

JACOBITISM IN BISHOP'S WALTHAM AND EAST HAMPSHIRE

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ABSTRACT

The Carylls of Harting (Sussex) and Catherington (Hants.) were a Catholic family who remained committed to the Stuart dynasty after the Glorious Revolution of 1689 and took the Jacobite lead in Hampshire. This paper traces the Jacobite careers of John Caryll I, the Jacobite Lord Caryll, his nephew John Caryll II and his cousin Philip Caryll down to 1736, and John Caryll IV to 1745. Particular attention is drawn to Philip's involvement with the Waltham Blacks and the Atterbury and Layer Plots in 1722–3 and the case is made out for an active Jacobite society at Bishop's Waltham in 1740–6.

JACOBITISM IN ENGLAND 1689–1746

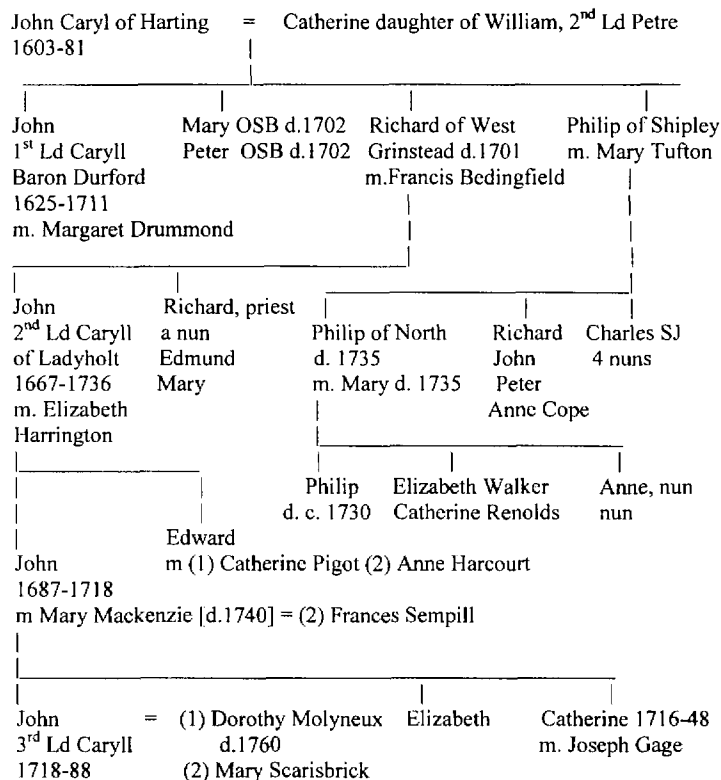
Between the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the battle of Culloden in 1746, successive British monarchs William III and Mary II (1689–1702), Queen Anne (1702–14), George I (1714–27) and George II (1727–60), possessed rivals in the exiled Stuarts: the deposed King James II (1685–8), his son James (d. 1766) the Old Pretender and his grandson Charles, the Young Pretender. The exiled Stuarts made determined efforts to recover their throne in 1688–90, 1715, and 1745–6. On such occasions and also in between they had Jacobite supporters within England working secretly on their behalf. Whether these constituted a substantial movement, as the Jacobites themselves and their successors sometimes claimed and as Cruickshanks and Erskine Hill amongst modern historians argue, or a network little larger than the individuals who were detected, it is difficult to ascertain. 'Jacobitism against the Hanoverians thrived near the estates of sympathetic owners',

wrote Paul Monod (Monod 1989, 161). One such Jacobite family was the Carylls of Harting (Suss.) and Catherington (Hants.), who owned land both in Hampshire and Sussex, and who were intimately involved in most of the upheavals of these years. They and their connections occur in the standard sources for Jacobitism, in those relating to the Waltham Blacks, and in the accounts kept and fortunately surviving of William Brown Alexander. This paper examines their role in all these events.

THE CARYLLS OF HARTING AND CATHERINGTON 1689–1718 (Fig. 1)

The principal estate of the Carylls was east of Petersfield just over the West Sussex boundary. Baptised at Harting in 1626, John Caryll I (d. 1711) (Fig. 2) built his house Ladyholt at South Harting, Sussex. His estates in Sussex and Surrey were so extensive that it was said of an Elizabethan ancestor 'he could pass from the sea at Shoreham to Horsham, Harting and Guildford without leaving his own territory' (Sussex County Magazine 1928, 304). They brought him the substantial yearly income of £2115 11s. 2d. (Gordon 1877, 122). John I was a Catholic and was connected with many prestigious Catholic families. His mother was Catherine, daughter of William (d. 1637), 2nd Lord Petre of Ingatestone in Essex. Other influential Catholic aristocrats in 1679 included Henry Howard, 6th Duke of Norfolk (d. 1684); Henry Browne, Viscount Montagu (d. 1708) of Cowdray in Midhurst; Dorothy, Lady Goring of Burton (d. 1729); George Neville, Lord Abergavenny of Rotherfield (d. 1695); Sir John Gage of Firlie (d. 1699); and Christopher Roper.

