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CHATTO AND WINDUS, PICADILLY.

## *BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE.*

IN these days of historical research, when archives both public and private are being keenly investigated, to discover new facts bearing upon the deeds and heroes of the past, he must be a bold and sanguine man who imagines that any work he has dedicated to Clio is complete in itself and admits of no further improvement. At least it is no intention of mine to pretend to maintain such a position. Some ten years ago I wrote the life of him whom adherents called Charles the Third, friends Prince Charlie or Count of Albany, and foes the Young Pretender.<sup>1</sup> Having had access to the State papers, the Stuart papers, and private journals and manuscripts kindly lent me by Jacobite descendants and others, my book was perhaps more complete than any of its predecessors, and not, I hope, unworthy of the reception it has met with. Still, "It is finished" is an inscription that few historians can flourish over their wares. In the Report of the Commissioners for Inspecting Historical Manuscripts, just issued, there will be seen a valuable collection of papers relating to the Stuart family during the last two generations of the line—to the Old Pretender, the Young Pretender and Henry Cardinal of York. These papers have been exhaustively reported upon by Mr. Maxwell Lyte, the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, and it is to his careful condensation of the collection that I am indebted for the extracts now placed before the reader.

These Stuart MSS. are among the family papers of Lord Braye, at Stanford Hall, Rugby, and consist of three volumes. To me, as the biographer of the young Prince, the chief interest of this valuable collection lies in what relates to the two last survivors of the ill-fated house. To such facts I shall therefore confine myself. It is gratifying to me to find that all matters touched upon in these papers will be found in my book; they are not, therefore, new, though the facts are presented with such a clearness and amplitude of detail as almost to assume the character of a fresh revelation. These papers chiefly concern themselves with the marriage of the Prince, his separation from his wife, his adoption of his illegitimate daughter, and the poverty of the Cardinal of York. Briefly let me link these facts together, so as to make clear the extracts that follow.

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<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart*, Chatto & Windus.

Early in the year 1772 Charles married Louise, Princess of Stolberg, one of the daughters of Gustavus Adolphus, Prince of Stolberg-Gedern, the representative of an ancient and distinguished family lately raised to princely rank. The match had been encouraged by France, hoping that it might serve, should there be issue, as a thorn in the side of the House of Hanover. Still English diplomacy was strong enough to prevent Charles from living on French soil; the Prince, therefore, crossed the Alps and took up his abode at Rome. The union with the Stolberg Princess was essentially an unhappy one, and was soon dissolved. Charles was now a sot, and in his drunken fits brutally cruel to his young wife; he pleaded in vain to the Pope to be recognised as King of England; he quarrelled with his brother; he was shunned by all save by those who forget the degrading present in its glorious past. Last scene of all, his wife fled from him with her lover, the poet Alfieri. From the Braye papers it will be seen that at the drawing up of the deed of separation which ensued, Charles expressly stated that the Princess was childless. Men not now middle-aged can remember some years ago two brothers walking about London, whose curls and spurs and orders were the admiration of the crowd and the laughing-stock of its betters; who pretended to be the issue of a son of the Princess; and who had their claims acknowledged by certain puissant lairds of Jacobite sympathies, who ought to have known better, in the Highlands of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Childless and alone, Charles now let his memory hark back to the mistress, Miss Walkenshaw, with whom he had lived when at Paris, and to the child she there had borne him. He wrote for this child, who was living with her mother in a convent, had her pronounced legitimate by France, created her Countess of Albany, and when he died left her what he possessed. Owing to the French Revolution the Cardinal of York, the only brother of Charles, had lost much of his property and had fallen upon evil days. He was poor and needed friends. Farmer George, now firmly established upon the throne, and who could laugh at all Jacobites, came to his aid and kindly relieved the necessities of his Eminence from his own privy purse. Thus having prefaced the extracts which are to follow with the foregoing remarks, let us at once plunge *in medias res* and cull from this interesting Report all that appertains to our subject.

## VOL. I. STUART PAPERS.

Folio 133. February 1377. Deed of gift in Latin by Prince James

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<sup>2</sup> I have shown up these impostors in my book. See pp. 389-92.

Louis, described as “Regius Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Princeps, Bonorum et Fortalitiorum Zolkievien, Zloczovien Tarnopolien, Pomerganensium Dominus et Heres,” to his grandsons [the mother of Charles was a Sobieski and granddaughter of the victor of Vienna] Princes Charles Edward and Henry, of the jewels he had pledged at Rome for 100,000 Roman crowns, including the Polish crown jewels which had been pledged to the house of Sobieski, and which he had in 1732 bequeathed to their mother. By the same deed he gives them all sums due to him from the Republic of Poland, and especially the 400,000 Rhenish florins advanced on the security of the Duchy of Ohlau.

Folio 139. January 24, 1739. Palace of the SS. Apostoli at Rome. Deed of gift in Latin by Prince Charles Edward and Prince Henry of the 400,000 Rhenish florins secured upon the Duchy of Ohlau to the Apostolic See.

