

ART. XII. – *Thomas J. F. Strickland of Sizergh (?1682-1740)*
*The Political Cleric at His Ecclesiastical Zenith*¹
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“The truth must not be denied, even if it is hard.
There is no peace which could be bought by
denial of the truth.”²

Sensational resignations in politics, the renunciation of lucrative and influential positions and the withdrawal from leading political, cultural and ecclesiastical committees are not exclusively characteristics of our own times. Nor – as one sees from graphic accounts in the media and press – do such events result automatically in a marked loss of prestige or in a diminution of the social standing for the person concerned. They show all too clearly how closely intertwined are personal ambitions for a career and political opportunism. That these inexorable facts of life are not just a contemporary subject but contain a historical perspective and dimension as well, is documented by this 18th-century example, through the career of Thomas J. F. Strickland. This essay aims to point out the interdependence and powerful correlation between *actio* and *reactio* in politics and church.

I. The “Bartered” Cardinal’s Hat

The ecclesiastical career of Thomas John Francis Strickland (?1682-1740), the fifth-born but fourth surviving son of Sir Thomas Strickland (1621-1694) of Sizergh Castle in Westmorland (now Cumbria),³ was to be crowned with his nomination to the bishopric of Namur in the Austrian Netherlands, today’s Belgium.⁴ This bipolar personality, who stood in the battleground between British politics and the Catholic church, had to earn his (clerical) laurels abroad and at the instigation of a foreign power. Actively involved in the fate of English Catholicism in the crucial years between 1714 and 1720,⁵ Strickland had tried (in vain) to reconcile the interests of English Catholics with King George I (1660-1727), who was a Lutheran in his German electorate of Hanover, but (at least nominally) an Anglican as Supreme Head of the Church of England since 1714. For Strickland, the political and religious discrepancy at the beginning of George’s reign formed the basis for his reconciliation programme.⁶ Although the self-interest in his motives should not be underestimated, Strickland had served the English crown as well as the Catholic religion in Great Britain, both of whose representatives had disappointed him bitterly.

Warning of Strickland’s ambivalent character had already gone round the wide circle of the Stuart-sympathizing English Catholic clergy in August 1721,⁷ when it became clear that the failure of the high-flown aims in his earlier years was in no way the end to the clerical career of this ambitious clergyman.

Strickland had been financially independent since his promotion to the Abbey of St



PLATE I. — Thomas J. Strickland (?1682-1740) (line engraving by the French artist T(h)omassin [either Simon, 1655-1733 or Simon Henri 1687-1741]). British Library/Department of Prints and Drawings, 1928-3-13-353.
(350×238mm)

Pierre de Préaux in Normandy in 1718.⁸ Later, “. . . he pretends to have shew'd to several what he calls *his nomination by K[ing] Augustus to a Card[inal]'s Cap*”⁹ - the cardinal's cap which seemed to him secured through the intervention of Frederick Augustus I (1670-1733), Elector of Saxony and as Augustus II, the Strong, King of Poland since 1697, should have further compensated the cleric. In the meanwhile Abbé Strickland had shifted his activities to the Low Countries which had been Austrian since 1714.¹⁰ For some time, from today's Belgian Spa the Abbé had maintained amicable relationships with the neighbouring Liège, and in particular with the “*Gran Decano di quella Catedrale, e coll'Avvocato Duchateau*”, François Lambert, Baron de Selys (1668-1729): the very man who, a few years later, was to be responsible for the efficient conduct of the episcopal informative process.¹¹

Sustained by the thought “*a fine di fare un partito favorevole alla Casa di Hannover, per escludere quella di Baviera in avvenire dalle Chiese tanto di Liegi, che di Colonia, Hildesheim, et Osnabrugh*” Abbé Strickland steered a pronounced course against the Wittelsbachs¹² and incurred thereby the obvious displeasure of his long-standing close friend and father confessor, Vincenzo Santini (1676-1728), the former internuncio in Flanders.¹³ As a direct result of this complacent behaviour, Santini (since 1721 nuncio of Cologne) fundamentally changed his original benevolent protectionism towards the cleric. Accusations now ranged from Strickland's readiness “*sagrificarebbe la Religione*”, his “*diabolica ingratitude verso il Re Giacomo*” (i.e. James Francis Edward Stuart [1688-1766])¹⁴ to the reproach that the Abbé was a willing instrument of the elector (i.e. King George I). At the same time the nuncio confirmed rumours, which circulated everywhere, that the Polish King (“*Re Augusto*”) had promised Strickland the cardinal's hat. He warned as well that the Abbé as cardinal would have a welcome pretext to stay in Rome and to look after English interests aimed against “the Old Pretender”.¹⁵ Undeniably the political realist, Strickland had aligned and orientated his personal interests towards the domestic and foreign policies of King George I's government. However, he was not loyal exclusively to the royal-electoral house of Hanover; at the same time the loyalty to the Viennese court proved to the Abbé's advantage, where Strickland was prepared to support a pure family matter out of which he obtained a very lucrative offer.¹⁶

The historical reconstruction of Abbé Strickland's further career is open to divergent and even partly contradictory interpretations. It has never been clear (and is still not clear today) if the Abbé, who (supposedly) resided at the court of the exiled King of Poland, Stanislaus Leszczyński (1677-1766) in Bar-le-Duc in 1716/1717, had already then been promised “the honour of the Roman purple, which he afterwards resigned” (as according to Berington).¹⁷ Lord Hervey points out in his *Memoirs of the Reign of George II* that the future bishop of Namur in return for his honest services to the English government “. . . got to be nominated by the late King of Poland, at the intercession of the late King of England, for a cardinal's hat”.¹⁸ If we look at the statements of Dr Robert Witham (1667-1738),¹⁹ the president of Douai college since 1715, as well as those of the nuncio of Cologne, Vincenzo Santini, then we can see clearly and unequivocally that the “late King of Poland” meant King Augustus II, the Strong, and likewise, in respect of England, King George I. Finally there is the rather unlikely possibility that Abbé Strickland had been offered the cardinal's hat by both of them, or that the letter to Berington (“written by the doctor after his promotion to the see of Namur”) was worded with the intention of obscuring the true historical events. But under no circumstances can

we accept Hornyold's account which is both factually wrong and skirts around the complex questions which need to be addressed.²⁰

Despite the variety of possible interpretations it is fairly easy to depict the church career of Thomas J. F. Strickland from the available sources. The reason why the cardinal's hat was not conferred on the more than forty-year-old priest, who was able to count on the support of both England/Hanover and Poland/Saxony, was connected directly with his nomination as bishop to the diocese of Namur in 1725/1726,²¹ which had been vacant since the death of Ferdinand de Berlo de Brus (1654-1725) on 24 August 1725.²² Meanwhile the Hanoverian elector and King of Great Britain had procured the cardinal's hat for his fellow countryman, but Abbé Strickland had declined it. Because of the Abbé's refusal Emperor Charles VI (1685-1740) was able to propose the young Philipp Ludwig von Sinzendorf (1699-1747)²³ whom he had recommended to the Orsini Pope Benedict XIII (1649-1730)²⁴ through the Saxon elector and Polish King. Regarding the historical order of events, Thomas J. F. Strickland obtained the aforementioned diocese *only after a personal renunciation of the cardinal's hat*. Without any doubt it was he himself who took a substantial and decisive share in the decision not to be accepted into the highest council of the Roman curia. In line with the historical facts, Hervey had already bluntly directed the accusation against the religious dignitary that "he (i.e. Thomas J. F. Strickland) *sold [his nomination] (i.e. for a cardinal's hat) to the Emperor for one of his favourites, for a sum of money and the presentation to the Bishopric of Namur*".²⁵

In 1725 Dr Robert Witham, who was numbered among the most bitter foes of the busy priest during the years 1715 to 1719, threw contemporary light on Abbé Strickland's manoeuvres:

. . . there suddenly came from Robert Witham the news (it might also be termed "comic relief") that Strickland had been made bishop of Namur through the influence of the emperor. The story, according to Witham (and it seems an unlikely one), was that Strickland had some time previously been promised a cardinalate through Polish influence, and that he had now concluded a bargain with a Polish nobleman, Count Zizendorf (sic), for the latter's nephew to have the cardinalate, Strickland to have the first vacant bishopric in Flanders.²⁶

This report (hardly "an unlikely one") is not surprising in comparison to modern commercial practises. It does not allow the exact amount of compensation or damages for foregoing the red beret to be accurately calculated, but a check on the authenticity of the personalities named sheds light on the negotiations carried on at the time and on the circle of people involved.