The Caryll Family Tree



Key: OSB – Order of St Benedict; SJ = Society of Jesus

Fig. 1 The Caryll Family Tree

Lord Tenham of Midhurst. The latter was actually Lord Teynham of Teynham in Kent, who resided with his wife Elizabeth Browne was a daughter of Viscount Montagu at Midhurst. Also Catholic were John I's immediate family, Richard and Peter Caryll of West Grinstead, and his cousin Philip Caryll of North House in Catherington in Hampshire, all presented for not attending their parish church. (*Wiston Archives* 1975, 422, 5402).

When King James II fled in 1688, John I also left. Secretary to James II's second wife Queen Mary of Modena, he became the exiled king's sec-

retary of state and in 1695 was created by him Baron Durford, a title not acknowledged by the English peerage. In 1696 he was involved in a plot to restore James as king. He was outlawed, his estate at Ladyholt sequestrated and awarded instead to James Lord Cutts (d. 1707), one of King William's victorious generals at the battle of the Boyne (Gordon 1877, 109).

After John I's death, his nephew John II, titular 2nd Lord Durford (1667-1736), bought back Ladyholt for £6,060 and set about making improvements, planting an avenue of trees for his son John III (d. 1718). John III had been sent to

receive a sound Catholic education at the Scottish college. In 1712 he had married Mary, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie (d. 1701), the Catholic Earl of Seaforth, but in 1718 he died of smallpox. His son John IV (1718–88) was born posthumously that same year.

There was discrimination against English Catholics. Liable to double land tax, excluded from the civil service and the armed forces (Erskine-Hill 1975, 63), Catholic nobles and gentry were dependent on the rents from their estates, and had to look for other sources of income. The Carylls' connections with Catholics in exile in France and the high excise duties imposed in England provided them with an opportunity to recoup their finances by smuggling goods through the south coast. Alexander Pope, the poet, was a protégé of the cultivated John Caryll II, often stayed at Ladyholt, and provides evidence of this smuggling. In 1717 Pope wrote to John Caryll II: "When a hogshead of good French wine falls into Ladyholt Park, or whatever element that pays no customs, you would favour me with about twelve dozen bottles of it at the price you give". 'Doubtless most [was] smuggled through the hands of Robin the Postman and other worthies into Ladyholt Park', H.D. Gordon observed. John II maintained his priest and a private chapel, which Pope had decorated with a painting of the Madonna and Child. As lay rector of Harting, the Catholic Caryll collected the great tithes of South Harting, the Anglican incumbent receiving the lesser tithes (Gordon 1877, 129).

John Caryll's cousin, Philip Caryll (d. 1735), lived nine miles away at North House, Catherington, near Petersfield in Hampshire. He was lord of the manor of Hinton Markhunt. He owned North House with its gardens, orchards, hop gardens, 40 acres of coppice, and a farm let at £140 a year, which entitled him to common in the forest of Bere (FEC1/1263/2). Philip had inherited land at Shipley in Sussex. He too had his private chapel and he too sent his son, another Philip, to be educated in France. During the Sachaverell trial in 1710, following Dr Sachaverell's attack on the ruling Whigs, Philip's Jacobitism had brought him into conflict with the government. He was escaping to France under an assumed name when

his real identity was disclosed, probably by a servant (Add MSS 28226, f.136). He was seized, taken to London, and interrogated before the leading minister Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (d. 1722) (Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 363). On his release, he fled to France, where he was forced to tarry longer than intended as he had no money. Philip was involved in smuggling with his friend Sir Harry Goring, of Highden near Steyning in Sussex. Goring, from a family devoted to the Stuarts, had lost his seat as M.P. for Horsham in 1715 and his commission in the army with the Hanoverian succession (Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 363). Together Goring and Caryll visited inns in Hampshire and Sussex to place their smuggled wine. It was these innkeepers who were to lay evidence against them (SP35/43, 194, 196, 367).

Philip knew the countryside well around the forest of Bere and Waltham Chase as far as Bishops Waltham. Goring and Caryll relied on each other. In 1721 Goring went so far as to leave the settlement of his estate in Philip Caryll's hands should any accident befall him. When Philip was reminded by an irate attorney of a debt due to Goring, he replied that Sir Harry Goring was too good a friend to expect any repayment (Add MS 28228, f.144).

Philip Caryll, the Waltham Blacks, and the Atterbury Plot 1721–3

Although the Jacobite attempt in 1715 to restore the Old Pretender failed, the new Hanoverian king, George I, was not universally popular and was identified with the Whigs. Goring and Caryll were involved in the Atterbury Plot in 1721, when Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester planned to restore the Stuarts. Realising that substantial help was needed from the nobility and recognizing that the South Sea Bubble had made 'the present juncture ... so favourable', he entrusted Goring with a letter to the Old Pretender in Rome. The Pretender must come at once (Bennett 1975, 228). One supporter at Sober-ton in Hampshire was Thomas Lewis (Sedgwick 1970, 2: 215). Goring had already been active in raising troops. He may even have enlisted the Waltham Blacks.



