SOME PORTRAIT-MEDALS STRUCK BETWEEN 1745 AND 1752 FOR PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

By Helen Farquhar.

It has been my endeavour, at the special request of Mr. Grant R. Francis, to give as full an account as I can of the medals struck for Charles Edward Stuart, known as "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and "The Young Chevalier" by his friends, or as "The Young Pretender" by those of the opposite faction. Some of the medals portraying him in his childhood have been mentioned in my earlier writings on portraiture, whilst the history of his later years formed the subject of my concluding essay on "Touchpieces," and with these it seems unnecessary to deal in detail. The following pages have, however, been called forth by some researches I pursued when Mr. Grant Francis, then our President, did me the honour to question me, concerning the dates of certain medals, whilst he was writing his admirable and interesting article on the Jacobite Glasses, which appeared in the last volume of our Journal.

By the courtesy of the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, I had access, some years ago, to certain transcripts made from the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle for Sir Wollaston Franks, when the latter, with the able assistance of Mr. Herbert Grueber, was preparing the text of Medallic Illustrations of British History. Such of these manuscripts as bore upon the medals made by the Roettiers family for James II and his son were, in 1917, utilized by
me in an article on some Roettiers dies, now in the British Museum.¹ But there remained two transcripts which did not affect my then purpose of cataloguing the dies, presented by Matthew Young in 1828 to the nation. These two documents are of later date than the other papers, and refer to the time of Charles Edward, a period which has not yet been reached in the arrangement of the printed Calendar of Stuart Papers.

Nevertheless, one of the letters in question has found its way into well-known historical works, Dr. James Browne placing it in its entirety in the Appendix of his History of the Highlands,² and Lord Mahon partly transcribing it in his Extracts from the Stuart Papers.³ Dr. Browne and Lord Mahon modernized the spelling, and possibly the latter copied from some other draft than that now before me, for slight although unimportant discrepancies appear.

The second paper of which I have the transcript is but a fragment, the postscript probably of some other document not written by the Prince himself. It appears to be the note of a secretary, forwarding a communication of which the rest is not available until the Calendar of Stuart Papers is more advanced, if indeed the entire letter be amongst the manuscripts yet unsorted.

As, however, neither of these documents is printed in any medallic work, I may perhaps be permitted to draw attention to the fact that the first of the two imputes to Charles Norbert Roettiers some medals which have been provisionally held to be by Thomas Pingo, although Mr. Hawkins⁴ suspected that one at least was struck abroad, and he was followed by Mr. Cochran-Patrick.⁵ The second

⁴ Letter from Mr. Edward Hawkins in Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 417, in May, 1858.
⁵ Medals of Scotland, published 1884, pl. 14, No. 2, and p. 72.
paper is also worthy of notice, in that it partly elucidates the frequency of re-strikes amongst the Stuart medals and may possibly throw some light on certain copies of earlier medallic portraits of which the date has hitherto been somewhat in doubt.

The first of these transcripts is obviously made from the draft for a letter from Charles James Edward Stuart, the elder son of James Francis Edward, and grandson of James II of England, and was written during his residence at Paris in 1748. Our transcript is undated, but the original, and perhaps corrected, document seen by Browne and Mahon was signed "Charles P." and headed "Paris, le 27 Mars 1748." Browne believed the request to be addressed to Monsieur de Lally, and thinks that an opportune gift of 1,080 livres to the French minister on April 1 following, which is specified in the accounts of George Waters, Junior, the Prince's Banker, may have been intended to purchase the official sanction to a course which Charles had already pursued, in ordering without the French King's permission certain medals from the latter's engraver. Mahon, on the other hand, believed the letter, which we will now print, to be addressed to Monsieur de Puysieux, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, but whether on positive or circumstantial evidence does not appear. In favour of this ascription we may point out that the next letter transcribed by Browne from the Windsor collection is one asking Puysieux to show some document therein enclosed to Louis XV. But whether the enclosure was actually the following, now copied from the transcript with all faults, does not seem clear, and Browne, although printing the papers consecutively, does not state whether they were numbered to succeed one another at Windsor, and in this case the star which denotes that the old numbering has been preserved is absent.

"Mes amis en Angleterre m'ayant demandé Mr. d'y faire passer un nombre de medailles j'en ay fait graver une icy par

史脚斯兰德。 In the text in vol. iii, note to p. 386, Browne mentions 1,000 livres, but the accounts give the sum as 1,080 in vol. iv, p. 54. Appendix from the MS. Stuart Papers.

Ibid., p. 31, Letter No. cxxxiv, MS. Stuart Papers.
le S'r Rotier\(^1\) qui après m'en avoir donné l'empreinte ma dit qu'il ne pouvait les frapper sans un ordre de votre part j'ignorais à la vérité le nécessité d'une permission et n'en pouvais prévoir la conséquence politique cependant pour parer au plus petit inconvenient qui en eut pu resulter j'avais recquis le S'r Roettier de ne point mettre Paris sur sa medaille, ny meme son nom, et pour remplir en meme tems l'objet de l'amour propre naturel a un ouvrier pour son ouvrage nous somme convenus qu'il ny mettroit que les lettres initiales C.N.R.f.\(^2\) qui se peuvent rendre par \textit{C'est ne rien faire} comme S.P.Q.R.\(^3\) se rendent par \textit{si peu que rien}, quant a la datte de la medaille le lieu et l'ouvrier n'étant pas designe vous conviendriez comme moy que le tems ne fait rien a la chose, vous priant d'ailleurs de vouloir bien envoyer chercher le S'r Roettier de vous faire representer l'empreinte et de luy donner vos ordres pour que cette medaille soit frappée comme vous jugerez quel convient quelle le soit.

"Il est facheux de n'avoir que des bagatelles a proposer a quelqu'un dont je connois le zele et l'amitie pour moy dans des choses bien plus essentielles si occasion y etoit la mesure de ma reconnoissance n'en est pas pour cela plus bornee et je me flatte que vous rendez justice aux sentiments que j'auray toujours pour vous."\(^4\)

From the above letter, with all its mistakes in orthography peculiar to Prince Charles, and the gibes he constantly directed at the French ministers for the dilatoriness of their assistance, we see that he had ordered a medal without official sanction from an engraver at the French Mint, namely, Charles Norbert Roettiers, whose usual

\(^1\) Mahon in a note inserts the name Nicolas, but this is probably a mistake for Norbert, for reference is made later to the artist's signature as "C.N.R.," and these were the initials with which Charles Norbert Roettiers signed his work. I have found no member of the Roettiers family called Nicholas or Nicolas, excepting the grandson of Norbert, James Nicholas, who was not born until 1736.

\(^2\) Browne and Mahon omit the "C" and transcribe the letter as "N.R.F." = "Ne rien faire."

\(^3\) Senatus Populus Que Romanus.

\(^4\) Browne states that the letter is signed thus: "Votre bon ami Charles P."
signature was "C.N.R.f.," the "f" standing for *fils*—not the ordinary *fecit*. This Charles Norbert was the son of Joseph Charles Roettiers, who had succeeded his cousin Norbert as Engraver-General of the French Mint in 1727. Charles Norbert, who in his turn held this post in succession to his father from 1753 until his death in November, 1772, and that of "Graveur Particulier" from 1759 onward,¹ was born in 1720, and was the grandson of Joseph Roettiers, one of the talented trio of brothers who worked in England for Charles II in the seventeenth century. The young engraver, although not yet in the chief office, was responsible to the French Court for his actions.

The political position of the moment, when Prince Charles wrote the letter printed above, was such that any appearance of fostering the claims of the Stuart Princes was much to be avoided, in that the French plenipotentiaries were in the midst of their discussions at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending in the expulsion of the young Chevalier from France. The Congress opened on March 11, and the preliminaries were adjusted and signed by the French, English and Dutch, on April 30, new style.

It seems probable that Roettiers was in the habit of working unquestioned for Prince Charles, and that the difficulties arose only from the situation of the moment. The engraver’s name appears three times in the year 1748, in Waters’ accounts,² as the recipient of payments, and two of these occasions follow rapidly on the date of the Prince’s letter. The first entry, that of May 4, does not particularize the numbers struck, and reads: "Idem to Bearer, Roettiers for medals." The sum paid was 1,858 livres 18 sols and 6 deniers. It seems likely that this payment was for making the dies and submitting the proofs, mentioned by Charles in his request for permission to strike the medals, unless we believe that the remuneration referred to a previous transaction. Prompt payment

¹ In this office he succeeded another cousin also called Joseph Charles Roettiers, but distinguished from Charles Norbert’s father by the title of “de la Bretèche.” Mr. Forrer writes that the work of de la Bretèche has not been identified, but he is believed to have cut dies for the small currency.

² Browne’s *History of the Highlands*, vol. iv, pp. 54-5.
was not amongst the habits of the Stuart, and presumptive evidence has been cited suggesting that the first issue of one of the Prince's medals was not long after the event which the medal commemorates, namely, the expedition of 1745. The second entry, under date May 22, accurately particularizes the metal as silver and brass, and reads: "Idem to Roettiers, engravers, for 400 silver counters and 200 brass medals, 1,539 livres 10 sols 9 deniers." The third memorandum of September 26 runs: "Idem to Roettiers for ten silver medals and 200 brass," and amounts to 584 livres 8 sols. The words "silver counters" are rather suggestive that Charles was distributing some of the jettons, representing his father as a child, the dies being in the hands of the late Norbert's son, James Roettiers, and the engravers are, as we see here, mentioned in the plural, but "silver counters" may indicate the small Amor et Spes medals.

It is, of course, impossible to guess how long a time elapsed between the striking of the medals and the payment; it may, however, be remarked that the last-mentioned date, September 26, was but eleven days before the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally signed, and less than the same number of weeks before Charles was obliged to leave France, and was forcibly deprived of the power of visiting Paris, excepting in secret. It is true that such secret visits were several times made with the connivance of the ministers, who remained satisfied with his public expulsion on December 11, 1748, and his escort across the frontier into Savoy, and by this connivance Charles frequently profited. Equally meteoric were the Prince's visits to England, and a thin card in his handwriting amongst the Stuart Papers gives the exact date of one of these secret excursions to both capitals in September, 1750—"Arrived A[ntwerp] ye 6th parted from there ye 12 Sept. E[ngland] ye 14th and at L[ondon] ye 16th. Parted from L[ondon] ye 22nd and arrived at P[aris] ye 24th. From P[aris] parted ye 28th." Unfortunately accounts rendered by the Paris Banker in the years 1750 and 1752, when the Prince again issued medals, are not available.

