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Experiencing Jacobitism: The Standish Family from personal beliefs  
to international networks 1688-1770.

This thesis is submitted for the degree of MPhil

Lancaster University

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November 2025

I Declare that this work is my own and that no part of it has been submitted for an academic work or higher degree.

## Abstract:

Jacobitism is an ideology taken seriously by scholars of the eighteenth century. Many studies have focused on the experience of elements of Jacobite expression: this study looks to comprehensively account for the 'Jacobite affect' in the Standish Family of Standish, near Wigan.

Roman Catholic and loyal to the crown over the Seventeenth Century, the ideological path to Jacobitism looks clear for the family. What their experience of the ideology, of the rituals, mores and experiences that came with Jacobitism is less clear. This thesis seeks to explore the lived experience of Jacobitism and what maintained the ideological connection over three generations.

Drawing mostly from the family archives of the Standish Family, it becomes clear that meanings of objects, ritual and even the management of the family archive differed not only over time but depending on different contexts.

This thesis looks at experience and ideology as expressed in contrasting social settings, starting with the internal world and then drawing out to the family, the local area and the international sphere. This social model of Eighteenth Century politics is made richer by the often contradictory nature of separate spheres' tastes and mores as well as aims and goals. This leads us to consider the longevity of aspects of Jacobitism in new light. The Standish family returned to action with different methodologies over time but also shared ideological similarity over the same period. It was *experienced* differently in different social settings. Moreover, this thesis gives an account as to why a Jacobite family seemed to lose its long term loyalties, and what these shifted into; a point of much debate amongst scholars.

This thesis finds that belief was slow to change and even slower to collapse. The changing social and political landscape led to innovation around partaking political activities and experiences but strong continuity in motivation and ideological belief.

## Contents

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgements:.....	5
Part I: establishing the field.....	6
1: Introduction: Research questions and methodology.....	7
2: The Standish family in Historiography.....	16
Part II: Papers in the Coppice Wall: deconstructing and reconstructing the Standish Experience of Jacobitism. ..	22
3: The Intimate Jacobite Experience: The personal is Parasocial.....	23
4: Experiencing the Jacobite Family: From Alibis to Archives.....	50
5: Friends, Cousins, Collaborators: The Standish Family and local politics, a case study in the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation.....	64
6: 'I know several letters of late had been stoped at Dover': The Standish family and the Jacobite experience abroad.....	85
Epilogue and Conclusion: 'What is't that does vex and forment the poor swain?' .....	109
Appendices.....	113
Appendix 1.1: Warrant for the arrest of William Standish, 1694. ....	114
Appendix 3.1: Register of Burials, Warton Parish Register. ....	115
Appendix 3.2: Register of Burials, Standish Hall Chapel.....	115
Appendix 3.3: Register of Burials, Standish St. Wilfred's 1653-1732 (WLS: MF1A 17/1).....	115
Appendix 3.4: Register if Baptisms, Standish St. Wilfred's 1653-1732 (WLS: MF1A 17/1).....	115
Appendix 4.1 some illustrative papist estates records: .....	115
Appendix 4.2: Map of Standish Village, c.1763 from Johnson, Eleanor, <i>The Standish Family</i> (Wigan: Heritage Service, 1972), p.30.....	117
Appendix 4.3: Map of surrounds of Standish Hall from Johnson, Eleanor, <i>The Standish Family</i> (Wigan: Heritage Service, 1972), p.29.....	118
Appendix 4.4 Select entries from the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation book.....	119
Appendix 5.1: D/DST.M3/24: List of Names, primarily of Gentlemen from Cheshire 1692-3.....	119
Appendix 5.2: Google earth map of the plotters in the 1690s copared to local prisoners in the 1715 rising. .	121
Appendix 5.3: Origins of Jacobite prisoners by county, 1715-17. ....	121
Appendix 5.4: Easter Communicants at Standish Hall.....	122
Appendix 6.1: D/D.St Bundle C3/1/8: 'letter from Ralph Howard Standish to his Mother Phillipa Howard from Cambrai (1722).....	123
Bibliography.....	124
Primary Publications. ....	125
Primary edited collections. ....	126
Primary archival collections.....	127
Secondary Sources. ....	142
Journal Articles. ....	151

Table of Figures:

Figure 1.3: Photograph of Standish Hall before demolition, 1920's, courtesy of Wigan Archaeological Society... 22  
Figure 2.3: Cecilia Strickland from the private collection of Henry Hornyold-Strickland..... 37  
Figure 3.5: From Data in Johnson, Eleanor, 'The Standish Family' (Wigan: WHS, 1977) pp.20-25..... 77  
Figure 4.5: Structures owned by the Family in Lancashire 1538, From E Johnson (1977) ..... 78  
Figure 5.5: Tenants of the Standishes involvement in early Jacobitism ..... 79

## Acknowledgements:

My first thanks must go to my supervisory team: Sarah Barber and Patricia Murieta-Flores without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Having endured countless hours of questions, drafts and debates about the oxford comma, I could not have written the present work without their tireless support, recommendations and critique. Likewise, thanks must go to my confirmation and appraisal teams who were able to help shape this thesis into a focussed piece.

Support from the department made this thesis entirely possible through supporting my journey through mental highs and lows, financial lows and for the endless support from helping me access conferences to being an ear to listen. Special thanks must go to Rebecca Shepperd, Dawn McCracken Corinna Peniston-Bird and Eleri Cousins.

Further credit must go to my colleagues both in the PGR department and in the Culture Team at Wigan Council. The ability to refine a point into a defensible idea would not have been possible without the support of postgraduate seminars and a friendly collegiate space to sound ideas from. From Wigan the expertise of historians and professionals much longer in the field and far too underappreciated cannot go without enough praise. Special thanks must go to Helen Raymond, Tom McGrath, Kath Pass, Marie Wood, Andrea Smethurst, Carmen Gonzales and Fiona Unsworth at Archives Wigan and Leigh for their help searching for all the Standish papers including enough to fill another thesis. At Wigan special thanks go to my Museum Colleagues in tolerating my constant discussion of the Stuart Restoration and to the Wigan Local History and Heritage Society, In Particular Jim Meehan, Andy Lomax and Ken Scally for their brilliant work on the Standish Family and the Archaeology of Standish Hall.

Thanks must also go to the Social History Society, the 1715: Northumbrian Jacobite Society (with special thanks to Frank and Gwenneth Morgan-Grant), to the Jacobite Studies Trust, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire and all of the staff at Lancashire Archives in Preston, The Harris Museum and art gallery, Lancaster City Museum. All supported the research through going above and beyond to support research directly, allow access to archives in the most difficult of circumstances and for giving me a platform to discuss ideas in the thesis with their members.

No thanks can ever be enough for the frontline of this operation: my Family. To my mum who supported me throughout, I promise to write a book soon. To my uncles, thank you for inspiring me to be involved in history and for the limitless encouragement through the years. To my wife Rosy, thank you for

your boundless positivity for me to finish, your grasp on language I will always be in awe of and your support in every way through for the last 3 years. To Kate, I apologise for any mistakes remaining.

All errors left are my own.

## Part I: establishing the field.

## 1: Introduction: Research questions and methodology.

Ralph Standish, eighth of his name, was by all appearances his Father's son. Indeed, he continued a legacy from his Great-Grandfather, Ralph VII. Ralph Standish VII had fought for Charles I in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, suffering exclusion from society and the confiscation of lands to parliamentarians. His brother, Edward was killed in the Civil War in a skirmish with Parliamentarians early in the conflict.<sup>1</sup> His great-grandfather and father formed a family legacy of defending the Stuart monarchs. Ralph VIII's Father William had married the heiress to a north Lancashire fortune, Cecilia Bindloss; with her came the security of a Protestant royalist landholding in Borwick and a new second home, the aptly named Borwick Hall. With William of Orange's arrival, the fears of confiscation re-emerged and William Standish with other local gentlemen joined in two periods of risings for the cause of James II, then in exile in France. The collected war saddles, trained troops and petitioned James II's secretary for fiscal and material aid for the rising. However both plots were discovered with the second resulting in a warrant for William Standish's arrest.<sup>2</sup>

After William Standish's death in 1705, Ralph consolidated his new estates and finally had the chance to prove his ability to uphold the families' martial tradition in the rising of 1715. Rallying to Preston with a collection of Standish men, he fought alongside his Cousin James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater in a two-day street fight against the dragoons and militia of General Wills and Carpenter. In the end it was to little avail; the Jacobites surrendered and the survivors were captured, imprisoned in Churches and prisons across the North-West where they awaited trial. Ralph narrowly got out of execution for treason after imprisonment in London, likely due to his mother's tireless petitioning. His lands were briefly up for sale and although they were bought back, his manorial rights were lost, which had been held in the family since 1250. Surely now Ralph could not let up the martial cause for his King? Yet, seemingly, he did -or at least that's where the record seems to leave the Standish family and their marriage to Jacobitism. In 1745, no Standish men joined Charles Edward Stuart on his march south and no Standish family member was under any direct suspicion of rebellion. As Mitchingson notes, the overt

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<sup>1</sup> James M. Graddon, *The Parliamentarian and Royalist War Effort in Lancashire 1642-1651* (Manchester: Chetham Society, III:48, 2010), pp.149:370. Whatley, Christopher, 'Zealous in defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty: The Making of Whig Scotland c.1690-1746 in German, K., Graham, L., et MacInnes, A., (eds.), *Living With Jacobitism 1690-1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.55-70, 56,68 notes the path between civil war loyalties and Jacobite loyalties was not always so clear cut as in the present case.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix O.1.

shows of support were for the Duke of Cumberland's arrival and not that of Charles Stuart.<sup>3</sup> Ralph, still alive, but in ailing health, seemed to have given up the fight for his King, James III.

Framing the personal story of the Standishes in these terms could offer us an alternate meta-narrative of the eighteenth century. To paraphrase Glickman, historians of English Catholicism held on to a story of martyrdom with the retrospective knowledge that toleration was waiting around a neatly periodised historiographical corner.<sup>4</sup> Glickman's response deconstructs this false dichotomy by providing a case for eighteenth century Catholic enlightenment. Given the well explored phenomenon of the 'counter reformation' by scholars such as Janelle and O'Connell, it is unsurprising that at least some elements of the English Catholic Community would not continue the work of improving and evolving the church into the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

A dialectic view of accumulating knowledge does not serve this case well; already, key contexts have been whitewashed, bevelled and stretched out of any recognition from the times. Porteus' 1927 History of the Parish of Standish contrasts the demise of Jacobitism and the subsequent prosperity of Standish as an industrial village in the century from 1715 until 1870<sup>6</sup> but key evidence of the Standish family has been glanced over and deemed irrelevant. Diaries of trips to France, epistolary whispers of international monetary exchange, monuments in Standish church to Jacobite Priests and financiers have all been left as disjointed curiosities that fit awkwardly into a time period of seeming economic prosperity, secular enlightenment and Whig-dominated politics.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, the key innovations in the family of investing in coal production which was later upscaled by purchases of lands from Jacobite friends is also deemed irrelevant for accounting for the industrial prosperity following the 'period of Jacobitism'.

The framing of these categories as 'progressive' or 'regressive' also does little justice to the complexities at play. When the Jacobites are framed as regressive it diminishes elements of the ideological world that were, by both the values of the time and of now, quite progressive. Szechi points out that Jacobitism had many radical elements connecting the monarch and state in new ways that don't fit into a liberal narrative of statehood.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, those same tools used to make Jacobitism into a feared bogeyman at the time, relied on the same apparatus used to consolidate the disenfranchisement of

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<sup>3</sup> Allan Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish: From Persecution to Parish 1559-1884* (Wigan: NWCHS, 2005), p.53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> P. Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation* (Collier Macmillan, 1971); M. O'Connell, *The Counter Reformation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

<sup>6</sup> Rev. Thomas Cruddas Porteus, *The History of the Parish of Standish* (Wigan: J Starr & Sons, 1927), p.109.

<sup>7</sup> See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the nation 1707-1837* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2009) for a discussion of the development of the national project of Great Britain.

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788* (Manchester: 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2019). It is further taken as an implicit assumption, in order to further empathy with the subjects that Jacobitism did pose an existential risk to the British royal dynasty as explored in Corp, Edward 'The Alternative to the House of Hanover: The Stuarts in Exile, 1714-1745' in Gestrich, A., Schiach, M., (eds), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical culture* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp251-261, 260.

people from their land: a standing army, professional bureaucracy and confessional state. taking the idea of Jacobitism as 'backwards' to its logical extreme would include tacitly endorsing the protestant confessional state as 'progressive' and Catholics regressive by sheer nature of being Catholic. I suspect liberation theologians may have something to say to contradict this subject.

In this way, the criticism of Jacobitism in the eighteenth century warranted the label of backwardness while employing techniques of the same brutality to suppress it. Yet this reasoning cannot be disproven. Jacobitism became problematised within professional, liberal circles as not something to be taken seriously unless the order of business was serious repression. This reasoning is not dissimilar the circular reasoning of orthodox Freudian psychology; whether a client felt sad, repressed or liberated, the childhood was problematised as an antithesis to proper, adult, civilised and rational ways of thinking<sup>9</sup>. The implications of Sedgwick's meta-work will be returned to but thus far it is poignant to point out that both the 'tree' of history (the processes of producing and constructing the past) and the 'apple' of this particular *history* of the Standish family are suffering from a concurrent malady.

The implications for Scottishness and Jacobitism as it relates to Empire are massive. In this study of a Catholic English family of title but not great wealth, the implications are more moderate. Until relatively recently, the history of Catholics and Jacobites in the English context was seen as doubly regressive. Similarly, great debate was had at the inclusion of landed and titled families in the sub-discipline of social history

This work is an attempt to rehumanise the Standish family through the focus of Jacobite politics- to find their agency, their awareness of their reality, their hopes and dreams not through circular theory but through reconstruction and repair. A key feature of the story of the Standishes is that of remarkable women whose experience has been all but erased from historical reflection. Phillipa Howard not only faced her Husband arrested, but bought back his estates, managed the household when he fled to France, and was a key contact in later financial activism, all while living with breast cancer. Jacobitism even crept into her understanding of illness and medicine. Likewise, Cecilia Towneley's leadership of the family after Ralph's passing in 1755 encompassed preserving and curating a lot of what has since been passed over by historians. Rooms of Jacobite treasure, blood of kings dead long before her birth alongside hair of Stuart Princes her own age, letters her father and mother sent to France were all preserved, catalogued and inventoried across four halls she now had interest in: Standish, Borwick, Towneley and Sizergh.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You," in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp.123-52.

<sup>10</sup> The family interest in Woolston is less noted after the death of William Standish.

There is little framework for understanding these stories in isolation. The emotional and social landscape have been fought over, dichotomised and streamlined, and it would be an injustice to not try to understand how these stories link together. Jacobitism, the belief in the legitimacy of the male line of the House of Stuart to rule is, as Monod posited, like trying to look at fog gathered around a lamp-post.<sup>11</sup> It evades solid definition. As Cruickshanks posited, this has given Jacobite ideology an element of reflectivity; one can see in Jacobitism parallels to Irish nationalism in the twentieth century, Socialism, lost causes, Scottish nationalism, Brexit and the Wars of the Roses to name a few examples. By Reflectivity, it is meant that Jacobitism is a story that holds lots of seeming parallels to the present. Historians should be cautious about engaging with historicism but this also gives the opportunity to connect with new audiences. As Cruickshanks wrote in 1988 in response to JCD Clark's essay:

Historians will be as puzzled to understand how people could believe in socialism as they have been about how people could believe in Jacobitism. Passing phases Jacobitism and Socialism may have been, but can we understand British History without them?<sup>12</sup>

This could give credence to rejecting any meta-narratives. However, viewing the Jacobitism of the Standishes through their eyes there is an element of their ideology that cannot be seen purely through their eyes only. Jacobitism was a social ideology and had sticky umami elements that allowed its adherents to recognise other believers. This element is also crucial to understand to account for the Standish belief. As such, social Jacobitism is at the heart of the research.

Focusing on the family first, and the Jacobitism second, preserves this human element at the heart of the study without forcing the research to focus primarily on direct action such as war. This gives the approach some resilience, with an ability to accommodate new information without superseding the whole study. Queer studies, still in its relative infancy, may have much more interesting observations to make about the literary cross dressing of William Standish than I have the space to explore. Likewise, Gender historians may have more to say about the leadership of Cecilia Bindloss over the Standish estates. I view this as a strength of the work and not a shortfall. I bring my own baggage as a scholar to the table; I am northern, assigned male at birth but genderfluid, bisexual, white and from a working class single-parent background. What I read into the Standishes doesn't reflect my class background but does reflect an interest in otherness, exclusion and where solidarity can be found. I can also empathise on a human level with attempting to understand momentous events as a single human and struggling to

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<sup>11</sup> Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.1.

<sup>12</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Introduction' in Cruickshanks, Eveline & Black, Jeremy, *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald 1988), p.5: see also J.C.D. Clark, 'On Moving the Middle Ground: The Significance of Jacobitism in Historical Studies' in Eveline Cruickshanks & Jeremy Black, *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald 1988), pp.177-188.

manage what the best thing is to do – that very human condition of worry, guilt and a feeling of needing to act.

Structuring this naturally leads us to think of the social spheres where we might express these feelings, and also where we find records of this in the archive. The smallest sphere is the individual, the self-belief, the ideology held by interest, taste and sometimes by assumption. In our case the next stage up is the family itself, including the power over the immediate environment and its use in service of ideological belief. The local area is next. Broadly defined this reflects the changing idea of locality based on context but generally is limited to the north west of England and their primary network of Jacobites. Finally, and most overlooked by previous scholarship, the international sphere. This sphere is simultaneously the safest area to express belief being geographically far from the regime they were fighting against but also the most suspect to participate in.

It is apt to focus on a study of the Standish family due also to my background. I work in the Museum of Wigan Life, run by Wigan Council who hold the core sources, the Standish papers.<sup>13</sup> I am in an opportune position to bridge the gap between the interested public, academics, and heritage practitioners. The local studies department within the museum also holds original correspondence of Porteus among other key sources that are not to be found elsewhere. This also explains the reflection on both scholarship produced in the academy as well as in the reference library. I have a deep respect for both scholars who devote their life to the discipline and to local historians who, for often no pay, are often the only expert on a particular place, building, source or person.

Originally, this project was much too broad and vast and covered material held primarily in Lancashire Archives. These resources are not without utility to the study, and are now drawn on as supplementary material where it shows contact with the Standishes. They can also be found in the sections relating to the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation, whose records are held by the Harris Museum, also in Preston. Lancaster local studies garnered some useful information about the Bindloss connection, as did Kendal Local Studies to Sizergh. Sizergh castle hold a plethora of primary material relating to the Strickland family but due to the efforts of the two Cecílias, the families papers found respective homes in either Standish or Sizergh. The Douay Diaries I draw from are the transcriptions from the Catholic Record Society, and the only database drawn upon at a significant scale is the Stuart Papers (formerly held at Windsor Castle) via the new online database with the Cumberland papers. The keen eyed may notice, with the former excepted, the relative lack of sources from outside the North West. This makes

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<sup>13</sup> Archives: Wigan and Leigh, hold the Standish papers under D/D St., I have retained the arches reference number for references to particular papers.

the findings even more astonishing that such vibrancy in the lives of the Standish Family can be found in the Eighteenth-Century portfolios of these collections.<sup>14</sup>

Reparative reading techniques allow the subject to speak their truth to the reader through the source material. This technique is an alternative to 'paranoid' reading which can become circular in its reasoning.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Jacobite studies, this concern has already been noticed since the 1970s by McLynn.<sup>16</sup> The close reading of sources to 'find hidden' Jacobites only serves to confirm Jacobites existence. Moreover, this can compound with the previous issue of Jacobitism's lack of form to allow reasoning that becomes increasingly ahistoricist. This fear is one those in Jacobite studies are already acutely aware of. Szechi's 2019 second edition of *Jacobitism* notes key innovations in the field that have potential for further growth in the discipline.<sup>17</sup> Databases, studies in the international sphere, and smaller-range studies find themselves in the most need of scholarly attention.

This necessarily comes with the need to innovate frameworks for understanding Jacobitism at these scales. Monod's interpretation of Jacobitism as cultural expression, a collection of mores and behaviours, serves the type of overarching study of English Jacobitism he writes about. However, on the scale of the family it begins to warp, stretch and blend into other normal behaviours and mores of the time. The professionalisation of doctors is a well-known phenomenon in the eighteenth century; how Jacobites interacted, challenged or assimilated this change is less well understood.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, how did a Jacobite family balance activity that was de facto illegal (especially as it was justified with an alternate regime) with the need for legal representation from that same system? In the Standish family we can begin to open these intersections.

This study uses reparative reading to resolve this divide between true Jacobitism as it exists and the non-Jacobite social space, and question to what extent any social space could be free of the ideology. In order to do this, this study employs the three aforementioned foci that Szechi recommended: firstly, the whole study has a local focus, as its conclusions will be particular to the chosen case. However, the technique should also be replicable and be compared against similar studies. Secondly, there will be cautious employment of databases and associated techniques. In the case of this study, technology can

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<sup>14</sup> The international aspect shows in particular that London and the South East cannot also hold a monopoly on the narrative of connection to the outside world. If even a small percentage of provincial archives, museums and reference libraries which hold even one uncelebrated local story of international connection were able to be celebrated, we would see on the larger scale a much richer and more diverse relationship between localities and the outside world than we currently acknowledge.

<sup>15</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You," in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp.123-52.

<sup>16</sup> Frank McLynn, *The Jacobites* (London: Routledge, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1988), p.4.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2019), pp.7-11.

<sup>18</sup> See Penelope Corfield, *Power and the professions in Britain, 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 2000).

aid the analysis of social networks establishing key figures within the network and centres of influence to the family. This also allows for the visual representation of social networks in a clear format showing the flow of information. Finally, this work is open to the international sphere despite the focus being local. The sources point towards an erasure of Standish family work in the international sphere, due to it being a less reported aspect of their life post-1715 in favour of economic growth at home. This study retains a local focus but does not curate the source material to continue this erasure.

The aim therefore is to account for Standish Jacobitism in the post-1715 landscape and analyse empathetically the changing experience of it. This aim therefore innovates upon previous work in Jacobite studies, while adapting a hybridised approach to study a family unit.

Experience acts as a lens through which Jacobitism interacts on multiple levels with the Standish family. Ralph Standish's experiences with political Jacobitism and its interaction with masculinity leads him to fight at Preston. It is also a key feature of his social life, as his favoured cousins are Jacobites (Edward Howard and James Radcliffe). It also serves to strengthen his kinship bonds with his family at home. The discussions between Mary Standish and Mr Price about the healing powers of King James' blood directly link to Ralph's collection of Jacobite remains of the king's body. Experience is powerful and has long term effects. More importantly it leaves the historian a trail of a clues to question the effect of their subjects to ideas of divine Kingship. Sedgwick gives the example of 'Queering the lifespan'.<sup>19</sup> Often, we presume lives are linear; we are born, grow up, live around friends our own age, age, and eventually die. In the case of the Standishes, Ralph is left outliving all but one of his children. Little has been commented on this as a key reason for him to not participate in the rising of 1745. Likewise, his arrest after the rising of 1715 was marked also with Phillipa's illness. With the family at so tenuous a position in 1745 it would be difficult to see why he would risk his life at this point where the stakes were so high for his family. This experiential focus thus allows us to address why Jacobite activity changed so much over the period. Simply reporting things as they occurred is useless in addressing this question- instead we must account for how it *felt*, as Katajala-Peltomaa argues.<sup>20</sup>

Histories of Experience should also account for how this is socially understood and transmitted. The experience of the individual enters the historical record through social means. Expectations of how experiences are to be understood or transmitted structure the ways in which historians encounter experience on the individual level.<sup>21</sup> Maintaining consciousness of this mechanism allows us to pull apart

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<sup>19</sup> Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You," in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp.123-52.

<sup>20</sup> Katajala-Peltomaa, Sari, 'From Lived Reality to a Cultural Script: Punishment Miracles as an Experience' in Katajala-Peltomaa, S. & Toivo, R.M., *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion* (Cham: Springer Palgrave, 2022), p.37.

<sup>21</sup> Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & R.M. Toivo, 'Introduction' in Katajala-Peltomaa, S. & Toivo, R.M., *Histories of Experience* (Cham: Springer Palgrave, 2022), pp.18-20

what individuals thought about their Jacobite experiences and how this was socially conveyed or adapted for different audiences. For example, in the plot of 1692, the ritual of taking oaths is recorded without comment, letters can help us infer that William Standish was sceptical of its success after the Battle of the Hogue but that none of this was relayed to the Jury at Manchester as the defendants professed their innocence. Although the aspect of ignorance over knowledge is not explored thoroughly in this work, it would make an interesting avenue of further research.

This shows the importance of Jacobite institutions to forming a setting for experience to take place. As Monod wrote, the Jacobite Milieu inhabited overlapping ‘underworlds’ which provided different roles and accounted for different activities.<sup>22</sup> By underworlds it is meant that a shadow world existed in parallel to legitimate and polite society. This covered aspects from the secret and sociable to the already illegal. Pubs frequented by ex-Soldiers and Officers provided a setting for recruitment and discussion whereas the anonymous letters allowed the Jacobite experience to be relayed to supporters and sympathisers in a public setting.<sup>23</sup> By contrast, smugglers became involved with Jacobitism as part of an existing underworld.

Family being the frame for the study it is pertinent to begin with the experience of family as key to understanding this case. Previous studies have focused almost entirely upon this aspect of individual life. Almost as a collective do the family ‘become’ Jacobites and then leave Jacobitism. How experiences of Jacobitism within the family were replicated through shared ritual, a common cultural script, and how this in turn developed an understanding of the family’s identity has not been adequately accounted for. The common bonds created through shared experience of Jacobitism are known but not comprehensively described. By looking at the family more closely, we may note how the experience of Jacobitism dissected family life in unexpected ways- from the art consumed, to the way the family viewed health and medicine. It also shows that fervour for Jacobitism did not diminish after 1715 but persevered throughout the period and in fact becomes stronger in many ways over the decade and a half following the rising.

Local Jacobite institutions provide another insight into the Standish family’s Jacobite experiences. Bonds here are created in shared ritual, script and shared understanding of past experiences. It is here we see the most marked difference in experiences stemming from the rising of 1715. Standish participation becomes severely weakened but also less enthusiastic. The records that remain of interactions with local Jacobites show prudence, as noted by Porteus in 1927, but they also show reservedness.<sup>24</sup> A clear path of learning from experience accounts for this, with Standish participation visible on the periphery but rarely the core.

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<sup>22</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism and the English* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), pp.95-96.

<sup>23</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism and the English* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), pp.96;119.

<sup>24</sup> T.C. Porteus, *History of the parish of Standish*, (Wigan: Starr and Sons, 1927), p.24.

Previous scholars have paid most attention to the early years of Standish Jacobitism. Weil's study creates a parallel to this one through commentary on the formation of credibility for the Williamite government in the Lancashire plot of 1690-92.<sup>25</sup> Though Weil's direct focus is not applicable here, it represents a turn in the discipline towards perception and experience. Hopkins and Cruickshanks both touch on Standish activity in this period and the connections they make. Their work also crucially contextualises plot activity into the moment of the 1690s where William of Orange's hold on power was the weakest allowing for an optimistic analysis to take place.

The 1715 rising has traditionally been less interesting (both to the public and to scholars) than its counterpart in 1745.<sup>26</sup> The tercentenary of the rising provided impetus to scholars to give more attention to the rising in the years preceding 2015.<sup>27</sup> Oates' *Preston 1715: the last battle on English Soil* provided commentary on the military movements of the rising while Szechi's *1715 The Great Jacobite Rebellion* took a more overarching approach.<sup>28</sup> Szechi's work is significant as it not only re-assessed the feasibility of the rising as one with the greatest chance of success but it also began to explore the legacy of the rising. Sankey's work looked at this legacy further through the experience of retribution following the rising.<sup>29</sup> In a similar vein to Weil, Sankey's study weaves into this study for this reason. Sankey notes that although the perception of injury experienced by the Jacobite milieu was tyrannical, that in the context of the 1710's it was more lenient than comparable moments of crisis across Europe. With this said, Sankey does not dismiss the experience of Jacobites and that the repercussions of the rising were deliberately targeted at those at the core of the rising. In this context, it is unsurprising that Ralph Standish, cousin to the executed Earl of Derwentwater, would feel under pressure. This study therefore builds upon this context and expands upon it to look closer at this experience.

The period between 1715 and 1745 is covered within classic works but is best understood in England through the work of Monod's *Jacobitism and the English People* which outlines a social history approach to Jacobite studies.<sup>30</sup> Taking the behaviours, mores, rituals and values of English Jacobite society, Monod takes Jacobitism as an ideology that must necessarily be elusive and without an essential quality apart from its constituent parts. This study does not challenge this assumption and seeks instead to go deeper into its approach. The form of Jacobite ideology is elusive, but most of all because it is

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<sup>25</sup> Rachael Weil, *A Plague of informers: Conspiracy and Political Trust in William III's England* (Yale: 2013).

<sup>26</sup> Apologies must be made here to scholars of the 1688-92, 1704 and 1719 attempts which receive far less attention still.

<sup>27</sup> An upcoming edited collection in honour of Daniel Szechi will explore the legacy and impact of the 1715 rising even further, expected 2026 1<sup>st</sup> qtr.

<sup>28</sup> Jonathan Oates, *The Last Battle on English Soil, Preston 1715* (Routledge, 2015); Szechi, Daniel, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (London: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>29</sup> Margaret Sankey, *Jacobite Prisoners of 1715: Preventing and Punishing Insurrection in Early Hanoverian Britain* (London, Routledge, 2017), p.15.

<sup>30</sup> P.K. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People 1688-1788* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

deeply personal to the adherent. Experience is a focus that accepts that although *Jacobitism* may be elusive as a singular, collective phenomenon, the experience of it can be observed.