Fig. 2 John 3rd Lord Caryll. Portrait by courtesy of the Priest's House, West Grinstead

Disguising themselves with 'Masks on their Faces and Black Gloves on their Hands', the Waltham Blacks appeared in 1722 at Waltham Chase, the unenclosed deer forest which belonged to the bishops of Winchester and adjoined the forest of Bere. An anonymous account of the Waltham Blacks was published in 1723 and is the source of what follows. This sympathetic portrayal presents the Blacks as gentlemen, loyal to King George, and popular – enjoying the support, or at least the acquiescence, of the local populace.

'In and about the Times of general Confusion, when the late Pernicious Scheme of the South Sea Company ... laid waste what the Industry and good Husbandry of Families had gather'd together [the Waltham Blacks took an oath] to

stand by one another to the last Extremity under a mock Kingly Government and therefore elected a very robust, enterprising and substantial Gentleman, yet unknown for their King.'

The Waltham Blacks were poachers. 'Large Herds of Deer were to be seen in Drovers before, scarce were to be seen in two Months time Two of these Creatures grazing together'. The Blacks went virtually unopposed. 'Circular letters ... were sent round [which] ... threaten'd with burning down their very Houses in Case of Opposition'. People were terrified for their lives. One substantial farmer who informed was severely punished by 'King John', who called the Blacks together. They broke open the farmer's field gates, 'beat down his Fences and drive the

Cattle into the standing Corn, by which he was greatly damag'd'. The widow of a former keeper resident in a forest lodge, who was rewarded with £10 for information leading to the conviction of a 'Deer-Stealer', was visited by 'King John' and his men, who demanded the £10. When she refused to give it to him, he threatened to burn her house down, declaring that the Blacks 'were Gentlemen and were determin'd to do Justice'. She replied 'that Gentlemen would scorn to insult her after that Manner ... she believed them to be worthless Fellows, whereupon the Captain.. drew off his black Glove and exposed a fine white Hand ... asking her whether she thought it had ever been used to hard Labour, or belonged to a sorry Fellow' (Anon 1723, 5, 6, 8).

It began to be said that the Waltham Blacks were Jacobites 'intent on a general insurrection' (Anon 1723, 6). But 'his Mock Majesty King John ... gave out in his printed Manifesto's... that he and his were faithful and true Subjects to their Liege Lord and Sovereign King George and would stand by the Succession in the illustrious House of Hanover to their last drop of Blood'. 'King John' then announced that he and his men would appear at an inn in Waltham Chase. Three hundred people turned out to see him and 15 of his followers, 'some in coats made of Deer-skins others with Fur caps', but 'all well arm'd and mounted'. 'King John' again declared his allegiance to the house of Hanover (Anon 1723, 6-7).

that they were well affected to King George: that they loved him and would be ready to sacrifice their Lives to maintain his Right. That they had no other Design but to do Justice, to see that the Rich did not insult and oppress the Poor: That they were determined not to leave a Deer on the Chase, being well assured it was originally design'd to feed Cattle and not to fatten Deer for the Clergy ... At the Close of this Speech, the King, Prince and Princess, the Royal Issue and other Healths were drunk. 300 people might have secured 16 with Ease, but no Attempt of that kind was made, which show'd the Populace to be of their side (Anon 1723, 7).

Who was 'King John'? He was known as Captain Clavered, another pseudonym (SP35/43, 48). Writing about the Waltham Blacks in stories which she assures us were based on fact, Harriett Martineau declared that one leader was Mr Bob, a pupil at one of the inns of court. He had to disguise himself because 'the whole gentry know my every feature' (Martineau 1845, 16-17). She adds that 'Mr Bob became a capital lawyer' but the 'Waltham Blacks passed through the streets of Winchester in companies ... from jail to gallows' (Martineau 1845, 88-89).

'King John's' speeches all made the point that the Waltham Blacks were faithful subjects to King George I, a claim accepted by E.P. Thompson in the first edition of his *Whigs and Hunters*. But this interpretation is contradicted by a letter from Sir Harry Goring to the Old Pretender, now amongst the Stuart Papers in Windsor Castle.

'I had settled an affair with Five Gentlemen of that Countrey [Hampshire] who were each of them to raise a Regiment of Dragoons well mounted and well arm'd which I knew they could easily do, for the Men had Horses and Armes of their own, and were [I] to say the truth, most of them, the Persons who some time since rob'd the late Bishop of Winchester's Parke, & have increas'd in their number ever since, they now go by the name of the Waltham Blacks tho' few of them live there' (Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 360).

Whether the gentlemen really could deliver such forces was never put to the test, since Goring was revealing details of the Atterbury Plot *after* it had been discovered and had failed. The Stuart Papers have been criticised as unreliable precisely because they give the impression that there was greater support for the Stuarts than actually existed. But in March 1721 Goring had assured the Jacobite James Duke of Ormond (d. 1745) of local support if he invaded (Cruickshanks 1989, 362). Goring's evidence about the Jacobitism of the Blacks is confirmed by L'Hermitage, the Dutch ambassador, who reveals that Philip Goring (the names are elided) was paid by the smugglers to create diversionary tactics for them, and that Goring then went on to enlist the Waltham Blacks for the Stuarts (Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 362 note 10, 365). The

Dutch were well informed about the Jacobites because Dutch troops were called over in 1722 by Sir Robert Walpole (the Prime Minister) and Charles Viscount Townshend (a Secretary of State) to crush the risings. The Dutch ambassador claimed that 'their [the Blacks] Jacobite affiliation was the primary reason for the passage of the Black Act' (Monod 1989, 116).