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1 Extract from the MS. Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle, published in The Times, December 27, 1864, p. 8, by B. B. Woodward, Librarian to Queen Victoria.
Let us now see whether the medallic portrait made by Roettiers can be identified from the contemporary writings of the time. A considerable amount of excitement was raised in France over the design of a medal issued by Charles in that country about this period. No writer gives the exact date, but the matter is always described after his younger brother had accepted the Cardinal’s hat, and usually in connection with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which caused the excessive, although perhaps not unnatural, temper displayed by the Prince at the withdrawal of French hospitality.  

The editor of *The Lockhart Papers*, when publishing in 1817 the narrative of events from 1702 to 1728, written by George Lockhart of Carnwath, included at the end of the second volume several papers—namely, the “Journal and Memoirs of P.... C.... Expedition into Scotland,” an “Account of Events at Inverness and Culloden,” “An Account of the Young Pretender’s Escape,” and an “Account of what happened to the young Pretender after his arrival in France, as related by persons in Paris in letters to their friends in England.” These letters, published, it is stated, separately in 1749, had been locked up in 1750 by George Lockhart’s son with his father’s memoirs, although the “Account of what happened” was not written until several years after the death of the elder Lockhart, and the authorship is not given, but it affords

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1 See *A Short and True Narrative of the Rebellion*, published 1779, p. 145, *Ascanius the Young Adventurer*, and other contemporary histories.

2 *The Lockhart Papers* were published in 1817 by Anthony Aufrere by desire of his brother-in-law, George Lockhart’s great-grandson. The author, dying in 1731, had given directions that the MSS. should not be opened until 1750, but that moment being deemed unpropitious by Mr. Lockhart’s son, he placed the manuscripts in a sealed box, together with the letters concerning the later years which had elapsed since his father’s death.

3 Whether all these Papers were by the same hand is not stated, but the “Journal” and “Memoirs” were, according to Andrew Lang, written by one Allan Macdonald of Morar. See *Origins of the Forty-Five*, by W. B. Blaikie, LL.D., pp. 8r–2, vol. ii, where the author quotes Mr. Lang as being unable to give of his own authority “but certain of its authenticity.” Dr. Blaikie had heard in Moidart that the “Journal” was by young Ranald of Kinloch Moidart, but without proof. The “Account” quoted above is in parts almost word for word like that published in *Ascanius*.
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contemporary information and was quoted by Sir Wollaston Franks and Mr. Grueber in describing two of Prince Charles's medals. We find then, in the second volume of The Lockhart Papers, on p. 570, the following account of Prince Charles Edward's conduct shortly before his final rupture with the French Court: "The first public indication he gave of how little he prized the future friendship of France was to cause a great number of medals to be cast, with his head, and this inscription: CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS, and on the reverse, Britannia and shipping with this motto: AMOR ET SPES BRITANNÌÆ. Of these, some were of silver, and others of copper, the latter of which

he took care to have so distributed that few of any tolerable rank but had one of them. Everybody was surprised at the device, and some knew not what to make of it; but they who considered that France was reduced to the condition of being glad of a peace, entirely by the bravery and success of the English fleet, looked upon it as an insult; and the Ministry are said to have been so much offended at it that they complained to the King and pretended that some

2 The word "cast," here carelessly used, carries no weight; the writer probably means struck, for no "cast" medals are known of the type described.
3 This use of the genitive "BRITANNÌÆ" in the motto appears in all histories, but the legend actually engraved on this medal is "AMOR ET SPES," and the word "BRITANNIA" is in exergue below the figure. In an engraving made in 1749 by Sir Robert Strange, see our Plate facing p. 183, the "BRITANNÌÆ" is adopted.
notice should be taken of it; to which His Majesty replied that "the P——e doubtless had his reasons, but that whatever they were, as he could not be called to an account, nothing should be said on the occasion." The narrator further refers to the design of the medal, repeating a conversation between the Prince de Conti and Prince Charles. The former, it seems, sneeringly remarked that "the British navy were no very good friends" to the exile's cause. To this not too courteous comment Charles replied: "Celas est vrai, Prince, mais je suis nonobstant l'ami de la Flotte contre tous ses ennemis, comme je regarderai toujours la gloire de l'Angleterre comme la mienne et sa gloire est dans sa flotte."

There can be little doubt of the type of the medal which attracted so much attention, but the chief difficulty lies with the date. Both sizes of the Amor et Spes medal, that measuring 1.65 (Medallie Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 600, No. 251), and the smaller version, 1.2 in diameter (Medallie Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 252), bear the date of the Prince's invasion, namely, 1745, and yet the letter requesting permission for the striking of the medal was written in the end of March, 1748. Although the transcript in the British Museum is undated, there can hardly be any mistake in the matter, for both Mahon and Browne, who supplied the date, had access separately to the MS. Stuart Papers, and the story printed in The Lockhart Papers applies to the situation in 1748 rather than in 1745. It is obvious that Charles specially desired that the new medal should commemorate his romantic effort to recapture the crown, and therefore wished the figures 1745 engraved beneath the bust, and that it should thus be ante-dated for presentation to those who had helped him in his adventure. This seems the more likely, as Charles was very desirous the date should remain, whereas that of the current year 1748 was without significance to him or to his supporters. The offence, moreover, of attracting the attention to the matter of a past

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history would be small, as compared with the placing of the actual date of the moment when France in 1748 was desiring peace. It is not unlikely, as we have seen from the accounts kept by George Waters, that the Prince merely desired a larger version of the medal already extant. This theory is supported by traditional evidence attached to an example described by a correspondent to Notes and Queries in 1858, who signed himself "Y. S. M." The writer stated that a relative of his possessed one out of three examples of the Amor et Spes medal, which had been saved by Prince Charles's Secretary when the bulk of the medals were thrown overboard for fear of capture, his ship being chased by an English man-of-war, when "the Prince was on his way to Scotland." This incident probably refers to the time when the man-of-war Lion overtook the Doutelle and the Elizabeth and engaged the latter, injuring her so much that she was compelled to retire to Brest, on July 16, 1745, whilst Charles escaped to Scotland in the Doutelle. The writer believed that the person from whom his relative had acquired his specimen had obtained it from the Secretary's great-grandson, "whose name he thinks was Dillon," but whether this applies to the Secretary or the great-grandson is not clear.

The Dillons were prominent members of the Jacobite adherents

1 Notes and Queries, February, 1858, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 148.

2 The Dillon Regiment was founded originally in 1654, was disbanded in 1664, was re-formed in 1668, and was always commanded by a member of Lord Dillon's family. See a rare pamphlet entitled Stuart-Irish Regiments in France. "A picket of Dillon's 50 men" were upon one of six transports sent from France with contingents from each of three Irish regiments at the end of November, 1745. See Affairs of Scotland, p. 356. "One of the French ships, the Louis XV, was captured by the English Man-of-war Milford, and a number of the officers and men were made prisoners." See Origin of the Forty-Five, pp. 132 and 352. "The Highlanders in their turn seized the Hazard Sloop. This ship, with her name changed to Prince Charles Stewart, was of great service to him until retaken by the English at Tongue with French officers and troops on board in March, 1746, but the Irish men taken were of Clare's and Berwick's Regiment and not of Dillon's. Those captured near Ostend in February, 1746, were of FitzJames's Regiment." See Affairs of Scotland, p. 410, and Scots Magazine, vol. viii, pp. 88, 96, 146, 183 and 238. We note that 300 Irish fought at Culloden. See Plan of the Battle in Affairs of Scotland, p. 433.
at the French Court, and one of the family always had commanded the "Regiment de Dillon," one of the Irish regiments there. Some of these Irish troops who had served James II against William III were amongst the contingent of 150 men, 50 of Dillon's, 50 of Lally's, and 50 of Ormond's regiment, who were sent over under Lord John Drummond towards the end of November, 1745. But no Dillon, so far as we are aware, can have been on board the Doutelle, certainly not amongst the "seven men of Moidart" who accompanied Charles when he landed in July in Scotland. The Prince's successive secretaries were John Murray of Broughton, who joined him at Moy in August, 1745; Andrew Lumisdin, and shortly afterwards John Hay of Restalrig, in 1746; and George Kelly, in 1747; and one John Goodwillie is mentioned as his Under Secretary during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh.1 Of these Kelly alone travelled with him from France and may have done secretarial work for him, having been in his service since 1744. If I be right in suggesting either of the above dates as an explanation of the tradition advanced by "Y. S. M.," there is room for a theory that the Amor et Spes medals were originally designed in the year 1745, or at least before the termination of the campaign.

Mr. Cochran-Patrick was of opinion that a distribution of Amor et Spes medals took place earlier than is usually believed, for he quotes some jingle referring to the medal written by Dugal Graham, Bellman of Glasgow,2 which he believed to have been published in 1746:—

"While he at Paris did reside
   Were silver and copper medals made,
   With an inscription thus exprest
   'CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS,'
   This in letters round the head,
   On the reverse 'BRITANNIA' read.

1 Reminiscences of Lieut.-Col. Puddiman Stewart, p. ix, privately printed.
Then ships with this motto you’d see
‘AMOR ET SPES BRITANNIÆ.’
This did offend the French grandees
And did the King with him displease.
It did inform them, that he thought
His pay was poor for what he brought.”

If this part of the poem were really of so early a date, it would appear that some annoyance had been felt at the first issue of the medal, and that the decisive victories fought by Anson near Finisterre and Admiral Hawke off Belleisle, in 1747, increased this resentment to such an extent that Roettiers, who had anonymously worked for Charles in 1745 or 1746, feared to continue his offices in 1748 without direct authority from the French King.¹ The more especially would this seem to be a plausible explanation, in that the Prince suggested no signature beyond one in monogram form. But is Mr. Cochran-Patrick right in so dating this part of the poem? I think not.

