

BENEDICTINES AND JACOBITES

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IN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN A RASH OF BOOKS dealing with Jacobitism which perhaps indicates a revival of scholarly rather than romantic interest in the subject. Some incorporate new evidence of English Benedictine involvement: Jane Garrett, *The Triumph of Providence* (C.U.P. 1980), deals with the 1696 Assassination Plot, and shows Henry Joseph Johnston OSB's undoubted complicity; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (Eyre Methuen 1980), gives more general information about the circles of the Clanranalds and individuals like the Chevalier Ramsay who were well-known to Benedictines. Finally, we look forward to Edward Gregg's new work on the Stuart Court in exile for a picture of St Germain as the monks knew it.

Without doubt, after the 1688/89 Revolution, most Catholic families and religious groups maintained a lingering support for the Stuarts, which steadily waned as religious toleration grew in the course of the 18th century, and as the credibility of the Stuarts diminished. The contrast between the temperature generated in Catholic circles in the early plots and risings, compared with the lukewarm enthusiasm shown in the later '45 clearly illustrates this reduction in support. Attitudes among the Benedictines follow, in general, this pattern, though the monks seem to have maintained a residual affection for the old royal family some time after the Stuarts had been given up as a bad job by other English Catholics. Of all English Catholic groups, attachment to the Jacobite court in exile seems to have remained strongest among the English monks, even until 1770s - 1780s. Reasons are threefold: 1: Strong early connection up to 1688. 2: Monasteries on the Continent together with the Pretender. 3: Pretender's support for the monks against the bishops in disputes over missionary faculties.

For the ecclesiastical or monastic historian anxious to trace the continuity of medieval monasticism through to its renewed stock in the 17th century, that is, to its survival in the English Benedictine Congregation, Knowles, together with last year's exhibitions at the British Library and the Bodleian show that the firmest bond between the two is the deposit of mystical writings. However, for monks writing, or merely thinking, at the end of the 17th century, a 'special relationship', as politicians might call it, between the Crown and Benedictine monasticism would be a more evident cement between old and new than that provided by spirituality.

It was from this attachment to a distant past that English monks brought ideals to equip themselves with a renewed position in society under the later Stuarts. The reality was, in effect, wafer-thin, but the ideals helped sustain Jacobitism after the fall of James II. There were other reasons why the monks' attachment to the Stuart cause did not wither after the Revolution - firstly, the monks on the continent, having been once more exiled from England in 1689, began to possess a vision that was more abstracted from the true political scene in that country; secondly, these exiled monasteries were able to play the host much more convincingly to a king who was himself also an exile; thirdly, currents of Gallicanism in the French church, reverence for absolute monarchy, and the medieval power of the French monarchy over the great French Benedictine Congregations, like the Maurists, must have infected the English monks in their approach to the English crown.

The English monks would publicly bask in this alliance between Crown and Cowl after 1685, though to a large extent this coalition was the result of accident and good fortune. Nevertheless, once it had been set up, it was justified through the construction of an historical pedigree by Benedictine annalists like Benet Weldon who wrote his 'Memorials' at Paris, in the English monastery of St. Edmund, between 1707 - 1710.

When the early pioneers of the revived English Benedictine Congregation had returned to England from Monte Cassino in 1603 to seek out the aged Fr. Sigebert Buckley, the last survivor of Marian Westminster, to have him clothe them in the English Benedictine habit, there was no mention made in the proceedings of the role of the Crown which had been the main instrument in the re-establishment of Westminster Abbey in Mary's brief reign. In fact, what these young men wanted was the public recognition of the continuity of an English Benedictine Congregation stretching back, in their eyes, to Augustine of Canterbury, this was so as to assure them a legal claim to the missionary apostolate.

