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Edward Corp (with contributions by Edward Gregg, Howard Erskine-Hill and Geoffrey Scott), *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xvi + 386 pp. Appendix, bibliography, and index. \$111.00 U.S. (hb). ISBN 9-780521-584623.

Review by Mark Bryant, University of Chichester.

Building on years of extensive research and two international exhibitions, Edward Corp draws together his own findings plus those of several experts to provide a vivid and thorough account of the Stuart court in exile, beginning with James II's flight from the Glorious Revolution in 1688 right through to 1789 and beyond. It is an excellent and lavishly illustrated book with a wealth of information provided in fifteen chapters, plus an epilogue, and an appendix listing all the senior household servants. This is further supplemented by detailed footnotes that reference many unpublished and hitherto unstudied manuscripts, portraits, and engravings held in archives and collections across Europe and in America. Many of the most important original documents were destroyed during the French Revolution, making this painstaking work of scholarly reconstruction even more impressive.

Mindful that many biographies and political narratives are available on the exiled Stuarts and the Jacobites, [1] Corp and his contributors have set out and successfully managed to write a new book that examines hitherto unstudied or misunderstood aspects of life at the palace of Saint-Germain. It also demolishes age-old stereotypes about the exiled court and its two Stuart patriarchs, James II and 'The Pretender' James III. Sections examining in extraordinary detail the financing of the court and its departments and staff reveal that it was in fact well-funded from several quarters, receiving regular and sizeable payments from the French clergy and the papacy, plus a pension of 50,000 *livres* per month from the French crown that only fell seriously into arrears after Louis XIV's death in 1715. Indeed when James II's second wife Mary of Modena died in the spring of 1718, she was still paying over eight hundred salaries and pensions.[2] Chapters exploring the cultural life of Saint-Germain reveal that it was a vibrant centre of artistic patronage. Regular parties, plays, and musical recitals made it—for the most part—an extremely enjoyable place to be, to the extent that James III's governor and gentleman of the bedchamber, the Duke of Perth, was concerned that this rendered the task of Restoration even more difficult.

This fear was misplaced. The book—as well as enhancing our knowledge about the design of the palace and gardens, the structure of the household, and the names, provenance, and salaries of its servants—also offers fresh insights into the relationship between the courts of Saint-Germain and Versailles and the fraught political machinations behind repeated attempts to restore the Stuarts. Chapter one (by Edward Gregg) on "France, Rome, and the Exiled Stuarts, 1689-1713" explains in sixty-four pages why Louis XIV repeatedly sponsored invasion attempts, often against his own inclinations and those of his ministers. After her arrival in France, Mary of Modena had quickly cultivated the friendship of Louis XIV's clandestine consort, the increasingly influential marquise de Maintenon, and Corp and Gregg suggest that these two women convinced Louis to overrule his council on two crucial occasions: first in recognizing James III as king of England after the death of his father on 16 December 1701, and second in sponsoring the failed invasion of Scotland in 1708.

My own research confirms that Maintenon attended many of the political discussions regularly held between the two families and that she fervently supported the Stuarts and could bring pressure successfully to bear on the ageing monarch,<sup>[3]</sup> but Corp and Gregg rightly point out that Louis XIV was inclined to support James II and James III for several other reasons. Gregg argues that when Modena directly appealed to Louis to recognize the prince of Wales on 11 September 1701 (following James II's massive third stroke on 2 September), war over the Spanish succession was inevitable because the Grand Alliance against France had already been signed four days earlier. The invasion plans for 1701 had been ruined in February after the Earl of Melfort's letter addressed to Perth "à la cour d'angleterre" ended up in the London postbag, confirming French suspicions that the Saint-Germain court and its ministers were incompetent at worst and indiscrete at best (p. 56).