The edition of Dugal Graham’s works to which Mr. Cochran-Patrick refers is a reprint of the third issue of the poem, an issue which did not appear until 1774, and avowedly contained many additions and alterations from the original published in 1746 and even from that which succeeded it in 1752. These two earlier editions have disappeared, and it is therefore impossible to make sure; but the matter preceding the verses indicates a later date than 1746, reference being made to the journey of Prince Charles to Spain in March, 1747, and to the cardinal’s hat bestowed upon the Duke of York, an event of the month of July in the same year. Be this as it may, no medals signed “C.N.R.f.” were issued, and although an electrotype of a later medal of Prince Charles in the British Museum bears

¹ Authority had to be obtained for striking medals at the Paris Mint for private persons, but the request for permission was usually a mere matter of form. Professor Barnard, in his The Casting Counter and The Counter Board, pp. 60–3, gives a list of such permissions granted at various times, and amongst others specifies some counters made at Rouen, in 1714, for James, the father of Prince Charles.
ENGRAVING BY ROBERT STRANGE AFTER THE "AMOR ET SPES" MEDAL.
an incised letter "R," this momentarily confusing fact is explained as the signature of the late Robert Ready, who was wont to put some sign on the electrotypes made by him to prevent confusion with the genuine article. The very attractive line-engraving, a free rendering of the *Amor et Spes* medals here reproduced on our facing page, from a rare example in the British Museum Print Room, was the product of Robert Strange's burin when he was living in exile in Rouen in 1749, after serving in the Prince's troop of Life Guards in the '45. According to a note in the reference Catalogue at the British Museum, the engraving was used in the heading to some eulogistic verses concerning Charles and issued as a broadsheet. The verses, now no longer beneath the picture, begin as follows:

"The Christian hero's looks here shine."

They are quoted *in extenso* by Bishop Forbes in *The Lyon in Mourning*.¹

There were seven different medallic portraits much resembling one another, in various sizes, issued between 1735² and 1752. All bear the profile to left of Prince Charlie; they all represent him with short curly hair and undraped bust. They were combined with differing reverses, and it is doubtful whether the largest of them, if accepted by the Prince at all, was frequently presented, for it is only known, as we shall see later, in a complete form as a re-strike.³ The smallest, on the other hand, is merely a tiny gold medallion (*Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 253) without inscription or reverse, and has been thought to have been probably designed by a seal engraver or jeweller as an ornament, but it is so closely allied to the larger medals that I should hesitate to deprive Charles Roettiers of the honour of its execution or transfer it to his

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² The medallet of 1735 is only known by a wax impression, of which more anon.
³ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 656, No. 360.
cousin James, the goldsmith. Leaving this small ornament and its yet earlier prototype of 1735 aside for the moment, let us discuss the five more important medals to the best of our ability in the usually accepted chronological order.

Firstly, then, we should place the smaller of the two Amor et Spes medals (Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 252). I think it takes precedence of the larger, because we have seen the charge for making 600 examples, of which 400 were silver and 200 brass, was only three times as much as the cost of 10 silver and 200 brass medals a little later.¹ There remains, however, the possibility that of the 600, 400 “counters” in silver were not of this type.

Secondly, we place the larger medal of the same design and same legend (Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 600, No. 251), illustrated on p. 178, the medal which we venture to suggest may, perhaps, have been the subject of Prince Charles’s correspondence. If so we must conclude that the date 1745 was allowed to stand, but the artist’s initials were not permitted. We shall, however, find that a different form of signature was substituted. Mr. W. J. Andrew has called my attention to the fact that the letters “C.N.R.f.” standing for Charles Norbert Roettiers fils, to which Prince Charles had referred, were replaced by a sign-manual or rebus, a rock which appears in the foreground. Mr. Andrew has noticed that this rebus was in use with other members of the Roettiers family; we find it

¹ Browne’s History of the Highlands, vol. iv, pp. 54–5, September 20, 1748—Waters’ Accounts.
on signed as well as unsigned jettons representing the Prince's father, engraved by Norbert Roettiers in 1697. At this date, when (although the artist himself had been for some time settled in France), the affairs of the Mint were causing much trouble to his father in England, and accusations were also levelled against Norbert, it surprises us to find that he initialled his head of the little Prince, using only on the reverse the rebus. We notice the rock again on a medal of 1704. It was a simple matter in the case of the Amor et Spes medal to alter the die by cutting the rock where the initials may originally have been. I was tempted for a moment to find in the French word rocher the explanation of the symbol, for the engravers were domiciled in France. But the family were Netherlanders from Antwerp, and the name is in the Netherlands pronounced "Roteers." Now the Dutch for rock is rots, and in the plural rotsen. To go one step further, if we take the curling seaweed into our reckoning, we have almost a complete signature, C. N. Roet...s, by transposing the "s," the "e" and the "n," and using the weed as a "c." But this further development is somewhat far-fetched and unconvincing, although the blades of grass may possibly stand for initials.

Mr. Andrew suggests a much better explanation, namely, that the curling tendrils form part of the rebus for Rottiers, the "eers" being the ears of corn called in Netherlandish "aer," or "aar." A rebus, as is well known, is purely phonetic, with little attention to spelling. This would not prevent slight differences in the rendering of the growing corn denoting different members of the family, and I might point to many a medal by the elder Roettiers in the time of Charles II where the reverse bears the rebus. These artists had no reason for secrecy, and when we find the rock and weeds on the Felicitas Britanniae medal of May, 1660 (Medallic Illustrations, vol. i, p. 460, No. 53), or the Christ's Hospital medal (Medallic Illustrations, vol. i, p. 556, No. 217), we may wonder

whether another student with younger eyes than mine might find it worth while to identify the punches used by Joseph, by John, by Philip, by James, by Norbert, by Joseph Charles, by Charles Norbert, by James de la Tour, by Joseph Charles de la Bretèche, and by George Roettiers respectively. The fact that the reverse of the *Medal of the Oak* is signed in the same manner leads us to our third design.

Mr. Hawkins was somewhat reluctantly convinced by fairly strong evidence in favour of Pingo, and looked for and detected small differences in technique with respect to the portraits. Personally I am inclined to think that there is more than one die, but I feel sure he would gladly have decided that the same hand wrought the reverse of the *Oak Medal* and the larger *Amor et Spes* medal, in view of the rebus, had he noticed it. Examine the average specimens of both obverses through a microscope, and we shall find in the portrait of Charles that but one and the same puncheon was used for the two medals.

Let us turn to the story of the *Oak Medal* therefore, and sift the evidence, placing it third in point of time on our list.

The *Medal of the Oak* as we are told in *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 655, No. 359, was issued in 1750, not by the Prince, but by a Jacobite Club in London. Rather more than a hundred years after the issue of the medal it was declared to be the work of Thomas Pingo, as was deduced from evidence printed in *Notes and Queries*.
which we shall put before our readers presently. It was but a short step to suggest the hand of the same artist to be discernible in the two _Amor et Spes_ specimens described above, and in other medals of the same design, but with a different legend; but it is observable that in his private notes Mr. Edward Hawkins at some uncertain date passed his pen through the name of Pingo which he had written against his description of the two _Amor et Spes_ medals and of the tiny gold medallion.

The _Medal of the Oak_ was struck for a Jacobite Society called "The Oak Society," which used to meet at the "Crown and Anchor" opposite St. Clement's Church, where it appears one John Caryll had charge of the medals in 1750.

The evidence for attributing this "Oak Medal" to Thomas Pingo was considered fairly conclusive. A correspondent of _Notes and Queries_, in February, 1855,\(^1\) in a letter signed "Chas. S. Greaves, Q.C.," described the _Medal of the Oak_, stating that, according to aural tradition derived from Mr. Greaves's grandmother, the specimen in the writer's possession had been given to her direct ancestor, Colonel Goring,\(^2\) by Prince Charles himself, and Mr. Greaves stated that his grandmother was ten years old when the medal was struck. An editorial note suggests Italy as its place of provenance, and remarks that the same portrait appeared in different sizes in 1745, 1750 and 1752.

This discussion provoked in December, 1856, an answer from one who signed himself "M.O.P." suggesting that the medal, with the oak on the reverse, was really struck in England in 1750, and disclaiming any foreign origin for it.\(^3\) He explained that he held not only one of the dies of the obverse, but also the receipts for

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\(^1\) _Notes and Queries_, 1st series, vol. xi, pp. 84-5, February, 1855.

\(^2\) Henry Goring was from the outset one of the most loyal supporters of the Prince, and even followed him in his wanderings from 1747 to 1754, when Charles somewhat ungratefully dispensed with his services, and Goring accepted a commission in Prussia under the auspices of the Earl Marischal. See _Affairs of Scotland_, by David Lord Elcho, edited by the Hon. Evan Charteris, p. 448.

\(^3\) _Notes and Queries_, 2nd series, vol. ii, p. 494.
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examples made of gold, silver and copper. The first receipt is one for a guinea in prepayment in 1749, but the charges for striking are of 1750, the date upon the medal.

According to the receipts, Mr. Pingo was paid for striking them at the rate of ninepence each, payments being made to him through one Alexander Johnston. A specimen bill is given, from which it appears that the 22 silver medals struck in March, 1750, weighed 12 ozs. 12½ dwts., at 6s. 1d. per oz., whilst from 14 lbs. 2 ozs. of copper, at 2s. 6d. per lb., medals were struck, but the result as regards the number of the latter is not then stated. The medals were sometimes solid, others were bound together with a collar, "in separate pieces." Sixpence was charged for collaring. There were seven bills and receipts stamped with a seal in the form of a rosette. These accounts and the die were later submitted to a contemporary engraver of medals, a Mr. Taylor, and to Mr. Edward Hawkins of the British Museum, and further particularized by the latter in Notes and Queries in May, 1858.¹ He showed that Thomas Pingo (the Christian name being occasionally mentioned) was at various times paid for striking the Medal of the Oak. He tells us that the expense of cutting the die was £88 16s., but my readers will kindly note, for this is important, it is not stated in the "Oak Society's" books by whom it was cut, the money being paid by the hands of one Stephen Dillon, and we have no certainty that the money was not transmitted to Roettiers. The bills for striking the medals, however, mention Thomas Pingo by name. We are tempted to wonder whether Mr. Stephen Dillon was connected with the mysterious Dillon who saved three specimens of the Amor et Spes medal from destruction; whether he acted as agent between Roettiers and the Club; and whether he suggested recourse to Roettiers for dies, and a fresh design for the reverse of the Oak Medal.

Each member of the Society was entitled to a medal in copper in return for his £1 1s. subscription, but if he preferred silver the cost of the metal, 3s. 9½d., was charged, or if he chose gold there

¹ Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 417.
was no fixed rate, and the six medals struck in the more precious metal are variously priced from £3 19s. to £4 4s. 9d., according to weight. The number of the specimens struck, according to the bills in the possession of "M.O.P.," was as follows: 6 in gold, 102 in silver, 283 in copper and 50 in soft metal.\(^1\) A few specimens were left on hand, and it appears that when the Club was dissolved some 20 in copper and 2 in silver came into the hands of a West End firm many years ago and have been slowly dispersed.\(^2\)

In view of the fact that the sinking of one die only is mentioned, and that this die is for the obverse, I am inclined to suggest that Roettiers sent over the two dies obverse and reverse complete, the latter bearing the sign-manual, and probably also a puncheon for the head, which bears no signature. Further, that on some accident happening to the obverse die Pingo sank a new one by the aid of this puncheon, and my belief is strengthened by a memory impression I have, that in some specimens which I have seen, possibly also in those submitted to Mr. Hawkins, I have detected tiny differences in the final finish of a curl here and there. But microscopic examinations of the average specimens were carried out by Mr. Andrew and Mr. G. C. Brooke independently, and both agree that the puncheon used for the Oak Medal is that originally made for the Amor et Spes medal figured on p. 178. There is, of course, as we have said, the alternative that the payment for the die in question was not made to Pingo, but to some agent of C. N. Roettiers, or that Pingo made another medal altogether.