The Jacobite diaspora represents a previously untapped sphere in studies of the Standish Family. The experience of both the deified body of the Jacobite monarch and the persons connected to them shows more continuity than the previous two instances. The parasocial relationship with the Jacobite monarchy through their agents and conduits allows exploration of the diaspora as extensions of the kingly body. Family and friends abroad provided routes for new activity and the experience of travels to France made by Ralph Standish and his sons blur the lines between Jacobite action, the yearning for confessional freedom and an experience of history. Studying this through one relatively marginal family can help our wider understanding of the variety and processes of Jacobitism.

## 2: The Standish family in Historiography.

The Standish family are relatively obscure in the literature surrounding the Jacobites. No study such as this proposed-exploring in depth their relationship with Jacobitism- has, to date, been published. This said, focused veins on aspects of their Jacobitism are to be found. In the light of developments in Jacobite studies and social history, a study into Jacobitism in a Northern context is badly overdue.

The last large scale study on the Standish family was undertaken by Eleanor Johnson under the guidance of the Wigan Heritage Service, which published her work in the 1970's. However, Wigan-centric studies of the family go as far back as the entry for Standish in the Victoria County History Series and especially the Reverend Thomas Cruddas Porteus' *The History of the parish of Standish*, published by J Starr and Sons of Wigan in 1927. In all three of these cases the goal is to inform and memorialise the story of a prominent local family, recording their development over time and their impact on local communities. Both of the focused studies arose at crisis points for the family legacy. Following the death of the last Standish heir in 1920, the house was partially demolished, and the papers transferred to the local record office from the main beneficiaries of the death, the National Coal Board. In 1970, while one wing of the hall still stood, its future was in doubt, and the last of the hall was to be demolished in 1981.

From the outset, the involvement of the family in Jacobite activities, while notable, has not been the focus of an academic study. It has nevertheless created some controversy in these works. Odo Blundell and Porteus vehemently disagreed on the extent of Standish involvement in the plots of the 1690's, until Reverend Porteus decoded the cyphered papers in the bundle M/3 within the Standish papers.<sup>31</sup> Rose-tinted images of the family as 'good Catholics' tiredly contrast with local myths of a family who invested in a spite row to block the view of the Anglican church, and were at once both over-involved

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<sup>31</sup> AWL: D/D St.M3 'Standish Plot papers'(1690-94).

in local governance while simultaneously being absentee landlords. The development of the settlement of Standish in the nineteenth century as an industrial hotbed of coalmining, weaving, bleachworks and paper manufacture allowed for a convenient sidelining of the Standish family within a progressive industrial narrative. Within this framework, Jacobitism has been laid out as a largely regressive influence keeping the family and the settlement looking backwards to the Stuarts instead of towards industry and progress. This echoes Musgrove's comment that Lancashire only progressed in the late eighteenth century after it abandoned the Stanleys as a prominent family.<sup>32</sup>

A lack of understanding of Jacobitism in general scholarship of the eighteenth century can also make the study of Jacobite families harder to receive for an academic audience. As Colley writes:

To understand why the bulk of Britain's trading sector – like the majority of Britons – reacted to these emergencies as they did, we need to consider what a Stuart restoration would have entailed in terms of violence, disruption and political change. This might seem an obvious enough strategy, yet in practice it is rarely adopted. A cynic might argue that this is because a disproportionate number of those who write about Jacobitism are themselves Jacobites who shut their eyes to the less attractive aspects of their cause.<sup>33</sup>

Colley falls into the trap of a false dichotomy between the parochial Catholic squire and the commercially connected trader. This is in reality as false as the dichotomy between uncultured highlander versus enlightened Edinburgh scholar. Jacobitism attracted the Standishes to trade and to the world. In trade their links were made by utilising former networks of those they had drunk with at Jacobite clubs, fought alongside at Preston and suffered imprisonment at Newgate. To Ralph Standish, the expansion of coal interests on his own land allowed an exploitation of the soil twice gaining the power of the squire landholder on the surface and the power of the carboniferous sun from below to fuel the monetary costs of being Catholic. Just as the blood of those killed after the Monmouth rebellion is held to land at the feet of James II, shouldn't the blood of those executed after becoming disaffected enough to revolt against George II lie at his? It is likewise easy to forget the constant violence of the status quo in the eighteenth century which led adherents to Jacobitism to forget the rampant anti-Catholicism. To overlook the misery of early industrial life in the factories owned by victorious whigs.

Far from hampering industrial change, the family innovated new ways to make the land useful, spearheading coalmining, demanding favourable trade conditions through turnpike acts, and expanding commercial interests to gain competition over their rivals. Where at first a meaningful correlation exists between Jacobitism in Standish and its industrial development, going directly to the source material

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<sup>32</sup> Frank Musgrove, *The North of England: a History from Roman Times to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

<sup>33</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale: 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014), pp.72-3.

shows the relationship must be more complex; we must consider that elements of Jacobite ideology and Jacobite social reality that gave the Standish family a relative advantage which enabled them to survive into the twentieth century.

Jacobite studies have attempted to challenge progressivist explanations for the rise and fall of the Jacobite phenomenon by questioning a dominant 'whiggish' perspective developed contemporaneously with the history it aims to describe. Eveline Cruickshanks revolutionised the way historians accounted for Jacobitism within a century previously seen through the lens of enlightenment progress. Previously, the predominance of Whig accounts of the Jacobites from Ray, Fielding and Patten in the eighteenth century intended to draw lessons for dealing with the military threat of the Jacobites in an expanded global empire.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, the romanticisation of the Jacobites in the nineteenth century led to a flurry of interest both in commemorating or disgracing the cause on nineteenth century terms. By the end of the nineteenth century, biography and antiquary were the key battlegrounds over the legacy of Jacobitism while for the first half of the twentieth century, modernists rejected the prospect of exploring Jacobite success.<sup>35</sup> By the 1980's revisions from Cruickshanks and others approached Jacobitism from a non-romantic but inquisitive position exploring the potential threat Jacobites had and reassessing what is meant by basic terms like 'Jacobite'.

The new Jacobite Studies scholars began work on papers exploring the proliferation of Jacobitism in Parliament, finding that the Tory party was dominated by Jacobites with key members involved in communicating with the court in exile. Finding this shattered the illusion that Jacobites were a) almost entirely Scottish and b) a marginal political position with little chance of success.<sup>36</sup>

Likewise, studies focused on Scotland such as those by MacInnes, Devine, McLynn and Pittock, amongst others, challenged the view that Jacobitism was a highland phenomenon within a 'civil war' for Scotland (the north eastern lowlands produced far more Jacobites), and that Jacobitism was insular, with Murdoch and MacInnes both showing the international basis of support for Jacobitism through wider Scottish networks.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> J.C.D. Clark, 'The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688–2006' in Paul Monod, Murray Pittock and Daniel Szechi, *Loyalty and Identity: The Jacobites at home and abroad* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.9-14.

<sup>35</sup> Clark, 'Many Restorations' (2010), p.38.

<sup>36</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Introduction' in Cruickshanks, E. (Ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspect of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp.8-11; Szechi, Daniel, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2019), pp.2-6, 233.

<sup>37</sup> Stephen Murdoch, *Network North Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2006); Neil MacIntire (Ed.), *Scotland and the Wider World: Essays in Honour of Allan I. Macinnes* (Boydell: 2022).

More recently, this global shift in studies is one aligned with wider shifts in historiography to supersede national boundaries and challenge what these boundaries meant in the past.<sup>38</sup> Murdoch's 'network north' posited that Jacobitism was maintained in part by international kinship links with Jacobite organisations as widespread as Spain, Sweden and Russia. These helped proscribed groups' subsistence while lobbying their host countries for action leading to a restoration.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Runacre, Rouffiac and Filet's work has looked at the impact of a particular international geographies' roles within the history of Jacobitism; St Germain and Lorraine in particular.<sup>40</sup>

The global shift in historiography has been slow to take off in the north of England. Public history projects such as the 'Glocal' history tours of Lancaster have incorporated stories of Jacobites, and public participatory research projects such as the Migrant Stories North West project have re-asserted the importance French emigres to maintaining a native Catholic population over the early modern period. Catholic Historiography has been far better at acknowledging this on the whole.<sup>41</sup> The North West Catholic History Society has been instrumental at linking localities with a global story of survival while the (albeit not catholic) 1715 Northumbrian Jacobite Society acknowledge the importance of France to the preservation of the northern Jacobite cause.

In contrast, studies of local Jacobitism's international character becomes barely a footnote in many studies. Local studies are generally motivated by a will to understand the locality in the past. The presumption that this did not include an international outlook places a border and an order on local reach that does not share reality with the lived experience of eighteenth-century actors. A burgeoning empire thirsted for sons to fill the attrition of humid climes; maritime trade (both legal and illicit) drew on wooden worlds of human labour. Most relevant for the Standish family, faith forced communities to adapt to new ways of accessing education, organising political activity and of finding a spouse. No fewer than 3 Standish women left to become nuns over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The leadership of the Strickland and the Dicconson families- both close friends of the Standishes- were at numerous occasions to be found in greater strength across the channel than at home. France also became the

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<sup>38</sup> Murray Pittock, *Scotland: The Global History: 1603 to the Present* (Yale: 2022); Thomas Martin Devine, *To the ends of the earth: Scotland's global diaspora, 1750-2010* (London: Penguin, 2012); Thomas Martin Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600 - 1815* (London: Penguin, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> Stephen Murdoch, *Network North Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Amsterdam: Brill, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil : les Jacobites en France, 1688-1715* (Paris: SHD, 2007); Jeremy Filet, (2021) *Jacobitism on the Grand Tour? The Duchy of Lorraine and the 1715 Jacobite rebellion in the writings about displacement (1697-1736)*. Doctoral thesis (PhD), Manchester Metropolitan University; William Runacre, 'The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France', *Academia* ([https://www.academia.edu/42777594/The\\_Purchase\\_of\\_Commissions\\_in\\_the\\_Irish\\_Brigade\\_of\\_France](https://www.academia.edu/42777594/The_Purchase_of_Commissions_in_the_Irish_Brigade_of_France)) [Accessed 12/09/2025].

<sup>41</sup> The international nature of the English Catholic communities survival means there is a good body of evidence linking the community to monasteries, convents and schools abroad as well as individuals across French society.

home of the exiles Towneley and Radcliffe. Reassessing the Standish connection with Jacobitism requires consciousness of this reality of a France close in the family's lived reality.

The understanding of social dynamics in the eighteenth century has come under closer attention in the past thirty years. Historians have challenged the meanings of the fundamental building blocks of society. Family, far from the nineteenth century obsession with blood relations, did not directly map onto the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Family also referred to a household, to those that one lived with. The work of Tadmor has helped redefine these terms on eighteenth century lines.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, though kin networks of wider relations (through blood and marriage) are increasingly seen as crucial to Jacobite studies, they can still be easily misunderstood by not returning to the voices of the time. As Gooch notes, though an eighteenth-century Catholic kin network spread across northern England in the Eighteenth Century, it is debatable to what extent Catholics noticed this development or whether it was in any way deliberate.<sup>43</sup>

Networks of kin and friends on the other hand have endured somewhat of a renaissance in study, in part due to computational methods. Social network analysis has allowed scholars to return to letter books and express the connections held between epistolary networks. The Standish records are, however, incomplete. Some sections of the family archive contain little apart from Jacobite correspondence and other periods defined by its conspicuous absence. This study argues that using a series of case studies can be more useful when trying to understand social networks. In *Network North* Murdoch draws on associations, or organisations, as key foci of Jacobite networking; the Order of Toboso, Freemasons, and mercantile interests could all be active grounds for Jacobite recruitment.<sup>44</sup> By focusing on a local organisation and contrasting this with earlier and later transnational networks, this study can learn from these developments and compare findings against them.

Thus, in the chapter focussed on local politics, we use the prism of the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation to see the impact of the Standish Family wax and wane on the local sphere. Their activity in this sphere can then also be contextualised to wider movements within Jacobite society and its dominance over the organisation. Likewise in the chapter handling international activity, a narrower time period becomes the focus. The period from 1716 to the 1740 is chiefly under scrutiny. Though broader context is given, through these case studies we can gain an insight into the families impact on communities and their experience of being Jacobites in these spheres.

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<sup>42</sup> Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge: 2001) particularly, pp216-236.

<sup>43</sup> Leo Gooch, "'Chiefly of Low Rank": The Catholics of North-East England, 1705-1814' in Rowlands, Marie B. (Ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1778* (Wolverhampton: Catholic Record Society, 1999), pp.237-257.

<sup>44</sup> Stephen Murdoch, 'Tilting at Windmills: The Order del Toboso as a Jacobite Social Network' in Pittock, Murray, Paul Kléber Monod and Daniel Szechi (eds), *Loyalty and Identity* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.243-264.

Hopkins' work reflected on the Standish papers in the context of other Jacobite plots during the reign of William III.<sup>45</sup> Alongside looking at the plot circle in far greater detail, Hopkins also worked to revise the longstanding narrative of incompetence of Jacobite agents. In this light, Porteus' assertions are rather ignored in favour of presenting a view of Jacobite action and competence in the Lancashire Plot. Weil outlined the key issues in Porteus' work stating that the real and imagined plots were remarkably different.<sup>46</sup> However, the focus Weil took was viewing the Lancashire plot in the context of William III's attempts to curate legitimacy. The Standish family's participation was not the focus of the study which came with little reflection on the Standish records. The question of Standish participation in Jacobitism remains unanswered. Developments in Jacobite studies have changed in what light they could be read.

Cruickshanks directly referenced the Standish papers when considering the nature of Jacobitism and the Stuart court in exile. This significant edited collection signalled a move to exploring the links between Jacobites on an international scale. Though the international aspect of Jacobitism has a longer history, the move to consider Jacobite networks on an international scale accelerated with the work of Murdoch. Network North approached Jacobite networks in Northern Europe from institutional and kinship networks. Likewise, McInnes' work shares its focus between Jacobite networks using imperial institutions and the commercial ventures of Jacobites within the British imperial sphere. The trajectory for Jacobite network studies has been primed towards the international.

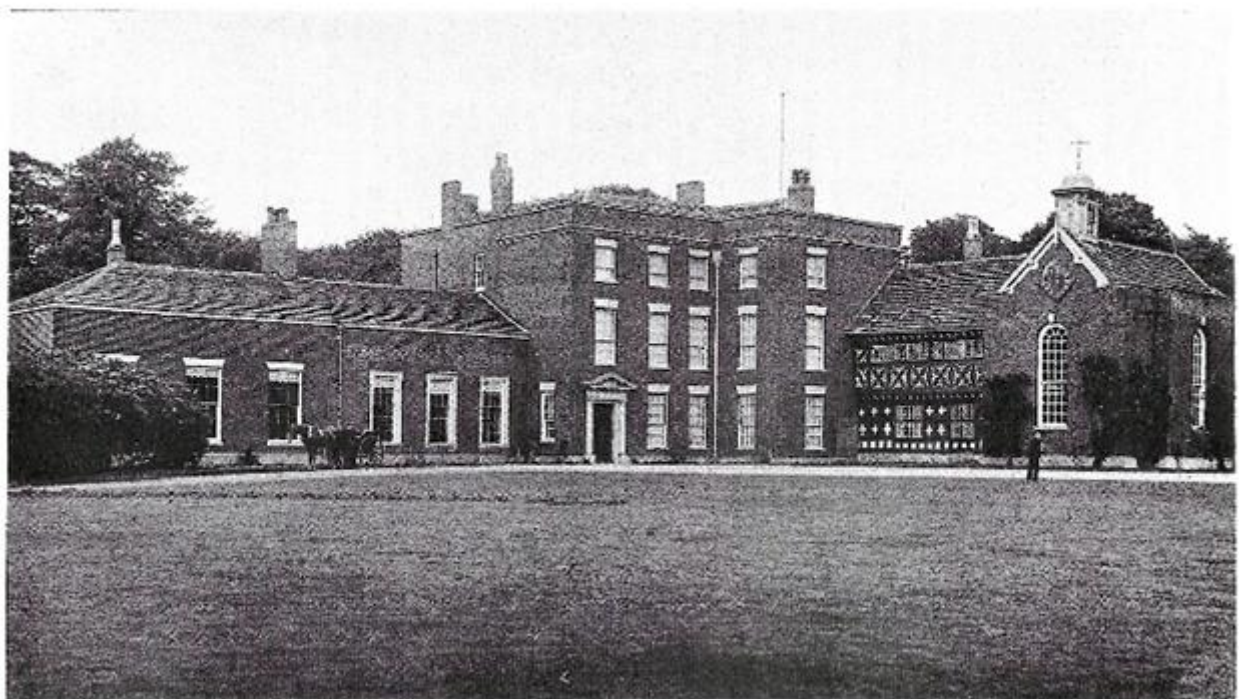
The Networking Jacobites conference in 2022 illuminated the academic necessity to revisit Jacobite social networks from new angles. Building on previous work of Social Networks in Georgian Britain (b.2008), David Radcliffe presented a paper navigating the intricacies of Jacobite social networks using data-based methodologies. Likewise, David Parrish and Michael Brown explored the evidence surrounding intellectual methods of Jacobite networking. However, the presentation of Juliet Shields is most interesting to the Standish family directly. By exploring the Oliphant family as a network of Jacobites, Shields explored both the debates surrounding Jacobitism within a family and how it manifested differently over generations.

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<sup>45</sup> Paul Hopkins, 'Real plots and sham-plots in the 1690s' in Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp.89-110.

<sup>46</sup> Rachel Weil, *A Plague of Informers: Conspiracy and Political Trust in William III's England* (Yale: 2013), pp.217-247.

## Part II: Papers in the Coppice Wall: deconstructing and reconstructing the Standish Experience of Jacobitism.



*Figure 1.3: Photograph of Standish Hall before demolition, 1920's, courtesy of Wigan Archaeological Society*

### 3: The Intimate Jacobite Experience: The personal is Parasocial.

As with any ideological expression, the smallest area of study is the individual. Ideology is recognised today to seep into all aspects of life.

Experiencing Jacobitism means, first and foremost, viewing life through Jacobite tinted glasses. Life events from the mundane to the ritualistic, from consumption of news to consumption of medicine, were marked with the Jacobite worldview.

This is an aspect that is often overlooked when it comes to ideology. However, it is in the same way in which environmental concerns within a capitalist society produce experiences of consumption, entertainment or quietude differently in those concerned with crime or climate change in comparison to those which do not share the concern. Today we can see certain 'governmentalities'- to borrow a Foucauldian turn of phrase -which can create, for instance, mindfulness over recycling or to manage behaviour through CCTV or monitoring internet traffic.<sup>47</sup> This chapter explores the experience of Jacobite ideology in the individual, asking not where power lay in creating these experiences, but taking the individual and social experience of these *experiences* as essential to study on its own terms.

Inescapably, the sources we encounter relating to the Standishes have some limitations in this field. Assessing the individual belief or experience of Jacobitism brings the historical subject in contact with at least one idealised other (albeit one that was unreachable); the Stuart Monarchy. Much has been written on the Stuarts in exile from the seminal work of Corp on the Stuarts in France to more recent work

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<sup>47</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1977); See also Penelope Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 2012) for an example of early modern scholarship adapting Foucauldian ideas in study of the eighteenth century. Corfield posits that professions gained power through regulating and disciplining action to create the idea of that profession in the cases of lawyers, doctors and others.

by Filet, Rouffiac and Cruickshanks on the Stuarts' status as monarchs absent to their kingdom.<sup>48</sup> Less has been written how this relationship was perceived on the individual level.

De facto kingship arrives with legitimising tokens, symbols, rituals and behaviours. As Weil argued, treatment of plotters against William III became a legitimising process which sought to create further credibility for his rule as a 'fair and just' king, in contrast to the unfair and unjust James II.<sup>49</sup> In what ways did Jacobite ideology safeguard adherents from this approach on the individual level? How could loyalty to a king be maintained on the individual level without the common tokens of power? In Jacobitism, if the personal is political, the personal is also parasocial. It requires dialogue between the self (and its political aspirations) and an idealised other. In Hanisch's original phrase, 'the personal is political', the personal struggle of women against the everyday effects of patriarchy becomes the locus of action in the second wave of feminism.<sup>50</sup> Although the phrase centres experience, it also requires an oppressing other (patriarchy, the whig oligarchy, the monarchy, Capitalism). In this sense reading politicised identities of Jacobites through a feminist lens can help us understand the personal effects of the intersections of political marginalisation, sectarian governance and a often-hostile social environment.

Much work has been done re-evaluating the importance of faith in eighteenth century politics to this end. Faith was viewed as a signifier of politics and an outward expression of politics in different circumstances. According to Colley the idea of a protestant masculine image typified the new identity of British in the post 1707 world.<sup>51</sup> Those opposed to the political settlement were cast as feminine, foreign (probably French), and backward. To a certain extent, this dichotomy is something scholars have focused on challenging for the past 40 years.

Studying the mentality, rather than the representation of confessional-political interaction has also come under focus more recently. The Nonjurors were the focus of the self-published Thesis 'The Mental Universe of the English Nonjurors' which argued that such fundamental categories as time, history and news were read uniquely from a Nonjuror subjectivity.<sup>52</sup> In the realm of Catholic Jacobites, the greatest focus has been on the extent to which Catholics were predetermined to fight for the Jacobites

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<sup>48</sup> Edward T. Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: 2004), p.31; Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil : les Jacobites en France, 1688-1715* (Paris: SHD, 2007); Jeremy Filet, (2021) *Jacobitism on the Grand Tour? The Duchy of Lorraine and the 1715 Jacobite rebellion in the writings about displacement (1697-1736)*. Doctoral thesis (PhD), Manchester Metropolitan University; William Runacre, 'The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France', *Academia* ([https://www.academia.edu/42777594/The\\_Purchase\\_of\\_Commissions\\_in\\_the\\_Irish\\_Brigade\\_of\\_France](https://www.academia.edu/42777594/The_Purchase_of_Commissions_in_the_Irish_Brigade_of_France)) [Accessed 12/09/2025].

<sup>49</sup> Rachel Weil, *A Plague of Informers: Conspiracy and Political Trust in William III's England* (Yale: 2013), pp.217-247.

<sup>50</sup> Carol Hanisch, 'The Personal is Political', *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation* (1970), pp.4-5 in particular speaks to a theory of liberation that bursts through my reading of the Standish papers, that whatever 'lifestyle' they adopt, they will still live under a regime that sees them as demon worshipping. In Hanisches original words: "We should figure out why many women don't want to do action. Maybe there is something wrong with the action or something wrong with why we are doing the action or maybe the analysis of why the action is necessary is not clear enough in our minds."

<sup>51</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale, 2nd edn., 2005), P.381.

<sup>52</sup> John William Klein, *The Mental Universe of the English Nonjurors* (Xlibris: 2019), p.319.

owing to their ongoing political and social isolation and their hope in a Stuart restoration's power to solve all these ills.

The situation is already more complex than this. Though Hills and Gooch both study an interconnected northern pro-Stuart kinship web, this was not always a useful or even a conscious social network.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, Glickman and Gooch both point out that Catholics positioned themselves as deliberately not separate from wider society in order to ensure their safety through securing lower government positions or were tolerated higher up.<sup>54</sup> This says little to the experience of these people, and the Nonjuror weighman at Dover stands as an example of someone in a proscribed religion taking up a position in order to enter into Jacobite politics at a more opportune moment.<sup>55</sup> Likewise, ambivalent or even anti-Jacobite action cannot be taken at face value: survival can also be resistance. To paraphrase Hanisch again, there is no right or wrong way to be a Jacobite.<sup>56</sup> The Churchgoers at Standish sat through sermons inspired by firebrand anti-Jacobites at Liverpool but still marched with their lord Ralph to the Battle of Preston.<sup>57</sup>

The Standish family are clearer cut in their loyalties. Though there are few pieces of paper that overtly state 'I Mr/Mrs Standish do solemnly swear that for my whole life I have fought for the Stuarts and will continue to do so and my experience so far is...'<sup>58</sup>, there are key snippets of evidence that show us how they experienced Jacobitism personally. In comparison to those pieces of evidence that do chart an overt Jacobitism- for instance Thomas Tyldesley's Diary or the oath pledge of William Standish- the Standish papers offer a more enticing picture.<sup>59</sup> The bland, overt political statement tells us little about the lived experience of Jacobitism; anyone could say the words 'god save the king' and have all measure of weird and wonderful ideas floating around their head, including irony, sedition and long term scheming. The papers offer a richer insight into the cultural experience of Jacobitism which Monod describes.

Monod describes Jacobite ideology as like fog on a lamp-post; ever-changing, elusive and rather formless but with similar themes.<sup>60</sup> The Jacobitism of one person may show one perspective of this Narnian image, or it might in fact just lead to equal a formless unshapen foggy lamp-post within each

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<sup>53</sup> Leo Gooch, "'Chiefly of Low Rank': the Catholics of North East England 1705-1814" in Rowlands, Marie B., *Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1778* (Wolverhampton: Catholic Record Society, 1999), Pp.224-225: Iain, Hlland (Ed.), Hills, Peter J., 'Papers preserved at Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, 2020'.

<sup>54</sup> Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp.59,257: Hills, Op.Cit.

<sup>55</sup> Paul Kléber Monod, 'Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism, and Commercial Culture in Southeast England, 1690-1760', *Journal of British Studies*, (1991), 30:2, pp. 150-182.

<sup>56</sup> C. Hanisch, 'Personal is political', 1970), p.4.

<sup>57</sup> See also, WLS: MF1A 17/2 Standish St Wilfred's, Churchwardens Account book, 1690-92 for the bells being rung after the Boyne. 1746 entry includes the bells being rung for Cumberlands victory at Culloden.

<sup>58</sup> Though the Standish papers do contain some oaths to James II in 1693: D/D St.M3.16 '18th November, 1693. Declaration of Loyalty to James II from his supporters in Lancashire and elsewhere, with ten signatures' (1693).

<sup>59</sup> Particularly the letters, inventories and accounts of AWL: D/D St.Bundle C1-C13.

<sup>60</sup> Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People 1688-1788* (Cambridge: 1989), p.1.

adherent. This goes to say that just as subjectivity is, by nature, subjective and formless, the study of it can be equally formless and changing from subject to subject even within a slither of society as small as the family.

This elastic, transitory nature of ideology as a cultural phenomenon does little to explain individual reception. Some Jacobite art may have seemed distasteful and rather kitsch – we certainly have less evidence of Standish interest in touchpieces than the families they married in to.<sup>61</sup> Taste can give an insight into the lived experience of Jacobitism in this way: is this lack of touchpieces indicative of a lack of interest in the medicinal powers of the Stuarts? No. Could it be explained by the consumption of larger pieces of art depicting the Stuarts and a more direct line to the body thereof? Yes.

Cultural production too is an element where ideology can show blatantly. The letters between Phillipa Howard and Elizabeth Gordon show this well in which Jacobite song was a clear indicator of loyalty. Likewise it could seep into the overtly personal. Medicine is somewhere we see a clear blended lived reality as a landed family able to access professional medical attention, but also drawing on the bodily remains of the king for their healing properties.

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In 1689, just over a year after James II's flight to France, William Standish starts plotting. He has landscaped a bowling green in front of his house where in the summer he hosted cockfighting and summer garden meetings with the local gentry. It was Christmas however and the hearths of the hall proved their worth as he invited the local gentry for a clandestine meeting. Using his home to host plotters and as a nucleus for a network of agents, William's motives are relatively singular; to restore James II as the rightful owner of the throne.<sup>62</sup> Among the group are other Catholics like William Gerard, Protestants like Peter Legh, servants, tenants and they would later be joined by professional soldiers.

What united them was a sense that the glorious revolution was an act of great injustice against James II. Their goals were rather limited to this goal. This attitude is commonly referred to as 'non-compounder'.<sup>63</sup> It does not 'compound' further conditions on the Stuarts to return. In contrast a compounder attitude is one in which further goals are to be reached through the restoration of James II and his male-line heirs.

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<sup>61</sup> Touchpieces are tokens usually featuring the image of a monarch or hagiofied figure given usually to transfer the healing power of a monarch or saint to the bearer. The token is usually made on non-ferrous metal. Silver was common.

<sup>62</sup> AWL:D/D Ma/B/8 'LETTER from Peter Shakerley, dated Chester Castle, 24th May, 1703, to Ralph Markland and five other Aldermen, asserting his legal right to be re-elected an Alderman of Wigan, as follows' (1703): AWL: D/D St.M3 'plot papers' (1690-94).

<sup>63</sup> Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788*, (Manchester: 2019), pp.26-27

William held some compounder attitudes alongside his goal that restoring James was a positive end in itself. Catholic emancipation is an obvious one. Since the 1680's the Standish Family had faced plots to deprive them of their land. In 1686, alongside the Anderton Family, the Standish's were accused of selling land to French Jesuits, an illegal act that was argued to secure their eternal souls.<sup>64</sup> Ignorant of Catholic practices of the time and with little basis in reality, the case was thrown out, but it was indicative of the position in which Catholics were held in the period. Even before the arrival of William of Orange, plots against Catholics such as Titus Oates and plots from non-conformists such as the Rye House plot threatened not only the body of government but the fabric of social identity and community.<sup>65</sup>

The Catholic experience of William Standish is not an unknown factor but one easy to oversimplify. William maintained his Catholic faith by holding services in Standish Hall for the local Catholic community and his family.<sup>66</sup> Yet, William clearly did not resign himself to recusant obscurity and worked within the realities of the Anglican hegemony. Peter Legh, the anti-Catholic Nonjuror, was a co-conspirator with William in 1690 and he maintained the Standish interest in the Anglican Parish of Standish, St Wilfred's, by appointing its rector.<sup>67</sup> His links to the church extended in matters personal. He maintained the family crypt in St. Wilfred's and had his children baptised there. Those that died in infancy were laid to rest in the grounds of the church also.<sup>68</sup> Despite keeping a priest at Standish Hall, he played the line between legal repercussions for recusancy and conformity. This does not mean his faith was insincere, but it does mean William's approach to faith was pragmatic.

