

Loyalty and Tradition: Jacobitism amongst the Gentry of north-west England, 1640-1720

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This article examines how traditional Anglican gentry in the north west shared interests and royalist sympathies with Catholic fellow gentry during the Civil Wars. Later, Anglican justices protected their Catholic peers from governmental directives. Despite the presence of a growing merchant class in Kendal after the Restoration in 1660, literature from the period dismisses their achievements, to concentrate on the genealogy of Catholic and Anglican gentry. Traditional Anglican forms of worship were reinstated after the Commonwealth while Nonconformity and Quakerism were regarded as a threat to society. After James II's flight to France, the Anglican gentry maintained their belief in their common aspirations with the Catholic gentry, whereas the latter were plotting to restore the Stuart dynasty. Only after the 1715 Jacobite rising did the traditional cohesion break down as a new generation of Anglicans became aware of Catholic loyalties to religious ideals differing from their own.

I

MID-SEVENTEENTH century England was a period when traditional loyalty to the monarchy was challenged by opposition supporters, resulting in Civil War from 1642. With Charles II's Restoration in 1660, royalists expected financial rewards for losses suffered during the Civil Wars, under the Commonwealth and by compounding for their estates. Part of the expected reparations involved a return to their pre-Civil War positions as leaders of the community, along with prestige amongst their peers. For Charles II to give patronage and favouritism to royalist veterans would have been divisive, likely to recreate animosities alienating Parliamentarians, threatening renewed civil war, damaging the country as a whole. Charles II's policy of even-handedness, backing neither royalists nor former Parliamentarians, resulted in casualties amongst royalist gentry – traditionalists who had supported the Stuarts, bankrupting themselves in the process.

The royalist Sir William Chaytor Bt. (c.1639-1721) of Croft Hall, near Darlington, illustrates this point. Compounding had depleted the revenue from his estates, leading to his imprisonment in London's Fleet Prison in 1704.¹ Loss of influence went with his County Durham estates. Entrepreneurs outside the gentry acquired bankrupt properties, benefiting from the authority their ownership conferred, and Chaytor's lands were purchased by William Cotesworth (c.1668-1726). Cotesworth's motivation lay not in traditional, but in up-to-date industrial and agricultural practices in a productive arable area. A younger son from Teesdale, apprenticed to a tallow merchant in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he became a powerful entrepreneur in the coal industry there. Cotesworth filled the vacuum left by Chaytor, building himself an industrial empire based at Gateshead.²

Royalists' experiences in the north-east differed from those in north-western pastoral counties. There, deference to tradition was a way of life shaping religious, social

and economic life, responses which contrasted with the *modus vivendi* in arable areas. To the gentry-dominated society around Kendal, deference implied loyalty to the anointed monarch, including the Catholic James II who succeeded Charles II in 1685. In Somerset and the south-western arable counties, in contrast, direct royal succession was less important than the politics of religion. Consequently, West Country Protestants supported Charles II's illegitimate son, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth (1649-85) in his rebellion against James II in 1685. After James II's flight to France in 1688, north-western Catholic gentry remained loyal to him, since their status and religious freedom had been reinstated during his reign. This article argues that traditionalist Catholics supported the king during the Civil Wars, with their Anglican peers from the north-west, and upheld the Stuart cause to retain their authority, championing James II's son in the 1715 Jacobite rising.

Papers kept by Sir Daniel Fleming (1633-1701), JP for Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire from the Restoration onwards, provide clear insight into local affairs. From these documents we can assess how closely integrated Catholic and Anglican gentry were.³ Alan Macfarlane has noted Fleming's numerous connections to the gentry of the north west, including other local justices, as was common in other traditional societies.⁴ The Layburnes of Cunswick, an ancient Catholic gentry family from near Kendal, shared a common ancestor with Fleming. The Layburnes and their circle in the north west served as a model of loyalty to the Stuart dynasty.⁵

Analysing sources of Jacobite support in north-west England thus reveals a culture of shared traditional values amongst Catholics and Church of England gentry which survived the upheavals of 1688, ending only after 1715. Support for Charles I from 1642 demonstrated how royalist gentry shared identical values. As will be demonstrated, some local justices protected their Catholic peers from legal sanctions, with a common deference to the hierarchical structure of society, respect for inherited wealth, property and patronage.⁶ Kinship and social stability were more important than directives from central government. Traditional values maintained cohesion amongst landowning gentry, explaining how Catholics in that period functioned undisturbed in the north-west and the remoter parts of England.⁷