Purchased from the collection of the late Sir Charles Dilke, and perhaps actually the die once in the possession of "M.O.P.," although

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\(^1\) Unless some of the copper mentioned above was used as alloy, the amount of 14 lb. 2 oz. should have made more than 283 medals. The average copper specimen weighs rather more than half an ounce (that at the British Museum 252.5 grains), so that 323 copper medals should have resulted; but to the 283 we may perhaps add the "50 in soft metal."

\(^2\) I have one of these copper specimens, and another is in the West Highland Museum. They were sold to a well-known firm, each specimen carefully wrapped in contemporary paper, as I am courteously informed.
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of this latter circumstance we lack evidence, an obverse die is now in the collection of Mr. C. W. Tomkins, who kindly allows me to mention that it exactly fits the obverse of the Oak Medal. Also he is so good as to inform me that he possesses some clichés joined together by a collar, and we have just noticed that “M.O.P.” referred to these, stating that the charge made for collaring was sixpence. Mr. Tomkins makes the interesting suggestion that these were badges or tickets of admission to the meetings, as they are pierced or have an attachment for suspension and are uniformly worn in surface.

These uniface clichés do not stand alone, for we have evidence, as we shall see, that watch-cases were struck in 1750 in Paris with the same head of Prince Charles and sent to England. They were described by an “English spy” in Paris as bearing, instead of the Prince’s name, the motto: LOOK LOVE AND FOLLOW. Our member, Mr. Baldwin, is the fortunate possessor of one of these Jacobite relics, or more probably a proof for the same, being in pewter and in splendid condition. He kindly exhibited it when I read this paper before the Society. We have not been so fortunate as to see any other example thus lettered either on a watch or as a medallion. A beautiful uniface proof of the Amor et Spes medal, of the obverse only, exists in gold in the collection of Lieut.-Colonel A. K. Stewart of Achnacone, who exhibited it at the West Highland Stuart Exhibition at Fort William in 1925. It bears the title round the head “CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS,” but the lower edge is fractured, so that the date, 1745, is missing. This date, however, as Colonel Stewart kindly tells me, is supplied in handwriting on the old paper with which the cliché is backed as near as possible to the absent part. He further informs me that in the case with the gold shell a faint paper impression of a portrait of James II has always been preserved, bearing the legend “IACOBVS. II. DEI. GRATIA.” It presents a head like that on this King’s pattern for a sixty-shilling piece, only reversed,

1 Notes and Queries, 2nd series, vol. ii, p. 494.
2 Pickle the Spy, by Andrew Lang, p. 110. For the purposes of this careful historical story, Mr. Lang had access to the Stuart Papers and other private MSS.
namely, to left instead of to the right. Was there another medal projected with the portraits of grandfather and grandson on obverse and reverse?

There is another medal usually assigned to the year 1750 which must next claim our attention, with the passing thought, can this have been a pattern executed for the same Club as the Oak Medal? If Pingo was really the recipient from the "Oak Society" of £88 16s. for cutting a die, can this be the die in question? It may be, nay probably is, by Pingo, but apparently not made for the "Oak Society" in 1750 at the "Crown and Anchor." According to Mr. Cochran-Patrick: "In the Cotton Sale (1790) there was sold (lot 6) a pair of dyes of the Pretender struck for a Society at Queen's Arms Tavern, St. Paul's." Mr. Cochran-Patrick suggests that "possibly this may be the medal." He also says there is "another version that the dies were found in the Castle of Edinburgh." Should the latter rumour be correct, it seems unlikely that the medal should have been engraved later than 1745 or 1746. I certainly do not press this point, and mention it in that in all Pingo's medals the

1 The Medals of Scotland, Pl. XII, fig. 3, and p. 75, No. 62, note i. According to Medallia Illustrations, Pl. CLXXIV, No. 2, the re-strikes exist in gold as well as bronze and pewter, but personally I have only seen them in the two latter metals.
obverse is better than the reverse. Whoever was the designer thereof, the medal was not approved and no complete contemporary specimen is known. It is usually assigned to Thomas Pingo; and Mr. Louis Forrer, in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, has illustrated it as typical of this artist’s workmanship, and it was tentatively so ascribed in *Medallic Illustrations*.

One privileged as I have been to place side by side the whole sequence of medals now in the British Museum cannot fail to be struck with the inferiority of this medal to those we have before described, and it is with a feeling of relief that we notice that the Roettiers rebus is absent. Mr. Hawkins, in the discussion which we have epitomised from *Notes and Queries*, placed it amongst the copies from the original “foreign artist’s” *Amor et Spes* medals.

The *Semper Armis* medal in its entirety is known only, as I have said, in the form of a re-strike, although I was fortunate enough to find a contemporary trial-piece of the reverse which I presented to the British Museum, and electrotypes from Mr. Cochran-Patrick’s re-strike are in the National Collection. The medal is of decidedly poor design as regards the reverse; the figures are out of proportion; and the Prince’s Highland costume seems unconvincing. The portrait is rather lifeless on the obverse, but it is specially on the reverse that we remark the inferior workmanship. It may have been rejected on this account, and, as I have said, I lay no claim to it as the work of Roettiers, with whose signed medals I have compared the various pieces; but it may well be that Pingo modelled it.

There seems reason from documentary evidence to believe that the tiny head, even if of earlier execution, became popular in 1750. Let us therefore consider the known facts concerning it before we continue the more important discussion of the larger medals.

Here, then, we place the tiny medallion without either inscription or reverse. It was placed in *Medallic Illustrations of British History* amongst medals of the year 1745, and it may well be that rings bearing this portrait were given away by the Prince during or shortly after the expedition to Scotland. But the only positive proof as to the date of issue is of the year 1750, proof which was not available
when *Medallic Illustrations* was first published in 1887. The suggestion made originally by Mr. Hawkins and printed in the first edition of this indispensable work, that it was “intended to be set in a ring,” has been corroborated by specimens shown at the recent exhibition of Stuart relics at Fort William. A supposition later advanced that it might have been used as a tongue token lacks support, or, perhaps, it would be fairer to say that we have evidence concerning the rings only. The exhibition organized by our member Mr. Victor Hodgson in the West Highland Museum at Fort William in the autumn of 1925, threw much light on *Prince Charles Edward and the ’45 Campaign*, to quote the title of the official catalogue. Amongst the loans, No. 139 was a “Ring of King James VIII,” lent by Mr. John Stuart, which bears the tiny portrait of Prince Charles in gold, and proved, as I have said, that the surmise expressed on p. 601 of vol. ii of

![Tiny Portrait of Prince Charles in Gold.](Image)

(*in the British Museum.*)

(*Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 253.*)

*Medallic Illustrations* is correct. The natural inference followed that the piece was struck about the time of the Prince’s arrival in Scotland, and this may well be, for he seems to have been in the habit of presenting such portrait-rings. One of these rings, bearing the bust of his father in his youth,¹ was given by Charles to Clementina Wilkinshaw, with whom he first became acquainted in January, 1746, when she promised to follow him wheresoever he pleased. She did not actually reside with him until some years later, and the date has been variously given as ’49, ’50 or ’52. Let us see what

¹ *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. ii, p. 195, No. 506. This portrait, mounted as a ring, No. 115 at the Highland Exhibition, was lent by the Inverness Museum; a similar ring, No. 131, was lent by Miss Campbell of Balliveolan as having been the property of Charles himself.
Mr. Andrew Lang has to tell us about Prince Charles's little medallion. He gives us the letter of an official spy concerning gifts sent from Paris to London, as follows: "An Irish Priest," writes this spy under date October 5, 1750, "who belonged to the parish church of S. Eustache at Paris, has left his living reckoned worth 80l. a year, and is very lately gone to London to be Chaplain to the Sardinian Minister; he has carried with him a quantity of coloured Glass Seals with the Pretender's son's effigy, as also small heads made of silver gilt about this bigness [example] to be set in rings, as also points for watch cases, with the same head, and this motto round 'Look Love and Follow.'" To these watch-cases I have already referred, but it is matter of regret that Mr. Lang, in transcribing the manuscript, gives neither reference nor any measurement of the "example," so that the clue is lost; but he remarks earlier, in quoting from another manuscript and speaking of the glass seals: "Oddly enough we find Waters sealing with this very intaglio of the Prince a letter to Edgar in 1750. It is a capital likeness." From this we should judge that the glass seals and the silver-gilt "small heads" bore the same portrait in intaglio and in relief respectively. The seals were, it appears, made at "3 livres apiece" by "one Tate, who got the engraving made on metal, from which the Artist takes the impression in his composition in imitation of fine Stones of all colours . . . The Artist has actually done four dozen of seals, which are disposed of, having but half a dozen left. He expects daily an order for the said quantity more. As there are no Letters or Inscription about it, the artist may always pretend it is only a fancy head, though in reality it is very like the Pretender's son." Tate was a jeweller originally settled in Edinburgh, but he joined the Rebellion and is believed to have held a Captain's commission in the service of Prince Charles. Having after Culloden

1 Pickle the Spy, pp. 109-10.
2 Ibid., p. 108. Waters was Prince Charles's banker in Paris; Edgar was King James's secretary in Rome.
3 Ibid., pp. 107-8. Mr. Lang gives reference to "a Private memorandum concerning the Pretender's son," under date August 31, 1750.
escaped to Paris, Tate, according to the letter above quoted, carried on his jeweller’s business there and was employed by the Prince’s followers “to get 1,500 seals done.” If so large a number were ever made it seems strange that so few, if any, survive. Some Jacobite family relics, the property of Miss Grant, great-great-granddaughter of Macpherson of Cluny and granddaughter of John Grant, were sold together as Lot 13 at Messrs. Sothebys on February 19, 1926, and amongst these was a ring bearing an intaglio head of Prince Charles, cut apparently in a pale topaz, but possibly of some clear paste. The head it bears is hardly sufficiently like the prince to answer to the above description, and should be dated, I should think, rather later than 1750—perhaps 1760, judging by the portraiture. It shows him in a wig with curls at the side somewhat in the style of his marriage medal, and again, a nearly similar portrait is on a brass seal in the Inverness Museum.

