, and Russia, through Austrian agents, to compel the nobles who gave them shelter to expel them, incited the ignorant populace to rise. Kossuth by his eloquence and judicious

conduct did much to repress them. He won the people's admiration, but excited the jealousy of men in power who had failed in their duty. The *Times* in Oct 1859 maligned Kossuth, because of a circumstance which was simply this.¹ He had at play in an official's house lost a sum of money, part of which was the old lady's whose estates he managed, but he frankly told her of it, replaced the sum, and ever after enjoyed her confidence. He said at that time he never would again play for money. He commenced public life when thirty years of age, and until his exile in 1849 in every phase of political character lived in a constant state of action, unless in 1837-38 and 39 when confined in a State fortress he devoted himself to the study of Mathematics and Political Science, and what is above all most interesting to us, the English language – for the story of his learning it from Shakespeare, 12 years after, in Turkey cannot be correct, since I have his manuscript translation into the Magyar of Wilderspin's *Early Education* when he was in prison in Buda. He had translated it for the use of the schools. There is about two hundred pages, with sketches, plans of school room etc. and [he] put it into the hands of his director of education, when the troubles came on, and Mr Wargha brought it to London. Previous to leaving he sent it to me, and I sent him a handsome sum as I was anxious to secure it for one of Kossuth's sons as a souvenir of his father's prison hours, but Kossuth when speaking of these anxious weary days, kindly requested me to preserve it for one of my own sons. It is therefore very dear to me, and doubly interesting as a proof of his early acquirement of English, and also that, more than a mere politician, he was thinking of the future for the education of his people.

How nobly the Hungarians fought, with his moderation in success, his courage amid disaster, his dignified retirement into Turkey, with the Christian action of the Mahometan 'sick man', the inhospitality of Napoleon, his visit to America and residence in this country, the world knows, and we felt anxiously for him when in May 1857 he put faith in that cold blooded man but knowing how warmly he appreciated our people we invited him to Glasgow before he went away when though not the season for public meetings, the City Hall was crowded to overflowing with an audience, apprehensive for his security in the hands of one so un-

¹ *The Times* (9 October 1851), p. 4 cols. 3-4

principled as the French Emperor. In a few days after, I received the following affecting letter dated 17th June 1859 from Paris, almost anticipating the disappointment of his hopes.

My Dear Sir

I am on my way to whither duty calls.

I go not with over confident hopes. I rather go to try, whether or not I can remove the obstacles which obstruct the path of my country's deliverance.

But I go with confident resolution either to do good to my country, or else to preserve her future intact.

Should I not be able to do the first I know that I can do the second.

I may be a sacrifice. But my country shall not be made one.

Either reawakening to life, or else continued sleep, which shall not be transformed into death.

You and your countrymen are true and warm friends of my Country's cause. – Oh! let them be watchful, that Great Britain's political weight shall not be made to weigh against us in the balance of our destinies.

For all the kindness which I personally have met from you, I tender you the assurance of my best of my lasting gratitude.

I tender the same assurance to your generous hearted brother than whom I never have met a better man, nor a truer friend.

God bless you both. God bless your country.

Farewell, farewell

Yours very truly

Kossuth¹

Kossuth was warmly received by the Italian people. Already he had organized some thousands of Hungarian, Polish, and Italian deserters and prisoners, and the Austrian army was completely demoralised, when Napoleon's dread of the 'Nationalities' patched up the Villafranca treaty to the vehement anger of Garibaldi, who soon retired to his island home, and the profound despair of Kossuth, who writing me from London on September 26th says:

¹ The text of Kossuth's letter, and the one following, has been given in its original form, which McAdam slightly altered in transcribing

The fatal day of Villafranca frustrated my hopes at a moment when we had the deliverance of my country within sight nay, almost within reach of our hand, like a ripe fruit ready to be plucked – and here I am again, a poor exile as I was four months ago, only older by ten years from the bitter pangs of disappointment.

I say designedly ‘disappointment’, and not ‘deceit’. Of deceit I cannot complain, for I took good care to guard myself and my country against even the possibility of deceit, but I feel my heart nearly broken by disappointment, unwarranted by circumstances, unaccounted and unaccountable. Without that thunderbolt from a clear sky, the Villafranca arrangement, this moment at which I write, Hungary would have already filled a page in the annals of history, than which none equal stands yet on record. Because the whole nation was united, ready and resolved as scarcely ever before. All the feelings which sometimes bring division into a national household, difference of religion, language, race, and distinction of classes, had melted into one great common resolution, to get rid of the banditti rule of the House of Austria as soon as the war would take its logical expansion.

And the positive knowledge of this fact only adds to the bitter pangs of my disappointment. To be thus stopped at the moment when we were stretching out our hand to pluck the ripe fruit of liberty is distressing beyond description.

Well, it is as it is, and must be borne. It shall be borne undespondingly, though not without grief. I feel tranquil in my conscience, that I have done the duty of an honest man, and of a good citizen by not neglecting to try whether or not events might be turned, on a solid basis, to the profit of my native land.

And some consolation I have besides. I had occasion to get reassured on the point that no diplomatic tricks – in fact, nothing that the lying craft of despots may devise – will ever for a moment divert my nation from its unalterable determination to take advantage of every reasonable opportunity for reasserting its independence.

I have learnt that this resolution can as little be broken by

terrorism, as it can be shaken by any concessions which the Habsburgs may devise in the hour of their need. I have learnt that Hungary knows how to endure, how to wait, but will never change. I know that the nation is as well disciplined as it is determined.

I have been confirmed, together with my nation, in the conviction, that no great European question can ever receive its definitive solution without us; nor can Europe be brought to a settled condition without the rights and legitimate claims of Hungary being taken into due account.

From this conviction we derive the certainty of our future. We believe in our future freedom, therefore we shall be free. The corresponding resolution has, with the whole nation, become a religious creed.

To have learnt all this is some consolation. And one more I have. I have the satisfaction to know that by not allowing myself to be influenced by promises; that by insisting on the guarantee of irrevocable facts, preliminary to my giving the signal for rising, I have preserved my country from great misfortunes for aims which were not our own, and have preserved her future uncompromised, intact. — this, at least, is a bright speck on the dreary horizon of my deep grief.

I was particularly careful to warn my fellow countrymen in exile, not to be led away by impatience to throw up their positions which they may have gained by industry, before events take a turn which will warrant my calling on them. I even warned, in public papers, my countrymen in America, to wait and not to stir. Thanks to this precaution no harm has accrued to anyone on my account. But the prisoners of war from the Hungarian regiments flocked spontaneously to our banner.

We had already five battalions (upwards of 4000 men) organised. (Alas! in three weeks more we should have had 25 thousand of them). When the war was brought to an untimely end, I considered it a duty to guarantee the condition of the gallant band. I wished them to return home rather than be scattered in misery over the face of the earth, provided I could secure to them a safe return.

I therefore insisted on a double stipulation for them: that of amnesty, and that of exemption (*congé définitif*) from further Austrian military service. I succeeded in both regards. France insisted peremptorily and Austria felt obliged to yield. Both points are guaranteed, as far as stipulations can guarantee. Remains to be seen how Austria (false Austria) will execute them.

On this point I want to be kept in knowledge. Accordingly I ordered Colonel Ihasz (who commanded our first brigade, and our general depot at Acqui) to take the proper measures to the end. He reports that some of our homegoing braves may possibly write to me, under your address.

Excuse the liberty, and should any such letters come to your hands, do me the favour to forward them to me. There will be nothing in them of a compromising character. We are no conspirators, nor do we want to be conspirators. Our national cause has long ago outgrown such poor swaddling clothes. Where the whole nation is one, conspiracies are as useless as they are unwise.

I am like the birds of the air. I had given up my house here, and have yet none – in fact, have no spot on earth, to rest my weary head upon. Therefore till further notice, please (occasion arising) to send letters to the care of Francis Pulszky Esq, 13 St Albans Villas, Highgate Rise, London N.W.

Allow me to trust that your friendly feelings towards me and mine have undergone no change by late events, and believe me to be with particular consideration

Yours ever truly
Kossuth

The wise world which judges too often by events, blamed the noble Magyar for placing his trust in Napoleon. You can learn from the above his hopes and aspirations, and the tender solicitude he evinced for the safety of his soldiers. I believe that these unprecedented stipulations were respected by Austria, and Kossuth had the proud satisfaction of leaving matters no worse than he found them. No man was harmed but himself, but oh how sad and weary he looked when I saw him some months after on my way to Italy – but I

anticipate. Allow me therefore to let him rest awhile, until I bring Gen. Garibaldi to the front, and first let me say a word or two about his antecedents.

Gen. Garibaldi was born in the year 1807 at Nice in Savoy, his father being a small shipowner and master mariner, and his mother a superior woman to whose memory Garibaldi is still devotedly attached. There was nothing remarkable in his early youth and manhood, being like most of even partially educated Italians at an early age deeply imbued with liberal feeling, and hopeful aspirations for the future of his country. He accompanied his father in his voyages and ventures in the Mediterranean and Black Seas, rather a dreamy sailor boy than giving promise of his future energy and action. Educationally even, he was not remarkable for one of his respectable position and opportunities, much of his varied knowledge being acquired in the most unfavourable conditions of his active and eventful life, but even when a lad on his first visit to Rome, this real Italian iconoclast exclaims: 'Italy has been given us by our fathers and our God, so has freedom. I cannot now remove the incubus that weighs on both land and liberty, but I may live to help in releasing Rome, the capital of my native country, from thieving Cardinals and truculent Popes.' Glorious dream, gloriously fulfilled by this sailor boy whose words and some youthful attempts at last drew on him the attention of the police, and he retired in 1833 to Marseilles where he met Joseph Mazzini, then recognised as the head of the society of Young Italy who from that time Garibaldi elected as his 'friend and teacher'.

As the lives of these men belong more to the history of their country, rather than to my rambling reminiscences, I will only mention that Garibaldi, mainly engaged in his vocation as Captain of a merchant ship, in many ways made himself useful, in disseminating Mazzini's ideas and publications. Failing in several attempts he went to South America, where both by land and sea he served the liberal cause, and there in 1840 won his amiable brave hearted wife Anita, whose devotedness to him during nine years and mournful death on the retreat from Rome in 1849 merits all his abiding love and attachment to her memory. In South America he formed the Italian Legion, the remnants of which, brave and experienced officers, like our Scottish soldiers of fortune from the

Swedish service to the wars of the Covenant, returned from exile devoted to their leader and country, and imparting confidence to the Italian youths, grown up and nurtured in Mazzini's glorious aspirations.

Garibaldi's conduct in 1848-49 belongs to history. When obliged to disband the little army with which he had forced his way through the French, he eventually went to America, where he made candles rather than eat the bread of idleness. Afterwards he once more commands a merchantman, and in that capacity visits Newcastle, where he was warmly welcomed by the Cowens, and other prominent Friends of Italy, who presented him with a telescope and sword, which he highly values as the first tokens and special recognition of his service, from a country which next to his own he loves. In 1854 he purchased one half of the island of Caprera, where, and occasionally at sea and on the mainland, he resided until the commencement of 1859, when Louis Napoleon's opening speech of the year, and the preparations of Austria, awakened the Italian government to the imminence of war, and Garibaldi once more appeared to head the people in their long hoped for struggle for Italian unification. In that brief and bloody campaign his wonderful exertions contributed mainly to the French success, but finding himself in an awkward position on the sudden peace of Villafranca, which also more fatally blasted the hopes of Kossuth, he retired to his island home. In this campaign Garibaldi won himself a name, also the personal esteem of Victor Emmanuel, as much as he can esteem any other virtue than mere personal courage. Garibaldi had the same respect for the personal bravery of his King which has been a misfortune to the cause, for the King was too true to his own bad antecedents.

During this time public opinion was ripening in Britain towards Italian independence, 'from the Alps to the sea'. In Glasgow for some years a Committee had existed, which through Mazzini from time to time remitted money towards the organization of the party of action. Nearly all this money passed through my hands, and my wonder is not diminished now at the amount of good done with so little money, though I have since learned at how cheap a rate real men conspire and fight for liberty. Third class railway or a deck passage, with a crust of bread, goes far and we had the great advan-

tage in Glasgow especially of good men like Prof. Nichol, Hugh Tennent, Walter Buchanan, W. G. Langdon and others of irreproachable character, not ashamed to step out from their class, and cheer us on in our continuous efforts. Another class also contributed anonymously and asked no inconvenient questions about its destination, rendering the help a thousandfold stronger as will be seen at this crisis.

On the 14th of November 1859 a meeting was held in the Queens Hotel, Mr Buchanan M.P. in the Chair.¹ Knowing the state of preparation in Italy, and aware of how much value was this most tangible evidence of a nation's sympathy, material aid, and also the prejudice which then existed against Joseph Mazzini with whom I had been so long acting I suggested Mr Robert McTear as secretary to the fund we expected to raise, to enable Garibaldi to act if necessary independant of Sardinian or French influences, and we were fortunate in our selection, for Mr McTear with his then partner the late Mr Donald Kempt did their duty faithfully and raised more money than we could, many persons thinking that Garibaldi and Mazzini were not on friendly terms, far less, that they were united hand in hand preparing for his Sicilian campaign. On that day we subscribed nearly five hundred pounds. Word coming of Garibaldi's departure to Caprera, our estimable treasurer W. P. Paton lodged this money in bank.

About the end of February 1860 Garibaldi sent me a letter, enclosed in one from Mazzini, requesting me to send this money to London. The Committee at once responded to his appeal, and prepared to follow up our subscriptions. Meantime our ready mite had contributed to fitting out a small expedition at Genoa, commanded by Rosolino Pilo, and other experienced Sicilians, who got to Sicily some weeks before Garibaldi landed at Marsala on May 10th, and prepared their countrymen for his wonderful success, which otherwise must have been impossible. The incredible gallantry of this hastily improvised army has often been described. One instance I must give since the hero, Peter Cunningham from Springbank, Glasgow, I learned afterwards had been welcomed into this fighting world one fine morning by my own mother. Peter, a mere lad, had taken a dislike to stonecutting, went to sea, and was handy

¹ For a report of the meeting see *Daily Scotsman* (15 November 1859)

in the Mediterranean when Gen. Dunne formed his brigade, many of them being sailors. On attacking Melazzo they were rather warmly received and about to retire from the walls when Cunningham gallantly shouted 'chuck me over'. His comrades did so, followed him, and took the battery.¹

Meantime Mazzini was in Italy organizing men to beat Lamorciere and the Papal troops. The Sardinian Government, acting under French influences, thwarting him by forcing his expedition to land in Sicily where no men were required, writing to me he regretted that our 'good hard earned money should be thus wasted. Never mind, the men may yet join me in good time.' By this time he had got to Naples, and learning that Victor Emmanuel, desirous to be master of the situation by gaining possession before Garibaldi, was marching on it an army Mazzini sent Garibaldi word, and he posted on with a few officers only, to drive out King Bomba and his large army, which accomplished, he turned his attention to Rome but Victor Emmanuel under the sinister influences of Louis Napoleon, thwarted him on every hand, so smarting under the ingratitude of a man to whom he had given two Kingdoms, and intended to unify for him all Italy, he though he had millions under his control borrowed a few dollars to pay a small account and on Nov 10th 1860 left Naples and again retired to his island home.

An interesting incident connected with Kossuth took place at this time. He wrote me that his brave friend and countryman Tuckori had died leading Garibaldi's advance into Palermo, and that he had 'two brave officers, Colonels Figyelmessy and Mogyoródy, anxious doubly to replace their countryman, but they have no money, and I have not the means to help them to Italy. You I know are often called in, but possibly our friends in Glasgow may arrange it.' The money was paid to them within thirty six hours by Mr Langdon, who parted with them at Paris. In a few days both were in command at the critical event of Volturno, Figyelmessy in command of their little troop of Hungarian and Polish horsemen. Mogyoródy had about three hundred Hungarian, Polish and German infantry.

¹ According to A. P. Campanella, Garibaldi's decision to encourage the formation of the British Legion stemmed from this incident. 'La Legione Britannica nell'Italia Meridionale con Garibaldi nel 1860', *Nuovi Quaderni del Meridione*, ii (1964), p. 540

When Garibaldi was upset and in jeopardy, he ran up to them revolver in hand, and commanded them to 'drive out that rabble', said rabble being a large body of Neapolitan troops in a strong work. They gallantly accomplished this and contributed much to the success. I have often wondered what might have been the result, if at this greatest crisis in Garibaldi's battles had we been less prompt in sending him these brave and experienced soldiers. Kossuth's solicitude for his compatriots in Italy was almost painful to me. Among others to whom he referred me when going to Italy was Col. Dunyov. I found the brave old man in one of the Royal Palaces at Naples deprived of a leg. When I told him that but a few days before I had parted with Kossuth, who said 'that he had just learned that his brave old friend yet lived, and that he was happier than he had been for many months', the gallant veteran was deeply affected, and said he was honoured in grasping the hand of one who had so lately pressed the hand of his beloved Governor. Sitting up in bed we conversed by writing as he could not speak English well. When I asked him how he could write English so well and not speak it, he explained that he had been many years in an Austrian prison, and had set to work to learn English, but having no one to converse with, had not learned to *speak* it. When I enquired why his countrymen when in prison commenced to learn our language, he exclaimed: 'What language could we learn? It is the language of Liberty.'

Our Committee were in sad tribulation about the military spirit of our people at that time. We did not want to send a man, after the Sicilians and Calabrians had rallied so heartily round the flag of Garibaldi. In the commencement, Mazzini was anxious that the sympathies of our people should be known to the Italians in a manner which they could understand, and we rather encouraged the idea of the Legion. Now that we did not need it, we would appear ungracious not to accept those that had enrolled, so after considerable 'circumlocution' we dwindled down our four hundred Glasgow volunteers to fifty odd. I attended their meetings to dissuade them, but this remnant were resolved to go, so we gave them two sets each of tartan shirts and bonnets, with the Scottish thistle to show their nationality, and sent them off, and with them some Italian and Polish exiles from money provided privately to me by a

Glasgow friend, J. T.¹ Three of these exiles were commissioned officers when I was in Italy. The wife of one, a Scots lassie, played the part of Jeannie Deans, having gone to Victor Emmanuel to beg the release of the person who had gone out as Captain of the Glasgow company but had got into prison through some misunderstanding.² I had sent her out with her husband Signor De Gallo, for some time a fencing master in the west of Scotland. I was glad that I had done him some kindness in his distress here, for he got commissioned, and a situation in hospital, and was able to help our countrymen in turn and grateful to our Committee. Whatever may be said about the folly of going at all, these young men did their duty on the only occasion given them, and I was a witness in Salerno where they were barracked, to a public testimonial from the inhabitants for their orderly conduct, when everything was disorganized in the government, and the army not yet recovered from the demoralisation consequent on Garibaldi's abrupt departure. Like our remittances too, their numbers, splendid appearance, and undoubted courage was magnified by the impulsive Neapolitans. They believed our subscriptions were millions, and their stalwart frames loomed large in their eyes.

Soon after Garibaldi's retiring to Caprera, some generous spirits in England and Scotland deeming this a proper time for his long promised visit to this country, Messrs Cowen of Newcastle and Craufurd M.P. for the Ayr Burghs were selected for England, and I was written to when on a journey in Ireland, to accompany them on behalf of Scotland, bearing our invitation to Gen. Garibaldi and family, also our balance for the Volunteers, besides a large sum subscribed by the Glasgow ladies for the sick and wounded. On reaching London I found that the English gentlemen could not go, so after (together with Mr Craufurd) auditing the London treasurer's accounts, I posted through France, and over the Alps, with the utmost diligence, and passing on through Turin, reached Genoa a few hours too late for the semi-monthly steamer to Caprera. Forced to wait for a steamer, and hearing that our poor volunteers were miserably situated in Salerno, below Naples, I sailed for that place, and after a wretched passage and many delays, passing through

¹ Joseph Townsend. McAdam wrote the name originally in the manuscript, then crossed it out and replaced it by initials.

² Lieutenant Gabriel (or Cueto)

Naples, I reached Salerno, and found the volunteers quartered in an old Convent, on entering the gates of which I heard a voice exclaim: 'there comes our father', alluding to my fatherly admonitions for them not to go. Passing first through the English company's rooms, I could not help admiring their muscular frames as compared with those from Glasgow, some of whom were not fit for a rough campaign. The English with some other Scots and Irish were selected in London for their physique, fine looking fellows, but many of them wild young colts. They were cheerful however, since now they had plenty to eat. When I got into the Glasgow company's room they gathered round me, and I explained why I had departed from my instructions so as to assist their return home. They cheerfully agreed to share our little fund with their English and Irish comrades, so I went back to Naples and borrowed more money to provide them necessary clothing, and arrange with the government for their return home.

Besides the difficulties of a Government not yet established, the usual amount of 'red tape' obtained in all the departments. I purchased over five hundred pairs of long woolen stockings, ditto of worsted comforters, and some flannels for the men, and after much solicitation obtained from the Arsenal 500 woolen Guernsey shirts, and shoes and greatcoats for those who had none. I took one half of them on board the *Melazzo* steamer where Col. Peard, 'Garibaldi's Englishman', paid 250 men, and I served out their clothing, and saw them off from the Bay of Naples. The other 250 men were to sail in a few days, so I left their clothing with a resident Scotsman, Mr McKenzie, who had assisted me much in my purchases, and in connection with a committee of seven that I appointed, attended faithfully to their interests. Being informed also that it would gratify Garibaldi and Mazzini, if some of the Legion remained, and finding that a dozen regular soldiers meant to do so, I purchased that number of handsome uniform tunics for that purpose, and devoted some money to those volunteers like Col. McIvor who from circumstances had lost their claim on the Legion.¹

I was much with Col. John Peard, known as 'Garibaldi's Englishman'. Whatever differences of opinion there may be, I found him

¹ McIvor's service with Garibaldi is described in W. D. L'Estrange, *Under Fourteen flags. Being the life and adventures of Brig. Gen. McIvor, a soldier of fortune* (London, n.d.)

industriously engaged always, endeavouring to get his men comfortably home, when too many of his subordinates were anxious only to get themselves away in time for Christmas holidays in England. He is a fine stately Cornishman, jovial and straitforward, but strongly opposed to Mazzini and our party, which made my work more difficult, but what between his decided action and my industry, these poor fellows came home more comfortably than they would otherwise from that warm climate, to the intensely cold weather which then prevailed in Britain. Col. Peard had caught five of the Legion plundering, and had ordered them to be shot. The firing party refused, giving Garibaldi time to interpose. They were eventually sentenced to two years' imprisonment. I went to see them several times making some addition to their prison diet and a little civility money to their jailors, and after many attempts at last drew out a plain simple appeal to Victor Emmanuel, intreating him to give me them home with their comrades. Charles Park, father of young Park (of Watt and Park, the Engineers, celebrity) then engineer of a ship of war found me out, and introduced me to Admiral Persano afterwards so unfortunate at Lissa. He assisted me all he could, but the officials kept *tranquillo* which did not suit me, so finding I must leave Naples soon, [I] went out into the Bay and boarded his ship, returned to the Palace and found him. He lost his temper, said I was importunate, 'almost impudent, did I think I could drive things as I could in my own free country'. Poor man he attended to my explanation, and assured me of their liberation so soon as the quickest form required by the law could be complied with. They were released soon afterwards.

In fulfilment of my duty to the ladies of Glasgow, I went to the hospitals, where some of our sick and wounded were, and a number of Poles, Hungarians, and Germans also. I could only make them understand that I was a friend of Kossuth, but at his name they brightened up. One of our Glasgow company died there, poor Alexander Ross. His companions requested me to lay his head in the grave, so I got vehicles for such as could leave the hospital, and carried him to the English burying ground, where we interred the poor young man, who much as he might have objected to the cross on his coffin lid, would have much more so the beautiful Church of England Service being pronounced over him by the Rev Mr. Pugh,

in bad odour as he was in Glasgow, because of his blinking the inhumanity of 'Bomba' to Watt and Park. I did not like it myself when I learned who he was, and was barely civil to him when he offered to drive me into town, and knowing I had a fund insinuated how much good a little money would do to some relatives of his that had an hospital.

In the hospital a young 'gentlemanly' figure addressed me in *her* pretty broken English, thanking me for my attention, and 'would I come to see her small pox patients'. Not being apprehensive I followed her into the ward. They were mainly Hungarians, but understood the word Kossuth, and were grateful for the oranges that a soldier carried round for me. This was the celebrated Countess De la Torre, who dressed in male apparel, with sword by her side, dashed along with the cavalry and distinguished herself afterwards not less as a kind Samaritan. She was a Countess in her own right, and men spoke differently of her. All I know is that every weary face brightened up as she neared their pallet, with her neat little figure, and beautiful face, for she was kind and frank with them which may account for some of the scandals abroad. One instance I experienced myself. Being anxious to see the Hungarian Colonels and some Polish soldiers that we had sent out, she offered to drive me in her own carriage to Nola where they were encamped and appointed next day before noon. I went to the principal hotel where she lodged and was pointed out the door by a brother in law of the Rev. Mr Crosskey then of our city, the officer on guard. My knock was responded to by the word 'avanti' (come in), so I opened the door and behold, a lady in bed. Keeping the handle in my hand, seeing her in no [way] put about, but telling [me to come in, several] alternatives rapidly passed through my thoughts, whether I should run away, go in leaving the door open, or shut it and brave the worst, so I shut the door and 'avanted' to the bedside, took forward a chair, where sitting up in her nightdress she shook my hand heartily. Oh Joseph, Potiphar's wife was nothing to this, most likely *she* was a Negress, and certainly not fairer than this Italian, who at this interesting moment told me that something prevented her from getting out that day to Nola. This freedom of manner no doubt adds to the *fama* in many places of Italian life.

I met with many brave and experienced officers here devoted

heart and soul to Mazzini. Col. Dunne often reported dead from an assassin's attempt lay weak and helpless, Col. Forbes under a cloud with the thankless Italian government, and a brave sailor Capt. De Rohan, Garibaldi's Naval aid, who had a scramble with me among the mountains one long night, in search of the Triumvir Saffi, who was in hiding for a time. Brave though he was, he never parted with his revolver ready cocked when approaching the closed up houses. De Rohan helped me in every way and with me examined the *Melazzo* steamer. He said she was in every way well founded but had a third more passengers than she ought. Still as the volunteers were anxious to be off, they might risk it if they found the weather favourable, but in the event of it being stormy, we gave a few of the most trustworthy of them a hint to take the ship into Gibraltar, when the owners for their own sake would find them room in some other, inasmuch as they had infringed the Passenger Act by having more passengers than they should in proportion to their tonnage. This design leaking out, and the danger of being brought up by the authorities, may perhaps have made them call in at Falmouth, where most of the Volunteers left them instead of going up the Thames. The weather being fine when they came to Gibraltar they had risked that usually stormy sea being anxious to get home.

Amidst these manifold employments though twice past Vesuvius I had found no time to stop in and see the 'Crater' or the 'bodies' in Pompeii, objects of my ambition for many years. The living was so interesting that I had no time for the ancient dead, and as I had on my own responsibility departed from the Committee's instructions, my great ambition now was to fulfil all that I had been sent out to do, and as I got through with one, another difficulty arose. My last day I had set apart for the Museum, the most interesting I was told in the world, but a steamer for Genoa came in under stress of weather, so I settled up hastily and got aboard, and after a pleasant voyage arrived once more in Genoa in the city of marble palaces, and in good time for the *San Giorgio* bound for Madalena and Caprera. The following sketch of my visit to Garibaldi may be interesting.

... I found this truly great man surrounded by his own family, his brother, a frank, hardy sea captain, and a few friends,

discussing freely the incidents of the times, on which cunninger, possibly not wiser, men would have affected mystery.

I was welcomed by Garibaldi in a manner which becomes a great man, and puts a plain man like myself at ease. He did honour to the good men who had sent me on this mission, when he placed me at every meal next himself, and pointed out my bed as one of the two in his own room. I accepted this honour proudly and gratefully – pride in the country of which Garibaldi could not speak too often, for the moral aid, even more than the material assistance which it had rendered to Italy; and with gratitude to my countrymen who had sent me with their assurance of their abiding interest in him and his country in the coming crisis.

Seeing that he was deeply engaged with his immense monthly receipt of letters, I left him with his two secretaries, to take a quiet survey of his island home. And as you are aware of the apprehension entertained in Britain as to any sudden attack on him, I scrambled up the highest dividing ridges to see whether facilities existed for his enemies from the opposite coast. The people here laugh at the idea of any body of men being found daring enough to attack him in front, and by any other way it would take a body of men hours to work their way, even in daylight, over the granite rocks, which, sea-worn and honey-combed to their very summits, are evidently of volcanic origin.

During the day the General was very much engaged, but towards evening he mixed with his friends, and conversed freely; and when by ourselves in his own room, feeding the fire with roots – his only fuel – he spoke feelingly and warmly of the British people, and of the stand made by Lord John Russell in favour of Italy.

After supper, more writing, then to bed, where for hours he sat, dictating to his two secretaries. I dropt over to sleep, and when I awakened all was quiet; but some hours before day he was at work with them again, and so continued until two hours after daybreak. I mention this mainly to explain how much he has to do, and to excuse him for any disappointment to his correspondents.

Being anxious to scrape acquaintance with Pio Nono, and to redeem a promise I had made to a friend, I found the celebrated little gentleman scratching his long ears; but when I looked at his other end I could not find it in my heart to extract a single hair. Poor little fellow, he is but a small donkey for so world-wide a name; and Tam o'Shanter's mare Meg brought her rider safely over the Brig o' Doon with as much of a tail to swear by. His, or rather her brother ass was not there; possibly, as the English in Naples have named him Lord Robert Montagu, he may have gone to England on a visit to his name-father, to obtain the usual candle cup given at christenings.

Senora Teresa, the General's daughter, is a very pleasant and unaffected young lady, but she speaks no English, neither does her brother Menotti; he is taller than his father; has very much the look of a fine young sailor, in his red shirt, and bronze, not dark complexion; he bids fair to be a very strong man, is now twenty years of age, and you are aware has already distinguished himself in the late campaigns. Nothing pleased me more than his modesty and self-possession in the various circumstances which I saw him placed in among his father's friends, both at home and elsewhere. When I left the General, he bade me assure my friends that he trusted in better times to come among them, and thank them for what they had done for his country; and to thank Joseph Cowen and the men of Newcastle for his sword and the telescope, which he has used through all his battles. . . .¹

Having fulfilled my mission I returned without delay, and was kindly received by my fellow citizens, to whom I must ever feel grateful for the trust reposed in me. The Newspapers also had given me ample justice, and only one misunderstanding had to be cleared away. The *Pio Nono* named in the above letter was mistaken for the Roman Pontiff and an intelligent Catholic friend of mine seriously remonstrated with me, for wounding the feelings of men of his creed who knew my former liberal action towards them. He had

¹ From a letter to his brother, William McAdam, of 3 January 1861, reprinted in the *North British Daily Mail* and in the *Glasgow Herald* (9 January 1860)

not heard the *ondit* about Garibaldi's little quadruped so named, and was much amused at his own obtuseness besides. To finish this head I cannot do better than give an amusing description of this most interesting event in my life, verbatim in a leading article in one of our Glasgow newspapers.

. . . There's our worthy citizen, John McAdam, – as good a specimen of a Scotchman as you will find, – where has he turned up? With Garibaldi. Many others beside him have turned up there. True. But who has penetrated to the very *sancta sanctorum* of the great man before: Who has seen the hero in his night-cap before? Who has slept in the same room with him before, – shaved probably with the same razor, – and grown pathetic over the exhilarating effects of the same uninebriating cup? To think of that little bedroom with EUROPE asleep in the one corner, and GLASGOW in the other! – EUROPE probably in a white night-cap, and GLASGOW in a red Kilmarnock. Verily, Mr John McAdam, merchant and manufacturer, citizen of Glasgow, and our excellent good friend, you are a lucky man! . . .¹

Our Volunteer lads returned generally improved by their visit, and our Glasgow Garibaldi Committee having wound up their movement much to the credit of the city, the Friends of Italy were in Feby 1861 again called together in support of joint action between Kossuth and Garibaldi. One earnest friend of both, W. G. Langdon, wrote to me that he was resolved to devote a large sum to this movement. I advised him against it, since so large a sum might deter others from assisting, still he took advantage of my absence to send my brother two hundred pounds as a first instalment, which with other monies – fifty pounds being from a patriotic Scottish Nobleman – we remitted, but no action followed for some months though Mazzini and Kossuth kept urging their respective countries' claims on the sympathies of this country. Now allow me this occasion to make up my leeway on other heads generally bearing on the same objects.

During these exciting circumstances Parliamentary Reform had

¹ Unidentified newspaper clipping attached to the manuscript

been less interesting than it should to our people, who considering Reform inevitable, would take no trouble to hasten it, the cheap press enabling the more selfish to remain at home and learn what was doing by others, and the 'activities' of the Middle class being absorbed in Church matters, Temperance and other good movements, while the working men devoted themselves to Trades Unions, Soirees, Excursions etc. so that it was only in stirring political questions, or attempted invasion of the rights of the people, that meetings could be got together, though promoted by educated Reformers of the old school like Prof. Nichol, Walter Buchanan etc. and men like Messrs Moir, Cullen and others who had led prominently in the Reform of 1832 and the Charter. Possibly the successes of our Italian Committee helped to this apparent apathy in our city, added to some interesting circumstances that transpired during these years.

Considerable interest was taken in the arrival of Dr Livingstone in his native locality, and some honest indignation was elicited by a rather snobby attempt to ignore the general wish to present him with the freedom of Glasgow, by substituting for it a small sum of money. The same paltry parvenu feeling prompted a similar attempt when that honour was proposed soon after for the veteran Sir Colin Campbell. This was also snubbed, and while the zealous intrepid African traveller has done honour to humanity, no doubt remains now, that had not Col. Stirling and our fellow citizens stood up at that time, brave old Colin Campbell would have died among the other shelved veterans at Cheltenham. This case is instructing. Sir Colin was home from the Crimea superseded by an inferior man with good connections and the brave *Times* came down on *him*, through the Highland Brigade, described it as 'laid up in lavender at Balaclava'. Col. Stirling promptly answered this, by admitting they had been so, 'but that previous to this the Highland brigade had carried up twelve hundred tons of material to the heights of Balaclava, and there huddled themselves comfortably during the winter which decimated our army, and proved that Sir Colin was the man best fitted for command in the Crimea.' The *Times* knuckled down for once.¹ Simultaneously with Col. Stirling's effective letter,

¹ *The Times* (4 October 1855), p. 6, col. 3; (13 November 1855), p. 8, col. 3. Lt.-Col. A. C. Sterling was Assistant Adjutant-General, Highland Division

my brother William McAdam moved in the City Council, that Sir Colin should be presented with the freedom of the City.¹ The same narrow course was attempted, more covertly than had been done in Dr Livingstone's case, but knowing we had determined to appeal to the people in the event of his being outvoted and by a penny subscription *purchase* the freedom of the city to be presented in a gold box together with a sword of honour, the clique succumbed, the brave old man was made a Free Burgess, and the Committee at [the] same time presenting him with a valuable claymore, it was seen that he was too strong a fly for the web of officialism. He dined with the Queen, was created Lord Clyde, sent out to India in command, and was a great instrument in saving that immense dependancy.

I should here acknowledge the great help and many indulgences of my brother continuously for so many years, for unless this, I could not without injuring myself have devoted so much time to these matters. For many years he took an active part in them also, besides being a hard worker in the Town Council. As a prominent member of the Water Trust he effectually and practically opposed the false statement of Prof. Penney, that Loch Katrine water was so pure as to act on the lead pipes and poison our people, which so nearly defeated the introduction of that unparalleled water supply to Glasgow.² In all our liberal movements he gave us the benefit of his position, but the act of this kind I am proudest of, was, when he stood up alone in the Council, protesting against any deputation being sent up to London to wait on that murderer of his fellow citizens, Louis Napoleon.

In the summer of 1860 we had a visit from the eminent French exile, Louis Blanc, who was induced by a party to whom he was introduced, merely by letter, to come to Glasgow for the purpose of lecturing. Knowing the unsuitable season and want of arrangement, we suspected there was some fraud intended, and after considerable trouble found out all about it, but it was only on the

¹ McAdam, in fact, seconded the motion of the Lord Provost, Andrew Orr, Glasgow City Council. Minutes. 29 November 1855. Strathclyde Regional Archives

² The Glasgow Corporation Waterworks Act was passed on 2 July 1855 in spite of scientific evidence, produced by Professor Penny of Anderson's Institution and others, that it contained a harmful amount of lead

morning of the day that M. Blanc was to lecture in the City Hall that I met him, having arrived a few hours before from London, and by this time had found out that he was deceived. He agreed to be guided by our Committee. We persuaded him not to lecture then as no tickets had been sold, but admission to be paid for at the doors, so unusual a practice as to create suspicion. We paid off all expenses incurred, and packed off the agent. We never heard more of him but soon after he or some other person like him figured in Belfast, and was more successful with our 'cute' neighbours there. Having announced Victor Hugo to lecture, bagged the money at the door, no Victor Hugo appeared, and the agent took steamer for Glasgow that night.

This awkward circumstance turned out pleasantly for M. Blanc and us, since we advised him, now that he was in Scotland, and the weather too fine for profitable lectures, to enjoy himself for a few days amongst us, and that we would arrange for lectures in Glasgow and the west of Scotland in the autumn. He did so, returned then, and was successful. He was much gratified by the attention paid him by our leading citizens, one I may instance the lamented William Campbell of Tillichewan, who invited him to the castle, where he took part in their domestic life, and expressed himself as deeply interested in their family duties – so novel to him – and deeply grateful for the attentions of that excellent gentleman's family.

The 'Social Science Meeting' was held in Glasgow at that time, and as the Secretary had consulted me regarding 'three working men' to represent their class at an important meeting held specially for it under the presidency of Lord Brougham, I took occasion to request him to invite M. Blanc to the platform. The working men acquitted themselves of their trust. Malcolm McFarlane almost worn out in an active, honourable, and useful life, Matthew Cullen for forty years prominent in every good cause, and James Wilkinson, impressed the eminent French and English Statesmen on the platform with a very high opinion of Glasgow working men. But an incident occurred which gave occasion to the heartiest, most genuine burst of welcome that I have ever heard. Lord Brougham was in the Chair, on the extreme right sat the neat little figure of Louis Blanc, on his extreme left Messieurs Garnier Pagès and Desmarest, who took

part on the occasion.¹ Desmarest rose to speak, when his eye caught the genial smiling countenance of M. Blanc, and he said: 'My Lord, if I mistake not, I see for the first time in many, many years the face of one known and loved in France, and will be honoured here when I name to you and this meeting, Monsieur Louis Blanc'. The great and splendid meeting rose en masse, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, and Lord Brougham advanced a step or two to press the distinguished exile's hand. M. Blanc was deeply moved and gratefully remembers that ovation. From that time things have gone well with him. He managed to bring out an important work. Money of his sequestered by Louis Napoleon has been restored, and better still he found a wife to cheer him in his exile, and adorn his restored home. Alas! she is now dead.

Gov. Kossuth during this time had been doing all that his peculiar circumstances permitted. His selecting me several times as the medium of his noble appeals to the world, gave great offence to the *London Times* in particular, which could not see the necessity of sending his letters to Glasgow to have them published. There was good reason for this however. In the first place Kossuth had no certainty of the *Times* giving his letters entire, or at all, and he could not send copies to each London newspaper. He therefore forwarded them to me, and from the indulgence I received from the Glasgow press, I could depend on having these long state papers in type, and 30 slips for the other Glasgow dailies, London and best provincial papers, in time for all to have them simultaneously but this arrangement did not please the *Times* which wanted a monopoly, and therefore sneered at the 'Glasgow fowk'. I am tempted here to give an extract from one long and deeply interesting document because it bears this out and expresses his gratitude to the country which really was to him 'tender and true' in words unsurpassed in the English language.

Amidst the reflections which the primary aspect of the situation suggests at our entrance on a new year, my mind is forcibly carried back to the past years of my exile, and I feel it to be a

¹ Louis Antoine Garnier-Pagés (1803-78), Minister of Finance and Ernest Léon Joseph Desmarest, principal private secretary to the Minister of Justice, in the French Provisional Government of 1848

sacred duty to acknowledge with gratefulness the deep sense of obligation which I owe to the people of Scotland, and to you, gentlemen, in particular, both for the continued interest in my native country, and the abiding faith, as well as the untiring kindness to myself personally, which, during the varying vicissitudes of the past years, I had the good fortune to enjoy at their hands and yours.

Long after the mighty disenchanter, Time, had stripped me of any pale lustre of interest which the noble misfortune of my country may have reflected on me, the people of Scotland continued to encourage me with unwavering consistency to look on them as my firmest prop. The cold shadow of protracted adversity has never for a moment chilled their sympathy. They cheered me in the days of hopeless gloom: in difficulties, they held out to me the hand of fellowship in a manner as honourable to accept as to offer. They confirmed me in my principles: they shared in my aspirations, and in my sorrows they comforted me. No speck of hope could light upon my horizon, but they bade me to revive my energies at its sight. No semblance of opportunity could appear but they strengthened me in the resolution to try to profit by it. Disappointed hopes did not shake their faith in my aims and policy: nor protracted hopelessness their confidence in the ultimate triumph of my country's cause.

Oh! many indeed are the ties of affection and gratitude by which I feel bound to the people of Scotland in general, but certainly to none more in their number than to you, gentlemen. Through many long years I had no friends stancher or more untiring than yourselves. Already at a time when to many poor Hungary appeared wrapt in the windingsheet of hopeless despondency, and I in my private capacity had to bear more than the usual burden of cares, you had spontaneously constituted yourselves a standing committee with the view to promoting my interests public and private. It is to your exertions that I am chiefly indebted for the arrangement of that frequent friendly intercourse with the people of Scotland from which I derived both consolation and benefit: which made me almost feel as if I were one of them, and the

recollection of which I shall cherish in weal or woe, as the spanful of my remaining days may happen to be.

This outburst of gratitude for our humble efforts, supported by the heart felt testimony of these master spirits of our day, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Louis Blanc, Karl Blind, and others, was not undeserved by our Committee, many of whom are at rest, good men, who gave proof in national testimonials, like the Crimean and Indian subscriptions, when Glasgow stood first in this country, that their sympathies were not confined to Continental freedom, is a sufficient answer to those who wondered why our Committee should have been so distinguished, or that myself as their humble but active instrument, should be made the medium of giving publicity to their wants and wishes.

In the summer of 1861 preparatory to an anticipated rising in connection with Gen. Garibaldi, M. Kossuth was preparing an issue of notes in London, when our Government in keeping with their sympathies for Austria, and their whole course of treatment to the Hungarian patriot, employed the basest means to confiscate the notes and drive him from the country. A policeman got employment in the office of Day & Son the printers, stole one of the notes, gave it to his superior, it was handed to the Austrian minister who instituted proceedings against Kossuth, and eventually he went to Italy deeply mortified at this breach of national hospitality. It was a base transaction, and Kossuth erred by not appealing, as I advised him, to the British people at that crisis, who enlightened by this time regarding the Bandiera murders, and hating the treachery, would have rebuked our Germanised Government. The Glasgow Committee would have tried this case in our highest courts but Kossuth's cup of sorrow was too full. With his idolized wife and daughter he retired to Genoa, where his two sons, who had won honours in the London University, were employed as Engineers in the Italian Civil Service.¹

During the following winter, amidst the great anxiety for his

¹ McAdam may have intended to include a letter from Kossuth at this point. A note on the manuscript here reads: '*Letter from Kossuth', but there is no indication which letter is intended. On the other hand, the note possibly is misplaced by two paragraphs and merely identifies the quoted passage as an extract from a letter from Kossuth

country and with sickness in his family, he made an earnest appeal on behalf of the Protestant College of Eperjes, where he had been educated, the professors of which were starving rather than submit to improper supervision of the Austrian authorities. I gave this matter all the more attention, since I thought it might tend to soothe his wounded spirit, but was able to do little. One class here, the Clergy ever ready to 'scheme' for Hindoo outcasts, or renegade Jews, could spare nothing for a Protestant institution struggling for existence against Jesuit influence and Austrian persecution. I gave them a fair opportunity, and this was my last appeal to our Scottish clergy - verily, the proposed minimum requisite to spare Sodom could scarcely be mustered in Glasgow, in connection with liberal non-political movements like this, after we name the late Rev. William Anderson, Messrs Crosskey, McKellar, Wallace, Waddell and one or two more.