Anglicans were not closely involved in largely Catholic-planned Jacobite conspiracies after 1688 even though post-Restoration Anglican gentry were still convinced of the unity of their pastoral society, according continued protection to their peers. To understand the cohesion amongst north-western gentry from 1642 to 1688, royalist activities need to be examined. The Layburnes' support for Charles I in the 1640s exemplified how Catholic and Anglican gentry from the area fought side-by-side.⁸ However, as Michael Mullett has pointed out, support for the royalist cause came mostly from the Catholic gentry and the nobility.⁹

There are several examples of the closeness that existed between Barony of Kendal gentry, regardless of religion dating from the Civil Wars.¹⁰ William Layburne, mentioned as a friend of the royalist dean of Durham (1660) and St. Paul's (1661), Dr. John Barwick, initially enrolled in the Queen's Regiment and since his uncle, Dr. George Layburne (1593-1677), was one of Queen Henrietta Maria's Catholic chaplains, this was understandable.¹¹ William Layburne was one of many Catholics

serving under Church of England commanders from the north west or *vice versa*.¹² From incomplete royalist records, it is clear that other Layburnes were involved in Civil War engagements.¹³

John Layburne (d.1663), whose sons fought for the king, was steward of Witherslack for James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby (1607-1651), himself a committed supporter of the Stuarts. John Layburne's accounts run from 1621-1641, recording his service to Derby, even though Layburne was a Catholic and the Earl a professing member of the Church of England.¹⁴ Layburne must have been well trusted, since in his will of 1651 the Earl nominated him trustee of the Derby estates.¹⁵

Traditionalists' loyalty was demonstrated late in the Civil Wars, when some royalists hesitated before risking their estates or lives again in renewed warfare. In 1651, Charles II entered north-west England with a Scottish army, his rearguard being attacked by Parliamentary forces outside Wigan. Broxap suggested that Charles chose this route via Westmorland and Lancashire, expecting support from the gentry. Seventy years later, in 1715, the Jacobite army entered the same area, believing Catholic and Tory gentry would enlist.¹⁶ Members of north-western Royalist families such as the Stanleys, Tyldesleys, Standishes, Andertons, Lord Morley and Mounteagle, Butlers and Layburnes, plus the Widdringtons of Northumberland, joined Charles II's troops and fought at Wigan in August 1651 and individuals from these families came out in support of the Stuarts in 1715. Professor Lenman has pointed out that they were so intermarried that in 1715 they 'moved as a clan'.¹⁷

Thus, the seventh Earl of Derby fought alongside Catholics, among them Sir Thomas Tyldesley (1596-1651). Commitment to their monarch unified these royalists. Tyldesley and William Widdrington, first Baron Widdrington (1610-1651) of Northumberland, another Catholic, were killed at Wigan. Such was Derby's respect for Tyldesley that, after capture following the battle of Worcester in September 1651, he asked to visit the latter's burial place *en route* to execution. Only the most dedicated royalists took part in this little-known battle of Wigan, laying the foundations for subsequent support for the Stuarts.

Financial and religious benefits expected in the event of a royalist restoration also motivated fidelity to the Stuart cause, Wigan veterans passing on their loyalty to their heirs.¹⁸ A memorial to Sir Thomas Tyldesley was erected in Wigan but not until 1689, after William III and Mary II had taken control of the English throne, the reference to a royalist Stuart martyr possibly providing a criticism of the new regime.¹⁹

Financial ruin among royalists in the north east after the Civil War was not as common in the north west and a predominantly dairying existence continued until after 1688. As Neil Davie suggested in his article 'Chalk and Cheese' unproductive, thinly populated areas, where a pastoral way of life predominated, had few large landowners and populations distributed over extensive parishes, with less manorial or parochial control of the community.²⁰ Thus an ancestral way of life might continue at all levels of society, outside commercial influences being unable to penetrate yeoman family units. Unlike examples given by Davie, where Civil War radical puritanism and free-thinking found a foot-hold in rural communities lacking tight control from squire and

parson, tradition in the north west was paramount, encompassing old forms of religion, rejecting puritanism, later Nonconformity and even some forms of Anglicanism. Individualism and an appreciation of the law of precedent successfully resisted even James I's attempts to suppress the inherited benefits of tenant right in the area.²¹

Wealthy arable areas, however, can be seen to have supported powerful landowners in smaller, densely populated parishes, often on fertile chalk soils. Rigid precedent was largely irrelevant in such communities and agricultural and social improvement and social changes were driven forward, feasible because the ratio of landowners to tenants was higher than in pastoral regions. Parochial and manorial control was tighter in such wealthy, densely populated parishes. The Eden Valley and Cumberland coast conformed to the pattern of richer arable parishes. Nevertheless, in the extensive parish of Holy Trinity, Kendal, gentry landowners were few and were concentrated round the town. Similar dispersed parishes in the south Cumbrian peninsula were Kirkby Lonsdale and Ulverston. Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale were, and remain, within the gift of Trinity College, Cambridge, adding distance and poor communications between patrons and the parish to the lack of effective parish structures.