Folio 143. September 17, 1741. Paper in French, which, after mentioning the deed of gift of February 12, 1737, by Prince James Sobieski, his death in the following December, and the deed of gift by the Princes to the Holy See of the 400,000 florins secured on Ohlau, states that their reason for it was that they could not proceed to recover their rights at Vienna in their own names. When the Nuncio was on the point of taking possession, the changes in Silesia (the Prussian invasion) suspended everything.

Folio 149. December 22, 1742. Rome. Agreement in Italian by Prince Charles Edward and Henry Duke of York, approved by their father James, as to the division of the jewels and other property of their late mother, and also of the jewels comprised in the deed of gift by Prince James Sobieski, of February 12, 1737, pledged at the Monte della Pieta at Rome for 100,000 scudi, and redeemed by them out of the proceeds of sale of their rights to his property in Poland.

1. The proceeds of the jewels comprised in the deed of gift which had already been sold to be equally divided between the Prince and Duke.
2. The Duke permits the Prince to have the use and custody of the crown jewels of the Republic of Poland pledged to the Sobieskis, namely, a great ruby, two large diamonds with their gold settings, and a small ruby ring, until they are redeemed or the right of redemption is barred, but in the former case the redemption money, and in the latter the jewels, shall be equally divided between the

brothers.

3. The remaining jewels, both those of their mother and their grandfather, to be divided between them.
4. Of the remaining effects of their mother, the Duke reserves a gold watch and chain, a silver toilet service, and a walnut wardrobe, and gives up the rest to his brother.

VOL. II. STUART PAPERS.

Folio 1. March 15, 1771. Mesnil. Letter in English from Lord Caryll [agent and adherent of the Prince] to Charles Edward. Narrates a conversation with the Duc de Noailles. "I have just received a letter from my agent in England, who assures me that things are now so farr advanced that he only expected my answer to put an end to this long depending affair." Regrets that new regulations of the French Posts will interfere with his procuring the public papers (from England).

Folio 9. Monday morning, September 2, 1771. Note in French from the Duc de Fitz-James, son of the bastard brother of James, the Old Pretender, to Mr. Stonor (Charles Edward) to the effect that he had arrived the previous evening from Versailles and would have the honour to wait with his son upon him at 10 that morning. Hopes he will excuse his being in country dress. Addressed "A Monsieur Monsieur Stonor, a l'hotel de Brunswick, Rue des Prouvaires."

Folio 11. September 15, 1771. Paris. Copy of power to M. Ryan, Colonel of foot in the French service, Major in Berwick's regiment, to negotiate with the Prince of Salm-Kyrburg a marriage between his daughter Marie Louise Ferdinande, born Nov. 18, 1753, and Charles Edward. Signed: "C.R."

Folio 12. Same date and place. Copy of power to Ryan, in case his negotiations with the Prince of Salm prove unsuccessful, to effect a marriage between Charles Edward and any other Princess or Countess of the Empire, and for that purpose to go to Brussels, Cologne, Mannheim, or elsewhere. The Princess Marie Isabelle de Mansfeld, born August 29, 1750, is suggested as likely to be eligible. Signed as the last.

Folio 13. Same date and place. Copy of a third power to Ryan to negotiate a marriage between Charles Edward and any Princess or Countess of the Empire whose rank, birth, age, and appearance would be suitable. Signed as the last

Folio 14. Two copies in French of the instructions to Ryan for negotiating a marriage with the Princess of Salm, one in the same hand

as the last three powers, and the other in Caryll's hand. The last endorsed in his hand: "Copy of Instructions left with Ryan concerning the marriage with the Princesse de Salm. N.B. They served after as instructions for the treaty with the Princesse de Stolberg." They are in the form of questions and answers, as to the position, residence, jointure, pin-money, household, and place of marriage of the future Queen.<sup>3</sup>

Folio 20. Paper in French in the hand of the Marquis de Fitz-James. The King [Charles Edward], intending to marry, can no longer remain in his present state; he ought to be treated as the late King his father; the incognito which he has voluntarily assumed can no longer continue; it is therefore necessary that his Highness the Cardinal Duke should communicate it to his Holiness as well as the fact that he has communicated to his Most Christian Majesty his intended marriage. At the same time his Holiness might be informed of the satisfactory manner in which his Most Christian Majesty has received the King's confidence, and of the pleasure he has manifested in seeing everything turn out according to his desires. It remains to add that the person charged with the negotiation of the King's marriage has had permission to say, it necessary, that his Most Christian Majesty has been informed of it, and at the same time to make it known that he is favourably inclined to supply the subsidies which have become absolutely necessary. Cardinal Marefoschi has been informed of all this, and the greatest secrecy is earnestly recommended. Endorsed in Caryll's hand: "1772, Instructions in the hand of the Marquis. Jan. Intended for the Duke."