In April 1862 Kossuth's daughter died. He was devotedly fond of her. This together with the deaths of his mother and two sisters and 'hopes deferred' for their country almost broke his heart, but he struggled on until September 1865 when the death of his faithful wife after a long and painful illness crushed his noble spirit, and now broken and prostrate under his many great sorrows, he waits the hour of his country's resurrection from the false position in which Deak has left it, by surrendering more to Austria in her weakness after the Prussian war, than would have been demanded of Hungary after the treason of Gorgey. In a letter to me from Genoa so far back as Sept 7th 1861 he entered at great length as if anticipatory of this circumstance and disclaiming the alleged hostility at that time to Deak, whose wish to temporise with the Austrian government he blamed only, since he had no faith in any treaties it would make with the Hungarian nation. One extract from this singularly interesting letter which had an immense publicity at the time, will explain his course of action.

Here I may as well state the view by which I always was and shall continue to be guided, while I am an exile. It is this: that:

Should at any time my nation rise in arms against the oppressor, of her own accord and without any regard to foreign aid or outward circumstances, I for one will in that

case not weigh the chances and prospects, nor will I lose time in pondering whether or not it was wise to unfurl the banner of national liberty; but alone, or with my sons, or with as many of my friends as would follow me, I shall hasten to share in the dangers of my nation . . . come what may, vanquish if we can, die if we must for country and liberty.

But if on the contrary, my nation should expect me to give the signal and to strike the first blow, then on me would fall the responsibility of success as far as it is given to mortal men to be accountable for it, therefore however weary I may feel of my homeless life, I never shall allow myself to play wantonly with the blood and with the confidence of my nation, and shall only take upon myself the initiative of the bloody arbitration of the sword in case I can present my nation with such reasonable chances of success, that so far as human prevision can go victory should depend on the own determination of the nation herself.¹

— This now is the situation of this pure minded, over sensitive statesman, whose only fault is too *specialy* considering Hungary in what is a European question. His exile is not hopeless we trust, and his excellent sons will cheer him in great trials.

The following letter will prove that one of them at least inherits the deep feeling of his noble father.

Sept 1865

Turin, Casa d'Angennes, via Angennes

Dear Sir, I write to you in my father's name, who as yet is too overpowered by grief to be able to answer personally to your kind letter. Many and great have been his trials in life, and he has borne them with manly fortitude: but this last and terrible affliction which has fallen to our lot has, I fear, for a long time broken his heart.

He feels perfectly incapable for the moment to tear up the wounds of his anguish, by writing to you on a subject, which has filled with mourning and bitterness, the winter of his, and the spring of our life.

¹ The date of 7th September 1861, is an error. Kossuth's letter was dated 7 October 1861

He therefore desires me to thank you heartily in his name, for your letter, and to tender his most heartfelt thanks to you, and through you, to each and all of those gentlemen of Glasgow who signed the address you have forwarded to him, for this new and very delicate proof of your, and their, unfaltering friendship.

Believe me, dear Sir, and pray assure of it your noble hearted friends, that if anything human could comfort my father's and our grief, it would be, more than everything, the sympathy of his friends of Scotland, for whom he feels, and ever will feel, the deepest and greatest affection.

As soon as my father shall have recovered sufficiently to write and act again, you will be, dear Sir, one of the first to receive of his tidings.

Believe me, dear Sir, with the expressions of my personal and heartfelt thanks for your constant friendship and sympathy which amongst the loneliness of our home ravaged by death, makes us feel that we do not stand alone in this world.

Very truly and respectfully yours,
Francis Kossuth.¹

During 1861, and first half of 1862, the Italian party of action had not been idle. Miss White, now Madame Mario, like the stormy petrel, came among us, stirring us up to action. We worked continuously, but under great disadvantages, since our subscriptions were collected and remitted secretly, without the *éclat* necessary to induce men to give, and many good Friends of Italy were inclined to give Victor Emmanuel a fair chance of reconstituting his country. It was fortunate however, that we had a few wealthy men, who perceived his desire to succumb to Louis Napoleon and the Papacy, and from them, from time to time we remitted means of preparation, though we did not expect so soon the expedition of Aspromonte, Garibaldi remaining on his island to all appearance content to watch the development of circumstances, not create them.

When I was at Caprera wandering about, like any other 'Scots callan', I had groped beneath the stones in his little stream, and

¹ Francis Kossuth's letter of 4 October 1865 is given here, erroneously dated 'September 1865'. Kossuth's wife died in September 1865

found neither trout nor other fish, so when I learned from the General that the water was cold, and lasted during summer, I said that our committee must send him out some trout spawn to give him a breed of Scottish fish. After I returned however, having learned that the Mediterranean had no salmon, and that the rivers of the adjacent Sardinia and Corsica were well adapted for that noble fish, I made application formally for the impregnated ova of one salmon from the Tay Fishery proprietors, which they in full meeting as formally refused, though the more liberal wives of some of them were then subscribing for a gold crown to the deposed Queen of the valiant Bomba, for her preeminent services at that time, shooting cats and smoking cigars.

Of course through the press I gave due credit to these patriotic Scotsmen. Lord Kinnaird disclaimed any share in their honours and offered the salmon ova from another quarter, but I had already accepted the offer of Mr Thomas Ashworth of Cheadle Cheshire, who sent the veteran fisher Ramsbottom to his fisheries in the west of Ireland.¹ He had taught them at the Stormontfield ponds the science of pisciculture, and was well qualified for this task, performed it, and brought 25,000 impregnated salmon ova to Glasgow. Through the kindness of our excellent Italian consul, the late Mr Henderson, the friend of Garibaldi for 30 years, it was taken out to Genoa by Capt Leslie, now of Dunoon. Miss Nimmo preserved it there in a healthy condition, until the General sent for it, when some scientific person sealed it up, and Garibaldi wrote to me: 'alas our 25,000 poor young salmon are asphyxiated'. But for this sad blunder this lordly fish might have abounded in the Italian waters by this time. It was unfortunate, but it was creditable to all connected. Not one would accept one penny of recompence, but Garibaldi gratefully acknowledged their kind intentions, and Mr Ashworth in a long and pleasant interview with him when in England last, promised him so soon as he is fairly settled down again, through me, to renew the experiment, which since that time has succeeded in young Mr Ramsbottom's hands in Australia.

About the end of August 1862, Garibaldi started on that eventful expedition, which terminated painfully, but creditably to him, at

¹ Robert Ramsbottom (1810-84), author of *The Salmon and its artificial Propagation* (London, 1854)

Aspromonte. Mazzini was averse to this precipitation, and protested against it at the time. Writing previously to me on July 28th he says: 'We are as you see in a crisis. Garibaldi has a scheme which I disapprove of, but which of course, I shall help as much as I can if it comes to realisation. Whether it will or not I cannot say. Through only one practical course can it be realised, and up to the last moment he may change his mind.' The circumstances of that sad episode are well known, but the results cannot yet be estimated. Italy was drifting back under the sensual Victor Emmanuel towards the condition from which Garibaldi had rescued it. Cavour had denied the cession of Nice when it was already ceded, Napoleon's plans were ripening for the dividing of Italy, when the Italian patriot threw himself into the gap, and his disaster and sufferings drew attention to their country's danger, and a lively sympathy for himself, which never will die. He was right and we were wrong, though the wise world yet thinks differently.

The most painful circumstance connected with this brave movement was when Garibaldi appealed to the Hungarians, and their brave General Klapka responded in a manner insulting and illogical. It has too often occurred with the men and times of the Hungarians who are not generally so cosmopolitan in their patriotism as the Italians are. Austrian cunning used the comparatively unfettered Hungarian against his Italian brother, who doubly shackled by priestcraft and despotism, was forcibly compelled to fight against the independence of Hungary. Besides this as Klapka had two months before ostentatiously withdrawn from Kossuth and his country's interests, under the plea of ill health, though expecting to be married within a month of that time, it was simply an impertinent interference and Kossuth himself suffered much in the opinion of his friends by this ill timed criticism, even if true, after the disaster of Aspromonte, himself still writhing under the treason of Louis Napoleon might have spared the wounded lion, because he too had been deceived by one he had treated generously.

During these eventful years, since 1831, Poland had almost lain in abeyance. Though no exiles are more persistent in their nationality, they were scattered among the emigrations and movements, and people in Britain heard little of them unless through some bold soldier of fortune in other lands, or the annual ball of aristocratic

sympathisers in London. In the commencement of 1863 driven desperate, armed mostly with scythes, they routed the Russians wherever met with, and for some time under the leadership of men like Langiewitz bade fair for success, had they been promptly succoured, or even supplied with arms. Their two committees respectively appealed to Glasgow for aid. Our constant friend Robert Barclay unsolicited sent me a handsome sum within 48 hours of his death, and some others sent me money which I remitted, but the sum total was not creditable to us, though almost the only occasion on which I went *personally* among our rich men and foreigners, who were supposed to be favourable, and promised to acknowledge their subscriptions only by initials.

The world knows how long and how boldly these brave men contended. The misfortune was not of their seeking as may be seen by the following extract from Mazzini to me of 10th Feby 1863:¹

My actual aim and that of the party of action, is war with Austria on the Venetian ground: besides plenty of other reasons, it is the only thing which would determine a rising in Hungary, and help effectually the brave Polish insurrection. This last movement was to take place at least three weeks later.² The Government hastened it by the conscription measure hoping to crush it. The Poles are unarmed: their weapons are those they get from their enemy. Still they keep on: and, it may be, they will maintain themselves in insurrection until other nations are ready. I try all I can to hasten that moment, but as usual money is wanting, and to find it is almost a hopeless case.

Garibaldi also gave utterance from Caprera to the same effect.

M. Karl Blind came to Glasgow and delivered a lecture on behalf of the Polish insurrection on April 6th and with Madame Blind made many friends by their general kindly disposition. He is a native of Baden, early embarked in politics, previous to 1848 founded several liberal associations, and in consequence tenanted the

¹ The letter is actually dated 11 February 1863. Glasgow University Library, Ms. Gen. 530/11

² The original manuscript of Mazzini's letter has 'three months later'

prisons of Baden, Bavaria, and France by turns. In 1849 when an envoy from Baden in Paris, he was seized by Louis Napoleon, but eventually permitted to come to Britain. His endeavours in connection with the important question of Schleswig Holstein were not appreciated. This arose not from the want of ability in its advocate but from the ignorance of our people, and their indifference about a matter of the most vital importance especially to this country, which has only that land barrier between this island and the Russian power. Much bloodshed might have been spared had his lucid reasonings been listened to, on behalf of the nationality of Schleswig Holtsein, the nursing place of the Anglo Saxon race, and geographically most important for us. Denmark prospered none with its usurpation of their national rights in 1852, was soon ousted by the more powerful robbers Prussia and Austria, who in turn quarrelling over the spoil, enacted the briefest and bloodiest tragedy on record, nor is the end yet. Russia initiated this usurpation for their ultimate absorption of Denmark and Schleswig Holstein together. The six fatal cases of 'indigestion' between the Russian heir and the throne of Denmark was making the succession easy for them but Prussia's success has increased the complications, and Russia's sword will be called in if possible to cut the Gordian knot. Prussia is neither to be loved nor trusted, but she is an imperative necessity as a strong Protestant power in the centre of Europe, and more especially so as regards Schleswig Holstein, the key to the Baltic sea.

Kossuth also from Turin Feby 28th spoke words of comfort to them, bidding the Poles beware of Prussian and Austrian diplomacy, but to extract what assistance they could, meantime trusting to themselves until aid might come. Alas! much of his influence was gone. Garibaldi also was weak and broken in Caprera. We in Britain could raise no funds sufficient, though we went as far as the law would allow in our appeals, so brave Poland once more sunk after a struggle which proved that it had not degenerated.

About the end of April 1863 I was in Liverpool, and in conversation with Messrs Tennent and Marshall there, they both remarked that their venerable head, the late Hugh Tennent of Wellpark, was in Italy. He had long intended to visit Caprera and I remarked now was his time to go, and carry the invitation from Glasgow for the General's visit. We arranged it, and I wrote at once to Mr Tennent

and Garibaldi. The brave old patriot, then eighty four years of age, went with his yacht. I had previously advised Garibaldi, but his wounded leg would not permit his removal so Mr Tennent spent three pleasant days in Caprera, as he wrote me, and Garibaldi when thanking me for the visit of Mr Tennent promised to come with him at a future day.

In November 1863 being again in Liverpool I was introduced to Mrs Chambers wife of Col. Chambers, famous for his connection with Gen. Garibaldi, and this brave English woman, especially so, by her courage and persevering efforts for his Volunteers in the last Italian war. I informed her of Mr Tennent's promised return to Caprera, but of my fears that increasing years and domestic bereavements would prevent him, so Col. Chambers and herself went to Caprera. Garibaldi could not come then, but they never rested, until he came with them to Britain, where he fell into the care of Mr Seeley M.P. which might have been all right, if he had remained so, but unfortunately he allowed him to fall into the hands of the old dowager Duchess of Sutherland, which turned all wrong.

At the time when Garibaldi received the ever to be remembered welcome to London, the delegates of Prussia, Austria, and Denmark were to meet in conference about the Schleswig Holstein booty. Austria would not meet in consequence of the over-powering reception of their mortal enemy Garibaldi. The Queen and other members of the Royal family were known to be devoted to the interests of the *Deutsch Kinder*, the Prince of Wales felt naturally for Denmark, so Garibaldi got a quiet hint that he was in the way of our Government, and the unsuspecting soldier patriot said: God forbid that he should be an embarrassment to the government of a country, which had done so much for him and his country, and determined to go straight home. His trusted friends however endeavoured to persuade him, that our *Government* had no hand in it. He had again determined to continue his tour in the provinces, but Dr Ferguson (since knighted) was called in. He stated that Garibaldi would succumb under the journey. Garibaldi insisted that he was quite well, but the doctor knew better. Mr Gladstone unfortunately was made of the doctor's opinion, so when he spoke, Garibaldi thought at once that he was inconvenient to our Government, since he knew how true Mr Gladstone had been to the Italian people.

Glasgow too held its meetings. I waited on our Chairman, Mr Buchanan M.P. He told me at once that it would be inconvenient for the Lord Provost and some of our leading friends to be in Glasgow on account of some Railway Bill which they must see to at that time. He also would require to be in London but that 'should Garibaldi come to Glasgow I will come down, if I should travel all night, a thing I am not fond of now'. Little did I suspect *that Bill* would stand between Garibaldi and Scotland. A Committee was appointed with the Provost of course at its head, and supplemented by the working mens' Garibaldi committee, active preparations were made for his week's visit to Scotland. My hands were full since the General had written, requesting me to 'be his guide through the kind populations of Scotland'. Everything was ready for the various towns selected, but undue delays were created in Glasgow or we could have had him down, before the Sutherland satellites had laid hold on him, or the Union Railway Bill's difficulties had thickened so as to cause our Glasgow Balaam Provost Blackie to turn round and bless the Bill instead of cursing it, as he was instructed. When hauled over the coals about this lapse of memory afterwards, if I remember right he said to the effect, 'that having occasion to be in London in connection with the *expected* visit of General Garibaldi such things had happened', when Provost Blackie had read Garibaldi's own letter one hour before he left for London, regretting that he could not come. I had informed them the day before that it would be so, and that I would have this letter in Garibaldi's own hand that night, and could arrange with the Glasgow post office to get it there early in the morning, and drive out with it to his house and I did so, but he said he must go to London *notwithstanding*. The working men were not however to be tailed off so easily. On that evening an immense meeting, representing nearly 200,000 applicants for tickets to the expected meetings, assembled. Word had come regarding the reported Court intrigues, and it was resolved that I should go up, and remonstrate with Garibaldi on the injustice he was doing to our people, and to the cause of Italy. I explained that it was better now since he had fallen into wrong hands, that he should return home, but it was put to the vote, unanimously carried, and I was in the railway carriage half an hour after on my way to London.

When I reached London I waited first on Mazzini, who remonstrated with me for coming under the circumstances, and informed me, that as the Prince of Wales would be at Stafford House about the time I should arrive, and as Garibaldi would leave immediately after for Cornwall to his 'Englishman', Col. Peard, I could have small chance of seeing him, but I had ready a short letter to the Duke of Sutherland, informing him who I was and who had sent me, and that I did not mean to ask the General to remain, but being known to him, and having addresses of the Freemasons and others to deliver, that he would oblige the citizens of Glasgow very much, if he could so arrange as I might see him if only for five minutes. This letter I put in my pocket, waited on a Scottish nobleman and his lady both friends of Italy,¹ and they with Mrs Chambers gave me such information as enabled me in a tidy vehicle to drive up to the proper door of Stafford House, and on entering I learned the Prince of Wales was there. I gave my letter to an attendant, who soon returned with a verbal message, 'that his Grace would see me *in an hour*', but as I had learned during his absence that Garibaldi was going in *half an hour* not to Cornwall but to the Duke's mother's house I told the attendant that I saw no use waiting an hour for the Duke with whom I had no business, when the General with whom my business lay was going away in half an hour. The attendant could name me, a proof that my note had been received by the Duke, who possibly thought it a good joke to keep me waiting after Garibaldi had gone. I accomplished my purpose notwithstanding for after sitting in my vehicle for a short time in the crowd outside, Garibaldi drove away, and I followed to make sure of his destination to the railway station.

After consulting with my friends, I started early next morning for Cliefden [i.e. Cliveden] House, the seat of the Duchess Dowager 20 miles above London. At the railway station I selected a low seated machine, and driving about four miles came within sight of the gateway, just as a carriage was preparing to leave. I instructed my driver, and fortunately for me, their carriage had to wait some message from the house, and I stepped out, and was at once recognized by the General, who naming me expressed his pleasure. Shaking both hands heartily, I said that I could not detain him then,

¹ Lord and Lady Kinnaird. See *Glasgow Herald* (25 April 1864)

but left a note in his hand informing him that I had been with his friend Mr Tennent of Glasgow, who would again go out for him when he wished, meantime that his friends considered it right under the circumstances that he should return home.¹ The Duchess of Sutherland – her daughter the Duchess of Argyll said nothing – requested me to remain until their return from a visit to Prince Albert's model farm. I did so, and having been seen speaking to them, was permitted to wander through the grounds for some hours uninterrupted by the police, or two London detectives at the main entrance who informed me that they had received instructions to admit no men of my stamp. One of them *named* me.

When the General returned I had my promised interview. He was worried like from the unaccustomed circumstances but otherwise appeared quite well. He said he would return to us as soon as possible, bade me thank Mr Tennent for his kind offer and our respective committees and requested Mr Cowen of Newcastle and myself, to act for our respective communities in accordance with existing arrangements.

I presented the address of the St Clair Lodge, acting on behalf of the Craft in Glasgow, and consulted with him on some other matters. One little circumstance pleased me much. On giving him a very handsome walking stick, the present of a working man John Wilson of Galashiels, I asked him to give me an old stick as a keepsake for the donor. He said his things were packed up, but he would send me one, and pointing to one in the corner, he said that was all he had, having exchanged sticks with Earl Russell on the day before, and that he would never part with it. I felt gratified, knowing how faithful Earl Russell had been to European freedom, and accepting it as a token of his continued esteem for Garibaldi. This piece of Scottish oak cut on the classic banks of the Tweed seems a favourite with the General, as it has several times appeared with him when from home, and there it is his constant companion. I took train same night for Glasgow, and had my report in all the Glasgow dailies next day, having written them on the fine clear morning on my way down, being anxious to lay the excitement rising out of this great disappointment, without explaining that Garibaldi's health

¹ The note does not in fact say anything about Garibaldi returning home. See below, p. 168

was good, thereby making the continental despots jubilant at his being spirited out of this country.

These are strictly the circumstances of Garibaldi's extradition so far as I could learn. Dr Ferguson's report naturally affected Mr Gladstone's advice, and the doctor knows best his own reasons. Garibaldi could not naturally suspect the Duke of Sutherland's being influenced by his mother or divine her motives, or those of others who set her on. Clarendon and Palmerston might have been anxious to avoid giving Louis Napoleon offence, but the whole course of Gladstone's antecedents forbid the idea strongly entertained in London at the time, that he knowingly induced Garibaldi to go away. We have never yet learned who instructed Dr Ferguson to write that letter at all, yet this letter directly the reverse of Garibaldi's own doctor's who pronounced him quite well enough, was made the handle to all that followed, and the General knowing how Mr Gladstone felt towards Italy, could imagine no other reason for his advice, than that his presence somehow embarrassed the British Government. The solicitude of those around him for his health after worrying him with parties among places and persons who had never served his country, the moment he proposed to visit Newcastle and Glasgow, was to me the most suspicious of all, and the well known intermeddling of the German brood, the Duchess of Sutherland's connection with the Royal family, and her son's ungentlemanly attempt to deceive myself at Stafford House goes far to confirm my ideas on this matter.

One grateful memory remains of Garibaldi's visit, sufficient to repay us for all our vexation and himself for his trouble, since it at last proclaimed to the world how unitedly Garibaldi and Mazzini had worked for Italy, for¹ *on 17th April General Garibaldi, accompanied by his secretary, Signor Gueroni, took lunch at the house of the distinguished Russian exile, Monsieur Alexander Herzen, at Teddington. A select party of English and foreign friends were assembled to meet him, amongst whom were Signor Saffi, Prince Dolgoronkou, Signor Mordini, a member of the Italian

¹ From * to * consists of a printed sheet, without source given, incorporated into McAdam's manuscript. For another account of this occasion, see Alexander Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts: the Memoirs of Alexander Herzen* (New York, 1968), iii, 1273-83. Garibaldi's secretary was Giuseppe Guerzoni.

Parliament, etc. As usual, crowds had assembled to meet the General, who was enthusiastically cheered on his arrival and on his departure. He had scarcely entered the house before another carriage drove up, and Messieurs Herzen and Ogareff welcomed with equal honours their old and esteemed friend Joseph Mazzini.

A magnificent luncheon had been prepared; at the conclusion of which Mazzini rose and proposed the health of General Garibaldi in the following words:

My toast will include all that is most dear to us, all those things for which we have fought and striven. I drink to the liberty of the peoples; and to the association of the peoples; to the man who is the living incarnation of these great ideas, Joseph Garibaldi; to that poor, scared, heroic Poland, whose sons have been silently fighting and dying for liberty for more than a year; to that young Russia, whose desire is land and liberty; that new Russia that will at no distant day hold out a sister's hand to Poland, acknowledge her equality and independence, and cancel the remembrance of the Russia of the Czar; to those Russians who, with our friend Herzen at their head, have most wrought and laboured towards the creation of this new Russia; to that religion of duty which will give us strength to strive, and to devote ourselves even unto death for the realisation of these ideas.

After this toast, General Garibaldi rose and said:

I am about to make a declaration which I ought to have made long ago. There is a man amongst us here who has rendered the greatest services to our country, and to the cause of liberty. When I was a young man, having nought but aspirations towards the good, I sought for one able to act as the guide and counsellor of my young years. I sought such a man, even as he who is athirst seeketh the spring. I found this man. He alone watched when all around him slept; he alone fed the sacred flame. He has ever remained my friend; ever as full of love for his country, and of devotion to the cause of liberty. This man is Joseph Mazzini. – To my friend and teacher.

At these words many of those present were moved to tears. The General afterwards rose a second time and said: 'Mazzini has uttered some words with regard to unhappy Poland, to which I adhere with all my heart. Now, let us drink to that young Russia, that suffers, struggles, and shall triumph like ourselves, and is destined to play a noble and important part in Europe.' After this, raising his glass for the last time, Garibaldi drank 'to that free England, whose generous hospitality and noble and fruitful sympathy have won from all oppressed peoples so large a debt of gratitude and affection.'*

Garibaldi's contretemps rendered me a useful lesson, [and] at the same time I fear has made me less trusting in others. Newspaper abuse I have always laid my account for, though as a whole, the press has dealt fairly by me. One single instance will shew the importance narrow minded men attach to trifles. Mr Macgregor of the Queens Hotel having as before in similar cases proffered the free use of his house to Garibaldi and his suite, I had communicated this to him, and having occasion to write me on other matters, which the public had a right to know, the General said, 'that as his stay would be short, he would prefer going to the hotel'. This part I kept out, as in the interval the Provost, less promptly than Mr Macgregor, had extended his invitation to Garibaldi and his two sons, and though the General had not received this when he wrote me, any publication of this paragraph would have seemed like declining the Provost's hospitality. After some courtmartialing, I explained this, after explanation could give no offence to others.

The Freemasons I sympathized most with for their disappointment in Glasgow. Provincial Grand Master Sir Archibald Alison had been solicited to convene the Provincial Grand Lodge. Truer to his Conservative instincts than to the courtesy due to his Brethren, and the eminent and exalted Brother coming amongst us, he refused, so Brothers Donald Campbell and James Thomson, Master of the St Clair, and some others gave that Lodge the initiation, in what would have been a most brilliant display of the Craft. Garibaldi received their address among the last, and returned in the Duke's yacht to Caprera.

Italian and Continental movements were sadly hampered in Scotland especially by the untoward conclusion of Garibaldi's visit. Most places which had expected him were left with expenses

incurred in the preparations and when Garibaldi was called into active service in the Italian war of 1866, those who in the dark days had been able to serve him, were powerless after the Capua of Stafford House. Here too poor Mrs Chambers comes again into view after being ignored by the Sutherland clique, but in a manner how different when compared with these Scotch Philistines who had shorn the Italian Samson.

Early in June 1866 Mrs Chambers wrote me from Liverpool, that she had returned from Caprera 3 weeks before, and had left Gen. Garibaldi well enough to command in the war we anticipated, and that Col. Chambers would leave in a few days and take with him all the means we could provide for his Volunteers. Since we knew that arm of the service, like ours at home, was not popular with the Italian executive, we expected that now would come the solution of the Roman question, and every exertion was made by the party of action to provide the means, every one helping according to his ideas, the Marquis of Westmeath for instance sending 30,000 copies of the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans, most convincing arguments especially if leaded. The Prussians however, as with Louis Napoleon, were too quick for us in that short war. The world knows how incapable the Italian Government proved, how brave men's lives were sacrificed at Custozza, and Persano's fleet destroyed at Lissa, so that the French would have time to interfere. The needle gun was too quick, and Garibaldi's volunteers, badly armed and without a commissariat, made so brave a stand that peace was made just as they were becoming able to reestablish their ancient character.

Col. and Mrs Chambers during this crisis ably sustained the reputation of our country, the lady especially, a little, delicately nurtured woman, of whom the special correspondant of the London *Morning Herald* writes, after giving a vivid description of the hard fought field of Bezzicca on July 21st:

After going through the village of Bezzicca I returned to this place: and my first care was to inspect the hospitals. These I found in a most disgraceful state. One does not expect to find in hospitals hastily opened to receive the wounded after an unexpected battle the order and regularity of a permanent establishment: but one does look to find food, refreshments,

medicine, bandages, and surgeons. Would it be believed that there was none of these things? – Absolutely not one. For four hours after the wounded were carried into the Hospital in this village no surgeon had arrived – they were simply brought in and left to die. No food, no drink, no bandages, no attendance – at least from those who should have waited on them. From the first two hours the only assistance rendered to the sufferers was by Mrs Chambers and another English lady, the wife of an officer in the Italian service.¹ These two alone rendered aid – the former tore up her clothing to make bandages, and at her own expense purchased food and drink for the soldiers and then, aided by her friend, bathed and bandaged their wounds. The Curate of the village then came to her assistance, and called upon his parishioners for aid, and presently rough pallet beds were brought in, and some of the women of the village tendered their personal services but for some hours no surgeon arrived. Up till tonight no food or drink has been received by them except that purchased by this English lady. The hospital in the lower village was in the same state.

Though our Committee was prepared for this to some extent, we could not expect that the dread of Garibaldi and the party of action would have carried the Italian Government so far as [to] permit these young men, the flower of Italy, to perish unaided, and were not surprised at the apathy of the general public. We appealed earnestly. Men like Messrs William Burns, Joseph Townsend, John McGavin, Rev. Mr McKellar of Rothesay and the family of our lamented Mr Robert Barclay responded promptly. Our cunning enemies again declared, that Garibaldi needed no help since he now served Victor Emmanuel, to whom he had given two Kingdoms, or ‘that if the Italian people permit this they deserve to suffer’. We were glad when Bismarck snubbed Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel by the hasty peace, and that Garibaldi and his volunteers could return home, since in the words of Mr Burns when remitting me: ‘I am sorry our Italian friends should have got into such bad company, but we must not judge them from our point of view, or

¹ Probably the other English lady was Jessie White Mario

limit our sympathies from any critical consideration of this kind. *Their* cause is a good one: we must allow them to carry it out as they best can. With best wishes for your success, I am, Yours faithfully, William Burns.' In this spirit our Committee acted. Our humble mite was gladly received in Italy, and gratefully acknowledged in its remotest borders as a proof of the abiding sympathies of Scotland, and England again had a name for the indomitable courage and energy of its daughters. We leave then for a time the illustrious Italian, Garibaldi, to his retirement – patient, earnest, ever-hoping Mazzini to his renewed labours of reconstruction.

Mazzini wrote me explaining the complications that compelled Italy to accept help from Prussia, and to accept the aid of Louis Napoleon to rid them of the Papacy, and the revolting brigandage kept up by Bourbon influence:

Any mark of sympathy given by British friends to our National cause, from the language of the Press to material help, would more now than ever, be welcome to Italy and strengthen her in the forthcoming contest.

To some – perhaps to many – who at the bottom of their heart sympathize with us, our position appears as a dubious and unfavourable one. Some of the blame which is, deservedly, given to Bismarck and Prussia, falls, in their eyes, upon us. We are going to fight, as it were, by the side of an unjust, invading, illiberal Power.

Nobody regrets more than I do the unhappy coincidence. But a distinction ought to be drawn between Italy and her Government.

Bent as ever on avoiding a cordial unreserved alliance with the popular element and urged on by Louis Napoleon who is at the bottom of the actual crisis and in a perfect accord with Bismarck, our Government may have chosen to enter a compact with Prussia. But Italy has nothing to do with it; and all that we, the popular Party of Action are now doing has for its main object not only to emancipate our Venetian brothers and conquer our own land, but to avert the aimed at consequences of a scheme which we repudiate.

It is for this double object that we promote and support the rising of the Volunteers.

We know the scheme in all its details: we know the territorial aggrandizements stipulated for by Prussia on one side, by Louis Napoleon on the other, both in Italy and on the Rhine. Against her own dangers, Germany must and will, I trust, through her own people, provide: against ours we *shall* provide: only, it is not by discountenancing an unavoidable and, as far as we are concerned, just war, that we can succeed: it is by doing everything that is required to crown it with a decisive speedy success. The realization of the Bonapartist scheme lies in our being defeated and claiming help. Our victory would exclude the contemplated interference.

Let your countrymen bear this in mind. It will explain to them all our acts.

Now, what can you do for us? What sort of help can those who not only feel that Right is on our side and cannot be changed by Prussia's doings, but understand the dangers of our falling to Europe, tend to us?

We want an open persisting expression of sympathy for our National Unity: we want the people of Great Britain to protest against the ungrounded, narrow, illiberal views recently uttered on the Italian question, in your Parliament: to protest through both Press and meetings.

And we shall gratefully accept any material help for Garibaldi and our Volunteers. The splendid outburst of enthusiasm which has sent to the field in such a short time, 50,000 Volunteers and will send the double if needed, is rather discountenanced than helped by the Government. Rifles are refused to the corps of *carabinieri*, horses to the Guides: red shirts are wanting. We shall, of course, do ourselves all that is needed. But we would hail with grateful joy any brotherly help tended by our British friends.

Ever faithfully yours,
Joseph Mazzini¹

Kossuth also was not idle. The following proclamation was circulated among the Magyar soldiers of the Austrian army in Italy,

¹ Mazzini's letter of 19 June 1866, Glasgow University Library, Ms. Gen. 530/27

where it was being successful, when the sudden peace like that of Villafranca once more disappointed the noble Hungarian.

Hungarians! With the help of Italy's heroic and honest king, in the sacred name of our country and God, the flag of Magyar independence is hoisted anew, and it counts upon your service. Here is your place of honour and duty. Austria is our enemy, not Italy. The true sons of our country have never found in Austria aught but a hangman, a jailer, insult, and misery. Italy gave shelter, bread, and kindness to the banished Hungarians. If the Magyars were to repay this double treatment by supporting Austria in her efforts to put down Italy's freedom, the curse of the just God would be on them. Italy alone has a right to Venetia. It is hers – her own offspring. Italy is for the Italians, Hungary for the Hungarians. . . .

(Signed) Louis Kossuth.

Dated from the Royal Italian Camp,
June 24, 1866.

During the past years, those with whom I acted had taken a very creditable part in many local affairs. The little we could for Parliamentary Reform was in a great degree stultified by the want of earnestness in our Whigs, and the Tories had not then taken up the Reform Bill. A modest testimonial to the poet Burns' intelligent daughter Mrs Thomson¹ was initiated by the poet and delineator of Scottish men and scenery, Hugh McDonald, and his good work returned fourfold to his own widow and orphan children, when the gentle 'Caleb' but a year afterwards had ceased to gather his wild flowers, since they were amply provided for by those who admired his manly and generous character. We succeeded also to some extent in washing the people by the establishment of cheap baths, but it was a slow work. Every improvement in new dwellings by the introduction of baths, lessened the necessities of even the respectable artizans, and many cleanly working people did not like to venture in *public* baths. I should while on this head do justice to the perseverance of Bailie James Moir, not alone for his devotion to the various good political and national causes, but for his untiring efforts to

¹ Elizabeth Burns

preserve and improve our public parks, and the introduction of the 'Urinal' by him, in spite of sneers and opposition, both in and out of the town council, opened up other sanatory improvements not to be credited now, except by those who remember the indecencies and filth of the closes and stairs in ancient Glasgow.

In June 1856 a meeting was held in Stirling under the Chairmanship of the Earl of Elgin and largely attended by the most patriotic Scotsmen respective of political opinions, when a resolution was passed to erect a National Monument to the memory of Sir William Wallace on the Abbey Craig at Stirling. Money poured in at once, and there would have been no difficulty, only for two things. First, the estimates were too small for the amount of work and carriage of materials to such a height. The contractors 'laid down the barrow', literally, when people thought they had *done* subscribing, and second, prejudice had grown against the Building Committee and Dr Rogers. Men unfriendly to the affair *who had given nothing*, inveighed against the waste of money and mismanagement, while others actively engaged in the erection of monuments to Prince Albert and other living persons, declared: 'that Wallace required no monument since he lived in the hearts of his countrymen', rather a doubtful compliment to those they commemorated. Besides this some of the Edinburgh worthies disappointed by Stirling being selected as the site, and equally patriotic architects whose designs had been refused, did all their little against it, and meanwhile the 'old families' generally gave no help, in my opinion from the fact of a negative being given to a proposal, to place tablets round its base commemorative of the said old families, or in other words to do honour to the very men who in most instances fought against Wallace, and the 'Scottish Commons' at that time.

The Memorial movement languished on until June 1865, when a few good men who had from time to time advanced the means of going slowly with it, resolved to call a meeting in the Religious Institution Rooms, Glasgow. Over three hundred circulars had been issued and, reporters included, fourteen only attended, but they were staunch Scotsmen like Provost Murrie of Stirling, William Burns, John White of Partick and others to be relied on. For my own part, having originally preferred some useful memorial I had not hitherto taken much interest, further than some small subscrip-

tions to it, but when I saw the miserable failure of a meeting, I remembered the many services of Mr Burns especially in other patriotic movements, and knowing how deeply his heart was set on it, when they spoke of selling off the plant and leaving the monument unfinished I remarked that as things always mended when at the worst, and since they were at that point now, they must take a turn. Provost Murrie said the new Building Committee would go on if my friends would work with them in a fresh appeal to the country. I promised on their behalf, and we went into it in earnest, appointed a Glasgow Committee, and with Mr Burns for the centre and my brother Mr William McAdam as local treasurer, by their method and energy, the Building Committee were soon relieved from their heavy liabilities.

Whatever may have been the original necessity for any memorial at all, the selection of site, or early miscalculation or mismanagement, this has thus far been a very pleasant association to me, proving how akin nationality is to love of Liberty amongst Scotsmen, and how generally the sentiment exists. Over three thousand pounds were collected by this new movement mostly in small sums, some of them from the Antipodes. Two of them remitted to my brother were specially interesting, one of twenty pounds in small sums from Boilermakers of the Callas Dock Company, English, Irish, and Scots workmen there from Glasgow, Greenock, and neighbourhood, the other of fifty pounds from the crews of vessels belonging to the Panama Company, proving, 'though seas between us braid may row', that they revered the memory and services of Wallace. Glasgow of course has done the lion's share of this good work, but some smaller places deserve special notice. Some least likely gave most, while various localities claiming either the nativity or education of Sir William Wallace, did least to commemorate him. MM. Kossuth, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Karl Blind and Louis Blanc also with their subscriptions gave us appropriate patriotic sentiments, which are placed in a large and beautiful frame made of the last remains of the Wallace Oak of Elderslie, given for that purpose by the late Capt. Speirs of Elderslie. This interesting souvenir of these great men is intended to initiate a collection of objects of interest connected with Scottish History in the three large rooms 40 feet square in the Memorial tower, and is now in the possession of its

custodians, the Stirling Town Council. We had given intimation of this intended collection, when some objectionable parties in London took it up, and issued circulars for that purpose. Our earlier experiences of them made us reluctant to be mixed up with them in it, so the great tower remains empty, until a new race will without doubt carry out the ideas and thwarted intentions of the late Monument Committee.¹

Less pleasant were my associations connected with the great and terrible civil war in North America. I had long resided there, and most especially in the South, where my opinions were well known as being opposed to Negro slavery, as in 1839 I had broached an idea of Emancipation to which even slaveholders agreed, though they doubted whether the non slaveholding States would consent, for it is a painful truth, that unless the venerable Lloyd Garrison, the educated New England rural population, and the sturdy consistent Abolitionists of the great northwestern States, there was less real sympathy for the Negro in the North than there was generally in the South, and even for some time after the war commenced, it was mainly a struggle for high protective tariffs and territorial ascendancy in the great West. Even President Lincoln told a respectable coloured deputation, that it would be better they should emigrate to Africa, and it was not until after 'Bulls Run' and other disasters, that complete emancipation was offered.

My words were these in 1839:

That as the revolted colonies, when going into an almost hopeless contest with Great Britain, had been obliged to recognise the legal existence of slavery, and since the establishment of their independence had mainly acquired the means of compensation in the public lands, that they ought now to issue script on them, and like Britain in the West Indies, give reasonable compensation for adult slaves wishing to be free, to settle them down, and to support and educate all those born after a stated time, that as the absorption of Mexico was only a question of time, and the soil and climate well adapted

¹ For a full account of the Wallace Monument project, hostile, however, to William Burns and therefore to the McAdams, see Charles Rogers, *Leaves from my Autobiography* (London, 1876)

for the African race, while much of the population being coloured the social inequality would not exist, as it must always in the older States, where the prejudice of colour is strongest, and each amalgamation of the negro with the white, generally deteriorated both races physically and morally.

My remarks then were not ill taken in Mississippi unless by a few, and years afterwards Elihu Burritt's like plan of emancipation was discussed with good temper, though laughed at as visionary, on account of the reluctance of the free States to make any sacrifice of their interests in the public lands for that purpose.

Having besides this seen both in Canada and the free States the degraded position of the free Negroes, too common there, I had no faith in the professions of the North when compelled to act on them. I had no idea that the Negroes would settle down as they have among the whites under such adverse circumstances, and in this to some extent I was wrong, and differed with many of my most esteemed compatriots in other movements in this country. I am not sorry now that I was mistaken, and that the Negro himself will solve the difficulty, though at such a cost of blood and suffering to both North and South. The least item was the immense money cost of this gigantic war, and it was not wasted, since it showed the world the vast resources of self government, and not the least, gave occasion to the first real check to Louis Napoleon, and made him pause in his Mexican designs. Like many of us he thought that the South would be successful, and he placed Maximilian on the Mexican throne, as a foothold for France on the American continent, then basely deserted him to the vengeance of the Mexican people. With this cowardly transaction his own fortunes changed. Year after year his strength waned until the crowning shame of Sedan, a useful lesson to all usurpers and invaders of innocent peoples.

This circumstance reminds me of a modern Scottish soldier of fortune who got mixed up in it. Henry Ronald Hislop McIvor whose eventful career would furnish material for the most sensational romance, when a mere lad served in India, where he was wounded and received the medal. In 1860 when in Edinburgh I was informed that a body of lads were leaving Granton pier to join the

Legion for Garibaldi, and hastened down to prevent their going, without effect. The steamer was pushing out, so I threw a direction to McIvor who commanded the party, instructing him as they had no funds to call on our London treasurer for the Glasgow fund, who supplied them until they got on board the steamer for Italy. On the voyage McIvor differed with the ship's officer and was for a time in irons, which he so indignantly resented that when they landed, he joined the French Garibaldian Zouaves under the brave De Flotte, which gave him an earlier opportunity for fighting.

In the first encounter McIvor, who is tall, agile, muscular, and resolute, besides being a skilful swordsman, distinguished himself far in advance of his French comrades, and was made a sub officer by their leader. His service ended with them at the termination of this short war, so when I reached Naples on my Italian mission I was able to be of some service to him. Our London Committee also paid him some attention for which he came down to Glasgow to thank us, and returned to Edinburgh, as I thought to settle himself down for life, when some time after I received his *carte* in the uniform of the American Confederate cavalry, with a letter from Richmond Virginia, intimating that he had been made an officer in that service. Knowing his dare devil character and the waste of human life, I thought that was the last I would hear of him, when one evening he walked in clad in semi uniform, flush of money and well dressed. He had run the blockade with despatches to the Confederate minister in London, and came down to see me before he returned, via Cuba and Texas with his papers.

On his return the South had succumbed, and only from time to time I heard or read of his desperate adventures. I saw his letter intimating that other ten besides himself were to leave New Orleans for the Mexican frontier. Afterwards I learned that they had been surrounded in a *corral* by hostile Indians, when all his party were killed except himself and another, both wounded, but they escaped during the night. On his arrival at the Mexican frontier he engaged with *both* the Mexican parties – first, took service under Maximilian, then undertook to raise men for Suarez in the interests of the United States and then exposed the transaction to Maximilian's General, purposely to embroil him with the Americans, and thus cause a war, which would serve the Southern Confederacy, but hang the

French! said McIvor, 'they had not the pluck to take it up'. As it was he barely escaped hanging himself. I cannot exactly remember his various escapades since then. He joined the Cretan insurrection with a Colonel's commission, then went to Greece to hunt brigands, returned to America, and went to Cuba, was taken prisoner and condemned to death but made his escape by Masonic aid. He next entered the Argentine service, and was splendidly uniformed and full of cash when I saw him before going back to New York, where he engaged to go to Egypt as cavalry instructor to the Khedive, with an understanding that if the climate did not agree with him, he was to receive his discharge with one year's pay.