In the Barony of Kendal, urban merchants' objectives differed from those of the rural population, yeoman farmers or statesmen, who shared common aspirations with the gentry. Tenant right, almost amounting to owning the land freehold, persisted in the area.²² After famine and depression in the late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century cloth industry,²³ demand increased for Kendal 'cottons' (a woollen fabric suitable for clothing the poor) from the 1660s. New markets emerged, enriching urban traders.²⁴ Apart from the cloth trade's giving employment to rural and urban communities, industries that went with sheep- and cattle-rearing maintained the pastoral economy.²⁵ Whitehaven, in Cumberland, imported tobacco, sugar and indigo.²⁶ Locally produced textiles, clothing, leather and iron goods, were exported from smaller local ports.²⁷ The slave trade, however, was not established in the area until the end of the eighteenth century.²⁸

Unlike Tyneside, the Lake Counties possessed no coal mines. Copper was exhausted by 1640 at Coniston. Slate, lead, silver and graphite were found near Keswick in Cumberland and haematite in Furness but, with the exception of the latter, on the coast, fully developed transportation was beyond the technology of the period. Thus exploitation of these resources had to await turnpike roads in the late eighteenth century, and canals, which reached Kendal only in 1819.²⁹ Before then, pack-horses transported commodities, as witnessed by Celia Fiennes.³⁰

Celia Fiennes recorded the importance of the Barony of Kendal's pastoral economy, observing the absence of wheat and rye because of the cold, rain and lack of sunshine.³¹ In 1716, William Cotesworth, junior, wrote from Sedbergh School to his father that butter, cheese and milk were served for breakfasts, demonstrating how high rainfall encouraged dairy production rather than the cultivation of cereals.

III

Catholicism bound the Layburnes to their monarchs and initially they found

favour with the Catholic Stuart queens. Dr. George Layburne's position has already been mentioned. Charles Layburne (1643?-1721), George's nephew, joined the household of the Catholic wife of James, Duke of York as a gentleman waiter in 1677. His rôle from 1685 included paying his half-brother, Bishop John Layburne (d.1703), and disbursements for James II's Catholic services.³² Charles Layburne assisted the queen's escape to France with the Prince of Wales in December 1688 and was made his groom of the bedchamber at the exiled court in 1700.³³

Until after 1688, Anglican gentry in the north west envisaged their Catholic peers as part of the community, sharing common traditions. Although Daniel Fleming was an Anglican, his fellow-justices Sir Thomas Preston of Holker Hall and Sir George Middleton of Leighton Hall were Catholics related to the Layburnes, who also castigated Quakers.³⁴ Yet for the Catholics religious loyalties exerted most influence where political allegiances were concerned. Local loyalties were overwhelmed by religion and the lure of regaining political influence, locally and at court, through support for the Stuarts, culminating in the 1715 rising and rebellion against the Hanoverian government of George I.

Fleming voiced the gentry's disdain of Kendal merchants in his 'Description of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, A.D. 1671'. In the work, the town itself was praised, but its mercantile interests were dismissed with a few generalisations.³⁵ Town corporation members were named, but the genealogy of Catholic and Anglican gentry occupied more space. The Westmorland Hearth Tax Returns for 1670, however, recorded the fact that members of the corporation owned houses with from two (one mention) to eight hearths.³⁶ These were substantial dwellings, especially since, in contrast, only two per cent of the population in the Barony of Kendal had more than three hearths each.³⁷

In 1665, Fleming indicted 150 people for Nonconformity at the Westmorland assizes. For him, religious diversity represented a threat to the gentry.³⁸ In the north of Westmorland after the Restoration, Sir Philip Musgrave (1607-1678) was violently opposed to Quakers and other Nonconformists and kept London informed of their activities, using spies. He was also instrumental in suppressing the Kaber Rigg plot in 1663, as was Fleming.³⁹

Thomas Machell (1647-1698), rector of Kirkby Thore in north Westmorland, denigrated Kendal's merchants in his notes 'Towards a History of the Barony of Kendal', 1692. As with Fleming, Machell's interest was in the gentry. Machell was particularly scathing in his description of Thomas Sandes' memorial in the parish church. A Presbyterian conforming after the Restoration, Sandes, mayor of Kendal in 1647-8, made his fortune from 'cottons'. His bequests founded almshouses for widows and a library for Kendal. However, wittily commenting on his memorial, with its coat of arms, Machell stated that it was as if Sandes was attempting to whitewash a questionable past, having made his money by sequestration and having 'no arms, but what he took up against the king ...'⁴⁰. Animosities between the royalist gentry and Parliamentary merchants had not been forgotten by 1692.