The man behind this spectacular affair was not the Polish aristocrat "Count Zizendorf", but quite clearly Philipp Ludwig Count Sinzendorf (1671-1742),²⁷ who came from the Friedau-Neuburg line. In contrast to his father, the infamous president of the Viennese court-chamber, Georg Ludwig Count Sinzendorf (1616-1681), he was in high standing at the imperial court and enjoyed great favour. Like Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736),²⁸ the most important military strategist of his time, Philipp Ludwig Count Sinzendorf served three Habsburg emperors. In 1695 at only 24, he was promoted to the post of imperial aulic councillor under Emperor Leopold I (1640-1705). While an envoy extraordinary in Paris in 1699 (on the eve of the War of Spanish Succession [1701-1714]), he was entrusted with sensitive diplomatic missions. Ordered back to Vienna

during the subsequent military clashes he was promoted to the position of privy councillor. Leopold's successor, Emperor Joseph I (1678-1711), nominated him as deputy Austrian aulic chancellor already on 3 June 1705. Only a decade later he was appointed court chancellor by Emperor Charles VI in 1715. After a structural reorganization of the aulic chancery in 1719 Sinzendorf (later to be honoured with the title *Obrister Hofkanzler*) gained complete competence over all foreign and dynastic affairs, which he decisively influenced up to his death in 1742.

Historians mainly denigrate Philipp Ludwig Count Sinzendorf's personality and character and accuse him of being (like his father) not averse to material pleasures and financial presents. Consequently we can conclude that he tried to realize some of his own projects by means of financial compensations. Add to this attitude someone like the Abbé Strickland, then hardly anything was likely to get in the way of the fulfilment of mutually satisfactory plans. In any case we can be certain that Count Sinzendorf's skilful manoeuvres and schemes were the basis for his second son's (i.e. Philipp Ludwig's) ecclesiastical career.²⁹

Twenty-six-year-old Philipp Ludwig, who had been baptised in the parish church of Saint Sulpice in Paris in 1699, where a few years later Strickland trained,³⁰ had been destined relatively early for the priesthood; first in Vienna and then in Rome, where (from 1714 onwards) he studied philosophy, theology and canon law at the famous *Collegio Romano*. While the most respected canonists of the eternal city were among his teachers, he formed numerous friendships with papal dignitaries. The ambitious Philipp Ludwig got his degree in theology on 26 November 1717 and a few weeks later, on 20 December 1717, his *laurea doctoralis in utroque iure*.

Very soon he obtained canonicates in Cologne, Salzburg, Olmütz and Passau, and even more the provostship at Ardagger as well as the income from the well-endowed abbey of Pécsvarad near Fünfkirchen in Lower Hungary. Although Count Sinzendorf failed to secure for his son the position of an *auditor rotae*, which had been vacant since the promotion of Michael Friedrich Count Althan (1680-1734)³¹ to cardinal on 29 November 1719, he managed (almost as a compensation for this failure) to receive Philipp Ludwig's imperial nomination to the Hungarian bishopric of Raab (today's Győr) on 5 May 1725. With the dispensation from his *defectus aetatis* as well as the retention of the canonicates in Salzburg and Olmütz for life and the abbey of Pécsvarad for a further three years, his promotion in the consistory on 11 September 1726 by Pope Benedict XIII was the beginning of a promising ecclesiastical career in the episcopal hierarchy. Only a short time later, on 20 June 1727, he acquired, with the help of his father's ambition and his own obsession, the papal briefs of eligibility to the sees of Salzburg and Olmütz; they were both endowed with substantial yearly incomes at the apostolic chamber (Salzburg with 240,000 and Olmütz with 80,000 florins).³² But the young Sinzendorf's hopes were badly disappointed when he failed to secure the votes for the archbishopric of Salzburg despite his briefs of eligibility after the incumbent Franz Anton von Harrach (1665-1727), had died on 19 July 1727. Instead the prince-bishop of Seckau, Leopold II Anton Eleutherius von Firmian (1679-1744) emerged victorious from the election on 4 October 1727.³³ This set-back in his relatively young career notwithstanding, the imperial aulic chancellor's son, still only 28 years old, would be compensated in a different way and by other means.

Philipp Ludwig von Sinzendorf's promotion to cardinal had been discussed with the

Roman curia for quite a while and this circumstance again stood in causal connection with Thomas J. F. Strickland's nomination to be bishop of Namur. It is quite likely that young Sinzendorf's father had already made contact with the ambitious Abbé in 1722/3 to find out what the latter's demands would be in the event of his renouncing the cardinal's hat. And it seems that he came to bilateral agreement not only with Strickland but also with the English government. This we can conclude from a written report from William Stanhope, first Earl of Harrington (?1690-1756) to Thomas Robinson, first Baron Grantham (1695-1770). The secretary of state's report to the English ambassador at the Viennese court clearly indicates that for political reasons the English ministry could not favour the political opportunist Strickland at that crucial moment:

You are I am persuaded not unacquainted that the bishop of Namur then Abbé Strickland had by his late Majesty's (i.e. King George I [+1727]) influence obtained ye (sic) king of Poland's nomination to be a cardinal, but that afterwards by reason of some changes that happen'd in ye (sic) ministry here, he was not supported from hence in that affair with ye (sic) same warmth with which it was at first set on foot, *but was obliged to resign his saide (sic) pretension in favour of Count Sinsendoff's (sic) son.*³⁴

Thus the English government led by the autocratic Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford (1676-1745),³⁵ who maintained Whig party discipline by seemingly modern methods of corruption, bribery and a highly efficient patronage system, had sacrificed Thomas J. F. Strickland to the preservation or rather to the promotion and consolidation of bilateral interests.³⁶ Although Abbé Strickland was denied the cardinal's hat mainly because of the English ministry's lack of support, King George I rewarded the cleric's loyal services (in earlier years) with the warmest recommendation to Emperor Charles VI about his nomination to the bishopric of Namur. Abbé Strickland's clerical career without any doubt had reached its zenith in November 1725,³⁷ though ". . . *contra il sentimento dell'arciduchessa, che aveva molto raccomandato il suffraganeo di Malines*".³⁸ Contemporary reports by England's provincial Jesuit clerics show that Archduchess Maria Elisabeth (1680-1741),³⁹ who was the governess and (after Prince Eugene's death in 1736) the regent of the Austrian Netherlands, was not alone in her misgivings over the bishop-elect's person and character:

Will it ever be said that Abbé Strickland would procure his bulls for a bishoprick (sic) in the Low Countries. Is not his character too well known in these parts, to be ever able to carry such a point. Pity those who are like to be under him.⁴⁰

To sum up, we can establish that the diplomatically active Austrian court chancellor had succeeded once more in securing for his career-minded son the support of a powerful ally and thereby transferred the foreign policies of his British coalition partner, which were supposedly guided by the principles of balance and convenience, to a highly personal and private level. Understandably the Sinzendorfs had to win over the no-less-ambitious Abbé with a lucrative counter-offer for their selfish and high-handed plans. The historians' criticism of the opportunistic cleric's lack of principles is lessened slightly by Strickland's subjugation to *Realpolitik*. We could almost think that the Abbé even had a certain far-sightedness. Might not the forty-year-old Charles VI have seemed more suitable to promote his very own interests than twenty-five-year-old King George I? This would very soon be proved upon the latter's death.

But Philipp Ludwig Count Sinzendorf had already set the course for his son's further advancement at the time of his nomination to Raab. These efforts would indeed be successful within a very short time. Although Pope Benedict XIII initially was against the Polish King's proposal to nominate a German, Philipp Ludwig von Sinzendorf was in the end received at the age of twenty-eight into the supreme senate of the Roman church on 26 November 1727.