The pamphlet *The History of the Blacks of Waltham in Hampshire* of 1723 is anonymous: internal evidence does not conclusively reveal its authorship, origins, and bias. It does confirm Goring's claim that the Blacks were well-armed and well-mounted. Conceivably it could have been published by the Hanoverian government as an 'official' report into the Waltham Blacks: it may have attempted to reduce Jacobite unrest and therefore emphasised the Blacks' loyalty to the Hanoverians. It also stated that 'circular Letters' were sent to those who opposed the Waltham Blacks, without however indicating if these were written or printed. It does state that the manifesto which 'King John' read out at the Waltham Chase inn had been printed in London. If this was a Jacobite rather than a government publication, there was an undercover printer in Nathaniel Mist who published pro-Jacobite papers from 1716 to 1728 (Clark 1985, 145). Regrettably neither manifesto nor circular letters survive today.

If Sir Harry Goring was indeed enlisting the Waltham Blacks, he realised that he would need someone entirely trustworthy to command them. Immediately he thought of his loyal Catholic friend and fellow-smuggler, Philip Caryll. He described him to the Old Pretender:

Mr Phil: Caryll, ... a Roman Catholic ... [is] intirely attach'd to your majesties interest ... a man of good sense, few words & well acquainted with most of the Gentlemen of Hampshire that were well inclin'd.... [He was] to be in the nature of an Aide d'Camp to me. he knew that Countrey very well, was us'd to travell alone, knew all by[e] Roads, so I thought there could not be a properer person for that purpose ... This mr Caryll was the Person who I intended to send to give these Gentlemen before mention'd their orders when to rise & to tell them the place of Rendezvous (Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 359, 360).

But before Philip could be told the 'place of

Rendezvous', the Atterbury Plot had been betrayed. Coded letters sent by ordinary mail had been intercepted and deciphered by government agents. They were re-sealed and returned to Wills Coffee House in Covent Garden to be collected. The plot was uncovered. The principal conspirators, including Atterbury and William Lord North and Grey (from 1722 the Jacobite Earl North), were seized. Atterbury was visited in the Tower by Alexander Pope and John Caryll II (Gordon 1875, 153-54; Erskine-Hill 1975, 157). The day before the plot was discovered, on 23 August 1722, Goring and Philip Caryll were seen in Fareham. Goring's servant said 'they were going a gunning' on the Isle of Wight (SP35/42, 234); they had a gun and a spaniel with them. Goring escaped in his yacht to France and could not be examined. Philip returned home to North where, on 23 March 1723, he was arrested by Gold, a king's messenger, on Townshend's orders. He was confined at Gold's. His desk at North was searched and six letters confiscated, among them at least one from Harry Goring (SP35/42, 207, 302).

At this juncture Walpole turned his attention to the inns visited by Philip and Goring. The innkeepers were examined: their depositions are amongst the state papers. On 27 March 1723 J. Martin, victualler, testified that he 'sells liquor at a Lowe Place called Cave in Broad Halfpenny', Hambledon. Sir Harry Goring called when he was staying at North; sometimes Philip also came. He had heard that Lord North and Grey had called on Philip the previous August [1722] (SP35/43, 194). On 13 April 1723 Elizabeth Howard, innkeeper of the Blacksmith's Arms, Portsea, who had been wet-nurse to the Old Pretender in 1688, stated that Philip Caryll and another gentleman had come to drink the health of 'Mrs Howard's Nurse child' and had done the same only two weeks since (SP35/42, 367). A third innkeeper, William Basing of Horndean near Petersfield, reported a meeting of Goring, Philip Caryll, Mr Tucker of Woodhouse, Farmer Port and a gentleman with an iron hook on one hand (Cruickshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 364).

When examined on 27 and 29 March 1723, Philip 'confessed that Goring four months before his flight ... had told him of the Jacobite invasion'

(Cruikshanks and Erskine-Hill, 1985, 364). Regarding Philip's confession, Goring wrote to the Old Pretender that 'I yet cannot but thinke they have used some torture to this man to get from him what they have, whither by Fire, Water or Chains' (Cruikshanks and Erskine-Hill 1985, 360). Certainly when Philip was released £38 out of £78 borrowed from Goring was used to pay the bill of an apothecary (Add MS 28228, f.143). Philip's evidence however was reckoned to be too slight to incriminate Atterbury on 30 April, when Delafaye, secretary to the Lords Justices, wrote that 'Mr C should not be brought down tomorrow (SP35/42, 204). Nevertheless Atterbury was arraigned at Westminster Hall on 6 May, was deprived of all his preferments, and banished from the kingdom, becoming the Old Pretender's minister in Paris. Lord North and Grey was released and Christopher Layer was hanged. Still confined, on 15 May Philip asked to send relief to any of his family in custody and to see his kinsman: on 18 May he was bailed (SP35/43, 50, 223).