In contrast to the traders, Catholic gentry were regarded locally as part of an elite class and were spared the full rigour of parliamentary legislation, despite the Test Acts of 1673 and 1678, when recusants were debarred from military or civil careers under the crown, or seats in either House of Parliament. Since they possessed only antique weapons, the list of arms confiscated from Catholics by Fleming on 22 January, 1679, during the Popish Plot crisis, looked derisory.⁴¹ Fleming acted in accordance with directives from London by removing ancient relics but returned them, believing his Catholic friends and relations did not represent any threat.⁴²

In 1696, after the discovery of the Assassination Plot, Fleming, as a local JP, had orders to secure all potential enemies of King William, including recusants. Fleming sent an abridged list of Catholics in Westmorland to Charles Howard (1674-1738), third Earl of Carlisle (from 1692) and lord lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland, (1694-1712), denying that they represented a danger to the government.⁴³ In 1696 Fleming replied to George Layburne's (d.1704) request to be spared imprisonment as a recusant, reassuring the latter that he had already written to the Earl of Carlisle forestalling any incarceration.⁴⁴ In fact, Fleming faced a more serious problem as JP with riots in Kendal over the then current re-coinage.

Quakers rather than Catholic gentry were persecuted, partly because they represented a threat to gentry finances in the area. Quaker refusal to pay tithes threatened Fleming's brother-in-law Sir George Fletcher's (c.1633-1700) interests as lay impropiator of Brigham rectory, the mother church of Cockermouth in Cumberland. Since Fleming was involved with Fletcher in that and other financial issues, he believed the growth of north-western Quaker enterprises also had to do with a loss of income from gentry revenues.⁴⁵

Holy Trinity lay in Kirkland, beyond the jurisdiction of Kendal corporation, and thus 'popish' relics survived in the district. The maypole, restored after the Commonwealth, was taken down only in 1792 and to permit road widening, while Corpus Christi plays were enacted into the seventeenth century, once again exemplifying the survival of traditional faith, preaching having little impact on a community so steeped in the visual imagery of Catholic liturgy.⁴⁶

As early as the 1550s, traditionalism in rural areas contrasted with that of the town. Kendal wool merchants travelled to Southampton, demonstrating how extensive their urban contacts were. As M. A. Clark has pointed out, carriers brought books from Cambridge, introducing Protestant influences into the town. Later, in contrast with the actions of conservative landowners, Quakers were tolerated by the merchants, not considering them any threat.⁴⁷

In 1642 during the Civil Wars, Henry Masy vicar of Kendal, a radical Protestant, wrote to his patron, Phillip Wharton, fourth Baron Wharton (1613-1696), complaining that Westmorland gentry were 'most papist and popishly affected'.⁴⁸ Three years later, he again wrote to Wharton complaining that his parishioners wanted a return to the Book of Common Prayer – otherwise he would not be paid.⁴⁹

After the Restoration, traditional Anglican liturgy was reinstated nationwide. In the

churchwardens' accounts for Holy Trinity in 1676 and 1679 silver pattens, flagons and bowls, surplices, embroidered altar cloths and cushions were listed, showing how the visual liturgical items had replaced a Presbyterian emphasis on preaching.⁵⁰ Close personal association during the seventeenth century between the region's Catholic and some Church of England gentry created a reverence for conservatism, including forms of worship. In the churchwardens' accounts from 1666 to 1673, of 15 gentry families asked to contribute to repairing Holy Trinity, seven were Catholic. Members of six Catholic families – 'Anthony Duckett of Grayrigg, Sir Thomas Braithwaite of Burnes-head, Roger Bradley of Cunswick, Mrs. Layburne of Skelsmergh, Mrs. Thornbarrow of Selside, Mr. Phillipson of Hellsfall' – all paid sporadically, as did the Church of England gentry.⁵¹ Of the Catholic families, Sir Thomas Strickland of Sizergh alone never contributed.

