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Jérémy Filet

► **To cite this version:**

Jérémy Filet. Jacobitism on the Grand Tour? The Case of the Duchy of Lorraine (1698-1730). *Miroirs : Revue des civilisations anglophone, ibérique et ibéro-américaine*, 2017, L'activisme au-delà des frontières: société civile et réseaux transnationaux, 5, pp.8-24. <hal-03477589>

HAL Id: hal-03477589

<https://hal.science/hal-03477589v1>

Submitted on 13 Dec 2021

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Jacobitism on the Grand Tour? The Case of the Duchy of Lorraine (1698-1730)

Jérémy Filet, Université de Lorraine

Résumé

Cet article a pour but de présenter le Duché de Lorraine comme un arrêt pour les Grand-touristes britanniques dans la première moitié du 18^e siècle, au moment où le réseau transnational Jacobite s'installait également en Lorraine. En conséquence du traité d'Utrecht de 1713, le « Vieux prétendant » dut s'installer au sein du Duché jusqu'en 1716. La Lorraine fut rendue à Leopold suite au traité de Ryswick de 1697, et la politique de reconstruction du duc attira les membres du réseau transnational des Jacobites, qui devinrent membres de la société civile du Duché. Dans le même temps furent créées les académies des nobles et des arts en Lorraine. Une fois en Lorraine, « Jacques III », avec l'aide du réseau transnational Jacobite installé en Lorraine, fomenta la révolution Jacobite de 1715 au sein de sa cour à Bar.

Mon hypothèse consiste à dire que le réseau Jacobite européen trouva en Lorraine une opportunité de communiquer avec le prétendant Stuart en utilisant le Grand Tour comme une « excuse » pour aller en Lorraine, et le rencontrer. Certains voyageurs firent également le voyage jusqu'à Bar-le-Duc uniquement pour cette raison. Je vais ainsi tenter ici de déterminer lesquels de ces voyageurs étaient simplement « curieux » vis-à-vis du Jacobitisme, et lesquels étaient des Jacobites « plus impliqués ». Pour ce faire, j'utiliserai des archives britanniques, mais aussi des sources venant des archives du Duché de Lorraine.

Mots-clés : Lorraine, Jacobites, Prétendant Stuart, Grand Tour, Académies de Lunéville

1 I would like to thank Jean Boutier to whom I owe a fair part of what is presented about the travellers of the Lunéville “académie des nobles”. Noticeably, he sent me his early draft of “A l'épreuve du cosmopolisme. Les noblesses européennes à l'académie de Lunéville-Nancy, 1699-1730” (a talk given at the conference “Echanges, passages et transferts à la cour du Duc Léopold (1698-1729)”, May 13th, 2015, Lunéville), to be published in 2017.

Abstract

In this paper, I would like to argue that the Duchy of Lorraine was a stop on the British Grand Tour, not only because of its famed academy but also because of its Jacobite networks, which allowed a few Grand Tourists to meet the head of the political faction, the Old Pretender. The transnational Jacobite networks supported the pretention of James II over William III, and after the Glorious Revolution its members fled the UK and sought asylum abroad. The Williamite - and later Hanoverian - governments continuously tried to prevent the return of the exiled Stuarts. However, James III negotiated with Queen Anne to recover his throne, and nearly succeeded after the 1713 treaty of Utrecht was signed. The English government asked France to expel the Old Pretender from his Saint Germain-en-Laye residence as a condition for peace in Europe. As a consequence, the “king over the water” took refuge with his Lorraine cousin, Duke Leopold, from January 1713 to March 1716. After this border crossing, James III settled in Bar-Le-Duc with his Jacobite court and fomented the 1715 revolution from there, with the help of Scottish activists.

Leopold returned to his Duchy in 1698 and led a policy of reconstruction, notably with the creation of the Academies of Lunéville, which soon became a stop on the Grand Tour for British gentlemen. Therefore, my hypothesis is that in Lorraine the Jacobite European network found an opportunity to communicate with the heir using the Grand Tour as “an excuse” to meet their leader. Other travellers attended the academy to educate themselves, but made trips to Bar-le-Duc to meet the Pretender. Exploiting Lorraine and British archival sources, I will attempt to present a way to determine which of these travellers were merely “curious” of Jacobitism and which ones were more “involved” Jacobites.