The Prusso French war then broke out. Egypt was too slow for Harry, who needed excitement, so he got unwell and claimed his discharge and cash, with which he joined the French army under Faidherbe, where he was a Colonel of cavalry until the collapse. One evening Mr Robert Burley came and drew my attention to a paragraph in the *Glasgow Citizen* regarding a person who exactly fitted McIvor's description 'who had been taken when leading on the *Communists* at Paris'. I at once wrote to M. Louis Blanc enclosing McIvor's *carte* in the Argentine uniform, in order that Faidherbe might recognise him and intercede with Government to spare his life. This I forwarded to our old townsman Samuel R. Brown,¹ then in Paris, when two days after McIvor walked in to the works at Hyde Park St having arrived from France. He was not the party described in the newspaper. Shortly after he engaged in the Turkish service with a General's commission, but never joined. Soon after he went out to Servia as the Correspondent of the *Hour* newspaper and entering the Servian service he distinguished himself in action and Gen. Tchernayeff decorated him on the field with his own medal. He came to this country with that officer on a mission and returned with him to the seat of war. Whatever may be the future of this adventurous soldier he has amidst all the vicissitudes of his career the singular faculty of falling on his feet.

Since the Austro-Prussian-Italian episode of 1866 Garibaldi had resided mainly at Caprera. Mazzini, though in delicate health,

¹ Possibly Samuel R. Brown, manufacturer, who helped to arrange the Glasgow section of the Paris Exhibition in 1856, or Samuel S. Brown from Glasgow, a wine-shipper in Paris

[toiled] unceasingly to counteract the apathy consequent on the bad faith of the Italian Government. In 1867 he issued a Declaration, once again, so decidedly Republican that Victor Emmanuel cancelled his pardon. I have an original English copy of this interesting document which startled some of his advanced friends, who did not like him see under the surface of things in Italy, nor how subservient Victor Emmanuel was to Louis Napoleon who still hankered after another slice of Italy. Mazzini's Proclamation also elicited much adverse criticism from some parties who asserted that the educated portion of his countrymen did not sympathise with him. On this head I wrote to one –

Sir, – In your leader of Saturday, I am glad to admit that you have said all that you can say *against* Mazzini's eloquent appeal to the Roman People. I trust, in a day or two, to your usual spirit of fair play, for space to a few words in *support* of that remarkable document, since your readers thus far have only a few *unconnected* sentences, explaining none of the circumstances detailed by that far-seeing patriot, which compels him again to appeal to the 'action' – not 'rising' – of his country men in their present peculiar circumstances. This is no sudden impulse, but a deliberately prepared document – the draft of which I read some weeks ago – and even in its unfinished state it appeared to me a considerate preparation for the delicate circumstances of the Roman People, and a masterly recapitulation of the evils inflicted on Italy, by the unwise adhesion of Victor Emmanuel to Louis Napoleon, and his desire to stand well with the Pope towards the close of an immoral life, – but of these facts you say not one word.

As this address is the precursor of a fresh course of action by the leading patriots of Italy, who cannot longer permit Victor Emmanuel to keep the Temporal Papacy in Rome, or Italy subservient to Louis Napoleon – who desires no peace nor prosperity in that country, unless under his family influence – I shall soon lay it before my fellow-citizens, and will at this time content myself with correcting you on matter of *fact* – not opinion, when you say that, 'with all M. Mazzini's fervour, he has never succeeded in establishing a footing among the

populations of Tuscany and Lombardy, and it is in these provinces that the true strength of Italy lies.'

I admit that these two provinces are the very soul of Italy, but surely you will allow that Milan is the heart of *them*. Now, the fact is, Milan has during the last 35 years – even when under the iron yoke of the Bourbons – been the centre of Joseph Mazzini's organisation, to which even our Scottish funds went to prepare the glorious advent of Garibaldi. All the education, industry, and courage of Tuscany and Lombardy has, during these many years, been devoted to his teachings, and not even Genoa has furnished more or better soldiers to his undertakings – failing, alas, too often – but culminating in the creation of a 'United Italy', which owes its existence *ab initio* to him, as Garibaldi so generously stated when in London.

Rest assured, Sir, there will be no rash action in Italy; and as I may soon explain to you the necessity of Mazzini's advice to his countrymen, and solemn warning to their enemies, – I am, etc. John McAdam.

During the first half of 1867 the 'party of action' was preparing to take advantage of any European complication to complete the unity of Italy. We could do little here to help them, not so much from the apathy of our people, as from an impression sedulously inculcated that Garibaldi and the Italian Government were in accord concerning Rome and that ample funds would be provided when the occasion came. Col. Chambers and his patriotic lady were endeavouring for help in London when Ricciotti Garibaldi was sent there by his father in September, and he came down to Scotland under great disadvantages, since we could make no *public* appeal for aid without disclosing its object. He was well but quietly received in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Perth and Dundee, but had not time to profit by his introductions, as a telegram came informing him of his father's arrest and I had to hurry away with him to England, where Mrs Chambers and some others had subscribed liberally. Our subscriptions were not so large as they would otherwise have been, though as usual they were prompt and secret, and reached Garibaldi safely, when much larger supplies sent from other

places with less secrecy were confiscated by the Italian Government. We were reminded of our own patriotic forefathers at Bothwell bridge, by the fact that the Garibaldians like them had to retreat at Mentana with empty guns. One gentleman had given us three hundred pounds, and offered four hundred more which we refused, because he had already done so much. I have often wondered what influence that sum might have had on the future of Europe. Garibaldi had men enough, though badly armed, to have beaten both the French and *Papalini* and taken Rome. This doubtless would have galled Louis Napoleon, but the French interference was *illegal*, and Prussia would not have permitted them again to interfere in what was strictly a Roman question. If so, French arrogance would have been checked in time to spare their waste of blood and treasure so soon after, just retribution might have been delayed, and France remained for awhile in the place now conquered by Germany.

Gen. Garibaldi had been arrested on his way to the Papal frontiers and sent back to Caprera, whence he escaped afterwards, in a manner that would have been an *event* in any other man's life. Meantime Menotti Garibaldi crossed the Papal line on October 3rd with about 20 brave soldiers. They soon became thousands, though almost without arms. Most of their ammunition was spoiled by bad weather, or seized by the Italian Government, and by some mistake the railway line was cut, causing nearly two weeks' delay in the transit of supplies and recruits. Between treachery and mistakes, though there was thirty or forty thousand men on the different routes, there possibly was not ten thousand men at the front even when Garibaldi joined them. He hovered around Rome to give his friends there opportunity to act, but they could not, and after the gallant affair of Monte Rotondo on the 25th, such was Victor Emmanuel's interventions, and the French now openly taking part, that in the closing affair at Mentana on November 3rd, from Menotti Garibaldi's account they had only 4,529 men, two small guns with 70 rounds of ammunition and about 20 mounted men. The *Papalini* and French were 10,000 with ten guns and far superior rifles and ammunition, yet so well did the Italians fight, that when they retired in good order with empty guns, while they left 150 killed and 200 wounded, 256 of their enemies were buried at Mentana, having as was judged the same proportion of wounded.

The campaign as we know closed in little more than a month. Garibaldi retired to his island to wait for better times. His sons also, and other brave officers with their followers returned to their homes, having done no discredit to the cause for which they had fought so bravely under disastrous influences.

After his imprisonment at Gaeta and during the Franco-Prussian war, Mazzini had resided chiefly in England, but towards the end of 1870, having been on the Continent, he returned to London, from which he wrote me on Jan'y 28th 1871 intimating that he would leave in a few days for possibly the last time, in order to do what he could for his country and to establish *La Roma del Popolo*, as one means of educating the Italians for Republican institutions, and after deprecating his countrymen's action on behalf of 'the old prestige of France, which has been, is, and ever will be fatal to us', goes on to say:

Anything that can be done in England for the sake of obtaining the best terms possible for France, is good and must be attempted.

As for Italy the cause of the Republic is morally won. Monarchy is absolutely discredited, and as far as the army – her last support – is concerned, I have had an ample confirmation of what I stated, during my imprisonment in Gaeta. The material fact will arise from some, now unforeseen, circumstance which will certainly take place before the year is at an end. It is that which leads me back to Italy.

Meanwhile, we must reconquer Rome and her aspirations to ourselves: the moderate work of late years has damped them. I am going, with Saffi, Petroni and others, to establish a weekly paper in Rome, in which we shall expound our republican theories. The first number will come out on the 9th February, the anniversary of the Roman Republic. I do not ask for any, but I simply say that any help from friends will be welcome. You will receive the first number.¹

He left within a few days, with some forebodings. *La Roma del Popolo*, very ably conducted and extensively circulated was issued

¹ Glasgow University Library. Ms. Gen. 530/42

on the day indicated. The Italian event anticipated had not yet been realised, when to the profound sorrow of millions in every civilized country he died at Pisa on March 10th 1872. His death was announced in the Italian Parliament and justice rendered to his memory and services, but some well meaning friends tried to petrify his body by a new process, against the wishes of his friends in this country, who preferred that his remains should rest beside his mother's in Genoa as he desired. The complete unification of Italy ought to serve as his monument. Without Garibaldi there might have been no united Italy, but without Mazzini, there would have been no Garibaldi, as Garibaldi is now.

You will have seen that Russian intrigue first induced Danish interference with the independence of Schleswig Holstein, then Russia and Austria unitedly stripped the Danish robber and quarrelled over the spoil. Prussia remaining master of that geographical position, at once so important to the Baltic and Northern Europe, and within a few hours of our own shores, must be less dangerous to us than Russia would have been because the Germans, if slowly, are surely progressive. If Prussia desires to continue the head of a United Germany it must be less despotic with the smaller German States or situated as it is, surrounded by non progressive despotisms, it cannot prosper. A United Germany will be our best security. Our commercial interests may clash, but a strong, liberal, Protestant power in the centre of Europe will maintain its peace.

Spain also, seemingly in its decadence, from the loss of its rich colonies, has still its own immense agricultural and mineral wealth undeveloped, and has during this century been a bone of contention to Europe. The first Napoleon cast a greedy eye on it in the interests of his family and held out hopes of liberal institutions to these Spaniards awakening from the sleep of centuries, most of whom supported him, Britain and other Monarchies aided the bigotted Bourbons and Priest party and eventually the French were driven out of Spain. During this war the bulk of the people took no interest further than they were compelled, and as a consequence have been charged with a want of courage and patriotism in defence of their country.

The Bourbons being re-established, things went on in the old style, some faint attempts at political regeneration being suppressed by

French aid and British collusion. Ferdinand had sewed his last robe to the Virgin, and gone to his last home. His unprincipled queen Christina having induced him to revoke the old Salic law which confined the succession to male heirs, her daughter Isabella became queen to the exclusion of Don Carlos, his brother. The Carlist party then proposed the Count de Montemolin as Isabella's husband, hoping thereby to unite their rival claims. The old Queen however was opposed to this, and was in favour of Count Trapani, one of the Neapolitan Bourbons, as being rather weak in the intellect, and more likely to be pliable in her hands, but Isabella who like our own good queen Bess 'loved a likely man', would not have either and would have taken Louis Philippe's son, the Duke de Montpensier, but here Britain especially interfered against this alliance between Spain and France, in the interests of that balance of power, which has cost us so much. When Britain suggested Prince Cobourg, France was equally jealous of us, and our German influence, and all this time poor Isabella needed a husband. By the dirty diplomacy which rendered Louis Philippe contemptible, and ultimately caused his own overthrow, the Duke de Cadiz, a nephew of the old Queen was selected, and approved of by the King of France, because he was imbecile in mind, and so broken up by immoral practices, as to be unlikely to have posterity. Isabella took him nevertheless, and otherwise comforted herself in her own way as the world is aware.

Isabella's sister the Infanta Louisa then remained for Montpensier. Britain now aware of the Duke de Cadiz' impotency, and the greater certainty of issue by the French alliance, protested against the marriage, but Louis Philippe stole a march, and they were married at midnight. So matters went on the old way in Spain, until it became too hot for Isabella, who left, and a Provisional Government was established, after much negotiating, through which the French and Prussians became embroiled on account of their rival candidates. The young Prince Amadeo of Italy was selected, and might have made a good ruler, if he had got fair play from the priest and army element, all powerful in Spain. This not being the case however, he paid his own debts and quietly gave back his authority to the lawful powers which had appointed him, and they then openly and constitutionally proclaimed a Republic.

The United States of America, and brave little Switzerland, at

once sent their frank recognition, but Britain which too often, as in the affair of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* has been ready to recognize successful usurpation, delayed recognition of the Spanish Republic, though [it was] inaugurated by the same legal power that elected Amadeo King, and had selected men of the highest character in Spain to succeed him, and carry on their Government until a new Parliament could be elected. Our Parliament and our press generally were silent, when M. Karl Blind came out in the Continental and London newspapers on their behalf, and also appealed to his Glasgow friends in their interests. Four years before, on the departure of Isabella from Spain, he had written to us foreshadowing its political circumstances so clearly that I endeavoured to awaken an interest for the new born Republic in our locality by publishing his letters.

Unless for some few articles in the London press nothing was elicited by Karl Blind in reply to his question: 'why will not Britain recognise the *de facto* Government of Spain, while recognising that of France, which was avowedly only a temporary expedient'. Mr P. A. Taylor and Mr Stapleton asked in Parliament, whether, or *when*, we intended recognition or whether the large Carlist subscriptions in London could not be stopped. After some subordinate fencing, Mr Gladstone replied, rather vaguely to the effect that it was to be deprecated but he could not very clearly see how it could be done. A portion of our Glasgow press promptly noticed any Carlist successes, unfairly blaming the Spanish Republican Government for the robberies and murders committed, through the help of despot sympathisers in London, and the collusion of the Priest party on the French frontiers. Even the most consistent otherwise on European freedom at first assumed a mocking attitude. One declined, the other admitted with an Editorial addendum, an explanatory letter which I give as a specimen of the cold water thrown upon our sympathies.¹

It may not be out of place to sketch briefly two specimens of the principal Republican leaders. Senor Emilio Castelar, the best known in this country, is nearly fifty years of age. Strongly built and of middle height, his eyes are large, black and expressive, his face is rather long, with a high forehead, and his gestures easy, natural and

¹ The *Glasgow Herald* printed the letter; the *North British Daily Mail* refused it. See McAdam's letter to Dr Charles Cameron, 3 March 1874, below p. 186

commanding. He is Professor of History in Madrid University. Senor Figueros, chief of the Republic, is several years younger, and is tall and very prepossessing. He is close and attentive to his duties, and gives audience to the humblest citizens. His health is not good, and it is to be feared that he may succumb under the anxieties of his arduous task of reconstruction, hampered as he is by the internal complications of priestcraft, Bourbonism and military demoralization. Figueros did retire soon after. Castelar made a brave effort against the adverse action of priest and monarchical influences, and the more unnatural insurrection of the *Intransigentes* or International party, which last was the real cause of his resignation. Since then, it has been plot and counterplot, and it may be years before Spain shall settle down but her people have shown, even in their excesses, that individuality and strength of character remains in that naturally fine country to rid it of the incubus of Priestcraft and Despotism. Don Carlos in all his excesses was supported by the Papacy, because he was the apostle of priest rule, but when Alphonse, the young son of the infamous Isabella, was placed on the throne and seemed equally subservient, the Pope turned against Don Carlos in such a direct manner, that he was forced to leave Spain in the beginning of 1876, after some years of cruel civil war. I have given this some space, because the future of Spain, and the peace of Europe, depends on whether King Alphonse may not offend the Pope, by giving his promised toleration of religion and a constitutional Government, or as is more likely the evil instincts of his family may not prevail on behalf of the Inquisition and despotism.

Since 1848 my spare time during the next 20 years was mainly devoted in support of the national movements in Italy, Hungary and Poland, though as occasion offered I took part in our own local and national questions, and as an active member of our Parliamentary Reform Associations, working earnestly without much success to reconcile the extreme Democrats with the moderate Liberals for continuous action. Trades Unions and other matters too generally absorbed the energies of our working men, to the neglect of their political education and action. Still for any emergency we had a nucleus around which both sections rallied to keep Glasgow in its place in the liberal ranks and movements. During that period we were greatly helped by such prominent citizens as Prof. John Pringle

Nichol, Walter Buchanan, Robert Dalglish, H. E. Crum Ewing, and other good citizens which enabled us to act promptly and effectively when action was wanted.

The second Reform Bill in 1867 gave us nearly all that the Chartists contended for, but with it also the 'Minority Clause', honestly intended by John Stuart Mill, but which so badly hampers constituencies like Birmingham and Glasgow, with only two votes for their three members. In the election of 1868 Mr William Baxter, a member of our Committee, shrewdly suggested publishing the state of the poll every half hour, so that the voters should then vote for 'the two lowest' of the liberal candidates, which thus returned all three to parliament.¹ The Ballot came into operation at our next election in 1874, which prevented this publicity, so the Conservatives gave their two votes to their own two candidates, while the Liberals divided theirs among their three, returning only two, Dr Cameron and Mr George Anderson, who faithfully represented us until the general election in 1880. The result of this last was creditable to the tact and judgement of the Committee, who apportioned the liberal voters *alphabetically* to the three Liberal candidates, Anderson, Cameron, and Middleton, so fairly, that they were returned very nearly equal in numbers, and the lowest more than double the votes polled at much greater expense for the two Conservatives.

Towards this last success, or other local movements during the past three years especially, I have not been able to contribute much. Continuous ill health, and being unfortunately involved in my brother's property speculations, which has left me pennyless at the age of seventy seven, leaves me little occasion or ability to assist those who are still spared to continue the good work, further than by my earnest and warmest sympathies.

In this quiet corner provided by my exceptionally industrious and well doing family, I sometimes ask myself, what has often been asked of me, whether I have done right in devoting so much of my time and means towards these great national questions. As regards my own family I admit frankly that I ought to have studied their

¹ The suggestion of 'levelling up' has also been attributed to George Jackson. See Iain George Campbell Hutchison, *Politics and Society in Mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-1886* (Glasgow University PhD thesis, 1975), p. 232

interests *first* rather than the interests of strangers, but I had for many years been interested in them before I had any family, and I could not desert those brave men while struggling for national existence, or turn from my door those exiles who came to me in their sorrow and distress, even while sensible that many of them might be impostors, for I know now, that I rescued many worthy exiles from hunger and despair by the generous aid of my fellow citizens, which enabled me also to forward, promptly and secretly, towards those noble enterprises that have so materially improved the condition of Europe. After all I took great pleasure in it, and it is something to have won the confidence and be called 'Friend' by such men as Mazzini, Kossuth, Garibaldi, Louis Blanc, Karl Blind, and other leaders of their respective nationalities.

Selected Letters

To his mother, Helen McAdam

London [Ontario], October 20th 1833

With pleasure I take this as the earliest opportunity of letting you know of my safe arrival here in good health, as I am aware of the anxiety which a mother's heart must feel. I trust this will find you in as good health as it leaves me in high spirits. In my letter from Montreal I promised to give you an account of my observations of this country, which though actually more than reaching my expectations, is in many particulars quite different from the accounts given by interested hireling writers of travels, neither will I be like the Fox in the fable who had lost his own tail and wanted his neighbours to part with theirs. What account I do give will be from what I have actually experienced and on which I willingly stake my claims to veracity. As people here have too often written from their individual case good or bad accounts of this country, I am well aware of the caution with which I should write and with which I ought to be read.

Alexander Esplin and family were the only persons from the *Cartha*, besides an Irish lad who started with us from Montreal, to take our passage up the river by the Durham boat. Though very wet and disagreeable, I was glad of it, as it rid me of very disagreeable shipmates. As I would not advise any person to come by way of Quebec, I consider it useless in me taking up my time and space in describing the country below Prescott. The country appears in general rich and fertile but ill-managed. As to the people, they though kind among themselves take every advantage of emigrants who are unfortunate enough to need to purchase anything. They appear poor and hearty folks in the whole, but wretched farmers. Lachine, Coteau De Lac, Cornwall, etc., are but small places. I walked a good deal of the way up the river side as I wanted to see the country. I do not consider it would be agreeable for old country

people to settle until you reach Johnston, where the management of land is better understood, and the society more congenial to their minds. Carpenters and smiths are good trades here, the latter 6 shillings sterling (by which I reckon) for shoeing one of the small light horses of the country and other jobs in proportion. I here found out tough clay, which is of light brown colour when dried in the shade. It can be got free and is used to good purpose in making pottery ware, which from the careless manufacturing in this country is of a light honey nature, it being made in the same state as it is taken from the ground, as if they undervalued bricks, clay for which I also found in every place which I have visited in this country. We reached Prescott, 6 days from leaving Montreal. This was the most disagreeable part of our voyage, as we had no bed room for the whole on board the boat and by stopping for the night at times in places where we could get no bed on shore, I as well as the others had to sleep in the open boat. Prescott is a pretty thriving town, is better than 200 houses. There is a small foundry and pottery here, which pays well. Brockville, 12 miles farther, is also a fine village with a good wharf. Kingston (50 miles) is a beautiful town, with about 6000 inhabitants, built mostly of stone. The land is for many miles round very stony and poor. It is not in my opinion a place for any man to settle on land, indeed the whole of the lower part of Upper Canada is considered much inferior to what is above Kingston. The emigrants who were sent by government to Perth, Lanark, and other settlements in Bathurst district, need not thank it for sending them to the worst lands in the province. Many of the old settlers from Glasgow are leaving their lands, and moving farther up. Many of those who from poverty are prevented from moving refuse to pay even the small tax laid on the land, saying it is not worth tax. They have been little better than cart horses. The civil, military and clerical officers who swarm at Kingston and York have acted many years as their riders. The Colony [was] till within a few months since, and is to a certain extent yet, considered merely as a nursery and larder for a few aristocratical families. This state of things cannot last long, as a spirit of enquiry has gone abroad among the people, who as their circumstances improve find time to look after their governors. Kingston should in my opinion be a good place for such trades as a hatter, tailor, saddler, shoemaker, etc. but

in general tradesmen will find it in their interest to push on either for York, or this district, as the wages are higher, and the climate warmer and more healthy than about Kingston. Leaving Kingston we proceeded up the lake on the shore of which the land from the increasing weight of timber appears marginally to improve till we came to Cobourg, which is a fine village of about 200 houses, a good harbour. Trade is good here, blacksmiths' wages one fourth higher than at Prescott. Here we took lodgings for Mrs Esplin, and started for Peterborough (30 miles from Cobourg, and about the same size) to draw our land, which after a good deal of travelling and fatigue we finally drew in Dummer. It put us to great trouble, but as land is worth something where we got it, it will recompense us for our trouble in the end. We then returned to Cobourg, where I left A. E. and got to York, passing Port Hope, much like Cobourg. The land is not so good on the lake shore, but it improves a few miles inland and gets to be first rate land. York is situate much as it appears in the map. It is getting a fine situation for tradesmen, were it not for the competition from the Yankee side, as many small and even large articles are smuggled in, and from their inferior quality sold cheaper than they can be made in Canada. The streets are not in good order, though the houses are good, and is the capital of the province with a population of between 6 and 7000 inhabitants. Here I met James Montgomery's brother Robert. He left his land at Darling for the season, and has 3 pounds a week. He was very kind to me and when I left him, bade me tell James that if he will come out, he will do as a brother by him. I wrought a few days in York, as my finances were getting low, but thought it best to leave it, as I wanted to see the country before the roads broke up. I walked on foot along the lake, occasionally diverging into the country. The soil is poor and sandy about York and for 10 miles till we got to Humber, where the land appears to improve, and is very good all through Etobicoke, Credit, Nelson, Trafalgar, and 12 mile Creek. It then gets poorer till you reach Hamilton, 50 miles, where it is light and sandy, but from its situation at the head of the lake it is a large flourishing place. I took a good view of the place, but from the high price of land it would not answer for a poor settler. From that to Dundass is 5 miles through a light sandy plain, a place which will, from a canal being made from the lake, be in a short time one of the largest places in

Canada, as there is a railroad expected through the London district, which will make it the depot of the whole of this quarter. Dundass, finely situated by a creek and surrounded by high lands on each side, which will, till well cleared, make it unhealthy, is a good situation for most trades. Leaving it I passed Ancaster, 3 miles, and went to Brantford, through good and well settled land. Brantford is 18 miles from Ancaster, built on the banks of the Grand River, which is nearly as large as the Clyde above Glasgow. It will be in a short time a large place, as the river is expected to be made navigable to it. It was the only place besides Cobourg, where I would like to settle till I came here. From it to Burford, is 15 miles, through a dry sandy plain, which continues till we enter the township of Burford, which is the finest land I have yet seen, but from it being allotted generally to some aristocratical pensioners as clergy reserves, it is not cleared. There is also a want of water power though plenty of springs. From Burford to the village of Oxford (a small place) is 30 miles. It is as a whole good land. From that to London, is 25 miles, at first through good and well settled land but it gets into sandy places and swamps generally till we come to London, which is a scattered town, with about 250 houses, and a large elegant court house. It is a place of good business, and from its central situation, and being the district capital and as they expect a railroad through it to Lake Ontario, it must be a good place for a tradesman here. As my money was nearly out I thought it best to take work, which was offered me at good wages, as I thought I could get some information by working through the winter, and starting off occasionally and taking a view of the land of the district, which take it as a whole, from my own opinion and that of old experienced farmers, is the best calculated either for mechanics or agriculturists, of any in the province. The wages of smiths, tailors, joiners, shoemakers, bricklayers, and indeed most trades, are good. I have 2½ dollars for making a pair of fine boots, and everything found to me, as I work in the shop, 1 dollar a pair for shoes, and not the half of the work on them that they have in Glasgow. I have not yet got fairly seated,¹ but have made about a dollar a day since I began. When I get better accustomed to their method of working, and as I took some time learning the manner of pigging shoes, I may expect to make it better. My board and

¹ Uncertain reading. Possibly 'suited' or 'started'

lodging, which I get with the Boss (Employer) costs me 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ dollars, and as I am very economical, I think I shall send you home something considerable by the beginning of next year. London is situated on the banks of the river Thames; it is rather broken and uneven ground. It is considered healthy, though some have the fever and ague. No other trouble appears to prevail, and in general the people are very healthy. The only thing that displeases me is their mode of trading. Unless you stipulate in your bargain, when you go to work, that your wages will be paid in money, you are sure to get store pay, which is a great disadvantage to people till they get acquainted with the bartering system. If my old Owenian friend Sandy Campbell¹ was here, he would curse the reducing his theory of exchange of labour to practice as it is a game at which the woodman gains what the poor man loses. The man for whom I am working is a fair specimen of the persevering, pushing, calculating American. He lost all by fire about four years ago. From his own account, and that of others, he is now in stocks and property, worth 5000 or 6000 dollars. Many instances are here of the same kind of persons rising from a state of poverty to independence. I have met with many who had not a shilling when they came, who are now in a good way. I cannot without presumption give at this time a farther description of this country. I could not give a decided opinion on the relative superiority of one place by another, but take the country as a whole, it is much a better country for labourers, mechanics, or men of moderate capital, than the old country. By mechanics I mean not those generally employed in the manufacture of the luxuries of life; it is those whose business is essentially necessary in the relations of trade and commerce, which a new country needs. Very few persons, except drunks or slovens, have failed in their endeavours of obtaining a competency. Many get their living here, and work little having only to do what is called among Glasgow folks 'planning their stuff'. As to the general appearance of the country, it is more agreeable than I anticipated. The roads and bridges are in general better than we have been told, not so the canals, which compared with the old country ones are mere ditches. Some persons in office must have had good finger lickings of these jobs, as princely sums were and are yet given by simple John Bull, for making them through a country,

¹ Alexander Campbell (1796-1870). See Biographical Appendix

which, whenever it is able to walk by itself will scorn to walk in leading strings. Neither are the rivers what they are represented, as except the St Lawrence and Ottawa I have seen none larger than the Clyde. The Thames, Otanbee, and Grand River are about the size of the Clyde. Many of the small creeks are dry in summer. Water in general is as good and wholesome as any in Scotland. The Lakes surpass our ideas in magnitude and beauty, the navigation, however, is dangerous, particularly Lake Erie, on which many losses have occurred this season. The Steam Boats are well fitted up, but are dangerous on account of their top heaviness. The general flatness of most of the land and equality of growth in the trees, together with the equality of size of the clearances which are made on each side of the roads, gives the country as a whole, an appearance of sameness, as fatiguing to the eyes of the tourist, as it is pleasant to those of the practical farmer. In all new settlements log-houses prevail, in more settled places, some framed ones; it is only in old settled towns that brick or stone houses are in any number. Taking the country as a whole, and viewing it even with the eyes of a Scots-man, prejudiced in favour of his native country, its hills, glens, and rivers, I can safely say, that were my opinion asked of it, as to its superiority or inferiority, I would decidedly give it in favour of Canada, not so of the inhabitants, whom I will, as well and candidly as I can, attempt to give you a description. The French Canadians (the first in number as in priority of settlement) appear to be a poor contented people, attending more to the frivolities of life than anything useful to society; agriculture and the arts are 100 years back with them. Many of them are employed on the rivers and lakes in the boat and rafting trade. They are civil and honest in their general dealings, but impose sometimes on emigrants. Irishmen are, as far as I can guess the next in point of number. Those in the lower province are mostly employed in canal and road making, and hangers on about wharfs. You know what kind of wild cattle those so employed are at home. On the contrary those in the upper province are generally settled on land, and are honest industrious farmers, evincing more of the national character than they do at home under despotism and misrule. Many of them, however, are apt to take a drop too much when they are attending market. Then the old party prejudices are awakened, and bloody riots have occurred between Catholics and

Orangemen. However much such proceedings may be condemned, a great deal must be allowed for the spirit which misrule creates. I have in many cases found them more hospitable than my own countrymen, who though here accounted the most respectable and industrious farmers, have carried the national characteristic of 'canniness' across the Atlantic with them. Dutch, of whom there are considerable numbers in this part, are much the same as the Scotch, patiently adding to their stock, and not making so much stir as the Yankees, who have a great share of all the real trade, and the whole of the speculation of the country. They are well pictured in Knickerbroker's history of New York;¹ bartering and swapping is the great business of many. A horse jockey would have no chance here, as they would have their masters in the art from whom they might take lessons in what is termed 'doing the trick slick'. Even many who are in the strictest sense of the word honest and honourable in their dealings, according to this wooden country logic, they think it as no disparagement to their character to be called sharp at a bargain; but you would wonder how soon old country people learn not to 'sell their hen on a rainy day'. The Englishman is here as at home, distant and self conceited, but softened with the more amiable traits of independence and generosity. There are many negroes here. Some of them are wild characters; but, in general, they are mild and even intelligent, and as a whole, they will, to the unprejudiced, prove as a strong argument in favour of Negro emancipation. As to a man they are hard working and, in most instances, their word will be taken as far as a white man's of good report, in point of credit; it is therefore, in my opinion, a stain on the name of America that they think it a disgrace to associate with them, and prefer the company of men who very often disgrace the character. The Indians I have often met with in different parts of the country. Where they are settled on land, they are in these places greatly under the influence of the clergy, who attend to their spiritual and temporal interests, and, in return, expect the most implicit obedience. They have teachers of their own countrymen, one of whom, Peter Jones, has lately got a young lady of great beauty and fortune from England as a wife. Everyone to their taste, etc. A great number of them, however, are poor useless vagabonds, in general harmless, and when

¹ Diedrich Knickerbocker, i.e. Washington Irving



visiting the villages, showing the woefull effects of drunkenness in striking colours; they live much off fishing and hunting, great scope for which is still here, though deers and bears are scarce. Still few good shots return without yielding something. Some here, who are very good hunters, get as many as 2 or 3 deer some days, in good hunting weather, and in many instances a bear or wolf, for the latter of which there is a premium of 4 dollars paid by the county. The female part of society I have had little opportunity of being about, but from what I have seen and heard, they appear to be in general good housewives, but proud and saucy and will not so much as carry in wood or water to cook with. All must be done by their 'old man' as they call their husband. I believe they are more shy and not more virtuous than in the old country. This, of course, refers chiefly to the women of this country and the States. Those in most esteem are Scotch and Dutch girls, who are not long without a husband, as they make good housewives. I went about a week ago to Port Talbot, and drew a town lot of half an acre which every tradesman is entitled to. It is in a finely situated street near the river, which is much the same in size and appearance of the Kelvin. As I am bound to build a house on it within 2 years, I will have a home for you and my brothers and sisters, should you come out, and in the event of your not coming, I will be able to realise a good sum, as when there is a house put on, which can be got for 1½ or 2 hundred dollars, it will then be worth 500 or 600 dollars at least, as they have been sold for more in worse situations. I have lots of the same extent marked out for each of my brothers, and Colonel Talbot promised that they should have them, if they came out next year. The lots are in a beautiful place, by the banks of the Thames, on which there is a fall (which is in these lots) which can at the expense of ten pounds at most, be made to turn a water wheel. I would have waited and drawn my lots along with my brothers' but thought it would be more pleasant to you, to have a home of your own. As most of the trees are already chopt on the ground, I will by next spring proceed to the building of a house. The next question is, can I advise any person to come here? The question is an important and delicate one to answer, therefore, let me be completely understood in what I say. I will not shuffle from it and say that I would not like to take the responsibility on me. You, and many others, know what I once said,

that if I did not find the country suitable I would think it more my duty to return than to stay, as I would not only punish myself but be the means of many coming out only to curse my advice. My advice to tradesmen and farmers (with some exceptions) is come out, and that quickly, as the situations in towns are taking up rapidly, and land rising to an enormous price. My opinion is not produced by what is described 'newfangledness'. God knows, I have had enough of travelling and fatigue, and a light pocket to cure me of the romance of 'bush-whacking'. From the time I left travelling by steam I have walked on foot more than 1200 miles, backwards and forwards, to learn what the country is. My information is not the result of enquiring of tavern-keepers and stage-drivers. I have visited the dwellings of the settler from the shack house to the log, but I have called at the different mechanics' shops and learned the state of trade as far as I could, and, on the whole, I can give the advice to others, industrious people, to come out early as as possible. Who are then the proper persons to come? To blacksmiths, wrights, coopers, shoemakers, brickmakers, bricklayers, and plasterers, ironfounders, tanners, and curriers, hatters, saddlers, and the other trades that a new country requires, good wages are given, and, in general, the change would be beneficial to a really industrious experienced farmer, still more so as though the wheat is sold at three-fourths of a dollar per bushel, and other things in proportion, from the ease with which good crops are got, they who are industrious and skilful farmers are in a short time independent, and they can get their land much cheaper cleared than formerly. Mechanics who make articles for sale, and even some for use, will, when they come out, do what is here termed 'Yankee the job', or they will not be able to compete with American tradesmen, who are in my opinion a match for the Sheffield or 'Brummagen' workmen. However the consumer would prefer it done with all the solidity of the old country, it will not answer the producer. Having given you one side of the picture, it is but just to give you the other. This country, with the exception of the ague, is much healthier than Scotland, is not yet a pleasant abode for those used to the comforts of society, as I think, not but that you can eat and drink better, and sleep softer than in Scotland, but there is a want that none but those who have experienced it can describe. I mean society, which is far back here indeed. Many who visit this

village from remote settlements appear nearly as wild as the Indians; the great influx of people from the old country, however, is improving things, as there are many of them respectable, wealthy, and intelligent. The most certain way of getting good neighbours is for people from the same place forming societies and settling together, as it will enable them to come cheaper and live pleasanter than coming out and settling on chance, not but that the people here are kind and civil enough, yet there is a pleasure in old acquaintances and old country manners, which is, in my opinion, what neither the good wages or good lands can compare with. The exceptions are those who have great wages at home, those who have trades the carriage of which is light, as they can either be had by way of Quebec, from home, or smuggled from the States, as cheap, or cheaper than they can be made here, and those who cannot turn their hand to different jobs, or are addicted to liquor, and those farmers who are determined to stick by the old plans of working the land. Next, where would I advise people to come, is, if they mean to settle on land, they cannot go wrong any place above Hamilton at the head of Lake Ontario. Near the lake shore along from Kingston, by Cobourg, and York, to Hamilton, the land is pretty dear, the weather more changeable, and the soil not quite so good as it is in the London district. If, as is contemplated, the rail road should go through by this town from Lake Huron, to Lake Ontario, this will be the richest part of the province, as it is so central, and many works are in progress. One gentleman is here as agent for a company who are starting a paper mill, flour, sawing, and planing mill, and another one bought 140 acres at 1700 dollars a few days since near the lots I picked out for my brother, on which he is going to build a great many works. There is three or four churches building at present, besides other flour and sawing mills, which are now in operation. The land is all taken up near London village, what is for sale is from individuals and is sold according to clearance and situation, from four dollars and upwards and when the greater part cleared as much as from 10 to 18 an acre. People, however, will learn little, compared with the information they can have on the spot, and if they do not come, it matters little what the price of other people's land is. The richest land is between London and the Lakes Huron and Erie, and as far north as Goderich, which is now getting on pretty well, but

its great drawback is the early frost and heavy snow compared with this place, and the distant and very dangerous navigation by the lakes. The land there, according to all accounts, is good, but the land as a whole, from what I saw, and was informed, between this and Port — in the Westminster, Delaware, Southold, Dumwich, and Yarmouth townships, it is the best and most settled land in the province. The fields are there in a straight line, and as level as a bowling green, unless where there is a creek, as they call a streamlet, and very fertile, compared with what is termed rich lands in other places in the province. I could be happy in such farms as I have seen, had I my friends here with whom I could associate, as you have no idea of the comfort of some of those who came here some years ago, compared with their comfortless state at home. It has not been them who brought most money here who are now best off. It is those who were worst and badgered enough at home to make them sober and industrious here. If it is people who have money to buy land certainly they got a good tract, but in many instances it has always remained nearly uncultivated; on the contrary those who had to work for their land invariably are the best farmers, and still continue to endeavour to have as much for sale as possible, while the rich man contents himself with little more than his family can consume. To people who have money enough to spare, I would give the advice of buying land partly cleared, and those who had none had better work in some place where cash is paid for labour, till they get enough to make a beginning; then I believe if they go right about it, Colonel Talbot will give them land about the head of Lake Erie, as I heard him offer good land, but in a thinly settled township, to a poor man. However, if they come, they will learn better than I could teach. Then as to the mode of coming out, I will distinctly advise people to come by New York, up the Erie Canal to Buffalo, then cross to Kettle creek; if for the London district the passage to New York is at first glance the dearest by a few shillings, that is fully overbalanced by the comparative length of the passage, coming on average about 3 weeks quicker, besides greater comfort, avoiding the dangerous banks of Newfoundland, which is the only place where shipwreck is to be apprehended, and the advantage of coming at any season you like, instead of perhaps beating about among the ice in the Gulf of St Lawrence. The best proof of its superiority is

the fact that few who have come by Quebec will return by the same way, as the fatigue of coming up the river is more than all the inconvenience of the passage to Quebec. I will be better informed in regard of particulars by the time I have passed the winter here. I will therefore in the next letter I send, give you all the information I can. I have hid none of the advantages or disadvantages of this country. What I have said in its praise it fully deserves. If I have erred, it is, in not speaking in its favour. If I had the friends whom I spent so many happy days with along with me, I would be happy. Without their society, I feel my existence a blank. However I am content to vegetate for some time, in hopes you, my brothers, and sisters, and the other dear friends whose society I was so long blest with, will see it your interests to come here, as the want of mutual friendship and fellowship, are the only drawback to a change for the better in coming here. I have been informed that there is plenty of iron here, but have not yet got time to search. If it could be had a fortune would be realised in a few years. There is a large iron furnace and foundry, at Long Point, on Lake Erie, where the iron is got from the ore. I intend early next season to go there and see the process. In the meantime, I will learn as much about it as I can, and get what information I can, about where iron is to be got. I would at present give you more minute particulars about the land, but it is useless, as you already know as much about it as will be useful unless you come, when a few months' experience will make you better acquainted. Provisions are cheap and good. A family could be maintained very cheap, not so a young man, whose expenses cost him as much as though he had a wife and child. It is great folly in people taking so many articles with them, as they can be had as cheap and as good as at home, cooking utensils and clothing excepted, and the trouble and expense of the carriage keeps them in trouble till such time as they are finally settled. The reason of goods made here being pretty cheap, is not that wages are low, but that the people of this country are expeditious workmen and a good deal of the material being either to be had for little, or brought in duty free. Therefore, bring nothing but bed and body clothing, and the cooking utensils you stand in need of, My paper draws near a close, so that I will be under the necessity of stopping short in my remarks, which I doubt will be sufficiently tiresome, to you particularly, as it will not be

easily read. Take therefore, the will for the deed, for should I not have the opportunity of seeing you, think not I can forget you. Many a night when nothing was to be heard but the tinkling of cowbells, have I thought of you and the many anxious thoughts you have had about me since I left you, as I know you will always feel the worst. You need not, as I am very comfortably situated, and cannot be at any loss, as I have been offered work at good wages every place I have visited. Present my best wishes to Messrs Tait, McAulay, Grahame, Walker, Rodger, Kellar, and my other political friends, for their kindness to me. Tell John Tait, that his character is better understood by the people for whom he acted in regard of emigration to this country, than on your side of the water. May he be always as he deserves. I trust necessity will never force him here, but should either inclination or necessity drive him or my other friends here, they will not want a friend so long as I have a dollar. Give William Smith, and William Hume my regards. I am not forgetting to look after their interests. If William Hume is in the mind of coming out, let him get a sketch of the cooper, joiner, or mill-wright work, and save as much as they can, as people are the better of something to begin with. My respects to Mrs McAulay and Mrs Tait, and her sister, to Mr McIsaac and family. I have often thought of them, when you were all asleep. As you will find a post-script at the bottom, I will conclude by subscribing myself, your affectionate son,

p.s. When you write, send me word how all my friends are coming on, and a few newspapers. Tell me also, whether Mr Atkinson be alive or not. Give James Baxter my compliments. Him and his father's family would do well here. Whoever comes out, must come fast. Send your letter by New York, and pay it to that place as I have done or it will not be sent. I will write again as soon as I get a letter from you. Let me know if the *Liberator* is still alive. I will I hope be able to clear that affair in a few months.

As to tailors, you may tell his majesty of Camlachie, that trade is so good here journeymen can keep elegant riding horses. It is strange yet true. I am acquainted with two in one shop who have them.

Let a tailor on horseback— Mr King, or Will Irving, will tell you the rest.

To his brother, William McAdam

'Under the greenwood tree' near Camden, S. Carolina

August 15th, 1843

You will doubtless be surprised at the heading of this letter unless Mr Smith of Jackson may have informed you through his people in Edinburgh of my starting on this route as I requested him previous to leaving. I received your letter on the morning that I started and though bearing tidings of an unpleasant nature it was truly welcomed as an omen of success in my long and tedious travel as I had looked long and anxiously for some mark of your remembrance.

I would not have started from Jackson in the present dull and unsettled times had it not been for two reasons independent of my pursuing my determination of past years of making my tour of this country complete, The first was my desire of collecting my outstanding debts and selling what stock, tools etc. I had on hand and disposing of a house I had built on ground which I rented, which in such dull times had to be done gradually. And the second in which probably I evinced more spirit than judgement was on account of a real or imaginary grievance with the people of Jackson which I shall relate in few words. About last Christmas smallpox made its appearance and as the very same people who would risk yellow fever completely deserted one man particularly who had great claims on them all myself included, hearing that none would go near him but one man and that he was tired out watching, I went and took share in his duty by him until our poor friend died and we had ourselves to carry him on a cart and (unless that he had a coffin) bury him more like a dog than a man. All this time though the busiest time of the year my shop was completely deserted and when I appeared on the streets shunned like the pestilence I had been among though I assured them publicly of my taking every precaution both during and after the decease of our friend to prevent infection. Still it continued until when I was informed that a fellow who should have been the first at his sick friend's bedside but kept running round abusing those who did their duty went before the Mayor and Aldermen and complained on me recommending that I should be driven out of town as an infected person. This together with the dread

evinced by many of my best friends if I approached them and a nervousness caused by want of sleep and a severe cold raised the devil in me so strong that I imprudently openly damned the whole 'bilin' and declared 'I would not live in such a damned hole but that I would not go until I was ready'. In this I know I was wrong in not considering the real cause they had for dreading a disease which generally in this country and in this particular instance assumed a very loathsome appearance while many of them were never vaccinated and nearly all having little faith in its effects as many medical men here assert that it runs out in course of years in this climate. And besides I should not have forgotten past kindness in what was really present unkindness, but so it was and I was determined to go through with what I had resolved though nearly all of them told me I was wrong in minding the past. So I waited my chance of selling my things and leaving Mr Smith as my agent with every feeling of kindness for the people who showed me every kindness on leaving, I left on the 3rd of April but previous to relating further let me revert to our own family matters contained in your last.