The patronage of the Crown, then, was frankly irrelevant in the situation the monks found themselves at the beginning of the 17th century, and was non-existent until the slight nudge the monks were given by Henrietta Maria, although one should perhaps mention Thomas Preston's Gallicanism and the interest of James II in the monks at the beginning of the 17th century. On the other hand, the monks' emphasis on an English Benedictine continuity generated more heat than light as the 17th century wore on. Protestants feared that acceptance of monastic continuity would bring restoration of monastic rights in its train, which would inevitably spell the return of pre-Reformation monastic land to its former owners. Such suspicions were not allayed by Urban VIII's calculated agricultural metaphor in the opening words of his Bull of 1633, *Plantata in agro Domini*. This bull became the Magna Carta of English Benedictine liberties, as Lunn says. In faraway Rome, the pope could indulge in Gothic phantasy by appointing, through this bull, nine English monks to be the cathedral priors of nine medieval foundations, but to the English establishment, such kindness was seen only as another act of papal aggression. To such feelings, the monks in England were always sensitive, and repeatedly tried to show such fears were groundless. Thus, the monks acknowledged the binding nature of the Bull *Praeclara*, passed in Mary's reign, which admitted there could be no future restoration of monastic property. Even so, it remained a strong rumour that the main benefit the Benedictines might achieve from Stuart patronage would be the gradual return of old monastic property to the monks.

The publication of 'The Assurance of the King's Lands' by Nathaniel Johnston, with his Benedictine brother's help, in 1685, and a sermon preached in November 1686 by the Benedictine Bp. Ellis were both attempts to demonstrate the monks' abstention from this issue, but the old bogey lived on into the period of high Jacobitism. 'Great search was made in 1689' the annalist Weldon tells us, 'to find out the possessions of monasteries etc. And some considerable affairs were found, but I do not know that we were great losers, (for) ye Jesuits lost most this time'. This pleased Weldon no end - to see the Jesuits crest-fallen, because at the beginning of his reign, James II had asked the monks not to buy the old lands belonging to Bury St. Edmunds which had been offered them, so as not to create a furore. But the Jesuits had stepped in and bought the lands themselves, much to the monks' astonishment. As late as 1718, there was a strong rumour that the Benedictines were amassing land by the sly use of trusts, placing it in secular hands, and often using Protestants' name, in the hope that the land might one day be returned to them. This,

presumably, was a distorted way of speaking of annuities based on land and the like which certain monks appeared to have enjoyed on the mission and which appear in the various lists of forfeited estates in the 18th century.

Another point which indicates that English Benedictine attachment to the Crown in the post-Reformation period was not an inherited tradition can be noted in the very origins of the revived Congregation itself, for it grew up based on the pattern of similar monastic Congregations in 15th century Italy and Spain (for instance, those of Monte Cassino and Valladolid). Such Congregations had been formed to protect monasteries against all variety of crippling lay-patronage, royal patronage included, and the early history of the English Benedictines shows them struggling as hard as they could to avoid becoming the pawn of French King, or Emperor. The string of monastic Constitutions which gave a shape to the English Benedictine Congregation, even those of 1689, bear no hint of lay patronage as a necessary component in monasticism, though they acknowledge benefactors who give missionary monks a home and a field of activity to work in. The insistent begging by English monks for benefits from the French, Roman and Jacobite courts throughout the 18th century reign demonstrates the evolution of quite a different sort of monastic ideal from that practised in the so-called Golden Age of the 17th century.

Full-blooded Jacobitism and the orbit of the monks around the exiled monarchs is, of course, clearly in evidence from early 1689, but Dr. Lunn tries to prepare the terrain for such monastic Jacobitism by sketching in events which led to the creation of the so-called 'Court Monasticism' of James II's reign (1685-88). I find these events less important and more isolated than Dr. Lunn. As we have seen, Crown and Cowl were not really close until 1685. Before this time we have only a series of disconnected incidents. Perhaps it was only in the person of Fr. John Huddlestone that the monks finally made the bright lights at Court. His work of mercy in helping to save the life of Charles II after Worcester in 1651 made the king eternally grateful. Fr. Huddlestone was given a royal pension and was not subjected to any of the anti-Catholic legislation which characterised the latter half of the reign. Fr. Huddlestone's moment of glory came with his journey up the back stairs after the dying king had sent for him. The Anglican chaplains were asked to leave the room, and Charles II was received into the Catholic church. The English Benedictines luxuriated in the reflected glory of this member of their body, and monastic honours were heaped upon him, but it should be remembered that Huddlestone's first acquaintance with Charles, that is after the battle of Worcester, was as a secular priest, he only became a monk later. Nevertheless, the monks were not the sort to let royal gratitude be forgotten. Writing to James III in September 1723 President Southcott asked for help on the mission. 'I plead hard for my folks, and if you would please not to laugh at me, I would fain have you remember Fr. Huddlestone's brethren who saved King Charles I body first, and his soul, I hope, afterwards'.