The marquis de Dangeau waspishly recorded on 14 September 1701 that James II "speaks better sense than he did before his illness" (fn. 260, p. 59); his military record may have been inglorious, but the book reminds us that his son proved himself to be a "dashing" and courageous cavalry officer who often had to be restrained. He was present at Oudenarde and Malplaquet and fought in the 1710 campaign in Flanders once Louis XIV had capitulated (after repeated requests) and permitted him to enter the French ranks incognito as the 'Chevalier St. George.' It was therefore Louis XIV's fault that James lacked the experience to lead the expedition to Scotland in 1708, which was not botched by Saint-Germain but undermined by a combination of misfortune, bad weather, illness, and the obstructiveness of pessimistic French officials like the minister for the navy, Jérôme de Pontchartrain, and the fleet's commander, the chevalier de Forbin.<sup>[4]</sup>

His pride wounded, Louis XIV was apparently anxious to mount further attempts in 1709 and 1710, but Torcy's common sense prevailed and a frustrated James III complained that Versailles was suffering from, in John Rule's words, "irresolution, paradox, uncertainty and drift" (p. 66). Such accusations echo the criticisms levelled at the Sun King by his grandson, the duc de Bourgogne, who was in co-command in Flanders during the imbroglio of 1708. The book is therefore right to emphasize that Louis XIV often ignored the advice of his council as the reign progressed, putting him at odds with his extremely competent ministerial team and ultimately generating dangerous levels of factionalism within his family and government that Madame de Maintenon secretly feared could ignite a civil war.<sup>[5]</sup>

Scottish Jacobite George Lockhart claimed in 1714 that Louis XIV used James III "as a tool to promote and to be subservient to his own private designs" (p. 75), but this was not strictly true. Gregg is right to quote a letter from Maintenon to the princesse des Ursins in which she confided about the Scottish invasion of 1708 that Louis XIV "en ait toujours eu mauvaise opinion," but he is wrong to infer from the same communication that Maintenon had always thought that the expedition, comprising thirty ships and 6000 troops, would merely be "une diversion" (p. 63).<sup>[6]</sup> She was enthusiastic about the project from the outset and in the same letter (and other missives) claims that it was widely supported. James had finally set sail on 17 March and returned to France demoralized three weeks later, landing at Dunkirk on 7 April. The letter to des Ursins was composed on 22 April, two days after James III had formally received Louis XIV at Saint-Germain—hence Maintenon's disappointment and "peur que nous avons faite aux Anglois fera quelque petite diversion."<sup>[7]</sup>

Corp rightly stresses that Louis' desire to see the Stuarts reinstated was also motivated by the Sun King's egotistical aspiration to bestow upon Europe another monarch ruling multiple kingdoms, thus leaving an unrivalled Bourbon legacy. However, Louis XIV also genuinely wanted to see both James II and III reinstated and remained committed to the Stuart cause, even though he was unable to sponsor James' preparations in 1714 to invade England in support of a Jacobite rebellion in 1715. Louis XIV evidently regarded James III as a surrogate son and had his privy chamber redecorated in 'damas rouge cramoisy' to celebrate his eighteenth birthday in June 1706. The French king had assured a mortally ill James II in March 1701 that he would take care of the prince of Wales "as he did of his own children" (p. 162); James III, after taking formal leave of Louis XIV on 11 July 1712, wrote that "you will always find

in me the respect, the attachment, and if I dare to say it, the tenderness of a son" (p. 283). The two families socialized regularly together and were firm friends, with Louis deliberately fostering close relations between James III and his own grandchildren (as Corp reveals in chapter six). During their annual autumnal "family holidays" to Fontainebleau, each of which cost the French crown a reputed 60,000 *livres*, the Stuarts were housed in "superb" apartments; for many years Louis XIV and his family escorted their royal guests from the forest's northern perimeter to and from the chateau.

