

The Exiled Stewarts
in Italy
1717-1807

Edited by

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JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STEWART

Original in Palazzo Doria, Rome

Photo by Alinari

INTRODUCTION

MUCH has been written about the flight of King James II. and his family from England in 1688 and the kindly reception they were given at the Court of Louis XIV., but not so well known perhaps is the life of the Chevalier de Saint Georges, the only son of King James and Mary of Modena, after he left France. He was of course *dejure* James III. and VIII., and as such was always acknowledged by the reigning Popes until his death in 1766. He went to Urbino in 1717 at the express invitation of Pope Clement XI., a member of the well-known family of Albani, settled for hundreds of years in Urbino, where their fine old palace may still be seen.

Clement XI. was a clever and cultivated man, generous, interested in art, a keen churchman as well as a far-seeing statesman. He always acknowledged the Chevalier as King James III. of England and was anxious that he should spend some time in Urbino, not only as a refuge for himself, but because of the satisfaction it would give the Urbinati to have a Court once more in the great palace. This residence had been disused since the abdication of the feeble Duke Francesco della Rovere nearly a hundred years earlier, when the Duchy of Urbino passed into the hands of the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII., as a fief of the Papal States.

The palace is a magnificent building of the early fifteenth century, standing on an isolated hill in the centre of the town, which dominates the surrounding country. The air is fresh and

invigorating, and in the summer James went out riding and amused himself 'by hunting the hare with his clever little Danish dogs.' In the winter he evidently was not so happy, and he felt the cold so much that he sent to England for a grate to burn coal in the beautiful seventeenth-century fireplace of a room which is to this day known as 'The Room of the King of England.'

There are various manuscripts both in Urbino and Bologna relating to the stay of James in the district, the earliest, which describes his arrival at Piacenza, being in the University Archives at Bologna. The first of those given below consists of Notes by a certain Canonico Ghiselli.¹ They are sadly disconnected, and do not give us much information beyond a scanty list of the courtiers.

There are also a few references in the papers of Cardinal Ruffi,² who was a good friend to James and many years later succeeded in reconciling James to Clementina after one of their periodical disputes. The story attributing to Lord Peterborough the idea of assassinating James was a fabrication, and Cardinal Ruffi showed his good sense by the way in which he treated the poor nobleman.

In Bologna also, but in the Royal State Archives, is a very interesting book of miniatures relating to important events connected with the history of the city.³ In this book are various illustrations of James and his family with apposite allusions, and it is clear that they kept up their connection with Bologna for many years. James was certainly living there in 1728.

Another city where much of interest no doubt still remains to be found with regard to Jacobite history is Urbino; but since the Library of the University was being reorganised when the writer was there, it was only after a long search that some notes on the marriage of James and Clementina were found in a history of the

¹ See p. 69.

² See p. 71.

³ See p. 73.

town by the Abbé Ricciardelli, with some account of the Bishop of Montefiascone, who performed the ceremony.¹ Evidently James had known this Monsignor Bonaventura two years previously, and this explains, what at first sight seems difficult to understand, why such a small out-of-the-way place as Montefiascone should have been chosen for the marriage.

We glean something of James's sojourn in Urbino from a manuscript book, which belongs to the Bishop's Library but which was actually shown to the writer by Professor Renzetti, the Director of the Museum and Picture Gallery. It contains part of a diary, dated 1718, and is headed 'Diario delle Cose di Urbino dall' anno 1718 di Giovanni Fortinario Gueroli Pucci d'Urbino sulla venuta, permanenza e partenza del Re dalla Gran Bretagna Giacomo III. Stuarda in Urbino e quindi anche il rittorno del detto Monarca in Urbino con Clementina Sobieski sua sposa ma di passaggio.'² Unfortunately this is but a copy of an older book, and suffers from various erasures and mistakes, such as '1718' instead of '1717' for the year of James's residence in the town. It is impossible to identify some of the persons referred to in the list of members of the Court; others again are quite comprehensible. The gentleman called 'Conte Metellan Lauderdale' was Alexander Maitland, a kinsman of Lord Lauderdale, and evidently a general favourite, as may be gathered from the mention of him in various letters among the Stuart Papers at Windsor. He died at Urbino; and there is an inspiring inscription to his memory in a corridor of the Seminary opposite the Ducal Palace.³

James apparently kept his Court at Urbino till the end of 1718. Early in the next year we know that he was in Spain, where his

¹ See p. 77.

² See p. 79.

³ See p. 87.

half-brother, the Duke of Berwick,¹ was in command of the French troops, while his nephew, the Duke of Liria,² was fighting on the other side.

In Rome the Vatican Archives contain a letter from George I. to the Emperor Charles VI., undated but presumably written in 1719, when George paid a visit to his German dominions. It shows his indignation at the escape of Clementina Sobieska from Innsbrück and his fear of a rising in favour of the exiled Stewarts. The heading of the letter is a silent testimony to the attitude of the Papal Court, disclosing on which side lay its sympathies.³

On Clementina's arrival in Rome she stayed at the Convent of the Ursuline Nuns in the Via Vittoria, which some seventy years later gave refuge to other royal ladies, the French princesses, 'Mesdames Victoire et Adelaide, Tantes du Roi,' when they fled from the fury of the French Revolution, and in which they studied Italian with the famous playwright Goldoni.

Maria Clementina, the bride chosen for James, was the youngest daughter of Prince James Sobieski, who, but for the machinations of his mother, might have succeeded his father, the celebrated warrior and defender of Vienna, as King of Poland. As it was, he never became king, but lived in exile with his family at Ohlau.

We know that James and Clementina did not actually meet until

¹ In 1937 an American lady found in an antiquity shop in Rome a set of twelve beautiful Jacobite wine glasses, engraved with the portrait of Prince Charles Edward and the Rose and Thistle. She bought them and with them was given a note declaring that they were genuine and had always been in the writer's family. The owner was a certain old lady, Signora Sindaci-Steuart, aged nearly ninety, who died in 1938 and is said to have been the 'Nipote' (which may mean either niece or granddaughter) of the Duke of Berwick, but it was not possible to find out anything more definite about her antecedents.

² James Francis, Duke of Liria (b. 1696, d. 1738) was the only child of the Duke of Berwick by his first wife, Honora de Burgh, daughter of William, second Earl of Clanricarde. He was in Scotland with his uncle, James Edward, during the 'Fifteen.

³ See p. 88.

their marriage, which took place in the great hall of the Episcopal Palace at Montefiascone, on September 1, 1719, 'at Ave Maria, that is the twenty-fourth hour by the Roman Italic clock,' as is the wording of the Register still preserved in the Bishop's Palace. Monsignor Sebastiano Pompilio Bonaventura received special permission of Pope Clement XI. through the Cardinal Secretary of State Paolucci to perform the ceremony, and the witnesses were 'Giovanni Hay, Jacomo Murray, Carolus Wogan, Giovanni O'Brien.' There were also present Sebastiano Antonino, Vicario Generale, and Father Brown, Confessor of the King.¹

It is very unfortunate that this fine hall has been divided and now has a large glass screen right across it. The inner portion is used as an office, and in this part is the tablet commemorating the marriage, with a smaller one affixed to the original, which records the baptism in Rome a year later of the son of the royal couple and the fact that Bishop Bonaventura was summoned to Rome for the occasion. The King and Queen sent him, as an offering after the ceremony, a magnificent 'Paliotto' (altar frontal), which is most carefully preserved in the palace. It is embroidered in gold and silver thread with the royal arms of England in the centre, and is a very fine piece of work. The chaplain (Don Tomaso Leonetti) emphasised to the writer the fact that the royal marriage did not take place in the cathedral, as is sometimes stated, but in the hall referred to above, and that the chapel of to-day was then the royal bedchamber, and as such was blessed by the Bishop.

Montefiascone is a little town about sixty miles from Rome, perched on a high hill overlooking the beautiful Lake of Bolsena. James and Clementina spent a short time there, and then settled

¹ The account from which the above is taken is in the Diocesan Register and is partly in Italian and partly in Latin. It is said that the vows were exchanged in French, although the King and Queen signed their names and titles in Latin at the end of the document.

down in the Palazzo Muti, which had been prepared for them by order of the Pope, who also provided a guard of honour. Not only Clement XI. but also his successors, Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII., Clement XII., Benedict XIV., and Clement XIII., all acknowledged James as lawful King of England, but when it came to the turn of Charles Edward, Clement XIII. refused to admit his claim, diligent though 'Prince Charlie' was in pressing it, and he was always called 'Royal Highness' by the Vatican Court. There was much friction between James and Clementina, partly on account of members of their Court, but also because the Polish princess was much more bigoted than her husband, who, although very staunch in his religious views, was broad-minded enough to allow the service according to the rite of the Church of England to be held in the Palazzo Muti every Sunday.

There are two Stewart portraits in the Convent of San Clemente in Rome, which the Dominican Fathers allowed the writer to photograph, the one an unprepossessing likeness of Prince Charles Edward as an elderly man; the other of Clementina as an old, pathetic-looking woman.

The writer thought that there might have been a few manuscripts to be found in the Convent of the Irish Church of Sant' Isidoro in Rome, as Prince Charles Edward's confessors, James and Michael McCormick, were Franciscans from that convent, but the Prior was certain that all papers of any interest or value had been sent to Dublin in 1870, when the papal authorities were afraid of what Victor Emmanuel might do to the convents. These two brothers were with their royal master up to the last and were both distinguished men: James became Head of the convent and died in 1818; Michael, who was a brilliant linguist, died at Naples in 1820.

From time to time James went to Bologna, as we learn from

various records; but latterly he does not seem to have journeyed beyond the Castelli Romani, as the villages and little towns in the Alban Hills are called. At Albano he stayed at the Palazzo Savelli, now the Municipio, and at Frascati he sometimes spent a few days at the Villa Rocchi (now Villa Muti), which belonged to Monsignor Cesarini, the chaplain and devoted friend of the Cardinal of York.

James and his sons considered themselves able by divine power to heal those afflicted by the disease known as the King's Evil. The writer owns two touchpieces, one bearing the inscription 'JAC. III. D.G.M.B.F. ET H.R.,' the other 'CAR. III. D.G.M.B.F. ET H.R.,' both in silver instead of the gold which was always used in England. That of Charles is slightly the larger, and the angel is head down and the tail of the dragon is rather longer. On each medal are the words *Soli Deo Gloria*.

In the Pilgrim's Book of the English College in Rome there are various references to this gift of healing. For instance, here is an extract dated July 15, 1722: 'Twas about this time that Henry Clark, watchmaker, came with a little boy about ten years of age who had to a great degree the King's Evil. His first design was only to enquire how he might get his little boy touched by his Majesty, but this was not the only effect; for by God's Divine Providence his soul was illuminated and instead of his corporeal sight, which he had lost in Spain by a flash of lightning, he received, I hope, one far more estimable: his little child also was cured of his distemper.'

On August 21, 1749, in the same record, there is mention of a certain Peter Whittel,¹ 'a Roman Catholic, a watchmaker by trade,' who after many adventures both at home and in Spain came at last

¹ Peter Whittel may have been of the same family as Ebenezer Whittel, who was the Duke of Mar's valet.

to Italy, 'teized and plagued' to do so by his wife, an Italian. Alas! the Italians treated him badly and he reached Rome penniless; however, the writer says: 'I made a memorandum for him to his Majesty, who was so good as to give him three Zecchines. This man had suffered much on account of his being so stiff a Jacobite, as likewise had all his family, and once his father drunk openly in ye Old Bailey ye health of his Royal Majesty King James, for which impudent action he was forced to pay 600 Pounds and put to a great deal of trouble likewise.'

The next section consists of letters from James and from Clementina, taken chiefly from the Vatican Archives.¹ The Royal Stewarts were evidently on friendly terms with many of the noble Roman families, for we know that in addition to the Albani they visited the Piombino, Patrizi, Bolognetti and Doria Palaces. In 1739 Prince Doria gave a grand ball in their honour, at which Prince Charles Edward appeared in a kilt of his own tartan. The traveller Charles De Brosses mentions that both brothers were musical, the elder playing particularly well on the violoncello.² In the private rooms of the Doria Palace there is an attractive portrait of James III. as a young man by La Belle, which is reproduced in this volume by the kind permission of Prince Doria.³

The will of James III., which is in the Vatican Archives, is dated November 21, 1760, and in it he mentions that, 'whereas in the beginning of the year 1744, when the Prince left Rome, we had a great number of papers, . . . we have already deposited the said papers in the English College of this City . . . and in the Monte di Pietà a box of jewels.' It is not unlikely that these jewels may have been those worn by Charlotte, Duchess of Albany, in after years, for there are various references to her appearing in public 'royally

¹ See pp. 93-117.

² *Lettres écrites d'Italie 1739-40.*

³ Facing p. 55.

apparelled' when she was living with her father in Rome.

The two letters¹ found in that part of the National Library which was taken over from the Jesuits after the Unification of Italy show that Prince Charles Edward was keenly anxious that the Pope should acknowledge his claim to the throne of his fathers. The humble attitude of mind cultivated by the Cardinal towards his elder brother is shown in the letter to their father about 'the Townhouse of Paris,' dated 1751.²

In the print room of the Corsini Gallery in Rome there are many interesting portraits of the Royal Stewarts: several of Mary Queen of Scots; one of Mary of Orange on horseback with a flourishing thistle growing out of a rose; several of James in., generally called the Chevalier de Saint Georges; and a copper engraving of Charles Edward by Nicholas Poilly, which represents the Prince standing on the shore and gazing at ships at sea, with this verse below:

'Edouard presque seul vole vers ses Etats
Ses fortunes et ses droits accompagnent ses pas :
Quel Prince mieux que lui pretend a la Couronne,
Si le Sang la transmet, si la vertu la donne.'

(Vend a Paris 1747.)

Prince Charles Edward had an unhappy married life both in Florence and in Rome, but his last days were soothed by the care and attention of his daughter. The weather-vane of the Palazzo San Clementi (formerly Guadagni) where they lived in Florence still bears the royal initials 'C. R.' In 1786 they moved to Rome and settled in the Palazzo Muti in the Piazza S.S. Apostoli. In 1787 Charlotte was given entire charge of her father's affairs.³ He had one faithful friend, 'John Stewart, an Athol man,'⁴ who remained

¹ See p. 118.

² See p. 116.

³ See p. 129.

⁴ John Stewart (whose father's name was James) is called by Prince Charles

with him to the very end and was with him when he died on January 30, 1788. After his death six altars were set up in the palace and two hundred masses were said during the thirty hours that elapsed before the body of Charles Edward Stewart was transferred in a horse litter to Frascati, where he was buried in his brother's cathedral.

Henry, Cardinal of York, evidently made himself much beloved in his diocese, and it is touching to find that even now there is a feeling of reverence and affection for him—more than a hundred years after his death. Pope Benedict XIV. decreed that he should be known as 'Serenissimus Cardinalis Dux Eboraci.' He restored the

Edward in his will his 'Maestro di Casa,' and the bequest is made to him of one hundred 'Scudi Fiorentini' a month, as well as a pleasant and convenient apartment in the Florentine palace, in recognition of his faithful and assiduous service. John Stewart married a Roman, Rosa Fiorani, and in 1787 their son Charles sought admission to the English College in Rome, his 'Protettore' being Cardinal Corsini.