It appears from your letter that the property has gone finally out of the hands of the family for which I am really sorry more however on our mother's account than any of her children as she toiled hard so many years to make it and endured misery and worse the degrading insolence of the brute Buchanans for so many years to save it. But we cannot help these things and when I reach home it will go hard with me if I cannot contribute to her comfort and pay back in part some of the debt I owe her. And if anything connected with its loss causes our brother James' silence assure him from me that much as I prized the property independent of its intrinsic value it has none in my eyes when compared with a brother's affection and the social family ties which bound us in our hardships I trust never will be broken whatever may be our future fortunes. I am truly sorry for his misfortunes and bad health and trust that as time heals the wounds of the heart that he will recover his health but unless he writes me just such a letter as he used to on your receipt of this I never will write to him until I come home. And now for yourself 'Willie my braw cout' for if continued good luck at which none rejoices more than me proves you still to be 'daddie's besa wean' I have no doubt

that skill and prudence brings what is vulgarly called 'luck' but still you must not lecture so wisely on the virtues of economy and prudence. As I have been the first as much as you *would* in this country where any man who was situated like me must comply in some degree with the customs and to a moderate extent with the expenses of the people among whom he is and expects to be treated like a man and an equal. And the rock on which I have so often split is with me I fear a constitutional habit of a generous but imprudent confidence in others which I doubt will go with me to the grave but which I cannot help and would not unconditionally deprive myself of the idea that man is not naturally ungrateful and wicked though I have been so often fleeced in consequence. Another reason and not the least is my making no resolution of any permanent stay in the country but resolving from year to year of getting home preventing me from making any permanent arrangements for selling eastern work, the most profitable in our trade. The bad debts consequent on the hard times while I had to meet as an honest man would every engagement to the last cent and find money to pay when work was low for what I had become indebted for myself and others when prices were high. So that if you consider all this with the money I have spent travelling (whether foolishly or not time alone can determine) you may find I am not quite the subject for a lecture you think though I confess in some cases I may 'be nane the waur o' a word or two o' coonsel', sae mickle for that Willie.

Previous to leaving Jackson bought a horse and waggon with a small stock of cloth, handkerchiefs etc. And an Edinburgh man of the name of Robert Hogg put in a stock of his tin, tinware, and his tools so that we were prepared to start as merchants, and both being anxious to make a complete tour we started as aforesaid prepared to work and trade our way along as we could be little out of pocket compared with the other more aristocratic ways of Stages and Railroads. If any of you are in Edinburgh call on his father at Callums tin shop or write to him and inform them where he is, that he is in good health and will shortly write them so soon as he knows definitely where he will settle for the next winter and that he is making every exertion to be in Edinburgh by this time next year along with me and will likely remain there as I think from the

improvements he has made in his trade he could make a fortune in Scotland in a few years.

We have travelled in various directions for the last 4 or 5 months in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and this State meeting at first with great trouble with bad roads breaking down our 'carriage' and latterly the heat of the weather distressed us much and 'surfeited' our horse so bad that every hair came off and we had to 'remain at Jericho till his hair was grown'. We are now on the road again and as our load is lighter we will get quicker along. As there is little interesting in North Carolina we will take the nearest way across to Virginia and making as good a tour of it as our time will allow visit the other middle States and return either by sea or by way of the Ohio to Mississippi for a few months to get what is due to me and add a few dollars by hard working while I arrange at intervals my papers and rough sketches during the winter. At all events I will not embark myself again in business which I cannot get out of at short notice and can manage it so that next spring as soon as the weather is warm and settled enough I will start and be across the Atlantic some time in summer or early in harvest. Here I saw a fine rabbit and as we had no fresh meat for dinner made chase, killed and dressed him in short order and we have done all our route and again resume.

Our expenses on account of repairs and extra travelling have been such as to bring our gains in arrear of our expenses, our goods being bought in Mississippi were consequently dearer than the prices of the other states we have come through and the longer we travel our profits are smaller as we approach the cheaper middle states and times are duller. I had intended to send my mother 50 dollars when we came to one of the northern commercial cities but now doubt its practicability without depriving myself of the means of taking back for my winter work stock I cannot do without. However I would send it anyway were I not confident that you would not see her want for the few months which will elapse ere I see you to do my duty by her as you have done in my absence. As you may feel curious to know how we travel I shall describe our mode. Knowing that we in many new sections would be unable to find quarters we resolved on being independent of the world so bought a one-horse waggon covered with oil cloth and carried our

bed and bedding, pots and pans, with a stock of biscuit etc. and plenty of ammunition and the gun my kind friends gave me, a large Bowie knife and our good gray horse 'Burns',¹ so that we [never] were at a loss for a bedroom, a fire or a dinner 'sae long as the lift stude', with plenty of game for the shooting. On our journey we have experienced as much kindness as we desired for neither of us believe in taking favours and but little of the aristocracy we were taught to believe inherent in the Southern people. The Carolina planters are more like our class of Scotch farmers than most other states and the curse of slavery apart their Negroes enjoy more privileges and better living than what is called the most comfortable class of Scotch labourers. But all our sayings and doings 'are they not written in the Chronicles'.

I trust neither James nor you will neglect to write on receipt of this on all matters domestic, local and national, addressed to the care of James Smith, Jackson, Miss., as I will be there about the end of Octr. Write me 'lang anes' for I have to read short ones the oftener to make up. Let me know particularly what James is doing and about his family, how Janet and Helen are and if my Mither does anything in the Howdie line yet. When I reach Baltimore I will call on the 'Skree Yett' and see what he is about and don't forget to present my respects to Mrs McIsaac and family and let me know what and how she is doing, also my old personal and political friends in general.

The money I loaned to my Paisley friend is possibly paid by this time as the Legislature has been called together unexpectedly since I left and they ought to have made an appropriation to pay him as he has final judgement against the State and I have authorised Mr Smith to collect it for me. In that case all my trouble will be over about that sum and all that I will have to do during next winter is work for cash and credit none and receive payment for my house, tools etc. Therefore depend on my being home if I live. I was strongly tempted to come home this summer but then it would only have been for a visit as I would have had again to return to America for rather than again return to the misery of the shoe bench in Glasgow I would be in the deepest pool of Clyde. In fact

¹ Here there is a drawing of a horse and wagon and a man with a gun walking behind captioned 'Saw ye Johnnie comin?'

I find that even in a Southern climate close application to my trade gives me the accursed asthma while at any other thing I am as strong as a horse.

We have travelled now more than a thousand miles and though drenched by the tremendous storms which occur in this country, sleeping in clothes wringing wet, have not caught so much as a cold. When I reach Washington City I will again write. Present my respects to my Mother, James, Janet and husband and to Helen and – is she going to be an old maid? – I had almost said husband, to William and Mrs Smith, Alexander and Mrs Tait, Willie Hume and wife, Jamie Montgomery, Messrs Rodger, Graham, Walker, in short all you may meet interested in my welfare.

To the same

Vicksburg, Miss. Jany 2nd 1844

After a longer interval than I anticipated when I last wrote from Camden, S. Carolina, I again take pen in hand to assure you of my welfare and acknowledge the receipt of your truly welcome though too brief letter. To satisfy my ravenous appetite for information, local, domestic and general, why can I not get one of yours or James' old fashioned letters: letting me know of what transpires in 'my old stamping ground'?

Since I wrote last 'I have seen sights' (as they say here) having been taken more dangerously ill than I ever was in my life which was the reason of my not writing lest my mother would be anxious more especially as I had to encounter the perils of a sea voyage in a weakly state of health, not having recovered my natural strength until a few weeks ago. I am now however quite well and getting along in this place for I had sold out the balance of my effects and my workshop in Jackson to a man on part credit. It was not good policy to start in opposition as he would not be able to make his payments as they came due so until I got what was coming to me I started in this place on a small safe business so as to 'make the crown a pound' and as I will credit none, the instant I get paid in full which will be in first April I commence en route for home. Assure my dear Mother that another New Year's day shall not elapse if 'her callant' is alive without his being with her if not as

rich in worldly goods as he at one time anticipated at least rich in the good opinion of the people he leaves and more so in the self respect of never having done a mean action or wronged a human being since leaving Scotland though many a one I have helped along.

Having left Camden we had not proceeded 200 miles through to N. Carolina when I was taken with the most dangerous kind of Congestive fever as the most malignant Bilious Fever is called and finally laid down in my waggon. My companion Mr Hogg having also been seized and unable to help me we lay in the waggon 5 days without assistance and finally when carried into Raleigh N.C. by some kind Samaritans I was completely insensible and pronounced a dead man and poor Hogg was little better. However with the best family and medical attendance in 5 weeks we were able to move but I was in particular so weak and emaciated that my mother would hardly have known me, and the racking pains of Bilious Colic which stuck by me until I got as far as Richmond Virginia were agonizing, having to lie in a horizontal position in the waggon through nearly 200 miles of the most rough and hilly roads in America. I then got quit of my pains but did not get stout until lately. The people in Raleigh were truly kind and the fraternity of which I am a member offered me money. This I would not accept as I had some merchandise which I sold at auction for half cost rather than take it though otherwise it would be no disgrace.

We made some stay in Petersburg and Richmond Virginia, the first with the exception of one street which is pretty handsome is a dirty looking though good business place crowded with a greater relative proportion of Negroes than any city I have been in. They are employed chiefly in cotton and tobacco factories. Lots of small and some few good vessels belong to this place. Richmond is much handsomer and also a great business place with rich and handsome stores and beautiful public buildings, though I cannot say much for the real beauty of their State house which when closely examined appears only as a large showy piece of patchwork but it is beautifully located on a hill and the surrounding grounds admirably laid out and within it is a statue to my notion the most beautiful and considered by Americans the most faithful delineation of the great Washington, a bust of Lafayette, a portrait of the great jurist Judge Marshall, all being placed there by the State of Virginia.

From thence we continued on to Fredericksburg, a pretty large town but rather dull looking at this season, from thence to Alexandria and Washington city. With the beauty of the national buildings at Washington I was very agreeably surprised, more particularly with the general Post Office, a very large white marble edifice of the chastest of architecture. The Patent office which contains besides models of inventions placed there by the Patentees a very handsome though as yet ill arranged collection of zoological and geological and other curiosities which I spent nearly a day among, is an equally rich though soberer looking building of dark freestone with beautiful granite basement story and large broad stair steps in front. The Treasury buildings are large and costly but have a dull smoky look and the 'White house' as the president's is called, though handsome, showy, and beautifully situated on the extreme edge of the city is not comparable with many of the State Governors' houses. There are several other handsome buildings but the chief is the Capitol which is without exception the finest I ever saw. Commonly we are disappointed in our anticipation of places much praised, not so in this case as it comes far beyond my ideas. It is commandly situated on a height and when approached from the Alexandria side appears larger 10 miles off than close at hand. Nature has done much but art more in embellishing the ground with trees, shrubs, flowers and fountains, one particularly a characteristic monument erected to a number of American naval officers. Seats are placed around in suitable places and no keepers or impertinent hirelings to dog the footsteps of the humblest visitor. The only keeper in sight though they have a lodge at the entrance was an old Irish who sold apples at the main entrance. The Capitol is particularly beautifully ornamented with carved work and on each side of the door is a statue emblematic as I take it of Peace and War, the latter represented by a Roman soldier certainly one of the greatest efforts of the sculptor. The paintings which are great and the much praised historical pieces of sculpture to my fancy very indifferent I shall elsewhere describe.

From W. we proceeded to Baltimore where my companion Mr Hogg went to work and I sold my horse and waggon for a mere trifle. I made every enquiry for Mount Savage but could not learn its whereabouts or anything of William Baxter. I heard of Savage

factory about 15 miles from Baltimore and a man of the name of Baxter but found it was not our 'Skree Yett' when I went there nor could they inform me other of him or the place. I shall take occasion more fully to describe Baltimore, Philadelphia and N. York from which last place I sailed to N. Orleans choosing that method so that I might be benefitted by a sea voyage, principally however because my money had given out. In truth after paying everything when I went on board my last coin was laid out for a 'mutchkin o gude brandy' in case of seasickness but I knew I could not be at a loss when I reached N. Orleans where I got what I wanted. After a passage of 16 days we reached that city, from thence to Jackson where I found Mr Smith and all his folks well and came to this place as before mentioned.

Now after all this rigmarole I think I hear you say what purpose has 'puir daft Jock' served in this Quixotic expedition but wasted his money, time, and health. It is 'ower true a tale' though I made every calculation warranted by reason of making my profits pay my trip but everything conspired against my expectations. However I could not complete my purpose without going the route which I persevered in against every difficulty and on the whole it is well it is no worse. My journey in every State and territory of the Union [will now] be completed in short notice and at little expense also enabling me to [return by way of] Canada and all without any further risk of health.

I [hope you] will write on receipt of this so that I may get it ere I leave. Let me know your and James' candid opinion of the prospect of my success in publishing. I am making every exertion to make work worthy of the subject my humble abilities will admit and have already arranged a mass of what is considered valuable matter by educated men well acquainted with this country and its laws. Let me know all family particulars, how James gets along with his small family and how his health is, also Janet and David Bonner and family. My sister Helen if she don't get married soon will be in the old maid's list. Maybe she wants to keep house for her 'auld batchelor brither Johnnie'. Tell me how Mrs McIsaac and family and my other old and valued friends are and above all assure my dear Mother of my unchanging affection unless in its increase with each returning year of involuntary protracted absence.

p.s. I had almost neglected to mention that John R. Biggar, a man I probably made mention of as owing me money loaned, came back from Scotland a few weeks ago and as a cloak for his ingratitude when I asked what excuse he had averred that my brother James went to his father Hugh Biggar who lived in Paisley but is now in Denny. I wish you to write to his father making enquiry whether James presented him an order purporting from me for 400 dollars from the old man on account of his son's debt to me and enclose his answer in your letter to me to satisfy my friends before whom the charge was made of its falsehood. Cut this off so that none of our folks may see it.

To Joseph Cowen, Jnr.

Glasgow Nov 29th 1858

Private

We have adopted the same platform as your association subject to the sanction of a great meeting on 9th Decr, but I fear our Middle Class Reformers won't go with us.¹ I am just now informed that a requisition is being sent off to John Bright to come here after being in Edinburgh on the 15th Decr.² and as the most of the Requisitionists go only the length of the London programme, I fear it is the usual 'red herring' dodge, but we will watch them quietly. I have already written to John Bright to beware, and to hear the country before he compromises himself to either of us, for that as yet there has been no real general public meeting held in Scotland, ours though public being only *preliminary*. We have asked only for what is just and worth the manful fight we mean to make for it, though we will take what we can, and in no case unless where public discussion is challenged, will we in any way interfere with any less advanced movements. If the working men would shake themselves out of their apathy we would win easily, but the time we ought to work among the Electors has to be wasted among the

¹ Proposals to form the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association were accepted at this meeting. See *Glasgow Examiner* (11 December 1858)

² Bright came to Glasgow as the guest of Professor John Pringle Nichol on 21 December and held a meeting in the City Hall. McAdam was among those who welcomed him at the station and appeared with him on the platform. *Glasgow Examiner* (25 December 1858)

lazy hounds, who growl enough, but are too timid, or too indolent, to show their teeth. Sometimes I think it hardly worth my while even to vote because it is worth nothing in the present Electoral distribution.

Pray let us know how your movement goes on, and I shall hold you advised of what we are doing. Give my respects to Mr Cook and the friends of the cause.

You will be aware that Madam Mario has got safe to New York. Kossuth has been here and pretty successful.¹ He was twice out at the works and very frank and hearty. I had the honour of taking dinner with him and spent a very pleasant evening.

excuse haste

[Tyne and Wear Archives Department. 634/C305]

To the same

Jan'y 3d 1859

I have been hard worked publicly and privately of late, consequently I am confined to the house but will be better tomorrow. We had Mr Barbar here for about 48 hours last week. He is off after being introduced to our best men. I shall when I am better able to write post you up in this matter meantime his visit here should be considered private unless to his true friends. We are fast after you in 'Manhood Suffrage' and I hope with some organisation to have ten thousand enrolled members by the meeting of Parliament. It is a satisfaction to think that all our work has not been lost and I hope from my vastly improved position with all classes of Reformers here to be better enabled to aid poor suffering Italy. I give you only my own name but if I am in Glasgow when the 'Fiery Cross' comes round I pledge you that it will not stand long at my door.² I write under disadvantages, gasping for the breath I hope will be wanting ere I forget poor suffering Italy and her martyrs, but my usual 3 days' spell of Asthma will be over tomorrow when I can write you more fully. I have been prepared for something like *this* sub-

¹ Kossuth lectured in Glasgow City Hall, 17 and 19 November 1858. *Glasgow Examiner* (20 November 1858), *Daily Bulletin and Glasgow Daily News* (18, 20 November 1858)

² Cowen had sent him a circular dated 26 December 1858 appealing for 100 persons to pledge £10 each to be given to Mazzini

scription by Mrs Hawkes and only wish that I were rich for my money would go free as air for our glorious cause. Never have we had such a chance for real Reform as now and no man of limited capacity ever had a better field than I have. My exertions in the Hungarian-Italian- and Engineers movements in Glasgow, super-added to my services 30 years ago, has given me a hold that shall be used now. Give my kind regards to Mrs Hawkes, Messrs Cook, Reed, and the other good Reformers of cannie Newcastle.

p.s. When the hour comes depend on me for more than my simple ten pounds.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A634]

To the same

Glasgow Feby 5th 1859

I hardly know how to write you as I have been very unwell and my mind is not very well arranged so as to express properly what I would wish you to understand, besides our manhood suffrage question is in a 'peculiarly interesting condition' as we are not likely soon to have any one in Parliament to enact midwife for it. I shall in a few words explain our position.

Our organization is going on hopefully and had not the New Year Holidays and Burns Centenary come to hand, we would have had at least 10,000 *paying* members. We have 1500 in this one of our 16 wards for it was well worked but would have had at least 500 more if not for the above causes and my absence in Ireland for two weeks and illness since, but I will be better before Monday next and I go to two of our strong and densely populated districts where I have many friends and if they don't organize, like the good old Cornish song, 'I shall know the reason why'.

We have a great difficulty with 'Bright's Committee' here. They are all good true men though over fastidious and timid. I know quite well three fourths of their working element are with us for Manhood Suffrage, even their acting Chairman and all their really working men are members of our association. *Quietly* the *Chairman*, professor Nichol, as he is entitled to the high esteem he is held in by us all, is too changeable in his notions to have the political power

we would gladly accord him, but we must keep well with them and have no division, for after all most likely we must support Bright's Bill as the most liberal.

Their Committee have sent a Petition in favor of his Bill. We also sent one in favor of Manhood Suffrage and met them by deputation as they were anxious to have no interruption in a Public meeting they wished to call. I remarked that if it were called for the friends of Bright's measure only we could not interrupt them, but if a Public meeting to *discuss* the question they would certainly be met, however that as it was likely we must in the end coalesce on Bright they ought to give us the chance of calling our meeting of Members first to consider whether we could not hold our Manhood Suffrage in abeyance and fall in with them. I fear your Northern men and we in Glasgow are almost alone in this plainest, most simple and fairest, Manhood voting. There is a snobbiness or an apathy in most other localities out of which they won't be kicked until the occasion has gone by. I speak to *you* plainly, of course to the public all is rose colour but it will be for you to consider carefully whether we should give that contemptible juggler Disraeli too long time to introduce his Bill, or allow Lord John Russell to diddle us again. They evidently want war and will make it to get another excuse for delay.

Should we see no better measure likely than Mr Bright's, should we not make a merit of our necessity and at once join him even if under protest that we only delay Manhood Suffrage for a time. It would come now that we are organizing, with more grace than when we were weak.

This I submit to your better judgement and I am inclined very much to pursue exactly your course but we must not, if we have no proper Parliamentary leader of our own, allow Bright our next best man to be beat if we can help it and I think if we went simultaneously for his programme that he must carry it seeing we drop a larger measure for harmony's sake. Give me your candid opinion by return of post: it shall be confidential if you wish it. I have been anxious to make myself understood but was really unfit to write. However when I get your views I shall have more to write about and better able to do it.

Give my kind regards to Messrs Reed, Cook, Warden, Kane,

Gregson, and the other members of your active Committee. I am often asked by our old compatriots here if I have any correspondence with Dr Larkin. Remember me to him and I trust the first time I am in your canny toon to hae a long crack wi him.

Got your Newspapers *yesterday*.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C475]

To the same

Glasgow March 6th 1859

I am just returned from a journey and received Mr Reed's note with copy of the Bill calling your meeting. It is the very course I calculated on for Glasgow and as we meet on Tuesday night I wish very much that you would write to me on Monday night addressed to the Bell Coffee House, Trongate, Glasgow, so that I could have it in time for our meeting. We want to take exactly your course of action as it is of the greatest importance that we should act in unison and all in one day over the country and I feel so proud of the strong backboned men of the North of England that jealous as I am for the honour o' auld Scotland I am content that Glasgow should even play second fiddle (not *Scotch* of course) to canny Newcastle. I shall look with anxiety for your letter in time indicating your course as it will very much regulate ours and trust you will write me even if late tomorrow night. I wish also to assist in any matter connected with Mrs Hawke's picture whether it is her risk, yours, or any other friends. Be kind enough therefore to let me know. I shall write you fully when I learn of your meeting. I am writing up my back correspondence, therefore trust you will excuse my usual scrawl.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C574]

To Ferenc Pulszky

Glasgow June 13th 1859

I am in receipt of yours of the 10th only this forenoon and am glad to learn that matters look well. Our deep regard for the Governor¹ keeps alive our apprehensions for his safety and many a heart

¹ i.e. Kossuth

in Scotland would sorrow for him did any mischance befall him in his hazardous enterprise. I shall be grateful to you for keeping me posted up in all that may safely be communicated so that I may rejoice with him in his success or if unfortunate that I may the sooner render what sympathy or aid that may be in my power. You know better than I can what is best but my heart clings to Mazzini and the National party in Italy and though it may not answer in the present dangerous experiment to recognize him it will be both most generous, equitable and politic to have no real misunderstanding, though there may be no understanding, for the day will be soon I hope when these two great men will be found combatting side by side, not for poor worn out dynasties but for Peoples and Republican institutions.

All the friends of Hungary here wait anxiously for intelligence and when it is known that our venerable friend shall be gone our anxiety will become painful until we learn whether he has passed the crisis of his own and country's fate and I press on you keeping us well advised consistent with your safety. You may trust your lives to my prudence when so much rests on the venture.

With my heartfelt good wishes for the governor and yourself.

[National Library of Hungary. Mss Department. Fond VIII, 1]

To the same

Glasgow June 22nd 1859

I received a letter from the Governor yesterday dated Paris 17th Inst and hardly know whether I was most gratified at the affecting kindness of his remembrance of myself, my brother, and other friends in Glasgow, or even more deeply anxious for his welfare than when he told me that he meant to hazard all to gain all for his country.¹ My solicitude keeps growing now that he has passed the Rubicon, and in my dreams the thought of the day makes sad work with my sleep. This will be the case until the next eventful few days tells you whether his hopes and aspirations will be realized.

¹ Kossuth had gone to Italy to organise Hungarian support for Napoleon III in the Italian War, on the understanding that Napoleon would then help to liberate Hungary. The Treaty of Villafranca brought this hope to an end

I trust you will keep me informed of all proper to be communicated, so soon as you are in possession of such information, so that I will keep up the interest among our friends for the Hungarian movement. You may trust my prudence in keeping personally in the background, because in this crisis my connection with the Mazzinians might militate against our friend, and God forbid that my love to the cause, or any of its friends, should add to his dangers.

When you write assure him that we never can in Glasgow forget his affectionate parting, and that whether successful or otherwise, he has the abiding esteem of our countrymen, and that no circumstances can make us depart from this regard, while he is faithful and true to his native land, if war even to this country resulted from this movement, because though opinions differ even among his friends, as to the policy of trusting Bonaparte, still we are all agreed that it certainly is his right to aid his country by any means, and of the means to be employed we consider he is entitled to be the judge.

Public clamour may express itself differently, in circumstances that may occur, and for this purpose I am now writing so that our friends may be well apprised of all safe to be communicated and that we may keep up the interest in your movement among the people with whom we act, and keep our hold on our Members of Parliament that are favourable to continental freedom. We will do all that you require to be done, and will remain quiet when you wish, so far as your work is to be considered, and whatever may happen, the noble patriot may rest assured, that his beloved wife and children will continue remembered here so long as we can remember his devotion to freedom and Hungary.

I am just leaving on a short journey. You will therefore I hope excuse my hasty note. With the most sincere assurance of respect to Madame Kossuth and family and the warmest sympathy in their profound anxiety for our great friend . . .

P.S. My brother who is much gratified at the kind remembrance of the Governor joins me in the warmest sentiments of esteem and desires me to request from you the earliest information if only three lines to intimate his success for which we both in common with many many thousands in Scotland fervently pray.

[National Library of Hungary. Mss Department, Fond VIII. 1]

To the same

Glasgow Augt 9th 1859

I have been much from home since I last wrote you and have been anxiously waiting the present final results of our illustrious friend's praiseworthy though as yet unsuccessful attempt. We who are true friends need no explanation, still some of us think the time has come if it accords with his plans to speak out to the world his hopes and aspirations so far as it may not damage his ulterior plans of action.

Should he think fit our leading friends would cheerfully provide him with a graceful opportunity of writing to the world as much as he thought fit and proper to communicate by forwarding him a respectful address approving of his endeavour for Hungary though not successful and cheering him on with the hopes of a better day for poor downtrodden Hungary. This would afford him the occasion to answer without an appearance of obtruding the matter unsolicited which no matter how welcome in any form would be the more valuable from having been sought by his friends.

I wish also to consult with you private and strictly confidential on a matter connected with a countryman of yours who wrote me about a week ago. His name is 'M. Stephen Wargha, 2 St Pauls Road, Highbury, London', describes himself as having been a Hungarian Civil officer and compatriot of Kossuth. He mentioned that he had a manuscript translation of 'Wilderspin's early education' into the Hungarian language with which his necessities will compel him to part.¹ It contains about 300 pages. Of course being in the Hungarian language I do not understand it but the writing I think is Kossuth's, though differing from his present writing. He says it was written in the years 37-39 when Kossuth was a State prisoner in Buda and by him given to M. Wargha for editing or publishing.

I wrote to him that I was unable to spare the amount of value he would set on it otherwise I should have been glad to serve him. Today however the manuscript came handsomely cased and carriage paid. I have written to him this mail that I had received it safe but that as all my business letters were posted to start early tomorrow

¹ See Autobiography, above, p. 36

morning for a week that I would not be able until then to see Professor Nichol and other good friends able to give something like its value.

I may mention that I advised him to get you to pass your word for its authenticity. You being well known here your opinion would have added to its value and not expecting that he would have risked sending it down to Glasgow I might have quoted your opinion to any who might wish to purchase it, but in his letter today he either misunderstood me as wishing your endorsement on the manuscript or did not wish to trouble you thinking it would speak for itself.

Now though there is to some extent an indelicacy in asking information about him, I think it is only a proper kindness to him if I am enabled to speak favourably of M. Wargha. And from the position I am often placed in regarding the cause it is imperative that I should do so truly. You as M. Kossuth's true friend and representative here I consider the only person from whom I should ask information and more especially when it is from no mere idle curiosity. You will I trust feel warranted in letting me know this week in all confidence on both sides all that you know of him and if you can recommend him to us, also all that you know of the manuscript. Even from Kossuth I expect you to keep this as he might feel annoyed at such a document being sold at all. However I may assure you that it shall not through me get into any unworthy or unfriendly hands.

Write me also what you think of the memorial to Kossuth.

[National Library of Hungary. Mss Department. Fond VIII.1]

To the same

Glasgow Augt 23rd 1859

We are waiting here with intense anxiety to learn the denouement of the Italian affair. We feel it has only fairly begun, however, and would give much to see Garibaldi taking an honest part for his country and to know that Kossuth and Mazzini were ranged side by side combatting for the freedom of the Peoples. I have good cause to anticipate such a result.

You will see that poor Jessie Meriton White is again a prisoner.¹ They won't venture to harm her much. A few days will tell what course Garibaldi will pursue and on that the present crisis mainly depends.

If you are writing to the Governor please mention my proposal at his proper time respecting the address from Glasgow for the purpose of giving him a proper opportunity of explaining so far as he deems prudent and necessary. Professor Nichol last night of his own accord proposed something of the kind and was highly pleased when I informed him that I had already spoken of it to you. He says he will do all he can in any way to serve and to sympathise with the Governor.

Mr W. G. Langdon, a warm friend of Kossuth, will be in London on Thursday night or Friday morning on his way from France. He wishes to call on the son of Kossuth whom we expect remains in London and wishes his address which please forward him – 'W. G. Langdon of Glasgow, St Paul's Hotel, London'. He is a true warm friend. I shall write you more at length soon and trust you will let me know as much as possible of matters by return of post because we should be doing as much as we prudently can. Excuse my hurried note.

Private

P.S. I forwarded five pounds to M. Stephen Wargha for Kossuth's 300 pages of manuscript because I did not want it to fall into wrong hands and can have it for Kossuth if he wants it again.

[National Library of Hungary. Mss Department. Fond VIII.1]

To R. B. Reed

Glasgow Augt 23rd 1859

I have been instructed by the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association to open up a communication with the various associations in Scotland and England whose programme assimilates with

¹ Jessie Meriton White was now Jessie White Mario. She and her husband went to Italy to join Garibaldi but arrived after the Treaty of Villafranca. They were arrested on suspicion three times, and briefly imprisoned. See Elizabeth Adams Daniels, *Jessie White Mario: Risorgimento Revolutionary* (Athens, 1972), pp. 88-9

yours and our own so that some united and simultaneous course of action may be agreed on previous to next meeting of Parliament and I know of none so able to give me the names and confidence of the Reformers of the North and the manufacturing districts of England. We mean to have an earnest rally in Scotland. England remains for you, for unless in your association we know of none other fitted to lead in it.

Events are thickening in Italy. Our poor J. W. Mario is again in trouble. Our real great man is in the field.¹ I have a letter from him there dated 3rd Inst. Kossuth is lying close to Italy watching the moment to act and if he, Garibaldi and our friend coalesce both France and Austria will find work even should no French Revolution start up in the rear when they are engaged with Italy, Poland, and Hungary. I have done all in my power with M. & K. to prevent any misunderstanding and so far as I am concerned everything is well neither of them writing *to any other in Scotland* and that with their mutual knowledge of the fact. Should I have been in my humble way in the least instrumental in bringing about a good understanding between these two great men it will amply repay me for my life time of earnest well meant work.

I have not been well but trust to have good health now that our political harvest approaches. I wish very much you would furnish me with a list of all associations with whom you directly and indirectly work as we mean to connect your name honourably in the circular we will print and circulate. Give my kind regards to Mr Cowen and other friends. I shall write you soon.

Excuse haste.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C704]

To Ferenc Pulszky

Glasgow Sept 9th 1859

I have seen Professor Nichol and a number of M. Kossuth's warm friends here and they all approve if agreeable to him in my suggestion of an address to him on his return to this country so as to give him a graceful opportunity of stating verbally or by writing

¹ i.e. Mazzini

as much as suits regarding his circumstances, as connected with the Italian affair.

Our Parliamentary Reform Association also holds a general meeting next Tuesday at which an address could be voted. Will you therefore be kind enough to write me per return of post all you can on the matter. I have been unwell but am again better and will be able all next week to attend to anything connected with Kossuth's interests, but week after next I shall be away from home for 5 or 6 days so that if he comes to London next week it would be well if he approves of the address to get it sent next week to welcome him on his landing.

P.S. I forwarded five pounds for the manuscript to M. Wargha and did not want it to be in any hands but friendly and if it is either interesting or useful to M. Kossuth assure him that I shall send it to him. I set a great value on it as evidencing his early attention to the English language and devotion to the educational interests of his native country.

[National Library of Hungary. Mss Department. Fond VIII.1]

To R. B. Reed

Glasgow Oct 7th 1859

I have been much from home, or in worse health during the last two months than usual which must plead my excuse for any remissness in my correspondence. Our Reform Association has not been doing much lately, in fact we are merely existing and keeping up our organization until the 'good time coming' - *when?* I have a letter written 'manifold' from our friend Madame Mario. I expect you would get a copy, as it was addressed to the *Newcastle Chronicle*. I wrote to the Editor requesting him to send me four copies for our four daily papers. I have heard nothing from him whether it has been printed by him or not. Please let me know because if not printed in the *Chronicle* or any other paper I must see whether it is right to print it here or at least the gist of it. From the hurried and rather difficult reading of so long a letter I do not exactly remember it but from its tenor I understand her to mean that there is some compromise between the Mazzinians and Victor Emmanuel. Can

you inform me whether M. approves of this as I have no letter from him for a number of weeks.

Give my best respects to Mr Cowen and other good friends to the cause. This is my first real good day for some weeks and I hope though I am weak yet that there is some work in me still.

p.s. If the letter has been published send me four copies of it. Excuse my hurried note. When I am better I shall make up for it.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C778]

To Joseph Cowen, Junr.

Glasgow Nov 27th 1859

I am just returned from a long and tiresome journey through Ireland and must again leave for 4 or 5 days on Tuesday. Please thank Mr Reed for his attention in sending newspapers and other information to our association, and to myself. I am ashamed of the apathy of our people when I see how hard yours are working for Parliamentary Reform but I hope on still for a *Revival* among them. Before I left we had a Subscription fairly started for Garibaldi which would have thrown all our former efforts for Italy in the shade but in our very flush of success he has withdrawn and we are brought to a standstill. It is for this cause I write. Contrary to my expectation our friend Madame Mario has not written – of course M. cannot with safety. I have written Mr Stansfeld for all that he can safely communicate so that I may as far as may be prudent inform our People what M. thinks of the matter and how far he and Garibaldi may understand each other and how much both can trust to Victor Emmanuel.

Knowing your intimacy with Garibaldi I hope you may be better informed of his views and you may trust my prudence in anything you may communicate, by intimating to me *how much* may be given to the People here who look to me for information.

You will excuse my hurried note as I am working up against time and am very tired but am so anxious for information that I cannot rest until I get it.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C899]

To R. B. Reed

Glasgow Jany 12th 1860

I trust we will move soon for Parliamentary Reform. One more trial and if our apathetic dogs don't bark I shall give up. Meantime I am working hard at what is workable because I am glad to discover life in any direction and especially when I am certain that Mazzini and Kossuth will yet draw in the same harness, and Garibaldi their fighting leader. The letter enclosed is almost entirely Hungarian. We have another yet from Kossuth bearing more immediately on Italy which will follow it and then action.

My regards to Mr Cowen and your fellow workers whom I shall be ashamed to meet - we do so little for Parliamentary Reform.

I have sent slips to Washington Wilks, Alderman Mitchell of Bradford and *Newcastle Chronicle*. You can give your slip to the other Newcastle paper or any other good journal since it will not appear here until tomorrow, in London on *Saturday*.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C1066]

To G. J. Holyoake

Glasgow May 28th 1860

I cannot get at my letters for reference today, respecting anything that Kossuth may have written since I saw him last, about a year ago, but will look over when I get at them, and with the usual Scottish caution will see if there is anything damaging to anybody before I communicate even to you.

I have always considered you a true friend of Italy and as such earnestly entreat you not to stir up any continental matters just now with which you may like myself not be exactly pleased as we have endeavoured to keep up at least the semblance of a good understanding. It is true policy to make Hungarian soldiers in Italy and Italian soldiers in Hungary think that their leaders are friends. A few weeks now will give us the foothold in Italy that we want to make terms even with France and we would be wrong even if not pleased with some persons to leave those who hate us all to think that any misunderstanding existed among our friends. I think you will understand my meaning though I am writing under considerable annoy-

ance at the moment. I would like to oblige one who has had my respect for many years but I would not be in the remotest degree instrumental in creating difficulties. Kossuth and Mazzini both know, for I have told them often, that they must understand one another. Mazzini is quite willing to look over some things and when Italy is free to assist the good cause in Hungary. This is generous and true policy; do not therefore let us put impediments in the way. You will excuse my haste. Mr Ashurst will explain how much I have to do now. I would not have written but knowing I will be engaged for some hours wished no delay in answering you. I shall write tomorrow.

p.s. Please answer this by return. I shall not write plainly until I get it and I should like you to be perfectly frank about the use you wish to make of the information you want. I would like to oblige you if I felt sure of no ill results from raking up things which should sleep for a few weeks.

[Holyoake Collection. Co-operative Union library, Manchester]

To R. B. Reed

Glasgow July 30th 1860

I enclose copy of Petition which will be presented by our Member Mr Dalglish on this day week. Could your Newcastle Engineers not get one ready for presentation at the same time? I am delaying ours to give you time to act. We can have ours filled up in two days and could easily have it presented this week but the two would be more effective together as we could write from both Committees to many Members to support Mr Dalglish who formerly moved in behalf of Mr Barbar.

Let us see how quickly the plucky men of Newcastle can *do*. We are confining ours to those connected with the Engineer trade since Mr Barbar suffered especially for the interests of their fellow craftsmen and it would be a shame did they not speak out for his widow and destitute orphans. I have nearly arranged for M. Blanc lecturing here on the 2nd of October and will fill up the days intervening between that date and 19th October when he lectures in Birmingham by nearly as many Scottish towns. Should you wish it and

apply in time he might take Newcastle on his return from Scotland to Birmingham about the 17th Oct. Please let me know early as he has placed himself entirely in my hands and I must know soon so as to arrange my towns and make his trip as profitable as I can with as little extra travelling as possible.

Please see Mr Warden and other Engineers immediately about the Petition. I can easily do Glasgow in two days and think it may be easily got up with you and despatched to 'Robert Dalglish Esq M.P., Trentons Hotel, London' by Friday or Saturday evening's post.

Excuse me as usual for haste.

[T.W.A.D. 634/CI466]

To the same

Sept 1st 1860

We are now working double tides – one man I know doing *treble* duty; old Janus with his *two* faces would have no chance in Glasgow. You will see from the enclosed which appears in every paper worth a straw in Glasgow today except the renegade *Mail* that we have now a fair chance for three separate organizations all however I trust to centre in Mazzini and his people. We have now the regular Fund at last in a fair working order, and having sent Ashurst £2050 will keep up a steady weekly subscription to the end of the war. I have fairly in harness the fund for the Garibaldi Volunteers and what I believe will be a very important one, the Sick and Wounded Fund of which the Duchess of Argyll and other great female names will be 'Lady Patronesses'. I shall endeavour that it goes direct to Garibaldi through Ashurst if possible but if not Bertani. I have been working hard for poor Barbar's widow, have got one hundred pounds and a letter from Lord John and a letter from Pam, informing me that her case will be taken up in the Civil Service Pension list, so that must rest for some months.¹ I will write you soon. My kind regards to Mr Cowen and all 'cannie friens'.

p.s. I have just now letter from Mazzini through Mrs Stansfeld dated 24th Augt. His Diary for the last two months has been painfully anxious. A few days will decide for him. Some days ago I

¹ For McAdam's assistance to the Barbar family, see Autobiography, above pp. 30-31

wrote through Mr Ashurst to Garibaldi for the purpose of delicately hinting to him that we expected his full cooperation with Mazzini. Mr A. very much approved of it. How [much] more effect would a letter from Mr Cowen have in this crisis to assure his friend Garibaldi that all our sympathies are with Mazzini.

You see that Kossuth is coming out as I have always claimed for him. All will yet come right.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C1519]

To the same

Glasgow Sept 10th 1860

We are tenaciously holding on to the real Italian question here though our devotion to Mazzini creates jealousy among our magnates and I am afraid the *Kirk* never will look over my charging its 'chosen vessels' with cowardice and want of devotion to the true *protesting* cause in Italy. I will live over it however and though fagged out go on with fresh spirits under the wonderful successes of our great friends. I trust G [aribaldi] will take care of Cavour. It is indeed painful to read as I have Mazzini's diary to Mrs Stansfeld of which she honoured me with a copy up to Aug 24th.

I enclose you a letter for Messrs J. Baxter Langley and Mr Gilmore with whom Louis Blanc has been in communication at the time you were squaring accounts with that rotten *English* borough Berwick – you are welcome to the ancient Scottish claim – though really we must admire the perfect frankness and candour of both bribers and bribed. I leave the note to these gentlemen open so that you may see it as even the smallest saving in writing is grateful to me at this time. Please give my regards to Mr Cowen and friends in Newcastle. Tell them to work hard for a little; our time is coming now when baith o' oor cannie toons will be proud of what they have done when things were less hopeful.

P.S. There is Ochre clay occasionally brought from Fife in Scotland to Newcastle. I will be obliged if you can inform me without hurting yourself or any other friend, who brings it, in what state it is brought, whether in the lump or ground, and the uses it is put to, and if you can who buys it, and what price they give, as it is possible

we may do something in that line, also if brought in the lump, whether it is ground dry and sifted, and mixed with water into lumps, or if it is water ground, and the process of grinding it thus.

You will excuse my troubling you but I am always willing to reciprocate. Write soon.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C1531]

To William McAdam

London Decr 1st 1860

I wrote you thinking I could have got away this morning early but Mr Ashurst urged me so hard to look over his accounts today that I had to promise delay until half past eight this evening, and will be in Paris by breakfast time. Keep this letter because in writing while I am on the Continent when speaking of *Kossuth* I call him Mr Smith, *Garibaldi* will be G. Adams, and *Mazzini* will be J. M. Brown. This is in case of letter opening. Yesterday I saw Mr Craufurd.¹ Neither he nor Mr Ashurst can go at this time and I am not sure but it is best for I have my own direct instructions from our own Committee which I am determined to adhere to – to the very letter if possible, and do my specified duties as honestly as if *auld Donald Kempt* was at my elbow.

I have however at nights seen M. Blanc, and M. Kossuth *late* last night. To both I spoke *generally* of the object of my journey, but not *specially*, for M. Blanc could be of no use to us, and Kossuth is not favourable to Garibaldi coming at this time, because he fears that if a great pressure of popularity in Britain was created by Garibaldi's visit then Austria might be compelled to sell Venetia, and get the proposed forty millions of pounds, with which she might easily quell Hungary thus deserted by Italy, and afterwards wait her time to again crush Italy. There is much in this, and it is right I should speak of this to our select Committee only. I can tell them this honestly, because last night I at first frankly warned Kossuth to tell me no more than I could repeat to his friends confidentially in Glasgow.

He was very frank and spoke kindly of his Glasgow friends, and I as frankly told him that I must do my duty by endeavouring to

¹ E. H. J. Craufurd, MP

bring Garibaldi to this country. I have a mission from him to a wounded friend, but have taken, nor will take no mission from any party which may intromit with my appointed duties in any way, for I would like to come creditably out of this both for myself, and they who trust me. I am quite well but wearied, for I was out for 14 hours constantly yesterday and it has been very wet and foggy, until this morning which is very pleasant. I will enclose a few lines at the very latest to my friend Robertson, in return for his lecture on temperance in France.¹ Imagine him warning one who has stood out 'Teacher's best' so long, running any risk in getting drunk on Claret etc.

I saw Mr Stansfeld M.P. at Fulham yesterday. He is delighted with the idea of G. coming, and speaks of the Freedom of London after we are done with him. I have a letter also from Joseph Cowen inviting him *after* us to Newcastle.

I will write you from Paris tomorrow. Tell Mary to kiss the bairns for me, and assure her that I shall be very careful of myself in every way.

To the same

Genoa Decr 5th, 1860

You know my rule in our own affairs, is to keep the work up and have the decks cleared for future action. So since I must wait until ten tomorrow for some information, and am too wearied to sleep, I will 'write up' until this as I hope my movements will be so quick tomorrow, and afterwards, that I shall have little time for writing.