Folio 23. Narrative in French by the Marquis de Fitz-James of the steps taken by Charles Edward before his marriage. He wrote to the Duc de Fitz-James for a passport to enable him to go to Paris. The Duke accordingly applied to the Duc d'Aiguillon [the French Minister of Foreign Affairs] for one in the name of Douglas. D'Aiguillon having consulted the King replied that none was necessary. Charles Edward, having been informed of this by the Duc de Fitz-James, started for Paris from Siena on August 18 (1771), under the name of Stonor. On his arrival, he charged the Duc de Fitz-James to inform the King of his

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<sup>3</sup> After the battle of Culloden rumour was very busy with the matrimonial alliances Charles was about to enter into. Not a Catholic princess of Europe but was to be his wife. Had he been a popular American actress his engagements would not have been more often vouched for—and contradicted.

arrival, to present his compliments to him, and to inform him through the Duc d'Aiguillon that the object of his journey was to forward a marriage he had in view, and to ask the King for his assistance in that matter, and in particular for permission to employ a colonel in his service, and to remind him that the subsidies granted to his late father, which had not been continued to himself, had become absolutely necessary now that he was thinking of marrying.

The Duc de Fitz-James performed his mission, and received the following reply: "The marriage of the King would be agreeable to him. The necessary furloughs and passports would be immediately given to the colonel or to any other persons the King might require, and that they would endeavour by the intervention of the Duc de Fitz-James to settle the subsidies which the state of the finances had hitherto prevented them from arranging."

The Duc d'Aiguillon charged the Duc de Fitz-James to assure the King of his zeal and devotion and that he would have delivered in person his master's reply, were it not for the secrecy the affair required, the King himself having declared that he wished to see no one, and to preserve the strictest incognito.

The King, satisfied with the reply of the King of France, with the interest he took in his affairs, and with the zeal of the Duc d'Aiguillon, immediately despatched the colonel charged with the negotiation of the marriage, having furnished him with all the necessary powers, and with answers to the questions which would be probably put to him.

There is every reason to hope for success if the King finds as much good-will and affection at the Court of Rome.

As the marriage is being arranged in concert with the Court of France, the colonel is authorised to apprise those whom it may concern thereof, but under pledges of the greatest secrecy, his Most Christian Majesty not wishing to appear publicly to be informed of it.

The King having declared that it was indispensable to apprise the Cardinal Duke, his Holiness, and Cardinal Marefoschi, of his agreement with France, he was permitted to do so, but with the utmost secrecy, and only verbally, without leaving anything in writing.

The subsidies now in course of being granted in France, prove how satisfied his Most Christian Majesty would be to see similar subsidies granted by the Courts of Rome and Madrid on the ratification of the marriage.

The King seeing his affairs about to be settled, and desiring to return to Rome to finish them there, has thought that the zeal and attachment of the Marquis de Fitz-James might be useful to him, and therefore his Most Christian Majesty has given the Marquis leave to accompany him, and has expressed his satisfaction at his doing so.

Folio 31. Draft in Italian of an instrument to be executed by Charles Edward appointing N. his proxy to contract a marriage with N. Endorsed in Caryll's hand: "Sketch of powers proposed to be sent to Ryan but not sent. Jan. (1772)."

Folio 32. Draft in French in Caryll's hand, with some words added in that of Charles Edward, of an appointment of a proxy to contract a marriage with the Princess of Stolberg.

Folio 33. Copies in French in Caryll's hand of the several powers and letters sent from Rome by a courier on January, 22, 1772.

1. Power to Ryan to conclude the marriage contract.
2. Note by the Cardinal Duke declaring his approval.
3. Form of the last as proposed by the King.
4. Power to Ryan with regard to the dowry and pin-money, and secret article relating thereto. Dowry to be 40,000 and pin-money 12,000 livres per annum.
5. Letter from Charles Edward to the Marquis de Fitz-James. "I have already informed you that I have chosen the eldest of the sisters, her age is the most suitable for me, and what you have told me about the health of the younger confirms me in my resolution."
6. Letter from the same to Ryan, with full instructions about the contract and general arrangements, particularly as to the route of the Princess, which was to be from Brussels through the Tirol by Trent to Bologna and thence by Ancona and Macerata to Viterbo where Charles was to meet her, and the marriage to be solemnized. If possible no stay to be made at Mantua. Letter enclosed for Mr. Conway there in case of necessity and also one for M. Angeletti at Bologna. Ryan to accompany the Princess.

Folio 45. January 28, 1772. Original certificate in English under the hand of Mr. Stonor by virtue of the faculties granted by Cardinal Colonna, Vicar to the Pope. He has received the oath of "his Majesty King Charles III." that he was at liberty to contract marriage. At the same time the said Cardinal granted his Majesty a dispensation from publication of banns. Signed: Christopher Stonor. Seal affixed.



Folio 49. Letter in Italian from Marefoschi to Caryll. Advises Charles Edward to show confidence in the Minister of State, and in no case to disgust the Sovereign of the country (the Pope), “whose sentiments cannot be doubted, though circumstances do not permit him to do as he pleases. Your conduct full of prudence and moderation could not fail to be praised by Princes, and would mortify to the utmost the enemies of the Royal House, who seek nothing but a rupture to remove the best props that your house could have, and to triumph as they did under the late Government.” He also adds a warning against disgusting his Royal Highness (? the Cardinal of York), and explains that he is writing unofficially. Endorsed in Caryll’s hand: “1772, C. M.’s opinion in a note to me C.”