Even before Sinzendorf's promotion to bishop of Raab had been ratified in the consistory, instructions were given on 31 August 1726 to comply with the formalities laid down for an episcopal informative process "*super qualitatibus electi*" and "*de statu ecclesiae*" at the Council of Trent and to implement the regulations of Pope Gregor XIV (1535-91) in 1591 and Pope Urban VIII (1568-1644) in 1627, so that consequently Abbé Strickland could be consecrated bishop of Namur.⁴¹

II. The Informative Process⁴²

Accredited to the court of Archduchess Maria Elisabeth, the later Cardinal Giuseppe Spinelli (1694-1763)⁴³ was responsible for the proper execution of the episcopal informative process. Since Thomas John Francis Strickland of "Sizergh" - as the apostolic nuncio of Flanders and of the Franche-Comté since 6 September 1725 referred to him in his introduction - "*in huius nunciaturae districtu cognitus non sit, bene autem in dioecesi Leodiensi*", Spinelli assigned the authority for carrying out the informative process to the previously mentioned Dean of Liège cathedral, François-Lambert, Baron de Selys. He thought that it would be easier for him to find those "*testes idoneos*" who could give truthful and satisfactory answers to the thirteen questions demanded in the process "*super qualitatibus electi*".⁴⁴ Supported by the apostolic protonotary and canon of the collegiate church St Martin in Liège, Ernest Harzée, François-Lambert started to question witnesses on 9 September 1726.⁴⁵

Altogether five witnesses were heard and their testimonies on the whole were in the candidate's favour. Although they could not make precise statements about Abbé Strickland's origin they said that he came from an old English Catholic background. According to reports from the parson of Spa, Pierre-Jacques Cocquelet, this was confirmed also by a number of Englishmen who had stayed in his parish for taking the waters ("*ad potandum aquas minerales*"). In addition, Strickland's significant connection with the Stuart court (his mother was the "*gubernatrix regis Angliae Iacobi Secundi* (i.e. King James II [1633-1701]⁴⁶ *in sua infantia*") was a point in favour of his person and of his character. Obviously the Abbé had successfully managed to be either pro- or anti-Stuart depending on the political requirements. It is true that the witnesses knew the candidate for different amounts of time and that they had very little knowledge about his academic career. Nonetheless they attested to his remarkable knowledge of canon law and, noting that he had proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Sorbonne ("*fuert renuntiatu primus*" of his year),⁴⁷ they thought him thoroughly worthy to succeed the late Ferdinand de Berlo de Brus. The witnesses had seen Abbé Strickland celebrating High Mass several times and according to the first witness, Pierre Joseph-François de Vien,⁴⁸ who had seen him in Rochefort, always "*cum magna omnium satisfactione et aedificatione*" of the congregation. Perpète Rolin, apostolic protonotary and canon of the collegiate church of St Martin in Liège, had also seen the priest six years previously

(1720) performing the "*cura animarum*", standing in for the curate of Spa's Capuchin church, and he too thought the candidate a worthy successor for the vacant bishopric. Furthermore he reported that Strickland had held the office of vicar general in a French diocese.⁴⁹ The Abbé had also proved his theological abilities on various occasions - according to Berthold, Baron de Wansoule,⁵⁰ provost of Liège cathedral, - not only during all the years of his pastoral appointments in the French metropolis; Cocquelet confirmed that Strickland had been superior of St Etienne-du-Mont/Paris and had fulfilled similar clerical functions in the church and seminary of St Sulpice/Paris,⁵¹ in Liège, and also in Vienna. There the bishop-elect had celebrated High Mass some three years previously (1723) "*cum applausu*" and in the presence of the Dowager Empress Amalie Wilhelmine of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Hanover (1673-1742),⁵² the Emperor Joseph I's widow. The fourth witness, Hubert de Chasteau, licentiate "*iuris utriusque*" and second lay assessor in Liège, in harmonious agreement emphasized especially the "*prudentia, integritas et mores*" of the candidate for the bishopric. All five witnesses agreed more or less on his age, judging him to be about forty, which they concluded "*ex facie et corporis constitutione*".

With the statements about his clerical career to date the witnesses' reports were exhausted "*super vita, moribus et requisitis electi*" and their reliability and truthfulness was confirmed with the signature of the two chairmen. The fact that the bishop-elect could not provide a certificate of baptism they tried to excuse on account of the general lack of parish registers ("*non registrari nomina baptizatorum in religione catholica*")⁵³ in Great Britain because of the rigorous persecution of Roman Catholics.

In a second part of the investigation proceedings Giuseppe Spinelli, assisted by the apostolic protonotary, Vincenzo Montalto,⁵⁴ had already, on 4 September 1726, started to question two witnesses who were due to give further information "*de statu ecclesiae cathedralis Namurcensis*".⁵⁵

Both the fifty-seven-year-old Jean Fontaine, one-time canon of the cathedral and president of the seminary of Namur for twenty-five years, and his junior by twenty years, François Wilmart, who had been secretary to the late bishop (i.e. Ferdinand de Berlo de Brus) for the last eleven years and for five years canon, first put on record a geographical definition of Namur's position. They pointed out the socio-economic importance of the growing town with a population of 17,000.⁵⁶ Situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, they stressed Namur's explosive geo-political and denominational role caused by its proximity to the States General to which as yet no one had fallen victim despite the presence of numerous "*militibus acatholicis*". Everyone in and around Namur saw themselves as Emperor Charles VI's loyal subjects.

Secondly, about the cathedral consecrated to St Alban,⁵⁷ they jointly declared that the buildings, both the cathedral and the adjoining episcopal palace, should be renovated and restored as soon as possible in order to bring back the splendour and glory of the episcopal church, which had been built on the foundations of a college founded in 1047. The diocese had been separated from Liège in 1559, but its belonging to the metropolitan was cited as "*esse suffraganeam archiepiscopi Cameracensis*".

Thirdly, the witnesses agreed as well concerning the chapter's dignitaries, pastoral activities and church equipment and furnishings.

The fourth question dealt with the diocese's financial situation. The annual budget was 12,000 florins from which 150 florins had to be deducted "*in favorem Ioannis*

Bapt(ist)ae Stegers Viennae in Austria scholaris" (a pension ["*vulgo appellatur panis abbatiæ*"]⁵⁸ personally granted by the emperor); this was taken from the Abbey of Brogne or St Gérard.⁵⁹

Fifthly, concerning spiritual institutions and organization, both witnesses stated that there were five parishes within the town of Namur, each of which had its own baptismal font. According to the statements there were six monasteries and seven nunneries, fourteen brotherhoods, two hospitals as well as a "*mons pietatis*", which means a public pawnshop within the immediate catchment area of the city.

Besides precise details about the territorial expansion of the entire diocese, in which there were supposed to be 320 parishes, Jean Fontaine and François Wilmart also pointed out the importance of the seminary in Namur as a theological and spiritual place of training. It had been badly affected by the recent war (i.e. War of Spanish Succession) and found itself in a very precarious financial situation so that it admitted only four scholars at that time. It was hoped, however, to increase that number to six or even eight.

With the question about the cause and duration of the vacancy of the episcopal see, which both set as 24 August 1725 (i.e. the date of Ferdinand de Berlo's death), the examination of the witnesses was brought to a close.

The nuncio and his auditor confirmed the accuracy of the statement on 5 September 1726 with signature and seal and so, with the arrival of the first part of the questionnaire "*in aedibus residentiae Bruxellis*", nothing else stood in the way of passing it on to the papal curia. Abbé Strickland had already solemnly sworn the "*iuramentum professionis fidei*"⁶⁰ on 31 August 1726 and professed the constitutions of Pope Innocent X (1574-1655) of 31 May 1635, of Pope Alexander VII (1599-1667) of 16 October 1656 and of Pope Clement XI (1649-1721) of 16 July 1705;⁶¹ all these condemned very strongly the heresies of Jansenism.

A copy of all the documents (the original was kept in the nunciature's archives in Brussels) was sent to Rome for further processing. Worth mentioning is Strickland's petition in the case files. In it the Abbé asked the consistorial congregation to accept the episcopal informative process by the nunciature in Brussels despite its not having been carried out strictly in accordance with the particular instruction "*Si processus*" of Pope Urban VIII of 1627. This instruction stipulated that each inquiry had to have as a member the papal curia's own representative (as a rule it was the nuncio himself) who took responsibility for questioning the witnesses. A certain illegality had occurred because Giuseppe Spinelli had transferred his authority to one of Strickland's confidants and patrons. His petition was accepted, and on 12 November 1726 the congregation's auditor, the later Cardinal Giuseppe Accoramboni (1672-1747),⁶² proposed the ratification of the inquiry's findings despite the existence of one or two formal defects in the proceedings and the lack of a certificate of baptism - the latter being excused with the remark that "*aperitur in Anglia non retineri libros baptizatorum*".⁶³