I will reserve for some future period my impressions of Paris, its magnificent buildings, the pomp of war, the pugnacious looking little French soldiers, and stealthy catlike tread of the Zouaves, all at present moving in harmony amidst their polite fellow citizens too easily pleased for the present with Sunday amusements like Gringalet and Punch, and thoughtless of the time when these little wasps, who now drink wine with them, may be let loose to sting them to death. You know I am an admirer of beauty in woman – that quality does not abound in Paris – though I had a pleasant Sunday turn out to look for it. Still they are pleasant and neatly

¹ Probably James Barr Robertson

dressed. Above all like my friend J. M. I greatly admired their mutches.

From Paris to Macon is not generally an interesting country, poor farming, and many poor anxious like people, apparently with no chance in the world, and little heart to make one. What has struck me most thus far in France and Italy, is the general sameness of the trees – trees? why they are stable brooms set on end, with the broom end growing up, long, or short, according to the years of growth. I have made no enquiry, but think the uses these twigs are put to, are for making coarse baskets, and ‘sticking up’ their vines all through the wine countries. Most people in Scotland think the grape vines are ‘trailed’ as they are at home; in some cases they are, but the great bulk have the appearance of rows of peas ‘sticked up’ to a common height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet. The trees thus mutilated are willows, and are topped off at a height of from 4 to 10 feet, in some cases more, and the top part assumes a chubby appearance, from the cutting parts growing from the size of a man’s head, to that of a flour barrel.

I remained all night at Macon – can say nothing of it as it was dark while there – left early in the morning, and on to St Jean de Maurienne. At 2 o’clock took coach to cross Mont Cenis, proceeding onwards while day lasted, could not but admire the glorious mountain ranges. The land appears good, for even up until where the snow is almost eternal, the vines appeared healthy, and judging from the stalks of Indian corn, the climate and soil must be rich as some of them were large in spite of very indifferent cultivation.

Generally the people in Savoy on this route appear poor, wretched diminutive. A great many appear almost idiotic, and are afflicted with Goitre – swellings on the neck caused by drinking the muddy water of their streams, much as if pipe clay had been washed in them. Even those who are most healthy, remind me very much in their appearance, dress and looks, of the Southern Irish during the famine years. The priests, however, look well, and that is something.

We were 17 hours in crossing Mont Cenis on account of heavy snow which caused us to change from Coach to a large and very handsome Coach Sledge. We went smoothly unless where the snow did not cover the stones, but very slowly. In one of my changes I

left my little bottle, and the miserably dirty hovels we passed did not tempt me to enter, so my drink was a snowball. J. B. Robertson will chuckle at that, but I know he would not have grudged me the 'Liberty of the Press' after being cramped up 17 hours with a big woman in all her amplitude of accoutrements.

Day was breaking as we arrived at Susa, the frontier town of Sardinia, and though another ordeal of searching, and my bad French or Italian had to be gone through, I breathed free once more, for I felt I was in a comparatively free country, and one where from my many years' services to Italian freedom, I had a right to be. On the route to Turin the appearance of both People and Country keep improving. Several old castellated 'Robbers' nests' topped the various hills - thank God in ruins.

Glad to stretch my legs, I traversed the streets of Turin and admired the various beautiful buildings and really chaste and tasteful statuary, more however the living figures. The professional men appeared much like our own, barring the beard. However for the satisfaction of my friends J. M., J. M'G, the Rs and some few more of my hirsute acquaintances, I may tell them they beat all I have yet seen to sticks in the matter of hair, as I know they do in most other good qualities. The soldiers appear fine smart lads, much like the smartest, and lithest of our own Glasgow Volunteers ranging about 5 feet 6 to 5 foot 9 inches. They have the best and most pleasant countenances I have yet seen in foreigners, active and erect. I believe them as good soldiers in a field as the French, but would not I think stand the fatigues of a campaign so well, but they are the kind of men I would rather trust with a wife or child if at their mercy. I am back among the women, who appear much like our 'ain kindly Scottish lasses', though generally they are better looking, with all our freshness of complexion. They have as good figures, and better features. In their dress and manner they are natural, indeed on the streets, you would take most of them for Glasgow women.

I liked the independence, call it impudence if you please, of the many shoe black boys, who mocked me because I went around for the very purpose after the first instance with my dirty boots. They dared not exhibit the same spirit in France generally. These boys will yet be men under free Italian institutions.

I came here late last night, called on my agent, found him a day's

journey in the country, so made myself comfortable after 38 hours hard travelling, and wrote thus far preparatory for tomorrow's action.

noon, Decr 6th

I find there is no regular conveyance from Genoa to touch at Caprera before the 26th and none at all before next Monday to Sardinia, thence after a two days' journey across an unsafe country, and take small boat of the island. Under these circumstances, learning that the Sardinian government are about shipping off those of the British legion, anxious to return from Naples, and that a steamer leaves here this evening for that city, I have resolved on going with her to Naples, to see that at least our Glasgow party does not come home in rags, nor will I be stingy against the English, Scots, or Irish, so far as the fifty [pounds will stretch.]

To General Garibaldi

Genoa, Dec. 1860

I am thus far on a special mission to you, with an address from the friends of your country in Glasgow, inviting you to that city on the 21st Inst. to a soiree, to celebrate the closing up of the *old* Subscription Fund and preparatory to the opening up of a *new* one, on a larger and more liberal scale, for the struggle which we anticipate with the coming year.

I find however that no conveyance can be had in time for me to your island home, and that the Sardinian Government are preparing to ship from Naples, such of the British Legion as wish to return, and as part of my mission is – provided with money – to see that they do not go home destitute, I go this evening per steamer for Naples, and will visit you by first opportunity from thence, or at farthest at the 26th Inst. from Genoa, should you be there. I will come to Caprera with £150 which Mr Henderson, Sardinian Consul in Glasgow, has instructed me to give into your own hand. It is the first instalment of the 'Glasgow Ladies Sick and Wounded Fund' and is of far more consequence than all we have sent before, being in many cases the contributions of those who shuddered at the very idea of Italian Unity.

I enclose you with the Glasgow address, letters from Mr Ashurst as representing your friends in London, also from my excellent friend Mr Cowen. They may be worthy of your consideration, for I feel that if you *can* visit Glasgow, then Newcastle, then London, as agreed on by us, such a feeling will be awakened as will help you in your coming struggle. Be kind enough to write on receipt to the first name on the address, 'Walter Buchanan Esqr, M.P. Glasgow'. His name is a tower of strength – an old friend of Italy, his name also is associated with all that is cautious and highly respectable. Endeavour if you can so arrange it to come but it is not for me to presume to advise you further.

You will not I trust measure my respect for you by this hasty letter. I am writing under many disadvantages, and amidst the yet unvisited splendours of the *past*, may we fondly trust for the resurrection of the *present* Genoa, and for its glorious future. When you do see me, do not judge too hardly of my fellow citizens, because they have so far honoured a plain blunt man by this mission, simply because he has been for many years known as an active 'Friend of Italy', and connecting its various classes – one also who has stood to you, and *another* great friend through good, and through bad report.

I will write you from Naples, in time for next Monday's mail from this. Take the invitation into your serious consideration; it would do your cause good, and your family would also be heartily welcomed in Britain where you might also see your younger son.¹

Please excuse my preparations for my voyage to Naples. I enclose you also of which I leave here copy for Dr Bertani statement of Mr Ashurst's accounts so far as he had the spending of the money. Had I not waited to audit them on last Saturday with Mr Craufurd M.P., I would have been in time to come direct with Capt. Dowling yesterday from Genoa, but it was a duty I owed our excellent friend Mr Ashurst – though it was the first time I had met him – because though I believed that money had been spent in some few cases without consideration, no family has sacrificed so much in Britain for Italian freedom. Please adhibit your name to the statement as being satisfied so far as these items are concerned (I assure you they

¹ Ricciotti Garibaldi was living in Britain at the time

are correct) and forward to him per Capt. Dowling if returning to England, or by an early mail to London.

[Museo del Risorgimento, Milan. Curatuló collection. C1082]

To the same

Porto Longo. Island of Elba

Dec. 9th 1860

Being driven in here by stress of weather, I take the advantage of a *Brother* who will post this from Genoa, where he takes his vessel, to explain to you, what you may not have clearly understood in my hurried enclosure of the account of Mr Ashurst of London, and that my reason for enclosing you that statement was that you should put your name to it and forward to him as satisfied with his statement so far as his expenditure went. Indeed he has been out of pocket, and besides devoted more time than myself, without charging one penny for clerks, rooms – even postages. I went over the accounts for many hours with Mr Craufurd M.P., and found all correct – this *I pledge you on my sacred word and obligations* – though it was to me tiresome, because I deemed it unnecessary work, for no man has a better chance than myself of knowing how faithfully he and his sisters, Mesdames Stansfeld and Hawkes, have served oppressed Italy in her darkest hours, and the manliness with which his brother Mr James Stansfeld, like your true friend Joseph Cowen, have ever spoken up for you and your *great friend*.

I will return by Caprera, possibly not until the 26th, sooner however if I can, and so soon as I have sent away in comfort those of the British Legion, who will not wait to take part in the coming struggle. I am informed that the Sardinian Government is paying their passage home. If so I will be enabled to expend the money I have for little comforts on the way, *first* for my own countrymen as instructed, next for the few gallant Irishmen among them who came here to fight on the right side, then I will try to embrace the Englishmen, and trust that *all* may be met. I am now writing advising them in England and Scotland, so to arrange that their reception there may induce more men and by far more money to come to you personally, in the coming struggle.

This of course does not affect the £150. . . of the Glasgow

Ladies Sick and Wounded fund. This must be placed by me in your own hands to be at your own disposal, in accordance with the terms of the subscription, and *you* know 'I must obey orders if I break owners'.¹

You will excuse my want of ceremony, if only for the very circumstances I write in. Had I not waited to please Mr Ashurst (whom I had never met before) I would have been in time for Col. Dowling in Genoa, therefore could have had the pleasure of his company to Caprera. It has put me much about but it is for the best, since had I got to you, I could not be in time in Naples, to attend to our poor lads, and I trust yet to meet with Col. Dowling. May I hope the same for yourself. My heart was set on being with my tenderly loved family at Christmas, but it cannot be since I cannot leave my work undone.

Should Col. Dowling be yet with you, and writing the English Press, you may inform him for any uses he may please of my aims and instructions, because I would like that the British public should be prepared to receive the brave lads well, thereby preparing it for *more*, far more, coming to you when you want them. I will write you from Naples more particularly – meantime begging you will excuse the circumstances I am writing in.

[Museo del Risorgimento, Milan. Curatuló collection. C1081]

To William McAdam

Porto Longo, Island of Elba.

Sunday Decr 9th 1860

It would require more time than I can afford situated as I am to explain why I am here only one third way between Genoa and Naples, as we were driven in here by bad weather yesterday and am uncertain whether we can venture out today or not, but another steamer has come in and is for Genoa, the Captain aboard of us now. I think he is a Brother and mean to try him. At any rate I shall get him to post this and one to Garibaldi to Caprera, explaining the cause of my delay, for I learn that arrangements are made for the return by the end of this week of those who wish of the English Brigade. If so it is well that I should here come first to Naples rather

¹ A mariner's saying, which Garibaldi, a former sailor, would be familiar with

than to Caprera because that now their passage is paid to England by the Sardinian Government, my money will go much further in providing comforts to the poor fellows to the first English port. After that you in Glasgow must cooperate with Mr Ashurst, but I will write you so soon as I get to Naples and know all about it.

I will at all events reach Garibaldi by the 26th, not before then I fear, for I am resolved to carry out to the letter my instructions from Committee. I find the Captain is a Brother, also the one who commands this vessel, and I am now assured that what I want will be carried out. I was woefully seasick between Dover and Calais but soon travelled it off. This trip though worse I have stood much better, but oh the poor Italians – ‘Oh! Dea! Oh Dea!’ came from every berth, in every intonation from a clear tenor to the deep guttural bass. They all went ashore last night but I kept aboard as being safer, and I believe more comfortable.

I will attend faithfully to all our poor fellows, and after that if needful to Irish and English in their order as far as my funds go. I shall give the Irish preference simply because they deserve more credit as coming from Ireland to fight for civil and religious liberty.

You will not expect me to write much with a vessel pitching in a heavy swell. I will do so immediately I reach Naples and find out matters. I am in excellent health and will carry out all I promised but you need not expect either Garibaldi or the Volunteers for the *soirée*,¹ that must be a separate affair after the New Year, and will be better managed than for I shall do all I can to induce him to come.

I will write to Mary from Naples. Tell her that I feel more assured of the soundness of my constitution than ever, for I have travelled hard, even if much of it was pleasant and novel. I will make her laugh at my lame attempts at French and Italian – Oh Dea, Oh Dea. Give her my kind love and tell her to kiss the bairns for me.

Give my respects to Committee and enquiring friends and believe me, Affectionately yours.

P.S. I will describe at some other time the beauties of the buildings in Genoa, so far as I had time to see them, also the beauties of the temples of Cloacina. McTear being like myself *rather* classical will understand this and if wanted can render it into clear Scotch.

¹ The *soirée* was held on 21 December 1860. *The Times* (24 December 1860).

To the same

Naples Decr 13th 1860

I wrote you last on Sunday from Porto Longone in the Island of Elba where we had been driven in by bad weather, intimating to you, that as I could not reach the point intimated to me by our Committee, until the 26th Inst. from Genoa, and that our poor volunteer lads were about being shipped in a very destitute condition, I concluded to forward the documents entrusted to me, to the proper party, intimating that I would call on my return, also informing him that I had gone to the rescue of my fellow countrymen.

I am glad that I so resolved, for after being about 5 days on a 36 hours voyage I reached here on Tuesday forenoon and found all in a fearful state of disorganization, especially among the officers, consequent they say on the mad despotism of their Col. Peard, 'Garibaldi's Englishman'. I went down to one barrack 5 miles and when near it met unexpectedly De Gallo, whom you all know, and many disliked in Glasgow, but he is a true man and not one, English or Scotch, but speaks highly of him and the kindness he shows them in his capacity as a Captain in the Sardinian service, having general charge in Portici under Col. Forbes of 3 or 4 hundred men. He spoke gratefully of Scotland, and cannot do enough for me. A very fine young man named Cochran, cousin of Alex Whyte's friend Paterson, a sergeant there, and is quite cheerful, but says theirs is a model station, and that they are now clean and comparatively clothed, compared with Salerno. I may mention here that all my Exiles in the Glasgow Volunteers have turned out well. The two Hungarians joined their countrymen here.¹ Melassoma is Lieutenant in the regular Army, and both De Gallo, and Lovero, are Captains in the regular army.

I started yesterday morning early for Salerno, something like 45 miles from this, where the main body of our men are in barracks. I first saw their Capt. Davidson.² He and other officers were attentive and concurred in the propriety of my quietly examining their condition by myself. It was not long quiet, for I was soon

¹ Figyelmessy and Mogyoródy, see Autobiography, below p. 44 and Biographical Appendix

² Captain John Gordon Davidson

recognized, and the poor fellows were around me. My heart filled to see them cheerful and uncomplaining, with a few coppers a day, and nothing but their blanket, and a litter of broken straw, swarming with vermin, to sleep on, but they assured me they were now comfortable compared with their last cantonment at Caserta, and happy in the idea of being soon home. There have been a few thoughtless, and even not very good men among them and the English, though nothing to the extent might have been expected, and the officers speak highly of the many. Indeed when I looked where they were, and how they appeared, clean, tidy, and soldierly, I felt proud of my countrymen.

I told them I meant to visit their English comrades, and that as I had started with but a small remnant of the Glasgow Volunteer Fund, and as we Scots have always been accused of undue clannishness, that if I saw the English in the same destitution, I meant to do for all alike – Scots, English, or Irish – first to press all I could out of the reluctant Sardinian Government, then to devote all I can spare, to getting *all* some little wants such as warm stockings etc., which though the most essential article in coming from a warm, to a cold climate in winter, will not I understand be supplied them.

I saw the English and was struck with their appearance, fine young giants most of them, with the frankness, and open countenance of the Saxon, wrestling and gamboling among their lousy straw. You would not have thought they were in a filthy barrack, but rather on their native village green. I returned late last night here, and am writing this before day as I must be out early in town.

For 250 of them are proposed to be sent off today in the small steamer Melazzo, and since it is coarse weather, and she is only registered for 170 passengers, I mean to look after *that*. Also I am to see the Quarter master about their clothing and food for the voyage, and make no doubt but I shall accomplish my purposes and will work up as much of my other matters as possible, so that the men being cared for I may then return on my main errand from Glasgow.

Of course I cannot touch the 'Glasgow Ladies Sick and Wounded Fund', but I wish that had been left to my own discretion the same as the Committee placed their £50, because no worthier object requires it here, than their own countrymen, some of whom are wounded and in Hospital, but will be well and they on their way

home, before it can reach them. I will go the whole length if need be, with my letters of credit here, trusting that my fellow citizens will bear me out, since it would be a disgrace to us did we allow the men to return naked and destitute.

When I mentioned to the Scots lads that my means were small, but that I would like to share them with their English and Irish comrades, and though doubtless *they* had the legitimate claim not only on our £50 but to what I could of my own means, still that they were fellow countrymen in a foreign land with no man caring for them but myself as a civilian. Would they as Glasgow men be content that all should share alike and the question not be 'how much shall I get?' but rather 'how little can I do with?' All were pleased. Some even of the poor lads declared that *they* had plenty, and asked me to give their share to those more destitute than they. I could see from the honest English faces, that the word had passed among them before I left.

My friends in Glasgow will know how to act in the circumstances. I am here contending with all the influences of 'red tape' and hatred to our People by the party now in power, but I see my way out, and will complete the other part of my mission. If I am not home for some weeks – but I have promised our men a welcome, and England, Ireland and Scotland, must join in it – I shall write a letter to the whole Press to that effect within the next two days, if, as I expect, I get matters arranged regarding their embarkation.

I got Mr Robertson's letter last night, also a paper containing Cueto's letter. Poor fellow he is much pitied and respected here, and is not long out of prison, where he suffered much.¹ I fear that he will not get a free passage, and I know he has no means, but a day or two will decide. Meantime I shall give him a little to live on, and if I get all the other matters arranged, I feel that I should do wrong in leaving him here, deeply as he has been wronged, and that my old cautious friend Kempt will help me out with this, as he has done with other matters.

I went to the Hospital this morning, and you would have cried

¹ Gabriel Cueto was imprisoned for two months at the instigation of his superior officer, apparently for the trivial offence of wearing the uniform cap of a rank above his own. Donald Kempt wrote to Garibaldi asking him to intercede for him. Letter of 3 December 1860. Curatuló Collection, C.940

to see the poor anxious faces lightened up by expectation, for evidently the word had been passed along, that some one had come from their native country to help them. I am happy to state that Sergeant Clark is not dead, but is recovering fast. Some others from Scotland are sick, and also recovering. Among others Mr Smith from Yates, Brown & Howats. I shall see to them for the present, and care for their future, until they are embarked.

Col. Dunn lies dangerously wounded by some assassin who shot him in the street. Military rivalry is suspected. In no place in the world have I had so much dread as this, not among the wildest of the Red Indians, or Runaway Negroes, or even the more dangerous 'floating white population' of the South western states of America in the bad times, so you may trust to me taking good care o' nights of my precious carcase. Tell Mr Langdon, and Joseph Townsend, that the redoubtable Col. Forbes and several others of the best in the British Legion are Cornish men, with all the active and generous impulses of that 'Aboriginal', 'indigenous production', and that I remembered them when I saw the white wan faces of their countrymen this day, and felt a pride in knowing that I represented their feelings and charity in this country for their countrymen.

I saw Col. Peard, and whatever I may think, I shall take up with no particular party. My duty is to get the men out of this infamous part of Italy, of which I shall inform you when I return, and will write you possibly tomorrow, if anything decisive is done, this evening. I saw the Banker and that is all right. He is also one we are in treaty with for steanfers.

I cannot be with you on the 21st.¹ I have much to do and am determined to do it well. Since you cannot drink my health in Tea and Cakes, I trust my friend McTear will lead it off on New Year's morning, and that some of you will think of me then I feel assured. Tell Mary I dare not go to Rome yet, and she must wait for that Cameo. There is a precious jewel I shall however bring home, my own sweet self, and if she feels as I do this prolonged absence, she will make me as welcome as if I had brought her the Koh-i-nor. I am determined however to bring my old friend Mrs Couper my waggishly promised present and I am sure McTear's long eared friend 'Pio Nono' will as waggishly present it when I visit Caprera.

¹ i.e. for the soirée, see above p. 142

That is a joke, and only put in to show you that amidst all the present anxieties I am still your affectionate brother.

Saturday morning

I will write possibly on Monday when I shall know better about the remaining lads and the time of my own coming home.

To King Victor Emmanuel II

Naples 19 Dec. 60

Copy

The Bearer of the present, a citizen of Glasgow in Scotland and administrator of the fund for the sick and wounded, has been sent to Italy by the united people of a city preeminent in its devotion to your family and for Italian freedom, simply because he has for many years been considered the most devoted advocate of Italian Independence, and the friend of the Italian exiles.

My instructions from the people of Scotland I am now carrying out – viz. – visiting the sick and wounded and caring for those now returning to their native land, so that when the time again comes for our nation to assist yours in the great enterprise before you, the brave men I am acting for may be found fighting side by side with your people.

With the aid of your Majesty's servants I am getting my work done to the satisfaction of all, but there are five unfortunate men – William Coleman, Frank Walters, Thomas Valens, Henry Morrill, and Thomas Picton, who were caught taking food from your peasants and were sentenced to two years' imprisonment. I do not attempt to excuse them, but I want them home with me for the sake of the country which for hundreds of years has sympathized with the House of Savoy. Your clemency to them will be a soldier's gift to me, who have not spared either time or means during an arduous life in advocating the cause of Italian freedom.

To L. Kossuth

Glasgow Jan'y 19th, 1861

You will allow for my not being able sooner to consider Col. Forbes' report, since you can understand how much I have had to

do since my return, besides my own business, which was fearfully behind, and the returned Volunteers all look to me for assistance, and I have to give it for the credit of our cause in the future.

I had even to get our trusted friend Mr Robertson to copy it out. You will find some rough remarks opposite each query. I am writing Col. Forbes. I have had several letters from Garibaldi within the last week, and I have written him twice and each time reminded him of his promise to me to write you fully. I send per same post Forbes' report and first copy of his book. Write me of any matter you may think of.

[Hungarian National Archives, Kossuth collection, I.3594]

To Joseph Mazzini

Glasgow June 10th 1861

I shall not annoy you with long letters for some time to come as I can understand how much you will have to do under the new circumstances created by the unexpected death of Cavour, whether of good or evil for Italy time alone can develop, since I doubt if even you can prognosticate the eventual results of so important an event.

As to Garibaldi having immediately on his return to Genoa spoken bitterly against him after the so called reconciliation, it is to me only a new proof of his grounded determination for Italian unity. He was taken after the moment of his brave and generous defence of his comrades and fearless denunciation of his and your enemies in the Italian Parliament. His magnanimity was appealed to personally and directly, and for the moment he wished to believe that Cavour was like himself a patriot and as such he responded generously. At this you should neither repine nor think for one moment that he has been inconsistent, because when the influences were removed, that he again doubted Cavour's 'diplomacy'.

Whenever I have a letter from him as I expect soon I shall again write to you. Meantime trust to his honest heart and make fair allowance for his unsuspecting honesty. He may under sudden impulses go wrong amidst his surroundings – far more dangerous and trying than even your own among your true friends, since he must to some extent succumb to the men and circumstances amidst which

he is placed. You have his heart in your hand. To you he can never be untrue, and you must not only trust him but be guarded as to who you speak or write to as being dissatisfied with his little malarrangements.

I am afraid by the answers I have received from several good friends that we must not risk action here just now. Everything is dead and I dare not for the sake of the future risk a failure. Indeed so much is the apathy that for some months I fear I must remain out of pocket my outlay on behalf of the 'Garibaldi British Legion' but the first hour in which I can act to advantage you may trust me to, though I grieve to say I shall be obliged to act without two of my best friends – one, through illness, a gentleman, who gave as his last donation to the cause £200¹ – and the other Mr James B. Robertson has removed to a distance which however much he must advantage the cause I lose his immediate assistance and I know of no one here to take his place.

I have written to Mrs Barbar in Naples that Messrs Ashurst and Stansfeld have consented to act as her trustees regarding her Pension. It will serve as a new though small proof that it is your friends who mainly act for good to anything connected with Italy. Be kind enough to favour me with a few lines whenever you can spare the time amidst your anxieties and believe among all those who appreciate and understand you that no one is more devotedly yours and your country's than I am. I have had no word for many months from Signor and Madame Mario. Can you tell me anything about them or what they are doing?²

To L. Kossuth

Glasgow Sept 7th 1861

I will not attempt to tell you how deeply I have felt in reading your painfully interesting letter of 28th ult. I feel it now the more because you have too real grounds for your sorrow and your anger, at the espionage of our government, and the apathy of our people,

¹ W. G. Langdon

² This letter, found among McAdam's own papers, must be a rough copy of one that was sent. That Mazzini did receive it is obvious from his reply of 12 June 1861. Glasgow University Library. Ms. Gen. 530/47

when you was so basely robbed and insulted, and when one word from the thousands who really love you and your country, would have frightened the Austrian minions in our councils from their prey.¹ At that time I endeavoured to move, but our dear friend Langdon was in bad health, and before that I had letters from his esteemed lady (who knew what was wrong) imploring me to endeavour to restrain him from any Political excitement. My brother and one or two others would have at once moved – and I wish now we had – but the great bulk pointed out to me of how much more importance it was that the initiative should be given by the London Committee.

I am only sorry that your present letter can not with prudence and delicacy to your honest feeling of pride be given to the world entire, because I am sure it would awaken even thus late a burst of indignation against the baseness through which you have suffered. Do not Dear Sir allow yourself to think that this baseness is homologated by our honest People, who however apathetic they may be for a time as regards their own as well as your political rights, generally they come right in the end. Wait but a little. Already public feeling is speaking out, and an outburst of indignation will be called forth at the first attempt of our government to fetter either Hungarian or Italian patriotism. It is fortunate for your cause that Garibaldi holds the very heartstrings of his countrymen and that he is with you and yours to the bottom of his own honest heart, for with him there is no diplomacy nor crooked ways. He writes me as regularly as his heavy duties will permit, and ever in such kindly terms that I am ashamed to give publicity to his letters, though a few words published from him or yourself are life blood to my movements.

You know me impulsive, possibly sometimes rash, but I believe you would rather one should work with or write to you with his heart in his hand, even if the proprieties were offended. It is not mere presumption, for such men as yourself and Garibaldi I venerate more in your hour of depression and anxiety, than I may if I am

¹ Kossuth's attempt to issue Hungarian bank notes was revealed to the Austrians by the British Government, who were believed to have planted a police spy in the office of the printers, Day & Co. Kossuth took his case to the Court of Chancery and lost. See Autobiography above p. 59

spared to see you both in your proper places. At the present crisis I shall be guided entirely by you and your affairs, and shall not give publicity to one word of yours unless as instructed, but shall endeavour to promote a harmony of action between the friends of Hungary and Italy, Again allow me to assure you that in spite of the Germanic influences around our throne and councils, which never can be reconciled to you, the heart of our People is right and I do believe that you erred by not coming out and appealing to it when you was so wronged. Your London Committee should at all events have done this, but the fact is most of them are men of talent and honest principle, but entirely unaccustomed to the labour or tactics of any popular movement. So one left that part of the business to the other while we in the provinces looked to London for the initiative.

I must mention to you that two nights ago, two of the principal members of the new movement for Garibaldi waited on me from London.¹ I am looked to for the organization of Scotland. Our most worthy Joseph Cowen Junr of Newcastle, will most likely take the North of England, and we must form committees in the towns of our respective divisions. When we help Garibaldi we help you, for we know how dear to his heart is the emancipation of Hungary. I am now writing the various towns urging them to appoint Committees of action.

It would be a great point just now was I at liberty to publish the extract enclosed of your letter, which treats on the general position of the Hungarian question, with such ability that now it would aid us much in our new movement. I enclose all that I would say connected with it. You might suggest corrections, additions, or silence altogether, if you think it not advisable, but we have no time to lose in doing something, and just now your sentiment would be of vast importance.² I have not yet got your letter intended to operate on the great Evangelical Alliance meeting, which takes place this month.³ Please forward it soon.

¹ The Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee

² Kossuth replied by a long letter dated 7 October (having received McAdam's letter only on 6 October), outlining the alterations he wanted McAdam to make before releasing the letter to the Press.

³ The General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance held at Geneva, 1-12 September, 1861

It surprises me that none of our gentlemen of the Press have even surmised that the late story of assassins in Caprera might be only an excuse for the Italian government watching Garibaldi from going to Venetia or Hungary. It is exactly in keeping with the warning given him some time ago of such a party being likely to attack him in Caprera.

Excuse my long scrawl.

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth collection. I.3830]

To the same

Glasgow. Sept. 28th, 1861

In your deeply interesting letter to me of Augt 28th, you intimated that next day you would write me one for the great Evangelical meeting. This has not come to hand. Neither has any answer to one I posted to you 3 weeks ago in connection with your letter. So I am afraid that some foul work is going on either with the post office here or on the Continent. I take blame to myself for not hinting to you that your handwriting is so well known, and also to request you to address any letters you may honour me with to my brother 'Mr Alexander Whyte, 40 Dumbarton Road, Glasgow', who can be relied on, and whose name is not so well known as my own.

My letter to you was in reference to yours of Augt 28th. The first third part of it I have kept strictly private, even to our friends, but the next portion of more than a third I copied and sent back to you, because I considered it so apropos to this period, as a truthful and logical synopsis of the Hungarian question, that I requested you to give me liberty to publish it as widely, and as respectably as possible, for there is a crisis coming in which it will do much good among our people, who however indignant you may be with our government are in their hearts true to the question of Continental freedom.

I may mention to you that Mr Stansfeld M.P. for Halifax has been solicited by the most respectable Philosophical Institutes of Edinburgh and Glasgow, to lecture in November on the Italian question. I am also in communication with him, if possible to extend his lectures in Scotland. They will do much good to our new movement for Garibaldi, and may be made to militate in your favour, because

though he is more intimately connected with Italy than with Hungary, during many years, having been the main support of the Italian patriots. I know also that he is warmly attached to you and your country and that he will lose no opportunity of indicating its rights and exposing our government for the base espionage set upon you. It will be for you to say how much he should do, or in what manner and time I can best serve you.

I explained in my letter the exact mode in which I would work for you if you approved, and have waited anxiously for your answer. The opportunity has gone past for your letter to the great Evangelical meeting which is now dissolved, but I shall spare no pains nor expense in getting such a letter as yours signed by a very great number of our most eminent Clergymen and Laymen, to be forwarded to our government. In short I will do all I can in your own way to serve you, to go as far as one man can in exposing the base action of our government, perhaps yet to make their baseness a means of serving you. You know how deeply our People resent treachery and espionage. I would watch anxiously for the manner and the hour to serve you by exposing them, and I pledge my word that in no one thing I shall do for you, that your honour or independence shall suffer. I already explained to you if my letter reached, that it was not our People that should be blamed but your London Committee, and possibly yourself, for not appealing to the whole people, who deeply though silently resented the base interference of our government with your Note issue. They were silent only I assure you, because they considered they might at that time injure you by speaking out before the London Committee, and now I know that they are doubly ready to respond to your call and to be up and doing. I have seen all along that just as Hungary cannot be free without the aid of Italy, so Italy can never be secure until Hungary is free. Therefore my main aim has been as you know to do all I can to keep the patriots of both nations working in harmony. Garibaldi I know loves you, and is determined that your country shall be free, but he is no diplomatist and has no ceremony with his friends and I trust that you will be no more punctilious than he with you in your correspondence.

Be good enough to write me either to be silent, or as to how I must act. We are in the middle of bad trade and I have much to do.

Still all my spare time, and all my friends' spare time, shall be devoted to serve you. My brother is well and desires to be remembered to you. I hope you have written our kind friend Langdon as you promised. We shall miss him and Prof. Nichol much in the coming struggle. Write me per return of post.

[Enclosed is an extract from Kossuth's letter of August 28th, 1861].
Then:

The remainder of your letter consists of suggestions regarding the Evangelical Alliance and other meetings which will be strictly attended to. Should you wish what I have copied published let me know. I have numbered the latter passages so that you may cut out, add, or alter them, if anything may be objectionable. Let me know by return of post. It shall be silence if you say so though I think the above selections would do much good if widely circulated as I can do it simultaneously in London and in our best provincial towns. You need not return this manuscript as I have your letter and notes duplicate on all that is enclosed. Should Mr John Nimmo or Mr Young call with this letter be good enough to see them. They are very respectable gentlemen who were and are of great use to me though they do not meddle with Politics and may yet be of service to you. They are Scotsmen and dare not feel any way else than kindly to one so respected in their native land.

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth collection. I.3842]

To S. Vukovics

Decr 30th 1861

I intimated to you in my last of the 28th posted yesterday that I had received the 50 copies of the appeal and having ordered another 50 subscription sheets corresponding in appearance and attached to the appeal am sparing no pains or expense to get them into proper hands.

Should you fail in getting a real good man in Southampton, I will try another way. We must have a good name from there or none at all, but give me the name of its most liberal newspaper. In this and in most other things concerning your country perhaps I may be able more gracefully to appeal to public opinion there, than

you, being a party directly interested and in all I shall do I will consider the honourable pride of our friend and his countrymen now in their hour of adversity more than I will perhaps when your day of triumph comes.

We understood here that Day & Son were the victims of police espionage, that a policeman got into their office as a workman, stole away one of the notes, handed it to his superior, who again handed it to the Austrian minister who took proceedings against Gov Kossuth.

Now I would like you to inform me and of course in the strictest confidence if you wish it so how the £6800 you speak of as paid to Day & Son was obtained. Kossuth wrote to me that the mere money paid out would amount to something over that sum but of course knowing that we had no funds in this country I feared that some true friends here were responsible for the debt and on this ground I meant to make a demand by way of Petition on the first meeting of our Parliament for compensation to Kossuth since our Government had not denied their share in this infamous transaction. So you will see it is no mere idle curiosity on my part but a wish to make myself advised of the exact circumstances of the case for I differ with Gov. Kossuth for the first time in the means by which he will obtain justice in this country.

I enclose you his letter on this point to read between the two marks X (return it to me when you write me next) because you may better understand his meaning. Now I think we should rather appeal to the spirit of fair play inherent in our people first, before speaking of the Court of Chancery, simply because even if we failed in Parliament our last resort need only be Chancery. Now give me your candid opinion of my intention, subject of course to the Governor's sanction, to present a Respectful Petition to Parliament requesting information as to who employed that man in Day's office and why our Government authorities identified with the theft of that note and gave it to the Austrian Ambassador, and whether in that case money compensation and satisfaction should not be given to Louis Kossuth by our Government for their openly permitted infraction of his rights as one living under the protection of our laws. This is the manly, open, way of action for us, and will be more dignified for Kossuth whose safest and most honourable

course is an honest appeal to this country which as a whole admires and esteems him rather than trust it to the quibbles and subterfuges of a parcel of heartless lawyers in the court of Chancery.

I look on this matter *especially* as the most important in which I have ever taken part during a long and active public life, and will be careful that your cause does not suffer through imprudence or excess of zeal on my part, so I want every information that you can afford that we may prepare and with Kossuth's sanction bring his case before Parliament. You will understand me entirely when I tell you that I am a devoted friend of Joseph Mazzini between whom and the Governor injudicious friends of our cause here tried to widen a breach. Possibly next to Mr Stansfeld I know Mazzini as well as any man in this country and I know how fully he enters into the interests of the Hungarian nation. Kossuth knows my feelings and my endeavours to keep [them acting together.]

I had not intended to publish the appeal until now in the newspapers.—¹

To Charles Hadfield

Glasgow Feby 3rd 1862

On my return from a long journey, I have your note and 3 newspapers which inform me how hard you are working in aid of the Hartley Colliery sufferers,² and also on behalf of Parliamentary Reform.

On this latter point I do not mean to stir *now* because our Electors will not stir until the Non-Electors drive them, and hunger only will drive the poor spiritless dogs to howl. God knows I will pity the families of these working men in the hard months before them, but for themselves I have no sympathy, but would rather add to their burthens to hasten the time of their political emancipation.

The sympathy is universal for the poor Hartley sufferers, but how unproductive when compared with the solid testimony for the

¹ The letter is obviously unfinished. It is a draft, or a copy, of a letter to Vukovics. The original, as received by Vukovics, has not been found

² 204 miners were killed at an accident at Hartley Colliery on 16 January 1862. Joseph Cowen and his friends helped to raise funds for the relief of the widows and orphans and also promoted legislative action for improved safety in mines

negative virtues of Prince Albert in not meddling farther than he dared against Continental freedom. This maudlin sentiment however will work its own cure, and even the dullest among us will think how hard it is, when their bellies are pinched, that money is wasted on vain memorials for doing nothing, except receiving £50,000 annually, and that a silly young lad should within a few months have a clear half million, a large annual allowance, and the check lock key.¹ Talk of the beastly sons of old mad George – why, nothing half so bad in the way of temptation was placed in their way as in that of this poor spoony boy, who appears by his princely donation of one hundred pounds to the Hartley sufferers however, to have the true German grip of cash.

Excuse my hasty acknowledgement of your favours, for I also am working hard, because few of our people have the energy of your ‘cannie men’, and the Continental crisis comes. Of all I know I shall hold you advised. Our Non Electors are beginning to move for Reform. I have written assuring them of help from the Electors, should they evince a spirit worthy of it, and the moment they organize as Non-Electors comes my time and not till then.

Present my kind regards to Messrs Cowen, Reed, Warden and the other good friends in Newcastle. Whenever I speak of *examples* I mention your own good town, for if all had done as you have, we would have had now a good growing measure of Parliamentary Reform.

Excuse my hasty note for I have much to do, and few to help me.

[T.W.A.D. 634/C1708]

To L. Kossuth

Feb'y 6th, 1862

Various circumstances have arisen to hinder my working so promptly as I would have wished. First the time lost before I got the ‘Appeal’, then came our New Year holidays, and now when I thought the way was clear to do some good in spite of bad times, first the melancholy disaster in the Hartley Collieries absorbed what

¹ Presumably a reference to the financial arrangements for the Prince of Wales at his coming of age

interest was not taken up by the American war, and now I am called to halt for two weeks by Prince Albert's death, which not only engrossed all interest, but has for a space swallowed up the money which our liberal people devote to better purposes, than building memorials for one who did all he dared against continental freedom. Think of £3000 being collected at one meeting in Glasgow, for this purpose, and it will be more than doubled by the exertions of the many, who profess admiration for yourself and the other great leaders, but who will not assist until you are successful.

I remitted the £20 to Mr Vukovics intended for a special purpose. I had only £30 collected for Eperjes when the Albert affair frustrated me for a time, so I thought best to remit him this also yesterday, merely to show that we are awake to our duty. I have over 100 sheets out. The English ones I requested to be sent to M. Vukovics direct, so he may have got some other money to make it worth while remitting to Hungary. I feel you will agree with me that it is better to allow our sheets to be out than to call them in empty. I have requested M. Vukovics not to mention the amount, and you will see I have studied this course in the enclosed paragraphs. No use in letting the enemy see our present difficulty.

It is only I hope for the present for day before yesterday Mr Henderson of Park wrote, requesting me to call on him to explain the circumstances of the College. I went in and did so, and he promised to think it over. However when I came home I wrote to him very carefully, appealing to him to come out freely, for he is at the head of the religious world in Scotland, and gives 3-4 or 5 thousand pounds yearly to religious and benevolent purposes. Should he go among that class, our sum would be completed very soon, but I shall inform you of the result.

It is to be regretted that your name is now so seldom brought before the reading world. I understand entirely your difficulty in for the present speaking to it, since you might not be at liberty to say what would be interesting without saying too much. Our Parliament meets today, and some questions may be put whether we wish or no about the bank note affair. I would rather they were put by some members that we could depend on, who would not drop the question until answered. You however must be the best judge of this, though M. Vukovics is like me of opinion, that we

should appeal frankly to Parliament, rather than to wade through Chancery. You need lose no dignity in this matter, for you need not appear in it. We have towns in Scotland to instruct their members, and some English ones also, who would simultaneously Petition for an enquiry how far our Authorities were mixed up in the espionage and theft of your note. You may get no more money back by this method, than you would get out of Chancery, but we would awaken the spirit of fair play which is not dead, only dormant in the breast of our People.

Think seriously of this, and promptly instruct me, because no time should be lost, since we might add to the interest in any movement you may make, and help that by the publicity it would give. The Rev. Mr Crosskey has promised to draw up any memorial or petition. He has done the like in connection with Lord John Russell's letter, and the addresses to Garibaldi, and you may rest assured that in no man's hands in Britain will your case be safer, so far as prudence and ability is concerned, than in him, and I will spare no trouble in making it effective afterwards.

The widow of your true friend Prof. Nichol has promptly sent the widow's mite for Eperjes. You know she is a Peace Friend, and charges me not to spend her money in Gunpowder. She is a most excellent lady, and is now living in Edinburgh. Her address is 'Mrs Nichol, Huntley Lodge, Mornington, By Edinburgh'. I mention this because you promised to send her a few lines when her gifted husband died, and as she never has mentioned receiving this conclude it must have miscarried, or been forgotten in your great cares.

I learn that the vessel arrived 10 days ago at Genoa in which I sent 25,000 salmon ova to Garibaldi. Likely it will be in his little stream in Caprera by this time. Our mean Scottish River Lords refused me this from Scotland, but I got it from an English gentleman from his Irish property, having sent the introducer of salmon pisciculture to Ireland at great expense, and would not allow me to pay sixpence of it. You will smile at my placing much interest on this matter among so many important affairs, but it has served its purpose, for our journals here have kept it up in connection with Garibaldi's name. Even *Punch*, good naturedly too, mentions it in last week's edition as an appropriate gift, seeing that when Garibaldi

goes to Rome he may become the 'Chief Fisherman' - St. Peter.¹

Just as I am finishing I have a letter of a very encouraging nature with some money (from his partners) from a gentleman who subscribed first after myself to Garibaldi and was the first for Eperjes and promised more if wanted. Excuse my hurried note.

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth collection I.3953]

To Joseph Cowen Junr

Glasgow March 14th 1863

Karl Blind had a great success at Bradford. He lectures on the Polish question here on April 6th, our largest hall having been taken for that as the earliest day it was free, and I shall endeavour that he is successful in this and some other Scottish towns on his visit here.²

I am writing to Mr Peter Stuart of Liverpool, and to Manchester as he thinks he could do some good for the Polish cause in this crisis. What do you say for Newcastle? and some other of your Northern towns? His time is at your disposal either before or after the 6th April, but I think the sooner the better for meetings, my only regret being the delay caused here arising from the engagement of the City Hall.

M. Blind's address is '23 Townshend Road, St Johns Wood, London', so that if you thought of asking him - his time being at our control from now - you may write to him there and arrange for any time up to Saturday April 4th, then leave us an interval of 10 days or so, as he might take up our best Scotch towns in that 10 days. I am writing in haste because I must leave for a week sooner than I expected so that I may get home on next Saturday to work for M. Blind's meeting. Please let me know your course of action

¹ *Ab Ovo Usque ad Bonum*. Among the persons who, following Mr Punch's example, have sent appropriate presents to Garibaldi, is a gentleman of a piscivorous character, who has forwarded to the Italian Liberator a great quantity of Salmon's Eggs. We accept the omen. May it imply that he will soon occupy the Chair of the Fisherman' *Punch* (1 February 1862), p. 42. Andrew Buist sent the ova from the fisheries leased by him in Ireland from Mr Ashworth

² For an account of this meeting held in Glasgow City Hall see *Glasgow Herald* (7 April 1863)

in Newcastle, so that I may regulate ours by yours. With best respects to Mr Reed and our friends.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A709]

To the same

Glasgow April 7th 1863

Mr Karl Blind will be in Hawick during the course of next week and will then finish his Scottish towns. Will you be ready to take him in Newcastle, since he will be so far on his way to Manchester and Liverpool where he lectures on *or about* the 20th? You will be much pleased with him and his good lady, for they have all the frankness and intelligence of educated Germans.

