

history,' in social contexts. This structural emphasis has a number of weaknesses, not least its proneness to determinism and the extent to which it does not match the emphasis on agency seen in operational military history and in the studies of the international relations that helped determine military tasking. In the case of the Dutch Revolt, the range of Philip's options included different political strategies in the Low Countries, the choice of subordinates and the allocation of resources between different spheres. It is difficult to see how structural interpretations can be sustained. (117)

Those not familiar with the cut and thrust of recent academic debates might be unaware of Black's specific targets; those who are aware of such debates might wish that Black pressed his points home with more vigor and specificity. Despite Black's tendency to move from point to point too swiftly, students of early modern European military history overlook Jeremy Black at their peril.

Edward Corp. *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. xvi + 386 pp. + 25 illus. \$85.00. Review by MOLLY MCCLAIN, UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO.

This is the first analysis of the Stuart court in exile in France after 1689. It draws on an impressive array of primary sources, including documents which escaped the general destruction of manuscripts during the French Revolution. Thanks to the efforts of Edward Corp and his contributors, Edward Gregg, Howard Erskine-Hill and Geoffrey Scott, the court at Saint-Germain emerges as a center of artistic and literary production as well as a safe haven for James II, Mary of Modena and the young James III.

Edward Corp is professor of History at the University of Toulouse. In addition to producing an impressive array of articles, Corp has curated and written the catalogs of two major exhibitions, *La Cour des Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye au temps de Louis XIV* (1992) and *The King over the Water, 1688-1766* (2002).

With this work, he attempts to shift historians' focus from the question, "How popular was Jacobitism?" to the question of how the exiled court actually worked. It suggests opportunities for further research on leading courtiers such as the John Drummond, Earl of Melfort, and on the internal dynamics of the Jacobite cause. It also illustrates the need for a new biography of Mary of Modena who appears to have been the most powerful figure at the court of Saint-Germain.

In Chapter 1, Edward Gregg provides a detailed account of the activities of the exiled Stuarts from the Revolution of 1688-89 to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. He suggests that James II and Louis XIV were not friends until after the former was forced to flee England, and perhaps not even then. Louis XIV remained suspicious of his cousin. James II, meanwhile, "displayed an incredible degree of self-delusion concerning the French and their intentions" (11). It was not personal or professional sympathy which caused Louis XIV to support James II against William III but the knowledge that France had no important allies in the ongoing war for the Spanish Netherlands. His best hope was to weaken England's position in that struggle by fostering internal civil war.

To that end, Louis XIV provided his cousin with a home at the Château-Vieux de Saint-Germain-en-Laye and a very generous income of 600,000 *livres* a year. In 1696, the household contained around 225 people, including secretaries of state, musicians, messengers and pensioners. The majority of the servants were English but there were also Irish, French, Italians and Scots. Corp makes a point of emphasizing the small number of Scots because "so many historians, and notably the French, have assumed that the Jacobite court was essentially a Scottish court" (137). Fewer than one-third of the household servants had followed the king and queen from Whitehall; many more were recruited in Ireland and France.

Between 1690 and 1712, the court was permanently based at Saint-Germain. The chateau was located 16 kilometers to the west of Paris on a plateau which provided spectacular views east over

the river Seine. Louis XIV and his court had resided at this palace before moving to Versailles.

Previously-undiscovered plans from the Bibliotheque Nationale reveal what the palace actually looked like and how rooms were used. In 1684, the French king had introduced a *Grand Appartement du Roi*, without a bedchamber, to be used for receptions and entertainments, as well as the normal *Appartement du Roi* where he actually lived and had his formal bedchamber. Since the palace had been designed to suit the peculiar ceremonial practices of French court, the Stuarts had to adapt their household and ceremonial to take account of the available space. The *Grand Appartement du Roi* was transformed into an apartment for the queen while the king had to make do with the limited number of rooms in the north wing. The second-floor rooms were furnished with rich tapestries and paintings, including a copy of Van Dyck's *Three Children of Charles I*. The chapel, meanwhile, was decorated in white and gold, with sculpted and varnished boiseries and a particularly rich collection of church plate. The first thing that Jacobites would have seen upon entering the chapel were paintings of severed heads in Matteo Rosselli's *Le Triomphe de David* and *Le Triomphe de Judith* with the result that they were constantly reminded of the fate of the martyred King Charles I.