Keywords : Lorraine – Jacobites – Old Pretender – Grand Tour – Lunéville academies

It was after the 1688 Glorious revolution that the Jacobites followed James II in exile on the continent (De Dromantin, 2005). From then on, Jacobite activists spread all over Europe, creating gigantic transnational networks, which strongly opposed the Williamite and later Hanoverian regime (Holmes, 1969; Vallance, 2009). The impact of the Jacobite diaspora has been mostly studied in France and Spain, but new bodies of research have recently been produced about the North of Europe or even Russia (Clark, 2010; McGarry, 2013; Genet-Rouffiac, 2007). *Le grand exil* (Les Jacobites en France, 1688-1715) (Paris: Service historique de la Défense, 2007) Nonetheless, only one publication has been issued on small early modern states such as Lorraine (Richard-Maupillier, 2014, 285-89). At the same time, the British Grand Tour was expanding rapidly in Europe, and more and more gentlemen went to travel on the continent (Black, 2003). After the return of peace in 1713, the trend of the time was to attend the fashionable “Academies” which had flourished in Europe from the late 17th century onwards (Brennan, 2005). These Academies have been studied thoroughly in France and Italy, but very little has been published on the Academies of Lorraine created by Duke Leopold in 1699 and 1702 (Boutier, 2005). As a result, researchers have overlooked both the establishment of a Jacobite transnational network in Lorraine, and the role of Leopold’s Academies on the British Grand Tour. I therefore propose to lay out my proposed paths of research, and to give an insight on the links between Jacobite activism on the Grand Tour and the Jacobite network in Lorraine.

In my first part, I will present the settlement of the Jacobites in Lorraine and their connections to the Jacobite networks, more particularly the help given by Lorraine in the fomentation of the 1715 Rebellion. My second part will deal with the possible link between the art academy of Lorraine and the Stuart pictorial propaganda, as well as with the importance of the “académie des nobles” on the British Grand Tour. Finally, my last part will propose a way to overcome the limitations of the material informing us about Jacobite activists in Lorraine, and the difficulties to know whether or not Grand-tourists were linked to the Jacobite transnational networks.

The settlement of Jacobites in Lorraine and the Fomentation of the 1715 rebellion.

“Lexil est d’abord organisation de résistance active.” (Chaussinand-Nogaret, 1973, 1097)

The establishment of Jacobitism in Lorraine was the direct consequence of the European treaty of Ryswick (Haussonville, 1997, 48-54). In 1697, all Europe signed the treaty and Williamite England imposed three conditions for peace on Louis XIV. Firstly, France had to return Lorraine to its rightful monarch, Leopold of Lorraine. Then, James Francis Edward Stuart – the Old Pretender – had to leave

France under the incognito “Chevalier de St Georges”. Finally, Louis XIV had to disband a fair part of James’s Jacobite army, which settled in Lorraine. Following this, the newly restored Duke of Lorraine dispatched his Prime Minister Francis Taaffe, Earl of Carlingford, to take possession of the Duchy (Harsany, 1938). The Irish-born Catholic was part of a Jacobite transnational family, which had been at the service of the Lorraine family for at least two generations.² Carlingford took strong political measures to insure the settlement of the disbanded Jacobites from France. In 1702, he created a law to suppress the “droit d’aubaine” – a tax on foreign craftsmen and merchants. This law enabled foreigners to marry, and acquire real estate in the same way as the Lorrains (De Rogéville, 1777, 350). Carlingford also played a prominent role in the establishment of the Irish Recollets in Boulay between 1699 and 1701 (Jennings, 1944, 118; *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 628). Catholic Irish friars sought asylum in Lorraine because of the establishment of new penal laws against them but also due to Leopold’s family’s reputation: “*The Duke is a friend of the Franciscans (...) as well as Count Carlingford, Lord Taaffe and Prime minister, who is immensely disposed to our country, and is hoped to stay in the future.*”³ Carlingford strongly supported the Irish Catholics in exile who had always been the stock in trade of the Jacobite transnational networks (O Ciardha, 2004). Carlingford’s position within the administration of the Duchy also empowered him to appoint Irish Jacobites to key positions in the Duke’s household, army or administration. Carlingford’s pro-Irish activism bolstered the settlement of Irish Jacobites in the Duchy of Lorraine. Leopold himself admitted: “it is sure that, since I returned, there had been [in Lorraine] a lot of them [strangers].” (Harsany, 1938, 22).