I am getting on pretty well for a commencement with our Polish subscription, though the follies connected with the Prince's marriage and the visit of the old dodger Palmerston has fairly exhausted our people. Still both Glasgow and Newcastle must keep up their places in the front ranks of those who feel for Italy, Hungary or Poland. Mr Blind's lecture is essentially an appeal on behalf of the Poles and already our people are responding to it.

You will excuse my hasty note since I am writing to many places in this question and will do my utmost to bring speedy aid to the brave Poles.

p.s Please answer me per return

[T.W.A.D. 634/A712]

To the same

Glasgow March 23rd 1864

Paragraphs have been going the rounds of the Press regarding Gen. Garibaldi coming to Britain which I did not regard much since I thought the rumour was meant to throw the enemy on a false scent when he should leave Caprera. We have had no communication with him about it but this morning I observe a paragraph intimating that he had written to *you*, that he would visit Newcastle.

Be good enough to let me know per return whether it is so, and

your opinion in confidence, as to whether he means coming or not so that we may act accordingly. Give my respects to Mr Reed and friends. Excuse haste.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A731]

To the same

Glasgow March 27th 1864

I have yours and a letter from Mazzini. I think that the London Committee would like that Garibaldi could come North so as to give them time for a proper reception, but I will let you know on Tuesday when I shall hear from London. Newcastle has undoubtedly the oldest and best claim on him, as I have in writing to him always said, and we will be content in Scotland *after you* if it suits the central committee's arrangements. I will write to you when we have organized. You will see from the enclosed my proposed line of action.¹

G. has acted like a boy. He should have been here months ago. but we must make the best of it even thus hurriedly.

In haste.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A741]

To General Garibaldi

Glasgow March 31st 1864

I enclose slips of newspapers to show you how we are progressing in Glasgow. It was a great oversight in your not writing me before you left your island home, because all over Scotland I have been called on for information which I could not give. However I have got over the difficulty and in connection with your excellent friend Mr McTear have got up the very best reception Committee that has ever been appointed in Glasgow and you can trust to a warm hearty welcome.

We place our arrangements in the hands of Mr Cowen, will be guided by him. Do you also take his advice regarding your time of

¹ On the verso of the letter is a note: 'The slips referred to could not be got in time for this Evg's post. A. Whyte[i.e. Alexander Whyte] Sunday 7.35.'

coming to Newcastle and to Scotland. Knowing your time to be limited I have only thus far suggested Edinburgh and Glasgow as two centres, where deputations from lesser towns might be presented to you, but Dundee has come out, earnestly requesting to be made a third centre on behalf of the North of Scotland that I would impress on you if possible to spare us time to oblige that populous and patriotic part of the country. Knowing how much you will have to do on your arrival I write briefly, but will tomorrow write more at length to Mr Cowen, in whose hands our people are content to place their arrangements.

Of course you will receive a formal notice from the Convenor appointed at yesterday's meeting which you must answer formally, but any matter requiring action or tending to raise money ought to come to me or to Mr McTear as we will have to work out the matter after your visit.¹

Excuse my hasty note for I have so many applications on your behalf to answer. Give my respects to your sons and friends.

[A. P. Campanella Collection, International Institute of Garibaldian Studies, Geneva, Switzerland]

To Joseph Cowen, Junr.

Glasgow April 9th 1864

Should you be able to manage the enclosed request² it will help the cause much in Scotland. It will take all our management to keep our Magnates in hand. They are suspicious of being drawn into a Democratic movement, which it assuredly will be and not a mere holiday for sunshine Garibaldians, and we must get money, so that we must not only work but must prove that we have his confidence. For the sake of the cause impress this on the minds of our Newcastle friends – we may yet do you a similar favour – as we know no silly ideas of priority, but only who best can work to serve the cause. It would take 3 days for Glasgow and towns in the West of [Scotland], Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; Thursday with

¹ Official arrangements for Garibaldi's reception were in the hands of a committee, appointed at the meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864. The City Chamberlain, W. West Watson, was appointed Convenor

² i.e. the following letter, also dated 9 April 1864

Dundee as the centre for the North of Scotland, Perthshire and County of Fife; Friday Edinburgh as the centre for the Lothians and Hawick the centre for the South. This could be made a day meeting to give time for those from neighbouring towns to get home, and Garibaldi to get to Blaydon or wherever you have pitched his camp while on Saturday at Newcastle. Sunderland, Shields and other neighbouring towns must come to your town. After that under your direction his visit will be made easy, and I hope profitable. Should you approve of this plan and if you think the Newcastle men will not object, telegraph me at once to 509 St Vincent St, but should you think they would object lay the matter before your Committee, and if you think my enclosed explanation may do good publish it. I fear if this arrangement is not gone through with that Gar. may not be able to pay us a visit when we can receive him for he must be off soon.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A756]

To the same

Glasgow April 9th 1864

I am in receipt of letters from our good friends in London, which informed me of how much you had to do when at the Isle of Wight. I had half understood your troubles so you was more than half forgiven before hand. Now after this preface, I wish to ask of you, and the men of Newcastle a great favour – in some sort they owe me a little indulgence, as I have always whether in England or Scotland maintained the right of Newcastle to a preeminence in all that regards European freedom, and most *distinctly* in all that regards Gen. Garibaldi.

As most likely London and its vicinity will absorb next week, I think that he should come direct down here, to commence with Glasgow on the Monday following, as it will take him a week in Scotland. So many towns are asking him to visit them and we have chalked out his route, so that he could finish with the good town of Hawick as the centre of that group of towns in the South of Scotland, and get to Newcastle on Saturday the 21st Inst when he will be recruited and able to see your people about the 23rd.

I should explain to your people my reason for making this request is because our Criminal Assizes commence on the 23rd Inst. in which no public business such as ours can be done, and we must strike the key note for Scotland in Glasgow because money is wanted, and Garibaldi's stay must be short in Britain. *You* speak to the men of Newcastle for the sake of the cause. Explain how highly we estimate their constant devotion, and also how much we would regret because of these assizes doing less than we should for the cause.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A756]

To General Garibaldi

Glasgow April 10th, 1864

I wrote to Mr Cowen last night explaining to him that as our criminal assizes commence on Monday two weeks from this, when no public business such as ours can be done to advantage, that we would take it as a great favour if the men of Newcastle would give us the precedence, as it would take the whole of the week commencing Monday 18th Inst, if it suited your other arrangements, to give Scotland a fair share in its various 'centres of action' and I have no doubt from the friendly political relations for more than 30 years, that the Newcastle liberals will oblige their Glasgow brethren. If it suited you, we are ready for you on the 18th. In Scotland, Glasgow must be the first, for we can work it easily, and give an example to the other towns, and we will be careful not to offend our aristocratic friends, many of whom are really so, but the great bulk of this class will retire whenever their holiday is over. I am prominently on both of the Committees, and assure you that no collision will take place.

You will observe that in publishing your short note to me, I kept out that part where you spoke of going to a Hotel, as it would have been offensive to the aristocratic committee, had they seen you declining the invitation of our Lord Provost for yourself and two sons. It would have been better otherwise to have been in a Hotel, where your working friends could have come to you, but it cannot be helped.

However I have done the next best thing. Mr MacGregor of the

Queen's Hotel, the principal one, where Kossuth, Lord Palmerston, and our other eminent visitors have resided, offered to me to place all the apartments needful for your Secretaries and suite, with his fine public reception rooms, at your disposal, free of all expenses, during your visit to Glasgow. This includes of course Col. Chambers and his lady, who I had the honour some months ago to meet at our devoted friend's, Peter Stuart of Liverpool.

The programme of your visits in Scotland would be Glasgow, and towns in the west of Scotland, 3 days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, to Rossie Priory, the seat of your devoted friend Lord Kinnaird whose letter I enclose dated yesterday. He is a brother of the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird M.P. and a most devoted friend of Italy, who sometime ago wrote to me offering you and your suite the hospitality of his roof. On Thursday you could visit Dundee 12 miles from his house. It is the natural centre of the North of Scotland, Perthshire, and the very interesting county of Fife. On Friday you would be in Edinburgh, as the Capital of the centre, and on Saturday a day meeting at Hawick to which I will warn Galashiels, Kelso, Jedburgh and other interesting towns. A day meeting would enable their deputations to return home, and you could get away time enough to be with our friend Cowen on Saturday night.

[letter unfinished]

[A. P. Campanella Collection, International Institute of Garibaldian Studies, Geneva, Switzerland]

To R. B. Reed

Glasgow [April 11th, 1864]

I telegraphed to you because I thought Mr Cowen would be in London. I sent him a letter by early post on Saturday, which if he was absent I hope you would open, as you would see our stamp on the envelope.

I explained to him that this day two weeks commences our criminal Court business, which stops all our civic authorities, and begging him to speak to the men of Newcastle to have Garibaldi in Scotland first and to return first town in England to Newcastle. I

am quite alive to the superior claims of your town to Gen. Garibaldi, but it might prevent [his] coming to Scotland at all after two weeks as his time is limited.

I have telegraphed you to that effect but either you will have received my Saturday's letter or Mr Cowen will have returned it to you from London, if it was sent after him, [or] he will have seen it before he left, and if he did see it he ought at once to have sent me either a letter or telegram for this morning.

We have a hard job to keep him in the right hands and make it what it ought to be, a political demonstration, which all the Civic authorities wish to prevent. Luckily however we are the working element and have got the cards in our own hands.¹

I have your telegram. Thank the Newcastle men. All is right now. You will not suffer through your brotherly conduct to us.

I delayed posting this until I would have the enclosed letter in Garibaldi's own hand. Excuse my haste. I will keep the Newcastle men posted up as we go on.

p.s. I have Mr Cowen's letter and will thank him tomorrow.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A765]

To General Garibaldi

Glasgow April 15th 1864

I am in receipt of yours dated yesterday from Stafford House, and not knowing whether you may be there tomorrow, besides the many letters you will receive might cause some mistake in the delivery of the enclosed address, I send it to the care of my esteemed and trusted friend, Signora E. A. Venturi.

The address is from a body of real friends of Italy during many years. Louis Blanc can tell you that they are not mere novelty hunters, but true earnest men, delicate in their attention to any friend of yours who came among them, and constant in their subscriptions to the cause.

Archibald Orr Ewing Esq. is a very wealthy man. Besides his arrangements for your friends from Caprera he will welcome any

¹ The condition of the manuscript shows that McAdam laid the letter aside at this point and added the final two paragraphs and postscript later

English gentlemen such as Mr Cowen of Newcastle, and as he has engaged a steamer specially for you he will invite the Magistrates of Dumbarton, and principal citizens, and working men's Committee as his guests for a sail up the largest and most beautiful of our Scottish lakes, Loch Lomond. You could also with very little fatigue see some of the most perfect manufactories in Britain.

All this I will explain to you as your time for coming here approaches, this arrangement as well as nearly all Scotland being in my hands, to spare you trouble and save time.

Consider well of this. It will do much for the cause, and though you are worried with letters, it would be well that you wrote Mr Ewing to my care in your own hand, as it would add a double value to your acceptance. I have posted your letter to good old Mr Tennent, who is I am glad to say somewhat recovered from his illness and great sorrow.

The enclosed slip will show you that we are holding ourselves ready, and working in harmony with all classes.

P.S. Be good enough to keep me well acquainted with your movements in your own handwriting in as few words as you like. Your real friends here work more heartily with me because of my giving them your letters, not private, not as autograph hunters, but because of their love and devotion to you when your friends were fewer.

[A. P. Campanella Collection, International Institute of Garibaldian Studies, Geneva, Switzerland]

To General Garibaldi

[London, 23rd April, 1864]

I was sent up express on Thursday night – all day yesterday could not get near you, saw you as you was going off, and had to come *here*. I will not detain you five minutes, but I may mention that Mr Tennent has offered to come to Caprera in his yacht. Lord and Lady Kinnaird I saw yesterday. They approve highly of this method of action. So do all *our* people. In haste. I am waiting your answer.

[A. P. Campanella Collection, International Institute of Garibaldian Studies, Geneva]

To Joseph Cowen Junr.

Glasgow March 2nd 1865

I enclose Cardinal Wiseman to you as it was evidently meant for you, though addressed 'Joseph Cowen Esqr, Garibaldi Committee, Glasgow', - also a note sent from your office, but as I cannot make out the signature very clearly I send it to you as you will most likely know the sender.

I am only returned from a series of long journies and you must excuse my hurried note, since I will have some time after I am rested and will take up my correspondence with some degree of spirit, and endeavour to help our poeple if they will give any sign in any Parliamentary Reform movement.

I have a late letter from Mrs Chambers from Caprera. Peter Stuart of Liverpool warned me of the danger of writing to Gen. Garibaldi at this time as I mean to warn him about getting into the same hands should he come to Britain, and that she might get hold of it. Her letter is only gossip, but her *ends* for gossiping to me I have yet to learn. Keep this *private* for I want to learn what she is driving at and must keep on terms. I have a letter this morning, as you most likely will also have had, from Madame Venturi anent Mazzini's new pamphlet.¹ I will do all I can for it, but I will write you fully in a few days.

Meantime with kind regards to Mr Reed.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A859]

To General Garibaldi

Glasgow Dec 20th 1866

Nothing at the present crisis would induce me to trouble you with even these few words, but for the general report of our Press, confirmed by private information, which we have usually found correct, that you have serious intentions of joining the Greeks.

It is not for me to give *you* advice. You must know the situation better than us, but I may warn you against placing trust in the

¹ Mazzini's *Letter to the Pope*. McAdam took 200 copies of this pamphlet to distribute. See Mazzini's letter to him of 21 March 1865, Glasgow University Library. Ms. Gen. 530/24

Greek merchants and speculators in this country, who care nothing for you or freedom farther than they can make money, or forward the interests of Russia by it. We know them better than you can, and would be sorry if your generous sympathies should be wasted in efforts that ought to be reserved for your own country, now in a more critical situation than before Marsala.

Your friends in this country still feel as warmly as ever towards yourself and Italy, but not aware of your plans of action we cannot come before the public. You may however depend on what we can in any emergency, and our abiding interest in your welfare when the Italian crisis is safely over.

Present my sincere respects to your family and to our friends with you. Pardon me this hurried note.

[Museo del Risorgimento, Milan. Curatuló Collection, C2481]

To L. Kossuth

Glasgow August 26th 1867

The enclosed obituary notice of our lamented friend Mr Langdon will pardon my writing to you now, though I was anxious otherwise to convey to you my own respectful sentiments of esteem, and sympathy for you in your sorrowful exile, and as I thought that you or your sons might have observed the notice of Mr Langdon's untimely death in the London newspapers, I considered you might be anxious to know the particulars of which I was advised by his family, who though living in Cornwall still keep up their friendly connection with my brother and myself.

Mr Langdon you will remember was for a short time afflicted mentally but even then the generous manly spirit showed itself. All his ideas were patriotic, honourable and disinterested, and I never knew one so worthy of respect under the circumstances. His poor wife implicitly trusted me, because I considered it my duty to restrain him from devoting too much of his means in his comparatively altered circumstances. You will be glad to know that he was well both in body and mind when he met his death, since it is a sad satisfaction to learn that his reason was unclouded. His son was with him at the time and was nearly drowned with him. He writes me that his Mother was bearing up under her affliction

better than could be expected, and thanked me for my offer of intimating to you the death of her devotedly loved husband.

There will be a [more] complete breaking up of the old Whig and Tory parties in Britain than most people at present contemplate. The only hold that the obstinate old Tories had on us was their supposed bull headed tenacity of old traditions. That charm is broken by their cowardly submission when the People doggedly met them in their various turnings, and finished this session of Parliament by submitting on the Public Parks Bill so tamely after all their proud boastings, and the Whigs who are virtually extinguished through their half hearted policy, so that room is making for a real third party in which our friends will be able to promote domestic reforms, and sympathise practically with European freedom.

Whether the new constitutional arrangements between Hungary and Austria will develop themselves to the profit of both countries time will shew, but I have no faith in the Hapsburgs and am glad that you do not trust them, though it may be good policy for your compatriots to take all they can get and trust to circumstances in the coming Continental crisis, for forcing full justice to Hungary. Meantime you should not altogether withdraw yourself from the arena though your great afflictions may plead for repose. Hungarian nationality is too much identified with your name and services to permit this, but you are of course the best judge of how much you should do or speak, either on the Continent, or in our country, where public opinion was ever with you and publics will have more to do with politics than heretofore, even on the Continent. We have been apprehensive that Garibaldi would make a premature attempt on Rome, but hope he will forbear until other despotisms are by the ears. We have sent the 'party of action' every penny we could raise in Glasgow for that purpose, to prevent the Romans from rising prematurely, and getting crushed between the Papal, French, and Italian armies before circumstances would permit the Italian People to rise.

Whatever may transpire rest assured Sir! that you have the sympathy of all those whose sympathy is worth having, and that we have an abiding interest in you and your country. May I suggest to you a few words of condolence with Mrs Langdon in her great

bereavement. They would be dearly prized by her and her fine young sons, and their father's deep and devoted love for you deserves this. Many of your old friends are dead. My brother and his family are all well, as are my own in good health. Trusting this may find yourself and your sons in good health.

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth Collection, I. 1889]

To General Garibaldi

Glasgow Nov 11th 1867

I am instructed by a public meeting, of more than three thousand of your old and constant friends in Glasgow, to convey to you copy of Resolutions passed unanimously.¹ The meeting was composed mainly of the élite of our working men, who have whether in the cloud, or in the sunshine, of your glorious career, ever remained constant and true to you and Italy. The speakers were devoted workers in the cause, their noble sentiments were understood and appreciated by the audience, and already this the first public protest against the French invasion of Rome, is beginning to operate on the criminal apathy of but too many in this country. Whatever may be the result of the embarrassment to you, your noble self sacrifice will eventually free Italy, for you have at last forced your arch enemy Louis Napoleon into a greater dilemma than even his Mexican disgrace, inasmuch as good men could not sympathise with Maximilian, the murderous tool of a usurper, but with this last bloody interference of France between Rome and its undoubted rights, commences in earnest his speedy downfall. Never have I experienced so sudden and so speedy an expression of opinion regarding his sagacity, as on this occasion. Men even friendly to his statecraft, consider this the rock he has split on.

While we regret the present position that yourself and sons are in, 'we do not sorrow like to those that have no hope'. With your glorious country you will emerge all the brighter from these dark days, your names be all the deeper graven in the page of your country's history. We mourn over the brave young men, who expecting a long glorious future for their dear country, devoted

¹ For a report of this meeting, see *Glasgow Herald*

their lives to its accomplishment, and we sorrow for the survivors in their disappointed aspirations, especially for *one* the oldest, most devoted, and self sacrificing. We are poor but our wealthy men are beginning to be ashamed of their apathy, and we trust yet to assist those who are suffering in Italy with you.

I send this under cover to your constant friend Mrs Chambers, who will inform you of what is doing here.

[Museo del Risorgimento, Milan. Curatuló collection, C2635]

To the same

Glasgow Feby 27 1868

As I have not heard from Mrs Chambers for some time, I am not sure if she is still in Caprera, but I enclose a few lines for her with this letter, and leave it open so that you may read them. As I have been very unwell, though I am now better, and since some of my letters may have miscarried, I shall resume where I left off our correspondence 7 weeks ago, when I got a letter from Mrs Chambers, enclosing a few lines from yourself, for which accept my best thanks.

Mrs Chambers wrote respecting a visit to this country from you. I gave her sound reasons why it should be delayed until better weather would permit our People to do justice both to you and themselves, for when you do come, it must be as the Nation's guest, formally invited by all classes, and also when you consider matters in Italy in such a state, that you may leave it for a time without injury to the cause. I have a letter this morning from Mr Edmund Beales of London, in which he entirely approves of this idea, and promises his best services to make your visit not only pleasant and honourable to you, but immensely useful to the real Italian question. A few weeks will tell us now whether you can be spared away from Italy for a time early in the summer, but I will write you again as circumstances develop themselves. Your next visit must be well arranged, it *must* be a great success, and will help the cause both in this country and in Italy.

I enclosed to Mrs Chambers also a request to you connected with the Wallace monument, which I shall briefly explain as she may have overlooked it in her many active and worthy duties.

Some years ago a number of our leading people subscribed for a great national memorial to Sir William Wallace. I would have preferred some educational institution, but the majority decided on the enclosed sketch. The main tower is finished, and we are going on with the small building below, which is the Keeper's house. All will be completed during the summer. To this monument I made yourself, Kossuth, Mazzini, Karl Blind, and Louis Blanc subscribers, and your son Ricciotti gave a subscription in your name and his own when here last year.

Our Building Committee most of whom are warm friends to every liberal movement, meet in a few weeks, when I mean to propose that the monument should be kept open free of any admission charge to all comers, and as we will have three rooms in the main tower each forty feet high, and wide, that we there collect ancient relics connected with Scottish history, so as to make it interesting to the thousands of visitors. As my first donation to this collection I have secured with much pains as much of the wood as will make an antique frame, from the famed 'Wallace Oak of Elderslie', known by that name since his time 6 hundred years ago. And now comes the favour that I request from you.

Should you send me a few lines something of the nature that I enclose, I will get from Kossuth and Mazzini also a few lines to put in this frame, and thousands would travel far to see the handwriting of men so admired and loved. Visitors also from distant lands would be gratified. You may trust to my doing my part in this, in a manner that will be respectful to you, and the others whom I so much esteem.

Your own course will be guided by the circumstances of Italy. You have little to hope from Monarchy. Republics are eyesores to most of the other nations. It will be yours to judge in your own matters, and it is for us to help you in your own way and time. Last affair, though we lament the loss of good Italians, did much for Italy, since you developed the question, and left it in a condition better understood by other nations. I hope we will be better able to assist you than we were at that time, for I am both angry and ashamed of the apathy of our People.

Give my kind regards to Menotti and Ricciotti, to Mrs and Col. Chambers if they are still at Caprera, to the other members of your

family and other good friends of Italy. I will be able to write to you more explicitly when I hear from you . . .

[Museo del Risorgimento, Milan. Curatuló Collection, C.2726]

To L. Kossuth

Glasgow May 17th 1868

I am this morning in receipt of yours of the 13th inst, and hardly know whether to be sad or rejoice over your kind letter, but I am deeply grateful for your kind words to myself, and far more for your expressions of esteem for my dear brother, who is indeed worthy of them. No man more deserves your high commendations for constancy to good men and good causes, as well as for the wise counsel, and kind indulgence, which has mainly helped me in anything that I have undertaken during our lives.

Your lines for the Wallace monument will occupy the prominent part of the frame. Mazzini's and Garibaldi's are nobly patriotic, but yours speaks out what your dearest friends here feel but cannot so well express as you have done. You have indeed answered in a few words all the cavillers of the Wallace memorial, when you speak of this tribute of gratitude being 'a testimony borne by a free people' and its most generous advocates, also friends of European Nationality, will be doubly proud of your sanction and approval, and your second donation, though unexpected and not needed, like the widow's mite will bring a second blessing with it, and by your example we will be able to carry out our ideas, in rendering this memorial interesting to visitors, as a receptacle for things connected with Scottish history, and after many difficulties, creditable to the subscribers and acting committee.

When I again say, that unless by death, you have not lost one friend in Scotland, I speak only the truth, and no man living can speak with a better knowledge of your old friends here, since it is through them, and for them that I work. The wise world censures sometimes my – possibly – over attention to other people's affairs, but does not know how much I am helped by my brother and other constant friends, so that no really worthy exile known to us goes away from Glasgow unaided. Even the many worthless we must help, lest we neglect the worthy ignorantly, may carry back to their

country the fact that they were helped, because we considered them friends to Garibaldi, Mazzini or yourself. Do not therefore as regards us, be hopeless as to the future. The world sympathizes with you as we do, though it is but an idle sympathy now, but with the likely speedy end of Bonaparte new circumstances will offer for your country, and whatever may be the result you are honourably written in its history, and while we profoundly sympathize with you in your great sorrows, we turn hopefully to your future, and to your two sons who do you so much credit, and whatever may be their prospects in their native country, in the coming circumstances of this country they are sure of a more congenial sphere of action than they would in any other, excepting Hungary, for their dispositions and education.

I am sending in a few days to Genoa, seeds, agricultural implements etc. to Gen. Garibaldi for Caprera. Name me some things by return post, that would be souvenirs of your friends here, such as you may not get easily in Italy and I will send them by the ship which brings the things for Garibaldi. My brother left yesterday for a few weeks in Canada and the United States, or he would unite with us in our kindest regards to yourself and sons. Our respective families are in good health. Trusting this will find you all so,

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth Collection I.5106]

To General Garibaldi

Glasgow May 31st 1868

I received your lines for the Wallace monument, and they will be placed in a frame in the first class of art from the celebrated 'Wallace Oak of Elderslie' given me by the owner of the soil on which our Scottish hero was born. These souvenirs of your own, Mazzini, Kossuth, Karl Blind, and Louis Blanc, are singularly characteristic of the respective writers, and when photographed will be widely distributed and will help the cause of Nationality. This matter has been well considered, and what may appear at first view as trifling with the valuable time of your illustrious compatriots and your own, will doubtless add immensely to your respective interests in this country, circulating as they will amongst our aristocracy and the trading class 'who care for none of these things'.

I had a lot of seeds and agricultural implements ordered, the gift of your Glasgow friends, when Mrs Chambers wrote me that Alexander and Bessie had left Caprera, and for me not to send anything until she sent me word.¹ It was too late for the seeds at any rate, which should be sent with such roots and plants early in the coming winter, that being the most suitable time for planting roots and plants. The seeds will keep until the proper season. We however made a lot of our strongest earthen ware of the finest and most durable material, such as milk basons for your dairy, water jugs etc, which we will send at once to Genoa. When you write let me know if there be any implements you want for the farm, or anything that will not spoil, and will send them with ours if you describe the articles you want either by name or by a drawing, and I can communicate with our excellent Mrs Chambers so that she may send by the same conveyance at same time. We had Ricciotti down for a few days in Scotland. His visit was well timed and well taken. There is nothing like coming among friends to secure help for future action. Mazzini is again better but the present circumstances of the cause compels inactivity. What a life has been that of that brave old man by whose aspirations I have stood now twenty nine years, both in America and in Scotland. Present my kind remembrances to Menotti. The time will come when he will know how brave young men are welcomed in Scotland, and remember me to your daughter and her gallant husband, who I hope yet to meet with in this country. We wish you to tell us your wants plainly. Do not think you will tire us here, for when your hour comes, you will find that the men of Glasgow are not the last to come to the rescue, and that no one is more sincerely devoted to your cause than yours respectfully,

P.S. Write soon about the things you want.

[Museo del Risorgimento, Milan. Curatul6 Collection. C.2727]

¹ Alexander and Bessie were servants of whom Garibaldi complained in a letter to McAdam: 'I needed a workman with a working wife and a boy of about 12. Instead Alexander is a Director, his wife a lady and the child a girl of 20 months who arrived very ill.' McAdam Mss: Cited in 'Ad un amico scozzese Garibaldi chiedeva i fucili per la causa italiana', *La Voce Repubblicana* (25-26 marzo 1965)

To L. Kossuth

[c. September 1, 1870]

Mr Joseph Townsend, Chemist, Glasgow, will most likely wait on you in a few days on his way to Leghorn. You may not remember him as the friend of the late Mr Langdon and my own but he is a very wealthy and enterprising man who gives very largely to every good cause, many hundred pounds of his having passed through my own hands without the world knowing who was the donor. He has also large Chemical works in Germany, and is about opening works in Italy as he may explain to you, and your sons may be able to give him information. He also may be of advantage to them. You will find him intelligent and well informed, though ardent and impulsive, but he is a man to whom I would trust my life.

Mr Vukovics made a run down to see me from London a few weeks ago. I paid him any little attention his hurried visit would allow. He was to write you and also on his return to England a few lines to myself. Possibly Continental matters have hurried him home for I have not heard from him since.

I trust that your health has improved and that your sons are prospering. Many times have I been asked about you and them, for the people of Glasgow have not forgotten you nor them and would gladly express their sympathy for you in your great trials and sorrows if they only knew how it could be made acceptable to you. Say frankly to Mr Townsend whether we can serve you in any way. You can trust to his delicacy and discretion.

I sent very large photographs to your sons of the frame made from the 'Wallace Oak' of Elderslie, containing your own letter and others now hung in the Wallace Monument at Stirling to which you may remember having subscribed. Should you not find time to write be good enough to say to Mr Townsend whether they have come to hand for if they have not I shall send others to your sons as it will be to them a very interesting souvenir.

My brother send his respects to you. He has now a large family. My good wife about whom you joked me as my Secretary begs to be respectfully remembered. She also has a large family, the eldest being now a young woman. The other seven are boys, the two last twins. Mrs Langdon wrote me from Cornwall where she now lives.

Her eldest son intending to become an Engineer, she wrote to me to interest myself in his behalf which I assured her I would in every way, but he made some other arrangement in England and has not come to Glasgow.

I know you will excuse this hurried note as it is meant merely to let you know that Mr Townsend is coming and the excellent man he is. Give my respects to your sons, and with earnest prayers for your own welfare.¹

To Joseph Cowen, Junr

Glasgow July 29th 1871

Count Leon d'Albica a Col. in his own country, and lately serving under Gen. Garibaldi with the same rank in France, came to me with a kindly introduction from Col. and Mrs Chambers, as he was visiting Scotland and intended to return by Newcastle to Scarborough, where he means to remain a short time. We have seen less of him than we wished, and as I must leave early on Monday morning for a week in the North I forward him this to Newcastle with instructions, should you be absent, to ask for any information that he may require from my ancient compatriots Reed and Brown. I need not say one word by way of recommendation. You will find his conversation interesting and improving. I cannot tonight write you so fully as I would anent matters and things in general, as I must also write especially to our mutual friend P. A. Taylor whose motion comes on on Monday night.² I hope that you have been cheering him on, though I would almost rather that they should pension every whelp in the Royal Kennel, as it only adds another last straw to the load which will be kicked off whenever the Queen dies, and the more the money hunger now the less ceremony will be used with the greedy pack now lowering British born men in the eyes of the world. Your own worthy father like our own otherwise good members of parliament swallowed the *Louise* affair.

¹ Draft of a letter to Kossuth found among McAdam's papers. It must have been sent for Kossuth replied to it on 25 September 1870, saying that Mr Townsend had not visited him and that the photographs for his sons had not been received

² P. A. Taylor opposed the Government motion to settle an annuity of £15,000 on Prince Arthur for life on 31 July 1871. *Hansards' Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, ccviii (London, 1871), 578-82

Should they repeat it for Prince Arthur without enquiring where Prince Albert's and the Queen's hoards are I sincerely hope that some Newcastle man will ask him, as our members will be asked, 'the reason why'. They will do wrong unless by encouraging this greedy disposition they wish the Royal Family brought into contempt and their downfall hastened.

Our old friend Garibaldi is sick body and mind. His going to France at all was a great blunder, but he and his sons came out of it better than could have been expected. Nothing but success so far as they were concerned saved his reputation. Still he must be mortified by the ingratitude and bigotry of the Frenchmen who would have fought had their priests allowed. I wrote whenever I heard that he meant to go there that his friends here considered that he should rather remain at home where he was wanted, than to risk assassination in a country that had done nothing for Italy unless to serve its own purposes. He answered me from France that it was his duty as a Republican to aid a Republic. The Greenock friends wrote me that they had a considerable sum of money to send Garibaldi personally. I directed them how to send it and it reached him promptly. I took no active interest in the Glasgow fund as I soon found out that it was intended for the 'non combatants' in France, a class of people able to take care of themselves, being the greatest hoarders in the world as evidenced in their ready production of money to the late loan.

You will also most likely be getting Mazzini's paper, published in Rome.¹ We must try to do a little towards its support, and for the encouragement of the brave old man, whose hold on life seems as marvellous as his tenacity of purpose. Let me know if you can do anything. On my return I will follow up your suggestions and a few pounds from this country would help to carry out his views and opinions, for I fear his little paper is not as profitable as the *Times*.

You will excuse this rambling letter and give my kind regards to all friends.

[T.W.A.D. 634/A917]

¹ *La Roma del Popolo*

To Joseph Mazzini

Glasgow Feby 1872

Our eyes are ever turned to the newspapers to learn your doings and of your welfare, and we are glad to see that you are once more comparatively well and able to continue your labours on behalf of your country. Your Roman paper I get regularly, and send it off again to places where it may be useful to your interests, but I would like to have it in my power to help you in your endeavour to elevate your people and prepare them for the self government which is inevitable. How to do so is the question.

You know that I can personally do less than I could wish. My large family and numerous claims that have grown on me during a long and active public life, keeps me poorer than I could desire for the sake of your cause. Still I think something might be done, at least for *La Roma del Popolo*, was attention more drawn to it through our Press, since there are many of those here who do not approve Republicanism, that would gladly give for the education of the Italian nation, and our great difficulty is our want of an occasion for drawing their attention to such questions, in such a way as not to alarm those hostile to political propagandism. Garibaldi's unfortunate visit to England left the Friends of Italy dispirited, if not disunited, and we have never had them unitedly in hand since. Any little that has been done since has been at much personal sacrifice to the few, who have stood by you and the General, with very little spontaneous general help, doubly painful to us, that did try to help in your emergencies.

The fact is, we must prepare our people for such emergencies. We have no organization, and the old managers dislike importuning our friends who know less of Italian affairs than they should, if we expect their cooperation when you need it. Any of your letters reach few unless readers of the London newspapers circulating only there, not as some years ago when they were taken up by the newspapers of the provinces where your best friends are, and provided us with a plea for their united help and action. We could not now do what was done when moral and material aid was required, disunited and forgotten as we are.

My advice is to write either to myself or to Mr Cowen of

Newcastle, being both good centres for action for your friends, some special appeal to them for help to educate your People. We will circulate slips of it over the most likely of the Press and your friends in London and the provinces, so that simultaneously it would thus appear, and avoid that jealousy among newspapers about giving any one a priority. We shall spare no pains in assuring a wide and respectable publicity to anything of interest and calculated to benefit your interests.

I have no word from Mrs Chambers for some months. They must be on the Continent. I had a very kind letter from Gen. Garibaldi, enclosing two letters to parties here sending him roots, seeds, etc. From the firmness of his handwriting I should conclude that he is in good health comparatively. He does not mention his sons or any of our friends. Should you write me please inform me about our mutual friends most of whom I have lost sight of, Madame Mario among the rest, who was a true and earnest friend to the Italian cause here, though a cloud seems to have come between us.

My brother's and my own family each 8 in number, with our wives are all in good health. My own bids me convey her true and kind respects to you, and our united solicitude for your welfare amidst your great anxieties. Give my respects to such friends of mine as may be near you.¹

To W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

March 22 1873

Our faithful representative Mr George Anderson writes me in connection with the question which my friend Mr P. A. Taylor will ask on Thursday evening, regarding your prompt recognition of the Spanish Government²—and remembering the immense service you rendered us by exposing the cruelties of the Italian despotisms I am tempted to appeal to you in this crisis not only for

¹ Although the manuscript looks more like a fair copy than a draft, it was found among McAdam's papers and there is no evidence that Mazzini received it or replied to it. This may be because Mazzini died on 10 March 1872

² *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, ccxv (London, 1873), 219-20. As he received no satisfactory reply, Taylor raised the question again on 12 June 1873. *Ibid.*, ccxvi (London, 1873), 837-8

Spain, but for civil and religious freedom on the continent. Never during your eventful and useful life has such an occasion offered for the exercise of British fair play by doing a simple act of justice in the recognition of a legally constituted friendly government such as Spain is, as fully and frankly as you at once recognised that of France which is acknowledgedly only a transitional one – nor is not so friendly towards us.

I am writing to such of the English and Scots members as I know respectfully entreating them to support Mr Taylor. If you knew how anxiously I have during your long public life watched and appreciated your services to our common country, and to human liberty, you will excuse the liberty I am now taking by entreating from you prompt and generous action before Spain is again trodden down. Our People and Press seem apathetic, but the national heart is right and would be deeply grieved if our recognition came too late. Your late experiences prove how little you may expect from Ireland after all you have done but you will need not fear when you carry with you the warm active sympathies of the British people – and nothing could now awaken them so much as your decided recognition of the Spanish Government. My letter is *strictly confidential* to you. I am not informing the others that I have written to you so that you may take your own time and course of action. Again craving your indulgence believe me to be . . .¹

To John Bright, M.P.

[c. March 22 1873]

Mr P. A. Taylor will ask of our Government on Thursday evening whether it means to recognize the Government of Spain legally established and existing under very trying circumstances, which I need not explain to you. On behalf of the friends of civil and religious freedom in Glasgow I have respectfully to solicit your earnest support of this question. Never during your long and useful public life has there been one of more importance or one that would better act for the Government with which you are so honourably associated, because in England and Scotland there is a

¹ The letter is a draft. To a similar letter, McAdam received a sympathetic reply from Henry Campbell-Bannerman

strong, though dormant, feeling for fair play that must be elicited on behalf of Spain. To be useful it should be prompt and decided because if too late, and Spain succumbs to the dirty intrigues of its bitter enemies in France and the evil influences openly exercised in this country retribution will come. Mr Gladstone will be deserted by his true friends without having disarmed the bitter abiding enmity of the Papists for the good service he rendered us by exposing their vile practices in Italy as evinced by them in the late Parliamentary crisis.

Trusting to your excusing me for sake of the good cause.¹

To L. Kossuth

Glasgow Feby 28th 1874

You will see by the enclosed slip that your letter to Mr Keddie only is published. It will be in all the best London and provincial newspapers on Monday. He did not wish his name to appear, he is so shy and sensitive, but he was profoundly moved by your kind expressions towards him. Your letter to myself is of course private. In your general remarks I entirely agree and may say something when I write again more at leisure. Your improved health and eyesight will counterbalance your financial troubles, and of those we must now speak plainly, and like business men.

A series of paragraphs have been appearing during a number of months, describing your broken health, utterly abject poverty, the death of your dear sons, etc. which gave me little trouble, knowing that your sons were with you. When they first appeared our kind friend Joseph Townsend wrote for me, and wished to know if it could be true. I said not but told him I would endeavour to find out quietly. He then said would I give him a letter to you, as he intended to visit Italy. I said I should do so cheerfully. He then asked 'whether you would be offended if he offered a hundred or two', but I told him I was not so sure of that, but I would feel my way, which was the cause of my writing then. It did not seem from the tenor of your letter that you was in immediate need, and as Mr Townsend did not come to Italy the matter dropped.

¹ The letter is a draft, undated, but probably written about the same time as the similar one to Gladstone

Now, honoured Sir, we must meet the present difficulty in one of two ways. The first, most direct, would be to permit your friends to subscribe the sum openly. I fear pride of character would not submit to this, though in your case there would be no degradation. The second would be to call in confidence on some friends to loan you or either of your sons a sum sufficient to meet the occasion. Please let me know your mind on this by return of post so that it may be acted on at once. My brother and myself if rich would do this ourselves without troubling any one, but our trade has not been remunerative, and we have many duties to perform. The few gentlemen who might be called on would be glad to do all in their power in complete honour and confidence, and no one the wiser.

Now, for a more pleasant topic. I am glad that you have our brave old friend Col. Ihasz with you. I ever associate him in my memory with the veteran Col. Dunyov, whom I visited at your request when he was lying wounded in Naples. He wrote very good English but spoke it badly. When I asked the cause of this, he said that he had learned it in prison, but having no one to speak to, he wanted the practice. When I asked why he chose English, he simply replied, 'What language could I learn? It is the language of liberty', the highest compliment ever was paid to our country. When I visit your Grottoes, Bowers, etc. and share the fine fruits you promise, we will build a snug little prison for Col. Ihasz to practice English in. I remember you joking him about his garrison horticulture and his clinging to his growing vegetables until the philistines nearly caught you. Knowing his tastes in that science, as I supply Gen. Garibaldi with Scottish seeds – (it will be now too late for this season) – but shall send him whatever plants or seeds he may require. Enclosed is a paper of Thyme seed as a first instalment which he may sow yet. As a matter of course he will have bees, and Thyme gives the honey a delicate flavour. We can send him Heather plants which is still better. I dare not send you our national flower the Scottish Thistle, for we used to joke a too patriotic Scotsman for importing one into America which brought him near being lynched, by over running the cornfields.

I have written to Mrs Langdon giving your kind words *verbatim*.

Her address is Kensey Cottage, Launceston, Cornwall, England. When you write to her, you might enclose also a few lines to her son William now at Huelva, Spain, who would be proud of the notice of his father's friend. He is a fine young man, but Mrs Langdon is justly proud of her six fine sons. Another widow Mrs John Pringle Nichol ought to be remembered when you find leisure. She is a fine old lady, and the centre of some of your most devoted friends at Edinburgh, who take a lively interest in every good cause.

I shall wait your early instructions on the financial matter. Give the united regards of my brother and our families to your sons and Col. Ihasz.

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth Collection I.5971]

To Dr Charles Cameron, M.P.

March 3rd 1874

Yesterday morning early, when I got your paper,¹ as I have now for many years, I was rather surprised that you had not inserted Kossuth's letter since I considered that you would be only too glad to correct the error into which you, with nearly the whole Press had gone with the forged paragraphs, about the brave old man's debility, poverty, the loss of his sons, etc.

I thought it might be some oversight in your office so I waited anxiously until my paper came this morning. There being no notice of it good or bad reminded me of my last letter to you a number of months ago, when Castelar and the real Spanish patriots were turning their eyes to the British Press and People. The *Glasgow Herald*, the only other newspaper I sent it to, gave it space. You did not, which made me both sorry and angry but I did not say 'stop my paper'. I was quite aware that what is called courtesy in the Press prevents the exposure of these things in other newspapers, so I did not try it, and I only write to you now, to tell you that I posted your slip of Kossuth's letter when the London, Edinburgh and other Provincial Newspapers were mailed.²

¹ *The North British Daily Mail*

² The letter is a draft

To L. Kossuth

Glasgow Sept 4th 1876

I am not sure if you will like the enclosed extract of your letter, but I was glad to catch an occasion to let your friends here know that you was well enough to joke, though I dared not venture the episode of Balaam astride his friend coming down the mountains, so I gave them instead your fat Aide de camp rolling in luxuries on ha-penny a day. I fear that you are rather skewing him down one half because he is unctuous and 'contented wi' little and canty wi' mair', as our Scots song goes. Why don't he 'strike' like our lads for his four eights – that is, 8 hours work, 8 hours play, 8 hours sleep, and eight shillings a day. They have obtained this modest demand, why should not the old Colonel!

Tell the old gentleman he must be of the new school, and must introduce novelties in his horticulture, so that you may raise his wages. The season will soon be on for transplanting, and I can very conveniently send such roots and seeds as he wishes to Genoa, and above all in his servile condition with so hard a task master, I may send him a few bunches of real Scottish heather. It will be good for his bees. When your temper is sweet, and when you frown, like Rob Roy he can plant his 'foot on his native heath and his name be Macgregor'. I always confound him in my memories of brave old Col. Dunyov, who when lying maimed in Naples wished to have another shake from the honoured hand that had so lately pressed that of his 'honoured chief'. Tell the Governor says the old warrior 'that within thirty days I shall again be in the saddle'.

Above all you have delighted many here, by your deserved eulogium on our dear William Burns, who was a sturdy friend when or where friends were needed. He has a wide circle of relatives and friends who will be delighted.¹ Yesterday many persons thanked me for the publicity. We have lost a constant friend.