When working in the Vatican during 1938 the writer was able to follow up the career of this Charles Stewart through the publication of a new pamphlet (not yet put into the library) relating to the Castellans of the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Charles became an officer in the Papal Army and rose to be Director of the Artillery School. He was generally esteemed, of an imposing figure, dignified yet simple. Pius IX. made him provisional Commandant of Sant' Angelo, and he was present when the Pope fled to Gaeta in 1848 and at the proclamation of the Republic. He remained in command until the French took the castle on July 3, 1848. He died at 104 Via Frattina, Rome, on December 27, 1864, and lies buried in the parish church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, in the left transept of which there are marble tablets to his memory and that of his wife, Marianna Pioli. The inscription to him is as follows:—

HIC JACET CAROLUS STUVART
 ULTIMUS E STIRPE QUAE EXTURBATUS EX ANGLIA REGES
 PER EXILIA ET EXPEDITIONES SEQUUTA
 CUM CAROLO ODOARDO DUCE ROMAE DEMUM CONSEDIT
 IN PONTIFICIA MILITIA BALLISTARIORUM REGIMEN TENUIT
 IPSO CURANTE MUNITIONES CENTUMCELLARUM ADAUCTAE
 URBIS ARCI PRAEFUIT
 PLURIUM EQUITATUM INSIGNIA MERUIT
 PATRIMONIO PAUPERIBUS DI TURNO FAMULATU SIBI ADDICTIS RELICTO
 OBIT SEXTO KALENDAS JANUARIAS ANNI MDCCCLXV ANNOS NATUS LXXXVI
 CORPUS EIUS VOLUNTATE PROPE ILLUD PRAEMORTUAE UXORIS HIC POSITUM
 IN PACE DOMINI DIEM RESURRECTIONIS EXPECTAT

ancient fortress at Frascati, called the 'Rocca,' which had been presented to the see a few years previously by Benedict XIV. The Cardinal made it his episcopal palace and had many of the rooms painted by the Polish artist Thaddaus Kuntz (Taddeo Cunz), who also decorated the seminary at Frascati with frescoes depicting the life of the Virgin. Some of the Cardinal's furniture still remains, including a set of very fine leather chairs with his coat of arms. On the staircase an inscription recounts the fact that in October 1802 Pope Pius VII. 'showed his great benignity by being the guest of Henry, Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati, called the Duke of York. At dinner the Pope was seated between the Cardinal and Charles Emanuel IV., King of Sardinia, then in exile.'¹

In the latter part of the eighteenth century it was said in Rome that in the house of the Cardinal of York one could always be sure of a welcome and hospitality. On one occasion, at least, the Cardinal and the Duke of Sussex, son of George III., had a pleasant meeting, as we gather from the account given by an unknown witness and found by the writer in the Vatican Archives.² The Cardinal began to form his famous library while he was still in the Cancelleria in Rome. When he was transferred to Frascati, he naturally took it with him; and there he had the very fine bookcases made which still adorn the seminary. They are of good architectural design, suited to the large hall, and they contain about fifteen thousand books, some of them of great value. There is a large collection of Bibles in many languages and numerous classical works as well as English books of that date, many of the latter untouched since the death of the Cardinal. His beautiful missal may be seen, bound in red velvet, with an artistic 'H' on the

¹ See p. 122. Charles Emanuel, as great-grandson of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, was, after the Cardinal of York, the heir *de jure* to the throne of Britain. Henrietta, known as Minette, was the favourite sister of Charles II.

² See p. 124.

outside in blue and gold; also a charming Book of Hours bound in grey velvet with silver clasps and monogram, which had once belonged to Catherine de' Medici. There is an interesting old genealogical tree of the Stewart family, and there are a few old maps. The books bound in vellum are in fairly good condition, but those in leather are sadly in need of restoration. The fund created by the Cardinal for the maintenance of the library is no longer to be traced, and indeed may quite possibly have vanished when he had to flee to Naples and afterwards to Venice at the time of the French occupation of Rome in 1798.

A marble bust of the founder stands in the centre of the library; there is an attractive easel picture by Kuntz of the Cardinal's patron saint, Henry, the Bavarian king who christianised Poland at the end of the tenth century.

Monsignor Angelo Cesarini, Titular Bishop of Milevi, the devoted friend and chaplain of the Cardinal of York, who made him executor of his will, evidently did his best to carry out his patron's wishes; but it seems that while he was ill some of the precious papers and documents were lost, and certainly they did not all come to England as the Cardinal desired. The charming Villa Muti (then called Rocchi) belonged to Monsignor Cesarini. The garden is delightful with its low box hedges cut in elaborate geometrical patterns; in the house itself is an interesting portrait of a cavalier in armour, holding a field-marshal's baton. Marchesa Muti says that this picture has always been called James II. of England, but it does not seem to resemble other portraits of him and there is no record of its provenance.

In the cathedral at Frascati are carefully preserved some magnificent vestments owned by the Cardinal and embroidered in gold and silver. They are of somewhat the same style as the Paliotto at Montefiascone, and are only shown by special

permission in the presence of two priests.

Henry Benedict, the last of the Royal House of Stewart, died at Frascati, on July 13, 1807. When his funeral took place in Rome, the body of Prince Charles Edward was removed from Frascati, and the two brothers were buried in the crypt of St. Peter's next to each other and beside their father, in a temporary tomb of concrete. In 1939 a stately tomb of *breccia rosario* was erected, with the Royal Crown in bronze. It was dedicated on March 17 by Cardinal Hinsley. Monsignor Budelacci, the Auxiliary Bishop of Frascati, who saw the coffins when they were being transferred, told the writer that the original inscriptions were perfectly legible, each on its own plate, recording names and titles, and the seals with the Royal Arms were intact.

'La race des Stuarts a mis cent dix neuf ans à s'éteindre après avoir perdu le trône qu'elle n'a jamais retrouvé. Trois prétendants se sont transmis dans l'exil l'ombre d'une couronne ; ils avaient de l'intelligence et de courage, que leur a-t-il manqué?'—
(CHATEAUBRIAND).

HELEN CATHERINE STEWART.

NOTES FROM THE CHRONICLE OF THE
CANONICO GHISELLI

In the University Archives at Bologna

Piacenza il di 2 Marzo (1717). Il Principe Cavalier di San Giorgio stette la sera fuor di Piacenza e il Principe Duca di Parma ando a visitarlo ; parlavano Francese.

Arrivo in Bologna, Dimorra e Partenza di Giacomo Stuardo Principe di Galles, 13 Marzo 1717, incontrato di Don Carlo Albani.

É un bel Monarcha, piutosto alto che basso, e ha molto sommgianza col fu Duca Francesco suo zio.

Ruolo delle Persone, Treno ed Equipaggio della Maestà di Giacomo III. di Casa Stuarda, Re d'Inghilterra sotto nome di Cavaliere di San Giorgio.

Prima il Cavaliere di San Giorgio

il Milord Duca di Ormond

Landon Ten. Gen.

il nipote di Ormond

monsu Bouro

“ Hond

“ Venn Seg. di Gabinetto

“ Guidi

“ Hoc Scudiere

“ della Torre “

Memoria—Un appartamento per il Re, in quel medesimo sia un Gabinetto ed una scala segreta ed una camera per li paggi al paso del medesimo. Il secondo appartamento deve servire per il Duca d'Ormond. Il Duca del Mar piu vicino che sia possibile

all'appartamento del Re.

Una o due per i paggi, una per il Maestro di Casa, non importa che le Famiglie siano fuori.

Lista dei Cavalieri a tavola—non si trova tra questi il Marchese del Maar, ma si è fermato a Sciambere (Chambéry) con voce di pigliare certe acque.

Ormond

Seldon Ten. Gen.

Nipote del Ormond

... (illegible)

... (“ ”)

Venn Seg. di Gabinetto

Hoc Scudiere

de la Torre “

Guidi Seg. di Ormond

Vadesor

Il Duca di Ormond andò a vedere diversi Portici, e San Michele. Dicono tutt'essi Inglesi che si figuravano essere piu bella Bologna che Pesaro.

In Modena il Duca incontrò il Re.

La Duchessa d'Annover,¹ parente del Re inglese usurpatore regnante, fece gran complimenti al Re Giacomo, che con volto sereno le disse che non si affaticasse perchè non ha luogo di prestarvi fede.

(Translation)

Piacenza 2 March (1717). The Chevalier de Saint Georges spent the night outside Piacenza; the Duke of Parma visited him;

¹ 'La Duchessa d'Annover' may have been the sister of George I., or his daughter, both named Sophia, or, more probably, the Duchess of Brunswick, mother-in-law of Rinaldo, reigning Duke of Modena.

they spoke French.

Arrival in Bologna, stay and departure of James Stuart, Prince of Wales, 13 March 1717, met by Don Carlo Albani.

He is a handsome monarch, rather tall than short and bears a great resemblance to his late uncle Duke Francis.

List of persons and retinue of His Majesty James III. of the House of Stuart, King of England, under the name of Chevalier de Saint Georges.

[The names follow.]

Note: An apartment for the King, in which must be a cabinet and a secret stair, and a room for the pages quite near. The second apartment is for the Duke of Ormond. The Duke of Mar as close as possible to the King's apartment.

One or two for the pages, one for the Master of the Household; no matter if the Servants are outside.

List of Courtiers at table; the Marquis of Mar is not here, he has stopped at Chambery, rumour says to take certain waters.

[The names follow.]

The Duke of Ormond went to see several arcades and also San Michele. All these English say that they considered Bologna to be more beautiful than Pesaro.

In Modena the Duke met the King.

The Duchess of Hanover, a relation of the reigning usurper King of England, paid great compliments to King James, who with a serene expression told her that she need not trouble herself, because he was not inclined to believe her.

NOTES FROM THE PAPERS OF CARDINAL TOMMASO
RUFFI, BISHOP OF FERRARA AND OF THE CITY AND
DISTRICT OF BOLOGNA

In the University Archives at Bologna

1717 *Sett. 19 Sabato*. Questa mattina vi è stato all'udienza di S.E. il Cavaliere Spedizionario dal Re d'Inghilterra da Urbino, trattato da S. E. a colazione.

1717 *Ott. 17 Domenica*. Milord Peterburgo¹ questa mattina, dopo essere ritornato ieri sera dal Forte Urbano dove era stato condotto per il sospetto anno che potesse machinare la morte al Re d'Inghilterra che sta ad Urbino, è stato a visitare S. E. che l'ha trattato conforme il Gonfaloniere con darle Udienza sotto il Baldachino, e l'ha fatto servire d'una carrozza, ed è stato a pranzo con S. E.

1727 *Giugno 26*. Sua Eminenza è stata al Palazzo Alamandini dal Re d'Inghilterra.

1727 *Giugno 27*. Questa mattina S. E. è stata alla rigita (?) del Re d'Inghilterra, avendo concluso l'accomodamento tra il Re e la Regina.

1727 *Luglio 4*. Dopo pranzo essendo S. E. a camminare sotto gli Portici di San Luca, il Re è stato a ritrovarlo ad un'ora di notte, è partito dicesi andare incontro alla Regina sua Consorte che si porta a Bologna.

1727 *Luglio 12*. Sua Maesta a ore 5 è giunta alla Villa Degli Alamandini alla Croce di Biasco, senza nessun ricordo.

(*Translation*)

1717 *Sept. 19 Saturday*. This morning His Eminence received in audience the Commissioner of the King of England from Urbino, and he remained to luncheon.

Oct. 17 Sunday. This morning Lord Peterborough came to visit His Eminence, having returned yesterday evening from the Forte

¹ Charles Mordaunt, 3rd Earl of Peterborough, had commanded the Allied army in Spain, 1705-7, where he fought against the Duke of Berwick. He died at Lisbon in 1735.

Urbano, where he had been taken on suspicion that he was plotting the death of the King of England who is at Urbino. His Eminence treated him according to the wishes of the Magistrates, giving him audience under the Baldachino, and after he had dined with His Eminence the Cardinal provided him with a carriage.

1727 *June* 26. His Eminence went to visit the King of England at the Alamandini Palace.

June 27. This morning His Eminence went to the reception of the King of England, having concluded the reconciliation between the King and Queen.

July 4. After dinner as His Eminence was walking under the Arcades of San Luca the King came to visit him at one o'clock, and left, it is said, to meet the Queen his Consort who was arriving at Bologna.

July 12. At five o'clock His Majesty arrived at the Villa Alamandini, but left no message.

BOOK OF MINIATURES RELATING TO THE ROYAL
STEWARTS TAKEN FROM 'INSIGNIA DEGLI
ANZIANI,' VOLUME XIII

In the State Archives of Bologna

1717 *Marzo-Aprile*. Ricevimento solenne alle confine dello Stato Pontificio del pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra, Giacomo III., da Carlo Albani, nipote del Papa.

(Solemn reception at the frontier of the Pontifical State of the Pretender to the throne of England, James III., by Carlo Albani, nephew of the Pope.)

The picture shows a group of cavaliers landing from a boat. James is dressed in grey with a small black hat and a cane, his shoes are tied with scarlet and he wears a flowing wig; he is received by Don Carlo Albani in bright blue with a gold waistcoat who is handing him a paper. An angel in yellow in the sky holds two flags, one with the Royal Arms of England, the other with the crest of the Albani family; cherubs are bearing aloft a cardinal's hat; to the right is another group and a red silk tent with a coach beyond and two buglers on horseback.

JACOBI III MAGNAE BRITANNIAE REGIS
ADVENTUS A CAROLO ALBANI NOMINE PONTIFICIS
IN FINIBUS BONONIENSIVM EXCEPTI

1721 *Gennaio-Febraio*. La moglie di Giacomo III. pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra offre il primogenito neonato a tre cardinali per la conversione alla fede cattolica. Due gruppi di complessamente 18 persone.¹

(The wife of James III., Pretender to the throne of England,

¹ This is reproduced in Edith E. Coulson James: Bologna (London, 1909).

offers her firstborn to three cardinals for his conversion to the Catholic Faith. Two groups of altogether 18 persons.)

A room with red damask walls, four candelabra with three candles lighted; in the centre Clementina, in pale green and gold with flowing sleeves, holds the baby (who is swaddled and wears a cap) towards a cardinal wearing a long grey robe with a red cap, cloak and stockings and black shoes. One lady is in blue with a cross on a chain round her neck. The King is in red with a sword and his hat under his arm; there are various courtiers.

SERENISSIMO JACOBI ANGLIAE REGIS

AD NOVUM ORTODOXAE FIDEI AUGMENTUM ET DECUS
PRIMOGENITO

COLLAETANTUR ANTIANI CONSULES PRIMI BIMESTRIS
ANNI 1721

1725 Battesimo del secondogenito del pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra Giacomo III. e di Clementina Sobiesky nella cappella di Santa Marta da Papa Benedetto XIII.