Only Pope Benedict XIII, who seemed to be better informed about the past and the character of the wordly-wise Abbé than was his predecessor, the de' Conti Pope Innocent XIII (1655-1724), did not endorse without reservation the cardinal's commission composed of the Cardinals Alvaro Cienfuegos SJ (1657-1739), Francesco Barberini (1662-1738), Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651-1737) and Benedetto Pamfili (+1730).⁶⁴ Thus Benedict XIII presented Thomas J. F. Strickland (through a confidant of Cardinal Cienfuegos)

with a twenty-point-long questionnaire, upon which the priest was supposed to comment.⁶⁵ Besides specific inquiries about his personal career, his social ambience and his rather ambivalent relationship with King George I and the English Catholics between 1714/1715 and 1719/1720, the interrogation included the unpleasant question as to whether the Abbé had been promised the cardinal's hat by the king of Poland. His answer to the latter was that it was pure rumour; in answering the other questions Thomas J.F. Strickland showed a great deal of diplomatic sensitivity. So in the end the papal curia came to the cogent conclusion, which the cynical Abbé himself wryly formulated, when asked why as a stranger he had been proposed for the bishopric of Namur:

*Canones certe nullam originis sed virtutis et doctrinae in ecclesiasticis electionibus rationem haberi volunt.*⁶⁶

That conclusion turned the last opposition in Abbé Strickland's favour. When on 20 December 1726 he received a dispensation (made out by the secretary of the briefs, Cardinal Fabio Olivieri [1658-1738]) about the missing proof that "*parentes suos catholicos natos fuisse*", the bishop-elect's appointment had entered its last and decisive phase.⁶⁷ Exactly one month later, on 20 January 1727, the political cleric had reached the zenith of his ecclesiastical career. Very much resented by the English Jesuits, the Orsini Pope in the consistory ceremonially promoted Thomas J. F. Strickland of Sizergh to be bishop of Namur on the recommendation of the imperial envoy in Rome, Cardinal Alvaro Cienfuegos, and granted him likewise the retention of the prebend of St Pierre de Préaux in the diocese of Lisieux in Normandy.⁶⁸

Five weeks later, on 28 February 1727, Abbé Strickland was consecrated bishop of Namur in the cathedral of St Rombaut⁶⁹ by Cardinal Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace-Boussu (1679-1759),⁷⁰ the archbishop of Malines. On 15 May 1727, on the eve of Whitsunday, this native-born Englishman was installed in his own cathedral and documented thereby in an impressive manner his defection to the service of Emperor Charles VI.⁷¹ Financially Bishop Strickland was sufficiently well-off and he changed his lord and master just in time because only a short while afterwards, on 22 June 1727, his former protector, King George I had died.

Despite Strickland's opportunism he felt a great sense of involvement and responsibility toward the renovation of the dilapidated episcopal buildings in Namur. In particular the first five of his thirteen years as bishop were marked by his active and untiring efforts to win over financiers and culturally interested sponsors to obtain the money necessary to restore the episcopal palace and adjacent buildings. As early as April 1727 Bishop Strickland had asked the Viennese court for an undefined "*somme nécessaire pour les réparations de l'évêché*".⁷² Strickland with his acknowledged appreciation for and sense of culture and the arts, indeed managed to get from various sources the means for realizing his plans. The same zeal, however, which the cleric applied to raising loans, he did not exhibit when repayments with high rates of interest were due. His successor, Paul-Godefroid de Berlo de Franc-Douaire (1701-1771),⁷³ regretfully noticed this gap in 1740 when he had to ask for leniency about his inherited debts.⁷⁴ Besides Strickland's extensive building activities, his services to the administrative life of Namur are especially notable.⁷⁵

During his time in office Thomas J. F. Strickland made a name for himself as pioneer

and defender of the Catholic faith in various burning questions of church policies.⁷⁶ He became directly involved with the latent conflict between Catholics and Jansenists, otherwise known as Quesnellists, who had in the seventy-year-old Jean Soanen (+1740), bishop of Senez, their staunchest and keenest advocate.⁷⁷ Provoked by the latter's obstinacy and steadfast refusal to recognize the papal bulls "*Unigenitus*" and "*Pastoralis officii*", Soanen's metropolitan, Pierre de Guérin de Tencin (+1758), the archbishop of Embrun, was forced to summon a provincial council dealing with the schismatic doctrines of the refractory bishop.⁷⁸ The new bishop of Namur, Thomas J. F. Strickland, commented impressively and vehemently in the course of this internal church argument against the renegade. Bishop Strickland expressed repeatedly in writing his conviction that the unity, integrity and firmness of faith had to be protected and conserved, "*pour le bien de l'église*", namely the "*ecclesia Romana*".⁷⁹

Yet this ambitious careerist and opportunist found himself very soon on the stage of world politics again, not as a main actor but as an agent in a secret diplomatic mission.⁸⁰ Bishop Thomas John Francis Strickland saw himself as a servant of the imperial monarchy as well as of the Catholic church - as *homo politicus* as well as *homo religiosus*, following in that role personalities such as the French cardinals Richelieu (1585-1642), Mazarin (1602-1661), Dubois (1656-1723) and Fleury (1653-1743). The bishop of Namur tried to obtain King George II's (1683-1760)⁸¹ active participation in the War of Polish Succession (1733-1738) to the benefit of his new chosen country, Austria. This extremely difficult and delicate operation, which did not show Habsburg's military might at its most brilliant, made clear that Dr Thomas J. F. Strickland, the bishop of Namur, had indeed sold the cardinal's hat for purely political and tactical reasons, something which he never forgot completely. But the failure of his negotiations and intrigues denied him the status of those upon whom he had modelled himself up to the time of his death in Louvain on 14 January 1740.⁸²

Notes and References

¹ Mainly based on hitherto unpublished source material from Roman and Viennese archives, this paper is the second of a three-part-series on the ecclesiastical and political career of Dr Thomas J. F. Strickland; for part I see Gernot O. Gürtler, "*Homo Politicus or Homo Religiosus*"? - "Thomas J. F. Strickland of Sizergh (?1682-1740)", CW2, lxxxix, 207-231; for a slightly different German version of this article see G. O. Gürtler, "Der verkaufte Kardinals purpur" - "Studien zur Genese eines englischen Polit-Klerikers des 18. Jahrhunderts: Thomas John Francis Strickland (?1682-1740)". *Historische Blickpunkte - Festschrift für Johann Rainer. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 25 (Innsbruck, 1988) 195-215; for Strickland's part in preventing the Stuart-Sobieski marriage see G. O. Gürtler, *Deceptis Custodibus* or "Liberty Lost - Liberty Regained", Royal Stuart Papers, xxxv (Huntingdon, 1990) (in particular 10-11) and G. O. Gürtler "Der Innsbrucker Brautraub" - Die Entführung der Maria Clementina Sobieska nach englischen, österreichischen und römischen Quellen". *Innsbrucker Historische Studien* 5 (Innsbruck, 1982) 27-46 (in particular 37-38); for a comprehensive study of Strickland see also G. O. Gürtler, *Ein Diplomat im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Kirche: Studien zu Thomas John Francis Strickland (?1682-1740)*, unpubl. thesis (Innsbruck, 1981).

² Alfons Maria Stickler, cardinal of the curia, in an interview 1987. ("Der Rauch Satans ist in die Kirche eingedrungen". *Profil* 18 [Vienna, 1987] 72).

³ See John Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* 2 (London, 181972) 872; Henry Hornyold-Strickland, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Strickland of Sizergh* (Kendal, 1928) 151-159; David Scott of Penrith, *The Stricklands of Sizergh Castle - The records of twenty-five generations of a Westmorland family* (Kendal, 1908) 189-195; John F. Curwen, "Strickland of Sizergh", CW1, x, 66-74;

Edward Bellasis (*Lancaster Herald*), "Strickland of Sizergh", CWI, x, 75-94 (with pedigree); for Strickland's family connections see also the recent publication by Geoffrey Holt, *William Strickland and the Suppressed Jesuits* (London, 1988) 6.

Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests - A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales*, 3 [1660-1715], (Great Wakering, 1976) 213, Thompson Cooper, "Thomas John Francis Strickland". *Dictionary of National Biography* (=DNB) 19 (London, 1909) 53, D. Scott, *Stricklands of Sizergh Castle*, 190 and Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or, Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from the Breach with Rome, in 1534, to the Present Time* (London-New York, 1885-1902) 533, (wrongly) consider him to be the fourth-born son of Sir Thomas Strickland. Another major mistake in John Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by J. H. Pollen and E. Burton (London, 1909) 223, who thought him to be the son of Sir Thomas's first wife Jane, widow of Sir Christopher Dawney, and daughter and co-heiress of John Moseley of Uskelf (Worcester), instead of Thomas's second wife, Winifred (1645-1725), elder daughter and co-heiress of Sir Christopher Trentham of Rochester, who he had married in 1674.