Folio 51. Draft, or rather rough notes, in French in the handwriting of Charles Edward, with several alterations and mistakes in spelling, beginning “Memoire pour le C. M.” (Cardinal Marefoschi.)

“A Blank dispensation is demanded giving power to celebrate a marriage by proxy without being obliged to have the banns published, to wit the form of such a proxy, and it is proposed to consult Mr. Stonor.—How I ought to keep my counsel (me contenir) in the presence of Mr. Dixon (the Cardinal of York).—Sketch of a letter of notification to his Holiness.—His Eminence the Cardinal Pallavicini, Secretary of State, is requested to present himself to the Pope as soon as he shall be able to lay for me before his feet [an erasure] and to inform him of the marriage I have agreed upon with the Princess, &c . I flatter myself that his Holiness will find it good that the Queen should come to Rome to reside with me.

Rome, The &c., &c.

C. R”

On the back of the same sheet, in French, in Charles Edward’s handwriting, “I shall point out to my proxy that no dispensation of Banns is necessary for the proxy, but that when I shall join the Princess in the Papal States, I shall bring with me everything that will be necessary to conclude (the marriage) effectively. M. Lascaris is a very proper person to be employed if they find it necessary at the time.” Endorsed in Caryll’s hand: “1772, Instructions to L<sup>d</sup> Caryll.”

Folio 52. Memorandum in English in Caryll’s hand: “To tell the Cardinal that the King has no objection to employ M. Lascaris at the proper time if it prove necessary. That the King had forgot to mention how well I was received by the Secretary of State and to add that he has since been to see me, also that he mentioned the King by name *of his*

*Majesty.* To show the Billet and desire his thoughts of it, that the K. intends to sign it at full length and seal it with his Arms, but to put no address to it, if the Card, judges it proper, and in the same size and form as he sees it, that he judges it proper for me to deliver it into the Secretary's own hands without waiting any answer, and only staying till he shall have opened it . Desire the Cardinal's opinion as to everything concerning these matters." Endorsed in Caryll's hand: "1772, Instruction to Lord Caryll."

Folio 55. Paper in French in the hand of Charles Edward, endorsed in Caryll's hand: "1772. Notes sent by the King to Cardinal Marefoschi by my hand, C. Sometime in (erased) Jan<sup>y</sup>." (Numerous misspellings, e.g. *palé* for *palais*, *cera* for *sera*, and occasional words illegible.)

"Since the election of this Pope, I have voluntarily assumed an incognito in the perfect confidence which I felt that his Holiness would desire nothing better than to replace things in the position they ought to be, and his proceedings hitherto have shown clearly that I was not deceived. He has little by little hinted that it does not displease him that his subjects pay me the honour due to my birth, and the Cardinals, particularly Calini, Canale, Corsini, Borghese, and Orsini, who have given me the title of Majesty. As for our friend Marefoschi, minister of the King of the Two Sicilies, the feudatory of the Pope, he has come and does come continually to our palace. Thus for an interval of laying aside the not being recognised, an expression which is used (?) and which I cannot admit, nor doubt that I shall be received like the late King my father as soon as I wish to lay aside the incognito in order to be in a position to be treated in the same manner as all the predecessors of the present Pope have done. It will be necessary for this purpose that Cardinal Marefoschi should be kind enough to accept the commission which I shall give him, namely, to present himself on my behalf to the Secretary of State, to ask for an immediate audience of the Pope as representing my person, to notify to him that the Queen has safely arrived in his States. I hope that his Holiness will excuse me for substituting another at this moment, but this proceeds from my eagerness to meet her, in order that I may be the sooner in a position to present her myself to his Holiness, being quite certain that his Holiness will receive her in the same manner and with the same kindness that the late Queen was always received by his predecessors, being particularly convinced of his good feelings towards us. It may be seen in all this that I do not speak in doubt and that I only speak of the Queen; it is for the Pope to do the rest, and Cardinal Marefoschi can hint to the Pope at a proper

opportunity to send a guard to our palace of the SS. Apostoli at the arrival of the Queen, and have it there as in times past. At the same time I should wish it to be composed of the Company of Avignon, and on my arrival I shall thank the officers while naming (with the permission of his Holiness) one of my gentlemen to command the troop consisting of 50 men as in the late King's time. It would be desirable that his Holiness should give orders for some furniture for the Queen's suite; the large rooms are already prepared. Formerly the Chamber used to provide all the furniture of the palace both at Rome and in the country. I should wish also for the courier Ossolinski to go before the Queen. His Eminence sees clearly the reasons there are for his going himself to the Pope on the arrival of the courier with news of the arrival (of the Queen), and not Lord Caryll, on account of the need there is of hinting all these matters which ought not to be understood to come from me and would be consequently too marked in his mouth. Who knows that the Pope has not also given me [the title] of Majesty on the two occasions I have already seen him and by all this the thing proceeds of itself, the Cardinals will come to see the Queen and me. We shall be on a sofa, as was the custom formerly, and everything will go on the same way and I shall be *cavaliere servente* to the Queen. As to complaisance, I pay no regard to my brother or to any one else when the maintenance of the dignity due to me is concerned, and a low economy ought to be still less regarded on this occasion. The Queen is entitled to the same ceremonies as the King, and the Prince of Wales also, when there shall be one. The guard is offered to the Prince even in the greatest incognito, and I had when Prince of Wales at Gaeta, on my return from Naples, a guard of 50 men, an officer, and a flag. It will be proper to say to the Pope that one of the first conditions of the marriage was that the Queen should be treated like the late Queen, and that I should place myself on the same footing as the late King. The treatment at Leghorn and the Dauphin at Paris were everything that could have been done, if I had been upon the throne. The late King also was frequently incognito, although with all his honours, so I do not know if what is intended is to annihilate me and make himself ridiculous."