INTERLUDE 1723-40

Although free, Philip Caryll realised that henceforth he too must live abroad and did so for the remaining twelve years of his life, his estates being managed on his behalf by his cousin John Caryll II until 1729 and thereafter by James Lacy, an attorney from Bishops Waltham with an extensive practice and Philip's executor. Philip last returned to England in 1733, when he visited Bishop's Waltham and made his will in Lacy's house. Within two years, he was dead (October 1735). Lacy wrote to John Caryll II of Ladyholt of his regret 'for the Death of my Dearest and good friend Mr Philip Caryll of Dunkirque' (Add MS 28229, f. 53). Philip left only daughters, Mrs Elizabeth Walker and her sister Mrs Catherine Reynolds and two sisters who were nuns, who as Catholics were disqualified from inheriting under the Disabling Act, and his will was disputed by Philip's partner and fellow smuggler Mr Furine as residuary legatee.

At this point the accounts of James Brown Alexander (d. 1751) become an important source for

this last phase of Hampshire's Jacobite history. Strangely these survive in what has been preserved as the poor rate book for Bishop's Waltham. At one end of the book are the accounts of the overseers of the poor for 1756-8, which summarise those kept by William Ledwell, who was a 'professional overseer', a position which was illegal until the Vestries Act of 1819. Following Ledwell's dismissal in 1758, and an interlude when the elected overseers kept their own records, Alexander's accounts follow down to page 71, 'the account of James Brown Alexander deceased'. The other end of the book contains the earlier unpaginated accounts of Alexander's private housekeeping, his resolutions, and of a society at Bishop's Waltham, extending from 1734-51 (HRO 30M77/PO4). Either separate books have been bound up together or a parish officer later copied these poor law records into Alexander's own book.

Alexander was an articled clerk of James Lacy from Michaelmas 1733 until Candlemas 1737, when he qualified. He continued practising at Bishop's Waltham. He undertook much business for Lacy and hence for Lacy's clients the Carylls. He kept accounts of the expenses which he incurred on Lacy's behalf and which had not been paid. Thus in February 1734 he went to London, where he paid 2s. 1d. on 'Dinner and Drink for Mr Nash and self when we pd Carylls money to Smith' (HRO 30M77/PO4, 15). Smith was a Paris banker, who looked after the Carylls' financial affairs in London. He may have come there regularly to receive money for the many Catholic Caryll living in France. Alexander became known to many people in Hampshire and in London. After visiting London in August 1736, his next expense was £4 3s. 'for Shirts, Necks and handkerchiefs which I bought in Flanders' (HRO 36M77PO4, 10). He may have been sent by Lacy to execute Philip Caryll's will and to pay the stipulated legacies. In Flanders he could have met the extensive Caryll family and other exiled Jacobites. These included Francis Sempill, second husband of John Caryll III's widow Lady Mary. Sempill was to become the Young Pretender's aide de camp during the 1744 attempt to restore the Stuarts, which John Caryll IV, Lady Mary's son, was to lead. Alexander was a Jacobite himself,

who cherished a piece of touchgold, formerly touched by a Stuart and thus possessing miraculous healing properties, paying 10s. 6d. for its return after he inadvertently gave it to his ward Mary Hackett.

In 1736 John Caryll II of Ladyholt died intestate. His daughter-in-law, Lady Mary, returned to England to claim the estate for her son John IV, still a minor. She took the advice of Pigot, the ingenious Catholic lawyer – her brother-in-law Edward was married to his daughter – so that, despite being a Catholic, John IV (now titular 3rd Lord Caryll) succeeded to his estate. At Ladyholt Lady Mary continued to attend mass in the private chapel. She also furnished the Catholic chapel at West Grinstead, another Caryll property (Add MS 28229, f.279). In 1740 she died. The anniversary of her death was celebrated the following year at Ladyholt. Prominent Catholics were notified. Her son was told

'I sent Jack Kelly [the estates steward] to Grinstead on Thursday ... and bid him call at Slinden [the Kemps] as he went and at Burton [the Gorings] & Cowdry [Montagu] as he came back., I acquainted Mr Dormer [Idsworth] Mr Talbot [A Catholic priest] & ye 3 Gentlemen you mentioned who live out of Sussex ... I appointed Thursday next for Lady Mary ... tomorrow I design to tell people of it. I expect a great many will come' (Add MS 28230, f.105).

Evidently there was still a local network of Catholics, who were in touch and committed to their faith and to the Stuarts.

In 1737 John IV returned to England. That year he met a member of the Bishopp family, probably Sir Cecil Bishopp, who lived at Parham. (His brother was to be entrusted with a message of support to the Young Pretender in 1744, but was arrested while trying to find a smuggler to take him across the Channel). John IV and Bishopp went before the commissioners, probably the Land Tax Commissioners who imposed double taxes on Catholic estates. They gave as their contact address the Sussex Coffee House near Temple Bar, or the Cock in Birchin Lane. Other inns used by John IV's correspondents were the Woolpack and the Marine Coffee House (patronised by those with shipping connections), and The Crown and Cushion in Devonshire

Street. Twice John IV was petitioned for money to help educate Catholic families abroad. He was told that this could be left at Mr Dove's, surgeon, in Narrow-Bone Street near Golden Square and at Mr Huskinson's against The Two Brewers in Pye Street, Westminster. There was obviously some sympathy in London for the Jacobite cause. In 1738 John IV married his cousin Lady Dorothy Molyneux, daughter of Richard, Viscount Molyneux (d. 1738), of Woolton in Lancashire, another prominent Catholic family.