During the 1690's, a large expatriate community gathered around the royal household. It was so self-contained that many of the exiles never learned to speak French. Entertainments included suppers, billiards, hunting, visits to the gardens, court balls, and music in the chapel, the theatre and the apartments. Protestants were tolerated and protected from the consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The needs of impoverished exiles, particularly the Irish, were provided for by the sale of jewels. By the end of 1698, James II had raised over 31,000 *livres* for the "relief of such distressed families" from the sale of diamonds, pearls and gold plate (121).

Together, Louis XIV and Mary of Modena worked to foster close relations between the two courts. The French king often visited Saint-Germain while the Stuarts spent time at Versailles,

Fontainebleau and, later, Marly and Trianon. The queen became close friends with Madame de Maintenon. She was also popular with other members of the royal family. The Duchess of Orléans described her as “courteous and pleasant and always cheerful” (170). According to Corp, she and Louis XIV used the supper parties, concerts and holidays “to pave the way for an extended period of Anglo-French peace, when James III would be restored, and the dauphin and then the duc de Bourgogne would be kings of France. They were trying to provide France and England (as well as Spain) with kings who had known and even loved each other throughout childhood, adolescence and early manhood, something which would have been unique in European history” (179).

This book provides a wealth of information on the cultural patronage of the Stuart court. Chapter 7 focuses on portraits of the Stuarts and their leading courtiers, a topic that is explored in more detail in Corp’s *King over the Water*. Chapter 8 looks at the court as a center of Italian music. A brief article by Howard Erskine-Hill considers poetry as part of the cultural legacy of the court.

Religious literature was also produced at the exiled court, most notably by James II. Geoffrey Scott analyzes the king’s devotional writings which were published in 1704 as *The Pious Sentiments of the Late King James II of Blessed Memory upon Divers Subjects of Piety*. He suggests that “the guiding spirit in James’s conversion and devotional life was the Society of Jesus” (247) as understood through the writings of St Francis de Sales. This argument deserves attention and further consideration. Scott also contributes a very useful chapter on the education of James III.

The final chapters of the book describe the transformation of the exiled court after 1713 when James III was obliged to leave France to settle, first, in Lorraine and, second, in the Papal States following the failure of the rebellion of 1715-16. During these years, Mary of Modena returned to Saint-Germain from her increasingly lengthy stays at the Couvent de la Visitation at Chaillot. Corp examines both the exiled court at Saint-Germain during its

final years and the Jacobite community which remained there for several decades after the death of the queen in 1718.

A Court in Exile is an important addition to the history of the Jacobite cause which should stimulate further research. It is recommended for graduate students and others interested in the question of how the royal court maintained its tradition, organization and ceremonial in the face of exile and military defeat.

Joad Raymond. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xviii + 403 pp. + 41 illus. + 6 figs. \$70.00. Review by TIMOTHY RAYLOR, CARLETON COLLEGE.

Over the last decade, Joad Raymond has emerged as one of our foremost analysts of the early modern English newsbook, leading us to a new understanding of its rhetorical and political dimensions. This latest book draws upon his expertise in the field of cheap print while extending his view to an even larger topic. Or rather, topics: for, as its title indicates, this book is concerned with both pamphlets *and* pamphleteering. These are of course different aspects of the same phenomenon, but (as the divided title indicates) they do not necessarily invite (or easily permit) a single analysis. Raymond's study ambitiously brings them together, discussing the pamphlet in bibliographic, rhetorical, and socio-political terms, tracing its rise through a series of richly evidenced essays arranged in broadly chronological sequence. The governing thesis of a rise is not always the focus of his efforts, and he seldom presses it directly, but the wealth and weight of the evidence he presents and the order in which he presents it are such that, by the end of the book, one is amply persuaded of its justice.

The book begins by asking, appropriately, "What is a pamphlet?" to which several not entirely satisfactory answers are given from a number of different angles, including the bibliographical (a printed work of no more than ninety-six quarto pages), the etymological (deriving from the name "Pamphilus"), and the polemical (a scurrilous squib, written by somebody else). It quickly