(Baptism of the second son of the Pretender to the throne of England, James III., and of Clementina Sobieska, in the chapel of Santa Marta, by Pope Benedict XIII.)

This picture shows a church with a painting of the Virgin and Child over the altar and a praying saint. A lady in blue with a white cap is offering the baby to the Pope, who is dressed in white edged with lace and wears red shoes; his cope is gold lined with green, and his cap is a close red one; he pours water from a shell on the baby's head over a large blue vase. Some cardinals and a few courtiers are present, and Charles Edward, a little child in a long blue frock, is being held by a gentleman in brown who, bending down, points to the Pope; James and Clementina, arm in arm, enter the room, she in green, he in brown.

Gli Anziani del secondo bimestre dell'anno 1725 hanno creduto degno di Memoria il felice Successo del Parto d'un secondogenito

dato in luce alli 6 di Marzo dalla Maesta della Regina Britannica Clementina Subieschi, e nello stesso giorno, fu dalla Santità del Regnante Pontefice Benedetto XIII. Battezzato nella Cappella di S. Marta con li nomi di Enrico Benedetto Maria, e nella stessa Occasione fece il Papa le solenni Cerimonie della Chiesa sopra il Regio Principe di Galles Primogenito del Re Giacomo III. d'Inghilterra cui da Monsignore Bonaventura Vescovo di Montefiascone era stata data l'Acqua del Battesimo nel Suo Nascere. Così Dio felicitò i communi desiderii nel Conseguimento della perduta Corona pel Trionfo maggiore della nostra Santa Religione.

(The Councillors for the second two-monthly period of the year 1725 have thought worthy of memory the happy event of the birth of a second son born on the 6th of March to Her Majesty the British Queen, Clementina Sobieska, and baptized on the same day by the reigning Pontiff Benedict XIII. in the Chapel of Santa Marta. On the same occasion the Pope performed the solemn ceremonies of the Church upon the Royal Prince of Wales, the firstborn of King James III. of England, who had been baptized at his birth by Monsignor Bonaventura, Bishop of Montefiascone. Thus may God give happy effect to our common desire in the recovery of the lost Crown for the greater triumph of our Holy Religion.)

1726 *Settembre-Ottobre*. Gli Anziani si congratulano dell'arrivo dei pretendenti al trono d'Inghilterra.¹

(The Councillors welcome the Pretenders to the throne of England on their arrival.)

James is in brown with the ribbon of the Garter and a black hat, and is received by eight gentlemen in black, all with long white wigs; the walls of the room are hung with red damask. The little Prince is

¹ Reproduced in Edith E. Coulson James: *Bologna* (London, 1909), where the lady is said to be 'the Contessa Pepoli, the bride of the occasion' (p. 87).

in scarlet with a black hat, and Clementina, who wears blue, is holding the baby. The Fleur-de-Lys is painted in the centre and at one side the British Royal Arms with the words:

REGALIS ANGLIAE FAMILIAE ADVENTUM GRATULANTUR
S.P.Q.B.

1726 *Novembre-Dicembre*. Festa da ballo con il Principe di Galles e il pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra.

(A ball, with the Prince of Wales and the Pretender to the throne of England.)

James, seated on a throne in the midst of courtiers, watches the Prince, who wears red, dancing with a lady in blue.

1729 *Maggio-Giugno*. Il Pretendente al trono d'Inghilterra riceve in un salone drappeggiato di rosso i legati bolognesi prima del suo viaggio per Roma.

(The Pretender to the throne of England receives the Legates of Bologna in a saloon hung with red before his departure for Rome.)

James and Clementina are standing to receive the Councillors and are attended by five ladies and one man.

FELICISSIMUM ITER ROMAM VERSUS
REGINAE BRITANNIAE
BONONIENSES LEGATI INAUGURANTUR

ESTRATTO DELLA STORIA D'URBINO
DELL' ABBATE RICCIARDELLI NEL-
L'ARCHIVIO DELL' UNIVERSITA D'URBINO

Sebastiano Pompilio, nato 1660, fratello di Alessandro Bonaventura:

Alessandro VIII. Papa, lo creò vescovo di Gubbio 1690; Clemente XI. nel 1706 lo pose al governo di Montefiascone e Corneto. Questo Vescovo infra tant'altri dallo stato ponteficio, ebbe l'onore d'essere trascelto per la solenne funzione di sposare Giacomo Re d'Inghilterra a Maria Clementina Sobieski, il che fece con gravissima pompa nella cappella del suo vescovado di Montefiascone e contestano externando un tal fatto due iscrizioni lapidarie che leggonsi nella sala dell'aida sua abitazione e nell'Episcopio di Montefiascone ; e l'anno venturo fu chiamato a Roma il detto vescovo per battezzare il reale germe frutto di queste eseguite nozze, il qual Re Giacomo da Roma venendo in Urbino fu accolto per via in Soriano dal nostro Cardinale Annibale e dai due fratelli Carlo e Alessandro Albani.

(Translation)

Sebastiano Pompilio, born 1660, brother of Alessandro Bonaventura:

Pope Alexander VIII. created him Bishop of Gubbio 1690; Clement XI. in 1706 put him to govern Montefiascone and Corneto. This bishop, amongst many other honours from the Pontifical State, had that of being chosen for the solemn function of marrying James King of England to Maria Clementina Sobieska, which he did with great pomp in the chapel of his Episcopal Palace at Montefiascone, and this event is attested by two lapidary inscriptions which may be read in the hall of his family dwelling and in the Bishop's Palace at Montefiascone; and the following

year the said Bishop was called to Rome to baptize the royal issue of the marriage. The said King James coming to Urbino from Rome was met on the way at Soriano by our Cardinal Annibale and by his two brothers, Carlo and Alessandro Albani.

INSCRIPTION IN THE EPISCOPAL PALACE AT MONTEFIASCONE.

AUTHORITATE ET AUSPICIIS
 CLEMENTIS XI PONT MAX
 IN HOC CUBICOLO
 SEBASTIANUS POMPILIUS BONAVENTURA
 MONTIS FALISCI ET CORNETI EPISCOPUS
 SACRO ECCLESIAE RITU
 JACOBUM III BRITANNIAE REGEM
 ET MARIAM CLEMENTINIAM SOBIESKI
 INCLYT MEM JOANNIS III POLONIAE REGIS
 EX JACOBO FILIO NEPTEM
 CONNUBIO IUNXIT
 KALENDIS SEPTEMBRIS ANNO SAL MDCCXIX
 ATQUE AD PERENNEM REI GESTAE MEMORIAM
 MONUMENTUM POSUIT

EORUNDEM REGIORUM CONIUGUM
 FILIUM PRIMOGENITUM
 PRAEDICTUS EPISCOPUS
 INTER EFFUSAS EXULTANTIS POPULI GRATULATIONES
 IN ALMA URBE
 SACRIS BAPTISMI AQUIS ABLUIT
 POSTREMA DIE ANNI MDCCXX

ESTRATTI DAL DIARIO DELLE COSE DI URBINO DALL'ANNO 1718 DI GIOVANNI FORTINARIO GUEROLI PUCCI D'URBINO SULLA VENUTA, PERMANENZA E PARTENZA DEL RE DALLA GRAN BRETAGNA GIACOMO III. STUARDA IN URBINO E QUINDI ANCHE IL RITORNO DEL DETTO MONARCA IN URBINO CON CLEMENTINA SOBIESKI SUA SPOSA MA DI PASSAGGIO.

Giacomo III., Stuardo, di già succeduto nelle ragioni sulla Gran Bretagna a suo Padre Giacomo II. morto li 16 Settembre del 1701 in Francia ove erasi rifugiato colla Reale sua famiglia ne grandissime turbidi del proprio Regno e dove venne da Luigi XIV. accolto ed assistito colle potente sue forze fino li primo Novembre del 1715 (quando ?) cesso il monarca francese di vivere ; finalmente cosi volendo le imperioze politiche circostanze dovette il detto Giacomo III. ne primi anni del Regno di Luigi XV. partirsene dalla Francia, e ricovrarsi in Italia, dove dal Papa Clemente XI. chiamato ed accolto con paterno amore in Roma, gli offerse Urbino sua Patria a maggior sicurezza dalla Reale Sua Persona, quale offerta il Re Giacomo ben volentieri avendo accettato se ne venne ad abitare in Urbino e qui incomincia il Diario del sopradetto Gueroli Pucci.

Li 11 Luglio 1718 (1717) giorno di Domenica soleniz-zandosi dalle moniale di Santa Chiara di Urbino la festa di Sant'Amadeo giunse nella detta citta di Urbino la sacra maesta di Giacomo III., Re dalla Gran Bretagna, il quale fin da fanciullo esule dal suo Trono fu portato in Francia appresso Luigi XIV. da cui sempre con sovrano cordiale affetto assistito avendo tentato tutto il possibile

per ristabilirlo sul Trono, sebbene in vano, convenneli dopo la morte di quel monarca francese allontanarsi e partire di Francia, onde togliere ogni gelosia a Giorgio I. d'Annover usurpatore del paterno suo Regno, il quale fino dalli 31 Ottobre del 1714 ne fu connalto (?) Re e dovette riconoscerlo anche la Francia, giusta il trattato d'Utrecht. Sicche Giacomo III. si ritirò in Avignone ove venne accolto con tutta la magnificenza per ordine del nostro Pontefice Clemente XI. ; ma poichè le turbolenze continovavano in Inghilterra, ed anche il Re Giorgio vi è piu posto in aggressione prendene maggior merte occasione di perseguitarlo onde assicurarsi sul rapito Trono Britannico e ben ravisando la Santità di Nostro Signore il gran Pericolo di questo sventurato sovrano, gli propose lo Stato Ecclesiastico nel quale si elegesse egli per suo soggiorno qualunque città piu le fosse piaciuto, consigliandolo però ad appigliarsi alio Stato d'Urbino per maggiormente allontanarsi e per procurargli ad una maggior sicurezza, sicchè per incontrare il Genio della Santità Sua e per insieme dimostrarne il suo gradimento, scelse la maestà sua per soggiorno la stessa città d'Urbino, onde per tal circostanza il Santo Padre spedì da Roma ad incontrarlo il suo degnissimo nipote Don Carlo Albani ai confini dello Stato Ponteficio, il quale pertanto si trattenne in Urbino finchè ebbe la nuova del avvicinanza ai detti confini dalla sudetta Reale Maestà, e al tempo stesso per ordine del Papa licenziò da questa Legazione l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Bavia Bolognese che ne era Legato, dichiarandolo Legato di Romagna.

* * *

Giunse S. M. in Pesaro li 11 Luglio 1718 (1717) accompagnato dall'Ecc.mo Signor Don Carlo Albani, dalli Signori Duchetti d'Ormond, di Mar, di Pert, ed altri Milordi e Signori Inglesi e Cavalieri tutti quasi Scozzesi. Il Signor Don Carlo Albani poi si licenziò dalla Sua Maestà e si venne in Urbino. Sua Santità aveva

gia mandato da Roma in Urbino tutto il bisognevole per bene addobare il Palazzo Ducale Apostolico come si effettuò coll'assistenza del detto Principe Don Carlo Albani, poichè erano venuti da Roma anche due Apparatori.

Fra tanto la Maestà Sua volle trovarsi in Roma per la festa di San Pietro come già si effettuò dalla medesima in privata forma sotto il nome di Cavaliere di San Giorgio ; ciò nonostante fu egli ricevuto, trattato, e riconosciuto dal Santo Padre per quello che egli era.

Dopo la sudetta Festa di San Pietro il detto Monarca se ne venne a stare in Urbino ove giunse (come sopra dicemmo) il 11 Luglio 1718 (1717) essendo giorno di Domenica sulle ore 22 (?) in privata forma ricusando ogni fastigioso incontro. Giunse egli adunque in Urbino in un legno svimvero tirato da tre cavalli, in compagnia di un suo confidente. Fu per altro incontrato al Portone del Palazzo Ducale da Monsignor Presidente Salviati e da tutta la nobiltà Urbinate abbenche fosse stata quasi improvvisa la sua venuta, ed accompagnato ch'egli fu al nobilissimo appartamento ritirasse nelle sue camere.

Il di seguente 13 (12?) Luglio Sua Maestà sorti in carrozza accompagnato sino al Portone del Palazzo Ducale dalla Nobiltà tutta di Urbino, e dopo l'ossequi la sua Nobiltà a cavallo accompagnandola ovunque si fosse recato, e così ogni giorno facevasi, andando la Maestà Sua al passo che era sulle ore 22.

* * *

Ogni mattina la Maestà Sua si è portata al detto corretto in Duomo udir la Messa e sempre vi è andata la nostra Nobiltà a servirla con questo ordine—quella della città andando avanti alla Sua Maestà e dietro a quella li propri cavaglieri, e quei che non erano Catolici si restavano nella Sala del Magnifico.

* * *

Il più delle sue gite erano ai Capuccini ove si divertiva nel Orto superiore colla caccia di Lepre con li suoi piccoli ma bravi cagnolini Danesi. Se ne andava talvolta anche al Convento dei Padri di san Bernardino fuori di città anch'esso. Qualche volta si portò a quello dei Padri Carmelitani, e quando si sentiva genio di cavalcare se ne andava verso Chamoscione, sortendo per Porta Santa Lucia.

* * *

Il di di 30 (Novembre) Sua Maestà si reco alla Benedizione alla chiesa di Sant'Andrea Apostolo per esservi stato invitato da Signor Rossi. Siccome la mattina di detto giorno era il di festivo del detto Santo Apostolo e la sudetta Maestà aveva fatte le sue divozioni, sendo il detto Santo Protettore della Scozia, la detta sera non andò a Conversazione.

* * *

In queste note in carta volante trovata in un libro da decreti nell'archivio dalla nostra città sonovi alcuni linea di carattere del Padre Vernaccia chi scrisse queste note ; certo non le ha scritte con la debita ortografia.

(Translation)

Extracts from the Diary of the Affairs of Urbino for the Year 1718 of Giovanni Fortinario Gueroli Pucci of Urbino about the Arrival, Stay and Departure of the King of Great Britain James III., Stuart, in Urbino and also the return of the said Monarch to Urbino on a visit with his wife Clementina Sobieska.

James III., Stuart, having already succeeded to the legal rights over Great Britain of his father James II., who died on September 16, 1701, in France, where he had taken refuge with the Royal Family in the midst of the great disturbances in his own Kingdom, was received and assisted by Louis XIV. with his powerful forces,

until the death of the French King on the 1st of November 1715; finally, owing to the pressure of political circumstances, the said James III., in the first years of the reign of Louis XV., had to depart from France and take refuge in Italy, where Pope Clement XI., having summoned and received him with paternal love in Rome, offered him his native town of Urbino for the greater security of his Royal Person, which offer King James having willingly accepted, he came to live in Urbino, and here begins the Diary of the aforesaid Gueroli Pucci.