Meetings between the two families took place on average over twenty times per year between 1689 and 1709, giving rise to all sorts of adaptations in protocol. During the balls held at Versailles and Marly in the summer months Louis XIV, would deferentially stand when James II was dancing. In 1689 James II was obliged to make his lord chamberlain, the marquis of Powis, a duke because the dauphine refused to receive anyone below that rank. In the absence of queen or dauphine after 1690, Mary of Modena became the first lady of the French court and was succeeded by her daughter, Louise-Marie, after she came of age. She outranked the duchess of Burgundy because she was a king's daughter until the dauphin's death in 1711. Modena, like Maintenon, was given an armchair in the royal presence, but James II received the dauphin standing up as a mark of respect. After discovering that during her exile in the 1640s and 1650s, Henrietta-Maria had given an armchair to Louis XIV's uncle and younger brother (Monsieur), Mary of Modena granted the same privilege to the latter and to the dauphin and his three grandchildren. This courtesy was not extended to Monsieur's son, the duc de Chartres, who became the duc d'Orléans following his father's death in 1701 and regent following Louis XIV's demise. The ceremonial blunder, compounded by James III, poisoned relations between the two houses with devastating consequences for the Jacobites; it was the regent who stopped the Stuart pension from October 1716 to February 1717 after signing a treaty with the British government. This ultimately forced James to leave French soil in 1717 and settle in Pesaro, Urbino, and finally Rome in 1719.

Louis XIV had observed that placing James III on his rightful throne was not just a matter of blood, and the chapters examining religion at Saint-Germain and the education of James III convincingly contradict the notion that James II was a myopic bigot. Geoffrey Scott (in chapter ten on "The Court as Centre of Catholicism") shows—using James II's earlier memoirs, letters, and fourteen papers of devotion written in the 1690s, which were published in 1704 as *The Pious Sentiments of the late King James II of Blessed Memory upon diverse subjects of Piety*—that his Catholicism was devotional rather than rational. The exiled king was convinced that he was on a "spiritual odyssey" and that the loss of his three kingdoms was a blessing, rather than a curse, designed to bring him closer to God. His faith therefore reflected a mixture of Jesuit practicality and the puritanical austerity with James retreating annually for a few days to La Trappe from 1690. There he befriended Abbot Jean de La Rancé, who admired the "sweetness" of the king's conduct and James' "tranquillity and evenness of mind," his "disengagement from worldly things," and his "resignation to the will of God" (pp. 252-53).

If James' personal faith was unshakeably Roman, his attitude to the religiosity of others was inflexibly tolerant, as Corp and Scott illustrate in chapter eleven entitled "The Education of James III." James II ensured that his son was erudite and endowed with similarly liberal principles, as reflected in his *Instruction how to Govern England, Scotland and Ireland* (composed in 1692), and in his choice of a doctor of theology from the Sorbonne, John Betham, as the prince of Wales' preceptor. In the fifty-four page *Instruction* James urged his son to maintain the church in England, to select loyal and able servants who were good Christians (irrespective of their beliefs) as James himself actively did, and stressed that the prince should preserve his prerogative, "but disturbe not the Subjects in their property nor conscience" (p. 263). He underlined the significance of knowing "the true Constitution of the Government [of England], that you may keep yourself as well as the Parliament within its true bounds" (p. 264), but James II also reminded his son that he should "never put the crown of England in competition with your eternal salvation" (fn. 35, p. 263)

Consequently James III was a broad-minded Catholic, but this created difficulties. In schooling the

young prince, Betham employed Pierre Nicole's *De l'éducation d'un Prince* and Quesnel's *Réflexions Morales*. He had also visited Port-Royal in the 1690s; as a result James III's tutor was investigated at Madame de Maintenon's behest and sacked in 1704 for promoting Jansenism. Ironically Betham had been interrogated by the Cardinal de Noailles, who advised him to abandon using Quesnel's notorious publication. Geoffrey Scott then suggests that James III, after meeting and coming under the influence of Fénelon in 1709, began showing leanings towards Quietism. To assuage the fears of his future subjects, James III had promised them religious toleration in a proclamation of 1702 and expelled the Jesuits from Saint-Germain in 1712. This evidently satisfied his former under-preceptor and confessor from 1712 to 1715, the Catholic priest Dr. John Ingleton, who had complained that "nothing keeps him [James III] out of his Kingdoms but his religion and his adherence to the Apostolick see" (p. 67). However, Corp intriguingly suggests in chapter five on "The Household Servants" and chapter six on "The Stuarts and the Court of France" that James III would not convert even in 1714, when Anne's death in August made a restoration seem possible, because he feared the wrath of his patron and protector.