Folio 63. March 22, 1772. Paris. In the same hand as the last. Original certificate in French, certifying that the Princess of Stolberg is free and competent to contract a marriage. Signed by the Duc de Fitz-James, the Marquis de Fitz-James, the Duc de Berwick, and the Marquis de la Jamaïque, whose seals are affixed.

Folio 67. Paper in French in Caryll's hand, being a true copy of the

paper written in "his Majesty's hand, March 29, 1772." "The C. de B. [Cardinal de Bernis] should be informed that the Pope was informed through the Cardinal Duke as soon as I arrived from France that it was impossible for me to contract a marriage without one of the first articles relating to our being on the same footing as the late King and Queen at Rome, and I have succeeded by promising it. On all the articles being concluded, I communicated them to the Pope by the Cardinal Secretary of State, and informed him at the same time that his Holiness had already been acquainted with it some months before. The message was given by the Cardinal Secretary, and the answer was that his Holiness felt extreme pleasure at it, an evident sign of his approval. On the other hand the marriage has been contracted in concert with, and with the approval of, the King of France, by my agents, who will give an exact account of everything to the Duc d'Aiguillon, to be communicated to the King of France, so that he cannot be ignorant that one of the first articles was that I should place myself on the same footing as the late King, my father, and the Cardinal de Bernis has had orders to say to the Pope, if an occasion should present itself, that his Most Christian Majesty would agree to all that the Pope might do in my favour. I must observe that I should be wronging the Pope and myself were I to doubt for a moment that he would treat me and the Queen in the same manner and with the same attention as all his predecessors have acted towards the late King and Queen. Am I not equally excluded from the throne of my ancestors only for being a Catholic? Therefore I have only to acquaint his Holiness by Lord Caryll as soon as the Queen shall have arrived in the States, and on her arrival at Rome to send him again to the Cardinal Secretary of State, in order to impress on him our eagerness to render him our homage by placing ourselves at his feet after the example of the late King and Queen."

Folio 70. April 13, 1772. Instructions in French to Caryll, in Caryll's hand, desiring him to apprise the Secretary of State that the Princess of Stolberg has arrived, and that the King is just starting to bring her to Rome and present her to his Holiness. "The Pope must be informed that the King can no longer call himself Baron de Renfrew, one of the first articles of the marriage contract having been that he should place himself on the same footing as the late King, and that he does not doubt that his Holiness will show the same kindness to himself and the Queen as all his predecessors showed to the late King and Queen." Signed "C. R."

Folio 75. April 18, 1772. Certificate in Latin of the marriage between

“His Majesty Charles III., by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and her Most Serene Highness Louisa Maxmiliania Carolina Emanuella, daughter of the deceased Gustavus Adolphus of Stolberg, Guedern, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Count of Königstein, Roccafort, Vernigerode, and Hohenstein,” celebrated on Good Friday, April 17, 1772, at 19 o’clock (about 2 P.M.) in the private chapel of the Palace of the de Compagnoni Marefoschi family at Macerata by the Bishop of Macerata and Tolentino.<sup>4</sup>

Folio 81. April 17, 1772. Macerata. French copy in Caryll’s hand of the writing whereby the King secures to the Queen the payment of her jointure of 40,000 livres and her pin-money, the last being 15,000 livres per annum and not 10,000 as in the contract of March 26, Charles having made the increase on sight of the Princess. The original was delivered to the Queen by his Majesty himself after the marriage.

Folio 91. April 19, 1772. Macerata. Copies in Caryll’s hand of his letters to the Duc de Fitz-James, in French, and Mr. Gordon, in English, both dated at Macerata, April 19, 1772, announcing the marriage, “which had been celebrated at this place the very day of her arrival, as such was the earnest desire of the Queen’s friends, and the Bishop of the place yielded with pleasure to all that was required by the King.” One of the three certificates of the marriage is enclosed to Gordon to be placed among his archives, and he is requested to have proper notices of the marriage inserted in the *Gazettes* of Utrecht and Amsterdam.