As Lucien Bély underlined, families were always following soldiers while departing for military campaigns and settling in different regions (Bély, 1990, 180-219). It is however very difficult to assess the numbers of Jacobites who settled in Lorraine but Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac calculated that an average of five thousand Jacobites were dismissed from France (Genet-Rouffiac, 2007, 199) and Richard Maupillier found at least 220 individuals in the Lorraine registers (Maupillier, 2014, 288). However, the Jacobites must have been far more numerous than Maupillier’s estimation due to the massive disbanding from the Stuart army in France, but also owing to the impossibility of taking the families into the counting of the settlement. While

² Theobald’s Taaffe (Carlingford’s father) played on his connections with Charles II to have his son appointed in the Empire at the service of Leopold’s father: Charles V of Lorraine. Francis Taaffe did his whole career in the empire at the service of the Lorraine family, sending presents from the campaign against the Turks to James II (1685) and being appointed at the command of a regiment of 1800 Catholic Irishmen. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 629-30 ; *Dictionary of National Biography*, 223-5.

³ My translation of “Rector Societatis, [hence Leopold] (...), fuit bonus amicus, et pariter Patres reliqui; (...), ac benefactor minificus, vel potius futurus benefactor, Comes Tafé alias Marescallus Carlingford; est immense propensus in totam nationem” in *Friar Gavan to Friar Bernardin Gavan to Friar Patric Duffy (undated)*, reproduced in Jennings, “The Irish Franciscans at Boulay.”, 120.

Irish exiles mostly settled as merchants in the Bordeaux region for instance, they also settled in other occupations within the Duchy and occupied jobs as varied as “doctors, weavers, masons, butchers” and craftsmen (Maupillier, 2014, 288). As in France, the support between fellow exiles created a sense of community. A good example of that would be the wedding of Charles O’Reilly who married Jeanne (Jane) O’Regeane (O’Regane) in Toul on April 13th, 1719, while serving as a lieutenant in Vaudémont’s Cavalry regiment (Petiot, 2014, 400). The baptism of their daughter was also representative of this since all the godparents were Irish Catholics in exile. The Jacobite diaspora in Lorraine was thus present in all strata of society: in the government (Carlingford), in the nobility (O’Rouerke), and in the religious institution (the Recollets in Boulay). Daniel Szechi explained the importance of the Church in the settlement of Jacobitism: “they [the religious institution] were able to ease the transition of their Catholic fellow-countrymen by (...) helping them make the right connections with the local elites.” (Szechi, 1994, 128). As in Saint Germain-en-Laye before, Lorraine would thus have the two major anchor points of the Jacobite networks by 1713: the religious institution and the royal monarch himself (Genet-Rouffiac, 2007, 371).

Thenceforth, from October 1712 to the death of Queen Anne in 1714, Leopold asked his envoy to London - Forstner - to keep him updated on the situation at the English Court, and on the government proclivity toward James. The envoy thought that James had a good chance of being restored.⁴ From Forstner’s correspondence with Leopold, we can deduce that the Duke genuinely believed in Anne’s support in 1713.⁵ At the beginning of 1714, the French, the Lorrain, and a few of Anne’s closest advisers believed that James would be restored after Anne’s death. The Lorraine envoy was very optimistic concerning James’s restoration: “Je ne sais si je ne me trompe de mettre la Reine même à la tette, et on le dit d’oreille qu’elle a été gagnée par quelques euques qui luy en ont faits un cas de conscience.”⁶ By mid-1714, Leopold thought the return of the Stuart heir was very probable following Anne’s death. It is thus possible to deduce that Leopold welcomed James at Bar-le-Duc in March 1713 with the hope of taking advantage of a possible restoration. However, by March 1714, the succession was confirmed to be Hanoverian as James refused to hide his Catholic faith to succeed his half-sister. Jacobitism was therefore more stimulated than ever, as James Stuart had superior rights to rule. It was thus in Leopold’s interest to help develop the Jacobite court at Bar-le-Duc in case of a

4 “Car à la vérité, Monseigneur, on est icy si malcontent de la conduite de l’electeur de Hannovre, et la nation même en general commence a temoigner une si grande aversion pour ce prince, que je ne puis jamais m’imaginer qu’il montera du moins paisiblement sur le trône.” London, October 2nd 1712. Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle [A.D.M.M.] 3F421.