John IV, whose great-great-uncle (the 1st Lord Caryll), grandfather (2nd Lord Caryll), and cousin (Philip of North) had all been involved in attempts to restore the Stuarts, now took on this family mission. In August 1739 he opened an account with Sir Francis Child, the banker and Tory M.P., who was anti-King George II and as Lord Mayor in 1732 had received a friendly message from the Old Pretender (Sedgwick 1970, 1: 549). He was to draw on Child's bank for £6,000.

His kinsman, Sir Walter Williams Winn, the head of a prestigious Jacobite family in Wales, wrote to him from Downing Street. His letter extremely guarded. He will be in touch with his brother in Bath 'to whom I can communicate my thoughts more fully' (Add MS 28229, f.239). A message to John IV from Arundel from Thomas Hunts his chaplain warned him 'do not be too venturesome, for ... Religion, Conjugall, filial, nay and public Duty oblige you to be cautious' (Add MS 28229, f.413).

Sussex was Whig territory dominated by the dukes of Newcastle and Richmond. In July 1740 Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle learned that Sir Cecil Bishopp of Parham and John Peachy of West Dean were to stand against his own candidates, his brother Henry Pelham and James Butler. That September Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond informed Newcastle that 'he had secured [the vote] of Sam Row the Smuggler'. He listed 102 votes promised at Chichester. He now canvassed the Midhurst area, but several 'not at home that were out at harvest'. Next month Richmond heard of Caryll's political ambitions and very quickly warned him off.

'I think it extremely imprudent in you ... to take part in the election, much more that of oppo-

sition to the present administration, of which I am very sure no Roman Catholic has any reason to complain. All of this figure in the county (viz.) the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Montagu, Mr Kemp, Mr Biddulph have declared their absolute neutrality and given me leave to apply to their tenants' (Add MS 28230, f.78).

Some including Sir Watkin Williams Winn however thought that English interests were being bled dry by the Hanoverian George II and 'England was made a mere province of Hanover' (Sedgwick 1970, 1:71).

Hampshire too had its disaffected families. Some like the Matthews family of Heath End, Peterfield, and Sir Henry Tichborne of Tichborne, Alresford had their own private chapels. There were others, not so wealthy, but widely spread: In Bishop's Waltham, Matthew Friend of Curdrige and John Friend of Ashton; in Upham, Augustine Fisher of Bellmore farmhouse; in Chawton, William Fisher; in Durley, Francis Fisher; in Soberton, Edward Molton; in South Stoneham, John Wybarne; in Catherington, Mary and John Collins; in Twyford, Henry Wells, Mary Cole, and Catherine Glasspool. All were listed by the Forfeited Estates Commission. Secret meetings were reported to the government. In Twyford, only nine miles from Bishop's Waltham, in March 1744, a forge was reported in the Catholic school there, where Pope himself had received some education. In the house of the undermaster, Mr FitzGerald, two blunderbusses, two cases of pistols, and two large heavy guns were stored. Other weapons had been seen in Mr Bett's house, 'large prongsters about a yard and a half long with edged spikes of eight or nine inches'. Some of the young gentlemen at the school had said that they 'Might broil ye Protestants upon gridirons like herrings' (SP36/71., 351). William Primmer, carpenter, reported that he had been employed to make hiding places for these weapons in secret cupboards and behind fireplaces.

The Duke of Richmond was rattled. He wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: 'Our Master [George II] is so blind to his own interest ... We ought to serve the King and to save him from Destruction ... My first principle is ... to keep the Hanover family on the throne'. Newcastle wrote

back: 'Our all depends upon keeping them here and keep them here we will if we can: I had almost said, in spite of themselves' (McCann, 1984 179-180).

A JACOBITE SOCIETY AT BISHOP'S WALTHAM?

By this time, Alexander was recording the meetings of a society in the town of Bishop's Waltham. He never states explicitly what business it transacted: it may have been a secret Jacobite society. This is the interpretation applied hereafter and juxtaposed with the mainstream of Jacobite history. King James II had called Bishop's Waltham 'his little green town' when he rode through it on a journey from Portsmouth to Winchester: all the houses were decorated with the boughs of trees in his honour (Thompson 1985, 305). The oak was a symbol of support for the Stuarts. It was the Waltham Blacks that Sir Harry Goring had reckoned to enlist in the Stuart cause in 1721. When the Waltham Blacks were riding in Waltham Chase, Alexander was only a boy of eleven, yet he was surely brought up with stories of them. When Gilbert White resided at Bishop's Waltham rectory from September 1753 to March 1755 as curate of Durley he wrote that, 'unless a man was a Hunter as they affected to call themselves, no young person was allowed to be possessed of manhood or gallantry' (White 1788, letter VII). Bishop's Waltham then was no stranger to secret societies.