Folio 95. Paper containing copies in French of letters from Prince Charles Edward to the King of France (1), the King of Spain (2), the Duc d’Aiguillon (3), the Marquis of Grimaldi (4), the Marquis de St. Leonard (son of the eldest brother of the Duc de Fitz-James, and younger brother of the Duc de Berwick) (5), and the Duc de Fitz-James (6), announcing his intended marriage with the Princess of Stolberg. (1) contains the following passage: “Your Majesty must feel at the same time that the loss of my kingdoms makes it impossible for me to sustain the rank to which my birth entitles me, without having subsidies sufficient to keep it up.” (2) concludes thus: “Your Majesty must at the

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<sup>4</sup> In after life the Countess of Albany, when commenting upon the unhappiness of her union with the Prince, was wont to say that it was only what could be expected “from a marriage solemnised on the lamentation day of Christendom.”

same time feel the necessity of the subsidies indispensable to keep up the dignity of a king who has lost his kingdom for the sake of religion.” (3) was sent with (1) to request the Duke to present it to the King of France. It asks that the King of France will use his influence with the King of Spain and the Court of Rome. (4) was similarly sent with (2) to request the Marquis to deliver it to the King of Spain. (5) was also sent with (2) and (4), copies of which were enclosed. The Marquis is requested to acquaint Charles Edward with the manner in which the King of Spain received his letter. With (6) were enclosed copies of the others which the Duke was asked to show to the Duc d’Aiguillon, but not to leave them with him.

Folio 98. Paper beginning thus in French, in the hand of Charles Edward: “Lord Caryll should call upon the Cardinal Secretary of State to request him to place me at the feet of his Holiness and notify to him the Queen’s arrival here with me. Awaiting his orders. C.R. Rome this 22nd of April, 1772.”

Then in Caryll’s hand, in English: “The above was shown by me according to the King’s order to the Cardinal Secretary of State who returning one to the following purpose (*sic*):—

(In French.) I have acquainted his Holiness with the arrival of the Baron de Renfrew and his wife, and he has commanded me to assure them that he will be very glad to receive them, but as he is now very busy, he wishes to defer it till he is less engaged than at present.

(In English.) This is the purport but not the wording of the message which I cannot positively remember. The King on reading the above-mentioned paper declared he could not receive it, and ordered me to take it to the Cardinal Marefoschi, who might retain it or dispose of it as he judged proper. Caryll.”

Folio 100. Paper in French, in Charles Edward’s hand. “I was so shocked at the beginning of Canon Fitzgerald’s communication that I did not perhaps give him time to say all that he had to say. The priest was waiting for me at my residence (à la Hôtel) and I believed I would find him again after the Mass. I should have been myself this morning with le CM. [Card. Marefoschi], but in order to make less scandal I sent Lord Caryll to inform his Eminence and to assure him that, notwithstanding the bad treatment of this Court, I should not abandon the friendship esteem and veneration which I shall always preserve for his Eminence, convinced that he could never have had any part in the evil; I could not have believed that the Pope would have wished to make

an event tragical, for which every good Catholic ought to have given his services to make it splendid and agreeable. Do they wish to perpetuate the family of Hanover and to cut off the Legitimate Catholic race? Finally, did they wish to compel me to leave this country? How could they imagine that the Catholic Courts would not be scandalised and chilled by such proceedings? It is for the Pope to go before them, showing them a good and not a bad example. The sheep usually follow their shepherd, and it is his duty not to disgust them by showing a path of brambles and thorns.”

Endorsed in Caryll’s hand: “1772, Message sent from the K. to C. Marefoschi concerning his opinion of the acknowledgment being to be refused.”

Folio 118. Original letter in French, with envelope from Charlotte Stuart (natural daughter of Charles Edward) to M. de Lascaris. Acknowledges receipt of his letter. Thanks him “for all the trouble you have taken to soften a little my unhappy lot. I hope that his Eminence will not refuse my demand for changing my convent from Meaux to one in Paris.” The intended route is from Genoa to Antibes, from Antibes to Aix, from Aix by Avignon to Lyons. She sends on the part of her mother “mille hommage.” Signed: “Charlotte Stuart.” No place or date, but written in the summer of 1773. Seal on envelope.

Folio 130. March 23, 25, 1783. Florence. Copy of the will and codicil of Charles Edward in Italian. The will appoints Charlotte Stuart, Duchess of Albany, then in the convent of St. Marie at Paris, his heir, and leaves to John Stuart his major-domo and to his wife and sons a legacy of 100 Florentine scudi per mensem during their lives, and the right to inhabit an apartment in his palace at Florence. The brothers Count Camillo and Canon Tommaso della Gherardesca are appointed executors. The codicil bequeaths annuities to his different servants. Sealed with the Royal Arms of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland.

Folio 136. March 30, 1783. Florence. Copy of the Act of Legitimation, in Italian, of Charlotte Stuart by her father Charles Edward. Certified by M. Sémonin, chef du Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères, whose signature is verified by M. de Vergennes.

Folio 142. April 3, 1784. Florence. Copy of the letter in French from Charles Edward, permitting his wife to live separate and apart from him at Rome, or wherever else she may think fit.

Folio 145. Extract from the register of the Church of S. Maria ad

fontes at Liège of the entry of the baptism of Charlotte Stuart on October 29, 1753, therein described as the daughter “nobilis domini Guillelmi Johnson et nobilis Dominæ Pit.”