On Sunday July 11, 1717, when the Feast of Sant'Amadeo was being celebrated by the nuns of Sta. Chiara in Urbino, the Sacred Majesty of James III., King of Great Britain, arrived in the said city of Urbino; since childhood he had been an exile from his Throne, living in France under the protection of Louis XIV., who had always treated him with royal and cordial affection, and tried every possible means to restore him to his Throne, but in vain; it was necessary for him after the death of the French Monarch, to absent himself and quit France, in order to remove any jealousy from George I. of Hanover the usurper of his paternal Kingdom, who, from the 31 October 1714 was known as King and was recognized as such, even by France, according to the Treaty of Utrecht. So that James III. retired to Avignon where he was received with all magnificence by order of our Pontiff Clement XI.; but as the disturbances continued in England, and also King George became more aggressive, taking every occasion to persecute him in order to secure himself on the British Throne, which he had ravished, our Lord the Pope, well realizing the great peril of this unfortunate sovereign, therefore offered him a residence in whichever of the Papal States he might choose and in whatever city pleased him best, advising him however to establish himself in the State of Urbino to put himself at a greater distance and to procure greater

safety. Therefore to meet the wishes of His Holiness and at the same time to show his pleasure, His Majesty chose for his stay this same town of Urbino where the Holy Father sent his most worthy nephew Don Carlo Albani for this reason to the frontier of the Pontifical State to meet him, who however remained in Urbino until he had news of the near approach to the frontier of the above mentioned Royal Majesty, and at the same time by order of the Pope he dismissed from this Legation the most Eminent Cardinal Bavia Bolognese who had been Legate there, making him Legate of Romagna.

* * *

His Majesty arrived in Pesaro the 11 July 1718 (1717) accompanied by the most excellent Don Carlo Albani, by the Dukes of Ormond, of Mar, of Perth, and by other English Lords and gentlemen, nearly all of them Scottish. Don Carlo Albani then took leave of His Majesty, who came to Urbino. His Holiness had already sent from Rome to Urbino everything necessary to furnish the Ducal and Apostolic Palace, which was accomplished with the help of the said Prince, Don Carlo Albani, for already two house-decorators had come from Rome for the purpose.

As His Majesty wished to be in Rome for the Feast of St. Peter, he did this privately under the name of Chevalier de St. Georges; notwithstanding this, he was received, treated and recognized by the Holy Father for what he really was.

After the above mentioned Feast of St. Peter the said Monarch came to live in Urbino, where he arrived (as we said before) on the 11 of July 1718 (1717), being a Sunday, at the hour of 22 o'clock, very quietly, refusing a State reception. He came to the city then in a carriage drawn by three horses accompanied by a confidant of his. He was met at the door of the Ducal Palace by Monsignor Salviati and by all the Nobles of Urbino, although his arrival was

almost unexpected, and they escorted him to the fine apartment and he retired into his own rooms. The following day 12 July His Majesty drove out in a carriage, accompanied by all the Nobles of Urbino as far as the principal doorway of the Ducal Palace, and after they had paid their respects, he was accompanied by his own Courtiers on horseback wherever he went, and this happened every day, His Majesty going out always at the same hour.

* * *

Each morning His Majesty was carried to the Choir in the Cathedral to hear Mass and our Nobles always went to serve him in the following order: those of the city going before His Majesty and his own gentlemen behind him, whilst those who were not Catholic remained in the 'Hall of the Magnificent.'

* * *

His most usual expedition was to the Cappuccini Monastery, in the orchard of which he amused himself hunting the hare with his two clever little Danish dogs. Occasionally also he went to the Convent of the Bernardini Fathers, which was also outside the town, or else to that of the Carmelite Fathers, and when he felt in the mood for riding he chose the road towards Camoscione, leaving Urbino by Porta Sta. Lucia.

* * *

On the 30th day of November His Majesty went to Benediction at the church of St. Andrew Apostle, having been invited there by Signor Rossi. As the morning of that day was the Festival of the said Apostle and His Majesty had made his devotions, because the said Saint is the Protector of Scotland, that evening he did not hold a reception.

* * *

These notes on a fly sheet were found in a book of decrees in the archives of our city. There are some lines in the characters of

Father Vernaccia who wrote these notes. Certain it is that he did not write them in the proper spelling.

LIST OF THE LORDS AND GENTLEMEN WITH JAMES III. AT URBINO
IN 1717-1718

Duca di Mar	Segretario di Stato
Duca di Pert (Perth)	Maggioredomo Maggiore
Milord Delmur	del Seguito
“ Clermont	“ “
“ Nisdal (Nithsdale)	“ “
“ Chiston	Cavaliere di Guerra
“ Glisson	del Seguito
“ Odoardo)	“ “
“ Witton (Wintoun)	“ “
“ Ghilsero)	“ “
“ Sothesch (Southesk)	“ “
“ Dewenhier (Derwentwater)	“ “
Mons. E.G.	Scudiere
Chev. Giovanni Preston	Consigliere
Mons. Kambron (Cameron)	Colonello
“ de Futtre	Cavallerizo
“ Schildon (Sheldon)	Maestro di Stalla
“ Merni	Seg. di Gabinetto
“ Damooss	“
“ Cliss	Cav. Tesoriere
“ Eschin	del Seguito
“ Bout	Mag. domo e Colonello
“ Macmar	del Seguito e Colonello
“ Lambert	“ “
“ Forster	Generale di mare e di terra
“ Bavamo	Amministratore
“ Karneghe (Carnegie)	del Segretario

Col. Stuarda (Stewart)	“ “
Mons. Mospan	“ “
“ Filbert	“ “
“ Crem	“ “
“ Strindam	Spediz. di S. M. B.
Capt. Oubrioni (O’Bryen)	del Segretario
Col. Broke	“ “
Mons. Bolmer	“ “
“ Vornus	“ “
“ Bricton	Dottore
“ Mor (Moir)	del Seg. e Confidente del Re.
“ Luigi	Segr. del Duca di Mar.
La moglie di Milord Nisdal (Lady Nithsdale)	
La moglie di Mons. C. S.	
Mons. Sceldon (Sheldon)	Ajo del S. M. B.
Conte Metellan Lauderdale (Maitland) (mori in Urbino)	
Mons. Luigi Nerni	Figlio di Seg. di Gabinetto
Padre Maestro le Brun	Domenicano, Confessore di S. M. B.
(Brown)	

INSCRIPTION IN A CORRIDOR OF THE SEMINARY
AT URBINO

HIC SITUS EST.

ALEXANDER METELANUS SCOTUS EX COMITIBUS DE LAUDERDALE
QUI JACOBI III M. BRITANNIAE REGIS CAUSAM FORAS FORTUNAM
AMPLEXUS FRATER TERTIUS IN EXILIO OBIIT VII SEPTEMBRIS
MDCCXVII VIXIT ANNOS XLVII MENSES X DIES III
ET PIUS IN PATRIAM FIDUS REGIQUE DEOQUE MENTE MANUQUE
CELER HIC METELANUS ADEST PRO PATRIA HAUD PAUCOS FORTI PRO
REGE LABORES PECTORE SUSTINUIT FIDUS ET EXUL OBIT PRO SIMILI
CAUSA PRO TANTO REGE VIATOR OPTARES FRUSTRA VIVERE SIVE
MORI¹

¹ Alexander Maitland was the fifth son of Charles, third Earl of Lauderdale.
(*Scots Peerage*, v. 308.)

LETTRE DU DUC D'HANNOVER A L'EMPEREUR¹ SUR
L'EVASION DE LA REINE D'ANGLETERRE

La bonne foy avec laquelle je traite avec Votre Majesté devait me meriter ce semble quelque avis sur la fuite de la Princesse Sobieski d'Ispruch. J'ai été un des derniers de Londres a l'apprendre. C'était il impossible de m'envoyer un courier en Hollande ? V. M. sait pourtant bien que le mariage du Pretendant n'est pas une chose indifferente pour moy et pour mes alliez et l'on ne doit l'envisager a Vienne que sur ce pied là, il y a de moments dans les affaires qu'on neglige qui ouvrent un chemin a bien des entreprises aux quelles il n'est plus bien de remedier comme il arrive dans celle cy.

Le Prétendant passe les Montagnes et les Mers par le secours de ses alliés avec une facilité qui peut deconcerter nos mesures, et les miennes, il est aisé de voir qu'il ne s'endort pas sur ses interets : rien ne me doit enfin et ne peut me toucher de plus prest que ce Mariage qui trouble tout le repos de'Angleterre. J'en doist prevenir le suite dangereux.

Ce Royaume qui est partagé entre luy et moy peut allumer un feu que votre prudence et la mienne auront bien de la peine à l'eteindre L'Angleterre est un theatre sanglant où les factions se reveillent souvant et ces peuples ayment à changer de maitre ainsi V. M. doit prévoir qu'il arrive des choses que la sagesse des conseils ne peut pas toujours mettre d'accord.

S'il arrive quelque changement dans l'Etat par ce mariage V. M. apercevra trop tard que je ne luy etais plus utile a Londre qu'à

¹ George I. to Charles VI.

Breme.¹ Il y a au reste une belle confusion dans la fuite de la Princesse Sobieschi que je ne sais de quel coté je la puis prendre. Il n'y a qu'un milieu pour détromper l'Angleterre, qui est de chasser de vos estats le Prince Jacques Sobieschi. Vos ordres ont déjà à ce que je crois, prevenu sur cela mes desirs. C'est un affaire qui ne souffre aucun delay, n'y aucun temperament.

L'Espagne paraissait abattue par ces pertes de la campagne passée,² il avait semblait qu'on aurait du bon marché avec les espagnols, mais l'armée du Marquis de Lède, qui subsiste aupres de Melazzo a trouvé le secret de diminuer celle de V. M. Tout cela laisse l'Europe dans l'incertitude de ce qui peut arriver entre votre couronne et celle d'Espagne. Le succes des armes eleve et abaisse et on ne peut qu'imprudament conter sur les evenements. Le Ministre³ du Roi Philipe est vif ardent. C'est un homme qui a passé par tous les degrez de la fortune, il s'élève et devient toujours plus inaccessible au Ministre qui lui propose la paix.

L'Arrivée du Pretendant en Espagne a grossis les esperances. Les Rebelles d'Ecosse lèvent la tete malgré les soins que j'ai toujours pris de les abattre.⁴ Ils esperent et j'apprens que les contenances sont déjà changé depuis que le Prince est sur les confins de la Galicie, et que la Princesse qui lui est destinée est echappée d'Ispruch. J'avais toujours souhaité qu'elle retournat en Silesie. V. M. m'avait fait sur ce point une promesse solemnelle. Dillon⁵ aurait vu avorter ses pratiques, ou serait plus tranquille. Je

¹ Hanoverian troops had occupied Bremen in 1715 and by the Quadruple Alliance of 1718 the Emperor had guaranteed George's possession of it.

² A French Army invaded Spain in April 1719. Philip V. had not troops to oppose it, for many of his soldiers were in Sicily. The Spanish forces in Sicily were commanded by the Marquis de Leda, who defeated the Austrians at Francavilla on June 27th.

³ Cardinal Alberoni.

⁴ They were beaten at Glenshiel a few weeks later. See *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, edited by W. K. Dickson (S.H.S., 1895).

⁵ Arthur Dillon (1670-1733) was the agent of James Edward at Paris.

ne doute point que des menées de la Cour de Rome pour la consommation de ce mariage, elle a déjà beaucoup gagné puis qu'elle tient en depot cette Princesse qui ne manque ni d'esprit n'y d'adresse pour faire reussir ses desseins. On scait qu'elle avait bien regler les pas de la sortie d'Ispruch.

Tous ces maux qu'on craint viennent du depart du Pretendant de Rome. Il ne devait jamais passer sous les yeux de vos Ministres, pour aller en Espagne comme il a fait, il fallait veillir à la fuite. En cela V. M. a été mal servi et ses ordres mal executés. Il est vrai qu'il est dans l'innaction sur les confins de l'Espagne mais les partisans ne le sont pas sur les trames, et les complots qui se forment icy pour inquieter le dedans du Royaume. Le Regent de France fait des efforts considerables pour V. M. et pour le repos de ma couronne, mais il a des ennemis. L'Espagne lui en suscite tous les jours, muets et impuissants jusqu'à present ; mais l'Etat qu'il renverse indispose les peuples. Il y a tout a apprehender, une étincelle peut allumer un grand feu, il n'a pas tenu au Cardinal Alberony que la chose ne soit pas déjà arrivée. V. M. trouvera que je pousse mes reflections assez loin, je me fais un plaisir de vous l'exposer, quelque sujet que j'aye de me plaindre de la negligence de vos Ministres. Je suis toujours dans la resolution de ne rien changer au plan de l'alliance contractée avec V. M. à ordre de vous donner part de mon voyage dans mes états.

Je conserverai toujours pour V. M. Imperiale l'attachement le plus inviolable. Je finis en l'assurant de ma parfaite amitie ; et je suis de V. M. Imperiale

GEORGE ROY.

Dans mon passage de Hollande.¹

¹ This must have been written within a few days of May 11, 1719, when George left England for Hanover.

(Translation)

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF HANOVER TO THE
EMPEROR REGARDING THE ESCAPE OF THE QUEEN
OF ENGLAND

It seems to me that the too great faith with which I treat with Your Majesty should have deserved some news about the flight of the Princess Sobieski from Innsbrück. I was one of the last in London to hear of it. Was it impossible to send a courier to me in Holland? Your Majesty knows well that the marriage of the Pretender is a matter far from indifferent to me and to my allies, and at Vienna it should be considered only in this light; there are neglected moments in public affairs that open the way to many enterprises for which there may be no remedy, as in this present case.

The Pretender passes mountains and seas by the help of his allies with a facility which may baffle our measures, and it is easy to see that he is not blind to his own interests; nothing can or ought to touch me more closely than this marriage, which troubles the repose of all England. I must foresee the dangerous consequences of it.

This Kingdom which is divided betwixt him and me may light a fire that both your prudence and mine would have great difficulty in extinguishing. England is a bloody theatre where factions often arise and these peoples love a change of master, thus Your Majesty may anticipate that something may happen which wise advice may not be able to adjust.

If some change in the State should take place through this marriage Your Majesty will perceive too late that I was more useful to you in London than at Bremen. There is after all so much confusion concerning the flight of the Princess Sobieski that I hardly know how to take it; there is only one way to undeceive England, which is to chase from your dominions Prince James

Sobieski. Your orders will already I trust have anticipated my desires. It is an affair which brooks of no delay nor of any temporizing.

Spain seemed beaten by these losses of the past campaign and one might have made a good bargain with the Spaniards, but the Army of the Marquis de Lède, which is in force near Melazzo, has found the secret of decreasing the Army of Your Majesty. All this leaves Europe in uncertainty of what may happen between your crown and that of Spain. Success of Arms rises and falls, and it would be but imprudent to count on the issue. The Minister of King Philip is alert and ardent; he is a man who has passed through all phases of fortune; he is asserting himself and becomes ever more inaccessible to the Minister who proposes Peace to him.