On 10 November 1740 a society met for the first time in Alexander's house. He recorded the expenses in his household accounts: 3s. 7d. was spent on 'Tobacco pipes Bread butter at ye Society'. The following 18 February it met again: 9s. was spent on bread, butter, cheese, tobacco pipes and candles, also wine and glasses; perhaps to toast 'the king over the water'? On 20 May another meeting of the society celebrated with 'wine sugar pipes Tobacco & Rum at the Dancing & Society' (HRO 30M77/PO4). No more meetings were held that year.

In February 1742 Prime Minister Walpole fell. Next month Alexander hosted a feast reminiscent of the Waltham Blacks. He spent 4s. 2d. on a

'Bottle of Rum, Sugar lemons pipes & Tobacco when we ate R. Hackett's venison ... A guinea [was] paid to Bett Hacket for her trouble'. A guinea was a considerable sum for Alexander. He paid his own housekeeper, Hannah Knight, only three guineas for a year's work; his entire housekeeping expenses for 1744 were only £37 8s. 6d. Was this an illicit feast, a throwback to the Waltham Blacks? Local venison belonged to the bishop: surely this had been taken illegally. Since it had been Walpole who introduced the Waltham Black Act, which first specified the death penalty for going through a forest, disguised and armed, this feast could have been a celebration of Walpole's falling from power. Alexander's society next met on 25 March 1742 for rum, bread, pipes and tobacco costing £1 7s. To the next meeting on 8 December only a few members came: 1s. 11d. was spent on bread, butter, cheese, tobacco, and pipes.

In 1743 James Stuart, the Old Pretender, sent his servant, James Butler, to England to list those Jacobites, who would be ready to rise in support of the Stuarts. Among his contacts was Edward Gibbon, M.P. for Southampton, one of an inner core of his supporters (Christie 1987, 924). That year George II in person led the Hanoverian and British troops in the War of the Austrian Succession, a war deeply unpopular in England and often considered to be in the interests of Hanover.

That same year, 1743, the society met five times. 23 February was an auspicious day – the eighteenth birthday of the Old Pretender's second son, Henry Benedict. The society may have drunk his health: 'Bread & Cheese Pipes Tobbacco Glasses at the Society & Candles', 5s. 5d. (HRO 30M77/PO4). Some members, perhaps an inner core, met more frequently. Expenses were low: 24 May, 11½d. bread and butter; 25 May, 1s. 2½d. 'Pipes & tobacco vinegar & pepper'; 3 August, 1s. 2½d., bread and tobacco; 15 December, 'Rum Candles Pipes & Tobacco, Butter & a loaf', 5s. 5½d. (HRO 30M77/PO4).

The next year, 1744, King Louis XV prepared to invade England in support of the Stuarts. John Caryll IV of Ladyholt commanded this expedition. He had slipped out of England and was introduced to the Young Pretender at Antibes. The French were to invade with 10,000 troops.

But on 19 February disaster struck: storms destroyed the invasion fleet. Maurice of Saxony, in charge of the French army, wrote that 'the English were hopeless. Lord Caryll hesitated about everything' (Cruikshanks 1979, 64). Nevertheless the Young Pretender was determined to claim the throne. He wrote to Marischal about the encouraging accounts he had from friends in England. He needed to give them new orders. He understood that Lord Caryll (John IV) 'has a very faithful servant who may be sent aboard some little vessel' [a smuggler?] to deliver these orders to London. 'I am determined to be with them at whatever cost it is and live or dye with them' (Stuart Papers, 256/97). John IV was still in France. In England orders were issued to arrest him (Cruikshanks 1979, 61). At Dunkirk in June 1744 he wrote that he was 'penetrated with gratitude for the Honour which his Royal Highness ... had done them' (Gordon 1877, 187).

Alexander records little of the Bishops Waltham society in 1744, but it met on 21 November for 'Rum, Brandy, Cheese, Bread, tobacco & candles', £1 5s. 5d. (HRO 30M77/PO4). The following year, 1745, the society met four times on 6 February, 1 May, 23 July, the very day the Charles Stuart, the Young Pretender, landed in Scotland, and 3 October.

In August 1745 John IV received at Ladyholt a report from Goodsey Jn. on board the *Princess Royal* at Spithead. 'Mr Vernon with 2 90 Gun ships is gone to the downs where it is imagined he'll pass the season as a Fleet of observation, as to this ship there is no ... apprehension of her stirring from here. As my Lord Clancarty is absent from town ... I shall esteem myself most happy and honoured with your Lordship's opinion as to my future conduct'. He thanks him 'for favours received' (Add. MS 28230, f.297). Robert MacCarthy was the titular Earl of Clancarty and a naval captain. In 1735 he had attempted to recover the family estates in Ireland taken from his father in 1691 because of his support for James II, but was not successful. He remained in the navy: by 1740 he was in command of *The Adventure*, but in 1741 he went over to France and took up the Stuart cause. It has always been assumed that John Caryll IV had no part in the '45, but this letter shows that he was

indeed conspiring with others to restore the Stuarts.