The parish church of St. Andrew in Penrith, rebuilt in 1721, has remnants of the seventeenth century association between Anglican and Catholic gentry in the area. John Layburne's (d.1737) father-in-law Thomas Dalston (d.1716), attorney-at-law, drew up many deeds for Cumbrian Catholics and had a memorial in the north aisle erected to his wife, who died in 1678. The elaborate strap-work, mourning cherubs and sculpted portrait of his wife in full late-seventeenth century court dress date from this period but were incorporated into the new Georgian building. By 1745, such cohesion had died out and the Jacobite army received no help from the townspeople as they marched through Penrith. In recognition of their loyalty to him George II gifted a pair of brass chandeliers which still adorn the church.⁵²

As a JP, Fleming frequently imprisoned George Fox (1624-1691), one of the founders of Quakerism. Fleming believed Quakers endangered the security of the area as well as competing with his commercial interests, as we saw above. In 1652 near Sedbergh, Fox had preached to an existing religious grouping, the Westmorland Seekers, and his association with them undoubtedly strengthened the force of religious radicalism in the area. According to Barry Reay, fear of Quakers and other sectaries spreading anarchy 'contributed to the Restoration of the Stuarts.'⁵³

Fleming's suspicions of Parliamentarians were revealed in his dealings with a certain Captain French, the last Protectorate churchwarden of Holy Trinity, in 1659-60.⁵⁴ Apart from records as churchwarden and references to him in letters, there is no real information about Captain French or why he was imprisoned in 1663. What emerged from correspondence was Fleming's mistrust of Nonconformists after the suppression of the radical, partly Quaker-inspired, Kaber Rigg plot in autumn 1663, threatening the post-restoration stability of the north west. Fleming was concerned enough by French's activities, now lost to us, to write to Joseph Williamson, secretary of state from 1674. Fleming referred to moving Captain French from gaol in Appleby to prison in Penrith at the request of Sir Philip Musgrave, after liberating twenty other Parliamentarian officers.⁵⁵ Releasing prisoners, but detaining French, argued that Fleming and his fellow-justices felt he was more dangerous than the general run of ex-Parliamentarians and Nonconformists. A subsequent letter from Fleming to Williamson bears this out. French had been involved in a conspiracy postdating the Kaber Rigg plot.⁵⁶

In an incident with several JPs at Colonel Richard Kirkby's house in Furness in 1664, George Fox exposed justices' protection of their Catholic peers. On that occasion, Sir George Middleton of Leighton Hall requested a bible to administer the oath of allegiance, a requirement he knew Fox would refuse.⁵⁷ The irony of the situation was not lost on Fox, who asked Middleton, as a Catholic, if he had taken the oath.⁵⁸ His question was ignored, as the Catholic JP's established position was amongst the traditional administrators of the law, not those who were subject to it.

IV

James II's accession in 1685 saw a recovery of Catholic power and influence at court, in county and borough politics. John Layburne (d.1703), was appointed vicar apostolic by Pope Innocent XI in September 1685, Bishop of Adrumentum (*in partibus infidelium sub archiepiscopo Ephesino*), without an English see, pastoral care to his middle eastern see being on the whole nominal.⁵⁹

From 1687, local government posts were open to Catholic gentry in the north west. Family influence at court must have helped the Layburnes since George Layburne (d.1704), had contacts with the Stuarts through his great-uncle, Dr. George, his half-brother, Bishop Layburne, and his brother Charles. George (d.1704) became a Lancashire JP, serving with other members of Catholic and Anglican gentry from 1687-8.⁶⁰

Some prominent Anglicans' acquiescence in Catholic aggrandizement became apparent with James II's accession. The diary of the bishop of Chester, Thomas Cartwright contained many references to the Layburnes in Lancashire and London,⁶¹ Cartwright being one of James's most enthusiastic episcopal collaborators.⁶²

London-based Catholics from Westmorland with family ties to the Layburnes included John Mawson, a member of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths who benefited from James's reign. Mawson became prime warden in the Court of Assistants in 1687 and alderman of the City of London.⁶³

With a Catholic monarch on the throne, funds could now be channelled to rebuild Catholic chapels. James II himself gave the lead by commissioning a Catholic chapel within the palace of Whitehall,⁶⁴ and Catholics in the north-west were now financing the construction of chapels,⁶⁵ Fernyhalgh near Preston being a case in point.⁶⁶ In a letter to Sir Daniel Fleming, in late 1688, his son Richard wrote about local gentlewomen's objections to supporting priests.⁶⁷ Outside Kendal, a Catholic chapel at Dodding Green, financed by Robert Stephenson a neighbour of the Layburnes, was operational in 1699.⁶⁸ According to one requirement of Stephenson's bequest, priests named Layburne were to be the preferred incumbents.⁶⁹