The arrival of the Pretender in Spain has raised hopes. The Scottish Rebels lift their heads notwithstanding the care I have always taken to put them down. They are still hoping, and I learn that their demeanour has changed since the Prince is on the borders of Galicia and the Princess destined for him has escaped from Innsbrück. I had always hoped that she would return to Silesia. Your Majesty had given me a solemn promise on this point. Dilon would have seen his dealings miscarry or he would be more tranquil. I do not doubt that by the intrigues of the Roman Court for the consummation of this marriage it has already gained much, for it holds in trust this Princess who is not wanting in wit nor in cleverness in order to make her designs succeed; we know that she had already well planned her departure from Innsbrück.

All these evils have happened since the Pretender left Rome, he ought never to have passed the eyes of your Ministers to go to Spain as he has done, the flight should have been guarded against. In this Your Majesty has been badly served and your orders badly carried out. It is true that he is inactive on the borders of Spain, but

his partizans here are not so in the hatching of plots to upset the internal affairs of the Kingdom. The Regent of France makes considerable efforts for Your Majesty and the peace of my Crown, but he has enemies. Spain instigates them daily, mute and powerless at present, but the State which he overthrows estranges the people. Everything is to be feared; a spark may light a great fire; it is not due to Cardinal Alberoni that this has not yet happened.

Your Majesty will find that I press my reflections very far. I do myself the pleasure of exposing to you any matter concerning which I have to complain of the negligence of your Ministers. I am always resolved to change nothing in the plan of the alliance contracted with Your Majesty in order to keep you informed of my journey through my states.

I shall always keep for Your Imperial Majesty the most inviolable affection. I close with the assurance of my perfect friendship, and I am of Your Imperial Majesty

GEORGE R.

During my passage through Holland.

LETTERS OF JAMES AND CLEMENTINA
MOSTLY FROM THE VATICAN (ARCHIVIO SEGRETO)

Of the following fifteen letters thirteen have been chosen from about twenty-five found in the Vatican Archives as being of a wider interest than the remainder and showing something of the concern of James in Church affairs, and his intense gratitude to each succeeding Pope. It will be observed that there are various errors in spelling both in Italian and in French, although these are more noticeable in the letters of Clementina. Of hers, one that is included was copied from the Archives of Prince Orsini and another from the English College in Rome; the latter was presented to the College a few years ago, together with a relic. All are original autograph unless otherwise stated. They are here arranged chronologically.

JAMES TO CLEMENT XI.

Très Saint Père

Ny ma vive douleur ny un sentiment de vive peine que j'ay eu ce matin ne peuvent m'obliger de differir un moment annoncer a Votre Sainteté la cruelle perte que je viens de subir (?) d'une mère qui meritait toute ma tendresse et qui a toujours été si attachée au Saint Siège et a la Personne sainte de Votre Sainteté. C'est d'elle après Dieu que j'attend ma plus grande consolation dans une conjoncture si triste pour moy en toute manière rempli de confiance dans la bonté vrayment paternelle pour moy, et osant tout esperer d'elle, j'implore très humillement le secours de Votre Sainteté, puis pour l'âme de la Reine ma mère et pour moy et en luy renouveler les protestations de ma soumission et attachement

inviolable luy demande avec une bonne foi (?) la benediction
Apostolique etant

Très Saint Père

De Votre Sainteté Le très devot fils

JACQUES R.

D'Urbino ce 19 May 1718

(PRINCIPIE TITOLATI 179)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

Neither my great sorrow nor a feeling of intense pain which I had this morning can allow me to defer for a moment the announcement to Your Holiness of the cruel loss that I have just suffered of a mother who deserved all my tenderness and who has always been so attached to the Holy See and to the holy Person of Your Holiness. After God it is from You that I expect my greatest consolation in a moment so sad for me, being filled in every respect with confidence in your truly paternal goodness for me and venturing to hope everything from you, I very humbly implore the help of Your Holiness, both for the soul of the Queen my mother and for myself, and in renewing to you the protestations of my submission and inviolable attachment, I beg in all sincerity the Apostolic blessing, being

Most Holy Father

The most devoted son of Your Holiness

James R.

Urbino 19 May 1718

JAMES TO CLEMENT XI.

Très Saint Père

La crainte d'importuner trop souvent Vostre Sainteté par mes

lettres m'a imposé silence pendant quelques jours, mais la tendresse vrayment filiale que je conserve pour Sa Personne sacrée, ne me permette pas d'être plus longtemps sans luy donner advis moy meme, de l'accomplissement de mon mariage,—les ordres de Vostre Sainteté y ont été suivies a la lettre, et l'Eveque qui nous faits mils bonnetés a fait luy meme la ceremonie.

Nous aurons bientôt l'honneur d'assurer Vostre Sainteté de vive voix de nos sentiments pleins de reconnaissance et de soumission envers elle, et en attendant, je la supplie de m'accorder la benediction Apostolique e d'être persuadé de la veneration et du respect avec lesquels je suis

Très Saint Père

De Vostre Sainteté

Le très devot fils

JACQUES R.

De Montefiascone

Ce 9 Septembre 1719

(P.T. 179)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

The fear of disturbing Your Holiness too often by my letters has imposed silence on me for a few days, but the truly filial affection that I bear for Your sacred Person does not permit me to be any longer without informing you myself of the accomplishment of my marriage—the orders of Your Holiness were followed to the letter, and the Bishop, who has shown us a thousand kindnesses, himself performed the ceremony.

We shall soon have the honour of assuring Your Holiness in person of our feelings full of gratitude and submission towards you, and in the meantime I implore you to bestow on me the

Apostolic blessing and to be persuaded of the veneration and respect with which I am

Most Holy Father

The most devoted son of Your Holiness

JAMES R.

Montefiascone

September 9 1719

CLEMENTINA TO CLEMENT XI.

Très Saint Père

Je ne puis m'empêcher d'avoir l'honneur de marquer moy même a Votre Sainteté que notre Mariage soit fait en arrivant jdy dans les formes comme elle la souhaité et par se moien je me donne aussi l'avantage de supplier V.S. de me vouloir bien accorder Sa Benediction Apostolique etant avec un respect sans bornes

Très Saint Père

De Votre Sainteté

La très devot fille, CLEMENTINE R.

De Montefiascone

le 9me Sepe. 1719

(P.T. 179)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

I cannot deprive myself of the honour of personally informing Your Holiness that our marriage took place on arrival on Thursday in the form as you desired and by this means I also take the advantage of begging Your Holiness to bestow on me your Apostolic Blessing being with boundless respect

Most Holy Father

The most devoted daughter of Your Holiness

CLEMENTINA R.

From Montefiascone

Sept. 9 1719

JAMES TO INNOCENT XIII.

Beatissimo Padre

Nel atto di partire di questa Città, credo il mio preciso dovere di autenticare di nuovo alla Santità Vostra la mia somma ed immutabile ubbedienza, venerazione e gratitudine verso la Santa Sede e la sua sagra persona, supplicandola vivamente di pigliare il mio figlio sotto il suo altissimo e venerato patrocínio unitamente con li altri miei fedeli sudditi che lasciò in Roma ove—nonostante le voci sparsi e tanti varij discorsi—piacendo a Dio mi ristabilirò avanti li Santi avvisando la Santità vostra che questo mio viaggio non porta seco mistero niuno, e che non ha altro oggetto che la mia giusta sollecitudine ed inquietudine per la salute della Regina, ed il motivo di pigliare un poco di moto, con mutazione d'aria per la mia propria salute.

Iddio prosperi e conservi la Santità vostra per il bene e consolazione della chiesa, a questa fine saranno sempre indirizzati i miei contimii e più fervosi voti (?), e prostrandomi alli sagri piedi della Santità vostra chieggo humilissimamente la sua santa ed apostolica benedizione, pregandola di credermi in continua mia ubbedienza, e di comportarmi la continuazione delle sue ameni (?) e venerate gratie mentre mi confermo con insigne humili soumissione

Beatissimo Padre

della Santità Vostra il div^{mo} figlio

GIACOMO R.

Di casa alli 7 Agosto 1722

(Bagni di Lucca)

(P.T. 222)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

On the point of leaving this town, I feel it my clear duty to express once more in writing to Your Holiness my decided and unchanging obedience, veneration and gratitude towards the Holy See and your sacred person, heartily beseeching you to take my son under your most high and venerated patronage together with my other faithful subjects whom I have left in Rome, where— notwithstanding rumours and talk—I hope, please God, to re-establish myself before All Saints’ Day, informing your Holiness that this journey of mine carries with it no mystery, and that it has no object beyond my just solicitude and anxiety for the health of the Queen, and the motive of taking a little exercise with change of air for my own health. May God prosper and preserve your Holiness for the good and consolation of the church, to this end my continuous and most fervent vows will be directed, and prostrating myself at the sacred feet of your Holiness, I most humbly beg your holy and apostolic blessing, praying you to believe in my lasting obedience and to support me with the continuance of your kind and venerated favour, whilst I sign myself with very humble submission

Most Holy Father

of your Holiness the most devoted son

JAMES R.

From Home 7 August 1722

(Baths of Lucca)

JAMES TO INNOCENT XIII.

Beatissimo Padre

Ricevo con uguali consolazione riconoscimento e rispetto li nuovi contrasegni d’un suo paterno affetto verso tutta la mia

famiglia, che la Santità Vostra si è degnata comportarmi nel Suo venerato foglio del 15 del passato mese e mi mancano le parole per autenticare alla Santità Vostra li veri sentimenti del mio cuore in questa congiuntura, supplicandola humillissimamente d'essere persuasa che corrisponderanno sempre a tanti Suoi favori, ed al singolare ed affettuoso ubbidienza ed attaccamento ch'è sempre professato verso la Santa Sede e la Sua sagra persona.

Non posso che porgere il mio figliuolo sotto la grazia cura e protezione della Santità Vostra, così continuate e generosamente esercitate verso di lui e benché per ancora non possa brame (?) alcuno nuovo personale non dubito che quando giungerà al tempo del uso dello sapere, non sia per indovinare tutte le mie premure a rendersi degno della continuazione di essa.

Rieschono assai confacevoli alla salute della Regina l'uso di questi bagni, li quali sarà credo per continuarvi ancora qualche poco tempo, doppo di che, piglioremo la strada di Roma, ma non hò per hora dilleminato se sarà per Bologna, o in dirittura, ardisco ragguagliarvi la Santità Vostra di questa particolarità, ed in ogni modo spero posarmi ai suoi piedi dentro il mese d'Ottobre.

Le nostre cose d'Inghilterra sono sempre nell' istesso stato, questa pretesa congiuncatione e sempre più posta individuirlo da ogni uno, l'odio della nazione verso di chi la governa cresce al maggior segno, come fa ancora la Sua propensione à prò mio, ed è un vero niente che solo manca per condurre il tutto al bramato esito.

Riceviamo di questa Republica continui servizi, ed essa si è condotta verso di noi con una disinvoltura di gran Principe più che da piccolo Stato che naturalmente dovrebbe pigliare ombra di tutti.

Il Gran Duca¹ ancora ci dà replicate testimonianze del suo buon cuore per noi in questa nostra vicinanza al di suo Stato.

¹ Giovanni Gaston de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Supplico la Santità Vostra di condonar la lunghezza e tutte le altre improprietà di questa lettera, la mia inclinazione ancora più che il dovere mi eprova a renderla consapevole di tutto quello nei (?) ci riguarda, e sperando un benigno perdono della Sua clemenza con un cuore veramente filiale imploro la Sua Santa ed Apostolica benedizione, rassegnandomi con il dovuto rispetto, Sant-issimo Padre

Delia Santità Vostra

Il devotissimo figlio

GIACOMO R.

A li Bagni di Lucca

alli 23 Agosto 1722

(P.T. 221)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

I receive with equal consolation gratitude and respect the fresh signs of your paternal affection towards my whole family which Your Holiness has deigned to convey to me in your revered note of the 15 of last month and words fail me to express to Your Holiness the real sentiments of my heart at this juncture, humbly begging you to be persuaded that they will always correspond to your many favours, and to the singular and affectionate obedience and attachment which I shall always maintain towards the Holy See and to Your sacred person.

I can but place my son under the favour care and protection of Your Holiness, so continuously and generously exercised towards him, and although for the present he cannot show forth anything in person, I do not doubt that when he arrives at the time of using his knowledge, he will then understand all my anxiety and render himself worthy of the continuation thereof.

The use of these baths has been very successful and comforting to the health of the Queen, who will continue them I think for some little time further, after which we shall take the road for Rome, but I have not yet decided whether it will be by Bologna, or the direct way. I venture to advise Your Holiness of these particulars and in any case I hope soon to place myself at your feet during the month of October.

Our affairs of England are always in the same state: this pretended combination is always more grudgingly taken by everyone, the hatred of the nation towards him who governs increases visibly as does your partiality on my behalf, and practically nothing is lacking to conduct the whole to the wished-for issue.

We receive from this Republic continual help and it has behaved towards us with the graciousness of a great Prince rather than that of a small State which naturally would be dubious of all.

The Grand Duke still gives us repeated testimony of his good heart towards us in this our vicinity to his State.

I beg Your Holiness to forgive the length and all the other improprieties of this letter, my inclination even more than my duty compels me to let you know all that concerns us, and hoping for a kind pardon of your clemency, with a truly filial heart I implore Your Holy and Apostolic blessing, signing myself with due respect, Most Holy Father

The most devoted son of Your Holiness

JAMES R.

At the Baths of Lucca

23 August 1722

JAMES TO CARDINAL GUALTERIO¹ OR
CARDINAL LERCARI²

Avignone alli 16 Ottobre 1727

Da quello che sento da questo Mgr. Vicelegato e dalle mie notizie da Parigi scorgo con uguale giubilo e riconoscenza la bontà della Santità Sua verso di me in occasione della mia dimorra in questo Stato ; non ho mai potuto dubitare della clemenza del Papa verso di me, ma adesso arderei muovere la dovuta fiducia in essa di differirsi maggiormente a far venire la Regina apresso di me per avere la consolazione di godere insieme in questo Stato della benevolenza benefica verso di noi. La tenera età delli miei figliuoli non mi permette di lasciarli in viaggio in questa stagione e così resteranno in Bologna sino alla primavera, ove spero che la Santità Sua vorrà continuare verso di loro la sua solita bontà.

Non ardisco incomodare la Santità Sua con una mia lettera maggiormente in questo tempo di villeggiatura, pregandola di portarle li miei humillissimi rispetti e di attestarla della mia immensa gratitudine per tante sue grazie.

Resto gratissimo delli attenzioni e della premura con li quali si operi in ogni occasione si tratta delle miei interessi e devo rendere giustizia a questo degno Vicelegato che non manca a merite ove puo mostrarci il suo zelo ed affetto cooperando di buon cuore alle di lei intenzione ed amicizia verso di me, non mi resto altro a l'aggiungere per il presente che di pregarla di continuarmi la sua stimata amizicia e di ricevere della mia

GIACOMO R.