Cecilia Bindloss, who brought Borwick Hall into the Standish interest from 1705 as sole inheritor of the Bindloss estates, presents a mirror image to her husband. Cecilia remained an Anglican in the tradition of her family. She maintained the Anglican church at Borwick, one of three churches in the rural parish of Warton, but negotiated politics around this difference. Her Anglicanism was weaponised for the family after the 1715 rising which saw her northern estates saved from confiscation but under scrutiny from the forfeited estates commission particularly in 1717.<sup>69</sup> During this time she also cared for the

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<sup>64</sup> LA: DDKE 'Case against William Standish et al' (1686): see also Allan Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish* (Wigan: 2005), p.42.

<sup>65</sup> Rachel Weil, *Plague of informers*, (Yale: 2013), p.103 explores Lunt and Taffee and the relationship to government credibility. Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain 1660-1722* (Harlow: Longman, Foundations of Modern Britain v.III, 1993), pp.162-4 succinctly relates the plots of the period to wider concerns in government and society.

<sup>66</sup> Eleanor Johnson, *The Standish Family* (Wigan: Wigan Heritage Service, 1970), p.42; later records survive from 1742 in Standish Hall: WLS: 'Standish Hall Chapel, 1742-88' and Borwick Chapel was noted to have been abandoned after the death of Cecilia Standish (Née Bindloss) to the preference of the family to hold mass in Borwick hall (Warton Churchwardens Accounts).

<sup>67</sup> AWL: D/D St.M3.24 'List of "Commissioners designed to be invited"' There are 24 names, mostly of Cheshire gentlemen including Peter Legh MP; WLS: Churchwardens Account book (Microfilm, 1680-1800).

<sup>68</sup> See appendices 3.2-3.4.

<sup>69</sup> Richard Sharpe-France (ed.), 'The Registers of Lancashire Papists Estates 1717-1788', *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol.117 (1977) p.64-66.

infirm Phillippa Howard, Cecilia's daughter in law, at Borwick and Standish.<sup>70</sup> As the last Anglican in her family line, her own beliefs had to be negotiated with her family's Catholicism. She maintained Warton Church, St Oswalds, during her lifetime while allowing a Catholic priest to be resident at Borwick Hall.<sup>71</sup> At her death, her last wish was to be buried in Warton Parish Church, the Bindloss ancestral burial place, as an Anglican.<sup>72</sup>

The Bindlosses were no stranger to this negotiation, and Cecilia would have been aware of her recent family history. Robert Bindloss changed sympathies during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms in response to increased Quaker activity in Capenwray.<sup>73</sup> Cecilia's maternal grandfather Henry Percy came from the famed Catholic sympathising Northumbrian family. Likewise, marriage to William came with a commitment to continue the same anti-dissenter and pro-Tory attitudes of the past. Her faith was therefore not incompatible with her husband's activity. This did not mean she did not urge caution on religious grounds. When her son, Ralph, was captured following the battle of Preston in 1715, she petitioned on his behalf and also wrote to him of his wife's illness, suspected to have been breast cancer.<sup>74</sup> Her petition to the King set out the argument that he merely stood with his family, that his liberty was essential for the continuation of the family and for the king to show Christian leniency and mercy.

Phillippa Standish (née Howard) possibly best embodied the role of Catholic women as explored by Cogan.<sup>75</sup> She followed Ralph initially to London after his capture but had to return to the north due to the aforementioned illness. The Howards had thrived since the reformation, maintaining their Dukedom of Norfolk and defending the crown from the late sixteenth century.<sup>76</sup> Her own experience drew on this family background with her own petitions to parliament for the liberty of her husband.<sup>77</sup> The use of her

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<sup>70</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC4/1/3 'Ralph Standish to his mother re illness of Lady Phillippa - suspected cancer' (1716).

<sup>71</sup> Richard Sharpe-France (Ed.), 'Registers of Lancashire Papists Estates 1717-1788', *RSLC*, Vol.117 (1977), p.65; See appendix 3.1-3.4.

<sup>72</sup> *LPRS*, 'Warton, St Oswald (formerly Holy Trinity) Burials in Warton 1660-1770', Vol.73 (1928), Cecilia Standish Neé Bindloss.

<sup>73</sup> R.D. Escolme, 'Sir Robert Bindloss of Borwick Hall', *Mourholme Magazine of Local History* (2005-2006), pp.3-7.

<sup>74</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC4/1/4 'Ralph Standish to his Mother' (1717); AWL: D/D St./BundleC4/1/8 'petition for Ralph Standish, Life Liberty' (N.D., likely 1717); AWL: D/D St./BundleC4/1/9 'notice of forfeiture of lands and goods, provision for wife and family' (N.D., likely 1717).

<sup>75</sup> Susan M. Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England: Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence* (Amsterdam: University Press, 2021), p.252 "Catholics secured and maintained both patrons and clients despite their compromised status, mainly because of long-standing social ties, ancient status and reputation on their lands, and the economic benefit they could offer to patrons and clients. By asking how patronage functioned, this study revealed how relationships remained, for the most part, harmonious ones and how Catholics used those relationships to achieve specific ends."

<sup>76</sup> Michael A.R. Graves, 'Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538-1572)' *ODNB* (2008) [<https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13941?rskey=Wfz08C&result=18>] (Accessed 24/09/2024).

<sup>77</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/1/3 'Petition (2) of Lady Phillippa Standish and others to the House of Commons on behalf of their husbands, convicted of treason' (1716).

family name, wielded as a loyalist tool to protect her Jacobite husband in this way might lead us to think that her Catholicism was in fact a reason to think she was not a Jacobite at all.

Ralph's personal faith shows deep concern for faith but also consciousness of his position and the ideological implications of maintaining his faith. He thought it important for his sons to grow up in a Catholic education in Douay, but maintained his duties in his parish as he owned the Anglican Advowson up to 1717 and thus appointed rectors, having power of patronage in the parish. The advowson has been confiscated for simony over the appointment of the William Haydock however Ralph was able to appoint a rector in 1713 before losing the advowson permanently to the interests of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

He also used St Wilfred's to represent his overt allegiances. The Standish Crypt in the church continued to hold members of the family as well as family friends who were also Catholic. To Ralph, the church also represented a link to the past; he experienced the family history of exclusion within its walls. When Ralph decided to have his family crests re-carved into the pews and coves in St Wilfred's he chose his symbolism with deep personal meaning but one with a deliberate social purpose.

The old symbol represented an owl over an upright rat or rodent, in the new symbol, the rat is upturned, vanquished.<sup>78</sup> According to Johnson, the symbolism represents the feeling of Ralph as having been vanquished himself, his underground life laid plain, narrowly escaping execution himself and largely held responsible for the death of James Blundell, the bellringer and warden of the church, executed in Wigan for joining him at Preston.<sup>79</sup> This again perhaps makes the early words of Porteus more concrete: Prudence.<sup>80</sup> Yet, this makes little sense: the owl held personal value to the Standish family, its eyes represented by two of the Standing Dishes of the families official crest. It would look more as a call to arms that the owl is *to be* victorious- that victory is within his grasp. The decision to change the crest, taken in the 1720's, aligns with new efforts to restore the Stuarts following the dismay of the 1715 rising. It also aligns with the date of the loss of the advowson which came into effect in the 1720's. Ralph, in carving the upturned rat was more a promise to return to local and national prominence, than to accept defeat. Ralph had taken another trip to Flanders in 1717. He met with members of the Stanley and Fraser

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<sup>78</sup> Standish St Wilfred's parish Church, Pews embossed by Ralph Standish. See also, Eleanor Johnson, *The Standish Family* (Wigan, 1970), p.70; see also Stan Aspinall, *The Loyal Owls: The Story of William and Ralph Standish 1660-1720* (Standish: Old Standish, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2023) p.1 has images of pews. A New guidebook available at St Wilfred's also highlights the pews, this can be viewed at Wigan Local Studies 942.736 (Standish Box).

<sup>79</sup> Eleanor Johnson, *The Standish Family* (Wigan, 1970), p.70. See also Stan Aspinall, *The Loyal Owls: The Story of William and Ralph Standish 1660-1720* (Standish: Old Standish, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2023), p.1 explains the local argument in regards to the Owl and rat.

<sup>80</sup> T.C. Porteus, *History of Standish* (Wigan: 1927), p.42.

families and other members of the Jacobite Diaspora.<sup>81</sup> Ralph's personal sense of futility does not seem present at this time; his experience is more of hope. Renewal. Revenge, even?

The rat as a symbol would be strange in this context to identify to the Stuart cause or to the Standish Family. The rat symbolised wealth in some contexts but only appears with the owl on Standish crest from the sixteenth century.<sup>82</sup> The usage of the owl and rat in combination has strong ties to Ralph Standish VI who rebuilt St Wilfred's in 1538 and also to the generation of Ralph Standish VIII's Grandparents generation from the wars of the three kingdoms: Edward, Alexander and Ralph VII. This association with the post reformation history of the family and especially with Stuart Loyalism leads me to make the argument that the re-carving of the pews was a last act of resistance in a church increasingly drawn out of the centre of the families' power.

The rat is more than merely symbolic in this case. It reasserts the view of cyclical history which maintained Stuart loyalism.<sup>83</sup> As the Stuarts will once again be returned to power, so too will the Standish family. The rat *to be* vanquished. The Stuarts *to be* coronated. The Standish family *to be* local magnates once again. it was as much a promise for the future as a record of the past.

Mary Standish best embodied the expected experience of a Catholic Jacobite. As a child she discussed the presence of kings blood at Standish Hall with a tenant, Ralph Wilson.<sup>84</sup> She had a keen interest in folk medicine and clearly had several conversations with Wilson leading up to the letter. In 1722 she was in trouble with her mother over an inadvertent lie.<sup>85</sup> Though we never get the full picture of the lie but that she had failed to tell her mother important information, we can understand this may have been over secret meetings with Mr Walmesley, possibly of Ince Hall.<sup>86</sup> Her immediate apology to her mother is testament to the guilt she felt at the time over a misunderstanding over where she would be. The lie turned out to be a trigger of Mary's entry to a noviceship in St Agatha's, Normandy. In becoming a nun, she followed her faith, devoting her life to God. In the context of her pro-Jacobite sympathies, we can sense a personal fervour to be a devoted servant to God and to be closer to the court in exile. She died of illness only two years into her stay at St Agatha's. Her obituary notes this commitment and her strength of character that were the cornerstone of her experience as a sister.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>82</sup> Eleanor Johnson, *Standish* (Standish, 1977), Frontispiece.

<sup>83</sup> By this it is meant that thread of argument that sustained sealed knot in the 1650's in maintaining that the 'revolution' would not be complete until the king returned which was made again by Jacobites.

<sup>84</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC4/6/4 'Ralph Wilson to Madame Mary Standish re. a herbal remedy and "King James's blood" (N.D., likely 1715-1721).

<sup>85</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/2/7 'Mary Standish and M. Walmsley to Lady Phillippa Standish re lie she inadvertently told' (1722).

<sup>86</sup> The name mentions her meeting Mr Walmesley but not the nature of the meeting or whether this is Mr Walmesley of Ince. The said Walmesley would have ran in similar circles to Mary but also it could have been a member of the Walmesley family, tenants of the Standishes in Standish.

<sup>87</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/2/12 'Epitaph on sister Mary Standish, nun at St. Agatha's, who died aged 20' (1726)

Faith underpinned the Standish experience of belonging and in contrast to the pragmatic marriages between Catholics and Protestant Jacobite families throughout the period, a later Mary Standish refused a Protestant suitor, Edward Stephenson in 1785 due to her Catholic faith, writing to her family that she 'will not consent to the marriage'.<sup>88</sup> This despite an ongoing affair between Mary and Edward and accommodations made for her faith.<sup>89</sup>

Personal experience of faith is hard to find in relation to the family members. One clue lies in their wills, however. To this day, lit candles represent the remembrance of a soul no longer on earth: within inventories made and lists made from executed wills, the Catholic members of the Standish family prioritised candlesticks and candles. Ralph ensured to take four silver candlesticks to Borwick Hall after his mother's death.<sup>90</sup> This would memorialise her and served to embellish the new chapel to be made inside the Hall. A note hastily scribbled on the back of one inventory by Cecilia Towneley states she has taken six wax candles to be lit for the memory of her late son, Ralph.<sup>91</sup> This practice seems to differ from the common Catholic practice of creating mourning rings to remember lost loved ones.<sup>92</sup> Such examples in Wigan Museum Collections include a ring for Elizabeth Eccleston, one for Charles Radclyffe, Earl of Derwentwater, and one for Thomas Eccleston.<sup>93</sup> None are documented to have been made for Ralph Standish who fought at Preston, nor for William who plotted in the 1690's.<sup>94</sup> The lack of written legacy of the creation of memorial rings attests to the experience of keeping their memory alive through the use of candles over the memorialisation of rings. This could indicate a difference in the way the Standishes were understanding the religious element to their activity. As Daniel Szechi has argued, the 'theatre of death' became a key rhetorical tool of the Jacobites. The use of dying words and their memorialisation all fed into an identity as part of a martyred cause, which would be vindicated in time.<sup>95</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>88</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC10/4 'C. Strickland to brother C. Towneley re a letter received by Mary S. from Edw. Stephenson; Mary cannot consent to the marriage, religion (Catholic) poses an obstacle' (1785).

<sup>89</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC10/1 'Cecilia Strickland to brother Charles Towneley giving biographical details of Edw. Stephenson (from family of bankers) and history of the affair between Mary S. and E. Stephenson' (1785); AWL: D/D St./BundleC10/5 'C. Strickland to brother C. Towneley re troubles over the marriage between Mary S. and Edw. St., will let M.S. profess Catholicism but he and his children must be esteemed of the Established Church' (1785).

<sup>90</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/5 'Inventory of goods belonging to the Administrators of the late Ralph Standish at Borwick Hall' (1769). Similarly, we see the gift of lady Phillipas China executed in the same way: AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/1 'An account of Lady Phillippa Standish's china' (1730).

<sup>91</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/6 'Schedule of things taken out of the inventory of late Ralph Standish's things left at Borwick Hall, by his mother Cecilia Towneley' (1769).

<sup>92</sup> It does however show continuity from the medieval practice of paying for candles and oil for the souls of the departed. This practice can still be found elsewhere in the Catholic community however the payments to churches outside of the advowson of the Catholic core of the family is rather unusual.

<sup>93</sup> Wigan Museum: B40.002 'Mourning Locket': WM: B40.003 'Mourning Ring, Derwentwater': WM: B40.004 'Edward Dicconson Ring': WM: B40.005 Elizabeth Eccleston Ring': WM: B40.006 'Elizabeth Eccleston Ring': WM: B40.007 'Thomas Eccleston Ring': WM: B40.008 'Thomas Eccleston Ring': See also Lynda Jackson, 'Treasure: the Extraordinary to Everyday' *Past forward*, 73 (2016), p.5 for images of one of the rings, the filigree tablet and hair of James III: [<https://www.wigan.gov.uk/Docs/PDF/Resident/Leisure/Museums-and-archives/archives/Past-Forward/pf73.pdf>].

<sup>94</sup> This does not mean that no rings existed however, there are just not any surviving.

<sup>95</sup> Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death' in Cruickshanks, E. & Black, J., *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), p.71.

Glickman points out that although Catholic scholars have traditionally held the martyrdom of Catholics in this period an essential understanding of a trajectory leading towards emancipation, that Catholics in the Eighteenth Century in fact innovated in numerous surprising ways.<sup>96</sup> 'The historian is therefore confronted with the paradox of a body of Catholic Jacobite writings that reached beyond the dynasty itself' writes Glickman, 'Inspiring whigs of the future and emboldening recusants with ecumenical ideas.'<sup>97</sup> The Standishes reacted to the theatre of death in their own way for a reason, however. Though their attitudes remained Jacobitic, their reactions to events became less entwined with the rest of the Jacobite community. As Toivo writes: prayer contributes to a bodily, material spirituality that forms the experience of religion.<sup>98</sup> Likewise, the tactile, material nature of Jacobite ritual and Catholic spirituality contributes to a 'doing' of Catholic Jacobitism.

### Artwork, personal possessions, and the Standish Family Archive

Art provided both a tactile and visual experience of Jacobitism. The care for works over multiple generations compounded the weight of responsibility over art, while their continuous engagement through changing meanings reproduced Jacobitism in individuals. 'Taste' in Jacobite art reflects power structures within the family but also the self-image of the collector. After this decision, they had little power over its eventual meaning and works became changed in significance based on new tastes and ideals. The collection of art was also social: within and apart from the family. This section addresses the Standish collections of Jacobite art and material culture and its personal affect in reproducing Jacobite experiences on the individual scale.

Surviving artworks exist in some of the Standish residences, such as Towneley Hall and Sizergh Castle. But none remain in situ at their main residences of Standish or Borwick. Inventories made across the early eighteenth century provide an insight into art that was meaningful to the Standishes. Inventories can serve as records of curatorship and re-interpretation. At the death of Ralph, the largest of these was undertaken by Cecilia Towneley and her daughter, Cecilia Strickland from 1755 until 1762. This first encompassed settling her father's artworks across three residences. Later, she re-curated, inventoried and resettled artworks across these residences according to taste and history. Prior to this information about art from letters, wills and by studying the provenance of items in private collections will be significant sources. Post this date, towards the end of the period, many more inventories were made especially involving the break-up of the estates under Thomas Strickland Standish and at the death of a

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<sup>96</sup> Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), pp.252-253.

<sup>97</sup> Glickman, *Catholic Community* (2009), p.257.

<sup>98</sup> R.M. Toivo, 'Chapter 5: Prayer and the Body in Lay Religious Experience in Early Modern Finland' in Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Raisa Maria Toivo, *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion* (Cham: Springer, 2022), p.132.

head of the family. Together, this provides a few snapshots into many of the key Standishes beliefs around their art.

William Standish inherited a strong artistic legacy when he became lord of the manor in 1682. At the centre of this was Standish Hall itself, of which he began to remodel the interior to suit his tastes and those of his wife, Cecilia Bindloss. The hall was rebuilt on the site of the old manor house around 1572, meaning the hall was built into the reality of living a recusant life, with a secret Chapel and priest holes were included in the design of the new hall.<sup>99</sup> At its core was a large hall for manorial business and a generous south wing, rebuilt into a larger internal chapel in the 1740s.<sup>100</sup> William had the family mantelpieces of the Bindlosses brought to Standish from Borwick Hall. The oak decorations of the hall and upstairs held the material mark of the family history. The hearths, newly replaced with new chimneys in 1695 were adorned with the Bindloss coat of arms on one, with the connection to the Dalton family represented on the crest. On another, the royal coat of arms along with the arms of the Garter. This addition joined other insignia of the Garter and royal arms (of England to the exclusion of Scotland and Ireland). In addition to Johnson, the recent finding of the Standish interiors in America and Somerset confirm these claims with whole interiors preserved at the technical institute in Indiana.<sup>101</sup> The oak panelling itself would have been both stylish and meaningful, with the evocation of the Royal Oak into which Charles II escaped following the battle of Worcester. This however was not intentional as the panels are thought to date to 1603. Yet the experience of this new symbolism for the wood is clarified by the later adornment of English royal crests and the Garter symbols carved into, and adorned onto, the oak panels.

Later Standishes focused more on the practical appearances of the Hall. Ralph Standish had a North Wing constructed and used the space made available in the south wing to form a new chapel in around the 1740's. Similarly, it is likely on Ralph's orders that the backfilling of the moat of Standish Hall began. It is still present on a map of 1763 however, though in dashed line format, likely meaning this was an incomplete piece of work.

Gardening held new meanings in the eighteenth century with contrasts between stylistic elements, symbolic elements and practical elements established into new schools of gardening.<sup>102</sup> The

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<sup>99</sup> Eleanor Johnson, *The Standish Family* (Wigan: Wigan Heritage Service, 1972), p.33

<sup>100</sup> Johnson, *Standish* (Wigan, 1972), p.33 the ground floor hall was 30 feet by 17 feet. Photographs held in Wigan Local Studies taken in 1920 collaborate this estimate.

<sup>101</sup> Andrew Nowell, 'Mystery solved as parts of Wigan historic hall revealed in US college', *Wigan Today* (10<sup>th</sup> July 2020). Myles Standish is one of the factors for the US interest in the Standish family, however there is now thought to be no real link between the Standishes of Standish and Myles Standish who descended from Isle of Mann Standishes, their last common ancestor was likely in around 1400. Standish-based historian Jim Meehan also wrote up his findings in *Past forward*, Vol.85 (2020), p.18.

<sup>102</sup> I discussed this in greater detail in a paper presented to the 1745 and 1715 Northumbrian Jacobite societies in their September 2023 Joint Gathering.

removal of the moat could symbolise a change in the way Ralph was experiencing his home. The moat represented the defensive, the closed off. In line with Ralph's prudential shift, his experience of home and its role as a centre for Jacobite activity was diminished. The landscaping and gardening thus symbolised opening the home. Ralph also experienced continuity in the decoration of the hall, incorporating the Howard Arms on the Oak panels of the Hall and upstairs rooms of the core building. This line of continuity cemented a feeling of belonging and time in the family and household unit.

## Paintings

The Inventory of 1756 shows the prominence of portraits of the Stuarts.<sup>103</sup> The image of Charles I, Henrietta Maria and Charles II follow shortly after pictures of the immediate Standish Family in the inventory. The copies, possibly used in the lifetimes of the reigning monarchs to show their loyalty, grew new meanings in the eighteenth century. Where displaying images of James II, James Francis Edward Stuart or Charles Edward Stuart was certainly questionable, displaying Charles I, Charles II and Henrietta Maria was a method of indicating an existing loyalty to the Stuart claim. Their prominence in the inventory means they were likely on display in a similar way to Sizergh, in the dining room or a drawing room where guests could enjoy them. We can infer from the existing interiors that the oak panelled hall with its family crests was the most likely to hold family portraits, though there are no records stating this, or that the collections were kept separately. Contemporary images seem to indicate that curation in this way was less common, with broadly different subjects for art displayed together.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, Vickery posits that from the 16th century, 'great houses made a show of greatness in portraits, fine tapestries, sculptures and natural curiosities – though heraldry and didacticism were the dominant themes of ornament.'<sup>105</sup> The interplay between the majority of the paintings, relating to the family, and the minority, relating to the Stuart royal family could be even more meaningful if we reflect on the work of Mudge. In their theory of eighteenth-century portraiture, Mudge argues for an understanding of portraits as a network of meanings within a space or collection. Even in the crowded walls of Somerset house, visitors created meaning from the curation of paintings in an order; placed in relation to one another deliberately.<sup>106</sup> Reading the paintings in Standish Hall in a similar manner, we see networks of meaning made immediately obvious: William Standish is next to portraits of his wife Cecilia Bindloss; Colonel Alexander Standish is nearby Charles II and Charles I; Henrietta Maria and Ralph Standish are all close by. The placement of these paintings in this way served to both codify the Standish history of Stuart loyalty and to cement a concrete relationship

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<sup>103</sup> AWL: D/D St. M12/1 'Inventory of Standish Hall 1756' (1756).

<sup>104</sup> See Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor: the Domestic Interior 1620-1920* (London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1993), pp.74-77.

<sup>105</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (London: Yale, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2019), p.143.

<sup>106</sup> Bradford Mudge, 'Face Value: Toward a Theory of Eighteenth-Century Portraiture', *Eighteenth Century Life*, 47:1 (2023), pp.1-34, p.1-3.

between the individual and this loyalty in the present. Alexander and his support for Charles II in 1648 becomes parallel to Ralph's own personal struggle to restore the second son and grandson of Charles I.

The most direct portraits of the Stuarts refer to the 'Chevalier de St George', a code name for the heirs of James II. One portrait was in miniature and it survives to today, having been mounted in the case that once contained the Standish collection of Stuart hair and blood. The depiction of Charles Edward Stuart in the 1740s is as he wished to be depicted.<sup>107</sup> Intended as a gift to the Standish family, the miniature was gifted in around 1749 and represents a personal connection to Charles Edward Stuart. The second portrait is less clear who the subject is: Charles Edward Stuart or James Francis Stuart. Like the miniature, the full-size portrait could be of Charles Edward Stuart but due to its position in the inventory, it seems more likely it was of James Edward Stuart; an example exists to today in the Museum of Wigan Life's collections.<sup>108</sup> Portraits of either monarch were a rare and dangerous addition to the family collection.

Experiencing these paintings alongside the family portraits reads them as related to the members pictured nearby. John Standish, the younger brother of William Standish is immediately next to the Chevalier.<sup>109</sup> Perhaps due to his early death, he may represent the whole Standish family in their support for the Stuart succession. The other portrait next to the Chevalier was one of Judith and Holofernes (Holofernes). The painting likely depicted the beheading of Holofernes by Judith as told in Deuteronomy. Its message is one of an overcoming of tyranny and of the godly overcoming the barbarous.<sup>110</sup> Reading the image in succession, Ralph Standish clearly intended for the observer to read the painting as a statement of Standish support for the exiled Stuarts, experiencing it as an affront against divine justice akin to the invasion of Israel by Babylon in the book of Deuteronomy. The method Judith uses to behead the invader with a tent peg not only advocates for direct violent action in the parallel case, but also can be read as a resourceful act; Judith used what she had, a tent peg, in a moment she could find vulnerability in her opponent. Likewise, Ralph could read his painting both ways: A call to direct arms against the Hanoverians (as he did in 1715) but also as an argument to wait for the opportune moment to do so, explaining why he did not participate more directly in 1745.

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<sup>107</sup> Peter Pininski, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: A Life* (Stroud: Amberley, 2010), p.179 notes that the original of this portrait was gifted to Charles' great love, Princess Louise de Rohan, Duchess of Montbazon and represents therefore his favourite portrait of the time. Miniature by Daniel Kamm (1748) based on the original by Louis Tocqué (1748).

<sup>108</sup> Wigan Arts and Heritage Service: After Alexis-Simon de Belle (1674-1734), *Portrait of James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766)*, Oil on Canvas: entry on Art UK [<https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/james-francis-edward-stuart-16881766-162613/search/2024--keyword:wigan-heritage--referrer:global-search/page/2>].

<sup>109</sup> See also Capp, Bernard, *The Ties that Bind: Siblings, Family, and Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), pp.50-70 for an in depth exploration of fraternal links across this period.

<sup>110</sup> Laurie Schneider, "Some Neoplatonic Elements in Donatello's Gattamelata and Judith and Holofernes", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1976), pp.41-48.

When Cecilia Towneley inherited the hall in 1755, she noted in her inventory a number of 'old portraits' to be taken from Standish back to Borwick in 1762. Whether these show members of the Bindloss, Standish or Stuart families, we cannot be certain, but that the subjects had eclipsed out of memory shows the curatorship of Cecilia in taking fresh ownership over the art collections. Her own tastes in architecture were more in line with sensibilities of the time and the practicalities of having authority over three residences. At Towneley, any impact Cecilia once had, has since been eclipsed by the prolific collections of Charles Towneley and the subsequent sale of the estate without art in context. Two notable exceptions are the main hall which was updated in the eighteenth century featuring the old Towneley arms, in line with what Cecilia would have known from Standish and what she would implement in Sizergh. The head of Colonel Francis Towneley was interred in the Towneley Hall Chapel just before Cecilia died in 1778. His execution at Kennington for treason due to his colonelcy of the Manchester regiment in 1745 resulted in his head being 'displayed' in Manchester before a gale knocked it down in 1777. Although we may be uncertain of Cecilia's reaction to this event, it would have provided a tangible link to Jacobite activity in her extended family's history as the head was returned to Towneley Hall and displayed in the chapel.<sup>111</sup>

At Sizergh, her personal input protected the hall from decay and again focused on the entrance to the Hall. Previously, the main entrance to the hall consisted of steps up to access the main hall on the first floor. Cecilia had a new entrance created on the ground floor to create a more inviting experience to visitors with their entry into the Tudor core of the building, modelled as a room for welcoming visitors. This showed off 16<sup>th</sup> century tastes of grandeur belonging for the Strickland family. A more intimate gallery and series of remodelled rooms housed the family dining and drawing rooms on the first floor. Cecilia's goal seemed to be one of continuation in functional design in her residences: the private spaces made more private but related to the public spaces through motifs of family belonging and shared recent history. This evidence is necessarily a little ambiguous in terms of what it says about her connection to Jacobitism: On the one hand her experience of family home and architecture led her to replicate what she knew in her other houses with Pro-Stuart motifs uniting all the residences she had ownership over. On the other, it shows a deep awareness of her place in a cultural landscape of Jacobitism and the will to create Jacobite architecture that was less suitable for the plotting of her grandfather but more suitable for hosting Jacobites or perpetuating Jacobite ideology and sensibility.

The most complete collections of Standish-held art survive in Sizergh hall. This comprises of collections collated by the original families but were preserved, in part, due to Cecilia Towneley. At

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<sup>111</sup> Until a recent refurbishment a mock head welcomed visitors to the chapel. The refurbishments also led to a restoration and evaluation of the interior of the chapel including the choir and altar.

Sizergh, portraits of the Stuarts in exile draw the attention of the observer from the intimate dining room.<sup>112</sup> Other highlights include a bust of Charles Edward Stuart and medallions from both Charles and his brother Henry, Cardinal of York from the later eighteenth century. The most stunning piece is the only currently located painting of a Standish member. A portrait of Cecilia Strickland (Née Towneley):



*Figure 2.3: Cecilia Strickland from the private collection of Henry Hornyold-Strickland.*

## Ceramics

The first notable inventory of Phillippa Howard's china was made close to the end of her life. It was likely compiled due to the resurgence of her illness that would claim her life in 1732.<sup>113</sup> Settling where this

<sup>112</sup> The portraits include James II, Mary of Modena and the young James Francis Stuart painted in the first years of exile at St Germain.

<sup>113</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/1 'An account of Lady Phillippa Standish's China' (1730).

china would go shows a level of care taken over the collection's curation. The china was quite varied and care was taken to record even the objects that were damaged:

'Elleven coloured china Soup plates,

A Dozen Coulored china plates for desert

Nine blew & white china plates & two broken ones'<sup>114</sup>

This collection reflected Phillipa's love of hosting too, with 'three tea pots' with matching sugar bowls and chocolate dishes. She also enjoyed a variety of decorative china objects: cockerels, dolphins, monsters and lions were likely displayed alongside the marble and stone figurines also noted in the entry. Floral motifs were also favoured, with a dessert set featuring white flowers on the cruet and sugar bowl sets.