James II's accession to the throne in 1685 had one immediate tangible result for the monks - the establishment of a properly constituted monastery at the Palace of St. James in Whitehall, with a full liturgical life and a community of about fifteen monks. Nothing had been seen like it since the days of Marian Westminster, and contemporary Benedictines were not slow in seeing its creation as a restoration of the true English Church on its traditional monastic base; the mission of Augustine was frequently alluded to and Augustine was seen in contemporary terms as a Benedictine President General who had set up his cathedral church with a monastic chapter. Weldon would write rather priggishly that the

better and more learned part of Augustine's clergy had been monks. With the consecration of the monk Michael Philip Ellis as Bp. of Aureliopolis (titular) in 1688, the Benedictine pipe-dream was brought a shade nearer to this reality. The community at St. James's, was learned and largely aristocratic, with some powerful converts among its members. Weldon described its foundation thus:

James II, rightly surnamed the Just, of most Holy Memory, no sooner the English Imperial Diadem in his professed Catholic Hands, but he bethought himself of its old prop, the Benedictine Crosier .. and therefore resolved his Royal Consort's Chapel should be attended by a Convent of Benedictine Monks... Such was the affection of His Majesty for the Habit, that when he assisted at the Royal Chapel in Whitehall, he would have one of our Fathers by the Credence in this habit, that seeing St Bennet in his children, he might be ever mindful of him.

The monks swept all before them during the time the king was on the throne, as Confessors to the Court Circle, as foreign envoys, Maurus Corker, for example, was ambassador for the Elector of Cologne, and as great labourers in the conversion of the leaders of society to Catholicism - Bp. Ellis, for instance- was responsible for the conversion of Lords Sunderland and Mitford. Above all, it appears the monks had established their reputation as educators. Many of the later Jacobite families had their children educated in the Benedictine schools abroad, especially St. Gregory's at Douai, and at Lamspring, and this surely must have been a factor in the prolongation of Jacobite sentiment in England. In James II's reign, the case of Dora Placid Francis is well-known; during 1687, the king put pressure on Dr. Peachell, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to allow this monk to become an M.A. without taking the usual oaths; in the end a compromise was reached. In England, we know the monks opened schools during this period at York, Gloucester, perhaps in Oxford, and in Clerkenwell. Clerkenwell began following some in-fighting with the Jesuits at the Savoy Palace, where, to quote Weldon again:

Maurus Corker had taken the first floor; the Jesuits took the rooms under him and placed their Chapel under his. Now as no one could go up to Fr. Corker's but through an entry by theirs, they stuck into the passage, windows like shop windows in the silk-shops, so that the noise of their sermons or prayers coming through, would invite those to listen that could not for the throng get in to see. This would so stop the passage that there was no access to Fr. Corker's chapel. The King persuaded Fr. Corker to remove and leave the Jesuits the place, but obliged the Jesuits to pay him what his Chapel had cost him; he went to St Johns (ie Clerkenwell), and there built a mighty pretty convent.

In the General Chapter of the monks held significantly at St. James in 1685, the presence of a generous monarch was, for the first time acknowledged. Certain chapter fathers, again aristocratic, or nearly so, were ordered by Chapter to act as intermediaries between the king and the monks, They brought back James's message of encouragement, but no specific commands; so, the Chapter ended by ordering its members to say Mass regularly for the well-being of the royal family.

One senses something of the atmosphere of the Regularis Concordia in all this; with the king as Defender of the Monastic Order.

How events might have turned out had James been rather more successful than he was, can only be conjecture, but perhaps it is not too vain to see elements of an English Gallicanism here. The Declaration of the Four Articles which clearly defined the liberties of the Gallican Church had only been promulgated in 1682. These gave the French king great power over the National Church: 'persons consecrated to God' one article said 'do not cease thereby to be men and citizens, subject like others to the king and secular power l.