(P.T. 144)

¹ Cardinal Gualterio had been Papal nuncio in Paris and was present at the death-bed of James II.

² Cardinal Lercari was a faithful friend to James, thoroughly straightforward; he was Secretary of State for over thirty years.

(Translation)

Avignon 16 October 1727

From what I hear from this Monsignor the Vice-Legate and from my news from Paris, I perceive with equal joy and gratitude the goodness of His Holiness towards me on the occasion of my residence in this State. I have never doubted of the clemency of the Pope towards me and now I dare place my faith in it [not] to postpone any longer the coming of the Queen, that we may have the consolation of enjoying together in this State his kind benevolence towards us. The tender age of my sons does not allow me at this season to permit them to make a long journey; they will therefore remain in Bologna until the Spring where I hope that His Holiness will continue his usual kindness towards them.

I do not venture to trouble His Holiness any further with a letter from me in this holiday season, praying you to present to him my humble respects and to impress upon him my immense gratitude for all his favours.

I am most grateful for all the attention and care which he shows on every occasion when my interests require such help, and I must pay tribute to the worthy Vice-Legate who does not fail to show us his zeal and affection co-operating heartily with your intentions and friendship towards me. It now only remains for me to implore you to continue towards me your valued friendship and to receive mine.

JAMES R.

JAMES TO CARDINAL LERCARI

Bologna alli 27 Aprile 1728

Mando con questo al Cardinale Davia¹ le solite lettere

¹ Cardinal Davia was a native of Bologna; a wise man, highly esteemed. Was a favoured candidate for the Papacy in 1730. As a soldier in the Venetian Army

credenziali in suo favore, non dubitando che il suo distinto merito non sia per essersi gradito dalla Santità Sua¹ in qualità di mio Ministro e che non avrà anche nuova indugio conferirle le facoltà di Protettore del Regno e Collegio d'Inghilterra secondo le mie humillissime e sinceri istanze; pregandola di appoggiare questa mia brama appresso la Santità Sua con la solita amicizia della quale come ancora della benignità Pontificia ho ricevuto un insigne contrasegno nel essere la Santità Sua nell'affare delle Pensioni di Spagna 3; la prego di rinnovare ad essa li attestati della mia somma riconoscenza e di rimanere persuasissima delli sentimenti di Stima e di gratitudine che professo a lei per la continua parzialità che esercita verso di me.

Giacomo R.

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

Bologna 27 April 1728

With this I send to Cardinal Davia the usual credential letters in his favour, not doubting that his obvious merit will make him acceptable to His Holiness in the position of my Minister and that there will be no new delay in conferring on him the faculty of Protector of the Kingdom and College of England, according to my humble and devout solicitation; praying you to forward this my ardent desire to His Holiness with the usual friendship, from which as ever I have received a signal example of the pontifical benignity in the interest of His Holiness in the affair of the Spanish Pensions. I beseech you to renew to him the testimony of my deep gratitude and to be persuaded of the sentiments of esteem and gratitude which I owe to you for the continued partiality which you exercise

he had fought against the Turks.

¹ Benedict XIII.

towards me.

JAMES R.

JAMES TO CARDINAL LERCARI

A mon Cousin le Cardinal Lercari (dictée)

Mon Cousin

Cellecy est pour vous donner avis que nous avons crü ne pouvoir mieux faire que de choisir le Cardinal Davia pour avoir soin de nos affaires a Rome, l'ayant dejà nommé au Protectorat d'Angleterre, dont nous attendons avec impatience l'agrement de Sa Sainteté. Nous vous prions cependant de lui donner une entière creance en tout ce qu'il vous dira de notre part, et de lui accorder vos bons offices aupres du Saint Père lorsqu'il aura quelque chose a lui représenter concernant nos interets. Vous nous obligerez sensiblement si vous en conserverons (?) une parfaite gratitude. Sur ce nous prions Dieu qu'il vous ait, mon Cousin, en sa sainte et digne garde.

Votre affectionne Cousin

JACQUES R.

A Bologne ce 27 Avril 1728

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

To my Cousin Cardinal Lercari (dictated)

My Cousin

This is to advise you that we have not thought it possible to do better than to choose Cardinal Davia to take charge of our affairs in Rome, he being already nominated Protector of England, for which we still await with impatience the assent of His Holiness. We pray you however to trust him entirely in all that he may say to you on our behalf, and to accord him your good offices with the Holy

Father, when he may have something to say concerning our interests. You will oblige us greatly if you will rest assured of (?) our deep gratitude. With this we pray God to hold you in His holy and safe keeping.

Your affectionate Cousin

JAMES R.

Bologna 27 April 1728

CLEMENTINA TO BENEDICT XIII.

Très Saint Père

J'ay resceüs avec tout le respect et la veneration que je devais le Bref que V. Ste. a daigné m'ecrire par le Ro. Père Antujar a l'occasion de la Berette que V. Ste. a envoyé au Cardinale Gotti, à la promotion duquel jay pris tout la part que merite un sujet si digne du chois de V. Ste. et qui fera certainement beaucoup d'honneur à la Religion par ses hautes vertus et par son grand merite ; j'espere Très S. Père que V. Ste. me rendra la justice d'etre persuade que c'était une grande consolation pour moy de savoir encor dans le souvenir de V. Ste. avec les assurances qu'elle me doñe de la continuation de ces bontés a mon egard que je tacherais toute ma vie de meriter et ne cesserais de faire des ardents veux au Ciel pour la conservation de V. Ste. Aux pies duquel je me prosterne avec mes enfants pour implorer la Ste. Benediction avec toute la soumission et veneration possible Etant sincerement come je dois etre

Très Saint Père

De votre Saintete

La très humble très

obeissante et très obligée fille CLEMENTINE

De Boulogne le 11 May 1728

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

Most Holy Father

I have received with due respect and veneration the Brief that Your Holiness has deigned to write me through the Rev. Father Antujar on the occasion of the Biretta which Your Holiness has sent to Cardinal Gotti, in whose promotion I have taken part as merits a subject so worthy of the choice of Your Holiness and one who will certainly do honour to Religion by his high virtues and by his great merit. I hope, Most Holy Father, that Your Holiness will pay me the justice of believing that it was a great consolation to know that I was still in Your remembrance with the assurance that You will continue to me Your goodness which I shall try to merit throughout my life, and I shall never cease to make ardent prayers to Heaven for the preservation of Your Holiness, at whose feet I prostrate myself with my children, imploring the holy benediction with all possible submission and veneration, and remain sincerely as I should be

Most Holy Father

Of Your Holiness

The most humble most

obedient and most obliged daughter CLEMENTINA

Bologna 11 May 1728

JAMES TO CARDINAL LERCARI

De Bologne Ce 20 May 1728

Le Prince Jacques¹ mon beaupère ayant toujours eu beaucoup de tendresse pour la Reine et desirant en faire ressentir les effets a nos enfants il a dessein de tacher de les faire naturalisés en Pologne meme (?) quoy ils ne pourraient jouir d'aucune bien dans ce

¹ Prince James Sobieski, father of Clementina. He died in 1737, leaving jewels worth 103,000 scudi 'besides rubies' and 100,000 scudi in money to these grandsons.

Royaume. J'ose done supplir très humillement Sa Sainteté par notre Cardinal de vouloir bien envoyer au Roy de Pologne¹ dans les senses les plus pressents pour l'induire a y porter toutes les facilités qui dependent de luy, et en meme temps d'envoyer des ordres au Nonce afin que de contenance le Prince Jacques, il puisse luy donner tout le secours possible a cet effet, soit aupres des Eveques ou autres qui ont voix en pareilles manières. Sa Sainteté verra aisement de quelle importance cette affaire est à ma famille et ainsi j'ay une confiance qu'elle daignera m'accorder les recommandations que j'ose luy demander. Votre constante amitie pour moy m'assure de vos offices auprès du Pape en cette occasion et je vous les demande avec instance en vous assurant de ma parfait gratitude et amitie.

JACQUES R.

Je vous prie d'obtenir de Sa Sainteté que les lettres au Roy de Pologne et au Nonce puissent m'etre envoyé, afin que je puisse m'en servir avec plus d'avantage ; le secret est aussi très necessaire dans cette affaire afin qu'elle soit terminée en Pologne avant que le Cour d'Hannover en soit informé et y pourrait y apporter aucune obstacle.

(P.T. 145)

(Translation)

Bologna 20 May 1728

My father-in-law, Prince James, always having had a great affection for the Queen and desiring to show this also to our children, has an idea of having them naturalized in Poland, although (?) they could never enjoy any property in that kingdom. I venture therefore very humbly to ask His Holiness through our

¹ Augustus II., Elector of Saxony from 1694, and King of Poland from 1697. Died 1733.

Cardinal to be good enough to send most urgently to the King of Poland to induce him to grant all facilities which depend on him, and at the same time to give orders to the nuncio that he may give all the help possible to Prince James, be it through the bishops or others who may help in such matters. His Holiness will plainly see of what importance is this affair to my family and I am confident that he will deign to give me the recommendation that I venture to ask. Your constant friendship for me assures me of your help with the Pope on this occasion and I earnestly ask it, assuring you of my gratitude and friendship.

I pray you to ask His Holiness to send me the letters for the King of Poland and the nuncio, so that I may use them to the best advantage; secrecy is also very necessary in this affair so that it may be completed in Poland before the Court of Hanover is informed and raises any obstacle.

CLEMENTINA TO CARDINAL LERCARI

Le 5 Decembre 1729

Mon Cousin

La devotion que je professe a St. Francois de Sales m'a fait desirer de promouvoir la cause de son illustre Disciple la V. Me. de Chantae et m'etant informe du postulant de ce qu'il y avait a faire, il m'a donné le placet c'y joint que je vous prie de presenter de ma part a Sa Sainteté en me mettant a ses piés, et je me flate que de votre cote, vous ferez tout votre possible pour faciliter une affaire qui me tient si fort a coeur, et dont je vous aurais beaucoup d'obligation, et sera une augmentation aux autres que je vous ay ; soyez aussi je vous prie persuadé de la parfaite estime et amitie que j'aurais toujours pour vous, etant sincerement

Votre affect. Cousine

(P.T. 145)

CLEMENTINA R.

(Translation)

December 5 1729

My Cousin

The devotion that I feel to St. Francis de Sales makes me wish to forward the cause of his illustrious disciple the V. Me. de Chantae and being informed by the postulant of what is necessary, he has given me the 'placet' enclosed which I pray you to present on my behalf to His Holiness, laying me at his feet and I flatter myself that on your side you will do all that is possible to facilitate a matter which I have so much at heart, and for which I should be under much obligation to you and will be an addition to the others which I owe you. Believe also I beg you in the great esteem and friendship which I should always have for you, being sincerely

Your affect. Cousin

CLEMENTINA R.

CLEMENTINA TO CARDINAL ORSINI

ON THE DEATH OF HIS UNCLE POPE BENEDICT XIII.¹

Mon Cousin

Je suis trop sensible a la grande perte que nous avons faite, vous et moy, aussi bien que toute l'Eglise, du Saint Pontife votre Oncle de très glorieuse memoire, pour vous ne point manquer combien j'entre dans la juste douleur que ce triste événement vous cause. J'ay perdu en Luy un très digne Pasteur qui avait pour moy beaucoup de bontés et une affection véritablement Paternelle, vous jugez donc bien que je prens toute la part possible a votre affliction où je vous souhaite toute la consolation que vous est nécessaire, vous priant d'être persuadé des sentiments plein d'estime et de consideration avec lesquels je suis, Mon Cousin,

¹ From the Archives of Prince Orsini.

Votre Affec. Cousine

CLEMENTINA R.

1 Avril 1730.

(Translation)

My Cousin

I am too sensible of the great loss that we have suffered, you and I, as well as the whole Church in the death of the Holy Pontiff, your uncle of most glorious memory, to fail to join with you in the distress caused by this sad event. I have lost in him a very worthy Pastor who showed me many kindnesses and a truly paternal affection. Judge then how I take all possible share in your affliction in which I wish you all the consolation that you need, begging you to believe the sentiments full of esteem and consideration with which I am, My Cousin,

Your Affect. Cousin

CLEMENTINA R.

April 1 1730

CLEMENTINA TO PRINCESS DOWAGER OF LA ROCCELLA¹

THIS LETTER, ACKNOWLEDGING THE GIFT OF A RELIC, IS IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE IN ROME, HAVING BEEN SENT THERE IN 1923 BY TWO SISTERS, THE SIGNORINE TOMMASINI, FROM REGGIO CALABRIA. THE SUPERSCRPTION IS AS FOLLOWS: (IT IS ACCOMPANYING A RELIC)

1737

Lettera della Gran Serva di Dio Clementina Regina d'Inghilterra moglie di Giacomo Re d'Inghilterra, morta in Roma in concetto di santità avendo fatto molti miracoli.

Rome le 7e Juin 1731

¹ This Princess was Ippolita Cantelmo Stuart, the last of her family, said to be descended from Duncan, King of Scotland. She married in 1696 Vincenzo Caraffa, Principe di Roccella, and the family then took her name in addition to their own.

Ma Cousine

Je ne puis fair moin que de vous remercier pour la belle tabacière que vous m'avez envoie par le Roy avec la Relique de St. Janvier qui m'est un don fort pretieux, ayant pour ce grand Saint la Veneration que je dois avoir ainsi je vous en sois bien obligee ; et de l'attention que vous avez eu a me fair ce plaisir, je souhaiterai pouvoir de mon coté vous en fair aussi et vous prouver la juste estime et consideration que j'ay pour vous ma Cousine Votre affectionee Cousine

CLEMENTINA R.

P.S.

Je vous prie de fair mes compts. à la Psse. de Montemilete, et lui souhaite de tous mon cœur que sa Santé se retablisce en parfaite etat.

A Ma Cousine

La Princesse Douairrière de La Roccella.

(Translation)

A Letter from the Holy Servant of God Clementina Queen of England wife of James King of England who died in the odour of sanctity having performed many miracles.

Rome June 7th 1731

My Cousin

I cannot do less than thank you for the beautiful snuff-box that you have sent me by the King with the relic of St. Januarius, which is a most precious gift. Having the veneration for this great Saint which I ought to have, I am most grateful to you for your thoughtfulness in giving me this pleasure. I shall hope for my part to be able to do something for you also and to prove to you the real esteem and consideration that I have for you my Cousin.

Your affectionate Cousin

CLEMENTINA R.

P.S.

I pray you to present my compliments to the Princess of Montemilete and say that I wish from my heart that her health may be perfectly restored.

To my Cousin

The Dowager Princess of La Roccella.

JAMES TO CLEMENT XII.