5 For a further analysis of Forstner’s correspondence and a detailed account of the Irish Jacobites in Lorraine, see Jérémy Filet, 2016.

6 “Mémoire de Forstner sur l’Angleterre et la maison de Hanovre.” May, 24th 1713. A.D.M.M., 3F210.

restoration. Jacobite activism in Lorraine was indeed re-galvanised right from the arrival of James in Bar-le-Duc, since the marquis of Bassompierre (the leader of Bar’s society) and an Irish Jacobite (also James’s secret envoy to Lorraine), Owen O’Rouerke were both present to welcome James with Leopold. The local newspaper *Le Journal de Verdun* depicted James in laudatory terms making him “popular at once” (Lang and Shields, 2012, 183). Leopold offered full-protection to the Stuart Pretender since James had a price put on his head. Lorraine even participated in the political faction’s propaganda in authorizing a Protestant Chapel to exist in Bar-le-Duc. In spite of the traditional fight of the Lorraine family for the strictest Catholicism, James had the non-juror Charles Leslie as a resident chaplain for the Protestants. Leopold thus helped the king to fight the “popish” image of the Stuart shadow court - which was a major problem for James’s restoration - and also assisted the Jacobites in extending their influence to the Protestant non-juror faction in the British Isles.

Besides, Lorraine favoured the upholding of the immaterial culture of Jacobitism. The court was an exiled one, thus it had to accommodate the wishes and dreams of its adherents to be able to compete with the post-1688 court in London. Since the Jacobites in exile were considered traitors, they experienced a social death at home and the Stuart shadow court had to face up to that problem with an attractive and cultural court life. Therefore, the Duchy of Lorraine followed the “Jacobite calendar” when receptions were organised in James’s honour. For instance, Leopold welcomed the Jacobite court at Lunéville on June 10th, 1713 for White Rose day, James’s birthday. Charles-Henri de Vaudémont organised a whole month of festivities for the same reasons. Regular Jacobite propaganda was equally important to sustain Jacobitism, and Lorraine enabled the deposed king to print various declarations for his supporters in the British Isles at the crucial moment of Queen Anne’s death, and in preparation of the 1715 Rebellion. James issued a protest from “sa court de Bar-Le-Duc”, which infuriated George to the point of sending back Lambertie in reprisal.⁷ Even though, a small state like Lorraine was then at odds with one of the most powerful states of early modern Europe, Leopold let the exiled king stay in Bar-le-Duc. Hence, it is believed that Leopold was well aware of the preparation of the 1715 Rebellion since it is known that James considered military actions in the British Isles from the end of 1714. Leopold’s welcoming of the Jacobite court was already a support to the Jacobite networks in itself, but it was calculated that the Duke also spent more than 300,000 pounds in three years to help the Jacobites in

7 Lambertie was Leopold’s envoy to London. The emissary contributed to the spreading of seditious Jacobite idea by distributing the Pretender’s declaration in London, so it was no surprise that King George I did not like him.

Bar. Considering, James's expenses of 10,000 pounds a month⁸, the Bar-le-Duc court was not so poor. As far as money was concerned, many Barisians and prominent Lorraine nobles (such as Vaudémont or Bassompierre for example) lent James great amounts of money between 1714 and 1715. The Duke himself gave a secret loan of 25 000 *louis d'or* for James to recruit troops and supplies.⁹ Such so called "loans" were used to recruit troops and provide supplies for the 1715 rebellion. By February 1715, James resigned his incognito but Leopold did not expel him from his Duchy. In May 1715, Francis Colclough "enlisted a great number of persons (...) in order to go to Lorraine for the service of the Pretender".