The Young Pretender had reached Edinburgh by September 1745. The Duke of Newcastle was apprehensive of an invasion from France. His secretary wrote to the Duke of Richmond on 5 September. 'There are at this time, ships at Dunkirk sufficient to bring over 7 or 8000 Men. There are also 4 Men of War there. Admiral Vernon will remain in the Downs' (McCann 1984, p.261).

In December 1745 John IV had to surrender to the government three bullet guns, two carbines, four shotguns, and 10 pairs of livery guns in holsters. Gordon comments that there was probably a secret passage at Ladyholt, implying further stores of guns. Major Battine J.P. wrote: 'I don't apprehend a Roman Catholic convict has a right to keep a horse value of £5' (Gordon 1877, 189). John IV's uncle Edward Caryll had been under surveillance in Winchester since 1743, when he and his wife Catherine were summoned to take the oath of allegiance at the Chequers. On 11 October 1745 Edward promised to deliver his brace of pistols 'for the Use of His Majesty King George when ever it shall be demanded' (HRO W/K/5/7, 2-4).

In Bishop's Waltham the society met on 3 October. Five days later Alexander, with 23 others from the town, subscribed in Winchester to the Loyal Association in support of King George II and his family. Alexander promised £3 3s. and paid 15s. 9d. down/ James Lacy subscribed £10 10s. (HRO 84M95/1). This does not prove support for the Hanoverians: it could have been an insurance policy. Sir Watkin Williams Winn, who had actually invited the Pretender to England in 1743, himself subscribed £100 to the Loyal Association of Denbighshire (Lenman 1980, 237; Christie, 1987, 923).

Charles Stuart crossed into England, taking Carlisle in November, entering Derby in December, before retreating to defeat at Culloden on 16 April 1746 flight, and on 29 September escape to France. On 22 January 1746 in Bishop's Waltham the society met in the evening: candles, butter, tobacco and pipes, cost 4s. On 2 July, very few attending, only 9d was spent on bread, butter, and tobacco. On 1 October 1746 the society met

for the last time: there is no record of expenses, for the page has been cut away.

Was this the final meeting of a Jacobite society centred in Bishop's Waltham? Both diaries and private letters contain information (Oates 2002, 166). The Caryll letters are guarded; perhaps so too are Alexander's accounts. But the evidence is there. Alexander cherished a piece of touchgold, which was held to prove that the Stuarts were kings by divine right. The society met in 1743 on the eighteenth birthday of the Old Pretender's second son. It met in 1745 on May Day, a day associated with the Stuart cause. Alexander had been articulated to James Lacy, whose 'dearest and good friend' Philip Caryll had been a fervent Jacobite who was twice imprisoned. Alexander carried Philip's money to London where he met Smith, the Caryll banker. He probably carried the letter from Lacy to John II of Ladyholt concerning Philip's will: here he could meet John IV. It seems likely that he was sent to Flanders by Lacy, Philip's executor, to carry out his instructions about this will, to see that the legacies were paid out before Mr Furine (Philip's partner and fellow smuggler) had disposed of all the assets. Here Alexander could have met many ardent Jacobites. Alexander's profession took him to London, where there was considerable Jacobite support, on 11 May 1743, 9 May and 11-24 November 1745, and 3-8 September 1746. He was well placed to maintain contact between Jacobites in Hampshire and London and to bring news of Jacobite plans. A society met at his house in 1740-6. After the record of the final meeting of 1 October 1746 was cut away and destroyed, Alexander's housekeeping accounts continue, but the following February his housekeeper Hannah Knight 'gave me warning to leave my service'. She did not leave, but there was a change. Alexander himself no longer lists the intimate details of his household expenses. Hannah Knight took charge of these accounts. Was this the price Alexander paid to secure Hannah's secrecy about a Jacobite society?

It is difficult to decide whether Alexander's was simply a social society, with its glasses and dancing, even a Jacobite social society, or whether it could have provided help for the Old Pretender had he reached London. The smuggling which was so bound up with Jacobitism continued round

Bishop's Waltham. Alexander himself bought brandy, surely smuggled, 12s. for three gallons in 1745 and another two gallons in 1750 (HRO 30M77/PO4).

AFTERMATH

Even if Alexander had dabbled with Jacobitism, he was an Anglican, not a Roman Catholic, who went to church and contributed to the first organist's salary. He remained a respectable attorney. The Carylls were very different. John IV knew that the fortune of his family depended on the restoration of the Stuarts. The price that the Carylls paid for their Jacobitism is shown in their finances. Whereas John I had a yearly income of £2115 11s. 2d., John IV had accumulated debts of £30,000 by 1762: 53 judgements against him were entered at king's bench (Gordon 1877, 201). The Carylls had suffered increased taxes, fines, loss of office, and exile. Yet their devotion to the Stuarts was such that John IV still initiated the Oak Society that met at St Clement Danes in London. He was deeply in debt. In 1755

he broke the entail on his estates and in 1766 he was forced to sell Ladyholt itself. It was pulled down and its land sold. John IV too went to live in France. The Jacobite cause was lost.

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