Folio 147. November 16, 1784. Florence. Copy of a letter in French from Charles Edward to the Pope. Thanks him for his letter to the Duchess of Albany, entreats his protection for her, and asks that he should grant her the reversion of his pension after his death. States that his father used to give her a pension of 12,000 francs, had paid all the expenses of her education, and placed her and her mother in a convent, and had charged the Cardinal Duke to continue the pension. Complains that after his father's death the Cardinal Duke had reduced the pension to 1,000 scudi, and now that she had come to live with him had discontinued it altogether.

Folio 149. November 16, 1784. Versailles. Original letter with envelope in French from M. de Vergennes to “Myladi Stuart d'Albany,” informing her that the King of France has granted her father “M. le Comte d'Albany” an annual pension of 60,000 livres, with a reversion in her favour on his death as to 10,000 livres thereof. The pension being charged on the royal treasury, some confidential person should be appointed to receive it and give receipts for it at Paris.

Folio 163. March 11, 1785. Florence. Declaration in Italian by Charles Edward that Charlotte Stuart, created by him Duchess of Albany and legitimated with the approval of the Most Christian King, now living in his palace at Florence, was the same as the child of himself and Clementina Walkingshaw, born at Liège and baptised there under the name of Charlotte Johnson, she being his only daughter. He further declares that he never had any other children, and in particular none by the Princess of Stolberg. Signed: “Charles R.”

Folio 175. Copy of a memorial in Italian from the Cardinal Duke to the Pope. Refers to some circumstances attending the legitimation of the Duchess of Albany as being offensive towards him. He has, however, been won over by the young lady's disposition. Through her intervention, his brother had written a letter of reconciliation to him. Mentions Charles Edward's letter to the French Foreign Minister complaining of the conduct of his wife, referring to “lo scandalo col Conte Alfieri,” and to her journey to Baden to rejoin him there, and requesting that the French Court should stop the pension granted to her. The letter had been drawn in the names of Charles Edward and the Cardinal Duke, and had been signed by both. One of the principal causes



of disunion between the brothers had been the supposition of Charles Edward that his wife was protected by the Cardinal Duke. Gives a summary of a letter of his sister-in-law to him, who represents herself as in despair at not hearing from him, assures him of her attachment to him, &c., excusing her conduct in various points with regard to which it had never been impeached, but saying not one word about Alfieri. Hears that she is afraid her jointure may according to French law turn out to be invalid, no particular property of Charles Edward having been specifically charged with it. Fears also she may lose her French pension in case of war. She will too late repent of her conduct, which has brought upon her universal disapprobation.

Unsigned and undated, but probably written in 1785.

Folio 193. Undated, Florence. Draft in Italian of a full power from Charles Edward to the advocate Vulpian to settle every question relating to the jointure of the Princess of Stolberg, under certain conditions. The fourth is that the agreement shall contain an absolute release and discharge of all claims and demands whatsoever apart from the stipulations therein so that "we Charles Edward and the said Princess of Stolberg may be considered for all civil purposes, as if we were totally strangers to each other, and that it shall be declared in the same instrument that *we have not, and never have had any issue by the said Princess of Stolberg.*" The object of entering into the agreement is stated to be "to assure for the future fully and finally the tranquillity of ourselves and those connected with us, with which object we have adopted this system of conciliation, which for many reasons we have hitherto been induced to reject."

Folio 205. March 10, 1788. Versailles. Letter in French, with envelope, from the Comte de Montmorin to the Duchess of Albany, condoling with her on her father's death, and informing her that the king of France would increase her reversionary pension of 10,000 to 20,000 livres. Envelope sealed with seal of French Foreign Office.

#### VOL. III. STUART PAPERS.

Folio 61. October 29, 1799. Grosvenor Street. Extract from a letter from Sir John Cox Hoppisley, Bart., to Andrew Stuart, Esq., M.P. He encloses a letter from Cardinal Borgia, setting forth the present poverty of the Cardinal of York. In such a case the relief is not to be decorously sought in the liberality of private individuals, although many who have witnessed the acts of princely benevolence of the Cardinal would doubtless press forward to alleviate his sufferings. Cardinal Borgia is

allowed to be a prelate of great probity, intelligence, and urbanity, and his palace was the resort of all lovers of science and virtue. The late pope, anticipating the calamities that soon after befell him, appointed Cardinal Borgia President of the Congregation to whom the whole authority of the See was delegated. His Eminence probably recollects that the writer, during his last residence in Rome, was in correspondence with his Majesty's Ministers on subjects of considerable importance to both states, and knows that his proper resort is to the highest authority in the nation.

Appended is a memorandum that the original of this letter, with that of Mr. Stuart to Mr. Secretary Dundas, and additional observations by Sir John Cox Hippisley were transmitted to the King by Mr. Pitt. "Sir J. C. H., had the pleasure to receive letters from the Duke of Portland, Lord Chatham, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Secretary Windham, strongly expressing their satisfaction in acquiescing in any measure that could offer relief to the illustrious and venerable Cardinal of York. It was sufficient that the knowledge of his sufferings should reach the Throne, to assure both sympathy and relief. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Secretary Dundas, and the Lord Chancellor, also expressed to Sir John Hippisley the extreme pleasure they felt in recommending the measure to the royal consideration."