Perhaps closest to Phillipa's heart at this time were her caudle dishes, used to create and store caudle, a medicinal drink that was usually sweet and resembled skyr but could contain oats, honey, fruits and spices. It was popular with pregnant women and for the infirm, so she may have experienced both nostalgic joy at the three-legged dish she used while pregnant with her children, but also deep sadness remembering both the loss of her sons and her own resurgent illness. To Phillipa Howard, these objects were close to her heart and experience of her life representing the joy of hosting, the birth and loss of children and her own mortality. The compilation of this list represents her tastes and agency on the individual level, the importance of which she passed to her daughter Cecilia.

We can be more certain of her tastes in art at Standish in spite of their absence today through the archival remains of her meticulous inventories. The first inventory of china was made for her son, Ralph, at the time living in Standish in 1767, and records the plate held at Borwick and compiled by William Hull for Cecilia, recording those which were taken to Standish in 1762. The plate includes fine pewterware and silverware mostly suitable for carving and serving. The key exception is a series of St Germain plated cups.<sup>115</sup> St Germain plate was fine china, usually featuring floral motifs originating in style from those popularised, and produced for, the palace of St Germain-en-Laye. It is not insignificant that this was the previous residence of the exiled Stuarts before 1715 and a main centre of the Jacobite milieu abroad. For Ralph to have requested that these cups specifically be brought to Standish, and for Cecilia to return them and check up on their condition later, speaks volumes to their ongoing appeal to the family.<sup>116</sup> Along with the cups, serving forks, soup ladles, and old candlesticks were brought down to Standish. This assemblage seems to represent everything needed to host guests for a meal and to make

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<sup>114</sup> Original spelling retained.

<sup>115</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/4 'Inventory of plate delivered to Ralph Standish on 8 Sep 1762' (1767).

<sup>116</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/3 'Accounts of goods taken from Borwick Hall, and those at Borwick deposited in room no. 8, made by William Hull' (1764).

toasts. Though there are no records of meetings, these objects were held in enough regard by Ralph and Cecilia for them to be moved between Standish and Borwick Halls; the link to history through these fine objects underpinned a tangible reality of living in a family with a Jacobite past if not a present. They also however represent the decline in overall Jacobite activity and integration into wider societal norms of hosting. Where previous generations were relatively isolated from circles of local power, Cecilia Strickland (Née Towneley) and her descendants were much better integrated into social circles preferring to host and visit on non-political business; whether this had any political aspirations is unknown.

Floral motifs held deep symbolism, but in the absence of the details of *which* flowers were depicted it is hard to directly read the objects. Guthrie notes that recognisable symbols remained a legible 'grammar' of Stuart loyalty into the nineteenth century.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, floral motifs such as the rose, thistle, and oak leaf all held overt connotations but they could be supplemented with personal taste and symbols with personal meaning, like Ralph Standish's owl. What stands out about the floral motifs is that they are the only motif or pattern mentioned explicitly by Cecilia in 1767. Other descriptions mention colour (Blew and white). This suggests that the floral designs were favoured enough to be worth mentioning, though whether this means their symbolism was Jacobitic or simply favoured by the individual preference is impossible to know.

Again, as the tastes of the individual passed through new societal norms and trends of sensibility, their credentials as evidence of Jacobitism are somewhat eroded. What is clear is that the family highly valued objects with a familial historic link Jacobite or not, and so had at least adapted at the end of the period to a view of Jacobitism as historic but definitely not necessarily negative. As Vullinghs notes, objects and images sustained feelings of loyalty to the Stuart cause, as they also did to secure feelings of community and family.<sup>118</sup>

### Fabrics and bedclothes

Cecilia also embarked upon moving more plate and goods into a room to be locked away in Borwick.<sup>119</sup> Room 8, a sort of storage room, would hold all the goods no longer wanted on display by Cecilia. This included twelve old rush chairs, quilts, bedding, and a 'delf' dinner set. One square dale box would hold all of the accoutrements for the chapel and the altar key and be stored in room 8. The only special request

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<sup>117</sup> Guthrie, Neil, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), p.44. See also: Pittock, Murray, *Material Culture and sedition, 1688-1760: treacherous Objects, secret places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>118</sup> Vullinghs, Georgia W.M., 'Loyal Exchange: The Material Culture and Visual Culture of Jacobite Exile, c.1716- c.1760', (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2021).

<sup>119</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/3 'Accounts of goods taken from Borwick Hall, and those at Borwick deposited in room no. 8, made by William Hull' (1764): AWL D/D St./BundleC3/4/7 'Account of "things in the room that was locked up" at Borwick Hall, and plate at Borwick, made by Cecilia Strickland and sent to her mother, Cecilia Towneley' (c.1769).

from Cecilia Towneley was for papers to be brought to Standish. Some other items were added later as being brought in 1764, bedclothes and curtains:

'My mds. Roome Bedstocks, White Hangings Red bedstead and pillow, matrass two pare of double blankets two printed cotton quilts, one check matrass from spriged roome one White spriged counterpain one striped sattin quilt.'<sup>120</sup>

As Handley has noted, bedclothes were the most intimate and personal of all objects in a person's possession. In the case of the embroidered quilt of James Radcliffe, 'these objects help to expose the entangled nature of historical emotions, the materials with which they could be assembled, and their capacity for transformation'.<sup>121</sup> Bedclothes were often a material reminder of where you were born, where your children were conceived, and also where you and your loved ones spent times of sickness and death. For Cecilia to embark on storing so many bed clothes and moving others to be closer to her suggests a strong emotional attachment to some of these clothes over others.

Some put in storage were 'old', presumably in need of repair and well-worn. That their fate was room 8 likely means they also held sentimental value but not enough for Cecilia to want to be near them at Standish. They could have been her mother's bedclothes from one of her bouts of illness, in which case they would be filled with the painful connotations associated with the memory of loss. Keeping the 'spriged counterpain' and bringing it back to Standish points towards a longer memory of production as well as observation and consumption of textile arts.

The spriged counterpain was likely a blanket or bed cover belonging to the bed from the spriged room. Referring to the technique of embossing plaster sprigs onto the surfaces of the room, the designs could be extremely ornate. A local example is currently housed in the 'Music Room' on Sun Street, Lancaster, with classical references to the muses of the arts.<sup>122</sup> The counterpain style of producing the spread made embossments similar to the sprigging of the room it belonged in. There are no details of who produced this blanket but it may have employed techniques recorded by Cecilia Bindloss half a century earlier in her braidbook.<sup>123</sup>

The Bindloss braidbook was both a work of curation and creation for Cecilia Bindloss. It represented the sum of her creative spirits in the 1690s and the techniques that influenced her. Embroidery and needlework were seen as useful and acceptable pastimes for early modern women,

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<sup>120</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/4/3 'Accounts of goods taken from Borwick Hall, and those at Borwick deposited in room no. 8, made by William Hull' (1764).

<sup>121</sup> Sasha Handley, 'Objects, Emotions and an Early Modern Bed-sheet', *History Workshop Journal*, 85 (2018), pp.169-194, p.189. see also, Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale, 2016).

<sup>122</sup> Images of the rooms can be found at: *Visit Lancaster*, [<https://visitlancaster.org.uk/places-to-stay/the-music-room/>] (Accessed 23/03/2024).

<sup>123</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC2/1 'Notebook of Lady Binlosse "Directions to make braids "with examples of the finished silk braid and instructions' (N.D.)

enabling the furnishing of a home to be personal and lavish in equal measure.<sup>124</sup> Pattern books provided a way for women to write and perpetuate their expertise on to the next generation. The craft itself embodied a multiplicity of roles for women too. According to Vickery, needlework could simultaneously encompass the performance of duty, proof of love, and act as a weapon against male authority.<sup>125</sup> Cecilia Bindloss's braidbook acts against the grain of an expectation of quietness; her notebook goes even further to explore her opinions on astronomy, mathematics and the arts.<sup>126</sup> Being the only member of her faith in the family likely prompted a will to be remembered, as her family name would not even survive her. Yet, it also represents her love for her family and their shared histories. One of the most well-worn of the braids is the French braid, a reference to Stuart exile, continental taste and their families shared past supporting Charles I, Charles II and James II. The patterns would have been recognisable to family members prompting the survival of them into later periods as the inventories show.

### **Written Culture: the said and the sung.**

Production, curation and consumption also overlapped in the realm of literary arts for the Standishes. Family members collected local and national news and sent ballads, songs and poetry to each other and from friends and extended relations. In 1700, William or Ralph received a copy of 'The Whigs' litany' and 'the General wronged', controversial verses that argued against the Whigs' power hunger and that it was detrimental to the general health of the people.<sup>127</sup> Verses from Alexander Pope are also to be found, likely read by Ralph Standish in 1715 following the coronation of George I.<sup>128</sup> The piece is written possibly in Pope's own hand, though this is not to say Ralph was its first recipient. The piece likely travelled through underground networks and passed hands before Ralph's eyes were cast upon it. This may have encouraged Ralph that it was worth reading and took away from it. The coronation of George in October 1714 likely means it was read by Ralph long before his participation in the 1715 rising in November. The work, a love epistle on Martha Blount and her sister Theresa Blount sets them as targets of sometimes teasing gallantry. According to Jarvis in 1716, they were Pope's favourites and he styled the sisters 'Zephalinda' and 'Parthenissa' in the epistle.<sup>129</sup> Members of Roman Catholic elite, the Blounts, were related to the Caryll and Petre families by kin and friendship. 1715 however saw their fortunes wain as their brother inherited the family estates leaving their position immensely fragile. To Ralph, reading the epistle must have struck deep into his own fragility of situation and reflected on the one hand the beauty

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<sup>124</sup> Sarah Randles, "The Pattern of All Patience": Gender, Agency and Emotions in Embroidery and Pattern Books in Early Modern England" in Susan Broomhall, (ed.), *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Palgrave: 2015), p.150.

<sup>125</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, Yale, 2, 2019), pp.238, 241, 249, 253.

<sup>126</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC2/2 'Notebook of lady Binlosse' (N.D.).

<sup>127</sup> AWL: D/D St./M/34 'The Whigs' Litany' and 'the General Wronged' (1700).

<sup>128</sup> AWL: D/D St./M/35 'On Mrs. Theresa Blunt's Leaving the Town After the Coronation by Mr. Pope' (1715).

<sup>129</sup> See Valerie Rumbold, 'Martha Blount: (1690-1763)', *ODNB* (Oxford: 2004).

Pope writes of their making love with nods, hearty laughs, and birds as answer to those who come bearing guns. Yet, with tongue in cheek he draws on their retreat from London following the 'coronation' of Blount's brother with the realisation that their marital prospects left them spilling 'solitary tea'. Ralph's reading may have also echoed his family's anxiety to pass the baton to the next generation. Certainly, Ralph kept a house in London and saw much evil coming from it – he later called it the 'piss pot' of the country.<sup>130</sup> But he also may have understood that second reading of one coronation and usurpation, that of George and a would-be James III reflected in the story of the beautiful Blount sisters taken from their rightful place by a brother who cared little for his sisters. The message is that Hanoverian threat to the Stuarts puts the natural order of things in threat also.

Another verse worthy of keeping in the Standish family archives was a ballad sent to Ralph Howard Standish in 1730. Penned by the Duke of Wharton, 'John Shepherd to the Duke of Macclesfield – a Greeting', the ballad sets out a hypothetical meeting between Shepherd, the notorious escapee and thief, and Macclesfield (likely the Earl of Macclesfield, George Parker).<sup>131</sup> Phillip Wharton, a notorious libertine, was a latecomer to the Jacobite cause. Having met James Francis Stuart in 1716, his dramatic losses in the 'south sea bubble' set his loyalties in stone. The Macclesfield connection would likely have been the most interesting to Ralph Howard Standish, however. The First Earls of Macclesfield were made in 1679 and had traditionally been held by the Gerard family. Loyalty to the Stuarts, occasional recusancy and service in Lancashire defined the Gerards in this period, yet the Gerards' claim over the Earldom of Macclesfield died out in 1701. It was this crisis that resulted in a duel that cost the Duke of Hamilton his life. With the Gerard main line disinherited, the earldom became redundant until it was gifted to Thomas Parker in 1721. At the time Wharton's verse was penned, the second holder, George, was retreating from Westminster politics to his role in the Royal Society enabling him to focus on his interest in astronomy. Once again positing the notorious thief against the Hanoverian usurper who wastes his position was quite a clear message to the Standishes. This preference in Jacobite verse was therefore long lived and popular in the family. In Ralph's life, he had been brought from Douay early in 1721 and felt a long chaos resulting from the rising of 1715 which put both of his family claims at risk. Within this chaos, Ralph likely adopted a taste in verse from his father, on the one hand deeply satirical but also ostentatiously provocative.

If the taste of Standish men was provocative, women ostensibly appeared more romantic in their interests. In 1745, M Standish (Likely Mary Standish, Second wife of Ralph Standish) penned a letter to her neighbour Mrs Dicconson in Wroughtington.<sup>132</sup> Both were excited that the Jacobites looked once again

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<sup>130</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC5/2 'Ralph Standish Howard to Ralph Standish re liaison with Miss Dolly Mollineux and his problems adjusting to the life of London society' (1727).

<sup>131</sup> AWL: D/D St./M48 'addressed to Mr. Howard Standish, by Philip, Duke of Wharton, entitled 'John Shepherd to the Earl of Macclesfield - A Greeting'' (1730).

<sup>132</sup> LA: DDSC 44/15 /1 'Jacobite letter M Standish to Mrs Dicconson' (1745).

to be within a hair's length of power. She noted how Mr. Standish, Presumably Ralph, had kept her at home and that she had missed 'my lord Darby ... Burnt in effigee'. Enclosed in this letter was also a Jacobite verse in Mary's own hand:<sup>133</sup>

What ails thee poor shepherd; why looks thou so pain,  
So grisly thy beard and so meagre thy mien,  
Had any distempter infected thy sheep,  
Or does lovely Phyllis disturb thy sleep,  
Take thy pipe while we sit in the shades and complain,  
What is't that does vex and forment the poor swain?

It was close to an elm where his crook and pipe hung,  
Alas! Cries the shepherd the theme of my song,  
Great Jemy the lord of these plains he is gon',  
And Hogan Mogan has seized all his own,  
Our rents they are raised and our taxes increase,  
And all is because we have taken a new lease,

Hevens bless our old landlord and send him again,  
E're famine and poverty kill the poore swain,  
Ere the dutch all our wealth and our honours do keep,  
And fleece this poor nation as I fleece my sheep,  
How dull are my notes! Damn the pipe I can't play,  
The Tune I was won't cause my landlords away,

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<sup>133</sup> LA: DDSC 44/15 /2 'Enclosed Jacobite Verse in Standish Letter to Mrs Dicconson' (1745): N.B the song fits to the tune of 'Craggan White Hare', more research is needed to discern if the songs have a common origin or if this is purely coincidental.

Cheer up honest shepherd and calm thy rag'd breast,  
Leave thy flock to themselves like a true English priest,  
Gird thy sword to thy side throw thy sheephook away,  
Our landlords a-coming let us clear him the way,  
See how this glass how it sparkles' tis of right English corn,  
Here's a health honest shepherd to our landlords return.

In this song Mary engages with some topics that reach to the heart of her Jacobitism. Throughout, the conversation between the Swain and the singer evokes an image of merry old England, the setting of hard, honest workers wrongly put into a bad position by events outside of their making. It is the narrator that leads the shepherd to violence, to gird his sword and reappoint the old landlord. This points to continuity, in that powerful families were intended to guide their tenants to rise. The song's prospective audience is not the 'shepherds' of the world but the 'narrators': it is a call for them to have these conversations with their tenants and aid the rising.

We also get an insight into their motivations. There is little talk of the illegitimacy of the new landlord in the song. Instead, it is the high rents and taxes that urge the Shepherd to his depressed position. Where legitimacy is present, it is again in a theme of old English realism with the Dutch given honours and wealth implicitly reserved for Englishmen. Both of these aspects had roots in the restoration and a 'revival of merry England', Pittock notes that 'the ruralism of Stuart ideology experienced further growth in the Civil War period', when the Stuarts were ideologically exiled to the peripheries of their authority.<sup>134</sup> The xenophobic elements also draw on this image of old merry England, with old rights to be preserved and marks the work as particularly English in typology.<sup>135</sup>

With such tones of national pride and economic downturn, it is surprising that Mary decided to pen or at least copy the song for her friend to read, or sing. Themes of economics, the nation and high politics were traditionally masculine spheres of interest; this letter and song prove this to be more complicated. Mary is interested in the politics of the rising in the area, and clearly in the themes of the song. The song also holds a sentimental appeal, which places the reader in a position to care for the shepherd who faces 'famine and poverty'. The setting of a discussion that it is implied will lead to adventure also suits a sensibility of the time, in a similar way to the earlier *John Shepherd to the Earl of*

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<sup>134</sup> Murray G.H. Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: 1994, 2006 2<sup>nd</sup> edn.), p.19.

<sup>135</sup> See Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite politics* (2006, 2<sup>nd</sup>), p.58.

*Macclesfield - A Greeting*. It draws also from themes of return in both Wharton and Gays work as described by Pittock. 'exile, dispossession and poverty accompany the defiant drinking song ... in mentioning "excellent ballad-singers", his text makes particular reference to the cultural crossover it is celebrating'.<sup>136</sup> Mary is drawing on similar themes to Gay here in the evocation of poverty, toasting the 'landlord' and breaking the third wall, as the listener is made aware of the narrator's awareness that he is in a song.

The role of Mary as author is somewhat questionable in absolute terms. With the speed of composition and its common popular elements we can see clear influential links to earlier texts; it is likely a folk song of the time which was adapted to suit Mary's mood at the news of the rising. That she had disseminated and engaged with texts to create the verse is perhaps more meaningful: engagement with cannon literature of the time and sending such a provocative piece during the rising shows her experience of Jacobitism as personal to the point of overflowing. The relationship between this inner world and outer expression will be addressed later, but the stunning inner world of Mary Standish's Jacobitism shows a deep interest in the arguments for Stuart restoration.

To conclude, art provided an outlet for individuals in the Standish family to experience Jacobitism in material and in bodily terms (that is, of their own physiology, singing, feelings of excitement and anticipation). The physical inheritance of artistic taste left a legacy that each generation had to grapple with, curating and placing new meanings and emotional weight upon. Cecilia Towneley in particular had to negotiate her tenuous position as heiress against her own Jacobite sentiments. By curating and creating Jacobite art, Cecilia and her predecessors created new meanings for the objects that have left clues as to their experience of Jacobitism, which we may follow by studying which objects were favoured and which were ignored. Some, like the old paintings, became obscure beyond recognition, while adopted collections from the Strickland family were readily incorporated into the family cannon as understood by Cecilia. In architecture, the role of the house shows a change from a defensive structure for staging a rising, to an eighteenth-century house of splendour splashed with nods to the Stuarts and suitable to argue the fine line between family history and family policy.

Experiencing the family went beyond this. Through architecture of the home, Standish family members could shape an experience of Jacobitism on to the next generation. In song, perhaps the most personal form expressed here in terms of taste, the family kept what was important and clearly discarded most of the material that passed through their hands. Curation, or creation, of song seemed to be one of the most significant ways in which Mary engaged with the rising of 1745 given her inability to participate directly. Looking to the Towneley manuscripts, it is clear that a greater canonical background of Jacobite

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<sup>136</sup> Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics* (2006 2<sup>nd</sup>), p.73.

songs than currently survive in the Standish papers was needed to influence Mary with the themes in her song.<sup>137</sup> The temporal dialogue between Ralph, Ralph Howard Standish and Mary on the one side (as creators) and Cecilia Townley and Cecilia Strickland on the other (as curators) leaves us with only a glimpse at the personal role art played in the shaping of Jacobite experience but one that likely reflects the depth of feeling quite well understood by the latter group.

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Jacobitism as an experience on the life of the adherent is a new field of study. Studies on life experiences have revolved comfortably along confessional lines with Peltomaa and Toivo's work leading in the field.<sup>138</sup> Yet this draws on longer roots. Studies into experiences of family cohesion typically centre around a confessionally consistent and congruent family structure.<sup>139</sup> Ideology is presumed to work differently in family structures reinforcing an individual belief or suppressing it, and for the most part this is true. Inescapably the imagined personal relationship with the monarch is core to the ideology of Jacobitism and this complicates an insular ideal of ideology. The body of the Jacobite king could be a source of experience to the Jacobite and the experience of the Jacobite family built into experiences of 'proper' family life. This section addresses these concerns by looking deeper at the connection between individuals and the bodily remains of the Stuarts. Although this consists of two distinct experiences, they build into a sense of the personal Jacobite lived experience.

Somewhat counter-intuitively, death and mortality are the aspects where this is most apparent. Szechi described the execution stage as the 'theatre of death'.<sup>140</sup> In a process that remembered and sought to emulate the lives of Jacobite heroes and heroines, Jacobites continued to experience their lives through the lived experience of other Jacobite bodies. For Thomas Sydall Jr., his speech from the Scaffold in 1746 consciously emulates the experience of his father, executed for his part in the rising of 1715 and looks towards his sons participation in a rising in the future.<sup>141</sup> For the Standish family who directly felt no such loss, this is more complicated.

Mortality and lifespans are the first key element. Members of the Standish family were deeply conscious of their place in a perceived cycle. Cecilia Bindlosses notebook reflects upon an astrological determinism that omnipotently corrects itself over time.<sup>142</sup> To royalists in the post restoration landscape

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<sup>137</sup> Alexander B. Grosart (Ed.), *English Jacobite Ballads, Songs, & Satires Etc. From the Mss. At Towneley Hall, Lancashire* (Manchester, Charles Simms, 1877) records the manuscripts from Towneley hall, likely a combination of compilations from during and after the Jacobite period.

<sup>138</sup> R.M. Toivo, 'Introduction' in Sari Katajala-Peltomaa & Raisa Maria Toivo, *Histories of Experience in the World of Lived Religion* (Cham: Springer, 2022).

<sup>139</sup> Rowlands, Marie B. (Ed.), *Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1778* (Wolverhampton: Catholic Record Society, 1999). Susan Cogan *Catholics* (Amsterdam), Conclusion.

<sup>140</sup> Szechi, Daniel, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death' in Cruickshanks, Eveline and Black, Jeremy, *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988) pp.57-73.

<sup>141</sup> Henry Paton (ed.), 'The Lyon in Mourning', *Scottish History Society*, XX (1895), pp26-32.

<sup>142</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC2/1 'Notebook of Lady Binlosse "Directions to make braids "with examples of the finished silk braid and instructions' (N.D.); AWL: D/D St./BundleC2/2 'Notebook of Lady Bindlosse' (N.D.).

such as Cecilia, this must have brought comfort. Just as the stars inevitably come around again, so too will the king return. The position of the king was all important to the Jacobite movement to maintain the movement.<sup>143</sup> For this, direct connection with the body of the king created a link with the cause which was both materially rooted and created its own social meanings by adherents.

As early as 1692, William Standish preserved old coats of arms and papers from his exiled king, James II. Papers from the king and records of solemn oaths taken for him were hidden in a coppice wall in Standish and later found after the Death of Ralph Standish. Keeping commission papers, letters from Lord Melfort and declarations to the king seems ludicrous and potentially politically inflammatory. It would have been best practice to destroy the vast majority of papers and keep hidden only those essential for the coming rising. Many were destroyed after the letters were found in 1757 due to damage so we cannot read deeply into the absence of particular letters in the sequence but their survival tells us that they meant more than William's life to keep. Given their found condition, relatively well preserved (aside from those on the immediate outside of the package), it is doubtful that any letters would have survived from William's death in 1705 to 1757. The papers were perhaps more likely buried before Ralph's death in 1755 with three years of rain and rot damaging the outer leaves but keeping the inner leaves intact.<sup>144</sup> Either way, these documents were kept, not thrown away. They could not be treasured but could lay in the garden safe in the knowledge of their preservation for posterity.

Relics of the kings held even more significance. Blood and hair samples were collected by the Standish family at least until the 1730's making the collection a multi-generation fascination. At Standish hall, the hair and blood were kept in a case donated to the family by Charles Edward Stuart plated in gold and adorned by his favourite miniature portrait.<sup>145</sup> Donated by Charles in 1749, the case itself was a direct link to the Stuarts that contained their bodily remains. A Hair sample was also kept in a locket marked on the rear as 'Standish' property.

These bodily remains created a tangible link between the individual and the king. Presented in the case they are as a curated collection. A collection of blood soaked relics created a tangible link to the Stuarts. A rare survivor gives us an insight into the scale of these objects and the affect they created. In Wigan Museum's collection is a locket of James Francis Stuarts Hair in a gold locket.<sup>146</sup> The object is only about 1cm in diameter with a glass face allowing the viewer to easily see the lock of hair contained within.

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<sup>143</sup> MacIntire, Neil (Ed.), *Scotland and the Wider World: Essays in Honour of Allan I. MacInnes* (Boydell: 2022); Allan MacInnes, 'Introduction: identity, mobility and competing patriotisms' in A MacInnes & D. Hamilton (eds.), *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), pp.1-12; See Edward Corp and Eveline Cruickshanks (eds.), *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (Bloomsbury: 1995); See Chapter 6.

<sup>144</sup> This is in the end conjecture and an avenue pursued with Wigan Archaeological society who are likewise in need of more research in this area. Without tests of the soil and a comprehensive survey of the documents by a trained professional, we may never have an answer. The papers have been since cleaned and mounted on Japanese paper.

<sup>145</sup> The case was loaned to the Museum of Wigan Life 2020.

<sup>146</sup> Wigan Museum: B40.002 'Mourning Locket containing a sample of James III's hair' (presumed after 1766).

At the top is a loop for its connection to a necklace, clothing or secured in a bag. What strikes most is its small size – it is as far away from an extravagant presentation of a relic as one can get. It is subtle and would need pointing out that this is not the hair of a family member but of a king. It was deeply personal because of this and was necessarily an intimate object being worn close to the skin. As Handley points out, hair had a quality as 'a singular index of personal identity' uniquely being able to memorialise an individual's earthly appearance.<sup>147</sup> To the wearer of the locket, the personal connection to James Edward Stuart would have been experienced as a tactile, physical connection close to the heart.

If hair created an affective physical connection to the body of the king, blood created a link to the divine elements. The Standish blood collection covered Stuarts from James II to Henry IX representing a long-term investment fostering this connection. Remains of the king were conduits which transferred his miraculous powers on to it. The most cited example of this is with touchpieces which served as both a record of a cure and the cure itself, most commonly for scrofula or other skin diseases.<sup>148</sup> Phillipa Howard used royal blood for much further purposes than scrofula in treating her breast cancer. Two recipes survive for an ointment for a 'sore breast' written by local doctor show the attempt on the part of Cecilia Bindloss to rely on conventional medicine to heal her Daughter in Law. The paste required forming an initial herbal reduction to be mixed with a liquid into a paste and changed often.<sup>149</sup> By 1716, while Ralph was imprisoned for his role in the battle of Preston, Phillipa was relying on less conventional means of treatment, the king's blood incorporated in the healing paste.<sup>150</sup> Using the king's blood in this way would have hoped to generalise the healing power of the king below the skin. It could be taken as a sign of desperation or of simply supplementing the existing medicine with a more powerful agent. Using blood in this way was unconventional for the time, it required ingenuity but most crucially the belief that the divine power of the king would make a difference.

What is more astounding is that this was a practice repeated. In a letter of unknown date, Mary Standish was quizzed by John Price about the healing powers of king's blood writing that he knew of a recent delivery of Stuart blood to Standish and asking for some for his needs. The medicinal use of the blood was local news yet was primarily useful on the personal level. In the minds of the user, king's blood held the same power of medicine of the time. On a psychological level this could have worked in a similar way to the power doctors at the time held; the qualifications of the office holder helped to maintain the belief that the remedy would work. With the king's blood, it goes further and required an experience of

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<sup>147</sup> Handley, Sacha, *Sleep*, p.31.

<sup>148</sup> Two examples survive in the Strickland family collection at Sizerggh Castle in Westmoreland. Also see Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p.78: Maria Shireburne going to touch for the king's illness.

<sup>149</sup> AWL:D/D St./BundleC4/5/4, 'Recipe for a sore breast and a recipe for a red powder' (c.1717).

<sup>150</sup> AWL:D/D St./BundleC4/6/4, 'Ralph Wilson to Madame Mary Standish re a herbal remedy and "King James's blood"' (c.1730s); AWL:D/D St./BundleC4/1/3, 'Ralph Standish to his mother re illness of Lady Phillippa - suspected cancer' (2<sup>nd</sup> March 1716/17).

divine intervention, usually separated from the healing process. One could call a doctor and one could pray for healing but for the doctor to have divinely appointed power was quite an alien sentiment.<sup>151</sup> Though the divinely appointed role of king was argued to heal certain ailments, it would require a feeling of miraculous healing to not only undertake the practice but to repeat it. The fact Phillipa healed from her initial illness and lived another ten years added further credence to this argument and enhanced the experience after the initial treatment.

Later Standishes would have interacted with the Strickland collection roughly covering the same period and including further object connected to the body of the king; touchpieces. There is no evidence that the bodily remains were used medicinally from the 1740's and their use may have acted more as a conduit for ritual relating to the Stuarts and as collection pieces. Charles Towneley, son of Cecilia Towneley and William Towneley, became a prolific collector of classical art and artefact bequeathing a huge collection to the British Museum in its infancy. At Standish collections gained meanings associated with a conscious curation of a family story of Jacobitism over a personal belief in the cause at this same time.

What unites the standish taste in arts, their faith and connection to the physical body of the king was that it was deeply personal. The tastes of one member would be completely overturned in the next generation. Although this is obvious given the personal nature of ideology discussed at the start of this chapter, power is involved. The personal expression of Phillipa Standish is completely at odds with Ralph's second wife Mary, for instance. The next chapter will address the household and the power dynamics at play in curating a Jacobite experience.