Roma alli 21 Febraio 1739

(dettatta)

Beatissimo Padre,

Non avendo Io incomodato La Santità Vostra con raccomandarle alcun soggetto per esser promosso al Cardinalato in congiuntura nella passata promozione delle Corone, ed avendo in oltre i Nunzj già conseguito il premio avuto a loro meriti, Ardisco ora porgere le mie umillissime suppliche in favore di Monsignor Pietro Guérin de Tencin¹ Archivescovo d'Embrun, il quale raccomando e nomino alla Santità Vostra per essere creato Cardinale. Faccio questo con tanto maggiore fiducia quanto che non solamente ha egli sempre professato verso la mia persona e causa un singolare attaccamento e zelo, ma di piu ha dato, come ben sa Vostra Santità ed il mondo tutto segnalate riprove dell'ardente suo zelo verso la Santa Sede, ed in difesa dalla sana Dottrina, e che in oltre si ritrova attualmente in istato di rendere alla nostra Santa Religione i piu utili servizij come non dubito che non sia sempre per fare con tutto l'ardore del animo suo. Spero dunque che la Santità Vostra vorra benignamente condescendere alle mie umillissime suppliche ed in tanto prostrato alli suoi sacri piedi supplico la Santità Vostra a concedermi la Sua Santa ed apostolica

¹ Monsignor Guérin de Tencin was the brother of Claudine, who played an important part in Jacobite intrigues in France.

Benedizione, mentre che con il maggiore rispetto mi rassegno

Dalla Santità Vostra

Il devotissimo Figlio

(P.T. 146)

GIACOMO R.

(Translation)

Rome 21 February 1739

(dictated)

Most Holy Father

Not having disturbed your Holiness by recommending any subject for promotion to the Cardinalate on the occasion of the late bestowal of the Hats, and the nuncios having already received the reward due to their merits, I now venture to place before you my humble supplication in favour of Monsignor Pietro Guérin de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, whom I recommend and name to your Holiness for creation as Cardinal. I do this with all the greater confidence, as not only has he always professed a singular attachment and zeal to my person and my cause, but as your Holiness and all the world knows, he has given repeated signs of his ardent zeal towards the Holy See and in defence of sound doctrine, and in addition he finds himself in a condition to render the most useful service to our Holy Religion, which I have no doubt he will do with all the ardour of his soul. I hope therefore that your Holiness will graciously condescend to my humble supplication, and in the meantime, prostrating myself at your sacred feet, I pray your Holiness to bestow on me your Holy and Apostolic benediction, whilst with the greatest respect, I sign myself of your Holiness the most devoted son

JAMES R.

JAMES TO CARDINAL VALENTI¹

Albano 22 7bre 1755

Ho ricevuto la settimana scorsa La di Lei lettera del primo del 7bre e gradisco al maggior segno la di lei premura a pro. del Cardinale mio Figlio, e La di lei attenzione in parteciparmi li passi da Lei già fatti. E sempre molto che si mostrano favorevole M. de Rouilli² ed il Cardinale della Rochfoucault: ho già scritto a quest'ultimo la settimana passata, ed ho veramente una gran fiducia nella di lui amicizia verso di Noi; ma se non ottenessimo niente prima della Promozione, fatta questa m'indirizzerò in dirittura a Madame la Delfina, di maniera che in un modo o in un altro mi pare aver fondate speranze di potere alfine riuscire, e nel mentre La prego di continuare li di lei uffizi anche in nome del Papa a quest'effetto. Abbiamo stentato, è vero, ma se Io potessi una volta ottenere un'altro buon Benefizio per il mio Figlio, la Corte resterebbe libera per sempre dalle nostre importunità in simile materie, ed avrei Io la consolazione prima di morire di vederlo sumcientemente provveduto. Intorno al Monaco Benedettino Scozzese non è questo certamente il tempo di parlarne al Cardinale de Rochfoucauld ma se Ella ne avesse l'occasione potrebbe informarsi da qualched'uno pratico di queste materie, se la Grazia che si desidera sia cosa praticabile, poichè se non la fosse, non bisognerebbe più pensarci, e ne informerei il Monaco il quale prenderebbe in conseguenza la sua risoluzione. Sto in grandissima pena per queste cose Ecclesiastiche di Francia, bisognerebbe essere non buon Cattolico per essere indifferente in una simile congiuntura. Per gli affari politici, per me considero la guerra come indubitata, e pochissimo tempo probabilmente sciarirà

¹ Cardinal Valenti was chamberlain to Benedict XIV. and later was Secretary of State. James must have known him when he was papal legate at Bologna. He died in Rome in 1763.

² French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

questo punto. Naturalmente un simile avvenimento dovrebbe essere avvantaggiato per la Casa mia, ma so veramente ne che pensare, ne che desiderare nella totale oscurità, dove tuttavia mi ritrovo, degli affari del Principe, ne non so ne meno dove sia, ne dove sia stato da più da sei anni in quà. Mi continui sempre gli efforti da lei buon Cuore verso di Noi, con restare purche persuasa della mia sincera gratitudine ed amicizia verso di Lei.

Affezionato cugino

GIACOMO R.

(Inghilterra 25)

(Translation)

Albano 22nd September 1755

Last week I received yours of the 1st of September and I am pleased at the signs of your exertions on behalf of my son the Cardinal and your attention in informing me of the steps you have taken. It is already much that M. de Rouille and Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld have shown themselves favourable. I wrote to the latter last week and I have really great faith in his friendship towards Us, but if we do not obtain anything before the Promotion, when this is over I shall write directly to Madame la Dauphine so that in one way or another, it seems to me I have well-founded hopes of succeeding, and in the meantime I pray you to continue your good offices, also in name of the Pope, to this effect. It is true that we have had difficulties, but if I could once obtain another good Benefice for my Son, the Court could be free for ever of our importunity in such matters and I should have the consolation before I die of seeing him adequately provided for.

Regarding the Scottish Benedictine Monk, this is certainly not the time to talk of it to Cardinal de Rochefoucauld, but if you have the chance you might inform yourself, from an expert in these

matters, if the Grace desired is feasible, because if it is not, we must not think of it any more and I should inform the Monk, who would in consequence make his own decision. I am in great trouble about these Ecclesiastical matters of France,—one would have to be a bad Catholic to be indifferent in such a crisis. As to political affairs, for my part I consider War as indubitable and a very short time will probably clear up this point. Naturally such an event would be advantageous for my House, but I really do not know what to think nor what to desire in the total obscurity in which I find myself about the affairs of the Prince; I do not even know where he is, nor where he has been for more than six years.

Ever continue towards Us the efforts of your kind heart, and be always persuaded of my sincere gratitude and friendship for you.

Your affectionate cousin

JAMES R.

JAMES TO LOUIS XV. (COPY)

Monsieur mon Frère et Cousin

Accablé d'infirmes qui vont tous les jours en augmentant, et qui me decouvrent l'approche de l'Eternité¹ j'ai cru avant ce peinible mais necessaire passage devoir temoigner à Votre Majesté pour la derniere fois tous les sentiments de respect, d'attachement et de reconnaissance dont mon cœur a été penetré pour elle pendant tous les cours de ma vie. Je meurs avec les memes sentiments en offrant des vœux au Ciel pour la conservation de sa precieuse vie, pour sa prosperité et celle de son auguste famille.

Mes jours ont été vissus de malheurs et d'afflictions et j'espère dans les souffrances de Jesus Christ que le Tout Puissant m'en tiendra conte, mais j'avais trouvé dans Votre Majesté un genereux Bienfaiteur toujours pret à me secourir et à adoucir mes peines par

¹ James died on January 1, 1766.

des soins et des attentions que le souverain Remunérateur de la piété et de la vertu ne laissera pas sans récompense.

Je laisse deux Fils chers objets de ma tendresse que je recommande affectueusement à la protection de Votre Majesté dans la confiance qu'elle voudra bien les envisager comme les enfants d'un père qui Lui a été dans tous les terns fidelement et invariablement attaché.

La triste situation où se trouvent mes pauvres sujets qui resident en France et qui souffrent pour leur fidelité me touche extremement, quand les petits secours que j'étais en etat de leur fournir leur manqueront, que deviendront ils ? Il n'y a que le bienveillance et la protection de Votre Majesté qui me tranquillisent sur leur sort par la confiance que j'ai qu'elle voudra bien se souvenir de moi toutes les fois que leurs misères ou besoins les presseront d'y avoir recours.

J'ai donn'e ordre qu'on attendit qu'il ait plu a Dieu de me rappeler de cette vie avant que de faire partir cette lettre, où j'ai pris la liberté de verser dans le sein de Votre Majesté mes plus chers interets temporals dans l'intime persuasion qu'elle voudra bien agréer ma confiance en elle ainsi que l'attachement aussi respectueux qu'inviolable avec laquelle j'ai toujours vecu et avec lequel je meurs.

Monsieur mon frere et cousin

5 Mai 1763

(Inghilterra 25)

(Translation)

Sire my Brother and Cousin

Overwhelmed by infirmities which increase every day and which inform me of the approach of Eternity, I have thought well, before this painful but necessary passage, to testify to Your

Majesty for the last time all the feelings of respect, attachment and gratitude with which my heart has been filled during the course of my life. I die with these same sentiments, offering prayers to Heaven for the preservation of your precious life, for your prosperity and that of your august family.

My days have been full of troubles and afflictions and I hope through the sufferings of Jesus Christ that the Almighty will remember this, but I have always found in Your Majesty a generous benefactor, always ready to help me and to soften my troubles by your care and attention, which the sovereign Rewarder of piety and virtue will not leave unrewarded.

I leave two sons, dear objects of my love whom I recommend affectionately to Your Majesty's protection in confidence that you will look upon them as the children of a father who has at all times been faithfully attached to you.

The sad situation in which my poor subjects find themselves who are resident in France and who are suffering for their fidelity, touches me extremely; when the slight help that I am able to give them is wanting, what will happen to them? Only the kindness and protection of Your Majesty calm me regarding their fate by the confidence I have that you will be willing to remember me every time that their misery or need compels them to have recourse to you.

I have given orders that this letter should not be sent until it shall have pleased God to call me from this life, for in this I have taken the liberty of confiding to Your Majesty my dearest temporal interests in the sure persuasion that you will accept my confidence, as also the respectful and unchangeable attachment with which I have always lived and with which I die.

Sire my Brother and Cousin

5 May 1763

HENRY, CARDINAL OF YORK, TO HIS FATHER (COPY)

Sir

Tho' the Prince's behaviour towards me for some years past is a subject of great affliction to me and that your Majesty knows how little I deserve it from him, yett nothing can ever alter my respectfull attachment to him nor my ardent desire of giving him constant proofs of it and therefore I am far from disapproving or anywise opposing the view your Majesty has of leaveing by your last Will and Testament to the Prince all the perpetuall Rents you now enjoy in France, and to a share of which I might perhaps have a just Claim; but the Prince may be assured that I shall never give him any trouble in that respect. And whereas I have a small rent on the Townhouse of Paris, of which you have hitherto enjoyed the rent, tho the property belongs to me, I shall be ready and willing upon your Majesty's decease, to make over to the Prince the right and property of the saide perpetual rent, by which means the Prince will be in possession of all the rents you have hitherto enjoyed on the Townhouse of Paris. I hope in time I shall be completely provided for in Church Benefices, and therefore I only regret that what I may hereafter give the Prince is such a trifle, it being I think about 6000 Livres a year of perpetuall rent, but it is all I am master to dispose of, and had I more I would with pleasure make the same use of it.

Would to God it were in my power to give him the most essential proofs of my affection, as your Majesty will allwise find me ready to concurr with you to the utmost of my power to whatever may now or hereafter contribute to the Prince's advantage and satisfaction.

HENRY, Cardinal.

Rome April ye 10th 1751

(Inghilterra

25)

TWO LETTERS FROM PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD TO THE
CARDINAL OF YORK
FOUND IN THE BIBLIOTECA VITTORIO EMANUELE ROME
FONDO GESUITICO

A mon cher frère le Cardinal.

Mon cher Frère

Dans la triste situation dans laquelle le Roy mon Père se trouve réduit depuis si longtemps par son grand age, et ses maladies qui le mettent hors d'état de recevoir aucunes lettres, je l'aurais prié de présenter a Sa Sainteté¹ les assurances de la profonde veneration que j'ay pour elle ; je vous serai donc obligé de vouloir bien être mon interpret à cet égard et de Luy demander a mon nom la continuation des attentions que Luy et ses predecesseurs ont successivement eues pour notre Famille, et que dans le cas, ou nous aurions le malheur de perdre le Roy notre Père avant que mes affaires me permissent de moy rendre dans le pays, jesper que Sa Sainteté voudra bien donner ses ordres pour que les choses restent sur le meme pied, qu'elles sont à present, afin que je puisse paraitre avec la dignité que mon rang exige. Je vous donne tous les pouvoirs necessaires pour faire les demandes que vous croyez convenables a ce sujet. Je les ratifierai avec plaisir comme je n'ay aucun doute sur la facon de penser de S. Se ; je vous prie d'abord que vous aurez les assurances positives, que tout se passera au gré de vos desirs et des miens, de m'envoyer une personne de confiance en courier par la voye la plus courte ; vous l'adresserez à Ml. Thibault President de la Cour souveraine à Bouillon² près

¹ Pope Clement XIII.

² Bouillon was where Prince Charles Edward had been living for some time

Sedan a Nardainne avec les passeports que vous croierez necessaires et des instructions sur la roue la plus sure que je pourrai prendre. Comme j'ay appris il y a quelques annees que M. le Cardinal Torrigiani¹ nous était attaché, marquez Luy dans l'occasion combien j'y ai ete sensible. Menagez toutes les personnes que vous savez etre dans nos interets, mais ne communiquez mon projet de mon voyage qu'à celles que [vous] jugerez indispensablement necessaires en Leur recommandent le plus grand secret jusqu'à mon arrivée.

Je suis avec l'amitié la plus tendre, la plus inviolable,

Votre très cher frère

CHARLES P.R.

Le 3 8bre. 1765

Vous voyez par ma lettre que j'ai recu la votre du 10 7bre.

(Translation)

To my dear brother the Cardinal.

My dear Brother

In the sad state to which the King my father now is reduced during some time past by his great age and his illness which prevent his receiving any letters, I should have asked him to present to His Holiness my profound veneration for him; I shall therefore be obliged if you will be my interpreter in this respect and ask His Holiness in my name to continue those attentions which he and his predecessors have successively shown to our Family and in case we should have the misfortune to lose the King our Father before my affairs permit me to arrive in the country, I hope that His Holiness will give orders that things should remain as they are at present, so that I may appear with the dignity which my rank demands. I give you all the necessary powers to make the requests that you think suitable on this subject. I shall ratify them with pleasure as I have no doubt of the views of His Holiness. I ask

with Clementina Walkinshaw. His mother's sister, Maria Carlotta Sobieska, was the Duchesse de Bouillon.