The only other seal-matrix I have ever seen representing Charles, and this is indubitably of coloured glass, does not bear the same head as the medallion, but is a poor intaglio in a Highland bonnet. The portrait on Mr. John Stuart’s ring is in high relief and quite well suited in size and depth for a seal. I have, indeed, in constant use, a modern matrix presented to me by the late Mr. Berney Ficklin, who had several made from an example of the gold medallion. We see that Tate “got the engraving made on metal,” and it appears that he was the maker of the Seals rather than the designer. Was, then, the puncheon from which Tate worked made by the artist who designed the Amor et Spes medal, or, if not, as I think by him, then by his cousin James, later known as Jacques Roettiers de la Tour? I suggest the possibility of the latter only because the little head itself is based on a yet earlier medal, the portrait of a boy, almost a

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1 James Roettiers, the son of Norbert, born 1707, and made engraver to the Court of James Francis Edward at Paris on the death of Norbert in 1727. He came to London with some of his grandfather’s dies in January, 1733, and worked for a short time at the English Mint, but returned to France the same year, and shortly afterwards married the daughter of Besnier the King’s goldsmith, to whose office he succeeded in 1737.
child, with curling hair, of which we have a wax impression bearing the date 1735, a date almost too early for Charles Norbert Roettiers, who, like Prince Charles himself, was born in 1720. The wax impressions, for there are two, being obverse and reverse, were exhibited by Miss Juliet Macdonald at the West Highland Museum, and hearing that I was working on this subject she generously presented them to me. Miss Macdonald was given these two interesting impressions by a distinguished antiquary many years ago, but does not know where the originals may now be. Unless a swivel seal, it seems to me more likely that we have before us impressions taken from dies for a medal of the Prince engraved in his fifteenth year.

PRINCE CHARLES IN 1735.
(WAX IMPRESSIONS PRESENTED BY MISS JULIET MACDONALD TO THE AUTHOR.)

We must, I think, regard this projected medal as the prototype of the series, for the obverse bears a younger rendering of the tiny bust to right, almost, although not quite, equal in merit to its successor engraved at least ten years later. The date is determined by the inscription "ASPIE AMA SEQUERE 1735," practically the Latin for the "Look Love and Follow" of Mr. Baldwin's uniface proof for a watch case in 1750. The reverse carries a somewhat ungraceful figure of Britannia (?) with the words "AMOR. ET. SPES. BRIT." It bears neither signature nor rebus to connect it definitely with any of the Roettiers, and, as regards the younger of the two Parisian artists, the fact that he was only fifteen would rule him out altogether were it not that there is a certain indecision in the work, especially

1 No. 196 at the Exhibition of Prince Charles Edward and the '45 Campaign catalogued as "Impressions of medals or seals struck for Prince Charles."

2 Besides the two Roettiers called Joseph Charles and James, George, the uncle of Charles Norbert, was until 1748 working at Paris as a medallist.
as regards the ill-modelled female figure on the reverse which suggests
the prentice hand of the beginner. We must, however, bear in mind
that in 1735 Prince Charles was in Rome, where Harmerani was the
official medallist, and the titular King James employed a Neapolitan,
Carlo Costanzi, to "cut his head in intaglio" for rings. In 1750 James
sent Charles two of these in emerald and "a fine granata," a stone
like a ruby, by this artist. All things considered, however, it seems
more probable that the little medal is the work of James Roettiers,
whose reverses, like those of Pingo, were not equal to his portraiture,
and who had lately returned to France after a visit to England,
where he had been offered permanent employment in our Mint in
1733. Prince Charles, in 1735, had come back to Rome after taking
part in the glory of the triumphal entry of Don Carlos into Naples
in August, 1734. But it was not until 1737 that active efforts were
made to stir up loyalty in the Highlands by Murray of Broughton,
and in 1738 by Glenbuckett and Sempill; in 1739, 1740, and 1741
by Balhaldie, and again by Murray in 1742 and 1743. In these
early days, just as once more after the failure of the '45, these
agents carried small presents; indeed, of Balhaldie it is later told
that he actually himself carved some small snuff-boxes in tortoiseshell
for presentation, one being "a most curious toy . . . containing in a
secret receptacle a portrait of King James VIII."'

In an old Scottish house, the home of the Earl of Airlie, Cortachy
Castle, I have seen a print of Charles engraved by Nicolas Edelinck
after David, in 1735, with the addition of a Scottish bonnet, a print
which, according to the family tradition, preserved by the Ogilvys
with it, is one of the rare examples which were "sent out before

1 Mr. Forrer, in his Dictionary of Medallists, notes three varieties by this artist
of intaglio portraits of James.

2 Pickle the Spy, p. 100, under date August 5, 1750; letter from Edgar to Prince
Charles.

Biggar Blaikie, LL.D., published in 1916 by the Scottish Historical Society, 2nd series,
vol. ii.

4 Balhaldie, Chief of the Macgregors, was living in Paris in 1753 when he sent
these gifts to Scotland. See Pickle the Spy, p. 239.
the '45 to those who had suffered in the '15, to revive interest and show what the young Prince was like.” This “second state,” with the Scottish bonnet added to French court-dress, is somewhat startling, and some have objected that it was not until Charles took up his residence in Edinburgh that he wore the Highland garb.1 Nevertheless, we find Charles exciting great interest by appearing in Scottish costume, unknown in Italy, at a ball given on February 18, 1741, at the Palazzo Pamphili in Rome. Here, as Alexander Ewald tells us in his Life and Times of Prince Charles, he “swaggered about the rooms and chatted in terms of enthusiasm about Scotland and its people” and provoked admiration “in the bright tartan of his house.”2 Prince Henry two years later followed his brother’s example, ordering a set of Highland clothes to wear at the Carnival in France on February 27, 1743.3 In fact, the exiled Stuarts left no stone unturned to awaken sympathy in their cause both abroad and in Scotland. We notice that the failure of the expedition had in no way chilled the loyalty of the Roettiers family, and James, the goldsmith, who immediately before the departure of the Prince for Scotland had delivered some plate to the value of 8,898 livres,4 was again commissioned to execute an order which was to bring in “an hundred thousand crowns” in 1748.5 Almost immediately afterwards the goldsmith received a command from Louis XV for some work, which would have interfered with the punctual delivery

1 Highland dress was defined by Lord Lewis Gordon when calling for recruits in 1746 as “well cloathed in short cloaths Plaid, new Shoes and three pair of hose.” See Origins of the Forty-Five, pp. 135 and 287. But the dress worn by Charles in Edinburgh did not include the Philibeg, i.e. the plaid girt in such a manner as to form a sort of kilt, the dress of the people, but a coat of tartan with velvet breeches and boots, a plaid and a bonnet with the Orders of St. Andrew and of the Garter. See Chambers’s History of the Rebellion, seventh edition, p. 144.

2 Ewald’s Life of Charles Stuart, p. 50.

3 Companions of Pickle, by Andrew Lang, p. 32.


5 Ascanius the Young Adventurer, edition of 1819, p. 135; and Charles Edward, by Andrew Lang, p. 229.
of the required gold plate to Prince Charles, but on the artist's consulting the French King, the latter desired that the preference should be given to his guest, and that the expense should be charged to the Royal host's treasury. I mention this incident because it seems possible that James Roettiers may also have been employed as medallist by Prince Charles.

Let us turn, then, to a medal made in September, 1752, according to a date on the exergue. Larger in diameter than its prototype

![Medal Illustration](image)

"REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIE."

(Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 670, No. 380.)

the *Amor et Spes* medal, it is slightly more mechanical and poorer in style. Giving my opinion for what it is worth, and following the abler judgment of Mr. Hawkins, I regard it as a painstaking copy made at a time when the enlargement machines of the present day were not available. It has a weak representation of the sign-manual, the little piece of rock with seaweed, noticed on the *Amor et Spes* and *Oak* medals. It suggests the hypothesis that Charles, anxious to have a new presentation for his adherents and no longer in touch with Charles Norbert Roettiers, turned to commemorate his secret visit to a less able member of that family, or to Pingo, or another who was as careful as Charles Norbert had been not to incriminate himself by signing his name. But if we attribute this

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1 Lockhart, vol. ii, p. 574; and A Short and True Narrative of the Rebellion, p. 147.
Some Portrait-Medals struck between 1745 and 1752

medal to a mere copyist, we must assume that he faintly reproduced the rock merely as part of the design set before him.

There is a curiously inartistic medal for which some member of the Roettiers family should bear the blame, for we find the rock rebus, although a variant in that it has no seaweed. The Prince wears an impossible Highland dress such as could only have been designed by a foreigner. The rock rebus is not unlike that on the "REDEAT MAGNUS ILLE GENIUS BRITANNIAE" medal, and may also be compared with that on James Roettiers's "Isaac Newton" (Medallie Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 471, No. 86).

"SUUM CUIQUE" MEDAL.
(Medallie Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 601, No. 254.)

The Prince's costume is not less absurd in the Semper Armis Nunc et Industria medal attributed to Thomas Pingo, but we must remember that this artist was himself a foreigner, having been born in Italy and only coming to England some time between 1742 and 1745, and might have been known to the Prince whilst yet living abroad.¹ It is, however, useless to conjecture whether Charles introduced Pingo to "The Oak Society" or vice versa, but we know that the artist became assistant engraver to the English Mint in 1771.

¹ Thomas Pingo was of Italian origin and was born about 1692. He died in London in 1776. He remained at the Royal Mint from 1771 until his death, when he was succeeded by his son Lewis, who eventually became chief graver in 1779. Thomas married Mary, the daughter of Benjamin Goldwire of Romsey. His usual signature was "T. PINGO f.," "T.P.F.," or simply "PINGO."
and the dies for various pattern guineas and half-guineas of George III are from his puncheons. Seeing his official position, it appears unlikely that he had anything to do with the rather unpleasing portrait of Charles in later life, struck on his marriage in 1772, a medal of which the designer remains unidentified.

But Thomas Pingo might be, perhaps, held responsible for another medal which, being without portraiture, is really outside our discussion, but bears, like the *Medal of the Oak*, upon the Prince’s meteoric visits to England; the heraldic device on the obverse, a trophy of arms with the Cross of St. Andrew, and the thistle on the reverse, are both technically satisfactory. The lettering states that these medals

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1 See Mr. Wroth’s article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. Forrer’s in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, and Mr. Hocking’s in the *Catalogue of the Mint Museum*, vol. ii, p. 26.
were presented by desire of James to those who met at a secret con­ference with his son Prince Charles in 1750. It is therefore likely that these medals were sent from Rome, but on this point we have no evidence. Would it be cruel to associate the name of so pains­taking a medallist as Pingo with the "Highlander" medal redeemed from absurdity by the well-modelled white rose on its reverse?