Mr McTear you did meet though he was not then so conspicuous as he became through a necessity of my suggesting him for a time as Secretary to the Garibaldi Fund in 1859, because it was too well known that for twenty years both in America and Britain I had

¹ William Burns and Robert McTear died in 1876. Garibaldi, Louis Blanc, Karl Blind and Kossuth wrote letters of condolence to McAdam, which he published. An extract from Kossuth's letter appeared in Glasgow newspapers of 2 September 1876

been a pronounced Mazzinian, and as the impression was strong then that Mazzini was hostile to Garibaldi it would damage our subscriptions and sympathy in the struggle going on, so I suggested that I should for a time remain in the shade. He did work then, but it was not until nearly the end, that *he* knew that nearly all the money sent from Scotland went through the hands of Joseph Mazzini, and less than five hundred pounds thus fitted out the Sicilian officers, who left for Sicily six weeks before Garibaldi landed at Marsala. They in fact had the island prepared for that wonderful episode, when your brave Tuckori fell in the advance on Palermo. You may remember a small sum sent by Mr Langdon to you to pay Figyel-messy and Mogyoródy's expenses. Langdon like myself wished to have made it more, but we had exhausted all our private friends. Thus you see the wise world did not know everything. Just as with yourself Mazzini had differences with Garibaldi, but he loved you both in his heart, and Garibaldi's facile nature, and silly attachment to Victor Emmanuel, wrought us much trouble many times, and soured his usually kind and gentle nature, and it required all the influence of his friends to prevent a rupture. Mr McTear was first hostile to Mazzini, then got delighted with him, and again relapsed. I owed him no personal kindness, because he grudged my selection to go out to Italy, and spent our remaining funds in a foolish Italian Banquet while I was away, leaving me out of pocket nearly fifty pounds that I had borrowed in Naples to help home the British Legion, but he was on the whole true to his principles, and death clears off all other considerations.

We are fearfully agitated here about the Servian war. The great majority is now against the Turks on account of the Bulgarian atrocities. If it were possible that the Principalities could be united into one independent Government, we might hope that one day they might be educated into self government. It is a fine country, but geographically so scattered and extended, that it could not be easily defended, and for one, I fear they would drop into the jaws of Russia. It is for me too difficult a question, so I will content myself with sending you our united remembrances to the Colonel and your sons. Hoping that this will find you as well as it leaves us.

[Hungarian National Archives. Kossuth Collection. I5659a]

To the same

Sept 22nd 1876

I write just now, because of the departure of our excellent Mr Joseph Townsend on a business round on the continent of two months, in which he may be in Turin, and may wait on you. If he does so, for the sake of the great good he has done to every liberal cause, you will I hope overlook the brusqueness of his manners, for he has been soured of late years by the arrogance and imposition which I am sorry obtains among our working men. He is a wonderful mixture. To hear him talk you would take him for the most arbitrary man living, while he is the very milk of human kindness. He is a great manufacturing Chemist, and has a chimney stalk nearly 500 feet high being some feet higher than Tennant's in Glasgow but he is really in spite of his present 'aberrations' more wonderful himself. I wish very much that you would introduce him to your sons, especially Francis, since he deals very largely in Nitre and Borax, and may be able to do both essential good.

We are now in the heart of one of these impulses which at intervals seize the public mind. I had taken no active part in what is now called the 'Bulgarian outrages movement', and only went in to the great meeting two nights ago to show my sympathy with Mr George Anderson our excellent member of Parliament, who has ever been a friend to liberalism in the truest sense, and for that is not loved by the common ruck of those who are shouting out against Turkish cruelty just because it is now the fashion. The meeting was a glorious one reminding me of your last in Glasgow, and spoke out plainly to both Turks and Servians, as a warning that brutalities on both sides must cease. There is one Neocles B. Mussabini, a Greek, come among us suddenly. Our Lord Provost's committee are led to suspect him as being a Russian agent, endeavouring to compromise our People against Turkey in the interests of Russia. I am just now endeavouring to find out through my continental friends in London who he is, and where he came from, because the Lord Provost sent out very late last night that he was not quite satisfied with the man. The experience of one like you could be of use now, but you are peculiarly situated, our noble Mazzini is dead, and of all our exiles in London M. Karl Blind is

almost the only one I know to get reliable information. One full paper from you now such as we had in the old days, would at this crisis be very interesting, and useful to us.

Give our united regards to your sons and Col. Ihasz. We trust that you are again enjoying some measure of good health. At our years we cannot expect to feel young, but in the evening of our days we at least have the satisfaction of having tried to leave the world better than we found it.

P.S. I send you newspaper with a report of our meeting and enclose cutting connected with our movement for Free Libraries and Reading Rooms. We are of course opposed by the Catholic Priests in the interests of ignorance, nor will we get more help from our Protestant Priests now, than we did when we tried them on behalf of the Protestant College of Eperjes. We have large bequests for that very purpose, which our giant University is bent on swallowing up. I think however that we will succeed in establishing good clean plain Reading Rooms, with books and other appliances for the use of the Middle and Working Class young men. We want them very much. My brother who retains his deep sympathy for you and yours, just remarks that no time in your life was there so much need of true information regarding this question of the Principalities. Our People on the 'Stampede' are unjust to the Turks in many things. I have no sympathy for the Tories here, but the others are equally bad and you was befriended by them in your hardest pinch which entitles them to fair play from us.

[Hungarian National Archives, Kossuth Collection I 5661a]

To the same

Glasgow Sept. 23rd 1876

At the risk of being considered over importunate, I recur to my subject - three days ago to you - since I am asked daily, 'what says Kossuth about the Servian question?' Now my brother, like myself, does not quite coincide with our friend Garibaldi's notions, though we do not throw cold water on the sympathy now expressing for the wretched Bulgarians. We believed all along that Garibaldi was unconsciously playing into the hands of Russia.

Mazzini was dead, you were absent, and we had only one man in London to advise with. You will easily guess who this is, but it is strictly confidential. He is open to danger from desperate men, and the person named seems one of that stamp. We had been suspicious of him, and put Glasgow and Paisley on their guard, so that he can do no harm. Should he crop up elsewhere I will be compelled to unmask him – the letter is to the following effect:

(Confidential) Sept 22 1876

Dear friend

All I know of M. Neokles Mussabini is, that he was connected, a short time ago with the recently formed Byron Club, and that, in concert with Mr Lewis Farley, he had endeavoured there so to pass resolutions in favour of Greek action against Turkey, Mr Farley, you are no doubt aware, after having formerly written books most eulogistic of everything Turkish, for which, I am told, he was decorated and pensioned began his recent pro-Servian agitation by another book in which he declares it to be *the destiny of Russia to obtain Constantinople*.

The reports put into several papers about the proceedings (rather of a private nature) in the Byron Club, forced the Chancellor of the Greek Consulate Mr Lascaridi (a good and patriotic man, whom I know personally very well) to make a counter declaration, and to withdraw from the Club at which he had until then presided.

Tcherniaeff's doings clearly show how the Servian movement is being worked in the Russian interest. The victory of Russia would prepare the downfall of Hungary, of Roumania, and of Greece, and bind more tightly the fetters of Poland. With all our abhorrence of the atrocities committed (not on *one* side only), we must steadily keep in view the danger threatening from Russia, (another atrocity committing Power), dangers which would ultimately affect also the position of this country.

This letter is for you *quite privately*. With kindest regards

Yours sincerely.¹

¹ The letter was from Karl Blind. McAdam's letter was found among his papers, but Kossuth received it as his reply of 27 December 1876 indicates: 'I was on a trip for some days, and on getting home I find a letter from you, dated Sept 23 while the envelope bears the post mark Dec. 11. I enclose both that you might see what letter I speak of.'

When calling the doctor it is wise to state your case, so I have stretched the *privacy* as far as prudent. I can give you the gentleman's name and correct address. I have found him the very soul of honour during nearly twenty years experience, and when your knowledge of the present question is joined to his, much good may be elicited. Your name has not been mentioned between us, so you will see that if I am intrusive just now, it is only one of my own impulses, which during my life has served me better at times than the counsels of wiser men. This will be a longer movement than most people think, because Russia is strong and pertinacious. It will outlast my time here, but I would like to die in harness, and I would like to hear you now in the evening of your honourable life spoken of here, as you was in your glorious days of trouble and affliction.

It is not for me to advise you, but one suggestive paper from you would do your old cause and name great good, and I should see that it gets the same extensive, respectable, and simultaneous publicity that your former documents got. My brother who has a calmer, and therefore wiser judgement than mine, has been urging me for months on this point, but you must be the best judge under your peculiar circumstances. With our united love to your sons and Col. Ihasz.

To the same

Glasgow Oct 21st 1879

I received your letter of 16th Inst this day only - it having lain at the works, 45 Hyde Park St, which are now closed up for some time in consequence of my brother having unfortunately embarked in heavy property speculations that ruined him, and he is now on his way to New Zealand with his large family to settle there. I am at the new address under more pleasant circumstances with my family who are doing well and have very good prospects indeed although my own health is not good.

I can quite understand and sympathise with your anxiety about our very unfortunate loan. Neither Mr Dalglish nor the other gentlemen were in the least uneasy, indeed some of them told me they did not want it returned at all, but I assured them you would not have accepted it as a gift. You may content yourself that they

were sure that adverse circumstances only prevented your remitting it before now. I shall have much pleasure in waiting on the several gentlemen and handing it to them, getting back your acknowledgments of their respective sums, or receipts from them.

I am glad that you have arranged with a Bookseller for the publication of your *writings* in your emigration. I wish I was in better health so as to collect you the items of information that you write for but I will do all I can and forward to you with as little delay as possible such printed and other matter as I can get my hands on and will go in to Mr Dalglish who may possibly get you the Blue Books, 1859 and 1860, and will endeavour to get the file of of a good Glasgow newspaper of that date though that will be more difficult as they are very careless in that direction. I believe a good translation into English would take well in this country, in our Colonies, United States of America and wherever the English language is spoken.¹ Altogether it will be a very interesting work and of the greatest value in coming times especially on the continent of Europe. My back troubles me very much ever since I had lumbago so that I cannot sit long writing at a time. You must therefore excuse this scrawl. I would rewrite this, but I am anxious to let you know by this post that I shall do all I can. My papers are rather in a confused state but I will collect all I can that I may consider useful and post them to you as soon as I can get them arranged. Some of them may be of little value but these you can set aside.

With kind remembrances to your sons who I hope are prospering like my own.²

¹ An English translation was published. *Memories of my Exile* (New York, 1880)

² This letter is possibly a draft, as it was found among McAdam's papers. However, Kossuth's reply of 26 October proves that the letter was sent. Kossuth advised him to try homeopathy for his lumbago

Biographical Appendix

Adams, James. Chartist. Delegate to the National Convention, April 1848. Opposed Feargus O'Connor. Active with the McAdams, James Moir, Rev. H. W. Crosskey and Robert Buchanan in reviving reform agitation in 1858. His interest in Continental freedom may have been due to his dislike of Popery.

Aikman, Thomas. Merchant. Town Councillor, 1856-8. Depute River Bailie, 1857-8. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857.

Alexander, Edward, Junr. Merchant. Town Councillor, 1862-5. Abolitionist. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society. Subscriber to the Garibaldi Fund. On the Lord Provost's Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception in 1864.

Alexander, George. Possibly the George Alexander of Corbett, Alexander & Co. Possibly the G. K. Alexander who was one of the platform party at Jessie White Mario's lectures in April 1862.

Alison, Sir Archibald (1792-1867). Advocate and author. Sheriff of Lanarkshire, 1834-67. Provincial Grand Master of the Masons of Glasgow.

Anderson, George (1819-96). Managing partner of the St Rollox flax mills. Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1868-85. Chosen by the Scottish National Reform League, of which McAdam was a member, as 'a fit and proper person to represent the Reformers and Working Men of Glasgow'. Supported Dilke's republicanism in Parliament.

Anderson, George. Chartist. Town Councillor, 1842-5.

Anderson, Sir James (1800-64). Manufacturer. Town Councillor, 1841-54. Lord Provost, 1848-51. Elder and office bearer of the United Secession Church, Greyfriars' Street. Liberal M.P. for Stirling, 1852-9. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy,

28 April 1857. Sent a supporting letter to the meeting held on 26 January 1860 to sympathize with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary'. On the Lord Provost's Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception in 1864.

Anderson, William. Attended meetings of the Working Men's Committee for Garibaldi, 1864.

Anderson, Rev. William (1796-1872). Minister of John St Church, 1821-71. Attended lecture by Alessandro Gavazzi, former priest whose anti-papal lectures aroused great excitement in Scotland in 1851. Present at meeting of sympathy 'with the oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860. Chaired concert in aid of the Garibaldi Italian Fund, 26 May 1860 and spoke fervently of Garibaldi as the William Wallace of Italy. Chaired the first of Jessie White Mario's two lectures in April 1862. On the Lord Provost's Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception in 1864.

Armellini, Carlo (1777-1863). Lawyer. Member of the Chamber of Deputies in Rome, who became more radical after the murder of Pellegrino Rossi and the flight of the Pope in November 1848. Triumvir with Mazzini and Saffi during the Roman Republic. Lived in exile in Belgium after the fall of the Republic.

Arnot, Rev. William (1808-75). Minister of Free St Peter's Church, Glasgow, 1839-64. Ejected by a decision of the Court of Session, February 1849. Opened a new church in Main St, Glasgow, 26 May 1850. Minister of Free High Church, Edinburgh, 11 October 1864 to his death. Abolitionist. Only mildly reformist. Interest in the Italian movement probably inspired by dislike of Popery.

Arnott, Sir John (1814-98). Mayor of Cork, 1859-61. Welcomed the released Neapolitan prisoners who illegally landed at Queenstown Harbour in March 1859.

Ashurst, William (1819-79). Solicitor. Personal friend of Mazzini and Treasurer of many Mazzinian funds. Referred to McAdam in a letter to Garibaldi of 26 October 1860 as 'our excellent friend Mr McAdam from whom and his Glasgow friends we have received more money for the fund than from any other person'.

Atkinson, Thomas (c. 1801-33). Bookseller in partnership with David Robertson, and writer of poetry, prose sketches and essays. Member of the Glasgow Reform Association started in 1830, and

elected to its Committee of Management on 17 March 1831. One of the six main officers of the Glasgow Political Union elected in December 1831. One of those appointed along with McAdam, at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, as 'a Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. After the passing of the 1832 Reform Bill, stood as a candidate for Stirling burghs but was defeated. Member of the Glasgow Polish Association in October 1832. Took passage for Barbados but died on the way.

Baird, Alexander. Member of the Trades' Committee in 1832. Possibly a shoemaker.

Bandiera, Attilio and Emilio. The sons of Baron Bandiera, Rear Admiral in the Austrian Navy, in which they themselves also served. Conspired against Austria and were captured and shot at Cosenza on 25 July 1844. McAdam and others believed they were betrayed to the Austrians by the British Government after the opening of Mazzini's letters in 1844. Much popular support for Mazzini in Britain resulted from this 'Post Office scandal'.

Bankier, William. Merchant. Member of the Glasgow Reform Association. One of the group known as 'The Clique' who supported James Oswald and John Crawford at the 1832 election. Probably the William Bankier on Glasgow Town Council, 1833-54. City Treasurer, 1847-51. Bailie, 1851-2.

Bannatyne, Andrew (1798-1871). Writer. Member of Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow from 1825, and Dean, 1860-5. A friend of Archibald Fletcher the burgh reformer. One of the committee of twelve formed to draw up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association shortly after Joseph Hume's visit in September 1830. Elected to the Committee of Management on 17 March 1831. One of the group known as 'The Clique' who supported James Oswald and John Crawford at the 1832 election. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857.

Barbar, Louis J. Acting Consul in Naples who was instrumental in securing the release of Watt and Park, the British engineers on the *Cagliari* imprisoned for suspected complicity in the Pisacane expedition of 1857. Successfully pressed for compensation for them

from the Neapolitan government. Garibaldi wrote of him in 1874: 'He was a good and true man to our country and did his duty by the Engineers Watt and Park when confined in the dungeons of Naples'.

Barclay, Robert (?-1863). Shipbuilder. Liberal, who voted for Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election. Member of Anderston United Presbyterian Church. Philanthropist. 'In all patriotic as well as church movements his contributions were liberal; but his secret munificence far exceeded the aggregate of what met the public eye. . . . He studiously shunned, wherever it was possible, making known his gifts, and fell upon many ingenious expedients to secure concealment' (Obituary in *Glasgow Herald* (17 April 1863), 4).

Bartholomew, Robert. One of those appointed at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, along with McAdam, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election, who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Baxter, William. Appointed, with the McAdams, to the Wallace Monument Committee at a district meeting at Anderston 5 September 1856. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. Member of the Liberal election committee in 1868. Relationship, if any, to the Reformer of the same name in 1832, and the William Baxter of Mount Savage, Baltimore, in 1844, is undetermined.

Beales, Edmond (1803-81). Barrister. Member of the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee. President of the National League for the Independence of Poland, 1863. Author of *Poland, France, Italy* (London, 1864). President of the National Reform League, 1865-9. Attended the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866, and the evening meeting in the City Hall which followed it.

Bell, David. Merchant. Town Councillor, and Master of Works, 1842-5. Member of the Reform Association. One of those appointed at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, along with McAdam, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform became the law of the land'.

Bennett, Samuel (1815-76). Journalist. Worked as evangelist

in Glasgow and later became a public political speaker. Moved to Dumbarton in 1851 and established the *Dumbarton Herald*. Town Councillor in Dumbarton, 1862-5 and 1870-6. Lord Provost from 1871. Attended the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866.

Bennett, William. Editor and owner of the *Glasgow Free Press*. Attended Trades' Political Dinner of 3 January 1831 and replied to a toast to 'the three conductors of the independent press in Glasgow' [himself, David Prentice of the *Chronicle* and Robert Malcolm of the *Scots Times*]. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association on 17 March 1831. Appointed to the Committee of the Glasgow Political Union, 16 November 1831. Member of the Glasgow Polish Association, October 1832. R. M. V. Cowan, in *The Newspaper in Scotland*, states that Bennett 'ratted to the opposite camp in 1835', but a William Bennett was secretary of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association in 1858.

Bertani, Dr Agostino (1812-86). Directed the military hospital of S. Ambrogio during the Milanese insurrection of 1848. Moved to Rome in June 1849 and worked as a doctor during the last period of the Republic. Met Mazzini in London in 1854 but grew away from the Mazzinian position. In 1859 organized a group of young men for service with Garibaldi. Elected deputy after the war; one of the first republicans in parliament. Collected men and materials for Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition. Medical chief to the Garibaldians in 1866.

Blackie, John (1805-73). Head of publishing firm of Blackie & Son. Town Councillor, 1857. Lord Provost, 1863.

Blanc, Louis (1813-82). French socialist. Member of the Provisional Government, 1848. Lived in exile in England, 1849-70. Attended the Social Science Meeting in Glasgow, September 26, 1860, and gave two lectures in Glasgow City Hall in October. McAdam took charge of the arrangements for the lectures.

Blind, Karl (1826-1907). German political agitator and author of numerous political essays. Lectured in Glasgow on behalf of the Poles on 6 April 1863. McAdam also helped to publicize his views on Schleswig-Holstein.

Bonham, Edward Walter (1809-96). Consul at Naples, 14

January 1859. Consul general at Naples, 5 May 1862 to 5 April 1872. In July 1860 he was attacked by a band of ruffians while walking along the Largo Castello, which might not have entirely displeased McAdam had he known of it.

Bright, John (1811-88). Liberal M.P. for various constituencies, 1843-88, and President of the Board of Trade under Gladstone. Leading spokesman for the Manchester School of free traders. Campaigned throughout the country for household suffrage in the late fifties and sixties. Lectured in Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at the Reform meeting sponsored by the Scottish Nation Reform League on 16 October 1866.

Brown, Thomas. Particularly active, along with the McAdams, James Moir and W. P. Paton in the sporadic reform activity preceding the formation of the Scottish National Reform League. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858.

Buchanan, Robert. Owenite missionary. Editor of the *Glasgow Sentinel*. On platform at a public meeting of citizens convened by the Council of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 30 September 1852. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858, which endorsed the Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage.

Buchanan, Robert C., of Drumpeller. Tory candidate at the Lanarkshire election of 1832. Polled 615 votes.

Buchanan, Walter (1797-1883). Merchant. Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1857-65. Began his political career as an advocate of Catholic Emancipation. Signed the requisition for the public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis on 17 May 1832. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'. One of the chief contributors to *The Friend of the People* established by the Clique during the six weeks preceding the election. Worked for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Proposed a resolution at a meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association in April 1857. His name headed the list of requisitionists to the Lord Provost to convene a meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857, and he was one of the speakers at the meeting. Chaired the first of Kossuth's two lectures in the

City Hall on 17 November 1858. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. Presided at Bright's meeting in the City Hall. Sent a supporting letter to the meeting held on 26 January 1860 to sympathize with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary'. Chairman of the Garibaldi Fund, 1860. Presided at the soirée held on 21 December 1860 and made a speech which suggested his interest in the Italian struggle arose from his belief in 'that great principle of liberty of conscience, that foundation of our Protestant faith'. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. On the platform at the Reform meeting in the City Hall sponsored by the Scottish National Reform League on 16 October 1866. McAdam appeared on the platform at some of Buchanan's political meetings.

Burn, James (1802-89). Member of Trades' Committee, Committee of the Glasgow Reform Association and Glasgow Political Union. Campaigned for D. K. Sandford in the 1832 election. Author of *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy* (London, 1855).

Burns, William (1809-76). Writer. Procurator in Glasgow, 1844. Head of firm of Burns, Alison & Aitken. Well known as a Scottish nationalist and promoter of the Wallace Monument project. On platform at meeting on behalf of the Poles, 6 April 1866. Appointed to the Lord Provost's Garibaldi Reception Committee at meeting of 30 March 1864.

Burt, John. Currier and leather merchant. Town Councillor, 1861-70. Bailie, 1869-70. Belonged to Scottish Temperance League and Scottish Permissive Bill Association. Abolitionist. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society. President of Scottish National Reform League and chaired the demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866.

Caird, Edward (1835-1908). Professor of Moral Philosophy, University of Glasgow, 1866-93, then Master of Balliol College. On the Lord Provost's Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception in 1864. Reported in the *Glasgow Herald* as on the platform at the Scottish National Reform League's

demonstration of 16 October, 1866, he wrote a letter to the editor next day disassociating himself from the League.

Cameron, Dr Charles. Became sole proprietor and editor of the *North British Daily Mail* (started in 1847 by his father and John Gunn) in 1864. The *Mail* had always been liberal in politics and favourable to dissent but became much more so after 1864. Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1874-1900. On platform at Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866. Relations with McAdam not always cordial.

Cameron, William. Tailor. Shareholder in *Herald to the Trades Advocate*, for which he wrote an article, 'Advantages of a Trades' Union', 27 November 1830.

Campbell, Alexander (1796-1870). Owenite and trade unionist. See *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, i, 65-8.

Campbell, Colin (Lord Clyde) (1792-1863). Hero of the Crimean and Indian Wars. His contribution of £5 to the Garibaldi Fund in August, 1860, was described in the *Glasgow Herald* as having an immense moral effect as coming from 'our greatest British Hero'. Received Freedom of the City of Glasgow, 1855.

Campbell, James Alexander (1825-1908). Merchant. Elder son of Sir James Campbell of Stracathro. Conservative, and member of the Established Church. M.P. for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, 1880-1906. Signed requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857, and spoke at the meeting. Acted as interpreter for Alessandro Gavazzi when he lectured in Glasgow in 1851.

Campbell, William, of Tillechiwan (1793-1864). General warehouseman in Glasgow from 1814, partner with his brother (Sir James Campbell, 1790-1876). Unlike his brother, was a staunch Liberal and member of the Free Church. Active promoter of scheme for building twenty new Free churches in Glasgow. Town Councillor. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. Entertained Louis Blanc at Tillechiwan Castle.

Castelar, Emilio (1832-99). Spanish statesman and writer, driven from the country after the revolution of 1866. One of the Republican leaders in 1868. On the abdication of King Amadeus in

1873, became Minister of Foreign Affairs and for a short time (1873-4) was President of the Spanish Republic.

Chambers, Col. John H. Acted as Garibaldi's English secretary. His wife assisted Garibaldi in various ways, some of which the Mazzinians, including McAdam, disapproved of.

Clark, J. D. Sergeant in Garibaldi's British Legion. Had belonged to the First Press Company of Volunteers in Glasgow. Wounded at Santa Maria and erroneously reported as dead by the *Glasgow Herald*.

Clarke, Rev. Charles (1820-92). Unitarian minister of St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, 1847-52. Chartist. On platform at meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians on 27 August 1849. Included lectures on Italy in the series of lectures he gave in Union St Chapel, Glasgow, published as *Notes of Nine Lectures on History, Morals and Politics* (Glasgow, 1849), in which he expressed Mazzinian views. Organizer in Glasgow of the Shilling Subscription for European Freedom, 1852.

Coats, Sir Peter (1808-90). Thread manufacturer in Paisley. On the Lord Provost's Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception in 1864.

Coats, Thomas (1809-83). Thread manufacturer at Paisley with his brother Peter. President of Paisley Philosophical Institution, 1862-4. On the platform at Jessie Meriton White's lectures in Paisley, 10 and 11 March 1857. Included on a list of names McAdam gave to Garibaldi of people he should write to, probably in 1864. McAdam suggested that in his letter Garibaldi should mention Bailie Lamb, Robert Cochran, the Provost and Bailies McKean and Gillespie. (A. P. Campanella collection.)

Cochran, or Cochrane. Sergeant in Garibaldi's British Legion. Left the Legion on account of some grievance and joined Colonel Forbes' Brigade, stationed at Resina near Naples. On McAdam's committee for the distribution of clothing to the volunteers before their return home. Cousin of Hector Paterson who was a friend of McAdam's brother-in-law, Alex Whyte.

Cook, William, of Gateshead. Associated with Joseph Cowen. Addressed the Foreign Affairs Committee, 29 January 1855. President of the Northern Reform Union (established January 1858).

Couper, James. Town Councillor, 1852-69. Bailie, 1857-8. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. Present at the meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception.

Cowen, Joseph, Jr (1831-1900). Fire-brick and clay retort manufacturer, Blaydon, near Newcastle-on-Tyne. Became a Mazzinian while a student at Edinburgh University. Editor and proprietor of the *Northern Tribune*. Acquired the *Newcastle Chronicle* in 1859. Member of the deputation which welcomed Garibaldi to Tyneside, 11 April 1854. Secretary of Foreign Affairs Committee, 1855. Played a key role in the Central Committee of the Friends of Poland. Founder member of the Northern Reform Union from January 1858. Fund raiser for Mazzini and Garibaldi. On the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society.

Craig, Robert. Member of the Trades' Committee. Described as an 'operative' in the *Herald to the Trades Advocate*. Possibly the radical weaver of that name who was prominent at the meetings at Parkhead, where the 'Radical Address' of 1820 was drawn up.

Craig, William. Merchant. Secretary of the Glasgow Reform Association, 1831. Also member of the Political Union. Attended the Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Attended the Thrushgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, as 'a Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'.

Crawford, Edward Henry John (1816-87). Barrister. M.P. for Ayr district 22 July 1852 to 26 January 1874. Resident in Italy for many years. Brother-in-law of Aurelio Saffi. Speaker at the public meeting of the citizens of Glasgow held on 28 April 1857 to consider the condition of Italy.

Crawford, George. Elected to Committee of Management of Glasgow Reform Association on 17 March 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election, who

later became known as 'The Clique'. Political agent and election manager of the Glasgow Whig interest until about 1847. Clerk to the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, 1847. Probably the same as the writer of that name who signed the requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857, contributed to the Garibaldi Fund and appeared on the platform at Louis Blanc's lecture in 1860.

Crawfurd, John (1783-1868). Surgeon and ethnologist. Held various civil posts abroad, including the Governorship of Singapore, before contesting the Glasgow election in 1832, Paisley in 1834, and Stirling in 1835.

Crosskey, Rev. Henry William (1826-93). Unitarian minister of St Vincent Street Church, Glasgow, 1852-69. Entertained Jessie White Mario and Aurelio Saffi during their lecture tours. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. Active with the McAdams, James Adams, James Moir and Robert Buchanan in reviving reform agitation in 1858. On the platform at Kossuth's lecture of 17 November 1858. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858, which endorsed the Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. On the platform at the concert in aid of the Garibaldi Italian Fund held on 26 May 1860. On the platform at Louis Blanc's lecture of 2 October 1860. Member of the Central Committee of the Friends of Poland. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. Delivered an address to Garibaldi at the Working Men's meeting held on 31 March 1864. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society. On platform at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration of 16 October 1866. On his departure to Birmingham in 1869 the *Glasgow Sentinel* reported: 'We know we appeal to treasured memories when we mention Mr Crosskey's name in connection with the crusade against Continental despotism, with which Glasgow has been so honourably identified. To all who had taken part in the efforts made to send aid and service to perishing Hungary, to

suffering Italy, to the enduring and patient throughout the oppressed nationalities, the counsel and the stirring words of Mr Crosskey will remain unforgotten.'

Crum, Walter (1796-1867). Chemist and manufacturer. Speaker at the public meeting of the citizens of Glasgow held on 28 April 1857 to consider the condition of Italy.

Crum Ewing, Humphrey Ewing (1802-87). West India merchant. M.P. for Paisley, 1857-74. Lord Lieutenant of Dumbarton, 1874-87. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857, and spoke at the meeting. Chaired the second of Kossuth's two lectures in November 1858. Sent apologies for absence to the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858, which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage, and in his letter recommended co-operation with other Reformers. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. One of the three Vice Chairmen of the Garibaldi Italian Fund in 1860. Sent a supporting letter to the meeting held on 26 January 1860 to sympathize with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary'. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held 30 March 1864 to appoint a Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. On the platform at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866 and the subsequent Reform meeting in the City Hall.

Cueto, Gabriel. The leader of the Glasgow contingent in Garibaldi's British Legion.

Cullen, Matthew. Power-loom dresser. Chartist. At the Reform Banquet of 5 December 1848 made a speech imploring the various groups of Reformers to act unitedly. Cf. McAdam, *Autobiography*, above, p. 16. Along with George Ross, James Moir, *et al.* formed the Glasgow Committee to the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association in the autumn of 1849. Spoke at meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians of 27 August 1849. Member of Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association in 1852. Moved the first resolution at the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858 which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Association's goal of manhood

suffrage. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. On the platform at the concert in aid of the Garibaldi Italian Fund held on 26 May 1860. At the Working Men's Soirée in honour of Lord Palmerston, 28 March 1863, the Chairman, Robert Dalglish M.P. 'introduced Mr Matthew Cullen, an aged workman from the east end, well known as a speaker at meetings of a political and philanthropic nature in Glasgow, who read and presented to the illustrious statesman an address from the industrious classes in Glasgow'. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception, where he expressed the opinion that there should be working-class participation in the main committee rather than the separate working-class committee proposed by McAdam. Member of the Working Men's Committee.

Dalglish, Robert (1808-80). Son of Robert Dalglish, Provost of Glasgow. Owner of the largest calico works in Scotland. Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1857-74. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857, and spoke at the meeting. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858 which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. One of the three Vice Presidents of the Garibaldi Italian Fund in 1860. Sent a supporting letter to the meeting held on 26 January 1860 to sympathize with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary'. Chaired Louis Blanc's lecture on 2 October 1860. Spoke at the Garibaldi Fund Soirées of 21 December 1860. Supported the South in the American Civil War and entertained the South's commissioner at his estate at Kilmardinny in 1862. Present at preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. One of the group who breakfasted with Garibaldi at Brooke House, Isle of Wight. Chaired the Reform meeting sponsored by the Scottish National

Reform League on 16 October 1866. One of the group of Liberal M.P.s who helped carry Disraeli's Reform Act in 1867.

Davidson, John Gordon. Lieutenant of the Edinburgh Militia Artillery Company garrisoning Dumbarton Castle. Went out independently to join Garibaldi and was appointed captain under Colonel Peard. Took part in the attack on Capua on 19 September 1860 and in the Battle of the Volturmo on 6 October. Prepared for the arrival of the British Legion and helped them in many ways after their arrival. Wrote regular accounts on the campaign for *The Scotsman*.

Davidson, Thomas. Manufacturer. Elected to Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. At Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831, made 'a fine speech in praise of the French Revolution, and other movements of a similar kind'. Proposed toast to the French nation at the Thrusgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'. One of the chief contributors to *The Friend of the People* established by the Clique during the six weeks preceding the election.

DeGallo. Fencing master in Glasgow. Joined Garibaldi, accompanied by his wife.

Dixon, Joseph. Dumbarton manufacturer. M.P., 1831. Defeated candidate in the 1832 election.

Dixon, William (1788-?). Founder of Govan Iron Works. Elected to Committee of Management of Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831.

Donald, George (1800-51). Cotton yarn dresser, and later poet and journalist. On the Trades' Committee. Proposed toast to 'the liberty of the press' at the Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Contributed to the *Chartist Chircular*, but did not identify himself with the Chartists.

Douglas, John, of Barloch. 'Lawyer, politician and wit.' Member of the Fox Club. Probably the John Douglas who, along with McAdam, was appointed to a 'Standing Committee to meet

daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. Member of the Glasgow Polish Association, October 1832. Contested Wigtown burghs in 1835.

Dowling, D. Colonel in Garibaldi's service. Formerly a British artillery captain who served in the Crimea. Appeared on a list, discovered by A. P. Campanella in the Hacke van Mijnden-van Tienhoven collection in Amsterdam, of Garibaldi's fifty-seven favourite Garibaldians.

Duncan, Abram. Quill dresser. Chartist leader. Delegate to the National Convention. Chartist preacher in Arbroath. Emigrated after 1848.

Dunlop, Colin (1775-1837). Head of the Clyde Iron Works. Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1835-6. Member of the Fox Club. One of a committee of twelve who drew up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association in 1830. Elected to Committee of Management of the Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Dunlop, Henry (1799-1867). Of the firm of Messrs James Dunlop & Sons, cotton spinners and manufacturers. Town Councillor for many years, Bailie in 1836, Lord Provost, 1837-40. Took prominent part in the Disruption controversy. Free Church. Defeated candidate at Buteshire election in 1841. Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Lanark. One of a committee of twelve who drew up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association in 1830. Elected to Committee of Management of the Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Signed the requisition for the public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis on 17 May 1832. Replied to toast to the Reform Association at the Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'. Attended Alessandro Gavazzi's meeting in 1851. Chaired meeting of sympathy for the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants in Hungary', 26 January 1860.

Dunn, Henry. Weaver. Member of the Trades' Committee. Sent a letter on behalf of the operative spinners of Glasgow to their counterparts in Yorkshire and Lancashire, published in the *Weavers' Journal*, 1 June 1836.

Dunn, James. Cotton spinner. Member of the Trades' Committee. Associated with the Short Time Committee, 1833.

Dunyov, István (1816-89). Hungarian patriot. In command of a regiment in 1848, taken prisoner at Karlowitz, tried and condemned to death. Sentence commuted to ten years in prison. Met many Italian patriots in prison. After liberation went to Budapest. Then became colonel in the Hungarian Legion in Italy in 1859. After the Treaty of Villafranca, joined Garibaldi, served with honour and was wounded.

Dykes, John. Possibly a victualler. On Committee of Glasgow Political Union, 16 November 1831. Signed the requisition for the public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis on 17 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at that meeting as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'.

Ewing, Archibald Orr (1819-93). Present at preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a Committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. Appointed to this committee. On McAdam's list of people Garibaldi should write to: 'Mention his offer of a steamer on Loch Lomond and other kindness and your regards to Mr Matthew Gray, John Robertson and others'. Conservative M.P. for Dumbar-tonshire, 1868-92.

Ewing, James (1775-1853). Prominent West India merchant. Elected Dean of Guild in 1815, and held various other public offices in Glasgow. President of the Andersonian University. Lord Provost, 1832. M.P. for Glasgow, 1832-4. Whig. Attended lecture by Alessandro Gavazzi in 1851.

Faidherbe, Louis Léon César (1818-89). Commander of the Army of the North in the Franco-Prussian War. Defeated at St Quentin, 1871. Senator, 1879.

Farley, James Lewis (1823-85). Chief accountant of Beirut branch of the Ottoman Bank, 1856. Accountant general of State Bank of Turkey at Constantinople, 1860; Turkish consul at Bristol, 1870-84. Author of various books on the Middle East and the Eastern question.

Ferguson, Robert (1799-1865). Physician to the Queen on several occasions. Attended Garibaldi in London in 1864.

Figueras y Moragas, Estanislav (1818-82). Spanish lawyer and statesman. President of the Provisional Council of Ministers on the establishment of the Republic in 1873. Retired on the restoration of the monarchy, December 1874.

Figyelmessy, Fülöp (1820-1907). Hungarian patriot. Fought with Garibaldi. Became an American citizen later, and served as American Consul in British Guiana, 1865-78.

Fleming, Admiral Charles Elphinstone (1774-1840). The *Loyal Reformers' Gazette*, 7 May 1831, described him as: 'a reformer, Whig of the old school, personal friend of Bolivar'. Candidate for Stirling County, May 1831.

Forbes, Hugh (c.1808-92). Son of a wealthy English gentleman. Matriculated at Oxford in 1823, aged 15. Obtained a commission in the Coldstream Guards in 1826. Fought with Garibaldi in the defence of the Roman Republic, 1848-9. Retired to the United States, where he took up the cause of Negro emancipation, but returned in time to take part in Garibaldi's Sicilian campaign. Later active on behalf of the Poles.

Fowler, Andrew. Town Councillor. Bailie, 1851-66.

Freeborn, John (?-1859). British Consul at Rome. Cardinal Antonelli told Odo Russell in 1859 that it had been a matter of great regret to the Papal Government that the late Mr Freeborn had identified himself so strongly with the revolutionary party in 1848. John McAdam obviously disagreed.

Fullarton, Allan. Attended Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1832. Elected to Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association on 17 March 1831. Signed the requisition for the public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis on 17 May 1832. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Gardner, William. Newspaper reporter with the *Glasgow Chronicle*. Gave evidence at the Handloom Weavers' Commission, 1839, and is described in its Report as being 'formerly connected with manufacturing'. Signed the requisition for the public meeting

to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis on 17 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'.

Gilmour, John. Member of the Trades' Committee. Possibly the John Gilmour who spoke at a Chartist meeting in Paisley in 1848.

Gilmour, William. Signed the requisition for the public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis on 17 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at that meeting, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Gourlay, James. Probably merchant. Member of the Glasgow Reform Association. On the platform at Kossuth's lecture of 17 November 1858.

Govan, William. Textile manufacturer. Either he or William Govan, printer, was on the platform at the Reform meeting sponsored by the Scottish National Reform League, 16 October 1866.

Govan, William Junr. Textile manufacturer. Town Councillor, 1856-65. Bailie, 1860-3. Abolitionist. Member of Scottish Temperance League and Scottish Permissive Bill Association. On platform at a public meeting of citizens convened by the Council of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 30 September 1852. On platform at Kossuth's lecture, 17 November 1858. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858, which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow of 21 December 1858. On platform at the Reform meeting sponsored by the Scottish National Reform League, 16 October 1866.

Govan, William. Printer. Active politically. Possibly on the executive of the Liberal Workmen's Electoral Union.

Graham, Alexander. Of Lancefield. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. On the platform at Bright's meeting of 21 December 1858.

Gray, Charles. Town Councillor, 1852-8. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Gray, William. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Haddow, Thomas. On the Working Men's Garibaldi Reception Committee. Spoke at the meeting held after McAdam's return from London, 26 April, 1864.

Hadfield, Charles (1821-84). Journalist. House painter at Manchester. Edited *Weekly Wages*. On staff of *Newcastle Chronicle* and lecturer for Northern Reform Union, 1861. Editor of *Manchester City News*, 1865-7, *Warrington Examiner* and *Salford Weekly News*, 1880-3.

Hamilton, Archibald James, of Dalzell. Sponsored Owen's scheme for the Orbiston community in 1826. Candidate at the Lanarkshire election of 1832, at which McAdam campaigned for his opponent. Polled only 30 votes.

Harris, Rev George (1794-1859). Unitarian. A founder of the Scottish Unitarian Association. Minister at Glasgow, 1825-41, Edinburgh, 1841-5. Wrote to President of Glasgow Political Union on 15 May 1832 asking to be enrolled as a member. Voted for Douglas and Crawford at the 1832 election.

Harrower, David. Printer, who established a printing business in Glasgow with William S. Brown which did most of the printing work required by the Chartists. In 1848 he and Brown were arrested for printing a placard headed 'Threatened Revolution in London'. Possibly the D. Harrower who spoke at a meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians held by the inhabitants of Barrhead, 29 August 1849.

Hawkes, Emilie A. See Venturi, Emilie A.

Hedderwick, Alexander. Printer. Bailie. Proposed toast to the Glasgow Reform Association at the Thrushgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. One of the six main office bearers of the Glasgow Political Union elected in December 1831. Corn Law Repealer.

Hedderwick, James. Printer. Brother of Alexander Hedderwick, but less radical.

Henderson, John (1780-1867). Philanthropist. Drysalter in Glasgow, and subsequently an East India merchant in London. From 1827, spent a large portion of his income in promoting evangelical Christianity. Reputed to have contributed from £30,000 to £40,000 a year to religious and charitable schemes. Bought and maintained several mission churches in Glasgow, which presumably was the reason McAdam gave him the title of Rev. United Presbyterian. Largely instrumental in establishing the Evangelical Alliance.

Henderson, Robert. Sardinian (later Italian) Consul in Glasgow Of firm of Patrick Henderson & Co., merchants, ship and insurance brokers. Their marble works and store were located at 23 Hyde Park St, next door to the McAdam's pottery. Honorary Secretary of the Ladies' Garibaldi Benevolent Association for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded, Widows and Orphans of the Liberators of Italy under General Garibaldi. Met Garibaldi in the early 1830s in Leghorn.

Hume, William. Probably a power loom tenter. Member of the Trades' Committee.

Ihasz, Daniel (1813-81). Hungarian patriot soldier, then Kossuth's companion in exile. Commanded Kossuth's Hungarian Legion in the 1859 War. Joined Garibaldi after the Treaty of Villafranca.

Johnston, Alexander (1790-1844), of Shieldhall. Merchant and manufacturer. Spoke at Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Elected to Committee of Management of Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831.

Johnston, David. Possibly the David Johnston who moved a resolution at the Working Men's Committee for Garibaldi in 1864 that the trades should line the streets, displaying banners. A David Johnston also contributed to the National Subscription for Mazzini in February 1866.

Kane, John. Of Newcastle. One of the deputation who attended Garibaldi on his visit to Tyneside, 11 April 1854.

Keddie, William (1809-77). Scientific author, Secretary of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow. Possibly the William Keddie who was one of the group who met Bright at the station on his

visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening.

Keiller, Alexander. Clerk to a power loom factory. Member of the Glasgow Political Union. On Short Time Committee, 1833.

Kellar, Alexander. Town Councillor, 1846-52. On the platform at Bright's meeting on 21 December 1858.

Kempton, Donald. Partner with Robert McTear in auctioneering firm. Treasurer of Garibaldi Italian Fund from about 28 May 1860, previously Sub-Treasurer. On the platform at Louis Blanc's lecture, 2 October 1860. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception, and appointed to the committee.

Kinnaird, Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, 10th Baron (1814-87). Liberal M.P. for Perth, 1837-49, 1852-78. Stressed his sympathies in favour of Italian independence in his election speech at Perth, 28 April 1859. Wrote to Lord Provost of Perth, 7 October 1859, describing the tour of Italy he had made during the Parliamentary recess and reiterating his sympathies. Sent a letter of support to the meeting held 26 January 1860 to express sympathy with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants in Hungary'. Asked question in Commons about the reason for Garibaldi's departure from England in 1864.

Kinnaird, George William Fox, 9th Baron (1807-78). Spent much time in Italy in his youth. Helped victims of Austrian tyranny, for example, Giuseppe Pecchio. Brother of Arthur Kinnaird, M.P. Invited Garibaldi to his home at Rossie Priory. Known also as a sympathizer with the Poles.

Kossuth, Francis (1841-1914). Kossuth's elder son. Accompanied his father to exile in Britain and Italy. Engineer with Italian railways. Returned to Hungary and became Minister of Commerce in 1906. McAdam helped him with various business schemes.