For the monks, James's protection was essential in staving off threats from episcopal attack on the exemption enjoyed by the monks. The king had wanted to go the whole hog and have Bishops-in-Ordinary approved, but Rome was more cagey and ultimately decided to appoint Vicars Apostolic. By 1688, four had been appointed, including as we have seen the monk Michael Philip Ellis. Vicars Apostolic were papal delegates and as such did not have the scope or the authority of proper Ordinaries, and therefore, the king had a far looser control over them. Such Vicars Apostolic were usually appointed to missionary territories, but these new English bishops insisted that they possessed the powers if not the name of Ordinaries. They argued that although England was in one sense a missionary country, it had a sizable Catholic minority, with a reasonably run ecclesiastical government. They wished to consolidate this by creating uniformity out of the chaos which derived from the old missionary system when different religious orders competed in the same field. Thus, ultimately, the Bishops would have taken over the appointments of chaplaincies run by monks, and have run the monks' mission for them. On their side, the monks had clear reasons for upholding the traditional missionary model, and encouraged the king to support them. It was a long battle, made more complicated by the monks playing a trump card - that they themselves had Ordinary powers because, thanks to the Cathedral sees remaining vacant from the Reformation, the authority of their Ordinaries devolved onto the Benedictine Cathedral priors, whom we have seen were the creation of the Bull *Plantata* in 1633.

The Revolution, following on from James's flight to France in December 1688 merely increased the heat of this battle, for the Vicars Apostolic tried to take over the control the king had exercised over the English Church, and tried to stabilise their position in the post 1688 mess. The monks, on the other hand, asserted the king's continuing privileges in this area, and championed his fight to make appointments and decide policy. The disruption of 1689 created all sorts of problems for the monks; St. James's community scattered, money was short, and fleeing exiles filled the continental houses to overflowing. Furthermore, there was no knowing how long missionaries would survive in the various chaplaincies as persecution built up again. Still, in one sense, the monks were now closer to the king than they had ever been before; prayers continued to be offered for him; he, in his turn, supported the monks' rights and asked that his special friends amongst them should be favoured. Fr. Joseph Aprice, who had fled with the king, now resided at St. Germain as one of James's ordinary chaplains. In England, early Jacobite demonstrations were helped by Catholic families who maintained Benedictine chaplains, like, for instance the Molyneux family of Sefton, Lanes, and the Cannings of Foxcote, Warwicks.

In the early 1690s, it was not at all obvious that the king was in exile for good, and this explains the frequency of small plots to try to win his throne back. As the decade wore on, and money became shorter and continental support weaker, the Stuart Court took on more and more the atmosphere of the post-Revolution Romanov Court. The king became increasingly pious as he neared his end, some say, cynically, to atone for the sins of his youth. He made a series of retreats at the English Benedictine monastery in Paris, St. Edmund's, and the monks there made the most of these visits. The first retreat was in Holy Week 1694, when royal apartments were hastily prepared in the monastery. He had visited St. Edmund's once before this – in mufti, for his piety had not drained away his sense of humour.

On this occasion Weldon reported ‘the Porter took the king only for a Gentleman, not aware of his Starr ... and while the old man trudged to acquaint the Superior, the king followed him into the Cloister, where Prior Kenwick coming down, found him walking all alone, very contentedly, but was sore abashed. His Majesty’s Great Piety (however) took great delight in the Pleasantness of the mistake’.

The king and some of the younger monks here at St. Edmund’s were very close in one respect – their attraction to the renewal of the monastic life under the Cistercian reformer Armand de Rancé, Abbot of La Trappe. The king also made retreats here and his letters of devotion written to de Rancé are still extant. James’s example must have been partially the reason why at least three monks, upset at various scandals at St. Edmunds, tried to join La Trappe, though only one stayed, to eventually become Novice Master.

It was a stroke of luck that when the old king died in September 1701, James’s body was brought in the evening to lie at St. Edmund’s, in the Lady Chapel. James had wanted to be buried without ceremony within the parish where he died. Le grand monarque thought differently, for the corpse was to be temporarily deposited in the English Benedictine Church, awaiting its transfer to England where it would rest with the king’s other ancestors in the monk’s other Church at Westminster Abbey. To tell the truth, not all of James came to St. Edmund’s: his heart went to the Queen’s favourite nunnery at Chaillot, the bowels to the St. Omer Jesuits, and his brains to the Scots College in Paris. Weldon, who always enjoyed a good funeral, has several rapturous pages on the palls and ornaments around the lead coffin, and carefully noted that there was a tin crown on the top rather than one of silver since that might be stolen ‘being within reach’. When the antiquary William Cole visited the Chapel in 1765, he thought the pall on the coffin looked very shabby - perhaps evidence of a lack of interest among the monks in the Stuarts by that time, although there was a refit in the 1730’s. At the French Revolution, the municipal authorities displayed the incorrupt body as a peep-show, and charged an admission fee. It was later decently buried at St. Germain.