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<sup>151</sup> AWL:D/D St./BundleC4/6/4, 'Ralph Wilson to Madame Mary Standish re a herbal remedy and "King James's blood" (C.1715-1720s).

#### 4: Experiencing the Jacobite Family: From Alibis to Archives.

Families are rarely homogenous. Within even one time period, disagreements occur within households, between kin and even between spouses. As Vickery writes, the eighteenth century household was the frontline of gender politics, economic pressures and momentous political change.<sup>152</sup> We have already seen that individuals that made up the family imparted their own input on the experience of Jacobite ideology by expressing their personal convictions, consuming Jacobite culture and participating in its dissemination. Family politics offers another social setting through which to view the experience of Jacobitism.

The definition of family is also a contested: as seen in section 3, demarking the Standish family can prove difficult. On the one hand, the household family definition provides the most solid basis for an understanding of 'family' from the time. As Tadmor's work has shown, the household family could be fluid, incorporating visiting friends and more distant relations living within the same roof. The Standish family had the added complexity of being under multiple rooves with members at Standish and Borwick moving periodically between the residences.<sup>153</sup> Tadmor's work does not exclude identification with wider kin groups too, though research since has problematised this further. Gooch and Hills both pointed out a pan Northern English Catholic kin network which became the basis for Jacobite leadership, communications and recruitment throughout the period. Likewise, the Standish family pragmatically

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<sup>152</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (Yale: 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2019), p.113.

<sup>153</sup> Tadmor, Naomi, *Family and friends in eighteenth-century England: household, kinship, and patronage* (Cambridge, 2001).

associated with their wider relations for Jacobite aims and to avoid government prosecution. The approach taken here will be pragmatic and while noting the family resident with a particular individual was thought of differently, cases which subverted this norm can tell us both the utility of different family models for socio-political ends and the relationship these identifications had with differing experiences of Jacobitism. The dichotomies between kin and family, urban and rural and vertical versus horizontal have all come under well-warranted scrutiny in the last few years.<sup>154</sup>

Jacobite families have also been a setting for studies before, although less commonly than those of individuals or places. The long-ranging study of the Murray family posited that an internal power struggle within the wider Murray family prompted Jacobite action in some members. The implication being that the experience of Jacobite politics had the potential to influence, or be influenced by, family politics. Numerous studies have looked at aspects of the Standish family's life, from their land holdings documented by Porteus up to 1567, their longer history with Johnson's study or their role as patrons of the Catholic community in Mitchenson's study.<sup>155</sup> These provide a rich background to the family and establish their essential facts and events. However, the experiences of members of the family themselves are given less attention.

Analysing experiences of the family in the context of Jacobitism can inform us of the processes which made Jacobitism less or more appealing over time. In the 1690's, retribution was not fully accomplished for the role of William and Ralph in the Standish plot. This limited response put little pressure on family affairs to hide their intentions further as they had been vindicated. In comparison, the rising of 1715 brought about a legacy of real temporary hardship and fear. This said, the relationship between the two was not always Jacobitism upon family affairs. Ralph in 1720 gives us an insight into how feelings of kinship brought the family closer into Jacobite politics.

#### 1688-1712: experiencing the usurpation.

The shock of 1688 gets little attention from the family archive. Though it was clearly a monumental change in the direction of the country the Standish family had catching up to do. Back in 1681, William Standish at the ripe age of forty-five had inherited his families holdings in Standish, Euxton and

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<sup>154</sup> Teuscher and Sabeau, 'introduction' in Johnson, C., Sabeau, D.W., Teuscher, S., et Trivellato, F., *Transregional and transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), pp.2,10,12.

<sup>155</sup> Porteus, *Standish Deeds 1200-1562* (Wigan:J Starr, 1923); Eleanor Johnson, *The Standish Family* (Wigan: Wigan Heritage service, 1977); Allan Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish* (Wigan: North West Catholic history Society, 2005).

Wrightington after his father, Edward, died. The family was preoccupied with another inheritance when William and Mary were crowned and James fled; that of the Borwick estates.

Borwick, north of Lancaster in the shadow of Wharton Crag had been the demesne of the Bindloss family since the sixteenth century. Its final male owner, Robert Bindloss was a parliamentarian turned royalist and passionate Anglican. At his death in 1688, his daughter stood as sole inheritor. Cecilia was not the only claimant, however. Letters from Lord and Lady Fitzwilliam in 1704 indicate an entanglement of negotiations between Cecilia and her sister that resolved favourably.<sup>156</sup> Cecilia lent the pair money in 1670 and they seemed on equally good terms later.<sup>157</sup> Another letter from her nephew, Lempster perhaps presented a more difficult challenge – as a legitimate male he could have had a greater claim to the estates.<sup>158</sup> Robert Bindloss's wish that the estate would pass to Cecilia was however granted. The old roundhead's decision to seemingly pass his estates to the Catholic Standishes might seem strange yet by this point Bindloss had come to see the dissenters as more of a challenge to the church of England than Catholics could ever be. Nevertheless, the proceedings of executing the will of Robert hit the family at the same time as the invasion of William and Mary. This meant that the family was significantly on the back foot in comparison to other Jacobites in the area.

The winter of 1689 would see the first significant Jacobite action within the family. With the campaigns in Scotland and Ireland coming to their climax, Jacobites in Lancashire were eager to have a chance at restoration. The conditions were even more ideal due to the continued war between England and France which made the potential for arms and supplies to be delivered to fuel a potential rising. In 1691 Colonel Parker was dispatched to the north of England. A veteran of the Irish campaign, Parker was tasked with measuring support in Lancashire for a rising and organising one if possible. Standish Hall would be where he established himself for much of the time in the area which had a profound effect on family relations.

The greatest experience was garnered from those closest to the plot: William and Ralph. William, the aging head of the family, would be dead in just over a decade. His papers reflect a man who was well-connected in the area and wanted to impart this to his 31 year old son, Ralph. The list compiled of gentlemen to be invited to join a rising is particularly illuminating. William looks more toward Cheshire in

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<sup>156</sup> AWL: D/D St.Bundle C4/6/2 'Lempster (?) to his aunt Lady Bindloss at Borwick Hall re birth of his second son, and reference to his "cousin Standish" (Cecilia?)' (1704).

<sup>157</sup> AWL: D/D St.Bundle C4/6/1 'Acquittance of debt of £350. Lady Fitzwilliam to her sister Lady Bindloss to redeem a pearl necklace' (1670).

<sup>158</sup> AWL: D/D St.Bundle C4/6/3 'Fitzwilliam, to his aunt Lady Bindloss at Borwick Hall re his increasing ill health at 62 years' (1704).

the document but also includes tenants on the Standish estates like the Grimbaldsons and Taylors.<sup>159</sup> The plot cast William in the role of both host (to Jacobite agents) and tutor (to his son).

William invited Anglicans as well as Catholics to participate. Peter Legh of Lyme in Cheshire was amongst the most esteemed to be invited on the Cheshire list. Another list made of Justices of the Peace compiled both potential allies such as Caryl Molyneux the former Justice for Lancashire and their future potential adversaries.<sup>160</sup> Ralph took this experience forward in later risings when dealing with the mixed confessional makeup of the Jacobite forces in 1715.

For William this also gave a chance to break out of his formal role in the family. Correspondence between William and Melfort, James II's secretary of State, was encoded and cyphered. The Cypher swapped letters for equivalents in Greek and Latin alphabets and there is no evidence it was ever cracked. Other papers use code words to hide the intention of the writers. William chose to adopt a new identity.

This was not unusual in the papers; King James was often referred to as 'father' or 'uncle', Colonel Parker was often 'Mr Green' in his letters, and William Standish adopted the name 'Mrs Duckett'. On a study of the tenants of the Standish Estates, no Mrs Duckett exists. It was instead a creation of William Standish. This put William in the role of a servant with the code words for war saddles changed to 'bedsheets', and muskets and ammunition changed accordingly.<sup>161</sup>

William adopted a female persona for an unknown reason. It may have been to aid in deception if ever the letter was found. Yet these letters were also put into cypher suggesting a more personal connection between the intended.<sup>162</sup> It also could suggest a more feminine side to William that he wanted to portray. As Horowitz has written, Jacobitism encouraged the adoption of queer identities as a queered political position.<sup>163</sup> This is not to say William would be what we may today recognise as transgender but perhaps manifested as a way to show trust between the two parties by crossing the boundaries of gendered expectations. The letters sometimes have a romantic tone which adds credence to this view. For William to pretend not only to be a woman but one in love both added to any deception in the actual

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<sup>159</sup> AWL: D/D St.Bundle M3/24 'List of "Commissioners designed to be invited". There are 24 names, mostly of Cheshire gentlemen' (c.1693).

<sup>160</sup> AWL: D/D St.Bundle M3/26 'List of Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, in cipher' (c.1693)

<sup>161</sup> AWL: D/D St. M3 'Plot Papers' (1693): see also uncoded; Porteus, Rev. T.C., *New Light on the Lancashire Plot* (Wigan: J Starr, 1927), pp.29-60.

<sup>162</sup> This aspect is explored further in chapter five: 'Friends, Cousins, Collaborators'.

<sup>163</sup> James Horowitz, 'Partisan Bodies: John Dryden, Jacobite Camp, and the Queering of 1688', *Restoration* (2015) 39:1-2 pp.17-60.

use of the letter but showed fondness for the recipient (if not the respect to hierarchy that was perhaps due to a Secretary of State).<sup>164</sup>

That William chose this transgression over any other is informative of how he experienced his position in the family. At Standish he was the Head. All rents and responsibilities, debts and decisions fell on his head. It is through Jacobitism and these letters that he could garner both control of affairs outside his household and to transgress expectations of him inside the household. This is more typical in his generation than those preceding or subsequent. As Horowitz elaborates:

The booming print culture of late Stuart England, for instance, which gave the world some of its first mass-produced pornography and literature of erotic advice, has been described as a means for defining and regulating acceptable forms of pleasure, promoting reproductive intercourse and denigrating non-penetrative intimacy and autoeroticism.<sup>165</sup>

In this context, William's act need not be reflective of personal identities to be adopted. It remains deeply political nevertheless and represents a rejection of norms solidified in the years surrounding 1688. It is deeply meaningful for his familial position. If he were found to be acting as the gender not assigned to him, he could suffer the wrath of the society for the protection of manners. Importantly, it put his family at risk of suffering in parallel to the real reason for the letter, Jacobitism.

By 1693 the plot had begun to unravel. One of the original plotters, Lunt was persuaded to raise a case under the superstitious lands and uses acts over the plot and warrants were sent for key ringleaders arrest. William Standish, though escaping to France temporarily was at the heart of the trial of the 'Manchester Six'. The plot had long lost any chance of actualising into a rising. A letter of the same year stated that the French successes at la Hogue meant the reason to fund a rising was now lost and therefore arms supplies would likely never manifest. This was the first time the Standish families hands were really in the fire.

Within the family, the accusations from the plot brought attention that many were not interested in. The papers that were held at Standish Hall that proved the complicity of the family were hidden for fear of further repercussions.<sup>166</sup> Apart from this more cautious attitude to direct activities there is little to say that the plot had lasting effects on the Standish position on Jacobitism.

We can infer tensions arose from the plot between William Standish and Cecilia Bindloss. William's health began to wane in the period from 1697 until his death in 1705. Cecilia took it upon herself to take over

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<sup>164</sup> AWL: D.D St/M3.9,20-22. For instance each of the Duckett letters is signed 'A Dieu' and many of the code names are given intimate names: Bedcloths for instance.

<sup>165</sup> James Horowitz, 'Partisan Bodies: John Dryden, Jacobite Camp, and the Queering of 1688', *Restoration* (2015) 39:1-2 pp.17-60: 19-20.

<sup>166</sup> It is unclear whether these were buried in a coppice wall at this point (where they were found in 1757) but they nevertheless remained secret to all but William and Ralph.

full responsibility over much of the estates particularly her ancestral estates.<sup>167</sup> This indicates a residual loyalty to her own defunct house over her new family. Conversely, it also protected her estates from coming under the gaze of Suspicious Lands Commissions allowing them to pass to the Standish family in better order.

Cecilia taking charge over the estates goes beyond her expected role as a matriarch of the family. As Law, Seymour and Watkins point out, women could hold this power and be shrewd managers of estates however this was more commonly found in the case of widows such as Barbara Savile.<sup>168</sup> Additionally, it subverted the expectation that her son, Ralph, would use this period to hone his skills at managing estates. Ralph, at this point in his 30's was more than able, later showing a talent for managing his estates through rate books and accounts.<sup>169</sup> Aspinall accounts for this by emphasising the significant mineral reserves Cecilia held while noting Ralph's character as impulsive and rash.<sup>170</sup> What this period shows best is unease at a difficult situation between distrustful neighbours in the more Protestant northern estates and the Standish family that between Cecilia and Ralph was navigated through. This would become worthwhile experience in response to the challenges of the 1715 rising.

By 1714 Ralph had inherited his father's estates and nominally held some of his mother's estates too. The family had rekindled relations with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Derwentwater, James Radclyffe. His presence as mayor of the Walton-le-Dale in 1714 foreshadowed his later responsibility as a leader of English Jacobites in the rising of 1715. This connection is one that Ralph Standish was keen to kindle. Patten notes the letters received from Lancashire gentlemen encouraged the Jacobites to head south.<sup>171</sup> It is unclear at what point Ralph joined the rising. Certainly, before government dragoons entered Wigan though likely also before Henry Houghton's forces retreated from Preston to Wigan. This makes Ralph's likeliest time to join the rising amongst those that joined on the road from Kendal to Lancaster.<sup>172</sup> He was accompanied by men from Standish including James Burn, William Whalley and James Blundell.<sup>173</sup> Aspinall posits that Ralph left in this window and the presence of Standish men seems to back this up on the surface.<sup>174</sup> Other members of the family in the area such as Edward Howard may have brought the Standish contingent however. We know little about the full host he took with him to the battle of Preston;

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<sup>167</sup> AWL: D/D St.BundleC4/5/1 'Accounts of John Parkinson of Dolphin Holme for tithe, etc. for Stabgill and Fox Houses, to Lady Bindloss' (1703-1704).

<sup>168</sup> Sarah Law, Susanne Seymour and Charles Watkins, 'Women and estate management in the early eighteenth century: Barbara Savile at Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire (1700-34)', *Rural History*, 33:1 (2022), pp.23-39.

<sup>169</sup> AWL: D/D St.E/1 'Account book of Ralph Standish' (1721-27), 1723.

<sup>170</sup> Stan Aspinall, *Two Loyal Owls: The Story of William and Ralph Standish 1660-1720* (Standish: Old Standish, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2023), p.25.

<sup>171</sup> Robert Patten, *History of the rebellion in the year 1715* (Edinburgh: 1745), p.56.

<sup>172</sup> Patten, *History of the Rebellion* (Edinburgh: 1745), pp.60-62.

<sup>173</sup> 'The Flying Post or Post-master', 3762, (February 11-14 1716) p.3.

<sup>174</sup> Stan Aspinall, *Loyal Owls* (Standish, 2023), pp.29-30.

Patten notes many left the battlefield the night before the surrender so estimations can only be based on prisoner figures.<sup>175</sup> It is doubtful any more core members of the Standish family accompanied him.

One key reason is simply the demographics of the family at this point in time. Ralph was the only adult man in the family based at Standish. His sons were at this point resident at Douay for their education though Ralph Howard Standish at 15 may have made a young ensign had he been in the country at the time of the rising.

This also protected the family in the long term. Ralph could join his cousin Derwentwater at Preston but the rest of the family could in turn claim to be unaware of his intentions. Regardless of the validity of this narrative at the time, it is one the family consciously adopted shortly after the rising. After Ralph's arrest at Preston his family were the core of his defence. As a gentleman rebel, he awaited trial as a traitor in London. He wrote to his mother from Wigan as he headed south.<sup>176</sup> His 'mellancholly condition' with the other Gentlemen was only to be improved if his wife could join him. He hoped 'to solicit her friends and relations in my behalf - and for the rest of my little familie'.<sup>177</sup> His concern was for his family, his own safety and preserving his manorial rights.

Phillipa rose to the challenge. Her position as daughter of the duke of Norfolk, England's most powerful Roman Catholic family gave her good leverage. The Howards as dukes of Norfolk had found themselves an accommodation as useful to the crown from the sixteenth century allowing the crown to communicate with the English and international Catholic community.<sup>178</sup> The Howard loyalty to the crown was now leveraged in defence of Ralph Standish and is oft cited as the reason he escaped the hangman's noose. Phillipa petitioned parliament directly to beg for her husband's life shortly after Ralph's letter home.<sup>179</sup> Phillipa followed Ralph to London but had to leave to the country due to her illnesses.<sup>180</sup> The petition focussed ostensibly on the estates and asked for them to be passed to Phillipa for the maintenance of the Standish children. Yet the key ask is for the life and liberty of Ralph and that in his safekeeping the estates be best managed. She addresses her plea in the name of herself 'and others who find themselves in the same unhappy circumstances'. Ralph also petitioned for his own life. Once again, he relied on the argument that his family were suffering unnecessarily for his actions.<sup>181</sup> In both attempts the key argument was to free Ralph and restore lands to end the suffering of innocents in the family.

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<sup>175</sup> Patten, R., *History of the Rebellion* (Edinburgh: 1745); see also, Szechi, Daniel, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (Yale: 2010); Oates, Jonathan, *The Battle of Preston: the Last Battle on English Soil* (Helion: 2023), Conclusion.

<sup>176</sup> AWL: D/D St.BundleC4/1/1 'Ralph Standish at Wigan to Mrs. Standish on his journey to London in captivity' (23<sup>rd</sup> November 1715).

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Peter J. Hills, 'notes for lecture' (Stonyhurst College: ed. Ian Hulland, 2022).

<sup>179</sup> AWL: D/D St.BundleC3/1/3 'Petition (2) of Lady Phillippa Standish and others to the House of Commons on behalf of their husbands, convicted of treason' (1715).

<sup>180</sup> Aspinall, *Two Owls* (Standish: 2023), pp.48-49.

<sup>181</sup> AWL: D/D St.BundleC4/1/8 'Petition of William Widdrington, Ralph Standish etc. to the King for their lives and liberty' (1715-16).

The threat against Ralph was felt acutely. In response to the execution of James Radcliffe earl of Derwentwater in 1716, the family witnessed the turmoil it put all the estates in. Derwentwater's lands in Northumberland were confiscated, his castle at Dilston left a ruin while lands in the North West were eventually purchased by Greenwich hospital. An attempt from the Protestant wing of the Radcliffes to seize not only estates but the children of the late earl was narrowly avoided when Maria Radcliffe fled to France into permanent exile with her children.<sup>182</sup> Ralph later linked his own fear with that of his cousin telling Edward Dicconson, schoolmaster at Douay in 1720 that he feared government action against him because he stood by 'cousin Derwentwater at Preston'.<sup>183</sup> Derwentwater entered a cannon of Jacobite martyrs who are remembered to have fought against the government and paid the ultimate price. As Szechi writes, he entered a 'theatre of Death' in which his life and death are relived as a fable showing the glory in his death for his monarch.<sup>184</sup> The experience of facing entry to the theatre is rather less attended to. Ralph's visceral fear is evident; he not only fled to France in order to avoid re-arrest but removed his sons from their education to safeguard the family legacy. In a later letter to Ralph, his son, Ralph Howard Standish (who had by now returned to France) relayed that caution should still be made in communicating with Mr Dicconson.<sup>185</sup>

The family had internalised an existential paranoia stemming from government threat. Although Sankey argues that the retributions on the prisoners captured at Preston were, for their time, lenient and Augustan, they still cast the family fortunes into uncertainty.<sup>186</sup> Phillipa Howard is credited with returning the Standish estates to the ownership of the Standish family while Cecilia Bindloss secured the northern estates by claiming them as her ancestral, and therefore protestant holdings, thus not eligible for confiscation. The threat posed by these retributive actions placed family safety at odds with participation in Jacobite activity.

At the centre of this was also a demographic issue within the family that characterised their next fifty years; the struggle for a male heir. As previously noted, Ralph took his two sons from their education: Ralph Standish Howard (Born c.1700) and Edward Standish Howard (Born c.1705). Both sons would be somewhat eligible to inherit fortunes. The death of the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk in 1701 put her in the position to put forward the infant Ralph as claimant to the Dukedom as well as Arundel Castle and the Earldom of Surrey. Instead, the estates settled upon Phillipa's Cousin Thomas Howard. This nevertheless proved useful because his tepid attitude towards Jacobitism placed him out of direct suspicion during the rising

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<sup>182</sup> Sasha Handley, 'Objects, Emotions and an Early Modern Bed-sheet', *History Workshop Journal*, 85 (2018), pp.169-194: 1715 Northumbrian Jacobite Society, 'The Radcliffes of Dilston Hall', (2009), ([http://northumbrianjacobites.org.uk/pages/section\\_homepage.php?section=27](http://northumbrianjacobites.org.uk/pages/section_homepage.php?section=27)) [accessed 23/10/2023].

<sup>183</sup> Edward Dicconson, Burton et Nolan (eds.), 'The Seventh College Diary of Douay 1715-1778', CRS, (1720; trans. 1928), p.76.

<sup>184</sup> Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death' in Cruickshanks, Eveline et Black, Jeremy, *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp.57-73.

<sup>185</sup> AWL: D/D St./Bundle 'Ralph Howard Standish to his Father Ralph Standish' (172X)

<sup>186</sup> Margaret Sankey, *Prisoners of 1715*, p.15.

while his wife, Maria Shireburn and his brother Edward Howard (later 9<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk) both encouraged direct involvement and later the case of Catholic Jacobites such as Ralph Standish.

Ralph's sons would however be outlived by their father and only one daughter, Cecilia, would outlive him. Her son, also called Ralph, would again stand to inherit but died around 1762. The estates passed to her daughter Cecilia Strickland's son Thomas Strickland Standish in 1807. From the death of Ralph Howard Standish and Edward Standish in the 1730's until Thomas Strickland Standish's inheritance in the 1770's, women inherited the Standish estates.

When sons were born to Cecilia, they were set to inherit other estates that the family had inherited. Charles Towneley inherited Towneley from Cecilia and William Towneley, safeguarding Towneley hall. The fears were too much power in too few hands, for old titles to be lost in one family and for those families, if accused of Jacobite activity, to lose everything.

The worst of circumstances also aided the Standish-Towneley split here. On William Towneley's death in 1742, Cecilia left for Standish Hall.<sup>187</sup> By all accounts heartbreak forced the move with Cecilia retreating to the safety of Standish after her husband's untimely demise from disease. The familiarity of her oldest child, Charles with Towneley was helpful later in life where the other children would oversee the other estates in the family repertoire, becoming familiar with their future holdings and the skills of estate management before coming of age.

The contrast to the Towneley family is significant here. The Towneley family had a surplus of adult men and no fewer than three were involved in the rising of 1745.<sup>188</sup> Francis Towneley led the Manchester regiment, the only English Jacobite unit of the rising while Charles and Edward Towneley both had roles in Scotland suppressing counter rebellion. All three had a history of service with the French 'Irish' regiments, or 'wild geese', but none of them were set to inherit the Towneley Estates. The family could therefore label them as mislaid and unrepresentative of the Family, thus safeguarding the estates from confiscation.

Similarly, the Strickland family also had a 'surplus' of young men to fight though had arrived at approaching family politics this way through more tumult than the Towneleys. In 1688 Sir Thomas Strickland and his immediate family left for voluntary exile with James II.<sup>189</sup> Only later was Walter, their son allowed to return and claim the lands back from protestant guardians. Nevertheless, Francis Strickland, cousin through marriage to Cecilia Strickland, was one of the seven of Moidart who landed

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<sup>187</sup>'William Towneley', *Find a Grave*, (<http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi>) [accessed 13/04/2025].

<sup>188</sup> William Runacre, 'The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France', *Academia.edu* [<https://independent.academia.edu/BillRunacre>]: Runacre, William, 'Officers of the Jacobite Manchester Regiment – A Working List': TNA: StP RA SP/M/21 f.19 'Warrant or Writ to Captain John Towneley' (1746).

<sup>189</sup> Edward Corp 'The Strickland Family' in Thomas Hornyold-Strickland et al, *Sizergh Castle* (Swindon: The National Trust, 2001, 2016) pp.40-56, 46.

with Charles Edward Stuart in 1745.<sup>190</sup> He is often misattributed as Irish due to his service once again with the Irish regiments in France. Other members of the Strickland family were able to move up in the Catholic church and put forward the case for political integration of Catholics into British society.<sup>191</sup> For the Standish family, daughters provided new opportunities. Many such as Mary Standish entered convents in France giving a tangible link between the family and the wider Catholic world. Sister Mary Standish particularly excelled in this task but her epitaph notes she was 'taken before her years' but that she gave loyal service to the convent and accomplished much in her time in France.<sup>192</sup> She may have acted as an informant while in France, a role that Ralph Howard Standish certainly played during his later years at Douay.

Young women played a crucial and often overlooked role in risings, especially in 1745. As Maggie Craig argues, the predominance of the story of Flora Macdonald has obscured the important role of other women in the rising.<sup>193</sup> Women in Scotland were military leaders in their own right, like Jenny Cameron, messengers and recruiters, such as Anne Mackintosh, and Propagandists, such as Lady Carlote Lude (Robertson).<sup>194</sup> Similarly, English Jacobite Women in both risings played a crucial, though non-military role in the outcome of the risings. Lady Strange and Elizabeth 'Beppy' Byrom both had crucial roles as recruiters and in the case of Byrom recorders and propagandists.

In this context, Mary Standish's 1745 poem to Mrs Dicconson placed Mary in the key role of Jacobite organiser in the family. She enclosed letters from her sister Mrs Howarden and passed her verse onwards to Mrs Dicconson.<sup>195</sup> Her role in the family could have been as their main organiser in the absence of surviving sons. The letters, exchanged in November 1745 point to the reason that this may have been a short lived role. By December 1745 the Jacobites were already returning northwards back to Scotland with the Manchester Regiment making a last stand in Carlisle Castle before Christmas. With only a month to organise, her efforts may have been in vain though the family may have had plans for her to be more active should the rising have continued.

This may have been more typical in Lancashire than we at first realise. Thomas Tyldesley, despite enduring extreme hardship following the rising of 1715, was seen encouraging his tenants to join with the prince on his journey south to little avail. Moreover, the one seditious words case that remains for Lancashire is the Case of Mary Livesay of Preston who, in 1715, encouraged her neighbours to join the

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<sup>190</sup> Edward Corp 'The Strickland Family' in Thomas Hornyold-Strickland et al, *Sizergh Castle* (Swindon: The National Trust, 2001, 2016) pp.40-56, 44-50.

<sup>191</sup> Thomas Hornyold-Strickland et al, *Sizergh Castle* (Swindon: The National Trust, 2001, 2016) p.39.

<sup>192</sup> AWL: D/D St.Bundle C3/2/12 'Epitaph for sister Mary' (1727/8).

<sup>193</sup> Craig, Maggie, *Damn Rebel Bitches: the women of the '45* (London: Penguin, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 2022), pp.10-11.

<sup>194</sup> Craig, Maggie, *Damn Rebel Bitches* (London, 2022), pp.51, 42, 31-2.

<sup>195</sup> LA: DDSC 44/15 'Letter from Mrs Standish to Mrs Dicconson with letter enclosed from Mrs Howarden and Jacobite Verse' (November 1745).

rising by arguing against the Hanoverian's saying that his supporters should 'go sow turnips where they fetch'd him from'.<sup>196</sup>

Mary Standish, in producing and circulating Jacobite propaganda shared continuity with Ralph Standish and his role in the 1694 plot. It is possible his choice of a second wife, with whom he had no living children, was informed by this loyalty to the Stuarts. The women of households were able to engage in seditious practices that the head could not. This gave the wider family a plausible distance from activity. A greater contrast emerges however with Cecilia Towneley. Though demographics shaped the crisis she inherited, her own beliefs and changing social context accounts for this change in family direction. Before Cecilia, Jacobitism in the family can be inferred as a lived reality. After Cecilia, Jacobitism enters family memory and the family began to align more with their class and Catholic liberation than with Stuart Restoration.

Cecilia Standish, born in 1714, was old enough to participate in the rising of 1745.<sup>197</sup> She was the product of a mixed family with her mother dying before she was twenty. Her brothers both died shortly after and neither of the brothers she had from her father's second marriage to Mary Hodson lived to adulthood. She married the Towneley heir, William Towneley in 1738, William the same age as Cecilia. Having an issue of five children, it must have seemed as though the demographic challenges of the past were over.<sup>198</sup> However, in 1742 William Towneley died in Bath, Somerset leaving Cecilia as head of Towneley, though she was absent during the rising of 1745, returning instead to Standish Hall. During the rising of 1745, Ralph and Cecilia aided the approaching government army according to Mitchinson, though this may have been a pragmatic move in the same way as ringing the bells of St Wilfred's was after the Boyne.<sup>199</sup> Likewise, a marked increase of communicants in easter 1746 shows a concern for the wider catholic community in the area. As head of the Towneley family she may have been as conscious as Ralph as to the danger of family heads participating in direct Jacobite activity. Certainly, in the wake of the rising, Cecilias sons Charles and Ralph were entered into Douay college in the June of 1746.<sup>200</sup> Cecilia, an infant during the rising of 1715, likely felt some of the repercussions of the rising in her early childhood, but did not directly experience the climactic build up to the rising. Moreso, she would have grown up on the tales of this period from her parents. As previously noted, two of her brothers-in-law participated directly in the rising of 1745 and her stepmother produced propaganda for the cause.<sup>201</sup> Her experience of the rising could only have been brought closer to home when the repetition of her early childhood brought the return of hardship but largely from the execution of Francis Towneley.

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<sup>196</sup> PRO: Lancs 26/16 'case of Mary Livesay of Preston' (1716).

<sup>197</sup> St Wilfred's Church, Standish: Monumental Inscription to Cecilia and William Towneley (1807); see appendices 3.1-3.3.