A very spirited silver-gilt medal, hitherto unpublished, in my collection, probably belongs to this period. The motto, "I WILL AND DARE," suggests the dash made by the young Prince to recapture the throne, and the workmanship and shape of the crown on the reverse belong rather to the later than to the earlier years of the eighteenth century, so that we assume the expedition in question
to be that of Charles and not that of James. Another little bronze portrait of the Prince in Highland dress, uniface and perhaps better described as a medallion than as a medal, is a rare unpublished and anonymous piece, which I am permitted to reproduce from the National Collection. A specimen in brass is in the cabinet of Mr. C. W. Tomkins. In minute lettering and rather faulty Latin, the spectator is prayed to engrave the Prince in his heart, just as he beholds his effigy engraved in bronze.

Portraits of Charles Edward dressed in Highland costume, and wearing the Order of St. Andrew, were at this time very popular;
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and it should not be necessary to remind our readers of another medal showing the Prince in the National Scottish garb and Highlander's bonnet, for Mr. Francis, in his interesting paper on Jacobite glasses in the *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xvi, Figs. 21 and 21A, and the engraved glass, Fig. 23, traced an analogy between the medallion and the goblets.

The portrait known in silver, in gold and in coloured enamel, is taken from an unsigned print tentatively ascribed, in Mr. O'Donoghue's *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits*, to Sir Robert Strange, an attribution which must have been current so early as 1867, for we find it thus ascribed in the seventh edition of Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, published at that date.

But the great-grandsons of the artist do not agree with the attribution. They consider that Strange, whose splendid engravings in other years are well known, never performed so poor a piece of work. He was not only a remarkable engraver but a fine draughtsman, and the family have no evidence of such a plate, neither is it mentioned by Charles Le Blanc or James Dennistoun in their list of the artist's works. But by whomsoever executed, the print is of considerable historical interest, and as such I reproduce it from the plate in Mr. Francis's article, Fig. 22.

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1 Mr. Grant Francis, F.S.A., has, in 1926, amplified his paper into a magnificently illustrated work entitled *Old English Drinking Glasses*. For the Highlander portrait see Pl. LXVIII of the latter work.

2 *Engraved British Portraits*, vol. i, p. 407, No. 25. Mr. O'Donoghue puts the name of R. Strange in brackets, as a sign that the attribution is doubtful. This method is applied to both prints of Prince Charles ascribed to this artist; but as regards No. 24, a fine engraving, we have evidence of authenticity in that the great-grandson of Strange possesses the original copper plate. No. 26 is a copy of No. 25, the Highlander Print, and is signed "T. Scott," but it is by a different and inferior hand to the other. A version of Scott's print, but without the surrounding emblems, appeared in a small octavo issue of *Ascanius the Young Adventurer*, entitled *An Impartial History*, printed for James Scot in 1815. A reversed and rather smaller copy appeared, signed "Jameson Sculp. 1779," in an earlier volume, this time called a *Short History of the Rebellion*, printed in Edinburgh in 1779. This signed version is the earliest dated copy so far known to me. See p. 212.
In the Print Room of the British Museum there is a coloured example of this Highlander print which, according to strong tradition, was presented to Mr. Stewart of Innerhadden by Charles himself in 1745 in recognition of services rendered. It appears to be either a poor impression reworked from the same plate as the plain print or possibly a copy by another engraver. It is coloured by hand and closely resembles many of the miniatures given by Charles to his adherents. But whether some of these miniatures followed the print,
or vice versa, it is difficult to pronounce. We may, however, be
certain that the extremely beautiful miniature at Achnacarry given
to Lochiel himself, together with his sleeve-links, as a keepsake
by Prince Charles, is absolutely contemporary, and we can only
regret that it is not signed. One is tempted to wonder whether
it may not be the original by Sir Robert Strange from which all the
copies may have sprung. If the Innerhadden tradition be correct
the print must be of 1745; but such traditions must be received
with caution, especially with regard to the "tired state" of the
impression. In a mid-nineteenth-century handwriting below the
print runs the following inscription:—

"This portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart was
brought by himself from France in 1745 and handed by the
Prince to Mr. Stewart of Innerhadden. When Innerhadden
was set on fire by Cumberland after the Battle of Culloden this
portrait was saved from the flames, it was afterwards saved
from burning in Edinburgh 1856."

The words "brought from France" are of interest, as dis­
countenancing any early attribution to Robert Strange; but con­
sidering that the print is stated to have been twice in danger of
burning, it seems possible that the marks of fire are due to the later
conflagration, and the gift, like so many others, was sent over after
the Prince's return, rather than brought by himself on his arrival,
without luggage, in the Doutelle.

On his entry into Edinburgh in September, 1745, there was, as
we have seen, a young artist named Robert Strange, shortly to
become the brother-in-law of Andrew Lumisden,2 Prince Charles's
secretary. The story is well known, and appears in the artist's own
diary of the bank-notes hastily engraved, when the loss of the
Hazard sloop,3 with a large sum of money coming from France on

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1 Lochiel died in France in 1748; it is therefore obvious that the miniature
must have been painted before that date.
3 The Affairs of Scotland, p. 410.
PLATE OF CURRENCY NOTES ENGRAVED BY ROBERT STRANGE. REDUCED TO THREE-FOURTHS OF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

(IN COLONEL A. C. MACPHERSON OF CLUNY'S COLLECTION.)
March 25, 1746, caused a sudden call for currency. Strange tells the story of the hurried preparation of the plate, of his ignorance of the proper ingredients used in etching, so that, to quote his own expression, he found the aqua fortis "playing the devil with it," a fact which is evident in one of the surviving copper plates which, by the kindness of Colonel A. C. Macpherson of Cluny, I am able to illustrate on the facing plate.²

Strange was commissioned to engrave plates for notes of one and two hundred pounds, respectively, and lesser sums. It is only the latter which have survived, and it shows that, even in the hurry of the campaign and without proper tools, Strange was already in his youth the able artist he afterwards proved himself to be.

¹ Memoirs of Strange, p. 54. The copper plate was found near the west end of Loch Laggan, where no doubt it had been thrown aside after the flight from Culloden in April, 1746. It was presented in 1835 to Macpherson of Cluny, and was exhibited in 1865 and illustrated in vol. vi of the Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, pp. 47 and 85, and Pl. V. It now belongs to his descendant, the present head of the House of Cluny.

² The plate has been reproduced three-fourths of the original size, but the individual notes in the letterpress are in facsimile.
We need hardly call the attention of our readers, seeing that it is illustrated by Mr. Francis in his article on the Jacobite glasses, to the attractive, if rather over-elaborated, line engraving portraying Charles surrounded with emblems, according to the fashion of the time. It was produced by royal command during the Prince’s first visit to Edinburgh, where the young artist was in residence in Stewart’s Close studying drawing. It is said that “visitors of distinction” watched the progress with the interest of partisans. In spite of its somewhat puzzling epigraph, “A Paris, chez Chereau Rue St. Jaques, C.P.R.,” there seems to be no doubt, either on the part of Dennistoun or on that of Chambers, that this is the particular portrait, and not the “Highlander” print,

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1 British Numismatic Journal, vol. xvi, Fig. 11, facing p. 261. It seems likely that Prince Charles sat for this picture, but Strange may have been assisted in his portraiture by some drawing or miniature after the painting of the Prince done by Domenico Duprà in 1744 in Rome.

which Strange engraved in 1745. I owe many grateful thanks to Major Charles Ffoulkes, the great-grandson of Robert Strange, for kindly allowing me to examine the original copper plate in his possession, thereby to obtain a better knowledge of the artist's craftsmanship in engraved line than can be gleaned from the prints. With reference to the epigraph, Major Ffoulkes suggests that the engravings were printed in France, and the address given of the place of issue; James Dennistoun, the biographer of Strange, regarded it as possibly "a blind adopted on publication," or, perhaps, an addition to the plate "subsequently made in France for a re-issue," but no copy without the epigraph has been seen. It is, however, possible that the print was not finished in Edinburgh before the active duties of the campaign caused Strange, serving in the Prince's Life Guards, to leave the city. Bishop Forbes speaks of some prints as "all sold out" in November, 1748, but it is not clear to what prints he refers. We find him writing to Dr. Burton in York, who had asked him, under date September 17 in that year, "whether the picture of the Prince which was drawn by a young man in Edinburgh and was very like be yet done on a copper plate?" "If it is finished and like the original, send me some with the charge."1 Burton's allusion to a picture "drawn by a young man" is suggestive that the writer had seen only a sketch or a miniature by Strange, who also worked in crayon, and as we have seen, was especially skilled as a miniaturist and painter in water-colours. Forbes answers: "The copper plates you mention were all sold off long before you wrote me, one cannot be had at any price."

If, as I have ventured to suggest, the "Highlander" print be a copy by another hand of a miniature by Strange, who, be it noted, was not long in Edinburgh in 1748, leaving this city for Rouen in the September of that year, the mystery of the pirated reproductions and the tradition which gives the original to Strange may be partly explained.

1 The Lyon in Mourning, vol. ii, p. 320.
Again, in 1789, Lady Strange\(^1\) refers in a letter to her husband to a small head by him "from our best and largest miniature," which she wished to sell for a book illustration. By the great kindness of Major Charles Ffoulkes, who had the original specially photographed for me, I am able to reproduce one of two "small circular" engravings mentioned by Dennistoun\(^2\) in his list of those in the family collection. It cannot be that to which Monsieur Le Blanc refers in his "L'Œuvre de Robert Strange, Graveur," No. 51, because he mentions the shape as oval. It may, however, possibly be the small head concerning which Lady Strange writes in 1789. Mr. A. P. Trotter, however, another great-grandson of the artist, and the possessor of the miniatures of the Stuarts in the Strange collection, kindly tells me that the "best and largest miniature" probably refers to a young portrait of the Prince sent to Strange by his brother-in-law, Andrew Lumisden, the secretary of Charles, whose gift from the Prince it was, and that it was twice copied by Strange, but that the head is turned to the

\[^1\] Dennistoun's Memoirs of Strange, vol. i, pp. 235, 270: "à propos, where is the plate you had engraved of my Prince several years ago, which never was published. It is but small, such an one is now wanted for a book. I believe I would get ten guineas for it which is better than nothing."

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD. BY ROBERT STRANGE.

(BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.)
right and not to the left, besides other differences. In fact, this miniature is like that of the Duke of York, in the double-portrait in the Windsor, the Buccleuch, the late Carmichael and the West Highland Museum's collections; and we notice that Dennistoun says Strange intended to reproduce Prince Henry's miniature also, making a pair with the Charles, saying "the portraits of the two brothers might sell together," a project he does not appear to have executed. Some confusion has arisen between the portraits of the two brothers, according to the family tradition of the descendants of Strange, who believe the pictures of the two brothers were transposed. Be this as it may, the print is like that in the double-portrait usually received as representing Charles, and is adorned with the Prince of Wales's feathers. This unique print would fit Lady Strange's description, in that she wrote in 1789 that the "plate" representing Charles had not then been published. Mr. Dennistoun possessed an impression of an engraving done by Strange in 1746 whilst in hiding after Culloden. He speaks of it as "a very rude etching of the Prince . . . hastily produced by Strange with wretched tools . . . and sold for half a crown," and from his description we see that it was a rough copy of his original fine head. Unless Strange later re-engraved the same subject for a third time, perfecting the small head, we cannot find in the print illustrated above any affinity with Dennistoun's "hastily produced rude etching," for no one could fail to appreciate the careful execution and graceful design of the line-engraving kindly lent me by Major Ffoulkes. We have noticed that Monsieur Le Blanc, in his catalogue of engravings by Strange, refers to a small oval of Prince Charles, and such a one is to be found in the editions of 1804 and 1812 of Ascanius the Young Adventurer, a poor version on a small scale of the original large portrait by Strange, without the optimistic motto and emblems. Can this be pirated from the hurried plate prepared in secret and sold at half a crown?

2 Ibid., p. 271, and vol. ii, p. 281 (in 8vo).
3 L'Œuvre de Robert Strange, Graveur, par Charles le Blanc, published in 1848.
There are so many versions and editions of *Ascanius* that I have not been able to see them all, but I hear from Mr. C. W. Tomkins that he has a copy of 1815 entitled *An Impartial History of the Rebellion*, in which the oval three-quarter figure of the Highlander forms the frontispiece. But as this edition was printed at Paisley by Neilson for James Scott, we may, I think, assume that this is the origin of T. Scott's reproduction of an already extant portrait, for T. Scott signed the version with the thistle and other emblems (O'Donoghue, No. 26), and with this the tracing sent me by Mr. Tomkins appears to agree. An earlier version of *Ascanius*, issued under yet another title, contains the "Highlander" print. It is seen in a small book in the West Highland Museum at Fort William, issued at Edinburgh in 1779, and entitled *A Short and True Narrative of the Rebellion in 1745*. The print, a reversal of other examples, is signed by one Jameson. The edition in the British Museum bears the date 1779 on both print and title-page distinctly, whereas that in the Highland Museum is somewhat rubbed and at first sight appeared to be '75. This issue of 1779 is the earliest dated copy I have found of this engraving, and being reversed I would hazard a guess that it was copied from an earlier miniature. As regards *Ascanius*, it appeared and reappeared under fresh names. In the first issue, that of 1746, and also, if a frontispiece be present, in those immediately following it, there is a full-length picture of a Highlander, a very poor affair, but no doubt intended for Prince Charles. It is true that Le Blanc refers his "tès petit ovale" to the "première édition" of Smollett's *Compleat History*, 1757; but the first edition of this work contains no portraits, and the second and third, so far as one can ascertain, none of Prince Charles, although small heads of Mary Queen of Scots, Charles I, and others equally noted by Le Blanc from the *Catalogue Basan* as by Strange, and in Smollett's *Compleat History*, are found in the second and third edition of 1759 and 1760 respectively, and Lumisden in 1758 speaks of a small series of engravings undertaken for an edition of

1 See note 2, p. 204, above.
Smollett. The earliest print of Charles Edward that I have found in the Compleat History is in the edition of 1806. It is in armour similar to the Johann Georg Wille’s engraving after the picture by Louis Toqué of the year 1748 and is signed by J. Heath. The same picture was also engraved by Wilson and published in 1827 in Constable’s Miscellany, vol. xv, as a frontispiece to Chambers’s History of the Rebellion. The fine version by Wille is illustrated by Mr. Francis from his own collection in the British Numismatic Journal, vol. xvi, Fig. 34.

My efforts to see the eleventh volume of the second edition, in which, if in any, the portrait of the Prince should be, have been in vain. Both the British Museum and the Bodleian have the later volumes made up from the third edition, and the same may be said of private libraries to which I have been kindly permitted access. Mr. Dennistoun also wrote that he could not trace the engraving.

My readers will, I hope, pardon me for so long detaining them over the question of line-engravings rather than the medallic portraits, inasmuch as I have wished to dispel the illusion that Strange might be connected with the “Highlander” medals. We must bear particularly in mind that Sir Robert, although he frequently copied Roman and other medals, and, as we have seen, made an enlarged line-engraving of the Amor et Spes medal, was no medallist, and, therefore, whether to him be rightly attributed the origin of the “Highlander” print or not, he is in no way to be held responsible for the medallions, unless they be regarded as based upon a miniature by him, such as that at Achnacarry,3 which may, indeed, be the fine prototype by our artist of the poor copies and engravings which so long have been, as I venture to think mistakenly, ascribed

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1 Dennistoun, vol. i, p. 270.

2 The date of Toqué’s picture is given in Browne’s History of the Highlands as 1748, when 1,000 francs was paid for it. See vol. iii, p. 386.

3 A fine copy of the miniature, engraved by W. Holt, appeared as frontispiece in 1875 and 1879 in vol. i of the late Sir John Scott-Keltie’s History of the Highlands, by permission of Cameron of Lochiel.
Some Portrait-Medals struck between 1745 and 1752
to Strange. The fine draughtsmanship of the miniature places it on
a different plane from the weakly-drawn prints.

I illustrate my enamelled pendant, but regret that the reverse,
being injured, cannot be reproduced. We must remember that
there were several jewellers besides Tate in Prince Charles's army.
Archibald Kennedy, Silversmith, of Carlisle, was tried and con­
demned at York; and Patrick Murray, Goldsmith,¹ of Stirling, was
executed at Carlisle in 1746; whilst Tate, as we have seen, escaped
to France. To one of these it seems more reasonable to attribute

ENAMEL LOCKET, WITH ROSE, SHAMROCK AND THISTLE ON REVERSE.

the enamel, if we be justified in placing it at so early a date. The
portrait as a uniface medallion is rare. I have seen but three
examples in silver and one in gold, and the curious hollow locket as
figured above. One of the three silver specimens was let into the
top of a circular box in Mr. Berney Ficklin's collection.

¹ George Mounsey's Authentic Account of the Occupation of Carlisle, pp. 248, 268,
and Lyon in Mourning, vol. iii, pp. 38, 39. Also Alexander Ewald's Prince Charles
Stuart, p. 436 and p. 439. I owe to the Rev. J. G. Knowles several interesting
references to Patrick Murray and others in the '45.
By the courteous permission officially accorded to me at the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, I have been able to bring before you the presentment of the Prince said on all hands to be that which best portrayed him. This bust, by Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, exactly life-sized, is in greenish-bronzèd plaster, and is from its sharpness probably the first cast taken from the sculptor’s original clay model. Incised on the plinth are the words “Charles Edward Stuart par

J. B. Lemoyne 1744,” or, according to the reading of some authorities, “1746,” for a mark across the last figure has rendered it difficult to be certain. But giving my opinion for what it is worth, I think it points to an earlier execution of the original clay than is usually supposed. It is not known whether the bust was ever

1 Charles was in Paris at both dates having left Rome for that city on January 11, 1744, arriving eleven days later and remaining there off and on until he started for Scotland on July 13, 1745. After the failure of the expedition he returned to France in 1746. See Ewald’s Life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, pp. 51–60.
Some Portrait-Medals struck between 1745 and 1752

contemporaneously rendered in metal, but of the ultimate marble, although its whereabouts is not now known, there is more than one mention which approximately determines the date. Andrew Lang, quoting from letters of February, 1750, writes: “A good deal is said about a marble bust of the Prince at which Lemoine is working”; and also Mr. W. G. Blaikie Murdoch, in a recent article, quotes Charles writing from St. Ouen, on October 27, 1747, who speaks of the “busts in marble”—mark the plural—as likely to “be soon ready,” and “much admired for its being singularly like.” In a letter of May 12, 1752, the Prince wrote to his Paris banker, Waters, cautioning him “to be careful of his portrait by La Tour and of his marble busto by Lemoine.” Entries in Waters’ accounts for the year 1749 show that La Tour, who worked in pastels, was paid, on January 13, 1,200 livres, whilst only 400 were disbursed to Lemoine in March, 1748, a sum equalling about £17 10s. of our money, which could not possibly have covered the price of the marble bust. But no word is said of money “on account,” or “to complete the payment,” and it is more natural to assume that this sum was for making casts. In 1802 James Fittler engraved a plate after a drawing by Robert Smirke, R.A., of a very similar but, if the drawing be correct, not identical, bust. The lettering beneath the engraving tells us that the bust was “in the possession of Robert Chalmers, and was made by Lemoine in 1749.”

We know that plaster heads of Prince Charles were sold in September, 1750, in Red Lion Street, and Dr. King, in his Anecdotes, remarks that “they were more like him than any of his pictures,” and his servant recognised Charles from this fact. King believed that “these busts were taken in plaster of Paris from his face.”

1 Pickle the Spy, p. 92.
3 Pickle the Spy, p. 136.
5 Dr. William King’s Anecdotes of His Own Times, edition of 1819, pp. 196 and 199.
Mr. Lang suggests that these busts were "done from a life mask, if not from Le Moine's bust in marble (1750)." The bust portrayed by James Fittler (1758–1835) after Robert Smirke (1752–1845) is a variant, not a replica, of the plaster cast at Edinburgh, the hair more tightly curled, the plinth of another shape, and shows other minor differences; these differences may be due to want of skill in Fittler or Smirke. It seems probable that the bust drawn by Smirke was one, however, of those sold in Red Lion Street, and we have no evidence that the apparently much finer example in Edinburgh was ever in the collection of Dr. Chalmers. By the courtesy of Mr. James Caw, late Director of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, I learn that the bust there exhibited was in the possession of Thomas Duncan, R.S.A., when he, in 1840, painted his well-known picture of the Prince's entry into Edinburgh. But Mr. Blaikie Murdoch appears to regard it as the same, suggesting that, as Chalmers died in 1825, it may have passed through other hands, before it reached Mrs. Fraser, from whom the Scottish National Gallery acquired it in 1900." Be this as it may, the bust is regarded as the most accurate of all the portraits of Charles and has a virility somewhat lost in the medals. These latter, however, are considered to have been very like the Prince, and a modern artist, the late Sir John Millais, has commented upon the strong family resemblance he noticed between this series and Wyon's rendering of Queen Victoria's features on her early coinage.