It is easy to smile at the incorruptibility of the king’s corpse, but his exemplary life in the last few years created a cult after his death. Significantly, this cult seems to have begun almost immediately after the king’s death. In late September 1701, two good Protestant English gentlemen called in at St. Edmund’s and reported: ‘we commonly observed several monks praying by the corpse, and were even told he would be made a saint, but we could not hear of any miracles wrought by him before or after his death, which it seems are necessary to obtain that elevation. However, such things are whispered about’. Weldon’s own *Life of James II*, now in the British Library, contains the official collection of these royal cures; he had himself been cured of a gangrenous big toe, he believed, through the king’s intercession. Relics we must remember, were big business in late 17th century Paris - Kreiser’s recent book on the miracles and convulsions at Saint-Medard, Paris in the 1730’s, is a good example of what I mean.¹ In the city, processions of relics were an everyday part of Catholic urban life. The English monks felt out of their depth on such occasions; sometimes their small number had to be supplemented by Cluniac monks who put on English Benedictine habits and pretended to be English monks for the occasion. At other times, the English Benedictines showed themselves up by committing some liturgical

¹ Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, Convulsions and Ecclesiastical Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton 1978).

howler. Now, to possess the tomb of a king who was also a saint would have been one in the eye for haughty French monks. And if fortune had smiled rather more on the Stuarts, the Benedictines might have carried it off; from 1701, there was a steady stream of high English and French nobility praying before the tomb, culminating in James III's visit in 1706. - With the deposition of James II's Queen and his daughter Marie Louise by his side, and the crypt full of the king's old faithful comrades, the chapel at St. Edmund's was well on the way to becoming a Stuart mausoleum, though the Canonization process, continued on in Paris in the 1730's got nowhere.

In England, the pronounced Jacobitism of the continental monks was something of an embarrassment to their brethren on the mission. But not for all, and especially not for those working as chaplains in Jacobite households. Lord Stourton, imprisoned in the Tower after the 1692 Kenwick Plot, and Philip Langton of Low Hall, Hindley, imprisoned in 1694, both had monks as chaplains who would no doubt have supported the political views of their patrons. Despite lack of detailed evidence, we know that the Congregation in general feared the destruction of its chaplaincies in Lancashire in the recriminations following the 1696 Plot. The monks made use of this troubled situation to the utmost by persuading Rome to preserve the status quo in English church matters, and not to force the Regulars under the thumb of the Vicars Apostolic. Meanwhile, the claws of the usurper reached even to the continent; as late as November 1697, Prior Joseph Johnston of St. Edmund's, Paris, friend of antiquaries like Dugdale and non-jurors in general, was forced to resign as prior because of danger to his life from enemy agents following his involvement in the 1696 Plot. Weldon tells us; 'News of his dignity (i.e. his being elected prior) flew into England, where the miserable, pitiful time-servers, to make their Court to the Prince of Orange, spoke so big, and threatened so hard, that Fr. Joseph, for not to expose the Catholics and his Brethren in England to the rage of those furies, laid down his office, contrary to the King's sentiment, and secretly withdrew to the Mauritian Benedictine novice-ship of S. Faron's at Meaux, without anyone but Fr. President knowing whither he was gone, for there was no surety for him at Paris by reason of the Prince of Orange's ambassadors'.

The rash of unsuccessful Plots, the breathless flight of exiles and the destruction by mobs of Benedictine chapels like that of the Throckmortons at Coughton in 1689, should not blind us to alternative attitudes. By 1696, Sir Robert Throckmorton, who tended to reside at Weston Underwood rather than Coughton, was all for keeping the government happy and proving himself to be a loyal, citizen by offering to take the Oath of Allegiance. Again, his Benedictine chaplain either shared his attitude or kept quiet. While things were still very tense, there was also a steady return of monks back into England occurring during the 1690s, including even some of those who had been stationed at St. James's. In London, the favoured Fr. John Huddleston kept alive on his pension till his death in 1698, and Fr. Joseph Ferreira continued to administer the Sacraments during this period at the Portuguese Embassy chapel.