<sup>198</sup> Eleanor Johnson, *The Standish Family* (1977), Appendix: Family Tree.

<sup>199</sup> Allan Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish* (Wigan: NWCHS, 2005), p.54

<sup>200</sup> Catholic Record Society (ed) *Seventh Douay Diary*, p.249: 'Die 24, accesserunt Carolus et Radulphus Towneley'

<sup>201</sup> See previous chapter.

It was in this context that Cecilia inherited the Standish estates in 1755 from her Father. Ralph left instructions that she should inherit but should carve up the burgeoning estates amongst her children. Her experience in estate management and physical presence at Standish Hall likely endeavoured Ralph with the confidence to not skip a generation but to leave the estates in the hands of Cecilia.

Two years after Ralph's death, evidence emerged of the Standish participation in plot of the 1690's. The Standish papers, wrapped in a leather satchel had purportedly been found buried in a coppice wall near the Hall. The speculation has been that Ralph or even William Standish buried them shortly after the plot itself. This I find unreasonable. Firstly, the papers are in remarkably good condition, far too good condition to have been inside a damp wall for sixty years. Secondly, the servant who found them purportedly began burning the papers thinking they were old estate papers.<sup>202</sup> This suggests they were dry enough to burn, wet linen paper would easily create a vast amount of smoke. That even the condition of the most fragile of the survivors is legible leads me to think that they were more likely placed in the wall just before Ralph's death in 1755.

Regardless, Cecilia saved the papers and endorsed the bundle: 'Found in taking down the copp[ice] wall, Standish hall, 1757'.<sup>203</sup>

Cecilia once again had plausible distance from the plot. Did Ralph tell Cecilia where to find the papers? Did Cecilia know what she was looking at when she caught the servant burning the papers? What did Cecilia make of the papers? The first question is unknowable: no record confirms this either way. The second question can be answered fairly easily: Cecilia likely didn't have the code to translate and understand the encoded letters, however commission slips dated and signed by James II would have told her all she needed to know. The third question is the most complex to answer and relates directly to how she saw the family and their role in the world.

Cecilia took care of the plot papers. They were filed together and held in the family archive. Their separateness desired by Cecilia who kept the bundle aside from the main family chronology. Their use is unclear. She may have wished to preserve them out of curiosity and with an eye to the image of the family's history. The fact they were illegible to all those without the code gave them an even greater sense of mystery.

Incorporating the plot papers into the family archive was but one part of a wider reimagining of the families role through its collections. Artwork was one mode in which this left a clear trail. As previously

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<sup>202</sup> Rev. T.C. Porteus, *New Light on the Lancashire Plot* (Wigan: J.Starr, 1935), p.4; Additionally, though it can take 50 years for leather to rot in ideal conditions, the rotting of some of the papers suggests harsher but shorter conditions in the wall which aligns to the theory Ralph planted them shortly before his death. He had also been participating in garden redesigns in from the 1730s that may have gave him the opportunity (see previous chapter). Consultation with a number of archaeologists backs up this assumption. Likely, the papers were deliberately planted by Ralph before his death in a crumbling wall to allow them to be 'found' after his death.

<sup>203</sup> AWL: D/D St.M3/1 'The original cover for the bundle of papers, endorsed 'my son Standish's accounts' (crossed out); a later endorsement reads, 'these papers were found in taking down the old copy wall in 1757 - Standish' (1757).

noted, the family art collections underwent significant changes over this period.<sup>204</sup> The family's artwork was also curated to produce an image of the family. Where Ralph Standish filled the house with Jacobite imagery, Cecilia began the process of de-politicising the family home. The public spaces were redesigned to remove older designs of familial majesty. The main hall was redesigned along the tastes of the time. Neoclassical and rococo white plasterwork adorned in the place of oak panels and family crests. Friezes hidden in bays hidden from different viewpoints of the hall, it would have been impossible to take all the majesty of the redesigned hall in at once.<sup>205</sup>

If we take the work completed on Towneley Hall as representative of the designs that influenced Cecilia, both Towneley and Standish could not be further from the dystopia painted by Colley's reading of a Jacobite house in Dun.<sup>206</sup> The militarism of the House of Dun contrasts with the interpretation of baroque themes engaged in by Richard Towneley (Cecilia's father in law, 1689-1735). He employed architect Robert Thornton of York to oversee the modernisation of the 1620 hall in 1720-6.<sup>207</sup> The hall's outer windows were updated to the latest fashion of sash windows, the hall opened to allow light to enter the primary living and entertaining areas. The baroque styling of the windows and wall contrasted with the necessity to keep costs low and the project practical. Smith and Smith point out that the water shot coursing (a method of pointing to allow better evaporation of water from stone) created a provincial addition to the baroque style by highlighting sunlight, shadow and a contrast with the finish of doors and windows.<sup>208</sup> The interior of the hall designed by Vassalli and Quadri in 1730 (and adapted by Bonomi in the 1780's) features family at the centre with friezes depicting Richard and his family within medallions on a background reminiscent of the heavens surrounded by cherubim.<sup>209</sup>

This shadowed Cecilia's work with the broader art collections. Gone were the coded images relating the Stuarts to the Standishes. Gone were the obscure family connections to long forgotten relations. In were updated paintings of current family members and paintings to the taste of broader society. The obscure family members paintings, both Standish and Bindloss were removed and taken to Borwick Hall between 1762 and 1767.<sup>210</sup>

As Glickman writes: 'While Jacobite conspiracy slowly diminished, Jacobite *Convictions* would still linger into later decades in the English recusant consciousness.'<sup>211</sup> This couldn't be truer in the case of

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<sup>204</sup> See previous chapter for the personal involvement of different family members in this area.

<sup>205</sup> AWL: Joseph Bonomi architectural plan 1782, 'Chimney side section of the dining room at Standish in Lancashire'; this document was 'found' within a bundle during my archival enquiries hence it is an unusual entry.

<sup>206</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons* (2014), pp.74-76, Colley uses the example of House of Dun and its striking militarism to illustrate her argument that at the heart of Jacobitism was militarism and a rejection of any peaceable means.

<sup>207</sup> W John Smith and K Smith, *Historic Houses in Lancashire: An architectural History of Towneley Hall, Burnley* (Nelson: Heritage Trust, 2004), pp.50-52.

<sup>208</sup> Smith and Smith, *Architectural History of Towneley Hall* (Nelson: 2004), p.53.

<sup>209</sup> Smith and Smith, *Architectural History of Towneley Hall* (Nelson: 2004), pp.57, 80.

<sup>210</sup> AWL: D/D St.BundleC4/2/2-7.

<sup>211</sup> Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community*, (Boydell, 2009), p.252, emphasis authors own.

the family and conviction bled into action through the family memory and the family archive. Its act of curation was in a sense radical Jacobite activity keeping a particular perspective of the ideology alive.

Family activism required collaboration if it was to express jacobitism beyond the personal. Their power locally was projected partially through their home, their tastes in art and sensibilities. Yet they also experienced a social world which was difficult to navigate. Their own locale was assured of their position and elements like faith, architecture and politics could strengthen ties with the immediate community in Standish as the next chapter explores. However, further afield we will also see that their power diminishes even in a Jacobite organisation not 10 miles north of Standish, in Walton-Le-Dale.

## 5: Friends, Cousins, Collaborators: The Standish Family and local politics, a case study in the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation.

Prior to the rising of 1715, the Standish family had a privileged position within their community. Within the lands they owned, they inherited old rights over their tenants. Edward Standish had used these for political uses previously also. As Cromwell's forces advanced towards the Battle of Wigan Lane, Edward hosted royalist forces at Standish and had previously raised troops from the village for a regiment of foot. This had been possible not only due to his wealth from rents on the surrounding lands but from inherited manorial rights over it. The advowson over the church, the ability to appoint the rector, is an example of where this was most profound. During the interregnum, the Standish family lost this right and a presbytery formed with Paul Lathom replaced Ralph Brideoake's rectorship. On the restoration of Charles II, Brideoake was re-instated, and the advowson returned to the Standish family for their loyalty to the crown.<sup>212</sup>

In the 1670s they were the victims of anti-Catholic repressions as the test acts brought a slew of cases of superstitious acts to their door. This strengthened their ties with neighbours who also came under threat such as the Andertons. In the context of the 1680's with James II's relaxation on restrictions on Catholics (despite the Test Act), Catholics like the Molyneuxs were able to raise to the heights of Justice of the peace.<sup>213</sup> Yet, most significantly was the impact on the local community.

The family used the advowson they held over St Wilfred's during the rising of 1715. The rector of the time, William Turton was appointed by Ralph Standish in 1713 and his first major challenge was the rising. The bells of the parish church were reported to ring at the news of the rising and Ralph Standish was joined at Preston with one James Blundell, a local tanner and churchwarden. Blundell was executed in 1716 at Wigan Lane.<sup>214</sup> Other members of the local community also joined from all walks of life.

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<sup>212</sup> Rev. Thomas Cruddas Porteus, *The Parish of Standish* (Wigan: Starr & Sons, 1927), pp.104-105.

<sup>213</sup> William Standish was favoured for an exemption for the test act by James II alongside Gerard, Townley and Molyneux but it appears he never took office as a Justice of the peace for Lancashire in 1687 before the revolution: S.P. 44/337, pp. 260-3, 1687, April 20: Warrant to the Attorney or Solicitor General to prepare a bill to pass the Great Seal granting a dispensation to Carill, Lord Molineux, Sir William Gerard, bart., Sir Rowland Belasyse, knt., Sir Charles Anderton, bart., William Molineux, esq., Richard Townley, William Standish, Thomas Tildesley, Robert Dalton, and William Walmsley, esq., to exercise the office or offices of Justice or Justices of the Peace within the county of Lancashire, without taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy etc.; S.P. 44/165, p. 7: 'December 27 1687, Approbation of Charles, Lord Brandon, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Clifton and Sir Charles Anderton, barts., and Richard Townley, William Standish, Robert Dalton, John Girlington, Nicholas Townley, William Spencer, Christopher Banister and John Warren to be Deputy Lieutenants of co. Lancaster.'; S.P. 44/165, p. 128, November 30 1688, 'Approbation of Sir Edmund Ashton and Sir Ralph Ashton, barts., Sir Daniel Fleminge, Roger Nowell, Peter Legh, James Holte, Peter Bold, Edward Fleetwood, Alexander Rigby, Lawrence Rawstorne, Thomas Preston, Thomas Norres, Thomas Greenhalgh, Thomas Braddyll, William Bankes and Richard Brooke, Sir Robert Bendlos and Sir Richard Standish, barts., and Curwin Rawlinson, to be Deputy Lieutenants of co. Lancaster, and of Sir Thomas Grosvenor and Sir Willoughby Ashton, barts., Sir Philip Eggerton, Sir Richard Brook, Sir John Arderne, Sir John Manwaring and Sir Robert Cotton and Thomas Cholmondeley, Peter Legh, Peter Wilbraham and Nathaniel Booth, to be Deputy Lieutenants of co. Chester and of the city and county of Chester.'

<sup>214</sup> Porteus, *Parish of Standish* (Wigan: 1927), p.29.

Prisoner lists included three husbandmen including James Rigby, William Fisher, a farmer, Theophylus Taylor, a mercer and several of the neighbouring gentry.<sup>215</sup> Francis Anderton escaped trial but had lands confiscated while John Dalton of Hoghton and Thurnham was pardoned, despite his involvement.

Prisoner lists are difficult sources especially for people based so close to the place of battle. Patten, a later informer on the Jacobites who wrote a firsthand account of the rising after serving as a chaplain wrote that no sentries were posted along Fishergate in Preston and an unknown number of Jacobites fled on the night before the surrender.<sup>216</sup> This means creating even a good estimate of common soldiers that joined Ralph Standish and the other gentlemen to Preston is almost impossible. Likewise, the forfeited estates papers alone give an insight into the structure of these tenancy agreements and the numbers of Catholics in the parish. They also show that the Standishes had friends and neighbours that cared for them. Cecilia Bindloss' dower lands remained free of registration while those pertaining to Ralph Standish were quickly bought back with thanks to his wife, Phillipa Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. The Howards were ambivalent about Jacobitism by this point preferring to side with the government. As Hills and Hullah write, they continued to promote themselves as the right sort of Catholics; those on the side of the government of the day.<sup>217</sup> This safeguarding of the family lands did not come without a cost, however. The advowson, and other manorial rights were lost or transferred into anti-Jacobite hands. The advowson was settled in the hands of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford on a rotating cycle starting with Cambridge. The appointment of Thomas Pilgrim in 1724 was a significant shift in the direction of the church community and according to Porteus gave 'the king his proper title'.<sup>218</sup> This change in the character of the church also explains the ringing of the church bells to celebrate Cumberland's victory in 1746.

The Standish belief in Jacobitism was maintained despite significant pressures following the 1715 rising. This development held great repercussions for their expression of these sentiments. Within the walls of their halls, cultural expression dominated over the previous plotting. This would seem to indicate the type of 'prudence' Porteus alludes to.<sup>219</sup> Yet little has been researched on the family's interaction with Jacobitism in their locality over this period.

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<sup>215</sup> Allan Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish 1558-1884* (Wigan: NWCHS, 2005), p.51.

<sup>216</sup> Robert Patten, *The History of the Rebellion in the year 1715 with original papers and the characters of the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen concern'd in it* (London, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1745), p.91.

<sup>217</sup> Iain Hullah, papers of Peter J Hills, presented to Stoneyhurst College and the 1715 society, (2022), p.12.

<sup>218</sup> Porteus, *Parish of Standish* (Wigan: 1927), p.107.

<sup>219</sup> Porteus, *Parish of Standish* (Wigan: 1927), p.107.

Furthermore, less has been researched on the families participation in local politics over this period. In 1688, William Standish was serving on the West Derby commission for Highways, representing Wigan with Thomas Gerard, Peter Worthington and Robert Markland.<sup>220</sup>

This period saw the rise of Jacobite organisations that according to Monod, helped to maintain Jacobitism to the next generation. This function was only part of the picture. Jacobite organisations also arose from the need for fellowship between those excluded from public life. Mullett writes that Catholics continued to seek opportunities to forward high tory, Jacobite principles where they could.<sup>221</sup> To Mullett, the rising of 1715 collecting the Lancashire gentry chieftains but only around a third of the total Catholics in the county, from this total many of these were only occasional Jacobites in belief only.<sup>222</sup> This view builds on Blackwood's data which categorised Catholic Jacobites and their role in the rising of 1715.<sup>223</sup> Reflecting upon this, it seems unsurprising that only 157 Catholics turned out in 1715, and far fewer in 1745.

There are some issues with Mullett's account, however. Firstly, that this is deemed to be quite a static process in which both Jacobite and neutral Catholics viewed themselves and others as fixed Jacobites, or neutrals. This view arises from the long term trend seeming to show either persistent loyalty to the Stuarts, through the civil war to the Jacobite rebellions, or the opposite. It leaves little room for the development of strategies by Jacobites to avoid detection or to influence policy in other ways. Moreover, even if we are to accept Jacobite loyalties did wain, it leaves little explanation for just how or why this occurred. If a family throws its weight behind the Stuarts in 1642, they logically should in 1688, 1715, and 1745 too. Yet this is not always the case. Particularly between the great risings of 1715 and 1745 a large number of Catholics seem to change their loyalties from staunchly Jacobite to at best passive.

A classic academic explanation for this has been the retributive laws faced following the 1715 rising. Yet, current research from Sankey shows that this was rather an Augustine solution which showed particular leniency in comparison to the Monmouth rebellion of 1685.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, families like the Standish family were able to circumnavigate the worst aspects of the forfeited estates commission through the careful repurchasing of land through broad and rich family connections. In this case to the Howards of Norfolk. State repression cannot be underestimated in the wider community either; an affidavit of 1699 claims that two government agents stole a horse valued £20 from the house of Nicholas Rigby, a tenant of the Standish Family for three days, mis-using a warrant aiming to uncover a plot to

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<sup>220</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1895, Vol.4), pp.193-194.

<sup>221</sup> Michael A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland 1558-1829* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998), p.86.

<sup>222</sup> Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland* (Macmillan Press, 1998), p.87.

<sup>223</sup> Gordon Blackwood, 'Lancashire Catholics, Protestants and Jacobites', *Recusant History*, 22:1 (1994), pp.44-46.

<sup>224</sup> Margaret Sankey, *Jacobite Prisoners of the 1715 Rebellion* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p.6.

assassinate William III.<sup>225</sup> Although legal recourse is shown to have been possible for Jacobites, I could not have filled the Catholic Rigby family with confidence in a government whose representatives seemed to use warrants to steal valuable property essential for the Rigby's livelihood.

Another challenge with Mullet's line of argument is that it discounts other activity intended not to directly overthrow the protestant succession but a part of a longer-game plan. Oates similarly highlights the failure of the Cheshire Cycle Club to join the rising of 1745 as proof of their waning loyalties and libertine habits.<sup>226</sup> Yet this relegates what may be very valid strategic reasons to avoid joining an armed conflict to further aid the cause. In the case of the Standish family, Ralph Standish's failing health and his lack of male heirs at the time likely stood as a more than valid reason not to become personally involved with the rising. In reality, Jacobites took an active role in other aspects of Jacobitism both alongside, and instead of, armed rising. As we will see in this chapter, local organisation was one way in which Jacobites intended to circumnavigate the risks associated with rising in order to continue their goals. To go even further, Banister suggests that this militaristic way of thinking about action was particularly categorised as Protestant, English and anti-Jacobite.<sup>227</sup> To view armed action as the gold standard for Jacobites, both serves to talk about the Jacobites alien to their own mental landscape and to curate the appearance of a diminished and less sophisticated faction than they were.

In order to study both of these aspects, the Walton-le-Dale mock corporation is a good conduit.<sup>228</sup> It has been rather overlooked in favour of the better recorded Rochdale Mock Corporation. Only one work focusses on the corporation by Barker in 1874.<sup>229</sup> The lack of interaction with the source is partially down to its difficult nature. It covers the period from 1705 until 1796 but much of the portion before 1721 is back filled. Added to this, it is largely names of officers, freemen and after 1717, fines ordered by the corporation. The corporation book is only part of the story, then. Records are needed to back up who were members and their debates implied through the limited information on the page. Reading the source, the Standish family send no members as officers or freemen. Yet, extended family attend in abundance; Howards, Towneleys, even the earl of Derwentwater served as mayor of the mock

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<sup>225</sup> S.P.44. 349. p.103, Feb. 14. 1699, 'Warrant to the keeper of the gatehouse to receive into custody Tho. Davis and Salomon Smith, who, having procured a warrant from the Secretary of State, dated Jan. 31,1698, authorising Davis to search for and apprehend—Johnson, alias Harrison, for high treason in compassing the death of the king, under pretence of the warrant entered the stable of Nicholas Rigby of Standish, Lancaster, and took a horse valued £20, which they used for three weeks and carried away, as appears by Rigby's affidavit before Bertie Entwisle, J.P.'.

<sup>226</sup> Jonathan Oates, *The Jacobite Invasion of 1745 in North West England* (Lancaster: CNWRS, 2009), p.10.

<sup>227</sup> Banister, Julia, *Masculinity, militarism and Eighteenth Century Culture, 1689-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p.12,224-225, see also, Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 2005), p.5.

<sup>228</sup> A Mock corporation is defined as an alternative local government or shadow local government. In some cases, it acts as a pressure group putting forward the interests of an elite in a town or parish and in other cases it forms a serious parallel to legitimate government. The other side of this dichotomy, as will be explored later, is the seriousness of this activity (socially and politically).

<sup>229</sup> Henry Barker, *The Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation* (Blackburn: Barker, 1874).

corporation. Likewise, it adds depth to the leanings of the Standish families wider circle; their lawyer, John Starkie/Starky served as an officer for a few years. The Corporation book offers an insight into both non-violent Jacobite activity and the ways in which families conducted this type of politics in their locale. The fines offer an insight into the types of activities conducted by the corporation.

The corporation does feature as a curiosity within Preston's history. Marmaduke Tulkett's 1821 survey of Preston's curiosities mentions the minute book, transcribing some of its better-known members. In Tulkett's more eccentric writing style it is difficult to take some of his commentary seriously. He writes that:

Their meetings were generally attended by feasting, and various amusements, previous to Christmas ; and were graced with the following rounds of jollity, viz. drink supernaculum, carouse the hunters hoop, quaffe upsey freeze cross, bowse in permoysant, in pimlico, in crambo ; accompanied with healths, gloves, numps, frolics, slut kissing, nut brown master of the hounds, house groper, groom, and such like gambols; crying twango, by the rob pots, the butler, and the serving men.<sup>230</sup>

The image this paints of a cavorting club of gentlemen brings up a few points for consideration. Firstly, that unseriousness in one aspect doesn't mean unseriousness in all aspects. The corporation gave out more fines over time and for broader offences both serious and unserious. There were undoubtedly the raucous games and drinking Tulkett mentions, such as fining members for being late for dinner.<sup>231</sup> There was also serious business undertaken: the transfer of property, loans for businesses and the preparation for the rising of 1715.<sup>232</sup>

The elements of unseriousness also changes over time. From 1707 there was an office of 'house groper' and 1708 a 'slutkisser'.<sup>233</sup> The office holders were often junior members of the corporation, perhaps referring to an initiation ritual. Over thirty years, more unserious roles are added to the list of officials. In 1711 William Escott was elected to the role of 'custard eater'.<sup>234</sup> This role is ostensibly unserious, yet has some serious implications. It refers to a depreciative attitude to the city of London and in particular to the office of Lord Mayor.<sup>235</sup> This element of unseriousness was adopted from London with a staunchly anti-London political perspective.

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<sup>230</sup>Marmaduke Tulkett, *A Topographical, Statistical, & Historical Account of the Borough of Preston* (Preston: P. Whittle, 1821), p.175. The book is held at the Harris Museum and Gallery: Harris Collection, 'Corporation book of Walton-le-dale', (Preston: Mock Corporation of Walton-le-Dale, trans.1721-1796).

<sup>231</sup> Harris Collection 'Corporation book', Fines 1723-1740.

<sup>232</sup> Harris Collection 'Corporation book', Fines 1723-1740.

<sup>233</sup> Harris Collection, 'Corporation book', 1707, p.1; 1708, p.1.

<sup>234</sup> Harris Collection 'Corporation book', 1711, p.1.

<sup>235</sup> OED: 'Custard-Eater' (rev.2016) notes custard-eater, in custard, n.

The office of mayor attracted more serious characters and often the office was gifted to Jacobite noblemen. In 1711 James Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater was elected to the office.<sup>236</sup> In 1709, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. In the entry for 1709, Sir William Pennington and Sir Nicholas Shireburne were both elected as bailiffs too. All four of the above were both involved in the 1715 rising and intimately connected to the Standish Family. By exploring the Corporation from the perspective of the Standish family, we can see how its operations influenced Jacobites beyond its written network.

As previously mentioned, both James Radcliffe and Thomas Howard served as mayors of the corporation in the early 1700s. James Radcliffe, a cousin of Ralph Standish and Thomas Howard, his nephew through his wife Phillipa. In the first elections after the rebellion of 1715, Thomas Towneley served as mayor, the rebellion disrupting the annual elections for 1715, so the previous officers remaining in office for 1715.<sup>237</sup> In this turn of affairs, the promotion of a member of a prominent Jacobite family to the office likely helped to refocus the politics of the corporation.

Thomas Howard provides an interesting case in Jacobite belief. After his service as mayor of the mock corporation, he successfully had the charges dropped on his brother Edward for his role in the rising of 1715.<sup>238</sup> As duke he likely had a hand in having the charges dropped on Ralph Standish due to the influence of Thomas's aunt, Phillipa Howard.<sup>239</sup> He was nevertheless perceived to have maintained Jacobite belief after this point, being arrested in 1722 for suspected Jacobite plotting.<sup>240</sup> Yet, his wife, Maria (Shireburne) Howard later estranged from him. Her reason was said to be that he 'truckled to the usurper'. This break over politics seems to indicate that by the later 1720s at least, Thomas had abandoned any notion of pro-Jacobite sentiment. We certainly know that Charles Howard, Thomas' brother and Duke of Somerset, was providing horses to the government by 1745.<sup>241</sup>

There are further familial connections before the rising of 1715. Nicholas Shireburne, of Stoneyhurst who served as mayor's bailiff in 1709 was a cousin of Ralph Standish as was William Pennington through the Bindloss connection.<sup>242</sup> He served as the town's Bailiff in the same year. These connections loosely tied the Standish family to the Mock Corporation, but its influence was likely limited.

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General attributive, objective, instrumental, etc., as custard-crammed, custard dessert, custard-eater, etc. In early use frequently with (depreciative) allusion to the City of London, esp. the office of Lord Mayor, with which custard appears to have been closely associated as a result of the tradition of a jester leaping into a large custard (sense 1b) at the Lord Mayor's Feast; cf. quot. 1616 at sense 1b.

<sup>236</sup> Harris Collection 'Corporation book', 1711, p.1.

<sup>237</sup> Harris Collection, 'Corporation Book', 1714; 1716

<sup>238</sup> G.E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant*, (1936), Volume 9, p.631.

<sup>239</sup> AWL:D/D St./BundleC3/1/11, 'Letter from Elizabeth Gordon to her sister (Lady Phillippa) re children's education' (1729).

<sup>240</sup> G.E. Cokayne, *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, extant, extinct, or dormant*, (1936), Volume 9, p.631.

<sup>241</sup> Rupert Jarvis, *The risings of 1715 and 1745* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Council, 1954), vol.1, pp.259:261:197.

<sup>242</sup> Nicholas Shireburne was additionally brother of Maria Shireburne/ Howard. Both were touched at St. Germain by James III. William Pennington was a distant relation of Cecilia Bindloss, Ralph Standish's Mother.

The family do not discuss the corporation in letters amongst themselves in this period and those serving have looser connections.

Following the rising of 1715, the mock corporation redoubled its efforts to conduct Jacobite politics in the local scale. Indeed it is from this date we begin to see executive functions by the corporation begin to take effect. Implicit in the fines is the ability to fund internal and external projects and operations and the ability to collect these monies when owed with the threat of force if necessary.

In this context, actors closer to the Standish family begin to work within the Walton le Dale mock corporation. These roughly fit into three categories. The first is tenants, the second business associates and the third, again family, mostly from the Towneley connection. It is significant that all of these connections exist outside the household of the Standishes. In particular, two thirds of these categories are their relative social inferiors. It could therefore be easy to see their participation only from above. Yet, as Thompson alludes, popular participation could equally be an expression of agency against the ruling classes.<sup>243</sup> Yet this could also be a show of common solidarity over issues like faith or economic challenge as Gooch writes in the context of the north-east though he argues this did not particularly lead to a distinct sub-culture.<sup>244</sup> Though it cannot be implied through mere association that the Standishes were involved through tenants and associates, a large number of connections may improve some involvement from the background.

These three groups were all present before the 1715 rising but are recorded more frequently over time. For instance, Edward Starkey is listed as a town's serjeant for 1714-15.<sup>245</sup> He and his son Nicholas worked as lawyers in Preston, many properties presided over or mortgaged by Nicholas Starkie showing up in returns of papists in 1717.<sup>246</sup> The Starkies would later purchase Ashton Hall near Lancaster from the Duke of Hamilton's family after his death in a duel. Though most of the letters surviving are between Cecilia Townley and Thomas Starkie in the 1760's, it is clear the relationship was longer standing.<sup>247</sup> Phillipa Howard is known to have stayed at the Black Bull, an inn attached to the estate of Ashton Hall for a hunt shortly after the Starkies bought the property.<sup>248</sup> From 1717, Nicholas Starkie is listed as macebearer for the Mock Corporation. The participation of the next generation of the family likely cementing the families core clientele of Jacobite gentry. In the same year, the Gerards were listed as

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<sup>243</sup> E.P. Thompson, 'Patrician Society, Plebian Culture', *Journal of Social History*, 7:4 (1974), pp.381-405: 381; See also Harris, Tim, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy 1685-1720* (Penguin, 2007), p.479.

<sup>244</sup> Leo Gooch, "'chiefly of Low Rank":The Catholics of North East England, 1705-1814' in Rowlands, Marie B., *Catholics of Town and Parish 1558-1778* (Wolverhampton: Catholic Record Society & Wolverhampton University, 1999), Monograph Series vol.5, pp.237-258: 255.

<sup>245</sup> *Corporation book*, 1714, p.1.

<sup>246</sup> Richard Sharpe-France (ed.), 'Lancashire Papists Estates: 1717', *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol.1 (Preston: 1945), pp.26:34:263-264.

<sup>247</sup> AWL: D/D St./Bundle C6/ 1:8-11.

<sup>248</sup> *Account book 1721-28*: entry FEB 1723 re: Phillipa staying at Ashton hall.

having sold lands to Nicholas for the payment of severe debts. This included a significant message where Dame Mary Gerard of Birchley which warranted the rent-charge of £100 yearly.<sup>249</sup> Joining the Mock corporation of Walton-le-Dale allowed the Starkies to reach new audiences for their services. This also allowed the Catholic families they attracted routes of accessing legal advice from a trusted source. This places new light on the less-serious aspects of the mock corporation. The ability to socialise across the traditional barriers of public life, enabled the brokering of business arrangements within a context of trust. Another Lawyer, Roger Whichcote-Massey served as Towns clerk from 1706 to 1718.<sup>250</sup> His practice was also based in Preston.<sup>251</sup> From 1717, Thomas Starkie joined the mock corporation, first as a Freeman, then as Macebearer and in the following year, Town's Serjeant.<sup>252</sup>

The Corporation provided an opportunity for men from the surrounding area to join the corporation. Initially, this was limited to the status of freeman. Thomas Walmesley for instance joined as a freeman in 1709.<sup>253</sup> He was a native of Walton-le-Dale being born there in 1691 and baptised in the Anglican Church.<sup>254</sup> His membership of the corporation seems to have been aspirational. Much like the members who were lawyers outside of the organisation, lay members could aspire to break into new ventures, become of higher standing in their community and to socialise with those higher in the social hierarchy. In turn they added legitimacy to the corporations activities.