Like Maintenon, James II had in vain implored Louis XIV to serve God out of filial love rather than servile fear, but the Sun King's bigotry and paranoia became increasingly indomitable and he repeatedly forbade Protestant services at Saint-Germain, despite requests by James II in 1694 and James III in 1701 and 1711. James II had twice on his deathbed implored his son to be a good Catholic and in response Louis XIV had "promised him [James III] that he would always defend him as long as long as he remained faithful to the [Catholic] religion, but that he would become his declared enemy if he failed to do so" (pp. 162-63). On the eve of the Scottish invasion in March 1708, Louis wrote in a letter to James III that "your embarkation begins to make heresy tremble.... I have never relented in matters of Religion, nor have my enemies been able to prevail" (p. 163). Whether James III would have abjured to recover his crowns or not remains a contentious issue, but there is no doubt that pressure from his avuncular benefactor may well have played a significant role in his calculations. What is beyond dispute is that the French king's immoderation unfortunately tarred James III with the same brush, thus enabling anti-Jacobite propagandists in England to caricature James as they had his father.

The last four chapters, examining the fortunes of the Jacobite community at Saint-Germain in the eighteenth century, prove to be equally illuminating. Under pressure from his allies, Louis XIV was forced to expel James in 1712. However 'The Pretender' was also keen to leave Saint-Germain and establish a degree of independence, especially following the death of his beloved sister Louise-Marie from smallpox on 18 April. After spending September 1712 in Châlons-sur-Marne, James installed himself in a chateau overlooking the town of Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine in February 1713 where his household numbered sixty-five, about half the size of that formerly at Saint-Germain. The Stuarts remained there for another two-and-a-half years thanks to the generosity of the duc de Lorraine, who provided James with an extra fifty guards to supplement his force of three hundred, and donated 300,000 *livres* to fund James' planned invasion of England in 1715. In order to thwart this expedition and defuse Jacobite uprisings in England and Scotland, the earl of Stair hired assassins to murder 'The Pretender' in 1715 and again in 1716, when the Stuart court was based in Avignon from April. Here James' household numbered only thirty-three, but dejected Scottish Protestants flocked to his residence at the Hôtel de Serre and by June there were over 1500 Jacobites in Avignon, many of whom left France with James for Italy in February 1717.

Mary of Modena's death effectively marked the end of the Saint-Germain era. The chateau was all but deserted from August 1713, but the peace treaty of Utrecht left Saint-Germain awash with companies of demobilized and desperately impoverished Irish soldiers who Mary and then James, with limited resources, attempted to feed. Many of the original English staff and their families also stayed on until 1793, supported by monies from James III, when the chateau was transformed into a jail during the Terror. He started to receive a regular pension from the papacy in 1716, and thanks to the intervention of the mercurial Scottish controller-general, John Law, the French pension was resurrected and

augmented in 1719 until the financier's economic 'system' collapsed spectacularly in 1720. The duc de Noailles and Fleury continued to honour the French crown's obligations and pay the list of Stuart pensioners, although this became increasingly irksome when networks of pro- and anti-Jacobite lodges of Freemasons were founded in France in the 1720s, and when the court at Saint-Germain was suspected of harbouring Jansenists in the 1730s.