James's activities were also closely monitored by British spies who infiltrated the court. For example, one of them reported to the government that: "James in Lorraine reviewed such troops as he had managed to raise there - recruits from England and Irishmen who had served the French colours." A lot of Irish Jacobites at the service of Lorraine deserted in 1715 in order to follow James III in Scotland, and Leopold decided to overlook that. The Butler regiment (which was the Lorraine regiment of Guards that Leopold paid and assigned to ensure James's security in Bar le Duc) disappeared soon after James's departure to Scotland. Interestingly enough, James's departure from Commercy was secretly covered by a visit of Mary of Modena to the Lorrain Earl of Vaudémont. The rest of the story is well known, James arrived in Scotland and both the ill-concerted Jacobite networks and the well-informed British Government led to the defeat of the Jacobites at the battle of Preston in November 1715, and James returned to Lorraine until he left for Avignon by the end of 1716.

The Academies of Lunéville: a stop on the British Grand Tour?

"Sa cour était formée sur celle de France ; on en croyait presque pas avoir changé de lieu, quand on passait de Versailles à Lunéville." (Voltaire, 1750, ch. 17).

While James was in Lorraine, he spent a lot of time at Duke Leopold's court in Lunéville and Nancy; the cities in which the Duke chose to establish both his "Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture" and his "Académie des nobles". The Academies were created in line with Leopold's will to return to the Golden Age that his Duchy experienced under Charles III. Leopold himself claimed a strong interest in both the arts and the works of his predecessors: "*Les sciences et les arts*

8 Royal Archives [RA] Stuart Papers [SP]. 8/92 Estimate of his majesty's household, 1715, "J III's household in Lorrain 1713-15."

9 British Library [BL], Manuscripts [MSS]. Carte 211 f° 325 An account of the Duke of Lorrain's Gold, Mar 1716.

ayant toujours procuré la gloire et la richesse des états les plus florissants, et même le plaisir de leurs souverains, les ducs [ses] prédécesseurs les ont aussy toujours chéry très particulièrement, et travaillé à les cultiver." (Lionnois, 1811, 17). The academy of arts was created on February 8th, 1702 in order to develop a sumptuous court life. The academy taught painting, sculpture, but also mathematics. Leopold created that structure in order to completely control artistic production within his Duchy¹⁰ "afin qu'on ne mette rien en publique qui ne soit bien et honnête". The 24th article of the regulation noticeably stated that one should be coopted at the academy in order to be appointed ordinary painter or sculptor, but the very first academicians were appointed by Leopold himself. Such rules clearly showed that the Duke of Lorraine wanted a total control of the pieces of art produced in his Duchy, and he must have applied the same regulations to the French artists working for him at his Court. Interestingly enough, two famous French artists worked at Lunéville. The first one was Jacques Van Schuppen who painted a sketch of Leopold and his family which strangely recalls Pierre Mignard's *James II's family* spatial composition. The second one was Pierre Gobert to whom Leopold commissioned many portraits of the ducal couple. Lorraine even offered some paintings to James while he was in Bar. Gobert occasionally worked in Lorraine from 1709 to 1721, and participated in the Jacobite pictorial propaganda. Indeed, James and the shadow court in exile had to remain visible to their supporters in the British Isles, especially in the years 1713-15. James commissioned these portraits because Gobert was already in Lorraine painting for the Duke. Unfortunately, none of Gobert's portraits of the Stuart Court painted in Bar survived (Corp, 2001). It is known that Mary of Modena did not like Gobert's portrait that her son ordered to be sent to her from Bar. The Stuart portrait had to be a good likeness of the exiled, and especially of James, to debunk the myth of the warming-pan baby. Mary surely did not like Gobert's portrait because she feared the pro-Hanoverian government might use it to despise James as illegitimate. Moreover, Gobert was famous as the painter "*des femmes, des enfants, des mains fines et des visages gracieux*" (Voreaux, 1998, 151), and the last thing James needed was to look effeminate, as opposed to Mary of Modena who commissioned her own portrait to be produced.