Strickland's exact date of birth is uncertain. According to John Lord Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second from his accession to the death of Queen Caroline*, ed. by J. W. Croker, 1 (London, 1848) 392, he was born in 1679; Dieudonné Brouwers, "Notice sur Msgr. Strickland". *Biographie Nationale*, 24 (Bruxelles, 1926-1929) 180-183 and N. J. Aigret, *Histoire de l'église et du chapitre de Saint Aubin à Namur* (Namur, 1881) xii and 663 thought him to be 57 when he died in 1740. Summerfield Baldwin, "The Catholic Negotiation 1717-1719". *Benedictine Historical Monographs*, 1 (St Anselm's Priory/Washington, 1926) 16fn. 2 even took 1684/85 as his possible birth-date. I refer to H. Hornyold-Strickland, *Genealogical Memoirs*, 151, who justifies his opinion that Thomas' elder brother seems to have been born in 1680; an opinion which was rectified in a letter by the late Thomas Henry Hornyold-Strickland of 15 February, 1978.

⁴ The first reports that Strickland might be nominated to a bishopric in the Austrian Netherlands at the instigation of the Holy Roman Emperor can be dated back as early as 1719. See [London], Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (=AAW), *Epistolae Variorum*, 6, 120 ([John] Ingleton to [Lawrence] Mayes/21 August, 1719: "Dr Strickland is named by the emperor to the bishopric of Ypres"); the diocese had been vacant since the death of Charles François de Laval-Montmorency (+1713) and was transferred to Johannes de Smet (+1741) not before 3 February, 1721; see Remigius Ritzler - Pirminus Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica mediæ et recentioris aevi*, 5 [1667-1730] (Patavii, 1952), 420 (sub Ypren, seu Ipre.).; for Strickland's nomination to the diocese of Namur see [Rome - Città del Vaticano], Archivio Segreto Vaticano (=ASV), *Processus Episcoporum S. Congregationis Consistorialis*, 113 [1727] fol. 454-471; Louis Jadin, "Procès d'information pour la nomination des évêques et abbés des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de Franche-Comté d'après les archives de la Congrégation Consistoriale", 3 (1713-1794). *Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome*, 11 (Rome, 1931) 50-55 (Procès de nomination de Thomas-Jean-François de Strickland, proposé pour le siège épiscopal de Namur - 1726); see also Louis Antheunis, "Thomas Strickland, évêque de Namur, au service de la couronne d'Angleterre". *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* [3^e livraison] 122 (Bruxelles, 1957) 239-259.

⁵ See G. O. Gürtler, "Homo Politicus or Homo Religiosus", 207-231; S. Baldwin, "The Catholic Negotiation 1717-1719", 5-40; for an analysis of the documents preserved in Ushaw College/Durham see Eamon Duffy, "Englishmen in Vaine" - "Roman Catholic Allegiance to George I". *Studies in Church History*, 18 (London, 1981) 345-365; see also Basil Williams, *Stanhope - A Study in Eighteenth-Century War and Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1932 [reprint 1968]), 384-418 (in particular 396-398); Basil Hemphill (vere Whelan), *The Early Vicars Apostolic of England 1685-1750* (London, 1954) *passim*; Wolfgang Michael, *Englische Geschichte im 18. Jahrhundert*, 2 [Das Zeitalter Walpoles] (Berlin-Leipzig, 1920) 121-129; Charles Vane, Marquess of Londonderry (ed.), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh* [Second Marquess of Londonderry] 4 (London, 1849) 435-479 (Appendix); for a detailed study of the Catholic situation on the British Isles in the 18th century see Ludwig Hammermayer, "Papists" oder "Roman Catholic Citizens" ? - "Zur Toleranz und frühen Katholikenemanzipation auf den Britischen Inseln im 18. Jahrhundert". *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* [Formen der europäischen Aufklärung] 3 (Wien, 1976) 20-80 (with comprehensive literature); Patrick J. Corish, "Die Lage der Katholiken in Großbritannien und Irland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert". *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 5 (Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1970) 194-205; Robert W. Linker, "English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century" - An Interpretation. *Church History*, 35 [Oreland, 1966] 288-310; for a general survey see also Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters - From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978); John Cedric H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe - The Catholic Recusants in*

- England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976); John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (Cambridge, 1974); Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1934 [(reprint 1962)]); Mary D. Leys, *Catholics in England (1559-1829) - A Social History* (London, 1961) as well as numerous publications on specific topics by the Catholic Record Society (=CRS).
- ⁶ For George I see Ragnhild M. Hatton, "New Light on George I of Great Britain". *England's Rise to Greatness (1660-1763)*, ed. by S. Baxter (Berkeley, 1983), 213-255; R. M. Hatton, *George I - Elector and King* (London, 1978 - German edition: *Ein deutscher Kurfürst auf Englands Thron* (Frankfurt, 1982)); R. M. Hatton, "In Search of an Elusive Ruler", *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* [Fürst-Bürger-Mensch] 2 (Wien, 1975), 11-41; Georg Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers im Zeitalter der Neunten Kur und der englischen Sukzession 1674-1714*, 4 vols. (Hildesheim, 1938-1982); for the political upheavals at the beginning of his reign see Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London, 1980), 107-179; Claude Nordmann, "Louis XIV and the Jacobites". *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. by R. M. Hatton (London, 1976) 82-111; see also Rupert C. Jarvis, *Collected Papers on the Jacobite Risings*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1971/72); John Baynes, *The Jacobite Rising of 1715* (London, 1970); George H. Jones, *The Mainstream of Jacobitism* (Cambridge/Mass., 1954); Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement, the first Phase (1688-1716)* (London, 1948); Ch. Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement, the last Phase (1716-1807)* (London, 1950); Patrick Purcell, "The Jacobite Rising of 1715 and the English Catholics". *English Historical Review*, 44 (London, 1929) 418-432.
- ⁷ See AAW, *Epistolae Variorum* 7, 70 (R[obert] Witham with addition from Thomas Brockholes [Douai ?] to Mayes/13 August, 1721: "His [i.e. Strickland's] behaviour is as little edifying as ever").
- ⁸ See AAW, *Epistolae Variorum* 6, 101 (Ingleton to Mayes/Paris, 14 November, 1718); see also John M. Graham, *Annals and Correspondence of the Viscount and the First and Second Earls of Stair*, 2 (Edinburgh-London, 1875) 63 (Stair to Stanhope/Paris, 25 August, 1718); Philippe de Courcillon [Marquis de Dangeau] *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, publié en entier pour la première fois par MM. Soulié, Dussieux, de Chennevières, Mantz, de Montaigton, avec les additions inédites du Duc de Saint Simon publiées par M. Feuillet de Conches*, 17 (Paris, 1854-1860) 420; Michel Francisque, *Les Ecossais en France - Les Français en Ecosse*, 2 (Londres, 1862) 397-398 and fn. 1.
- ⁹ See AAW, *Epistolae Variorum* 7, 70 (Witham to Mayes/13 August, 1721); for Frederick Augustus see Karl Czok, *August der Starke und Kursachen* (München, 1988); Georg Piltz, *August der Starke - Träume und Taten eines deutschen Fürsten* (Berlin, 1986).
- ¹⁰ For the following see [London], British Library, *Additional MSS* 20.313 (Papers of Card^l F. A. Gualterio - Miscellaneous Papers relating to England, 3 [1719-1727] fol. 149-150; *Gallia Christiana*, 11 (Paris, 1870) 842.
- ¹¹ See part II.
- ¹² For the ecclesiastical politics of the Wittelsbachs see Manfred Weitlauff, "Die Reichskirchenpolitik des Hauses Bayern unter Kurfürst Max Emanuel (1679-1726)". *Münchener Theologische Studien* [I. Abteilung] 24 (St Ottilien, 1985); Max Braubach, "Kurfürst Josef Clemens von Köln als Vermittler zwischen Versailles und Wien" [Diplomatie und geistiges Leben im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert]. *Bonner Historische Forschungen*, 33 (Bonn, 1969) 289-300.
- ¹³ See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica* 5 [1667-1730], 386 (sub Trapezuntin.); for his activities as internuncio and nuncio see Jacques Thielens, "La correspondance de Vincenzo Santini - Internonce aux Pays-Bas (1713-1721)". *Analecta-Vaticano-Belgica* [Documents publiés par l'Institut historique Belge de Rome] 12 [Nonciature de Flandre] (Bruxelles-Rome, 1969); Léon E. Halkin, "Les Archives des Nonciatures". *Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome*, 14 (Bruxelles-Rome, 1968), 66 (Vincenzo Santini [1721-1722]).
- ¹⁴ Styling himself as "the Chevalier de St George" King James III of England and James VIII of Scotland is perhaps best known as "the Old Pretender"; see Jeremy Potter, *Pretenders* (London, 1986) 158-177; Peggy Miller, *James* (London, 1971); Bryan Bevan, *King James the Third of England - A Study of Kingship in Exile* (London, 1967).
- ¹⁵ For the Stuart's residence in Rome see Henrietta Tayler, "The Jacobite Court at Rome in 1719". *Publications of the Scottish History Society*, 31 [3rd series] (Edinburgh, 1938).
- ¹⁶ See [Vienna], Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (=HHStA), Staatenabteilung England - Varia [Kart. 8] fol. 9, Thomas J. F. Strickland to Wolf Wertheimer [a famous Viennese banker]/Liège, 1 November 1724: *Je vous prie de payer à l'ordre de Monsieur le General de St Saphorin Ministre de Sa Majesté Britannique à Vienne la somme de quatre mille florins, qui me sont dûs aujourd'huy (sic) en vertu d'un engagement par vous passé en ma faveur à Prague et de placer cette somme ainsy (sic) payée à compter . . .* (signed by Strickland's own hand);