The Second Transcript.

But we must turn to the second transcript, which will show us that Charles did not restrict his presentations to his own portraits, but desired those of his father and mother to be sent to him, probably from Rome, since most of those mentioned are by the Hameranis.

1 Pickle the Spy, p. 16. Mr. Lang says "sold in Red Lion Square," but King writes in "Red Lion Street."
3 Pickle the Spy, p. 16.
We have said that this transcript is but an undated fragment, and as such it carries little weight. It runs as follows:

"P.S. Je vous joint ici cet petite note des Medailles que S.A.R., en veut fait faire, de creinte de ne pas avoir Expliqué dans ma lettre.

1°1. Vint Medailles de leur Altesses Royales,
2. Vint autre du Roy et de la Reine,
3. Vint autre de la fuite de la Reine d’Ins[bruck],

qui sont en toute 60, mais avent tout. Il faut savoir si le Roy veut donner, la permission, de faire les Empreintes et après le pris ce que ces Medailles pourront coutere, a faire que S.A.R. Envoy de l’Argent par un lettre de change a Mr. Belloni."\textsuperscript{1}

The medals here mentioned are probably the following:

No. 1.—The Princes Charles and Henry, as children, the elder brother on the obverse, the younger on the reverse, of which the full description will be found in the second volume of \textit{Medallic Illustrations}, pp. 492-3, Nos. 34 and 35. The former is illustrated

\textsuperscript{1} Signor Girolamo Belloni appears in September, 1745, as remitting money "at the King’s disposal" who, by an order of August 11, ordered it to be "made good to his R.H." Browne, vol. iv, p. 35. It is clear that the writer of the letter was an Italian and even a worse French scholar than Charles himself.
on p. 254, Fig. C, in our last volume, and is signed by Ottone Hamerani. The second, illustrated above, is unsigned, but bears the wolf and twins, the impress of the Papal Mint, on the truncation of the Prince Charles’s shoulder. Incised figures scratched on my specimens, 15 and 51, at the sides of this emblem can only be a reference number, unless the first “5” be intended for “7”; but it does not appear on other specimens, and so must be dismissed as without significance, and I do not suggest that it is a copy made in 1751. There is, however, in the British Museum a palpable copy signed “A.F.” It is inferior to Hamerani’s original. One Agostino Franchi, a die-sinker in Venice, used these initials, and as Charles was in that city in 1750 he might have ordered a copy to be made there.

No. 2.—The “Marriage” medals, by the Hamerani family, of James Francis Edward and Clementina his wife (see Medallie Illustrations, vol. ii, pp. 445–6, Nos. 51–2), would answer to this description:—

![Marriage Medal of James and Clementina](image)

or possibly the Jugate portrait by Norbert Roettiers, prepared on the birth of Prince Charles (Medallie Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 453, No. 61).
This medal, excepting in a rare proof in my collection, appears to be known only as a re-strike.

No. 3.—The same bust by Ottone Hamerani of Clementina as the above, on her marriage, but with a reverse representing the Princess's flight (Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 444, No. 49), must be here intended.

With the exception of No. 51, which is by Ermenegildo Hamerani, and possibly No. 61 from the hand of Norbert Roettiers, all these medals are by Ottone Hamerani, from which we may infer that the "King" whose permission was requested was Prince Charles Edward's father, to whom the title of "King of England" was accorded in Rome. Norbert Roettiers died in 1727 and Ottone Hamerani in 1744, and if the heirs of the medallists were requested to make re-strikes from the dies, which must have been at least sixteen and five-and-twenty years old respectively, it is not unlikely that it would be considered preferable to make copies.

We are here assuming that the medals were wanted for distribution in Prince Charles's expedition to Scotland in 1745, or for his wanderings in 1750 and the following years; but as we have not the letter to which this order is a postscript we are working in the dark, and it is with the greatest diffidence that I put forth the suggestion that we may thus account for the number of re-strikes taken from
dies other than those which passed through the hands of Mr. Young, who avowedly issued a certain number in 1827, before the Roettiers dies were defaced and presented by him to the British Museum.

Another possibility, but a bare possibility only, presents itself. Was "le Roy" again Louis XV, from whom the writer desired permission that Charles Norbert Roettiers or another might make certain copies of old medals combining them with other reverses? We might in this way account for the very rare medal which bears on the obverse the head of James originally designed by Norbert Roettiers in 1708 on the "CVIVS EST" medal (Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 314, No. 136), whilst the reverse bears an inscription appropriate to Prince Charles's expedition. There are several varieties of these copies with chased or stippled backgrounds, combinations of the portraiture of Prince James with Queen Anne (Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, p. 382, No. 232) and revivals of the young head of Prince James and Princess Louisa (see Medallic Illustrations, vol. ii, pp. 388, 389, Nos. 241 and 242), which, according to Sir Henry Ellis, were

Some Portrait-Medals struck between 1745 and 1752

"executed by desire of the partisans of the exiled family to form a series of medallic portraits of its members."

We must bear in mind that Norbert Roettiers's dies were the subject of a correspondence in 1728 between the widow of the medallist and the father of Prince Charles, and that the dies remained in the hands of the Roettiers family. In the year 1745, therefore, if Prince Charles wanted medals from these dies they must be obtained from a member of Norbert's family, namely, from James, son of Norbert, who as a goldsmith was in the employ of King Louis just as was his cousin Charles Norbert, the maker of the *Amor et Spes* medal. Failing, therefore, the accessibility of the dies in the hands of James, the son of Norbert, any artist might be commissioned to make copies, and the study of those with stippled backgrounds suggests that copies they are from the older medals. That such medals were made for Prince Charles seems probable, although the connection with the paper quoted above is of the slightest, for it does but tend to emphasise the fact that a portrait medal or miniature was almost the only form of complimentary gratification which could be offered by the Prince to those who were prepared to place his father upon the throne or to lose all for his sake.

One word more on the portraiture of Charles Edward. In Scotland the fact that he had accepted the national costume was not easily forgotten, and in many a castle or old house a piece of his plaid, a ribbon or cockade is treasured. Robert Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion*,2 tells us that when Charles was at Holyrood in September, 1745, "the ladies busied themselves in procuring locks of his hair, miniature portraits of his person and ribbons in which he was represented as a 'Highland Laddie.'" Some of these treasures survive, and a ribbon worn in his bonnet in 1745 by Prince Charles and woven with the figure of a Highlander was shown in

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1 See p. 6, No. 43, of a rare pamphlet privately printed in 1833 by Sir Henry Ellis. It is entitled *List of Medals illustrative of the Abdication of James II*, and was lent to me by the late Mr. W. H. Webster.
the recent exhibition at the West Highland Museum by Colonel Stewart of Achnacone, and another presented by the Prince to the unmarried ladies of Edinburgh at a ball given at Holyrood the night before the battle of Preston Pans, has come down to Sir Berkeley Milne from his great-great-grandmother, then a girl. I have seen a small bust in coloured wax, at the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, showing him in Highland dress, and most of his miniatures show him in a tartan coat. The art in these latter is usually poor and not equal to the fine portraits executed in France before he set out upon his travels.

Antoine David painted him several times in his youth. A very attractive portrait by him in the Scottish National Gallery, signed and dated 1732, has helped to identify the artist of the picture, illustrated at the commencement of this article, in our London gallery in St. Martin's Place, originally attributed to Largillière. A bust illustrated by Andrew Lang in his *Prince Charles Edward*, at one time exhibited there, was discovered to represent, as Mr. Milner kindly tells me, Gustavus Adolphus IV of Sweden, and is now at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It seems unnecessary to place before you many of the well-known pictures, inasmuch as Mr. Francis has brought forward the most pleasing in his admirable and exhaustive article. I am, however, by the kindness of Lord Beauchamp, able to illustrate a small painting, at Madresfield Court, of which the name of the artist is unrecorded; but, according to a print in Mr. Andrew's collection, taken from it by one Page in or about 1826, it may be the work of J. Van Diest. This artist, however, who was the son of the better-known Adrian Van Diest, was in the habit of working for General Wade, and it seems therefore unlikely that Charles called for his services. ¹ The picture is somewhat in the style of Blanchet, whose portrait of the Prince is figured by Andrew Lang, from Colonel Walpole's collection. ² We have on some of the medals seen "Bonnie

¹ We cannot attach much importance to the attribution of an engraving made so long after the original picture unless supported by other evidence.

Prince Charlie in Highland dress, and it may therefore serve as a contrast to behold him dressed as a Pole in an interesting, although not very resembling, picture which was at Hardwick, Bury St. Edmunds, in the possession at the time of his death of Mr. Gery Milner Gibson-Cullum, to whom it had come by a direct provenance from Jacobina Sobieska Macdonald, a similar portrait being still in the Sobieski family, the Polish relations of Charles Edward's mother.

It is now, by Mr. Cullum's bequest, in the National Portrait Gallery, where I had the pleasure of examining it in a good light. Its pedigree is so direct, through the above-mentioned Jacobina Macdonald, the goddaughter of James Francis Edward, Prince Charles's father, that

1 Miss Macdonald, a distant relation of Flora, who helped Prince Charles in his escape in 1746, eventually married a Dr. Schnell. Mrs. Schnell left the picture to Lady Cullum, wife of the Rev. Sir James Cullum of Hardwick, where it remained until its removal to the National Portrait Gallery.
PRINCE CHARLES IN POLISH DRESS.

(GIBSON CULLUM BEQUEST TO THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.)
there can be no doubt it has always been intended to represent the Prince; but the likeness is less convincing than one could wish, and one is inclined to think the painter gave much play to his imagination and, perhaps, was not working from life. Amongst the many rumours concerning the whereabouts of Charles in 1749, Mr. Lang\(^1\) refers to a private visit to Poland, but his careful search into the Prince's movements failed to prove this, although he had been mentioned amongst possible candidates for the Polish crown. A presentment in the dress of the country was always a good card to play. But for a really convincing portrait of Charles, we must always turn to the bust at Edinburgh; and for sentiment, to the numerous miniatures and prints in Highland costume, which show him as he endeared himself to the people north of the Tweed; and for idealisation, to the medals, which have made us so familiar with his profile, in all the glamour of his romantic youth.

\(^1\) *Pickle the Spy*, pp. 46-8.