Folio 64. October 30, 1799. Lower Grosvenor Street. Extract of a letter from Andrew Stuart, Esq., M.P., to Mr. Secretary Dundas. He encloses a letter from Cardinal Borgia to Sir John Hippisley, dated September 14, from Padua, where Cardinal York then was with the other Cardinals for the election of a Pope. He also encloses a letter from Sir John Hippisley. While at Rome he was informed of the very heavy losses the Cardinal sustained from the French Revolution, amounting to no less than 48,000 crowns annually. At a later period, the largest parts of his valuable jewels were sacrificed amid the contributions levied by the French.

Folio 67. January 20, 1800. London. Letter from Thomas Coutts to the Cardinal Duke of York. The Cardinal will remember to have seen at Frascati, in 1790, a Mr. Coutts and his wife and three daughters. The eldest daughter is now married to the Earl of Guilford, and the second to Sir Francis Burdett, whose family has been much attached to the House of Stuart as late as 1745, and since. "The third is unmarried, and living with her mother and me, and remembers the distinguished honour she received at Frascati, when you put on her finger with your own royal

hand the ring which King Charles wore at his coronation. On my return to England, giving an account of what I had seen abroad to his Majesty King George the Third, I did not omit a particular detail of the honours I had received at Frascati, and of the uncommon politeness as well as the elegant and princely manner in which they were conferred. Neither did I fail to notice the very handsome and most liberal terms in which your sentiments of his character were expressed. I had also the honour of showing at that time to his Majesty the silver medal given to me. with so much condescension at Frascati. He questioned me on the likeness, said he was much pleased to have seen it, imply'd that few he supposed would have mentioned the subject to him, but that they were much mistaken who imagined he did not very sincerely regard the family of Stuart, who were worthy of all good men's attention, were it only for their misfortune. He was so good [as] to receive and accept from me with his own hand the medal I had the honour to receive from yours." "I have long been acknowledged his banker, and I have also transacted the business of all his royal sons, and have from them all received the most flattering marks of approbation My remaining and only ambition is to be the hand by which the benevolence of Britain from the best of men shall be conveyed to the last of that illustrious line, the rightful former sovereigns of Scotland, England, and Ireland." It lies with you to make the choice. Two words from you to my relation Lord Minto, to Mr. Pitt, or to Lord Grenville, my friends, to Mr. Dundas, or to the Lord Chancellor, my school-fellow, would settle the matter.

Folio 74. February 9, 1800. Vienna. Letter in French from Lord Minto to the Cardinal of York. He has received orders from the King of Great Britain to remit to his Eminence the sum of £2,000.

Folio 223. August 30, 1807. Rome. Draft of a letter in Italian from the Bishop of Milevi to the Prince of Wales. Refers to his intimacy for more than thirty-eight years with the deceased Cardinal Duke, as placing him in a position to testify to the sentiments of gratitude felt by the Cardinal towards the English Royal Family for their assistance, and his desire to show them some mark of it. Among the property left by the Cardinal the only objects he has found which can deserve the acceptance of the Prince are the Cross of St. Andrew set with diamonds, which had been worn by King Charles I., and a ring set with a ruby engraved with a cross, which he had often heard from the Cardinal was placed on the finger of the Kings of Scotland at their Coronation. These he desires to offer the Prince, and requests him to indicate some safe means for transmitting them.

Folio 236. Friday, November 13, [1807]. Letter in French from the Countess of Albany to the Bishop of Milevi. Acknowledges the receipt of the presents left her by the Cardinal of York and of the picture he had chosen for her, which she considers is better than any work of the same painter at Florence. Thanks the Bishop for having her cipher placed on the watch left her by the Cardinal. She would have been satisfied had she been left only a pin as a remembrance. Was sure that the Bishop would not have delayed sending her her legacy without excellent reasons. Signed and addressed as the letter of July 21st, but directed "a Frascati."

Folio 238. November 14, 1807. Ston Easton, Somerset. Letter in French from Sir J. C. Hippisley to the Bishop of Milevi, expressing his regret at the news of the death of the Cardinal Duke. Encloses a copy of a letter from the Prince of Wales in reply to that of August 30. The Prince directs him to express "the profound respect which he will always preserve for the memory of the late Cardinal Duke, and the great pleasure the presents will give him, which the friendship of his Royal Highness had destined for him." The Prince has charged him with the care of their transmission to England. He therefore requests the Bishop to place them in the hands of his brother-in-law, M. Cicciporci, through M. Orsi, banker at Florence, who will find a safe opportunity to forward them to England. The King has ordered him to acquaint the Countess of Albany of his intention to allow her a pension of £1,600 a year for her life. Has received a second letter from the Secretary of the Prince of Wales, charging him to express the above-stated sentiments of the Prince.

ALEX. CHARLES EWALD.