The second academy – "*l'académie des nobles*" – was founded in May 1699 and aimed at teaching equestrian arts, history, geography, mathematics, law and foreign languages. In order to do so, Leopold wanted to welcome both the local and the foreign nobilities. The Duke publicised his academy through tracts distributed to

10 Raphaël Tassin, « Une institution pour encadrer la production artistique : le cas de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture de Nancy » (Paris, *Journée annuelle de l'équipe Histara*, INHA, 12 Novembre 2015) & « L'académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture de Nancy : un instrument dans la stratégie politique du duc Leopold » (Sperlonga, *Le virtuose adunanze. La cultura accademica tra XVI e XVIII secolo. Emblem, simboli e linguaggi*, 9 et 10 Mai 2013).

all European Courts, which said : “Son Altesse Royale, toujours attentive au Bien de son Etat, & à procurer, non seulement à ses Sujets, mais encore à la jeune Noblesse Etrangère, la facilité d’apprendre tous les Exercices, qui conviennent aux Personnes de Qualité.”¹¹ The Academy of Lunéville-Nancy was a real success, as Edward Southwell pointed out in 1723: “This academy enjoys more privileges than any in Europe”.¹² In England the Duchess of Marlborough thought that “there is an extream good academy at Lorrain.”¹³ Actually, the academy enjoyed a privileged position in the heart of Europe and welcomed even more strangers than locals. From the lists held in the archives for the years 1714-1728¹⁴, 30% of the academists were Lorrain, 12% were British and the 52% left were either French or German (Conrads, 1982, 236). However, this list is very incomplete, especially for British travellers. There were those who included the academy as a major part of their European Grand Tour, and those who made it merely a stop. For instance, an anonymous British traveller spent more than 4 months at the academy in 1720. Charles Spencer stayed there from November 1726 to September 1727, whereas his Brother - John - stayed from October 1726 to February 1727. Thomas Pitt preferred “to spend the winter here at the academie”. The long-stayers highlight the presence of British travellers from all over the British Isles, from every religious and political background. Another anonymous British traveller, who was in Lunéville from August 1720 to January 1721, denounced the presence of four other British, who were not recorded anywhere. Firstly, there were two Englishmen: Robert Spencer and Charles Cavendish who stopped in Lunéville when on their Grand Tour to France and Italy. An Irish Jacobite, Justin Plunkett was also present along with a member of the Welsh gentry, Bussy of Margam. The academy was also a stopping point for British Grand-Tourists as exemplified by the passages of Edward Southwell in 1723 and 1724 on his way to Italy. In Lunéville, he met the Scottish Lord Polwarth, and the Irish “Maguise”, who is likely to be Maguire, an Irish Jacobite who recruited in Ireland prior to 1715 (Ciardha, 2004). The academy could have been the ultimate goal of one’s journey. For example, an anonymous English traveller stayed in Lorraine from August 1720 to January 1721 in order to attend the Lorraine court. Indeed, the court intrinsically worked with the Lorraine Academies. The rule of the academy authorized the strangers to “*aller à la Cour, où ils auront mille agréments & entreront dans les Plaisirs du Prince*”.¹⁵ The presence of the multilingual and international nobility also transformed the court into a meeting place for gentlemen from all over Europe. Leopold personally welcomed all the academists, and gathered them at his table along with the Lorraine nobility: “*Etrangers et académistes vont chaque jour à la cour.*” (Pfister, 1909, 20).

11 Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy [BMN] Manuscripts [MS]. 392, f° 60.

12 BL, Additional [Add.] Mss. 34753, September, 23 1723.

13 BL, Add. Mss. 61444, f° 73, “Letter of the duchess to captain Fish”, Blenheim, October, 15, 1726.

14 Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle, 3F275, f°21

15 “Règlement pour l’Académie” (1699), 2.