As well as plugging gaps in our narrative knowledge, the book provides a mass of detailed information, pictures, and diagrams about the town of Saint-Germain and its districts, as well as the architecture of the palace and its and seventy-eight apartments and extensive gardens. This is no mean feat considering that the sources are thin and that very little of the original building survived the radical nineteenth-century renovations. We are also told a good deal about the entertainments and recreations held at the exiled court, and learn that Saint-Germain housed the largest of the Bourbon palatial theatres, which was fully refurbished in 1709. Chapters on the cultural life of Saint-Germain reveal how important portraiture and the widespread distribution of engravings were for sustaining Jacobite hopes, as was written propaganda (highlighted in Howard Erskine-Hill's chapter on "Poetry at the exiled court").<sup>[8]</sup> As well as composing reflections on life at Saint-Germain, writers like Jane Barker and John Caryll took the opportunity savagely to satirize and criticize the Williamite "monsters" and "usurping upstarts" over the water. Chapter eight, on music, reveals that concerts and operas were performed frequently and that the Stuarts were responsible for hastening the introduction of new Italian styles of composition into France, like sonatas and cantatas, and for popularizing English country dancing.

At points the detail presented is such that the book feels encyclopedic, as demonstrated in the case study of James II's secretary, David Nairne. It discloses the cost of his clothes, furniture, wood, wine and even wigs, with one seemingly extravagant hairpiece costing him fifty-two *livres* in 1700! Because the book has several authors, there are also instances of repetition and contradiction. For example Gregg tells us in chapter one that James III was "well aware of Louis XIV's disinclination to support another invasion attempt" (p. 66), and yet Corp informs us in chapter six that "in the winter of 1709-10 Louis began to make preparations for another expedition to Scotland, despite the objections of his ministers," and that he was still seriously considering invading Scotland in September 1710 (pp. 164-65).

Certain key questions are left unanswered, although one assumes that this is because the sources are silent or missing, as the research carried out elsewhere is exhaustive. French administrations after Louis XIV generally seemed to have had little sympathy for the Jacobite cause and found the financial responsibility onerous, so one wonders why, in the absence of James III, paid staff were retained at Saint-Germain decades beyond the failed invasion of 1744 and rebellion of 1745-46. Even Rome recognised the Hanoverian dynasty after the death of James III in 1766. We are told that James III and Louis XIV's grandchildren were close childhood friends and that Philippe V provided James III with 300,000 *livres* in gold to help subsidize his invasion project of 1715, but what sort of relationship did they enjoy beyond adolescence, and why did 'Their Most Catholic Majesties' not support their Stuart cousins more often, especially after the Sun King's demise?

It would also have been useful to hear a little more about French attitudes to Saint-Germain and whether Louis XIV was ultimately cynical about Jacobitism, but these are all minor quibbles. Those wanting to augment their knowledge of the Stuart family and their life in France and Italy will find this book richly rewarding. What the authors also do brilliantly is show in essence what an early modern European court was, and the way in which it could function, thrive, and survive well beyond its natural life with limited resources, in a foreign country, after being constructed in a suitably grand location around a legitimate, but dethroned and exiled dynasty.

## NOTES

[1] J. Callow, *The King in Exile, James II: Warrior King and Saint* (South Carolina: The History Press, 2004); W.A. Speck, *James II* (Harlow: Longman, 2002); J. Miller, *James II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); E. Corp ed., *The Stuart Court in Rome: A Legacy of Exile* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); D. Starkey and E. Cruickshanks, eds., *The Stuart Courts* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000); E. Cruickshanks and E. Corp, eds., *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London: Hambledon Press, 1995); D. Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); D. Szechi *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

[2] Born in 1658, Maria Beatrice d'Este was the daughter of Alfonso IV, duke of Modena. A devoted Catholic she married James, duke of York, in 1673 after the death of his first wife Anne Hyde in 1671.

[3] M. Bryant, "Partner, Matriarch and Minister: Mme de Maintenon of France: The Clandestine Consort: 1669-1715," in C.C. Orr, ed., *Queenship in Europe: The Role of the Consort, 1660-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 77-106.

[4] For an insightful account see J. S. Gibson, *Playing the Scottish Card: The Franco-Jacobite Invasion of 1708* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988).

[5] A. Geffroy ed., *Mme de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance authentique, choix de ses lettres et entretiens* (Paris: 1887), 2:114-15.

[6] *Ibid.*, 2:160.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] For more see D. Szechi, "The Jacobite Revolution Settlement, 1689-1696," *The English Historical Review* 108 (1993): 610-28.

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