The succession of a Catholic Stuart dynasty was vital for English Catholics in retaining their newly acquired status. The Layburne family were prominent at the Prince of Wales's birth in June 1688, Bishop Layburne administering an emergency Catholic baptism, unpublicised for fear of offending Anglican sensibilities.⁷⁰ From autumn

1688, before the king's flight, north-western Catholic and Anglican gentry were already numerous at James II court, Bishop Layburne and Charles Layburne among them. Lady Strickland of Sizergh, a fellow Catholic and neighbour of the Layburnes, was made under-governess to the Prince of Wales.⁷¹ In exile in France, the Stuarts were accompanied by two branches of the Strickland family, occupying many court posts. Between them, the Stricklands had 12 of their children in the palace at St. Germain-en-Laye.⁷² In October 1688, the devout Anglican Richard Graham, Viscount Preston, (1645-1695, MP for Cockermouth between 1675 and 1681 and 1685-91), replaced Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (1641-1702), as secretary of state. Colonel James Graham (1649-1730, MP for Carlisle, 1685), Preston's brother, was James II's keeper of the privy purse from 1688. He remained in England after the king's flight, but sent funds and bonds to James in France. Fergus Graham, their youngest brother, became the king's keeper of the privy purse in exile at St. Germain-en-Laye.⁷³ Through their step-father, Sir George Fletcher (d.1700), Fleming's brother-in-law, they were part of the gentry circle of Cumberland and Westmorland.

In 1689, James Graham bought Levens Hall, south of Kendal, judging it politic to have a bolthole beyond William III's immediate reach.⁷⁴ Besides distancing himself from London, Graham's move north demonstrates that support for James II was still to be found among the gentry in the Barony of Kendal.⁷⁵

Jacobites in France maintained contact with families in England and Scotland, both Catholic and Protestant, working to restore James II. Between 1689 and 1715 Jacobite plots proliferated, some uncovered by the government but unsuccessfully prosecuted, as was the Lancashire Plot of 1694, with leading Jacobites benefiting from its collapse,⁷⁶ some no more than galloping about in the dark, armed, participants having received commissions from James II.⁷⁷ Jacobites insisted on written commissions for a Stuart restoration, as shown by Paul Hopkins.⁷⁸ Old cavaliers, in charge of Jacobite preparations before 1700, remembered the aftermath of the Civil Wars, and kept official records, expecting recompense for risking their lives and their estates.

Contact with St. Germain-en-Laye was essential in preparing for a rebellion for Jacobites on either side of the Channel. In 1757, long after the release of Lancashire Plot defendants, commissions from James II and arms were unearthed at Standish Hall, near Wigan, supposed headquarters of the Jacobite army of rebellion.⁷⁹ Furthermore, James III's private secretary from 1713, David Nairne, kept a diary at St. Germain-en-Laye of correspondence between the Jacobite court in France and their English supporters, including letters to Bishop Layburne.⁸⁰

The *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* for January 1689 records some of James II's courtiers (including Charles Layburne) travelling to London to retrieve state paraphernalia.⁸¹ In 1691 it became treasonable to correspond with Jacobites in France, or to return without official leave, the offence carrying a 12-month prison sentence. The Catholic community, however, were adept at crossing the Channel unobserved. Children were sent to schools or nunneries on the Continent, avoiding officialdom. John Layburne (1668-1737) who joined the Jacobite forces in 1715, had returned to Westmorland from France in 1694 but without authorisation.⁸²

Civil War royalist veterans, at least in their 60s in 1688, organized the rebellion, the only English Catholics with experience of warfare. According to Glinkman, the regimental line-up of north-western Catholics was virtually the same as the Earl of Derby's in 1644.⁸³ However, military discipline was less important to Jacobites than was betrayal of their plans for a rising. Several Jacobites had narrowly escaped execution in the 1694 Lancashire Plot.⁸⁴ After their release, Charles Middleton, Earl of Middleton, Jacobite secretary of state from 1693 to 1713 in France, introduced a cellular method of correspondence, sending instructions between Jacobites in St. Germain-en-Laye and named English and Scots, answerable only to James II.⁸⁵ Letters sent by Nairne after 1694 were to aliases through several intermediaries.⁸⁶ Social gatherings were used to disguise meetings to plan strategy and in north-western Lancashire, races and hunting were used as cover for training in horsemanship for battle.⁸⁷