such payments were executed on 12 October 1724 (fol. 17), on 1 May 1725 (fol. 15), on 1 November 1725 (fol. 14) and on 27 May 1726 (fol. 8) and the receipt of them was confirmed by Strickland himself: *Je soussigné reconnois d'avoir reçu de Monsieur Wertheimer, la somme de quatre Mils (sic) florins, qui me sont dûs aujourd'huy (sic) en vertu d'un engagement par luy (sic) passé en ma faveur à Prague. Fait à Vienne . . . ; these payments are probably the only proof for Strickland's financial deal!*

For St Saphorin see Theo Gehling, "Ein europäischer Diplomat am Kaiserhof zu Wien - François Louis de Pesme, Seigneur de Saint Saphorin, als englischer Resident am Wiener Hof (1718-1727)". *Bonner Historische Forschungen*, 25 (Bonn, 1964) (in particular 113-115); Hugo Hantsch, "Die drei großen Relationen St Saphorins über die inneren Verhältnisse am Wiener Hof zur Zeit Karls VI". *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 58 (Wien, 1950) 625-636; Sven Stelling-Michaud, *Saint Saphorin et la politique de la Suisse pendant la guerre de Succession d'Espagne (1700-1710)* (Lyon, 1935).

¹⁷ See Joseph Berington, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England, including the Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, Envoy from Rome to the English Court, in 1643, 1644 and 1645* (London, 1813) 409; for Stanislaus Leszczyński see Josef Feldman, *Stanislaus Leszczyński* (Warsaw, ²1959); Pierre Boyé, *La cour polonoise de Lunéville* (Paris, 1926).

¹⁸ See J. Lord Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, 392.

¹⁹ For a short biography see G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, 3 [1660-1715] 252-254; for Douai college at that time see also *CRS*, 28 [The Douay College Diaries - The Seventh Diary (1715-1778) preceded by a summary of events 1691-1715] ed. by E. H. Burton and E. Nolan (London, 1928).

²⁰ See H. Hornyold-Strickland, *Genealogical Memoirs*, 155.

²¹ See note 37.

²² See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730] 279 (sub Namurcen.); for his nomination to the diocese see L. Jadin, "Procès d'information pour la nomination des évêques et abbés des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de Franche-Comté d'après les archives de la Congregation Consistoriale", 2 [1637-1709]. *Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome*, 9 (Rome, 1929) 294-299.

²³ See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730] 37 (14) and 226 (sub Iauri(n)en.); Remigius Ritzler - Pirmin Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica mediæ et recentioris aevi*, 6 [1730-1799] (Patavii, 1958) 445 (sub Vratislaven.); *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (=ADB), 34 (Leipzig, 1892) 412-416; for his later career see Alfred A. Strnad, "Der Kampf um ein Eligibilitätsbrevé - Römische Quellen zur Breslauer Bischofswahl des Kardinals Philipp Ludwig von Sinzendorf (1732)". *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, 33 (Hildesheim, 1975) 68-124.

²⁴ For short biographies of the popes mentioned in this article see Josef Gelmi, *Die Päpste in Lebensbildern* (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1983), 151 (Gregor XIV), 156-158 (Urban VIII), 158-160 (Innocent X), 162-163 (Alexander VII), 171-173 (Clement XI), 173 (Innocent XIII), 173-174 (Benedict XIII).

²⁵ See J. Lord Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, 392-393.

²⁶ See B. Hemphill, *Vicars Apostolic*, 123; see also note 4.

²⁷ See Hugo Hantsch, "Reichsvizekanzler Graf Friedrich Karl von Schönborn und Hofkanzler Graf Philipp Ludwig Sinzendorf". *Etudes européennes* [Mélanges offerts à Victor Lucien Tapié] (Paris, 1973) 454-463; *ADB*, 34, 408-412; for his and his father's political activities see also John P. Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria* (London, 1977 - German edition: *Leopold I. Zur Macht nicht geboren* [Graz-Wien-Köln, 1981]), *passim*; Oswald Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock - Österreich in der Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I* (Wien, ⁴1961) *passim*; Charles W. Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburgs* (West Lafayette, 1979 - German edition: *Joseph I - Der vergessene Kaiser* [Graz-Wien-Köln, 1982]), *passim*; Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin, "Kaiser Joseph I. zwischen Kaisertradition und österreichischer Großmachtspolitik". *Historische Zeitschrift*, 215 (München, 1972) 529-606 (*passim*); Michael Hughes, "Law and politics in eighteenth century Germany: The Imperial Aulic Council in the reign of Charles VI". *Royal Historical Society Studies in History*, 55 (Bury St Edmunds, 1988) *passim*; for Philipp Ludwig's diplomatic activities in France see also Ludwig Bittner - Lothar Groß, eds., *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648)*, 1 [1648-1715] (Berlin, 1936) 141.

²⁸ See Johannes Kunisch, ed., *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen und seine Zeit* (Würzburg, 1986); Karl Gutkas, *Prinz Eugen und das barocke Österreich* (Salzburg, 1985); Gottfried Mraz, *Prinz Eugen - Ein Leben in Bildern und Dokumenten* (München, 1985); Gerda Mraz, *Prinz Eugen - Sein Leben - Sein Wirken - Seine Zeit* (Wien, 1985); Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London, 1977); Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen - Eine Biographie*, 5 vols. (München-Wien, 1963-1965).

²⁹ Here Witham's subjective reporting has to be corrected in a second important matter. The report refers not