Taking a bird's-eye view of James II's fortunes in the late 17th century, one has to admit there was a decline evident, despite what Jacobites thought and hoped at the time. The weakening of his position can be read between the lines of contemporary monastic reports - is. it an accident, for instance, that in 1697 the Benedictine General Chapter ordered a reduction in the number of masses to be said for the royal family, and that the responsibility for these was no longer to lie with the Chapter as a whole, but merely with the President? Meanwhile, in Rome, the exiled Benedictine Bishop Ellis who fancied himself as James's

personal representative at the Papal Court, was clutching at all sorts of straws to keep James's cause afloat there. He pressed the Pope to appoint a Congregation of Cardinals to monitor English affairs, but it was in vain, for as James was slowly edged out of European peace agreements, he became little more than an embarrassment to the major powers. He did cling onto his control over English Church affairs, petitioning for the renewal of the faculties of the Vicars Apostolic and appointing other officials. Yet even this seemed to have practically disappeared when, in 1706, James III was not even consulted over who was to replace Bp Ellis in the Western District; 'It was, Weldon sadly reports 'as if their Majesties' royal Power had no power like other princes in such things'. Even so James III was directly responsible for the appointment of Laurence York in 1741 and Charles Walmesley in 1756, both of the Western District.

The reduction of militant Jacobitism into Platonic Jacobitism, to use David Mathew's well-known definitions, that is, the turning of a party of determined anarchists into a select group of nostalgic traditionalists, had occurred most certainly by the early years of George III's reign. For the monks, it was a more prolonged and agonising process than it was for some lay Catholics, or indeed, than it was for other English Catholic clergy.

THE PERIOD FROM 1700-60

The 1715 Rebellion, following on from the Act of Union and Queen Anne's death, brought into the open traditional patterns of provincial and Catholic Northumbrian life. These were united with Court Jacobitism in the person of the young Earl of Derwentwater, the Northumbrian leader, who had been educated at St. Germain. He was joined in the rebellion by a large number of the Catholic Northumbrian gentry who were either patrons of Benedictine missionaries or who had members of their family Benedictine monks or nuns. The Erringtons of Beaufront, Riddells of Swinburne, Charltons of Hesleyside, and Swinburnes of Capheaton despite the rebellion's failure, preserved Jacobite tokens as distinguishing marks of their loyal past, maintained Benedictine links and increasingly throughout the 18th century, sent a steady stream of their sons and daughters to the English Benedictine schools on the continent. Errington of Beaufront was recommended for a place at the Jacobite Court by the monks in the 1730's.

The one Northumbrian Benedictine missionary whom we know suffered in the '15 was Fr. Benedict Wilson who was dragged on horseback to Durham Gaol from the Widdrington chaplaincy at Stella Hall, but was back at his mission work the next year, after his release. Outside Northumberland, there were other more isolated Benedictine pockets of Jacobite activity. In Lancashire, the Heskeths of Whitehill were forced to close their chapel after the '15's failure, and the monk chaplain, Richard Helme moved to a quieter retreat at Woolton Hall from Sefton Hall where he had been chaplain to the Jacobite Lord Molyneux. Bath, a Benedictine mission of some importance because it was urban, had some Jacobite activity at this time, while at nearby Ponthill, also served by the monks, the head of the Cottington family was created Baron Cottington by James III in 1716. There are surprisingly few apostasies from the Benedictine ranks after the rebellion's failure; one, Bede Tatham, who must have left in approximately 1715 had been a monk at St. James's, and went on to become successful as a merchant in Pennsylvania. There is no real indication that he left because of loss of confidence in the Jacobite cause. Nevertheless, the marked

decrease in new recruits to the houses from the turn of the century suggests that the weakening of Jacobitism in England was at least a contributory factor in this decline.

In the later 1745 Rebellion, there was not the same degree of support in areas where monks were working as missionaries. Searches were made in Benedictine centres like Bath, where Lawrence York was forced to flee, and Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, an absentee landlord who employed the monk Bede Potts as his steward for twenty years, was imprisoned in York Castle during the rebellion. Constable's flight to Paris and his death in exile there in 1746, suggest that he maintained his attachment to the more militant Jacobitism he had known as a relative of the Derwentwaters, and as a long-term guest in the English monasteries on the continent, where he stayed during his travels. Constable's absenteeism makes him untypical when compared with other English Catholic gentry who maintained monks as chaplains in the 1740s; his neighbour, Sir Edward Gascoigne at Parlington, for example, dismissed the Pretender's army as a rabble of naked disturbers of order.