Jacobites relished duping the government, especially after the unsuccessful prosecutions of the Lancashire Plot of 1694. The Mock Corporation of Walton-le-Dale was one such example. This club was founded in 1700 at the Unicorn Inn in the village of Walton-le-Dale near Preston, to flout authority, giving mock offices to Catholics whose local government posts had been withdrawn in 1688.⁸⁸ Besides prominent Lancashire Catholic families, members came from outside the area. Some had parents or grandparents who had fought at Wigan in 1651, indicating their continued loyalty to the Stuarts. In 1711, Sir James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater (1689-1716) was elected mayor; a year earlier, Thomas Howard, eighth duke of Norfolk, occupied the same position after marrying to Sir Nicholas Shireburne's daughter, Sir Nicholas and he having joined the mock corporation together.⁸⁹

Hunting, horse racing, even to practise military manoeuvres, degenerated into games, and supplanted planning for a rebellion. Underemployed Catholics gained the reputation of wastrels, rather than leaders of the community: George Hilton's diary had special asterisks against his 'fuddled' days when he was blind drunk.⁹⁰ To set against that, P. K. Monod contrasted Thomas Tyldesley's hard-drinking, hard-riding way of life with that of Nicholas Blundell, the conscientious Little Crosby *paterfamilias*, who laboured to improve the yield of his estate.⁹¹ Tyldesley and the Layburnes were closely connected, probably from the Civil Wars. The Layburne brothers, John (1668-1737), and George (1673-1730?), a seminary priest, Tyldesley's god-son, appeared frequently in his diary, since the Layburne family now lived at Nateby, close to Garstang and Tyldesley's estates.⁹²

V

In Scotland, Jacobites had reasons other than traditional loyalty for supporting the Stuarts. Although the Scots were increasingly frustrated following the Union in 1707, the Malt Tax crisis of 1713 further inflamed matters.⁹³ For Highland clansmen, fear of retribution for denying their chieftain support, was as strong as loyalty to him. Scotland was not originally envisaged as the focus for rebellion, since it was too far from London to mount a surprise attack. After Queen Anne's death and George I's accession in 1714, Jacobite plans for an invasion were centred on Plymouth and Bristol, accessible from French ports. Invading forces could converge on Bath, where an arsenal was being assembled, within reach of the capital.

Discovery, disarming and arrest of Bath plotters in the summer of 1715 threw the Jacobite plans into disarray.⁹⁴ John Erskine, (1675-1732), Earl of Mar, fled from London in August 1715, and raised his standard at Braemar, turning a diversion to the rebellion into the real thing. Britain's ambassador to Paris from April 1715, Sir John Dalrymple (1643-1737), Earl of Stair, kept the English government abreast of Jacobite plans on both sides of the Channel. Through Stair, the government in London knew of every Jacobite plot in France and England. Mar's sudden flight from London was an action taken without conferring with Jacobites in France or Britain. Since this was an impetuous decision, information could not be passed on and betrayed to the government, whereas every other move the Jacobites had made was made known to George I's forces.⁹⁵

The above factors do not explain an English rising under the third Earl of Derwentwater, and his north-eastern followers, nor the inclusion of north-western Catholics. There were links with the Bath Jacobites through Derwentwater and his brother, Charles Radcliffe. They were brought up with the Prince of Wales in St. Germain-en-Laye from 1702. There, Derwentwater met his wife, Anna Maria Webb, the daughter of Sir John Webb of Hatherop in Gloucestershire, an ardent Jacobite who contributed funds to the cause.⁹⁶ Derwentwater spent the first two years of his married life there, until 1714. Hatherop was within the ambit of Bath, the south-western Jacobite centre, in planning a rebellion. According to tradition, his wife was instrumental in persuading Derwentwater to rise in support of the Stuarts.⁹⁷ Hence there was a connection between Bath Jacobites and Catholics on both sides of the Pennines. For Catholics, having recovered influence and financial assets under James II, local loyalties to their fellow Anglican gentry gave way to deeper religious loyalty that carried renewed promise of power. With the advent of Hanoverian rule, George I's unpopularity increased support for the Stuarts and there was a real possibility of the 1715 rising's succeeding, had the Jacobites been better organised.