- to Count Sinzendorf's "nephew", but to the aulic chancellor's second son. For Philipp Ludwig's mother, Regina Katharina Isabella Rosalia Countess Waldstein, the widowed Countess Löwenstein-Wertheim-Rochefort (1672-1733) see J[ohann] Siebmacher's *Wappenbuch*, 26/2 [Die Wappen des Adels in Niederösterreich] (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1983) 158.
- ³⁰ See G. O. Gürtler, *Homo Politicus* or *Homo Religiosus*, 210.
- ³¹ See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730] 32 (66) and 402 (sub Vacien.); *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 1 (Berlin, 1953) 220; Norbert Huber, "Österreich und der Heilige Stuhl vom ende des Spanischen Erbfolgekrieges bis zum Tode Papst Klemens XI (1714-1721)". *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 126 (Wien, 1967) *passim*; Alphons Lhotsky, "Kaiser Karl VI. und sein Hof im Jahre 1712/13". *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 66 (Wien, 1958), 52-80 (*passim*); for his position as "auditor rotae" see Richard Blaas, "Das kaiserliche Auditorat bei der Sacra Rota Romana". *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 11 (Wien, 1958), 37-152 (in particular 90-91).
- ³² See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 340 (sub Salisburgen.) and 296 (sub Olomucen.).
- ³³ For Franz Anton von Harrach see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 196 (sub Epiphan(i)en), 341 (sub Salisburgen.) and 414 (sub Viennen. seu Vindobonen.); for Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 239 (sub Lavantin.), 341 (sub Salisburgen.) and 349 (sub Secovien.); Karl Klamminger, "Leopold II Anton Eleutherius Freiherr von Firmian (1724-1727)". *Die Bischöfe von Graz-Seckau*, ed. by K. Amon (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1969) 336-339; for both see also Franz Martin, *Salzburgs Fürsten in der Barockzeit 1587-1812* (Salzburg, 1982) 164-176 (Harrach) and 177-197 (Firmian); Johannes Graf von Moÿ, "Die Hintergründe der Fürstungen im Salzburger Domkapitel - Ein Beitrag zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Erzstiftes im 18. Jahrhundert". *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* [119. Vereinsjahr, 1979] (Salzburg, 1980), 231-259.
- ³⁴ See HHStA, *Staatenabteilung England - Varia* [Kart. 8] fol. 217-220 (for the English version in particular fol. 217-218: Copy of a Letter from My Lord Harrington one of his Brittanick (sic) Majesty's Principall (sic) Secretarys (sic) of State to Mr Robinson his Minister Plenipotentiary at ye (sic) Court of Vienna/ Whitehall/7 March, 1722/1723); for Stanhope, the secretary of state for the northern department since 1730, see *DNB*, 18 (London, 1909) 927-931; Basil Williams, "The Whig Supremacy". *Oxford History of England*, 11 (Oxford, 1939) *passim*; for Robinson see *DNB* 17 (London, 1909) 47-49; Friedrich Hausmann, ed., *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648)*, 2 [1716-1763] (Zürich, 1950), 146; Gisela Steuer, *Englands Österreichpolitik in den Jahren 1730-1735 nach den Berichten des englischen Gesandten am Wiener Hof, Thomas Robinson*, unpubl. thesis (Bonn, 1957).
- ³⁵ See Jeremy M. Black, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole* (Edinburgh, 1985); Harry T. Dickinson, *Walpole and the Whig Supremacy* (Oxford, 1973); John H. Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole*, 2 vols. (London, 1956/1960).
- ³⁶ At the same time Walpole had lost a loyal and valuable informer "at the court of Rome, upon whose ability and zeale (sic)" the English government could have counted in the latent conflict between the royalist Anglicans and the Jacobite Catholics; see HHStA, *Staatenabteilung England - Varia* [Kart. 8] fol. 217.
- ³⁷ See *CRS*, 28, 128 (November, 1725: *Item D. Abbas Stricklandus famosus ille dicitur nominatus ab Imperatore ad petitionem Georgii Angliae, ut dicitur, Regis Episcopus Namurcensis*); on 13 March 1726 his nomination was officially announced to the chapter of Namur; see also H. Hornyold-Strickland, *Genealogical Memoirs*, 155.
- ³⁸ See *ASV, Nunziatura di Fiandra*, t. 117 (Lettere de Mr Nunzio [i.e. Monsr Spinelli] in Fiandra/1725) fol. 469 (Brussels, 16 November, 1725).
- ³⁹ Maria Elisabeth was the daughter of Emperor Leopold I from his third marriage with Eleonore Magdalena of Pfalz-Neuburg (1655-1720) and the sister of the reigning Emperor Charles VI; see Brigitte Hamann, ed., *Die Habsburger - Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Wien, 1988), 80-81 (Eleonore Magdalena) and 319-320 (Maria Elisabeth).
- ⁴⁰ See [London], Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, *Archiv. Prov. Angl. 1* (Section 2: Extracts by Father Thorpe from the letters of English Provincials to the Rectors of the English College [1707-1730]) fol. 29 (?/1725).
- ⁴¹ For the historical development of the episcopal informative process see R. Ritzler, "Die bischöflichen Informativprozesse in den *Processus Consistoriales* im Archiv des Kardinalkollegs bis 1907". *Römische-Historische Mitteilungen*, 2 [1957/1958] (Graz-Köln, 1959), 204-220; R. Ritzler, "Bischöfliche Informativprozesse im Archiv der Datarie". *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*,

- 50 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1955), 95-101; A. A. Strnad, "Processus inquisitionis Ecclesiae Viennensis - Materialien zur Geschichte des Fürstbistums Wien aus dem Vatikanischen Geheimarchiv". *Festschrift Franz Loidl zum 65. Geburtstag.*, 3 (Wien, 1971), 267-290; A. A. Strnad, "Wahl und Informativproze Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms von Österreich, Fürstbischof von Breslau (1655-1662). Nach römischen Quellen". *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, 26 (Hildesheim, 1968), 153-190 (in particular 175-178); *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum* [Taurinensis editio] 9 (Augustae Taurinorum, 1865), 419-424 n. XVII; Aemilius L. Richter, *Canones et decreta concilii Tridentini* (Lipsiae, 1853), 489-494 n. IV.
- ⁴² For the following see ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 113 [1727] fol. 454-471; Louis Jadin, "Procès d'information", 3 [1713-1794], 50-55.
- ⁴³ See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 (1667-1730), 173 (sub Corinthien.); R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 6 [1730-1799], 7 (20) and 304 (sub Neapolitan.).
- ⁴⁴ For these questions see *Bullarium diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum* [Taurinensis editio], 13 (Augustae Taurinorum, 1868), 581-588 n. CCLV; A. L. Richter, *Canones et decreta*, 494-500 n.V.
- ⁴⁵ See ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 113 [1727], fol. 455v-459v; wrong in L. Jadin, "Procès d'information", 3 [1713-1794], 51 (3 September, 1726).
- ⁴⁶ See Maurice Ashley, *James II - King of England* (London, 1977).
- ⁴⁷ For Strickland's *curriculum vitae* see G. O. Gürtler, *Homo Politicus* or *Homo Religiosus*, 209-210.
- ⁴⁸ Pierre Joseph-François de Vien, the canon of Tournai cathedral, was honorary chamberlain to the bishop, Johann Ernst von Löwenstein (1667-1731); for Löwenstein see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 383-384 (sub Tornacen.); A. A. Strnad, "Kardinal Damian Hugo Reichsgraf von Schönborn im Lichte neuer Quellen". *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 24 (Speyer am Rhein, 1972), 107-153 (in particular 124-125 and fn. 66); Frédéric Alvin, "Jean-Ernest de Löwenstein". *Biographie Nationale*, 12 (Bruxelles, 1892-1893), 527-528.
- ⁴⁹ Apart from Strickland's promotion to the Abbey of St Pierre de Préaux in Normandy in late 1718, the only evidence about an ecclesiastical office in a French diocese we have is that in late 1716 or early 1717 Strickland had met Cardinal Henri de Thiard de Bissy (1657-1737), bishop of Méaux, who had promised him a clerical position in his own diocese. These promises, however, were regretfully withdrawn by the bishop after the intervention of Queen Mary of Modena (1658-1718) in February 1717; in July 1718 Strickland had boasted of being very soon made vicar general [of Soissons ?] with "a benefice under Cardinal de Bissy at Méaux", a position which (after Mary of Modena's death [7 May, 1718]) ought not to be withheld from him any longer, but nothing was ever granted; see Ch. Vane (ed.), *Castlereagh Correspondence*, 447 (de Bissy to Strickland/Paris, 9 February, 1717); AAW, *Epistolae Variorum* 6, 85 (Ingleton to Mayes/St Germain, 8 May, 1718) and 93 (Witham to Mayes/28 July, 1718); for de Bissy see *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, 9 (Paris, 1937) 14-16; R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 29 (48) 263 (sub Melden.) and 394 (sub Tullen.); for Mary of Modena see Bryan Bevan, *I was James II's Queen* (London, 1963); Carola Oman, *Mary of Modena* (London, 1962).
- ⁵⁰ See Paul Harsin, *Les relations extérieures de la principauté de Liège (1668-1768)* (Liège, 1927) 216.
- ⁵¹ See *Gallia Christiana*, 11, 842.
- ⁵² See B. Hamann, ed., *Die Habsburger*, 49-50; Hildegard Leitgeb, *Kaiserin Amalie Wilhelmine von Braunschweig-Lüneburg-Hannover (1673-1742)*; unpubl. thesis (Vienna, 1984).
- ⁵³ See ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 113 [1727], fol. 460r.
- ⁵⁴ In 1731 Montalto followed Giuseppe Spinelli as apostolic nuncio in Flanders and the Franche-Comté; see L. E. Halkin, "Les Archives des Nonciatures", 45.
- ⁵⁵ For the following see ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 113 [1727], fol. 462r-465r.
- ⁵⁶ Not 7,000 as in L. Jadin, "Procès d'information", 3 [1713-1794], 53.
- ⁵⁷ See A. Brück, "Hl. Alban". *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957) 269-270; Heinrich Büttner, "Zur Albanverehrung im frühen Mittelalter". *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte*, 29 (Zürich, 1949), 1-16.
- ⁵⁸ See Hermann Conrad, ed., *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 [Neuzeit bis 1806] (Karlsruhe, 1966), 183; Lothar Groß, "Die Panisbriefe Kaiser Josefs II. - Ein Beitrag zu seiner Reichskirchenpolitik". *Festgabe für Heinrich Ritter v. Srbik* (München, 1938) 169-178; K. Hilgenreiner, "Brotbriefe". *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931) 573.
- ⁵⁹ For Saint Gérard de Brogne see *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques* 20 (Paris, 1984), 724-