The failure of the '45 paved the way for Pope Clement XIII's refusal to recognise Charles Edward's claim to the throne after James III's death in 1766. It also marked the end of the Pretender's support of the monks against the Vicars Apostolic in regard to authority and jurisdiction. This quarrel, stirred up after 1609, as we have seen, had never really been settled. Following rumours of an extension of episcopal control over monks and other Regulars, the English Benedictine Presidents in the 1720s, 1740s and 1750s continued to beg James III's help in maintaining monastic exemption against episcopal encroachment. The monks played the same old tunes which did not ring so true now. They urged the papacy, for example, to uphold the status quo in regard to their own independence since any change, they felt, could not be put into operation due to the terrible persecution English Catholics were supposed to be undergoing after the '45. But Rome was determined to settle the issue once and for all; the Bull *Apostolicum Ministerium* of 1753 clearly extended and defined the powers of the Vicars Apostolic over the monks.

By mid-century, then, Stuart support for the monks was of little consequence, and on the mission, Jacobitism seems to have become little more than a harmless eccentricity. Giles Hussey of Marnhull in Dorset, nephew of an English Benedictine abbess and brother of Dom Edward Hussey who came to live with his brother during the 1760s, continued to paint pictures of Charles Edward, despite the latter's exploits becoming an increasing embarrassment to English Catholics. Mention too should be made of the two Macdonald brothers, of the Clanranald family, whose father had been executed after the '45. It is said that the boys were fostered by the Jacobite Warwick family in Cumberland, and later became monks. The elder, Archibald Benedict Macdonald-founded the Benedictine mission in Liverpool in the 1780s, and in a very real sense, was the Benedictine pioneer in work within an urban industrial climate. Perhaps any Jacobitism that survived in him was transmuted into Scottish nationalism - his editions of Ossian's poems appeared in 1805 and 1808.

To turn now to the Jacobitism of Dom Thomas Southcote, President of the English Benedictine Congregation 1721-41. He was a convinced Jacobite throughout his life, and a major influence both before and during his presidency in preserving the Stuart-Benedictine alliance. His father was Sir John Southcote, his mother, the daughter of the second Lord Aston. His sister married the Jacobite Earl of Stafford. The family circle here was markedly Stuart in its leanings; the Southcotes had supported Charles I, while the

third Lord Aston had attempted, with other Jacobites, to hold Chester for James II in 1688. Fr. Southcote, as a young missionary, served as chaplain to his uncle, Lord Aston, at Standon Lordship, from 1705. He was, then, from the beginning of his monastic life, to feel quite at ease in the world of the English Jacobite nobility, whose support was essential to the royal family living in exile. Significantly, Dom Thomas had been professed as a monk in August 1688, and would therefore have been familiar with the strength Catholicism had achieved in James Us reign. He had taken a DD at Douay University in 1695, and had briefly flirted with Jansenism by translating part of Quesnel's *The New Testament with Moral Reflections at Every Verse*. During the '15, he worked as a Jacobite agent in England, and after the rebellion's failure, embarked on preparations for another plot which has become known as the Swedish Plot of 1719. For this, he busied himself throughout 1716 collecting money from Jacobites in England, particularly in areas where Benedictine influence was strong, in Bath, for instance. His zeal in this task made him reject a suggestion that he should go to the imperial Court at Vienna to further James III's cause there. Paris acted as Southcote's continental base in his operations, but there is also strong evidence to show that the Jacobites made use of a wider Benedictine framework by, for example, attracting Dom Francis Moore, the Procurator in Curia until 1717, to their schemes. Southcote and Moore would work together in collecting much-needed money. The very important contact which Dom Placid Waters, from a firm Jacobite banking family, and English Benedictine Procurator 1777-1808, made with Jacobites later in the century, suggest that in the nadir of Jacobite fortunes, the exiled royal family was still attached to the monks on account of financial exigency. By the end of 1716, it appears that the Jacobite Court, especially the Duke of Mar, began to turn against Thomas Southcote; whose indiscretion and superfluity of zeal had caused him to be tactless whilst he worked in England. At long last, the Jacobites were realising that they must be a little more cautious if they were to make any ground in England. Thus, at the turn of the year 1716, the meddling but honest Southcote, with his airy notions, was shrugged off, in favour of Bp Francis Atterbury, the Anglican High Churchman, who now took over Jacobite policy in England. By July 1717, Southcote's correspondents were told he had been dropped from the royal service, although he still seems to have had some moneys under his control.