The limit to the Academies’ lists and the possibility of Jacobite activism on the Grand Tour

The link not only between the Academies and Lunéville’s court, but also between the Stuart Court in exile and the Lorraine court can raise the questions of the presence of Jacobite activists on the Grand Tour in Lorraine. Assessing one’s allegiance is always a complicated task, but the real problem studying the Academies is the absence of any registration from 1699 to 1714. As an example, a British traveller wrote about his meeting with 44 students at the academy among whom were 7 British, while 17 interns were officially registered. Another problem is the choice between two different styles of academic teaching. There were the “interns” and the “externs”. The interns were supposed to have been registered, but – even when they were – their names were often ill-transcribed, which made them all the more difficult to identify. The externs are much more problematic as they were even more rarely registered than the interns, and the British travellers preferred the extern option for, at least, three reasons. The academy proposed an *a la carte* teaching that the British preferred to a whole curriculum. Moreover, the externs seemed to have been a little privileged by the Duke. Fiorentini – an Italian attending the academy – commented that the first invited to the cultural events of the court were “*ceux qui étaient logés en dehors de l’académie*”. In 1731, the German traveller Keyssler observed that there was : “à peu près autant de jeunes étrangers qui se logent dans Lunéville, à la fois pour bénéficier des leçons privées des maîtres de l’académie, et pour les avantages d’une éducation de cour” (Keyssler, 2016, 281). It must also be understood that the British preferred to live in the city after having attended their college or university, and they did not hesitate to share their dwellings – like the Spencer brothers for example – in order to reduce the cost of the sojourn. The British wanted to enjoy both the court life and cultural atmosphere of Lunéville even if they preferred to stay among themselves. Lyttleton recorded that the British “*pour se rendre incomfortables aux autres, s’étaient fait une loi parmi eux de n’admettre aucun étranger dans leur compagnie*”. They preferred to spend their free time together, and recorded only the presence of fellow British travellers in their travel accounts or personal diaries. The celebration of St George’s day in May 1727 illustrated the cultural life of the city since young English travellers organized it to display their national celebration. An English traveller witnessing the event added that it was organized in response to the Scottish St Andrew and the Irish St Patrick, which had already been celebrated.¹⁶

Consequently, the patchy registration of the academists as well as the British preference for the externship forces us to consider other sources. The first one would be the travel accounts and personal diaries of the British Grand Tourists going to

16 BL Add. Mss. 61444, f° 125, “Letter of Fish to the duchess of Marlborough”, Lunéville, May, 1st 1727.

Lorraine, and the second one would be the private correspondences referring to the academy; two sources that I have begun to exploit in this presentation. My theory is that the arrival of the Old Pretender in Lorraine brought many British travellers to the Academies. Whether those were Jacobite activists or just curious tourists has yet to be determined. I have already identified a few atypical travellers. Philip, Duke of Wharton was from a whig anti-Jacobite family and evaded his Grand-Tour tutor in order to meet James in Lorraine, and then became a Jacobite activist when returning to England. The Catholic Baronet of Northumberland, Sir Carnaby Haggerston, also went to meet the Pretender while he was “studying in Lorraine” (Lord, 2004). For a further study of this phenomenon in my dissertation, I will consider the memoirs of the Jacobite courtiers who were with James in Bar, such as those of David Nairne or Charles Leslie. The private correspondences and the after-death inventory of the Jacobites who settled in Lorraine from 1697 will constitute an interesting source as well. Indeed, the members of the Jacobite transnational networks who still had a family in the British Isles were much more valuable to the movement as they could gather priceless intelligence. The intelligence war was at the heart of the Jacobite networks, as British spies’ reports will demonstrate (Dougins, 2000). A spy of the British government in France reported after 1713 that “Many British come from Paris to Bar on the pretext of seeing Champagne” (Lang and Shields, 2012, 187), revealing a part of the movement within the Jacobite networks. Two English visitors even admitted having made a detour to Bar because they were curious about meeting James Stuart (Black, 2003). Secondary sources already established by the Haklyut society and the Grand Tour project will also nourish my reflection as I pursue my research to complete my dissertation.¹⁷

In conclusion, Jacobitism was a form of pro-monarchy activism which developed in most of Early Modern European countries. The Jacobite network was secret and transnational by nature, but it was also composed of every nation and religion that constituted the British Isles.¹⁸ This diversity provoked dissensions within the movement, but reinforced its transnationalism as the three nations involved in it were intrinsically different and allied themselves with distinct European countries and religious factions. In line with the international European context and with the domestic context in England, the head of the political faction - James III of England and VIII of Scotland - sought help abroad, and used the Jacobites in exile to keep his movement alive. The Old Pretender reached Lorraine in the crucial year of 1713 due to the international pressure, and he allied with both Lorraine’s civil society and the Jacobites who had settled in the Duchy. Whereas the Jacobite

¹⁷ “The Grand Tour Project”, <http://grandtour.stanford.edu/>, accessed June 1, 2017; “Haklyut Society Publishes Books on Voyages of Discovery, Maritime Exploration, History of Navigation, Navigators, Journals”, Haklyut Society, <http://www.haklyut.com>, accessed June 1, 2017.