- 740; see also *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, 10 (Paris, 1938), 818-832; *Répertoire topographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, I/1 (Macon, 1939), 510-511.
- ⁶⁰ The profession of faith was sworn in the presence of the nuncio and the protonotary as well as two witnesses, François Wilmart and the canon of the convent of Renaix (in the diocese of Malines), Jean-Baptiste Verspilt; see ASV, *Processus Episcoporum* 113 [1727], fol. 465r-466v; for the Benedictine convent of Renaix see also *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés*, II/1 (Macon, 1939), 2444.
- ⁶¹ Not of 16 July 1725 as in L. Jadin, "Procès d'information", 3 [1713-1794], 55.
- ⁶² See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 38 (25), 228 (sub Imolen.) and 313 (sub Philippen.).
- ⁶³ See ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 113 [1727], fol. 468r; ASV, *Secretaria Brevium Apostolicorum*, 2675 [January 1727/Part I] fol. 150r-152v (in particular 151r).
- ⁶⁴ For Alvaro Cienfuegos see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 32 (70), 150 (sub Cat(h)an(i)en) and 276 (sub Montis Regalis); R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 6 [1730-1799], 350 (sub Quinke Ecclesien.); for Francesco Barberini R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 17 (13); for Giuseppe Renato Imperiali *ibid.*, 17 (10) and for Benedetto Pamfili *ibid.*, 12 (15); for Cienfuegos' activities for the imperial court see also Richard Blaas, "Das Kardinalprotektorat der deutschen und der österreichischen Nation im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert". *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 10 (Wien, 1957), 148-185 (in particular 153-154); F. Hausmann, *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter*, 2 [1716-1763] (Zürich, 1950) 73.
- ⁶⁵ See Louis Antheunis, "Thomas Strickland, évêque de Namur", 257-259 (Appendix).
- ⁶⁶ See *ibid.*, 259.
- ⁶⁷ Not on 13 December 1726 as in L. Jadin, "Procès d'information", 3 [1713-1794] 55; see ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 113 [1727], fol. 469r; ASV, *Secretaria Brevium Apostolicorum*, 2675, fol. 150v; for Fabio Olivieri see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 29 (46).
- ⁶⁸ See ASV, *Acta Camerarii Sacri Collegii S.R.E. Cardinalium*, 29 [1727-1729], fol. 9v-10r.
- ⁶⁹ See L. Bieler, "Rumold". *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 9 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964), 99-100.
- ⁷⁰ See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 31 (63), and 262 (sub Meclinien.); L. Jadin, "Le Cardinal Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace, archevêque de Malines et le Saint Siège". *Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome*, 6 (Bruxelles-Rome, 1953).
- ⁷¹ Not on 28 September 1727 as in Pius B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Ratisbonae, 1873), 250; also wrong in CRS, 28, 139 ("Oct./Nov./Dec. 1727: R. Abbas Thomas Stricklandus Meckliniae (sic) consecratus est Episcopus Namurcensis); H. Hornyold-Strickland, *Genealogical Memoirs*, 155 and 159.
- ⁷² See HHStA, *Staatenabteilung England - Varia* [Kart. 8], fol. 10-11 (Liège, 16 April, 1727).
- ⁷³ See R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 6 [1730-1799], 300 (sub Namurcen.); for his informative process see ASV, *Processus Episcoporum S. Congregationis Consistorialis*, 126 [1740], fol. 338-384.
- ⁷⁴ See ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 126 [1740], fol. 356v; G. O. Gürtler, "Der verkaufte Kardinals purpur", 214-215 (Appendix); L. Jadin, "Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de la Franche-Comté avec le Saint-Siège d'après les *Lettere di Vescovi* conservées aux archives vaticanes (1566-1779). *Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome*, 4 (Bruxelles-Rome, 1952), 556 and fn. 1; Joseph Lefevre, "Documents relatifs à la juridiction des nonces et internonces des Pays-Bas pendant le régime autrichien (1706-1794). *Analecta-Vaticano-Belgica* (Documents relatifs aux anciens diocèses de Cambrai, Liège, Théroutanne et Tournai publiés par l'Institut Belge de Rome) [Deuxième Série - Nonciatur de Flandre] 9 (Bruxelles-Rome, 1950), 110.
- ⁷⁵ See Eugène del Marmol, "Ancien Palais des Evêques à Namur". *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, 16 (Namur, 1883), 14-20; Jules Borgnet, "L'Evêque Strickland et le Magistrat de Namur - Une femme bourgmestre (1736-1738)". *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, 2 (Namur, 1851), 383-396 and 5 (Namur, 1857), 403.
- ⁷⁶ See ASV, *Lettere di Vescovi*, t. 226, fol. 204 and t. 324, fol. 217 (Giuseppe Firrao to Thomas J. F. Strickland/Rome, 16 May, 1734); L. Jadin, "Le Cardinal Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace", 72-76; L. Jadin, "Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de la Franche-Comté", 26-27, 487 and fn. 1; J. Lefevre, "Documents relatifs à la juridiction des nonces et internonces des Pays-Bas", 100-106 and 110.
- ⁷⁷ See L. Jadin, "Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de la Franche-Comté", 451-452 and fn. 1; Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des fürstlichen Absolutismus von der Wahl Klemens XI bis zum Tode Klemens XII (1700-1740)*, 15 (Freiburg-Rom, 1961), 563-574; for Soanen see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 352-353 (sub Senecen.).

- ⁷⁸ See L. Jadin, "Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de la Franche-Comté", 449 and fn. 1; for de Guérin de Tencin see R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 5 [1667-1730], 191 (sub Ebredunen.); R. Ritzler - P. Sefrin, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 6 [1730-1799], 9 (32) and 268 (sub Lugdunen).
- ⁷⁹ The enthusiasm in his writings makes it clear that Strickland's jansenistic ideology, which he was accused of by his opponents in his early years (see AAW, *Archiv. Westmon. MSS*, 38/I [Bishop Giffard/1700-1734] fol. 43-65; Ruth Clark, *Strangers and Sojourners at Port Royal. Being an account of the connections between the British Isles and the Jansensists of France and Holland* (Cambridge, 1932) 254 and fn.1) cannot be traced when bishop of Namur; see ASV, *Lettere di Vescovi*, t. 151, fol. 253 (Pierre de Guérin de Tencin to Niccolò-Maria Lercari/Grôté, 24 November, 1728), fol. 254 (Pierre de Guérin de Tencin to Thomas Strickland/Grôté, 20 November, 1728), fol. 256-258 (Thomas Strickland to Pierre de Guérin de Tencin/Namur, 24 October, 1728) and fol. 260-263 (Mandement de Monseigneur l'Archevêque Prince d'Embrun/Embrun, 16 November 1728); L. Jadin, "Relations des Pays-Bas, de Liège et de la Franche-Comté", 449-452.
- ⁸⁰ See G. O. Gürtler, *Ein Diplomat im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Kirche*, 271-296 (an English translation of that part is being prepared and will form the third part of this series).
- ⁸¹ See J. M. Black, "George II Reconsidered". *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 35 (Wien, 1982), 35-36; Charles Chenevix Trench, *George II* (London, 1973); for Strickland's part see also J. M. Black, "Anglo-Austrian Relations, 1725-1740. A Study in Failure." *British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies* 12/1 (Oxford, 1989), 29-45 (in particular 33 and Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, "Päpstliche Friedenspolitik und italienisches Gleichgewicht - Zu einigen Vermittlungsversuchen der Kurie im Polnischen Erbfolgekrieg". *Römische-Historische Mitteilungen* 28 (Wien, 1986), 303-338 (in particular 310).
- ⁸² See ASV, *Processus Episcoporum*, 126 [1740], fol. 365r ("Certum esse quod ecclesia Namurcensis vacet per obitum Reverendissimi Domini Thomae Ioannis Francisci de Strickland, illius episcopus, qui diem clausit extremum in oppido Lovaniensi die 14 Januarii 1740 proxime elapsi, cuius corpus inhumatum fuit in choro ecclesiae cathedralis ad cornu epistole").