¹ A favourite minister of Clement XIII.; both supported the Jesuits.

you as soon as you have a positive assurance that all will be according to your wishes and mine, to send me as courier a person of confidence by the quickest route. Send him to Ml. Thibault President of the Supreme Court at Bouillon near Sedan at Nardainne with the passports that you think necessary and instructions on the safest way that I should take. As I have learnt that Cardinal Torrigiani has been attached to us for some years, tell him how much I appreciate this. Take care of all those that you know to be in our interests, but only communicate my projected journey to those that you consider indispensably necessary, recommending them the greatest secrecy until my arrival.

I am with unchanging tenderest friendship,
Your dearest brother

CHARLES P.R.

3 October 1765

You see by my letter that I have received yours of 10 Sept.

Bouillon Ce 18 9bre 1765

Votre lettre du 30 8bre dernier mon cher Frère, et celle qu'y etais jointe m'ont été remises. J'ay veu avec la plus grande sensibilité toutes les marques de votre bon cœur, et de vos attentions pour mes interets, soyez persuadé du retour le plus parfait, et de toute la tendresse de mon amitié. Je ne saurais trop vous esprimer combien J'ay été penetré des sentiments de Sa Sainteté de ses expressions, et de ses offres obligeantes sur les propositions que vous luy avez faites de ma part; soyez l'interprete de mes sentiments de veneration, et de reconnaissance aupres d'elle, en attendant que je puisse m'en acquitter moy meme, dites aussi mille choses de ma part a Mr. le Cardinal Albani¹ et a toutes les Personnes, qui nous sont attachées, j'esperd au moment de vous embrasser, ce qui sera le plutot possible. Je ne perdrai pas instant sur les preparatif de mon depart, j'espere vous trouver en aussi bonne santé qu'on me la avancè. J'en etais vaisi (?) de ma lettre que je recois la votre du 6 du courant. Je ne puis que vous repeter, que j'ay la meme impatience de vous rejoindre. Si j'avais les ailes d'un oiseau, nous serions bien tost satisfaits.

Votre très affectionne Frere

CHARLES P.R.

(Translation)

Bouillon 18 November 1765

Your letter of the 30th October my dear Brother and the enclosure have been handed to me. I see with tender feeling all the signs of your kind heart and of your attention to my interests, be persuaded of an equal return and of all the fondness of my love. I cannot express to you how much impressed I am by the sentiments of His Holiness and his obliging offers on the propositions that you have made on my behalf; be the interpreter of my feelings of veneration and of gratitude to him, until I can express them myself. Say also kind things from me to Cardinal Albani and all those attached to us. I look forward to the moment of embracing you, which will be as soon as possible; I shall not lose a moment on the preparations of my departure. I hope to find you in as good health as I have been told ...? .. my letter that I receive yours of the 6th instant. I can only repeat to you that I have the same impatience to rejoin you. If I had the wings of a bird, we should soon be satisfied.

Your very affectionate Brother

CHARLES P.R.

LETTER FROM THE CARDINAL OF YORK TO
CARDINAL GIOVANNI ALBANI¹

Frascati

29 8bre 1765

Il cardinale Duca di York pieno de suoi inalterabili sentimenti verso di V. E. accusa il di lei pregiatissimo biglietto di ieri, e siccome contiene intorno al noto affare le deliberazioni della Santità di Nostro Signore alle quali lo Scrivente si preggia di non opporsi giammai ; perciò non resta altra a chi scrive se non che di supplicare l'E. V. a porgere i Suoi piu umili ringraziamenti al Santo Padre per le generose e benigne espressioni cosi autenticamente manifestategli tanto verso il principe di Gallia suo fratello, quanto che di tutta la casa del scrivente, e pieno di fiducia che simili espressioni debbeno escitare nel animo del sudetto principe suo fratello, sentimenti correspondent di filiali osservanza e gratitudine, colla solita invariabile stima e cordialita si protesta.

(Copia)

(Inghilterra 25)

(Translation)

The Cardinal Duke of York, full of his inalterable feelings towards Your Eminence acknowledges your esteemed note of yesterday, and as it contains the deliberations of His Holiness Our Lord with regard to the well-known affair, which the writer has the honour never to oppose, there is thus nothing remaining to the writer but to implore Your Eminence to present his most humble thanks to the Holy Father for the generous and benign expressions thus genuinely shown, as much towards the Prince of Wales his brother, as to the whole House of the writer, and full of confidence that similar expressions must excite in the mind of the Prince his brother corresponding feelings of filial observance and gratitude,

¹ Cardinal Giovanni Albani was a nephew of the former Cardinal Annibale and was a great friend of the Cardinal of York, who succeeded him as Bishop of Ostia in 1803.

he declares himself with the usual constant esteem and cordiality.
(Copy)

DESCRIPTION OF A MEETING BETWEEN HENRY,
CARDINAL OF YORK, AND AUGUSTUS, DUKE OF
SUSSEX¹ BY AN UNKNOWN WRITER

Frascati 18 Agosto 1794

Quest'oggi circa le ore 11½ nel Viale di Villa Bracciano S.A.R. ha incontrato il Principe Augusto, ha fatto subito fermare la carrozza e in lingua inglese nella maniera piu obbligante lo ha complimentato dicendogli ch'era assai contento di avere questa occasione per consegnargli tutti i suoi sentimenti i quali potea accertargli essere sicurri da ogni sorta di pregiudizio, ch'era stato molto sensibile agli atti di attenzione che gli aveva usati e che gli era sommamente dispiaciuto che la circostanza del luogo per la carrozza non gli permise l'ultima volta di fermarsi.

Il Principe Augusto voile restare sempre in piedi, e per ben due volte o tre rispose fra le altre cose 'Resto estremamente obbligato a Vostra Altezza Reale.' E fattisi in ultimo reciprocamente cordialissimi saluti il Real Vescovo senza mancare ai piu fini tratti di pulizia e di attenzione proseguì la sua trottata. So che il Principe Augusto è rimasto contentissimo e gli si vedeva la contentezza in volto, anche l'E.S. è stata pienamente contenta, e gli ha portato con una naturalezza veramente cordiale ; la cosa in somma e riuscita benissimo e meglio, come spero, riuscirà in appresso.

(Inghilterra 25)

(Translation)

Frascati 18 August 1794

Today about half past eleven in the Avenue of Villa Bracciano, H.R.H. met Prince Augustus, and immediately stopped his carriage and speaking in English in the most obliging manner, complimented him, saying how extremely pleased he was to have this occasion of expressing his feelings, which he could assure him were free from prejudice; that he was most sensible of the acts of courtesy which had been shown him and that he much regretted that the carriage had not been able to stop on a previous occasion, owing to the circumstances of the place.

Prince Augustus insisted on remaining standing the whole time and two or three times said amongst other things: 'I am extremely obliged to Your Royal Highness.' And finally exchanging the most

¹ Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III., 1763-1843.

cordial greetings, the Royal Bishop, without omitting any marks of politeness or attention, pursued his drive. I know that Prince Augustus was extremely pleased, indeed one could see his pleasure in his countenance; His Eminence also was entirely satisfied and bore himself with a natural cordiality; the affair in short went off exceedingly well and even better, I hope, may result in future.

APPENDIX I

Although these letters are not directly connected with the story of the Royal Stewarts, they may be included here, as, if the Pope, Pius VII., had taken advantage of Lord Keith's offer, he would probably have been accompanied by the Cardinal of York. The involved arrangement referred to in the letter of Mr. Penrose (who was in the confidence of Mr. Windham, Secretary-at-War in the British Cabinet) was apparently to keep the matter entirely secret. The Pope did not use the vessel, for he entered into possession of his capital city in July 1800.

PENROSE TO CHEVALIER DE SOUZA

(From the Vatican, Archivio Segreto: Inghilterra 27)

Florence June 17 1800

Dear Sir,

It gives me real satisfaction to inform you that in consequence of your application I am empowered to assure you in Lord Keith's¹ name, that if any danger should be incurred to the Pope's person of an irruption of the French into the Roman territory, His Lordship will use every exertion for stationing a vessel of war either at Civita Vecchia or Gaeta for the security of a Sovereign in amity with His Majesty. At the same time Lord Keith observes that he is extremely pressed for ships on account of the various and distant objects on which they are employed.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble st.

T. PENROSE.²

Le Chevalier de Souza³

¹ George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith, great-nephew of the 10th Earl Marischal, was Admiral of the Red and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean.

² Thomas Penrose was British Minister to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

³ Chevalier de Souza was the Representative from the Court of Portugal to the King of Sardinia, who at that time was staying at Florence.

LETTER FROM ADMIRAL LORD KEITH
(Archivio Segreto del Vaticano: Inghilterra 26)

D'abbordo la nave di Sua Maesta Britannica la Foudroyant
Porto Mahon 23 Agosto 1800

Signore

Abbia la bonta d'informare Sua Santità che ho ordinato all'uffiziale piu anziano delli navi di S. M. Britt^a stazionate a Livorno, durante la mia assenza, di spedire a Cività Vecchia un piccolo vascello, a disposizione di Sua Santità, qualora succedesse qualche attacco del nemico sullo Stato Papale.

Ho l'onore d'essere Signore
Vostro ob^{mo} Serv^{re}

KEITH.

Sig^{re} Ercole Consalvi
Pro Sec. di Stato
Roma

(Translation)

On Board H.B.M. ship la Foudroyant
Porto Mahon 23 August 1800

Sir,

Have the goodness to inform His Holiness that I have ordered the senior officer of His Britannic Majesty's ships stationed at Leghorn during my absence to despatch to Cività Vecchia a small vessel at the disposition of His Holiness, whenever an attack of the enemy on the Papal States may take place.

I have the honour to be Sir
Your obedient Servant

KEITH.

Signore Ercole Consalvi
Pro. Sec. of State
Rome

APPENDIX II

In 1939 the writer succeeded after many difficulties in finding the original wills of the two sons of James III., that of Charles Edward in Florence (the codicil in Rome) and that of Henry in Rome. No one seemed to think that the former would remain in Florence when the testator died in Rome four years later, and as to the will of the Cardinal, it was the general idea that it would be discovered either in the Vatican or at the College of the Propaganda Fide. It is difficult to see why Monsignor Atti says in his *Life of the Cardinal*¹ that he has translated (into Italian) the will, when the original is in Italian. He must presumably have seen a French copy. A curious document is also to be seen in the State Archives, empowering the Duchess of Albany to act for her father. To find any papers of this type in Italy it is essential to know the name of the notary and not only that of the testator or executor.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, COUNT OF ALBANY, IN THE REGIONAL NOTARIAL ARCHIVES AT FLORENCE:
NOTARO G. B. CATALDI DI ROMA, SAN MICHELE VISDOMINI,
FILZA 13A 1781-1794

A nome Santissimo d'Iddio e della Beatissima Vergine Madre Maria Amen. Questi di venti due d'Ottobre 1784 in ogni luogo con ogni umilta e devozione raccomando l'anima mia a onnipotente Dio, alla gloriosa V. M. e all'Angelo Custode, istituisco mia erede universale la Signora Carlotta Steuart Duchessa d'Albanie mia figlia naturale nata da me e dalla Sa. Clementina Walingsha . . . per titolo di legato ed in ogni migliore modo lascio a S. A. R. Em. mo. il Cardinale Enrico Duca di York mio amatissimo fratello un pezzo d'argento del valore di scudi mille Romani. . . . Per titolo di legato lascio a Giovanni Steuart attuale mio Maestro di Casa e unitamente e solidamente a sua moglie e figli scudi cento fiorentini al mese loro vita naturale durante. . . . Conte Camillo e ill. e rev. Canonico Tommaso della Gherardesca fratelli esecutori della

¹ *Cenni Storici*: Alessandro Atti. (Rome, 1868.)

presente mia Disposizione eleggo.

CHARLES R.

EXTRACT FROM THE CODICIL TO THE ABOVE WILL IN THE ROYAL STATE
ARCHIVES IN ROME: NOTARO G. B. CATALDI 31.1.1787. DEPOSITO
27.2.1787. PUBBLICAZIONE 7.2.1788

In nome di Dio Amen. Noi Carlo Edoardo figlio di Giacomo Terzo Nipote di Giacomo Secondo Re della Gran Bretagna appie sottoscritto ricordiamo d'aver fatto in Toscana il Nostro Testamento e Codicilli chiusi e sigillati. . . .

Dal Palazzo di nostra solita Residenza a S. S. XII. Apostoli Li 31
Gennaio 178 sette.

PROCURATORY BY CHARLES EDWARD DELEGATING HIS AUTHORITY TO
HIS DAUGHTER. STATE ARCHIVES, ROME: INSTRUMENTUM 1787.3; P.
663

Volendo Noi Sotto sollevarci dal fastidioso dettaglio dalle domestiche aziende decreta il diferimento e vigilanza della nostra carissima figlia D. Carlotta Stuard, Duchessa d'Albani, ce ne porge l'opportunità coll'essersi esibita di liberarci di questa cura col prender sopra di se l'intero economico regolamento della N^{ra} Famiglia perciò all'oggetto di meglio convalidare qualunque atto che dalla med^a si sarà relativo al governo dalla Famiglia su^{da} costituimo e deputiamo la med^a come Nostra Procuratrice a potere per Noi ed in Nostro nome presiedere all'Azienda, e Governo della Nostra casa, e di tutti gli interessi della med^a con facoltà di dare tutte le ordinazioni, e fare le spese occorrenti e con facoltà ancora di prendere all'occorenza qualunque somma ad interesse con obligare anche Noi sotto alla restituzione della sorte ed al pagamento di frutti in quella somma che saranno concordate con tu^{te} le altre facoltà neces^{si} et oppor^{ne} colla amplissima Ut Alter Ego etcetera cum opteum libera etcetera gu^{bt} e generalmente promettendosi rilavandolo in ogni migl^e modo. Dato in Roma dal Palazzo della Nostra solita Residenza a S. S. XII Apostoli questo di 27 Febraio 1787.

CHARLES R.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF HENRY, CARDINAL, DUKE OF YORK, IN
THE ROYAL STATE ARCHIVES IN ROME: NOTARO PIETRO
MEGLIORUCCI, UFFICIO XIII, VOL. 706, PARTE 2, P. 293

Noi Enrico Benedetto Maria Figlio di Giacomo III. Re
d'Inghilterra Scozia Francia ed Ibernia della S. R. Chiesa
Cardinale, Vescovo di Frascati, considerando di essere mortale . . .
abbiamo determinato ora che ci troviamo in ottimo stato di salute e
con tutti i sentimenti sani . . . con forme disponiamo per atto di
ultima volontà nella maniera che siegue . . . dichiariamo ed
istituimo Nostro Erede universale fiduciario il suddetto Monsignor
Angelo Cesarini. . . Finalmente intendiamo di qui rinovare ed
avere espressamente per iscritto la nostra Protesta consegnata negli
Atti del Cataldi ai 17 Gennaro 1784 . . . per rapporto alla
trasmissione dei Nostri diritti successivi al Trono e Corona
d'Inghilterra a quel Principe che spetterà di jure per prossimità di
sangue i quali diritti successivi dichiariamo di trasmettere nella piu
espressa e solenne forma.

ENRICO R. CARDINALE.

15 Lughò 1802.