¹⁸ For a complete description of the three circles which composed Jacobitism, see Cruickshanks and Black, 1988.

diaspora arrived at St Germain with James II, a part of the diaspora had settled in Lorraine sixteen years before the Stuart monarch. In St Germain, the English group was at the court while the Irish made up the majority of the Jacobites, but remained peripheral as far as decisions were concerned (Corp, 2009). In Lorraine, the Scottish were prominent with the English at court because of the Scottish nature of the 1715 rebellion (Szechi, 2006), and the Irish were of importance because they were partly integrated in the Duchy of Lorraine. It is therefore the integration of the Irish Jacobites in the Duchy’s army, administration and nobility, which made them all the more important to James.

At the same time, British gentlemen went on the Grand Tour to France, Germany and Italy in order to perfect their artistic and genteel education (Black, 2003). As such, the modernity of the “*académie des nobles*” and its innovative program of education made it a valuable stop for British people on the Grand Tour. The academy soon became a place of passages and exchanges between students of different nations, who decided to stay there. Indeed, the Duchy of Lorraine was on both routes to Italy and Germany, a strategic position as far as the Grand Tour was concerned. The avowed purpose of the academy was to attract strangers and to create a multi-cultural and multi-national place of education strongly linked to the ducal court. Leopold’s court hosted the academicians on a regular basis, but also organized balls and parties to honour James III when he lived with the Jacobites at Bar-le-Duc (Davillé, 1928, 337–49 & De Baucourt, 1910, 225–46). This aspect, and the political context of the 1715, raises the question of the presence of Jacobite activists on the Grand Tour in Lorraine as exemplified by Philip, Duke of Wharton. James’s appeal for the arts must also have sparked his interest in Leopold’s academy of art. While the Duke of Lorraine created an academy in an attempt to control the artistic production of his state, James Stuart organized his pictorial propaganda from Lorraine by employing artists working there. As a consequence, one could posit that the Jacobite transnational network was linked with the Grand Tour in the Duchy of Lorraine – at least during James’s sojourn in Lorraine. International Jacobite activism, artistic propaganda and the Grand Tour had therefore merged together within the frame of the Jacobite networks. To reach this conclusion, much research is still to be done, but the Duchy of Lorraine - as a neutral state situated in the heart of early modern Europe - was the perfect ground for the development of the transnational Jacobite network. Notwithstanding the failure of the 1715 Rebellion owing to the international European context, I hope further research will improve our knowledge of Jacobitism and cast a new light on the role of Lorraine in the Jacobite networks. On a broader scale, linking Jacobitism and the Grand Tour would also lead to the study of cultural and intellectual exchanges between the British Isles and Europe, and maybe with Lorraine. For instance, Vayringe (Courbet, 2007, 267–69) - a mathematics professor at the Lorraine academy - went to study with Newton while a Jacobite Free-masonry began to settle around Lunéville court, and its lodge counted many members of the Jacobite diaspora (Chollet, 2015 & Chollet and Andriot, 2016).

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Pour citer cet article

Référence électronique

FILET, Jérémy, « Jacobitism on the Grand Tour?
The Case of the Duchy of Lorraine (1698-1730)

Revue Miroirs (en ligne), Vol. 5 2017, mis en ligne le 30 juin, 2017
<http://www.revue miroirs.fr/links/5/article1.pdf>

Auteur

Jérémy FILET
Université de Lorraine
Langues et littératures anglaises et anglo-saxonnes
Doctorant à l'IDEA (Interdisciplinarité dans les études anglophones)
jeremy-filet@hotmail.fr

Droits d'auteur
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