Aside from the place of the meetings, the Unicorn Inn, little tied the corporation to Walton-le-Dale. The inclusion of commoners from the settlement added legitimacy to the organisation. This served the purposes of the corporation to enable its decisions to have an impact on the region. The dominance of elite holders of the mayoral office highlights this as an issue acute to the corporation. The Duke of Norfolk or Earl of Derwentwater add significant clout to the corporation's activities but have little understanding of the locality of Walton-le-Dale. Accepting local men allowed the proliferation of policy further than the immediate executive functions of the corporations officers.

Such policy had mixed success, however. The fines issued by the corporation reflect this. In 1741, John Walmesley, Richard Assheton and William Fulford were among those charged fees as freemen at the rate of two shillings and sixpence. This cost went towards the upkeep of the corporation and its business activities. There is a mix in this entry of long-standing members and newer members being charged as freemen. Thomas Starkie, a member since 1717 is charged the same amount. He initially

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<sup>249</sup> RSLC, 'Lancashire Papists' Estates, (1945), p.26

<sup>250</sup> Corporation book, 1706 – 1718 p.1 of each years' entry.

<sup>251</sup> St. Marys Churchyard Rostherne, East Cheshire, Inscription 236268483, Grave 'Roger Whichcote Massey, their eldest son, attorney at-law, died Sept. 25, 1751, aged 73.'

<sup>252</sup> Corporation book, 1717 Pp.1;3, 1718, p.1.

<sup>253</sup> Corporation book, 1709, p.3.

<sup>254</sup> LA: Lancashire Anglican Parish Registers. Preston, England: Pr 2948/1/1.

defaults before paying in October 1741.<sup>255</sup> Some of the fines were for internal matters. In 1739, fines were issued to freemen to raise money for a new mace for the corporation.<sup>256</sup> This contrasts with the earlier raising of fines for points of order. In 1738 fines were issued for non-attendance at dinner to Roger Hesketh (Custard eater), Evan Prichard (Towns Clerk) and Thomas Trafford (Poet Laureat). It is unclear what these fines were used for, but all were charged two shillings with Hesketh and Trafford having not paid by the following July.

Notaries from just beyond Leyland hundred's boundaries continued to dominate the Corporations' elected offices. In 1738, Roger Bradshaigh was elected as Mayors Bailiff.<sup>257</sup> In addition to this office, he was also serving as a Member of Parliament for Wigan. First elected in 1694, Bradshaigh's early politics leaned heavily towards the Tory court camp, especially during the reign of queen Anne.<sup>258</sup> He never declared himself a Jacobite and over time became embroiled with the Whig Junto member, James Stanley, Earl of Derby.<sup>259</sup> Stanley, a previous member of the Corporation may have invited Bradshaigh at this time as he was close to ending his parliamentary career.<sup>260</sup> This interest in local affairs likely appealed to Bradshaigh. He was involved in Blackrod Schools selection of trustees advocating against a Presbyterian dominated list in favour of an Anglican and Tory one at the beginning of his political career in 1694.

Additionally, his political pact with the Earl of Barrymore, James Barry, over the seat of Wigan could also indicate some remaining Jacobite loyalties. Barrymore and Bradshaigh had initially been political opponents with a lawsuit over the election of 1715. By 1722, the pair allied in order to keep their seats secure. James Barrymore would become embroiled in the abortive rising of 1744 with his letters coming to light in the trial of Lovat in 1746 that mentioned his intention to galvanise support in the North for a rising to join with a French landing on the south coast. Before these letters, he appeared every bit the anti-Jacobite with him claiming it was not sensible for himself, with a rich estate in Ireland to put this at risk for the sake of a 'foreign prince'.<sup>261</sup> The early Jacobitism of Bradshaigh may have left a residuum of loyalty which further attracted him to Barrymore and later to the Walton-le-Dale mock

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<sup>255</sup> Corporation book, 1741, p.2.

<sup>256</sup> Corporation book, 1739, pp.2-3.

<sup>257</sup> Corporation book, 1738, p.1.

<sup>258</sup> Cruickshanks, Eveline, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715*, (Boydell Brewer: 2002), [<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/wigan>], (Accessed 24/04/26); See also Szechi, D., 'Jacobite Politics in the age of Queen Anne', *Parliamentary History*, 28 (2009), pp.41-58.

<sup>259</sup> Sasha Handley (ed.), "BRADSHAIGH, Sir Roger, 3rd Bt. (1675–1747), of Haigh Hall, nr. Wigan, Lancs", *History of Parliament Online (1690–1715)*, (2002) [Retrieved 17 July 2023].

<sup>260</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), "BRADSHAIGH, Sir Roger, 3rd Bt. (1675–1747), of Haigh Hall, nr. Wigan, Lancs", *History of Parliament Online (1715-1754)*, (1970) [Retrieved 17 July 2023].

<sup>261</sup> Marjorie Cox, 'Roger Bradshaigh, 3<sup>rd</sup> Bart., and the electoral management of Wigan 1695-1747', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1954, Vol.37(1), p.120-164; pp.123-127.

Corporation. This aspect would require further attention in the archive on the relationship between the pair.

Bradshaigh was likely more motivated by money at this stage than politics. He amassed over £8000 of debts and despite sinking some early cannel coal mines, was not able to keep up with the financial demands of being a Member of Parliament.<sup>262</sup> Bradshaigh likely sought access to the richer members of the corporation in order to conduct business dealings. Those like Fleetwood Hinton (mayor), Thomas Starkie (Towns Serjeant) and Henry Farrington (Whiper to the Hunt) likely offered the best opportunity of business dealings at this time. The next year, Bradshaigh was elected to the office of House Groper with his possible business targets also being elected to the less serious offices of 'custard eater' (Starkie) and Groom for Town (Fleetwood).<sup>263</sup> In the following years Bradshaigh took the roles of Mayors Bailiff (1740), Custard eater (1741) and finally Towns Bailiff (1742).<sup>264</sup> This resignation from the corporation matches his resignation from parliament in favour of his son. As well as his seat, he passed Haigh hall to his son at this time, eventually dying in 1747. This indicates that Bradshaigh was concerned primarily with the fate of his family in joining the corporation, but with his resignation and short retirement that purpose could no longer be fulfilled.

A similar story follows the Lister and Assheton families. Ralph Assheton, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baronet Assheton was likely encouraged by his uncle, Ralph Assheton, (2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet). The Second Baronet was MP for Liverpool and Lancashire over a career from serving as Justice of the Peace under James II (just preceding Caryll Molyneux) to both a county and town Member of Parliament. The third Baronet inherited the Assheton estates centred around the Ribble Valley in 1715. The families' first venture into the mock corporation was Richard Assheton in 1710 who assumed multiple roles until his death in 1731.<sup>265</sup> He may have been an alias of another member of the family, however as he is listed as a slaver in Jamaica during this time.<sup>266</sup> Although he could have been absent from his plantation, his will was proved two years later in Jamaica, with the third Baronet inheriting 244 enslaved Africans. The motivations of Richard, (or the second baronet if it is an alias of his) are unclear. Success in business and politics stand in contrast to Roger Bradshaigh.

The Lister family are harder to pin down in motivation. It is possible that the family members who served in the mock corporation were members of the wider Lister of Gisburn family of weavers from Yorkshires, specifically a branch headed by father and son, both called Thomas, based in Lancaster from

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<sup>262</sup> E. Cruickshanks (ed.), "BRADSHAIGH, Sir Roger, 3rd Bt. (1675-1747), of Haigh Hall, nr. Wigan, Lancs", History of Parliament Online (1715-1754), (1970) [Retrieved 17 July 2023].

<sup>263</sup> *Corporation book*, 1739, p.1.

<sup>264</sup> *Corporation book*, 1740, p.1; *Corporation book*, 1741, p.1; *Corporation book*, 1742, p.1.

<sup>265</sup> *Corporation book*, 1710, p.1.; *Corporation book*, 1730, p.1.

<sup>266</sup> PROB 11/652/117 'Will of Richard Assheton'; Trevor Burnard, *Database of Jamaican inventories, 1674-1784*.

1754. This does not align with the expected dates for the family to have been in the area and despite their Catholicism, it would be hard to see the participation of this Lister family as having interests beyond commercial. The family later went on to become involved in the transatlantic slave trade, their wealth and conformity allowing them a family plot at St Mary's Priory, Lancaster. Lister was a popular name for weaving families so it could also denote a member of a weaving family from the Pennine or Wigan area.

A new generation of aspiring Jacobites were nevertheless attracted to the Corporation. They would come from further afield to network. George Baker of Crooke, Durham, paid a fine in 1741. he represents the wide geographical appeal of the corporation.<sup>267</sup> The heir to Crooke Hall, County Durham, George was the son of George Baker Member of Parliament.<sup>268</sup> Though his father was a suspected Jacobite, he did not turn out in the rising of 1715, claiming ill-health and remaining in London.<sup>269</sup> George Baker Junior, is perhaps attempting to network for the next rising here. He joined the society at a time when future Jacobite action is uncertain. Joining the corporation could have allowed aspiring members to gauge the probability of action and get to know their possible future officers or negotiate their own positions in the hierarchy including signing up for commissions themselves. This is a far cry from the totally unserious image presented by Tulkett. If there was cavorting, it at least appeared to be set towards a higher goal.

The Standish connection remained undoubtedly stronger within their social equals. Bradshaigh was a neighbour to the east of the Standish estates in Standish. His mixed views on the politics of the time did not seem to stop him socialising with members of all political inclinations. However, his presence does suggest that much of the Jacobitism had perhaps waned from the ideological direction of the organisation. Baker on the other hand had little immediate connection to the Standishes except through contacts made during the 1715 rising. Baker, intimately connected to North Eastern Tories, would have acted as a bridge between his counterparts in Lancashire.

Likewise, Lord Carylls Service as Mayor in 1740 reflects a similar local link across the Irish Sea.<sup>270</sup> As well as holding significant holdings in Wigan and Sefton in the West Derby of Lancashire, he was Viscount of Mary Burgh in the Kingdom of Ireland.<sup>271</sup> Additionally, he had a personal relationship with James II. Before inheriting his Viscountcy, he was appointed Justice of the Peace for Lancashire in 1687 as an attempt to reform the county. He was quickly replaced by the traditional Justice of the Peace, the Earl of Derby to regain Tory support in the county. By 1738, he inherited the Earldom of Sefton and the

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<sup>267</sup> *Corporation book*, 1741, pp.2-3.

<sup>268</sup> Served as member of Parliament for Durham City, 1713-1722, Died 1723. See also: "BAKER, George (d. 1723), of Crook Hall and Elemore in Lanchester, co. Dur", *History of Parliament Online (1690-1715)*, [Retrieved 9 August 2023]; "BAKER, George (d.1723), of Crook Hall, in Lanchester, nr. Durham", *History of Parliament Online (1715-1754)*, [Retrieved 9 August 2023]

<sup>269</sup> L. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction* (Hull: 1996), pp.57-58.

<sup>270</sup> *Corporation book*, 1740, p.1.

<sup>271</sup> Malcolm Gratton, 'Molyneux, Caryll, Third Viscount Molyneux of Maryborough (1623/4-1700)', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. David Cannadine, on-line (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18919>.

Viscounty of Mary Burgh from his brother, Richard. Caryll died in 1745 and thus was unable to join the rising of that year. Whether he would have is another matter. Much like the Standish family the Molyneuxs had much to lose by engaging in direct activity on behalf of the Stuart claim. It seems they adopted a similar approach to the Standishes at dealing with this issue by continuing to marry into other Tory landowning families, with Caryll's nephew eventually marrying into a cadet branch of the Howard family.<sup>272</sup>

The precedent for non-local officers in the Mock Corporation was well footed by this point. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk's appointment as Mayor in 1709 seemed to lay the precedent for appointing Mayors from outside the county.<sup>273</sup> This was swiftly followed by the election of James Radclyffe, The Earl of Derwentwater in 1711.<sup>274</sup> There were multiple other lesser landowners from Cumberland, Westmoreland and Furness. William Pennington of Sunbrick served as Towns Bailiffe in 1709. His cousin, George of Corbridge, Northumberland participated in the rising of 1715 and was captured after the battle of Preston.<sup>275</sup> In both the case of George and William, the Earl of Derwentwater was a key stakeholder in Local affairs. For William to participate in the Mock corporation alongside Charles Towneley, Thomas Howard and Nicholas Shireburne would have allowed him to work alongside members of families that would be key in the rising of 1715. Non local officers signal a closeness of the network to the goings on in the locality, to local nodes of Jacobite activity or to wider political, social or economic networks taking precedent over the local.

In the case of the rising of 1745, there is less evidence of this sort of collaboration between families. This must have had some impact on the poor recruitment in 1745. In 1744, three members of the local Winckley family assumed office including the offices of 'Mayor', 'Towns Bailiffe' and 'Barber Surgeon and Tooth Drawer'. Other local men dominated other offices, John Walmesley and Robert Bradley for example.

It is in this context we get the only direct mention of a 'Standish' member in the book. Thomas Standish took the office of 'House groper' in 1744.<sup>276</sup> He paid a fine of two shillings and sixpence that year as fees for being a freeman. He was born in 1715 to Richard Standish, a member of the Protestant Cadet branch of the Standish family from Chorley.<sup>277</sup> The Standishes of Duxbury, had dominated the family traditional holdings between Preston and Standish in Chorley and Duxbury. In the preceding

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<sup>272</sup> John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the extinct and dormant Baronetcies in England* (London: Scott, Webster and Deary, 1841), Pp.361-362.

<sup>273</sup> Corporation book, 1709, p.1.

<sup>274</sup> Corporation book, 1711, p.1.

<sup>275</sup> State Papers, KB 8/66 'servants to Lord Derwentwater': quoted in Gooch, *Desperate Faction* (Hull: 1996), p.185.

<sup>276</sup> Corporation book, 1744, p.1.

<sup>277</sup> LA: Drb 2/51.

century, they had lost much of these holdings to the Chorley, Shireburne and Gillibrand families.<sup>278</sup> The senior branch of the Standish also maintained a foothold in Chorley. Ironically for this study, the attendance of Thomas Standish likely signals the low water mark for serious Jacobite activity in the corporation. It also signals a point of little activity for the senior branch of the family in the corporation.

The Standish family had minimal participation in the corporation. This observation is more meaningful than first assumed. This was a period of great change in the mock corporation. At its inception, it was a vessel for effective local activity towards the restoration of the Stuart monarchs and peaked first in this goal in the years prior to the rising of 1715. The Standish's lack of participation over this period, for which their Jacobite loyalties are less in doubt, suggests that they were busy in their parish but less so outside of it. Their caution at being caught at the centre of plot circle likely cautioned Ralph away from emulating his father in 1694. However, a large amount of change occurred in the makeup of the corporation especially after the 1730s. The earlier mix of Jacobite loyalists and local persons of interest gave way to a cross section of local political society with Jacobite influences coming from the peripheries of the Corporation's geographic sphere of influence. Its Jacobite character in this era seems to have mostly disappeared with avid anti Jacobites entering the group and an increase in signs that serious politics in any ideological way had given way to the cavorting alluded to by Tulkett. Yet, within this ideological change there were signs also of development. The participation of crypto Jacobites like Bradshaigh, Baker and Caryll suggest it may have still been an effective instrument but fulfilled a largely homosocial role. This echoes Monod's view on the rising of 1715, the march through Lancashire being a social occasion as well as a military expedition with toasts and drinking in Lancaster.<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> LA: DP/397 'Standish of Duxbury deeds'; LA: DX/850-1291 'Standish of Duxbury Deeds 1300-1880' .

<sup>279</sup> Paul Klebér Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People 1688-1788* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), p.326.

## STANDISH FAMILY LANDHOLDINGS IN 1538

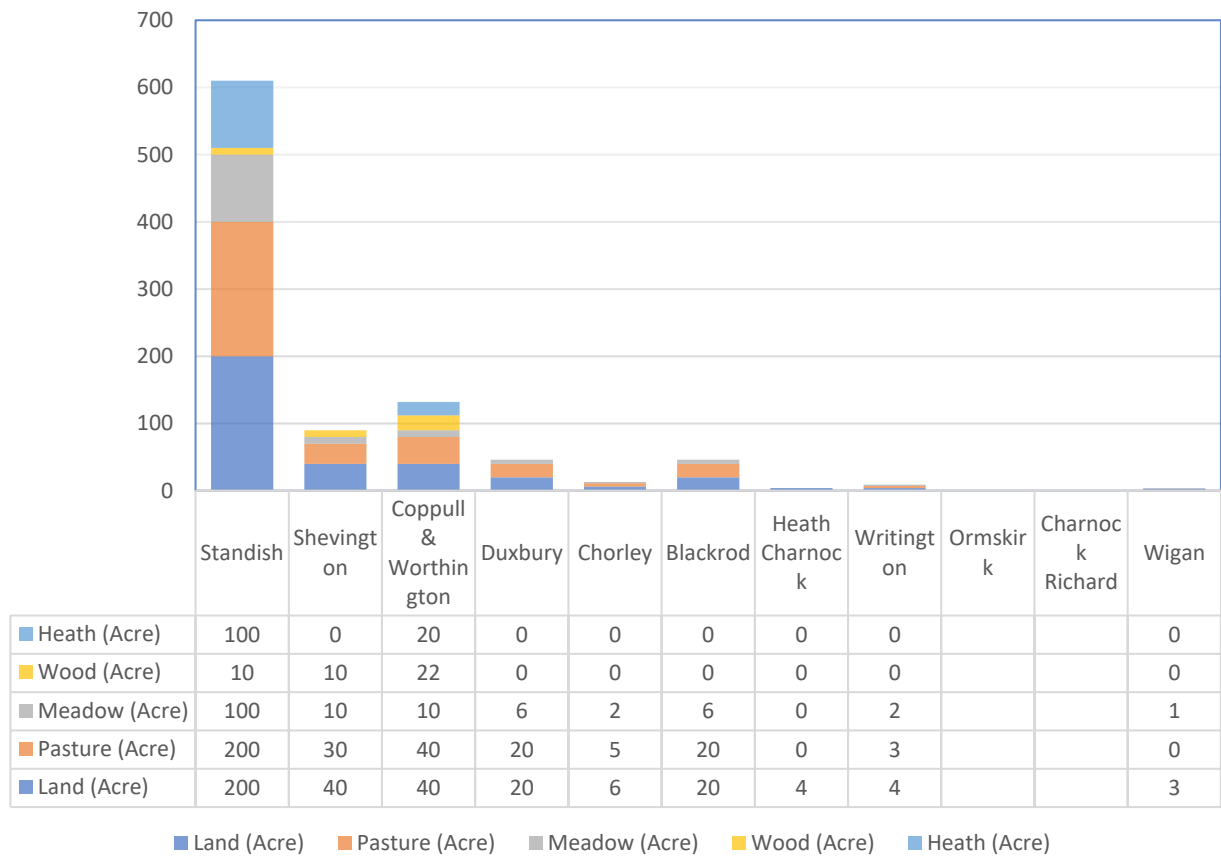


Figure 3.5: From Data in Johnson, Eleanor, 'The Standish Family' (Wigan: WHS, 1977) pp.20-25.

Lands and Structures owned by the Standish Family 1538

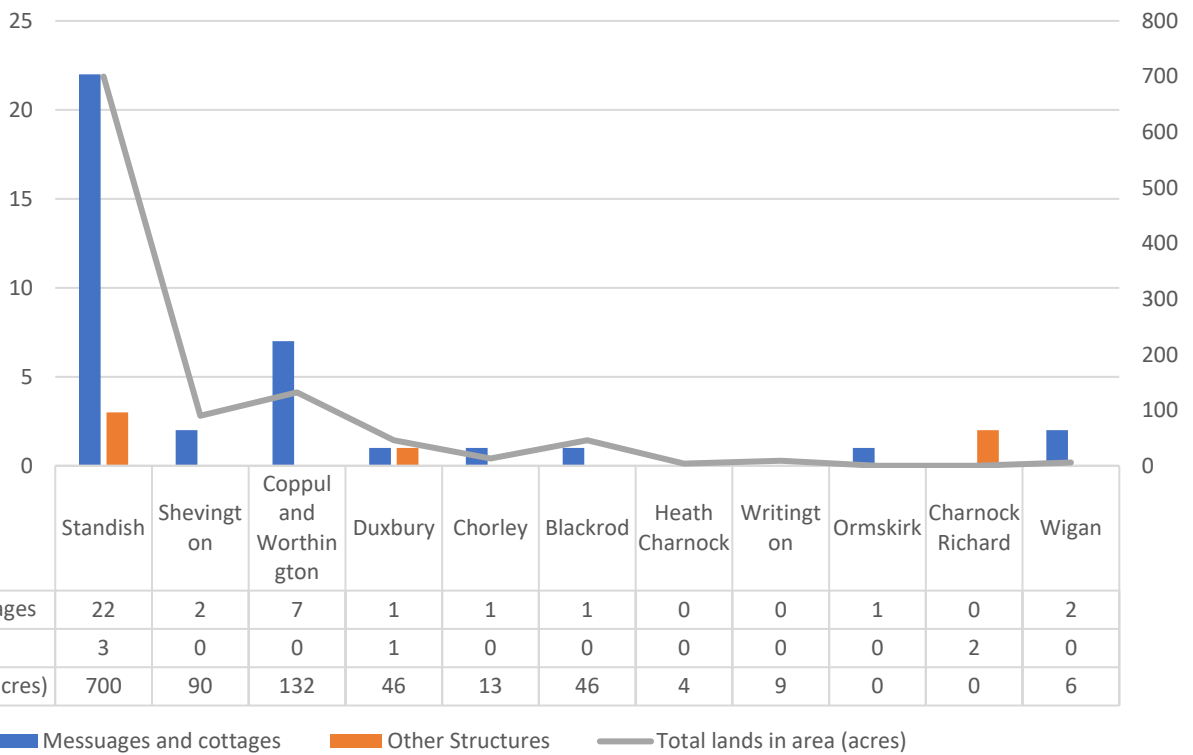


Figure 4.5: Structures owned by the Family in Lancashire 1538, From E Johnson (1977)

The Standish contingent at Preston echoed the constituency that involved themselves in the plots of the 1690s. Of those we know participated, many of those were close to the core of the Standish family. Among the list of signatories in 1692 were members of the local Grimalston, Taylor and Blundel families, all tenants of the standishes. Likewise in 1715, we see Ralph recruit a member of the Taylor and Blundell families as well as local tenants, the Rigbys, and Fishers and Howards. If we look at this table comparing their faith based on the 1705 survey of Catholics in the Diocese of Chester, the threads of familial loyalty become clear:

Name	1690 plotter?	1705 Return of Papists	1715 prisoner?
Ralph Standish	Yes	Yes, Standish	Yes
Emer Grimalston & Son	Yes, servant	Yes, Standish	No
Ralph Taylor & Son, Theophilus	Yes, carrier	Yes, Standish	Yes, Son
Peter Howard and Sons	No	Yes, Standish	Yes, Son
John & James Rigby	No	Yes, Shevington	Yes, Son

James Blundell	No	No, Protestant	Yes
William Randford	No	No	Yes

Figure 5.5: Tenants of the Standishes involvement in early Jacobitism

The Standish tenants therefore were a core group of importance to the Standishes which were relied upon beyond the Walton le Dale mock corporation. The Rigby, Fisher and Gimbaldston families all helped the Standishes in covering up their true extent of Standish land holdings after the rising also.<sup>280</sup> Although this was in the end unsuccessful, it did allow the Standishes to retain their lands at the fringes of their core holdings in standish without too many problems. The Rigby family, for instance, claimed the property known as Wigan Lane House, near the Boar’s Head. The mortgage they held from the Standish family, backdated to the era of William, allowed the land to be returned to the family after a period of surveillance had ended.

The defensive way the community rallied around the Standish family was also aided by its Catholicism. The 1767 return mentions 89 Catholics resident in Standish township, up from 66 in 1705.<sup>281</sup> We do not have accurate population figures for Standish in this period but given the size of the settlement could not have been more than a few hundred in this period, this represents a significant proportion of the population. This Catholic community also spread to the south, west and north with the three most highly Catholic towns in Lancashire by population being Wigan (26.5%), Warrington (21%) and Preston (21%).<sup>282</sup> Mitchinson additionally notes that a sharp increase in communicants at Standish Hall Chapel in easter 1746 shows that despite a difficult contention with local Jacobitism, their commitment to defending local Catholics was less in doubt.<sup>283</sup>

The family were in some ways more isolated from their peers than in their local community. The family endured relative hardship to their position and faced land confiscation and further exclusion from mainstream channels of gaining power. Petitions were the family’s only official method of gaining a reprieve.<sup>284</sup> Ralph himself was condemned to death on June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1716, after which the jailor, Captain

<sup>280</sup> Sharpe France, *Papist Returns*, III, LCRS 98, pp.64-66.

<sup>281</sup> Allan Mitchinson, *The Return of the Papists for the Dicocese of Chester 1705* (Wigan: NWCHS, 1986), pp.16-17.

<sup>282</sup> Data from Mitchinson, *The Return of the papists in Lancashire, 1767* (Wigan: NWCHS, 1987), pp.50-70 Wigan had a population of around 4,500 of which 1193 were recorded in the papist returns. Preston had around 5000 residents of which 1043 were Catholic while Warrington had a population 2150 of which 458 were Roman Catholic. The figure is more astounding in that the only settlement with more Catholics than wigan in absolute terms was the rapidly urbanising Liverpool with 1600.

<sup>283</sup> Allan Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish* (Wigan: NWCHS, 2005), p.54; See appendix 5.4.

<sup>284</sup> Anonymous, *The secret history of the rebels in Newgate. Giving an account of their daily behaviour, from their commitment to their Goal-delivery. Taken from a diary kept by a gentleman in the same prison* (London: 1717), p.25 notes that the drawing of petitions escalated after the first executions including that of Henry Oxborough, the anonymous diarist notes that July 10<sup>th</sup> was the date many drew up their last appeals before facing the gallows including Ralph Standish.

Silk, antagonised the Jacobite prisoners by forcing them into cells and shouting 'get up you slaves and go'.<sup>285</sup>

Local networks persevered in Newgate Gaol with Isaac Dalton, Francis Anderton, Edward Howard, Charles Radcliffe and Phillip Hodgson all sharing the same experience and often bribing guards to drink, eat and entertain together.<sup>286</sup> Ralph participated in a dinner with fellow prisoners Mr Basil Hamilton and Mr Wogan who entertained the Duchess of Hamilton and Captain Hamilton on June 28<sup>th</sup> for instance.<sup>287</sup> Song was used to unify as were the symbols of Jacobite loyalty: White roses were attempted to be brought in by women concealing them in 'hats and bosoms' on James III's Birthday, June 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>288</sup> Although the editor of the Newgate diary, and presumably the prisoner who wrote it also, thought little of the Jacobite prisoners taking their escape attempts and culture as unsympathetic acts of cowards and traitors. Reading beyond this we can see the links forged on the battlefield of Preston unbroken and the context of petitions a tactical choice to give them the chance to fight another day. What also stands out is the amount of public support mentioned; female visitors were said to be plentiful and the prisoners in the gentlemen's quarters though ten to a room, were never short of money paying daily in excess of 30s for a bottle of French wine.

Yet following Ralph's freedom some of these networks seem not to have been maintained. Echoing Porteus, we could put this down to prudence in the sense of either being more sensible in dealings or at least more secretive. Indeed, we do not have a record of many meetings between these families and the Standishes after 1717. This could be simply evidence of survivorship bias; any evidence to the contrary would be the first thing to be destroyed. Only one account book survives noting visits to the Hamilton and Dalton Estates near Lancaster by Phillipa around spring 1723.<sup>289</sup> Ralph's release was initially to messengers of the crown who would have been executing the confiscation of his property and would ensure he was indeed keeping up good behaviour as his petition promised.

One document seems to complicate this picture showing evidence of Ralph once again petitioning for his life to the Duke of Devonshire in 1725, though no record survives of an arrest, this may be misattributed to 1725-27 instead of 1715-17 in the state papers.<sup>290</sup> However, it regardless shows the lengths required to secure acquittal. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Devonshire, William Cavendish was a whig supporter of the protestant succession whose father, the first Duke, had been one of the immortal seven who invited William to seize the throne. That petitions were sent to the crown through staunch enemies

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<sup>285</sup> Anon, *Secret history of Rebels in Newgate* (London, 1717), p.22.

<sup>286</sup> Anon, *Secret history of Rebels in Newgate* (London, 1717), p.25-26,29.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid, p.23.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid, p.20.

<sup>289</sup> *Standish Account book, 1723*

<sup>290</sup> SP 35/67/1 f.72 'Ralph Standish, a prisoner in Newgate to the prince of Wales' (1725-1727).

showed determination to survive over an attitude of failure as is often portrayed of the Jacobites at the time.

The morale and bonds of kinship seemed to prevail during Ralph's time in Newgate. The prisoners killed became martyrs almost instantly. Jacob Forden a Jacobite printer in Bloomsbury was killed after insulting prison guards as 'King George's Bull Dogs'. Almost immediately Jacobites wrote to the Catholic Church through Galtieri to have him canonised.<sup>291</sup> This seems to question the efficacy of what Sankey has described as 'Augustan' methods of punishment.<sup>292</sup> Resistance continued up to the day of acquittal with the Jacobites having no problem raising toast and songs to James, Petitioning George for their freedom and planning their escape from prison at the same time.

Following the rising, local participation did not grow in importance due to all these factors. Ralph had neither the local power he once had nor the fully formed networks that had made his father's plots come to within whiskers of success. Added to this there was increased attention from the state, perhaps the most effective function of the Augustan responses which fostered a sort of governmentality. Whereas the local sphere became barren of Standish Jacobite activity, the international sphere became more interesting as the next chapter will show. As seen through the Walton-le-Dale mock Corporation, Standish neighbours and members of extended kin and patronage networks dominated the club from its inception to the years following 1715, the club had become so toothless by the time a Standish joined from the protestant branch, that the club held in its number whigs and businessmen with no Jacobitic political ambitions. The Standish lack of participation therefore suggests not a retreat from Jacobite politics, but from local politics which had an effect on their Jacobite activity.