In September, 1715, warrants were issued for the arrest of Jacobites, including Thomas Forster, MP for Northumberland. Threat of arrest caused Derwentwater to take to the hills above Hexham, but with worsening weather, he felt he either had to lead a rebellion against George I or surrender, risking confiscation of his estates.⁹⁸ The few local sympathisers joined him in October 1715 included Thomas Forster (1675-1738). An Anglican Jacobite, he was made colonel-in-chief of the rebels to forestall criticism that the rising was exclusively Catholic. They planned to attack Newcastle-upon-Tyne, disrupting coal supply to the capital. Finding the town too well defended, Derwentwater and his troop wandered about Northumberland and the Borders for two weeks,⁹⁹ finally meeting up with the Scots at Kelso.¹⁰⁰ According to Robert Patten, the Anglican clergyman accompanying the Northumbrian forces, the arrival of letters from friends persuaded Derwentwater and the Scottish rebels at Kelso to march to Lancashire, where they counted on support from Catholic gentry.¹⁰¹

Connections between north-eastern and north-western Catholics dated at least from the Battle of Wigan in 1651. In addition, Derwentwater's estates provided a link since they straddled both areas. The grandfather of the three Widdrington brothers, kinsmen of Derwentwater, had been killed at Wigan at the same time as Sir Thomas Tyldesley. Peregrine Widdrington was living with Sir Nicholas Shireburne's daughter, Maria,

estranged from her husband, the eighth duke of Norfolk, and Mary Widdrington, their aunt married to Richard Towneley of Towneley in Lancashire, showing how integrated the Catholics on both sides of the Pennines were. However, the Jacobite lack of planning was evident on their march south. Having decided to raise support from Catholic Lancashire in Kelso, a fortnight earlier, Charles Widdrington was dispatched to them only when the rebel army left Kendal on 6 November, informing Lancashire Catholics of their advance.¹⁰² A rising, 26 years in the planning, found the Lancashire Catholic community woefully unprepared.¹⁰³

Colonel Forster also had connections with the north west and, reaching Kendal on 5 November, attempted to visit Madame Bellingham (no other name was given), his god-mother. However, hostile to the Jacobite cause, she gave him 'two or three boxes on the ear and called him a rebel and a Popish toole', establishing how linked Catholicism and Jacobitism were in common perceptions.¹⁰⁴ The gentry tolerated their peers' discreet Catholicism, but supporting a rebellion was a step too far. Lack of Jacobite volunteers in Kendal showed how traditional mutual support amongst the gentry had altered since 1688. The last of the royalists in arms had died by 1704 and traditional alliances were no longer influential. The lack of Jacobite recruits at Kendal bears this out, for the rising was equated with a uniquely Catholic offensive.

After the Jacobites' defeat at Preston, local officials no longer ignored the part played in the rebellion by Catholics. George Hilton joined the rebels on 7 November at Lancaster, where he was captured.¹⁰⁵ Escaping, a warrant for his arrest was issued at Kendal by Benjamin Browne, high constable for Westmorland, and an unsuccessful search was made for Hilton around his home in Beethom.¹⁰⁶ Protection for fellow-gentry had died out with the realisation that, though Catholics and Anglican gentry shared a common background based on tradition, religion dictated political aspirations and sympathies for Catholics.

The demise of traditional cohesion was demonstrated by the career of Sir Daniel Fleming's grandson, Daniel Wilson, Whig MP for Westmorland from 1708-22 and 1727-47. His loyalties were no longer to the ancient gentry with their devotion to monarchy, but with the entrepreneurial Lowther family who developed Whitehaven. In 1700, Richard Lowther supported Wilson against the Tory candidate, Henry Graham (son of Colonel James Graham).¹⁰⁷

Attempting to halt progress, John Layburne and the north-western Catholic traditionalists had helped hasten the pace of change. The Jacobites, in rebelling, attempted to regain dominant positions in society. Instead, the Hanoverian government succeeded in gaining an objective after the 1715 Rebellion, forfeiting rebel estates, cutting off traditional monetary and social powerbases, thus ridding the Whigs of a long-standing thorn in their flesh.¹⁰⁸

Tradition, to which the Catholic gentry had clung, had given way to a new order. In 1745, 'James III's' son, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, marched through the north west with Scottish troops, hoping to recruit Jacobite supporters. Apart from a few younger sons, families who had suffered in the 1715 Rebellion did not join him: they

understood the sacrifice involved in a rising. The Catholic gentry would not risk their livelihood for the problematic restoration of a Stuart monarch. There were limits to even their reverence of traditional values.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAW	Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster.
Oxford DNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
LRO (P)	Lancashire Record Office, Preston.