Kossuth, Louis Theodore. Kossuth's younger son. Accompanied his father to exile in Britain and Italy. Engineer. Remained in Italy as a high official of the railway until his death.

Lamb, James J. Bailie of Paisley. Chairman of the Committee for the Emancipation of Italy. Mentioned by McAdam in his

acceptance speech at the presentation made to him in 1873 as one of those who contributed generously to Mazzinian schemes. On the platform at Bright's meeting of 21 December 1858.

Lamond, Robert. Probably ship agent. Secretary and agent for the Glasgow Committee on Emigration. Author of *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration . . .* (1821). Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted in the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832.

Lang, James. Chartist. Against Chartists having anything to do with Corn Law repeal.

Lang, William (c.1772-1847). Printer. Arrested along with James Turner of Thrushgrove in 1816, for printing the resolutions of the meeting. Present at the Thrushgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. Appointed to the Committee of the Glasgow Political Union, 16 November 1831. Signed the requisition for a public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. 'He was all his life-long warmly attached to liberal principles, not by violence or revolution, but to constitutional reform, comprehending civil and religious liberty, under proper safeguards' (Obituary in *Glasgow Examiner*, 1 January 1848).

Langdon, William Gregory (?-1867). Cornishman who spent many years as manufacturer and calico printer in Glasgow. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858 which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage. On platform at Bright's meeting of 21 December 1858. Present at meeting of sympathy for the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860. Appointed a committee of three with McAdam and Robert McTear to carry out the resolutions of the Garibaldi Italian Fund Committee, 1 May 1860. 'Mr Langdon was not narrow in his patriotism; while proud of his native country, he took a generous interest in our Scottish memorials and in our local charities. As the devoted personal friend of Louis Kossuth, and the constant liberal contributor to the Italian cause in its darkest hours, he did much to preserve harmony of action among his friends' (Obituary, possibly written by McAdam).

Langley, John Baxter. Editor of Joseph Cowen's *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* from May 1858. Taken to court by the Mayor of

Gateshead, George Crawshay, for having published an article, 'Who will fight for Garibaldi' (13 August 1860) in violation, according to Crawshay, of the Foreign Enlistment Act. Contributed to the Patriotic Offering to Mazzini, February 1866.

Larkin, Dr Charles. Physician in Newcastle. Roman Catholic. Member of the Northern Political Union founded in 1831. Contributed to Cowen's *Newcastle Chronicle*.

Lumsden, James (1778-1856). Stationer. Town Councillor, 1822. Lord Provost, 1843-6. Replied to the toast to the Commissioner of Police at the Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831, as Treasurer. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

McAdam, William. Elder brother and business partner of John McAdam. Town Councillor, 1851-60. Very closely associated with his brother's political work from 1847 and appeared alongside him on the platform at innumerable meetings, including almost all of those mentioned under the other names included in this Appendix. Emigrated to New Zealand in 1879.

McArthur, John. Member of the Trades' Committee. Spoke at the operatives' meeting of 2 October 1830, reported in the *Herald to the Trades' Advocate* (9 October 1830).

McAulay, Daniel. Power loom tenter. Brother-in-law of John Tait. Chaired Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831, where he referred to himself as 'an unlettered mechanic, an unwashed artisan'. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831, one of three artisan members out of a total membership of seventeen. Member of the Glasgow Political Union. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 27 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at that meeting, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. On Short Time Committee, 1833. Committee member of the 2nd District Liberal Association.

Described by James Burn as: 'a small man with a large mind; he was both fluent in speech and quick in debate'.

McCalman, John. Probably the Mr McCalman who seconded the vote of thanks to Louis Blanc at his lecture of 2 October 1860, appeared on the platform at the Polish meeting of 6 April 1863, and was appointed General Secretary of the Working Men's Committee for Garibaldi's reception, of which McAdam was Corresponding Secretary.

McClelland, James (1799-1879). Accountant. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. On the platform at Bright's meeting of 21 December 1858. Abolitionist. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society.

McDonald, Hugh (1817-60). Poet. A block printer at Paisley to 1849. Wrote for the *Glasgow Citizen*, 1849-53, and the *Glasgow Sentinel*, 1855. Edited the *Glasgow Times*. Literary editor of the *Morning Journal*, 1856-60.

McFadyen, Allen. Chartist and trade unionist. Secretary of Glasgow Universal Suffrage Association. Secretary of the Ten Hours Bill Committee of the Glasgow Trades for many years after 1843.

McFarlane, Malcolm (1809-62). Cabinet maker. Chartist. Enthusiastic worker for many social causes, public baths, Building Societies, Mechanics' Institutes, peace, anti-slavery, temperance, abolition of capital punishment, co-operation and trade unionism. Vice President of the Glasgow Universal Suffrage Association, c.1839. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow of 21 December 1858.

McGavin, John (1816-81). Grain miller. Abolitionist. Chairman of Scottish Temperance League. With the McAdams on the Wallace Monument Committee appointed at a meeting in Anderston, 5 September 1856. Signed requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a public meeting to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. On the platform at Bright's meeting of 21 December 1858. On the platform at Louis Blanc's lecture of 2 October 1860. Appointed to the Garibaldi Reception Committee in 1864. On the platform at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866, and the subsequent Reform meeting in

City Hall. Made the presentation to McAdam at the meeting of Glasgow citizens held for this purpose in June 1873: 'I have been acquainted with Mr McAdam for a great many years. Ever since he returned from America I have lived in the same locality, and I have fought with him shoulder to shoulder in some of our small political contests in that celebrated burgh of Anderston, and sympathised with him in many of his efforts of a broader and more cosmopolitan kind.'

MacGeorge, Andrew (1774-1857). Writer. Town Councillor, 1832. On the committee of twelve appointed to draw up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association, October 1830. Spoke at a public meeting in Glasgow which sent a petition to Earl Grey for Reform, 21 September 1831. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider means to be adopted in the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at that meeting, as a 'Standing Committee, to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform becomes the law of the land'. Amongst the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

McGowan, Patrick. Operative cotton spinner. Associated with the Short Time Committee, 1833.

MacGregor, J. W. (Possibly James Watt MacGregor. Town Councillor, 1849, Bailie, 1851-5). On the platform at Kossuth's lecture, 17 November 1858. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. Present at the meeting of sympathy for the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860, and seconded McAdam's motion to appoint a committee for the purpose of communicating the resolutions to Kossuth. On platform at concert in aid of Garibaldi Italian Fund, 26 May 1860. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. Appointed to that Committee.

MacGregor, John (1797-1857). Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1847-57. Spoke on the Hungarian question in Parliament on 1 July 1848, protesting Russian interference. Spoke at the founding meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 22

April 1852. On platform at a public meeting of citizens convened by the Council of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 30 September 1852.

McKay, Charles. Power loom dresser. Shareholder in the *Herald to the Trades Advocate*. Secretary, Operative Weavers of Drygate Toll District, May 1831.

McKechnie, John. Power loom tenter. Shareholder in the *Herald to the Trades Advocate*.

McKellar, Rev. of Rothesay. Contributed to Mazzinian funds. On platform at Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1860.

McKenzie, Peter. Editor of the *Loyal Reformers' Gazette*. Spoke at Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Present at Thrushgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. On the Committee of the Glasgow Political Union elected 16 November 1831. Author of *Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1865).

McKenzie, William. Tailor. Lived in Naples and helped McAdam there. Address listed by McAdam in 1873 as 90 Palazzo Portona, Largo Cappello, Vecchia Naples.

McTear, Robert (1818-76). Auctioneer. Partner with Donald Kempt, c. 1842-63, then continued alone. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow of 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. Present at the meeting of sympathy for the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860. Secretary of the Garibaldi Italian Fund, 1860. Appointed to a Committee of three, with Langdon and McAdam, to carry out the resolutions of the Garibaldi Italian Fund meeting of 1 May 1860. On platform at concert in aid of Garibaldi Italian Fund, 26 May 1860. On platform at Louis Blanc's lecture, 2 October 1860. Member of the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee, 1861. On platform at Jessie White Mario's lecture, April 1862. Member of meeting of sympathy with the Poles, 6 April 1863. His premises, St Mary's Hall, were used for the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. Appointed to the Reception Committee at that meeting. Author of *Notes of a Continental Tour, and a Visit to Caprera* (Glasgow, 1865).

Malcolm, Robert, of the *Scots Times*. Attended Trades' Political Dinner of 3 January 1831, where he was described as one of 'the three conductors of the independent press in Glasgow'. Associated with the Chartists as editor and printer of *Scottish Patriot*, 1839-1841.

Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollock (1768-1844). M.P. for Paisley, 1832-4. Contested Renfrewshire, 1837.

Maxwell, Sir John, of Pollok (1791-1865). M.P. for Renfrewshire, 1818-30, and for Lanarkshire, 1832-7. Deputy Lieutenant for the counties of Lanark and Renfrew. Present at the Thrusgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. Elected President of Glasgow Political Union, December 1831. Sent supporting letter to the meeting to sympathize with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860.

Middleton, Robert Tweedie (1831-91). Merchant. Liberal candidate at Glasgow election, 1868, defeated. M.P. for Glasgow, 1880-5.

Miller, Joseph. Cotton spinner. Vice President, Trades' Committee, 31 January 1831. One of the three artisan members, out of a total membership of twenty-seven, on the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association appointed 17 March 1831.

Mitchell, John. Partner in the 'textiles and dry goods' business of Messrs A. & S. Henry & Co. Managed their Bradford and Leeds branches. Considerable influence in public affairs in Bradford. Free trader. Member of Bradford Town Council, 1856-1868, and Alderman for most of that time. Admirer and friend of Kossuth. Entertained Kossuth during his visit to Bradford.

Mogyoródy, Adolph. Captain in the Hungarian Legion with Garibaldi.

Moir, James (1806-80). Tea Merchant. Town Councillor, 1848-64, 1869-80. Bailie, 1871. On the Committee of the Glasgow Political Union appointed 16 November 1831. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. Presided over meeting inaugurating Chartist activities in Glasgow. President Glasgow Charter Association, 1842-4. On platform at the founding meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 22 April 1852 and subsequent

meetings. Chairman of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association. Abolitionist. On platform at Kossuth's lecture of 19 November 1858. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow of 21 December 1858. On platform at Bright's meeting that evening. On platform at Louis Blanc's lecture, 2 October 1860. On platform at Jessie White Mario's lectures in April 1862 and member of the Central Committee of the Friends of Poland. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. Appointed to that committee. Chairman of Platform No 3 at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866. On the platform at the subsequent Reform meeting in the City Hall. Vice President of the Scottish National Reform League, 1866. President, 1867. Was the League's first choice as parliamentary candidate in the 1868 election but declined and George Anderson was chosen instead. Presided at the meeting which endorsed Anderson's candidature, July 1868.

Muir, Thomas, of Muirpark. One of the Committee of twelve appointed in September 1830 to draw up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association. Elected to Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at that meeting, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who became known later as 'The Clique'.

Murchie, John. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow on 21 December 1858. Possibly the Mr Murchie on the platform at Jessie White Mario's lectures in April 1862.

Murray, William, of Monklands. Signed requisition to Lord Provost to convene meeting of Glasgow citizens to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857, and spoke at the meeting.

Mylne, James (1756-1839). Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow. Member of the Fox Club. One of the committee of twelve appointed in September 1830 to draw up a

constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election later known as 'The Clique'.

Newton, George (1833-67). Secretary of the Glasgow Trades' Council. Spoke at Bright's meeting in the City Hall, 16 October 1858, described in the *Glasgow Herald* as 'a working man'. Appointed, with Matthew Lawrence, to represent the Glasgow Reform Association at the National Reform Conference in London on 20 and 21 May 1862. Active in the Working Men's Committee for Garibaldi in 1864.

Nichol, John (1833-94). Professor of English at Glasgow University, 1862-89. Son of Professor John Pringle Nichol. Ardent Mazzinian, more so than his father. See W. A. Knight, *Memoir of John Nichol* (Glasgow, 1896). One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow on 21 December 1858. Abolitionist. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society. Subscribed to the Patriotic Offering to Joseph Mazzini, February 1866. On the platform at the Reform meeting in the City Hall sponsored by the Scottish National Reform League, 16 October 1866.

Nichol, John Pringle (1804-59). Professor of Astronomy at the University of Glasgow. Founder member of the Society of the Friends of Italy, 1851, and personal friend of Mazzini. Entertained Jessie White Mario, Aurelio Saffi and other friends of Mazzini on their visits to Glasgow. Follower of John Bright and Chairman of Bright's Glasgow Committee with which McAdam had some difficulties. Bright was his guest during his October 1858 visit. Signed requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a meeting of the citizens of Glasgow to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857.

Nicotera, Giovanni (1829-94). Participated with Pisacane in the expedition which captured the *Cagliari* and landed in Calabria in 1857. Captured and imprisoned until May 1860. Joined Garibaldi on his Sicilian expedition, and again in 1866.

Nimmo, John. Ship and insurance broker in Genoa. 'Miss Nimmo' was presumably a relation.

Nish, James. Cotton spinner. One of the three artisan members, out of a total membership of twenty-seven, on the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association appointed 17 March 1831. Associated with the Short Time Committee, 1833.

O'Ferrall, Richard More (1797-1880). Irish Whig. Entered House of Commons, 1830, junior minister, 1835-41. Governor of Malta. 1847-51.

Oswald, James (1777 or 1778-1853). Merchant. Member of the Fox Club. One of the committee of twelve appointed in September 1830 to draw up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Liberal M.P. for Glasgow, 1832-7, 1839-47.

Park, Charles. Second Engineer of the *Cagliari*, commanded by Pisacane for his expedition to Calabria in 1857. Imprisoned in Naples.

Paton, Andrew. On platform at meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians, August 1849. On platform at a public meeting of citizens convened by the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 30 September 1852. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858 which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage.

Paton, William P. (?-1867). Commission merchant. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. Voted for Oswald at the 1832 election. On platform at founding meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 22 April 1852. Signed requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a meeting of the citizens of Glasgow to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. On platform at Kossuth's lecture, 17 November 1858. On platform at Bright's meeting of 21 December 1858. Present at the meeting of sympathy with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held on 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrange-

ments for Garibaldi's reception. Appointed to that committee. Abolitionist. Vice President of the Union and Emancipation Society.

Pattison, John. Merchant. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who became known later as 'The Clique'. Attended Alessandro Gavazzi's lecture in 1851.

Pattison, William C. Steam engine machine maker. Secretary of the Scottish Steam Enginemakers' Society, c. 1836. Secretary to the Glasgow United Trades, 1838. Chartist leader. Helped to sponsor the *Scottish Patriot*. On executive committee of the Universal Suffrage Central Committee for Scotland, 1839-42. Opposed O'Connor's influence in Scotland. Active in Corn Law Repeal. Joined the Complete Suffrage Association in 1842. Elected Police Commissioner, 1844. On platform at a public meeting of citizens convened by the Council of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 30 September 1852.

Paul, Daniel. Chartist. Represented Glasgow at the National Convention in 1851.

Peard, John Whitehead (1811-80). Colonel in Garibaldi's British Legion. Cornishman.

Pisacane, Carlo (1818-57). Neapolitan. Leader of an expedition to Calabria in 1857. Because of a misleading report that the Neapolitan peasants were ripe for revolt, he and a small group of followers seized the postal steamer *Cagliari* and landed on the Calabrian Coast. They were wiped out in two engagements, the first with Bourbon troops and the second with the very peasants they had hoped to help but who mistook them for brigands. Pisacane shot himself.

Pulszky, Ferenc. Hungarian patriot. Landed in England at the end of February 1849 and tried to influence public opinion through the press and personal connections. Drew away from Kossuth about the beginning of 1861.

Rattray, James. Possibly the bookseller who was agent for Alessandro Gavazzi in 1851.

Reed, Richard Bagnall. Ironworker at Winlaton. Secretary of

the Northern Political Union, established January 1858. Appointed by Joseph Cowen as manager of the *Newcastle Chronicle*.

Robertson, James Barr. Temperance advocate. Probably the James Barr Robertson who was Secretary of the Scottish Temperance League, August 1853 to May 1854. However, his presence on the platform at a League meeting of May 1863 conflicts with McAdam's statements of June 1861 that he 'had moved to a distance', unless the distance was merely that between Glasgow and Edinburgh. The handwriting of McAdam's friend is very similar to that of the inscription on the Library of Congress's copy of an offprint of an article by James Barr Robertson, economist and advocate of bimetallism. Internal evidence from the writings of this economist locate him successively in Shanghai, San Francisco and Washington. A letter of Mazzini to McAdam of 18 April 1867 enquires of the address of 'Mr. R': 'Is it Shanghai? or any other place?' The economist seems to have returned to Britain before 1888 as he was one of the witnesses examined by the Gold and Silver Commission. In 1894 he was an Honorary Secretary of the City of London Committee of the India Section of the Bimetallic League.

Rodger, Alexander (1784-1846). Poet. Apprenticed to a silversmith in Edinburgh. Moved to Glasgow, where he began to learn the weaving business in 1797. In 1819 he was employed by *The Spirit of the Union*, a paper advocating radical reform. Arrested and imprisoned for several weeks on 7 April 1819. In 1821 became a reader and reporter for the *Glasgow Chronicle* and was subsequently employed by two other Glasgow papers. Also edited *Whistlebinkie*, a humorous periodical. Member of the Trades' Committee; described by James Burn as: 'The Poet Laureate of the Committee . . . the genial, honest, warm-hearted Sandy Rodgers'. Sang 'his new version of the King's Anthem' at the Trades' Political Dinner of 3 January 1831.

Rogers, Charles (1825-90). Minister of the Church of Scotland. Chaplain of the garrison at Stirling Castle, 1855-63. Worked on the Wallace Monument project for many years, but had disagreements with William Burns and his friends, including the McAdams.

Ross, George. Shoemaker. Prosperous enough to largely finance the *Chartist Circular*. Treasurer of the Universal Suffrage

Central Committee for Scotland, 1839-42. Chaired the meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians, August 1849. Associated with McAdam, James Moir and Matthew Cullen in forming the Glasgow Committee to the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association in the autumn of 1849. Present at the founding meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 22 April 1852. Possibly the George Ross who was the chairman of Platform No. 5 at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866.

Roy, George. Probably of James and George Roy, ham curers.

Roy, James. Probably of James and George Roy, ham curers.

Saffi, Aurelio (1819-90). Triumvir of the Roman Republic with Armellini and Mazzini. Lived in England, 1853-60 as Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Oxford, and again from 1864 to 1866. Lectured in Glasgow in April 1857, after which he had some correspondence with McAdam.

Sandford, Sir Daniel Keyte (1798-1838). Professor of Greek at Glasgow University. Member of the Reform Association. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at a public meeting on 17 May 1832 as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. Candidate for Glasgow at the 1832 election, but was defeated. According to James Burn he made a favourable impression on the working classes during the Reform Bill agitation. John Strang wrote that he was looked on by the old Reformers as 'a time-server and Liberal for the nonce', who, however, 'gained the sweet voices of many of the Radical electors, and of the Reformers, like himself, of yesterday'. McAdam voted for him.

Seely, Charles (1803-87). Liberal M.P. for Lincoln, 1847-8, 1861-85. Entertained Garibaldi at Brooke House, Newport, Isle of Wight in 1864.

Sherrington, Duncan. Chartist. Supporter of Feargus O'Connor. Secretary of the Glasgow district of Land Society branches.

Simpson, Robert. On the platform at Bright's meeting in the City Hall, 21 December 1858.

Smeal, William. Of a well-known Quaker family in Glasgow, editors of the *British Friend* for about 10 years after 1847. Secretary

of the Glasgow Emancipation Society in the 1830s. On the platform at the founding meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 22 April 1852. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. On the platform at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866, and the subsequent Reform meeting in City Hall. Chaired the 1871 meeting to raise a fund for those made destitute by the Franco-Prussian war, a meeting which McAdam attended and at which he spoke approvingly of Smeal and the fund although later he disassociated himself from it. See above p. 180.

Smith, George. Writer. Signed requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a meeting of the citizens of Glasgow to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. On the platform at Bright's meeting in the City Hall, 21 December 1858. Possibly the George Smith whom Robert Dalglish asked to arrange an election committee for him in 1859. (R. Dalglish to J. Moir, 11 April 1859, Moir papers. Mitchell Library, Glasgow.)

Smith, James. Of Smith and Wellstood, patent American stove and range manufacturers and ironfounders. Met McAdam at 1832 election meeting. Also knew him for some years in Mississippi. Probably one of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. Spoke at the presentation to McAdam in June 1873.

Smith, James, Sen. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858. Probably member of the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee. Treasurer of the Glasgow Polish Committee, 1863. Treasurer of the Working Men's Garibaldi Committee, 1864. Possibly Treasurer of the Scottish National Reform League, 1866.

Smith, Thomas. Member of the Working Men's Garibaldi Committee, 1864. Subscribed to the Patriotic Offering to Joseph Mazzini, February 1866.

Speirs, A. G., of Culcreuch. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who were later known as 'The Clique'.

Speirs, Archibald, of Elderslie. Invited to Trades' Political Dinner of 3 January 1831, but declined on account of age. His

family associated with MacAdam in the Wallace Monument project.

Stansfeld, James (1820-98). Brewer and barrister. Close friend of Mazzini's. Liberal M.P. for Halifax, 1859-95. Held various cabinet positions. On all Mazzinian Committees. His lectures to the Philosophical Institute, Edinburgh, were published as *The Italian Movement and Italian Parties* (London, 1862). In correspondence with MacAdam from at least 1857.

Stapleton, John (1816-91). M.P. for Berwick-on-Tweed, 1852-3, 1857-9, and 1868-74.

Steele, Thomas. Yarn dresser. Member of the Trades' Committee. Member of the Short Time Committee, 1833.

Stewart, John. Yarn dresser. Member of the Trades' Committee. Shareholder in the *Herald to the Trades Advocate*. MacAdam mentioned two of this name. The other may have been the John Stewart, 5 King St, May Lane, who wrote a letter in favour of reform to the *Glasgow Herald* (19 October 1866).

Stirling, George. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted in the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1831. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. One of those appointed along with MacAdam, at this meeting, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if required, till the Bill of Reform becomes the law of the land'.

Stirling, James (1805-83). Author of *Letters from the Slave States* (London, 1857) and other works, many of them on trade unions. Brother of William Stirling. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow, 21 December 1858.

Stirling, William, afterwards Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (1818-78). Historical writer. M.P. for Perthshire, 1852-68, 1874-8. Member of the Fox Club. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted during the Reform Bill crisis 17 May 1832. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald and Crawford at the 1832 election who were later known as 'The Clique'. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow on 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening. On the platform at the Reform meeting sponsored by the Scottish National Reform League, 16

October 1866. Attended lecture by Jessie White Mario, sponsored by the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee, held in London on 20 May 1862.

Stuart, Peter. Shipping merchant in Liverpool. Contributed large sums to Mazzinian Funds and organized subscriptions.

Tait, Alexander. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at a public meeting on 17 May 1832, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'.

Tait, John (1795-1836). Owner of Tait's Coffee House in the Trongate. Leading member of the sponsoring Committee for the *Herald to the Trades Advocate* and the *Trades Advocate*. Editor of *The Liberator*. Secretary of the Trades' Committee. Member of the Political Union. Signed requisition for public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis. One of those appointed at that meeting, along with McAdam, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Brother-in-law of Daniel McAulay.

Taylor, Dr John (1805-42). Editor of the *Liberator* on the death of John Tait. 1836. Spent a considerable fortune in fitting out a ship to fight for Greek independence. Stood as candidate for Ayr burghs in 1832 and 1834. Chartist. President of Scottish Radical Association formed in December 1836.

Taylor, Peter Alfred (1819-91). Silk mercer. M.P. for Leicester, 1862-84. Friend of Mazzini from 1845. Treasurer and later chairman of the Society of the Friends of Italy, founded in 1851. On the Committee for the Emancipation of Italy, 1856-7. On the executive committee of the Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee, 1861.

Teacher, William. Spirit merchant. Unitarian. Liberal.

Tennant, Charles (1768-1838). Apprentice weaver when young. Owner of St Rollox Chemical Works. Radical since his youth. One of the committee of twelve appointed to draw up a constitution for the Glasgow Reform Association in September 1830. Elected to Committee of Management of Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Among the supporters of Oswald

and Crawford at the 1832 election who later became known as 'The Clique'.

Tennant, John (1796-1878). Son of Charles Tennant. Also a member of 'The Clique'. Signed requisition to the Lord Provost to convene a public meeting to consider the condition of Italy, 28 April 1857. Visited Italy in 1859 or 1860 to see some sulphur mines of which he was part owner. Appointed to the Lord Provost's Garibaldi Reception Committee at the meeting of 30 March 1864.

Tennent, Hugh (?-1864), of Wellpark. Brewer. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. Signed the requisition for a public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. One of the three Vice Chairmen of the Garibaldi Italian Fund in 1860. Sent supporting letter to the meeting of sympathy with the 'oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Hungary', 26 January 1860. On platform at Louis Blanc's lecture, 2 October 1860. On the Lord Provost's Committee for the Reception of Garibaldi. Visited Garibaldi in Caprera and offered him the use of his yacht for a visit to Britain.

Thomson, Mrs John [Elizabeth Burns]. Illegitimate daughter of Robert Burns and Annie Park. Wife of a weaver in Pollokshaws. McAdam helped to raise a fund for her benefit, and chaired a meeting of its subscribers on 10 September 1860.

Thomson, Thomas (1773-1852). Lecturer in Chemistry at the University of Glasgow, 1817, and Professor, 1818-46.

Tibaldi. In August 1857, Tibaldi and two other Italians were charged with an attempt on the life of Louis Napoleon. They testified that Mazzini and Ledru Rollin had paid them to do it. Mazzini and Ledru Rollin were tried *in absentia* and sentenced to deportation.

Townsend, Joseph. Manufacturing chemist. Generous subscriber to Mazzinian funds. Contributed to the National Subscription for Mazzini in February 1866. On the platform at the Scottish National Reform League's demonstration on Glasgow Green, 16 October 1866. In numerous letters Mazzini asked McAdam to thank Mr Townsend for various sums of money. 'I wish there were plenty of Townsends in the world', he wrote on 26 March 1864.

Troup, George. One of the promoters of the Reform meeting of 9 December 1858 which endorsed the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association's goal of manhood suffrage. One of the group who met Bright at the station on his visit to Glasgow on 21 December 1858. On the platform at Bright's meeting that evening.

Tüköry, Mawa (1830-60). Captain in the Hungarian Legion on Garibaldi's Sicilian campaign. Killed at Palermo.

Turner, James, of Thrushgrove. Veteran reformer arrested for holding a reform meeting on his property at Thrushgrove in 1816, and therefore prominent on the platform at the Thrushgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. On the Committee of the Glasgow Political Union appointed 16 November 1831, and one of the 6 main office bearers elected December 1831. Member of the Reform Association. Chaired numerous Chartist meetings. On platform at meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians, August 1849. Present at the founding meeting of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 22 April 1852. Chaired the public meeting of citizens convened by the Council of the Glasgow Parliamentary Reform Association, 30 September 1852.

Ure, John, of Craig Ure, or Cray. Signed requisition for a public meeting to consider measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. One of those appointed, along with McAdam, at that meeting as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. One of the six main office bearers of the Glasgow Political Union elected December 1831. Spoke at a meeting of that body on 3 April 1832. The future Lord Provost of the same name was a subscriber to the Garibaldi Fund and a member of the Garibaldi Reception Committee, but McAdam does not mention him.

Venturi, Mrs Emilie A. One of Mazzini's closest friends, married first to Sydney Hawkes and then to Carlo Venturi. Mazzini often mentioned McAdam in his letters to her, for example, on 5 January 1859, 27 August 1866, 26 February 1867, 21 September 1867, 20 October 1867 (*Epistolario*, xxxvii, 114; li, 323; lii, 234; liii, 211. Edizione Nazionale), and during her first visit to Glasgow; 'Did you see McAdam? I hope so. He will grieve very much if he

hears of your being in Glasgow without contriving to see him', 26 August 1869, lv, 150-2. She herself wrote several letters to McAdam. She was a sister of William Ashurst

Vukovics, Sebő (1811-72). Former Minister of Justice in Kossuth's government in Hungary.

Waddell, Rev Peter Hately (1817-91). Free Church minister at Glasgow, 1862. Joined the established church in 1888. Present at the preliminary meeting of subscribers to the Garibaldi Fund held 30 March 1864 to appoint a committee to make arrangements for Garibaldi's reception. Appointed to that committee. On the platform at the Working Men's Committee meeting next day, where he expressed concern about the possibility of misunderstanding arising between the classes.

Walker, Dr David. Physician. Elected to the Committee of Management of the Glasgow Reform Association, 17 March 1831. On the Committee of the Glasgow Political Union appointed 6 November 1831. On the committee for setting up the *Trades Advocate*. Signed the requisition for a public meeting to consider the measures to be adopted at the Reform Bill crisis, 17 May 1832. One of those appointed at that meeting, along with McAdam, as a 'Standing Committee to meet daily, if necessary, till the Bill of Reform become the law of the land'. On McAdam's departure for America, Dr Walker presented him with a gun on behalf of the Reformers of Glasgow. Present at the testimonial meeting for McAdam in June 1873, where McAdam reminded him of the former occasion.

Walker, James. Possibly the James Walker of Havannah Street who was a shareholder in the *Herald to the Trades Advocate*.

Wallace, James. One of the six main office bearers of the Glasgow Political Union, elected December 1831. On the election committee of the Political Union set up at the meetings of 31 May and 18 June 1832 to select 'able, honest and consistent Reformers' as candidates. Since Daniel McAulay was described as the only operative on the committee, Wallace presumably was middle class. Possibly the James Wallace who married Joseph Townsend's daughter and/or the contributor of that name to the National Subscription for Mazzini in February 1866.

Wallace, Robert (1773-1855), of Kelly. Partner in West India firm of Wallace, Hunter & Co., Greenock. M.P. for Greenock, 1833-45. Chaired the Thrushgrove Reform Dinner, 29 October 1831. On the platform at the Trades' Political Dinner, 3 January 1831. Member of the Glasgow Reform Association. Chairman of the Glasgow Political Union.

Warden, John. Editor of the *Trades Advocate*.

Wargha, István (1808-76). Teacher and writer on education.

Watt, Alexander. Probably the Alexander Watt who was on the platform at Bright's meeting in Glasgow on 21 December 1858.

Watt, Henry Alexander (1830 or 1831-88). Chief engineer of the *Cagliari* who was imprisoned along with Charles Park by the Neapolitan authorities. Suffered severely by the imprisonment and temporarily lost his reason. Was never able to work again. Lived in Newcastle after his release.

Wilkinson, James. A working man. Spoke at the meeting of sympathy with the Hungarians, August 1849, where he expressed himself strongly in favour of the Peace movement and avowed himself a disciple of Elihu Burritt. On the platform at Kossuth's lecture of 17 November 1858. Spoke at the meeting of working men held in conjunction with the 4th Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science held in Glasgow, September 1860. (Recommended to the organizers by McAdam.) On the Working Men's Committee for Garibaldi's reception, 1864. Spoke at the electoral conference convened by the Scottish National Reform League in July 1868, requesting that the candidates be tested on whether they were favourable to the abrogation of all war and the restriction of the liquor trade. At the presentation to McAdam in July 1873.

Wilks, Washington (1825 or 1826-62). Proprietor and publisher of the *Carlisle Examiner and North Western Advertiser*.

Williamson, Alexander. Member of the Trades' Committee. Probably Treasurer of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Operative Turners' Association from 24 March 1831. Emigrated to Canada.

Wright, Charles. Elected Chairman of the Working Men's Committee for Garibaldi's reception at their meeting of 11 April 1864.

Young, John (?-1886). Town Councillor, 1869-86. Chaired the testimonial meeting for McAdam in July 1873. Probably the John Young who was appointed with the McAdams to a Wallace Monument Committee in Anderston, 5 September 1856 and/or the member of the Lord Provost's Garibaldi Reception Committee in 1864.

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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE EXECUTIVE

1977-78

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Honorary Publication Secretary

THOMAS I. RAE, PH D

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

REPORT

of the 91st Annual Meeting

The 91st Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, George Street, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 10 December 1977, at 11.15 a.m. Professor A. A. M. Duncan, President of the Society, was in the Chair.

The Report of Council was as follows:

The twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the Fourth Series were issued to members during the year. These two volumes, the *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon: 1378-1394*, edited by Monsignor Charles Burns, and the *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon: 1394-1419*, edited by Francis McGurk, formed the Society's tribute to the late Dr Annie I. Dunlop, and the first volume contained a Memoir of Dr Dunlop by Dr I. B. Cowan, Honorary Treasurer of the Society.

The preparation of the next volume, *Scottish Industrial History: a miscellany of documents*: is well advanced, and it is hoped that it will appear in the spring of the coming year.

During the past year the Council has accepted three works for future publication by the Society. A volume containing the *Rental of the lordship and preceptory of Torphichen* will be edited by Dr P. H. R. MacKay and Dr I. B. Cowan. Dr James Kirk will edit a volume of *Stirling Presbytery Records* dating from the presbytery's formal erection in 1581. These are the earliest surviving presbytery records, and they not only illustrate the ecclesiastical administration conducted by an important church judicatory but also provide an illuminating source for the social historian. *Government under the Covenanters*: to be edited by Dr David Stevenson, will contain extracts from the records of the Committee of Estates, the Committee for Moneys, and other government committees, and will be preceded by an introduction analysing the structure of committee government under the Covenanters.

The Council wishes to draw to the attention of all members the need to increase the membership of the Society if its financial position is to be maintained. Experience has shown that one of the most effective ways of gaining new members is through personal recommendation by existing members. Council therefore asks members to try to persuade friends or colleagues who have an interest in Scottish history to join the Society. Alternatively, members might notify the names and addresses of prospective members to the Secretary, who will then write to them personally. Leaflets explaining the Society's work and containing a membership form are available from the Secretary to members who wish to use them in recruiting new members.

Council gratefully acknowledges several generous donations to the

Society's funds by members: such gifts are especially welcome in times of financial stringency like the present.

Professor R. H. Campbell is now due to retire from the chairmanship of the Council of the Society, and Professor T. C. Smout has been elected by the Council to succeed him.

Members of Council retiring in rotation at this time are Dr M. H. B. Sanderson, Rev Dr Duncan Shaw and Mr N. F. Shead. In addition Mrs M. O. Anderson has resigned from Council, and the other members of Council would like to take this opportunity of recording their appreciation of her services and generosity to the Society over many years.

The following will be proposed to the Annual General Meeting for election to the Council: Rev A. Ian Dunlop, Dr Frances J. Shaw, Professor Donald E. R. Watt, and Mrs Virginia Wills.

During the past year 7 members have died, 33 members have resigned and 11 have been removed from the list of members for non-payment of subscriptions. New members numbered 77. The total membership, including 223 libraries, is now 721, compared with 695 in 1976.

In presenting the Annual Report, Professor R. H. Campbell, Chairman of Council, emphasised the necessity for increased membership to help balance the increasing costs of publication. The Hon. Treasurer reported a satisfactory balance, but also commented on rising prices.

Mr David Sellar, seconded by Professor Gordon Donaldson, moved the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts, and this was approved.

Mr John Simpson, seconded by Dr Rosalind Mitchison, nominated for election as ordinary members of Council, Rev. A. Ian Dunlop, Dr Frances J. Shaw, Professor D. E. R. Watt, and Mrs Virginia Wills, and they were duly elected.

The President delivered an address entitled "Bede and the conversion of Scotland."

Dr Grant G. Simpson proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his paper; and to Professor Campbell for his conduct of the affairs of the Society as Chairman.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE AND DISCHARGE OF THE
INTROMISSIONS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER for
1 November 1976 to 31 October 1977

GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I. Cash in Bank at 1 November 1976:	
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£6,013.90
2. Sum of credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	145.24
3. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	69.77
4. Sum at credit of Special Investment Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	1,302.72
	<hr/>
	£7,531.63
II. Subscriptions received	3,646.13
III. Past publications sold	423.09
IV. Reprints sold	382.28
V. Interest on Savings Accounts with Bank of Scotland and Edinburgh Savings Bank	518.61
VI. Income Tax Refund (1975-76)	190.71
VII. Income Tax Refund (1976-77)	190.41
VIII. Donations	208.00
IX. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	<u>£14,167.40</u>
X. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account	<u>£9,200</u>
	<hr/>
	<u>£13,090.86</u>

DISCHARGE

I. Cost of publications during year (<i>Papal Letters of Clement VII</i>)		£4,073·23
Cost of publications during year (<i>Papal Letters of Benedict XIII</i>)		6,148·07
Cost of printing Annual Reports, Notices and Printer's Postages, etc.		250·65
		<u>£10,471·95</u>
II. Insurance Premiums		28·13
III. Miscellaneous Payments		317·32
IV. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	<u>£14,385·86</u>	
V. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account	<u>£11,255·00</u>	
VI. Funds at close of this account:		
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		£1,571·25
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland		218·46
3. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank		72·53
4. Balance at credit of Special Investment Accountg with Edinburgh Savings Bank		411·22
		<u>2,273·46</u>
		<u>£13,090·86</u>

GLASGOW, 8 November 1977. I have examined the General Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1 November 1976 to 31 October 1977, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

I. M. M. MACPHAIL
Auditor

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE EXECUTIVE

1978-79

President

PROFESSOR A. A. M. DUNCAN

Chairman of Council

PROFESSOR T. C. SMOUT, PH D

Council

D. E. R. WATT

W. H. MAKEY

ANNETTE SMITH

A. IAN DUNLOP

FRANCES J. SHAW

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PATRICK M. CADELL

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PROFESSOR MAURICE LEE, JR, *USA*

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Honorary Secretary

DAVID STEVENSON, PH D

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King's College, Aberdeen AB9 2UB

Honorary Publication Secretary

THOMAS I. RAE, PH D

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

REPORT

of the 92nd Annual Meeting

The 92nd Annual Meeting of the Scottish History Society was held in the Rooms of the Royal Society, George Street, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 9 December 1978, at 11.15 a.m. Professor A. A. M. Duncan, President of the Society, was in the chair.

The Report of Council was as follows:

During the year *Scottish Industrial History: a Miscellany* was issued to members as the fourteenth volume of the Fourth Series. The volume contains four industrial documents edited by Professor T. C. Smout, Dr C. Gulvin, Dr W. Vamplew and Dr T. I. Rae, with an introductory essay by Professor R. H. Campbell.

The next volume to be issued to members will be *Peter May: Land-Surveyor*. Production of this is now in hand, and it should appear late in 1979. The volume, based on records in the Scottish Record Office, the National Library of Scotland, and the private muniments of the Marquess of Bute, describes the professional career of a man deeply involved in the movement for agricultural improvement, first as a land surveyor in Aberdeen and on Speyside, carrying out surveys on behalf of the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates and other clients, later as estate factor successively to the Earl of Findlater and the Earl of Bute. The importance of these papers (which cover the years 1747 to 1788) lies not only in his own work but also in the work of his numerous apprentices, in whom he took a continuing personal interest even after they had set up in business for themselves.

During the past year the Council has accepted three works for future publication by the Society. Dr Janet Fyfe will edit *The autobiography and correspondence of John McAdam*, a radical interested in Scottish chartism and in continental revolutionary movements; his correspondents include Mazzini and Garibaldi. Dr T. M. Devine's *A Scottish firm in Virginia: William Cunninghame and Co.: 1769-1775* will make available the letterbook of a Scots factor in Virginia. *Cupar town council minutes: 1640-1653*, edited by Mr John di Folco, will illustrate the life and government of the burgh in a period of crisis.

The Council notes with regret the death of Professor J. D. Mackie, the Historiographer Royal, at the age of 91. Professor Mackie gave many years of service to the Society as a member of Council in 1933-45 and 1954-62, as Chairman of Council in 1945-48, and as President of the Society in 1950-54.

Only one member of Council is due to retire in rotation at this time, Dr John R. Hume; the other two members who would normally have

retired now have been replaced in earlier years, Dr D. Stevenson on becoming Honorary Secretary of the Society, and Mrs Margorie O. Anderson on her early retirement. The following will be proposed to the Annual Meeting for election to Council: Dr Walter H. Makey.

During the year six members have died, 13 have resigned and seven have been removed from membership for non-payment of subscription. Forty-seven new members have joined. The total membership, including 224 libraries, is now 741, compared with 720 in 1977. Membership thus stands at an all-time record, but to increase membership in order to help keep subscriptions down remains difficult. Indeed if constant attention is not paid to membership the tendency is for it to fall. Thus one of the most valuable services members can perform for the Society is to try to recruit new members, either by personal approach to friends or colleagues who might be interested, or by supplying the Honorary Secretary with the names and addresses of such people so he can write to them. Even if each member only managed to recruit *one new member every ten years* this would provide our Society with a buoyant membership!

In presenting the Annual Report, Professor T. C. Smout, Chairman of Council, referred to the volume issued to members, and surveyed forthcoming publications. The Hon. Treasurer, in reporting a satisfactory balance, emphasised that printing costs continue to rise.

Dr Margaret Sanderson, seconded by Professor G.W. S. Barrow, moved the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts, including the nomination of Dr Walter Makey as ordinary member of Council; the Report and Accounts were approved, and Dr Makey declared elected.

The President delivered an address entitled 'Barbours' Bruce'.

Dr R. G. Cant proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his paper.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF CHARGE AND DISCHARGE OF THE
INTROMISSIONS OF THE HONORARY TREASURER for
1 November 1977 to 31 October 1978

GENERAL ACCOUNT

CHARGE

I. Cash in Bank at 1 November 1977:	
1. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland	£1,571·25
2. Sum at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland	218·46
3. Sum at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	72·53
4. Sum at credit of Special Investment Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank	411·22
	<hr/>
	£2,273·46
II. Subscriptions received	3,845·33
III. Past publications sold	668·65
IV. Reprints sold	69·00
V. Royalties on Reprints	587·65
VI. Interest on Savings Accounts with Bank of Scotland and Edinburgh Savings Bank	297·74
VII. Income Tax Refund (1977-78)	224·59
VIII. Donation	100·00
IX. Carnegie Trust Grant	300·00
X. Sums drawn from Bank Current Account	<u>£9,391·70</u>
XI. Sums drawn from Bank Savings Account	<u>£3,740·14</u>
	<hr/>
	<u>£8,366·42</u>

DISCHARGE

i. Cost of publications during year (<i>Scottish Industrial History: A Miscellany</i>)		£4,360·19
Cost of printing Annual Reports, Notices and Printer's Postages, etc.		289·96
		<hr/> £4,650·15
ii. Insurance Premiums		28·13
iii. Miscellaneous Payments		263·42
iv. Sums lodged in Bank Current Account	<u>£9,753·82</u>	
v. Sums lodged in Bank Savings Account	<u>£6,802·74</u>	
vi. Funds at close of this account:		
1. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Bank of Scotland		£2,500·00
2. Balance at credit of Current Account with Bank of Scotland		362·12
3. Balance at credit of Savings Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank		75·41
4. Balance at credit of Special Investment Account with Edinburgh Savings Bank		487·19
		<hr/> 3,424·72
		<hr/> <u>£8,366·42</u>

GLASGOW, 13 November 1978. I have examined the General Account of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the year from 1 November 1977 to 31 October 1978, and I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched.

I. M. M. MACPHAIL
Auditor

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

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1979-80

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- CAMPBELL, Peter H., Levensholme, Tyneview Road, Haltwhistle,
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- CAMPBELL, Professor R. H., Department of History, University of
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- CAMPBELL-PRESTON, Lt.-Col., Ardchattan Priory, Connel, Argyll
- CANAVAN, Vincent J., 56a Kirk Brae, Liberton, Edinburgh EH16
- CANT, R. G., 2 Kinburn Place, St Andrews KY16
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- CARMICHAEL, P. O., Arthurstone, Meigle, Perthshire
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