Southcote's election as President in 1721 was itself part of a great crisis rocking the Congregation as a whole. His predecessor as President, Dom Lawrence Kenwick, had tried to divide the Congregation by extracting a band of his faithful followers on the mission, and thus loosening links with the monasteries on the Continent. Both sides enjoyed serving up legal niceties, in the ensuing conflict, but for our purposes, it is worth noting that most Jacobite support appears to have been given to Southcote. Not only did he have the monasteries as his allies, but also, individuals like Francis Moore and others who had been members of the palace monastery of St. James's, as young men, back in the 1680s. The Jacobite ingredient

in this crisis is easily discernible in Southcote's attacks on Kenwick, as a man who rejected James III as king and was, instead, prepared to go along with Bp Stonor and Thomas Strickland, and have Catholics take the Oath of Submission to George III. To Kenwick, such a policy would, no doubt, have been more beneficial to the monks at work on the English mission, than would the unreal Jacobitism still pursued by the out-of-touch continental houses.

It is strange that a man ditched by Jacobite politicians should within a matter of years become President of the English Benedictines, and in 1725 also a strong favourite to succeed Bishop Witham as Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, although he was never given this task. During his twenty years as President, Benedictine links with the Jacobite Court remained strong; his relationship to the English Mission was along the lines he had pursued as a young missionary-? he maintained his contact with Jacobite families such as the Staffords, Carylls and Constables, and by these he was held in great respect. In 1740, Marmaduke Constable reported back to his Benedictine chaplain that he had seen the 'Generalissimo' (as Southcote was affectionately known) at Douay, sitting fat and fair, and growing whimsical in his blindness., a saint if ever there was one. In his last years, he retired to the English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai, dying there in 1748.

A final reason which suggests why Jacobitism was so long-lived among the Benedictines during the 18th century is the climate of opinion that prevailed in the monasteries themselves. Unfortunately, the records of the houses suffered very badly at the time of the French Revolution, and much has been lost. However, it appears that attachment to the Stuarts was maintained in the monasteries throughout the century, even if it was less vigorous than it had been at the end of the 17th century. The royal family continued to offer gifts to the Paris monastery in particular; in 1719, the Queen left it 4000 livres, and in 1752, the Berwick family donated 300 livres for Masses for the souls of the Duke and other members of the family. At Douai, the monks from St. Gregory's joined up with their brethren in the English secular clergy's college there to celebrate great Jacobite festivals and commemorations.

In 1749, the academics in the monastery at Paris, founded the Society of St. Edmund to promote scientific and literary studies; the Society's library possessed a bronze medallion of Sanies II; perhaps an indication of a relegation of the cause by this date to the level of an antiquarian pursuit. Whatever be the case, the involvement of the monks in Jacobite financial dealings continued unabated throughout the century. Gregory Cowley, Prior of Paris 1773-89 and a friend of Dr. Johnson who stayed at St. Edmund's in 1775 has left a voluminous correspondence written during these years between him and the Stuarts which reveal him as an agent for Jacobite funds in France.

Even if the French Revolution had not caused such great disruption it is doubtful whether this pattern of activity between monks and the Jacobite centres would have been maintained. Nevertheless, some Benedictine involvement remained to the end. On Charles Edward's death in 1788, his daughter, the Duchess of Albany inherited his papers, and these were transferred to Rome by her confidante, the monks Placid Waters, who was still Procurator and a member of the Jacobite banking family. On the Duchess's own death in 1789, he became sole executor, and took possession of the papers. It was this collection which Fr. Waters sold in 1804 to Sir John Cox Hippesley, acting on behalf of the Prince Regent. These papers form the core of the Stuart Papers now at Windsor. With Hanoverians like George III paying a pension to Henry Stuart, Cardinal York, and the Prince Regent encouraging Benedictine exiles fleeing from the French Revolution to settle in England, the wheel had come full circle.