The local sphere held one aspect that was to become important over the local economy in the coming century: Coal. Coal had been a commodity in South Lancashire long before the eighteenth-century. Coal seams sprouted above the surface at many points in the Wigan coal field. Wigan was in the right place for the mining of coal early on. To the south Chat Moss, a wet peat bog, made surface mining a losing battle with water and a poor competition to drier upland peat for fuel. To the north the Pennines made extracting, transporting and using coal less profitable. As Turnbull writes, the 'efficient exploitation of resources and the optimum location of industry require cheap bulk means of transport.'<sup>293</sup> In an era before canals, navigable rivers were the only viable option for exporting coal out of the area. Instead, coal was a useful commodity first in the domestic sphere. Cannel coal, an oily shale coal burned hot and

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<sup>291</sup> Anon, *Secret history of Rebels in Newgate* (London, 1717), p.20.

<sup>292</sup> Margaret Sankey, *Jacobite Prisoners*, p.10. by Augustan is meant generally lenient or at least discrete in political cruelty. The extent to which government policy was lenient or cruel is still a point of debate, while this thesis generally leans to accepting Sankey's arguments, in the particular cases mentioned here it is less clear. pi

<sup>293</sup> Gerard Turnbull, 'Canals, Coal and Regional Growth during the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History Review* 40:4 (1987). Pp.357-560; 538.

bright which was perfect for household consumption and plentiful in the Wigan coal field. At Haigh, the Bradshaighs had been collecting 'seacoals' for over a century.<sup>294</sup>

The use of coal has long-held geopolitical implications. Pomeranz's seminal work explores the implications on a global scale of Europe's rise through coal.<sup>295</sup> On a smaller scale, regional studies have shown the importance of the Northeast English coal field for domestic heating in London.<sup>296</sup> Yet fewer studies have focussed on the intersection of early eighteenth century politics and coal production.

Coal was one solution for this dilemma. The creation of coal effectively traps solar energy from the past allowing its use again. Layers of plant material accumulate with mosses, heathers or trees creating an anaerobic environment preserving the carbon in the plant matter. When mined, it allows plant matter, its stored energy from the sun, to be used millions of years later. It allowed the sale of domestic heating, eating and manufacture without impacting on resources on the surface. In effect, coal allowed the owner to extract an extra layer of value from the ground, offsetting the costs of fines and repurchases.

This was certainly the case for the Standish family of Standish who remained Catholic throughout the period.<sup>297</sup> Their estate covered most of the Parish of Standish and parts of Coppull, Aspull, Wrightington and houses in Wigan, Borwick, farms in Lonsdale hundred and a house in London. Until 1717 the family held hereditary manorial rights over their holdings in Standish allowing for the early exploitation of Coal. Members of the family had used coal since the seventeenth Century at least with surface coal mined first. This coal was used domestically and relatively locally. The account book notes that coals are purchased at Burton (in Kendal) to heat Borwick Hall but notes no such purchases for Standish.<sup>298</sup> In fact, by 1723 the families coal pit in Shevington had been damaged and the family lawyer, Thomas Starkie had requested £1, 1s for repairs. By this date the family held at least two pits; Shevington, run by Bankman William Rainford, and Standish Coal Pit, run by banksman James Naylor. By the mid-1720s income from mining was beginning to dwarf other avenues of income. New House, a small hall on the standish estates, was rented to William Rigby for £6 per year, other plots of land and small farms were tenanted for bills ranging from £2 to £20 in the same year. In just the summer months of 1724 coal profits stood at £34.

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<sup>294</sup> Wigan Metropolitan Borough Museums Service, 'The History and Development of the Wigan Coalfield' (1979: Hindley Museum), p.3; Lucy Tomoulin Smith, *The itinerary of John Leland In Or About The Years 1535–1543 Parts Ix, X, And Xi With Two Appendices, A Glossary, And General Index* (London: G Bell, 1910), p.41.

<sup>295</sup> K. Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence : China , Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2000).

<sup>296</sup> Gregory Clark and David Jacks, 'Coal and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1869', *European Review of Economic History*, 11:1 (2007), pp.39-72.

<sup>297</sup> The Duxbury branch of the family converted to Anglicanism in the seventeenth century and their relationship was mixed over the eighteenth century.

<sup>298</sup> Entry 29<sup>th</sup> September 1726.

Ralph's investment in coal production did not lead to investment internationally in the market, however. Coal was a commodity sold and mostly used locally. Purchases of coal for use in the home far outweighed any other use however nearby Wigan could already find uses with a thriving clockmaking, metalworking and pottery industries mostly focussed on the River Douglas.<sup>299</sup> Instead funds from coal allowed the Standishes to escape the harshest punishments and offset these against the exploitation of energy stored underground.

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The Standish family had continuous experience of a Jacobite locale throughout the period. However, this experience changed drastically throughout the period. When we consider the participation of the Standishes in these local networks, the plot circles of the 1690s are far more an exception than a rule. This was the only case the Standishes took a leadership position in a Jacobite or local political network.

Previous work has sought to contrast their later actions against this unreasonably high standard for activity. The circumstances of the plots in the 1690s required plotters to be able to meet somewhere relatively safe (away from large garrisons) but close to the core recruiting grounds of Wigan and Preston; Standish was perfect for this. By contrast, before 1688 the Standishes exerted control over manorial rights but did not participate in local government. The 1685 town charter of Wigan has no Standishes sitting on its board as aldermen or in executive positions (mayor, bailiff, recorder, et cetera). However, by looking at the Walton-le-Dale mock corporation we see a parallel to this earlier, official town charter.<sup>300</sup> Members of the Standish network were prominent: Bradshaighs, Andertons and Gerards lead Wigan Corporation just as Radcliffes and Starkies featured in the latter Mock corporation.

Military action held a sense of continuity from the 1690 to 1715, however the numbers recruited were far fewer even in generous estimates for either. Following the rising, quiet resignation ostensibly prevailed on the local sphere. Though networks were maintained, the loss of the advowson and temporarily of the manor courts and tenancies eked much of their soft power in the community. It was only in the nineteenth century with service in the militia, corporate interest and the relaxation of penal laws against Catholics that the Standishes began to assert themselves locally again, challenging the Lindsays (resident at Haigh Hall to the east of the Standish holdings from the 1770's) over rights to coal and the provision of roads to their canal.<sup>301</sup>

Local Jacobite action in 1745 is not to be expected, therefore. The family capacity for action, as seen in the previous chapter, was limited. Moreover, the local organisation of Jacobites was lacking and

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<sup>299</sup> WLS: Early industry in Wigan (Wigan: Wigan Heritage Service, 1978).

<sup>300</sup> Wigan Local Studies (Special Collections): WJS 2254 E2 Upper 'Charters of the Ancient and Loyal Borough of Wigan', *Jacobi II*.

<sup>301</sup> *Standish Versus Taylor and the Wigan Coal and Iron Company Limited*, 1879.

fractured. Following the rising, even the Walton-le-dale corporation, once a mustering ground for the rising of 1715 became more important as a social space than an overtly political one. The exception in this case was the local catholic community which had developed techniques to defend themselves from repercussions whether lenient or otherwise. It is most stark the level of reciprocity shown between the Standishes and the local Catholic community. Doors were open to their co-confessionals in times of hardship while the community similarly gathered around to defend the holdings of their protectors.

The fracturing of this came threefold. Firstly, their dividends began to pay off in terms of industrial prosperity. The boom in population and industry fuelled by coal, the need for industry to support this domestic market fuelling in turn secondary and tertiary uses for coal, machines to power it and consumer products. This new population, often arriving from the countryside, were not guaranteed to be Catholic and in the industrial heartlands Methodism gained a hold in place of Roman Catholicism in Standish. Finally, the Standish family themselves began to abandon seeing their home in Standish, renting out their land then finally disappearing over the sea for increasing periods of time in France.

This connection with France had long roots. The Standishes, given the lack of ability to form effective Jacobite networks in the local area after 1717, looked outside the local for their Jacobite action. They looked to their place of safety in France and the Low Countries (primarily the Spanish Netherlands, modern day Belgium) which we will look at in more detail in the following chapter.

## 6: 'I know several letters of late had been stoped at Dover': The Standish family and the Jacobite experience abroad.

International aspects of Jacobitism have been under the most scrutiny over recent years, with challenges to the limits of the state and meanings of national boundaries. This chapter addresses the key question as to whether Standish family activism simply went abroad when challenges at home became insurmountable. Murdoch's findings back up the feasibility of this line of inquiry.<sup>302</sup> The Scottish diaspora in Northern Europe showed a mix of drawing exiles to a host land where their beliefs were not outlawed and their skills were valued and rewarded. Other Scots used this expatriate community as a conduit for action, a place of safety or to do business they couldn't safely do at home. Likewise, as we have seen over the proceeding chapters life for the Standish family could be tough in relation to their power and standing. The laws outlawing Catholic mass, Catholic institutions and Catholics from holding office effected the family directly and interfered with their everyday life. As we have also seen, Standish (the settlement) acted as a sort of enclave of Catholicism surrounded by other large populations of Catholics. This community provided mutual security for the family but also brought little hope of action after 1717 as the previous chapter showed.

Although the Jacobite monarchs spent much of the early Jacobite period in France this chapter does not seek to look at the Standish relationship with them directly. Their relationship was imagined, parasocial and addressed in chapter 1: *The intimate Jacobite experience*. Instead, here we consider the Jacobite diaspora, the English community abroad and their host communities especially in France and the low countries. Additionally, this chapter is a chance to account for the international experience of Jacobitism for the Standish family.

Studies of the diaspora have grown to greater importance as the extent of the real and imagined national boundary have been challenged since the Anderson hypothesis.<sup>303</sup> The imagined community of a national community can naturally be seen persisting in diaspora. Studies on the court in exile vanguard the study of the diaspora more broadly with *The Stuarts Abroad* plotting the changing experience of exile to those closest to the exiled Stuart monarchs.<sup>304</sup> Greater attention has also been placed on the permanent diaspora, its structure and the relationship with various hosts. Rouffiac's work on the parish

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<sup>302</sup> Stephen Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial And Covert Associations in Northern Europe 1603-1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>303</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1991). See also Whatley, Christopher, 'Zealous in defence of the Protestant Religion and Liberty: The Making of Whig Scotland c.1690-1746 in German, K., Graham, L., et MacInnes, A., (eds.), *Living With Jacobitism 1690-1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.55-70, 68.

<sup>304</sup> Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2004), p.30.

records of St Germain and Filet's on the court's short time in the Duchy of Lorraine.<sup>305</sup> The Court created a diaspora in St Germain. Hundreds of Scottish, Irish and English Jacobites fled their homes to the relative safety of their monarch. The Irish regiments of the French army gave one way for these exiles to serve their king from exile and to maintain their livings.<sup>306</sup> The roots already ran deep when the court was forced to move in 1715 first to the holdings of the Duke of Lorraine, eventually to Rome.<sup>307</sup> These exiles kept themselves afloat both by assimilating into their new surroundings but often by maintaining a distinct identity and role.

Addressed first is the question of why a direct line of communication broke down between the family and the Jacobite diaspora given its crucial importance to the plots of the 1690s. The role of family choice is central as well as the perception of credibility of the plotters by the Jacobite authorities as well as the experience of the Jacobite plotters in working with Jacobite authorities abroad. This represents a high-water mark of Standish interactions with the court directly and to occur so early in the chronology would at first glance indicate decline in activity. However, Standish activism was far from over.

When considering the changes occurring on the local scale within the Standish families' Jacobite circles, it might be tempting to assume a similar picture on the international scale. This chapter queries this assumption by analysing the Standishes' international connections to Jacobitism. The Standish family had strong elements of continuity in its dealings with Jacobite authorities on the continent, especially in France and the Low Countries. They developed their position through status and careful management. Likewise, as seen in the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation, they became involved through third parties. However, they also were more involved personally with visits to France and Flanders.

The importance of the Jacobite diaspora grew over the period. Especially following the rising of 1715, a new wave of Jacobite entered exile representing some of the cream of those involved in the rising. To the Standishes they were cousins, neighbours or fellow Catholics, sometimes all three. It is therefore unsurprising that there would be an increased interaction with these families as their own position became more precarious. Threats to handholding, mandrill rights and financial stability all acted as push factors to the Standish family. It is more surprising that apart from temporary travel, education or joining the church (that is to say activities not abnormal to family members), no member of the core family went into exile.

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<sup>305</sup> Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, *Le grand exil: les Jacobites en France, 1688-1715* (Paris: SHD, 2007); Jeremy Filet, (2021) *Jacobitism on the Grand Tour? The Duchy of Lorraine and the 1715 Jacobite rebellion in the writings about displacement (1697-1736)*. Doctoral thesis (PhD), Manchester Metropolitan University.

<sup>306</sup> Pierre-Louis Coudray, 'More Furies Than Men' *The Irish Brigade in the Service of France 1690-1792* (Warwick: Helion, 2022) pp.53-54; William Runacre, "The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France", *Academia* (2024).

<sup>307</sup> Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2004), p.74; Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Introduction' in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp.1-14, 11.

To the Standishes, initial contact with the court broke down and communication to the continent only reawakened when a significant number of their own network had moved to the continent. It is worth noting that from this time, the Stuarts had now moved from northern France and would by the end of the period of study, the Stuarts were settled in modern day Italy. The Standish story of international networking is as much one of working while being left behind and forgotten, losing direct connection with the centres of continental Jacobite power and relying on members of the Jacobite diaspora who had neither the resources, connections or will to move further than northern France and the Low Countries.

One of the more curious pages of the Standish plot papers, 'Instructions for a military camp, with a list of regiments; overleaf is a drawing of a camp' (1692) contains a list of French regiments possibly proposed to aid an attempt at restoration. These include: Regiment de Picardy, Regiment de Gromond, Regiment Burbone, and regiments Crique, Sancroix, Papinion and Turin.<sup>308</sup> The Jacobite plotters seemed to expect some French help in order to execute their rising.

Catholic Jacobites looked to France to guarantee their salvation. English colleges, monasteries and convents continued to serve their flock from exile. These had been long established by the glorious revolution but could now serve political ends. The Standish family were well integrated in this infrastructure.<sup>309</sup>

New networks also had to be fostered to fulfil new Jacobite goals. As we have seen on the local level, networks such as the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation offered limited ability to progress Jacobite politics in a clandestine manner. On the international level the first response was framed in military terms and provided a direct channel to the court in exile. By comparison, later activity would be clandestine, financial or social. The Standishes abandoned their connection to the Jacobite court in favour of helping those in the diaspora. This said, by the end of the period, communication with the court in exile had once again been reopened in a limited fashion.

This study rests on sturdy historiography. Murdoch and Macinnes pioneer the study of international networks within Jacobitism.<sup>310</sup> Their qualitative presentation of Jacobite networks interprets their subjects as rounded humans. Murdoch explores interrelated avenues of organisation for Jacobites abroad.<sup>311</sup> Macinnes, by contrast, explores the implications of identity in the tapestry of conflicting

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<sup>308</sup> AWL: D/D St.M3/34 'Instructions for a military camp, with a list of regiments; overleaf is a drawing of a camp' (1692)

<sup>309</sup> QMU, 'Who Were the English Nuns?', *Frances Standish* (GP256), *Anne Standish* (BA180), *Margaret Standish* (RP174).

<sup>310</sup> Stephen Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial And Covert Associations in Northern Europe 1603-1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), Chapters three, six and nine are of most interest for this study with networks between Scots and Northern Europe explored through the lenses of faith, finance and direct Jacobite activity. Allan Macinnes, 'Introduction: identity, mobility and competing patriotisms' in A Macinnes & D. Hamilton (eds.), *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680-1820* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014), pp.1-12 acknowledges the challenges of navigating expatriate identities and their relation to Jacobitism.

<sup>311</sup> S. Murdoch, *Network North* (Brill: 2006), p.4 discusses the tension in the work between social network theory and practice. See also the work at Guelf and Simon Fraser Universities on Jacobite social networks (publications TBC).

loyalties to Jacobites across the world. The instance of Mary Standish (1707-1727) might tempt this avenue of inquiry however, as illustrated in chapter one, the decision making core of the family remained in the locales of Standish and Borwick. The family were not migrants in a permanent sense, aside from this singular example.

Nevertheless, many opportunities arose on the continent through individuals who had joined their king in exile. The Standish's cousins, the Radcliffes, called the continent home from 1721. The Dicconsens of Wrightington (particularly William and Edward) both moved to France. The Towneleys (particularly Francis and John) had careers in the French Army. Additionally, the Standish family had long standing roots on the continent. For instance, the English College at Douay had educated Standish men. The Standish family also had had contact with continental Jacobite agents in the sixteen nineties. The networks developed by the family before 1715 are taken into account as they are a key part of the development after.

This study has the implication that other locally focussed studies could take a global approach. The locale connected to its peripheral links. This has been happening in some contexts. Reconsidering Aberdeen as a centre in the enlightenment challenged the orthodoxy of Edinburgh-centric models of Scottish intellectual history.<sup>312</sup> This revelation arose through reconsideration of global links to the city. Scholars' movement around Northern Europe was key to this discovery. Likewise, Decolonising Lancaster University organised 'Glocal' history tours. These offer an insight for a popular audience into a particularly well-connected, but unassuming, historic city.<sup>313</sup> These two cases have reconsidered the sense of place. Reconsideration of Wigan's Jacobites opens the door to a similar reconsideration. This requires more research and output revising the idea of place in both scholarly and public spheres. This further challenges the image and preconception of small towns today and in the past as parochial and disconnected.

Assessing the international presence of the Standish family is further focussed through a Jacobite lens. The Douay diaries portray the role of faith. Records from other families point towards enduring bonds of kinship. State papers record little involvement in direct affairs. From this, their network appears benign. Careful involvement with active families presents a different picture. Financial activism and

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<sup>312</sup> Jennifer J. Carter & Joan H. Pittock (eds.) (eds.) *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen: 1987) really opened up the discussion in the case of Aberdeen. The Work of Michael Brown displays the broader reconsiderations of Enlightenment across Ireland and Scotland with some examples being: Brown, Michael P., 'A Scottish Literati in France: The Case of Sir James Hall', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, (2008) 2:1, pp.73-100; Brown, Michael P. & ., Mhughailé, Ní L. 'Futures Past: Enlightenment and Antiquarianism in the Eighteenth Century' in Bartlett, T & Kelly, J. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.380-405.

<sup>313</sup> Donaldson, C. & Abraham, S., 'Global stories, Local landmarks: The Glocal Lancaster History Tour' (Pamphlet, Decolonising Lancaster University, 2022), pp.1-4.

intelligence gathering take the place of earlier calls for weapons. The networks of intelligence through the church replace Jacobite agents sent directly from the continent.

This continues where previous scholarship ends. Research of the plot circle of the 1690s documented links to the court in exile.<sup>314</sup> These links leave an open question about their longevity. What do the Standish family do with these links after 1715? Studies of the post-1715 Standish family are dominated by a local studies focus. This has kept the scope and understanding of the network restricted geographically. This said, the court-in-exile and Jacobite diaspora are well researched. Rouffiac's work on the French context and Corps analysis of the role of Edward Dicconson are both invaluable.<sup>315</sup> As we will see, Aston's concept of the adaptable exile is also key to have in mind during this chapter.<sup>316</sup>

Firstly, this chapter will plot the chronology of the Standish involvement in the early Jacobite movement chronologically. Through the examples of financial, military and socio-confessional action the second half of the chapter will assess the extent of experiential continuity and change in the international sphere.

#### Transnational plotters 1688-1700.

From the outset Jacobite plotting was international and this drew on a longer history of Catholic resistance to the Protestant establishment. Both the Standish and Bindloss families had supported the Stuarts in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and had been dispossessed for it. The prospect of the continent as a place of safety was not lost on the most vulnerable in the family. Elizabeth Tyldesley, great aunt to William Standish left to become an Augustinian nun in 1656.<sup>317</sup>

The Standish plots were necessarily international despite their local reach. The appointment of Colonel Parker from the court gave the network an operational advisor and a key correspondent with the court. Parker, a veteran of the Boyne campaign had been dispatched to organise and oversee the recruitment of James II's forces in the north of England.

Letters from the network claim a local force of up to 2000 soldiers were being trained by 1692. 900 foot were claimed and commission papers were requested for a full regiment of horse (550 men) and of dragoons (650 men).<sup>318</sup> These letters, mostly received by Lord Melford were painstakingly

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<sup>314</sup> D/D St.M3 'Standish Plot Papers' (1690-94).

<sup>315</sup> Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, 'Les Britanniques du Roi Soleil la Cour Jacobite Á Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Societé de l'histoire de France* (2013) pp.167-200; 171: Corp, Edward, 'Jacobite Government in Exile', *Gale*, (2016), [gale.com/intl/essays/Edward-corp-Jacobite-government-exile] (accessed 16/5/2023).

<sup>316</sup> Aston, Nigel, 'Chapter 8: Survival Strategies: Jacobite adaptability, 1689-1789, and counter revolutionary prototypes' in *Cosmopolitan conservatism* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp.174-194, 192.

<sup>317</sup> QMU, 'Who Were the English Nuns?', *Elizabeth Tyldesley*

<sup>318</sup> AWL: D/D St.M3/24.

recorded by the network and their responses noted. Arms was the key sticking point with both William Standish (under the alias of Mrs Duckett) and Colonel Parker sending letters and receiving responses. Mrs Duckett received letters encoded with quantities of commodities such as saddles, fire-pieces and other weapons suitable for building up to a force of this size.

In this period this wasn't an unreasonable size of force to aspire to. At Killiecrankie in 1689, the Jacobites came very close to overthrowing the local forces but were scattered after the loss of their leader John Grahme, Viscount Dundee at the moment of victory.<sup>319</sup> The size of the force was estimated to be around 2,500-3000.

The network in Standish seemed to take a slightly different approach joining together the followers of numerous local leaders and commissioning them initially with dragoon Captaincies. This seems to indicate a change of direction with smaller mounted elements preferred over the larger infantry formations of either the First English Civil war or the Jacobite rising of 1689 in Scotland.

Perhaps the closest parallel was the composition of Royalist forces at the Battle of Wigan Lane, with local cavalymen complimented by the Manx infantrymen of Stanley and Tyldesley. This explains further the wish from the network for not only arms and money for war saddles but French or Irish troops to be landed to supplement the vanguard force and hope to tip the balance in the favour of the Jacobites. Their hopes for this were however dashed first in 1691 when French victory at la Hogue reduced the need to send troops for a war of distraction in England. The continued cries for resources would go relatively unheard but enough swords, pistols, and war saddles for the officers could be resourced.

The network's attempts to increase their resources from France went largely unheard. The first incursion into the network by the government in 1691 spooked the court as to its viability. The second and much better argued legal case against the network crushed its credibility and feasibility as an useful organised node of Jacobite action.

Weil argues that cases like that of the Lancashire plotters stood as a key litmus test for the legitimacy of the Williamite government.<sup>320</sup> By not prosecuting the plotters on the shaky evidence gathered by Lunt, an air of leniency could prevail. Additionally, the important work of not rewarding poorly argued legal attempts to overthrow Catholics helped to build the idea that the regime may have enemies but that it would not be as draconian as they believed James II to be. Sankey has argued a similar case

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<sup>319</sup> Magnus Linklater and Christian Hesketh, *Bonnie Dundee: For King and Conscience* (Edinburgh: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1992), pp.222-223.

<sup>320</sup> Rachel Weil, *A Plague of Informers: Conspiracy and Political Trust in William III's England* (Yale: 2013), pp.217-247.

for the rising of 1715 with lenient sentences contrasting against the memory of James II's response to the Monmouth Rebellion.<sup>321</sup>

The opposite effect may also have taken place, by compromising the group, identifying those at the centre and showing leniency the government could also create a sense of governmentality in the plotters. Governmentality as the plotters, knowing they were being observed would change their behaviour based on this observation, much like a Benthamite panopticon prison. Added to this were the weight of the presiding judges words 'go and sin no more' adding to the weight of the moral evil of what the plotters were attempting.

Internationally this was crippling to any attempt to form a credible group that could connect in any way closely to the Court in Exile. The fact the network was compromised before would have made dealing difficult enough but that the government was now watching the activity of the key members of the group made it near impossible to do any of the necessary work for a plot.

The remainder of the 1690s would be difficult as we have seen in chapter one, the news consumed by the family got more difficult and the William's health began to wane. Significantly, the plotters all settled back into their ordinary lives. William who had evaded arrest had fled the area and many of the plotters such as the Gerrards and Tyldesleys (as well as the Standishes) had family abroad in the church in France. That none of them moved shows again a resilience to weather the storm rather than abandon the ship altogether.

#### 1700-1714 Quiet on the international front

With the Standish family in relative disgrace and at least not fully trusted by Jacobite authorities, the period up to the rising of 1715 built up credibility through smaller more manageable channels.<sup>322</sup> These methods were primarily local and though news of international importance reached the family, their participation was relatively little. The deaths of some of William's aunts in the 1680s who served as nuns in the convents of Rouen and Paris also severed more informal links of kinship across the channel. However, Ralph's children would be sent for education on the continent. The first solid record we have is 1714 when his sons Ralph and Edward were fully enrolled in the English College at Douay. The college, set up by exiles from Elizabethan England was built primarily as a seminary school teaching Latin grammar and syntax, theology and preparing English boys for a life in the Catholic church.

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<sup>321</sup> Margaret Sankey, *Jacobite Prisoners of the 1715 Rebellion* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), p.15.

<sup>322</sup> It is important to note that the Jacobites were still active during this period but that the standish family experienced a period of relative quiet: See Szechi, Daniel, *Jacobite Scotland and French Grand Strategy 1701-08* (Manchester, 2015) for a great exploration of this period.

Standishes had travelled to the English College at Douay for education since at least the early seventeenth century.<sup>323</sup> Douay immersed them in a faith that was repressed in England and served as a social space for young Catholics to court and form new social connections. The church in France also offered career paths for those whose faith was especially strong. Edward Dicconson, a Catholic Neighbour to the Standishes, studied at Douay and in Paris before becoming a tutor at the English College. He rose to become vicar apostolic of Northern England. Doyle writes that this was a 'flourishing inheritance'; the north of England had the plurality of Catholic missions across the three kingdoms. The local links to this inheritance were even stronger; Lancashire had 69 missions. This was the most of any county in England.<sup>324</sup>

This clergy were geographically mobile by necessity. A boy wishing to become a priest might study for a while in England before attending a college like Douay or similar colleges in Madrid, Lisbon or Rome. They might then study divinity at a University in France or Italy before getting a local posting, perhaps even to an English college. They might then either petition their order for promotion to a post within the apostolic vicarate or might find sponsorship to be a resident priest. Often the travel might happen several times over a career.

Douay became increasingly influenced by Jacobite expatriates. In the period following the exile of James II, Northern France and Belgium were host to thousands of Jacobite migrants. These were especially concentrated around Calais and Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Rouffiac argues that this diaspora was by the eighteenth century mostly poor and reliant on patronage or employment to pay for annuities (Bonds in the French government known as *Rentes* purchased at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris).<sup>325</sup> As Moulin argues, annuities had become a key method to balance the French economy and secure credit for the monarchy while allowing foreigners the ability to reside in France legally by proving an interest in the state.<sup>326</sup> The other method of securing residence, through intermarriage with French hosts, while common left many still struggling to find a stable living. The French army was one of the key employers hiring men for service in the 'Irish Brigades'.

As their name suggests, the Irish brigades were predominantly made up of Irish exiles especially after the Boyne campaign and James II's return to France. As Sarsfield points out, the end siege of

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<sup>323</sup> Gillow, Joseph, *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary, of the English Catholics: from the breach with Rome, in 1534, to the present time* (London: Burns & Oates, 1885, Vol.3), p.625.

<sup>324</sup> Doyle, Peter, *Mitres and missions in Lancashire: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000* (Liverpool: Bluecoat, 2005), p.12.

<sup>325</sup> Corp, Jacobite Government (2016): Nathalie G. Rouffiac, 'la Cour Jacobite Á Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Annuaire-Bulletin* (2013) p.171; Katia Béguin, 'La circulation des rentes constituées dans la France du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: une approche de l'incertitude économique' *Annales Histoire Science Sociales*, 60:6 (2005), pp.1229-1244; Mathilde Moulin 'Les rentes sur L'Hôtel de Ville de Paris sous Louis XIV', *Histoire Economie & Société*, 17:4 (1998), pp.623-648.

<sup>326</sup> Mathilde Moulin 'Les rentes sur L'Hôtel de Ville de Paris sous Louis XIV', *Histoire Economie & Société*, 17:4 (1998), pp.623-648.

Limerick provided the largest wave of 'Wild Geese' to the continent.<sup>327</sup> Following 1716, these troops were effectively trapped in France as Anglo-French relations remained hostile and the Hanoverian succession beat off initial threats.<sup>328</sup> A small minority of the members, but overrepresented in officer numbers, were English in origin. The Towneley family had a few members in the Irish regiments. Francis, George and John Towneley all served as officers. Edward Dicconson for a while was counted amongst officers lists in the eighteenth-century.<sup>329</sup> Runacre's work has located many of these overlooked English and Scottish Officers and men.

Approaching the rising of 1715 organic Jacobite elements in Lancashire had little direct contact with the court in exile. Likely the long term effect of the plotting of the 1690s, both parties were anxious about working together. In this period there is no recorded contact with the court in exile or from the court in exile from the family.<sup>330</sup>

Instead this period showed a distancing of the institutions of home and the diaspora. Local institutions such as the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation seemed to have a few members in contact with the court in exile at all. The planning done, if any, was responsive to the external stimuli of the rising leaving Scotland and heading towards Lancashire. Derwentwater himself, joined the rising from his Northumbrian estate at Dilston

#### 1715-78 resurgence in the International Sphere.

The rising of 1715 showed the calamity that could take place with poor plans in place. Many of the Lancashire recruits escaped the evening before the surrender of the general force.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Ralph's attention on the local sphere was greater before the rising than after; this is the inverse to the picture in the international sphere. The local sphere was one with limits to activity. Limits to financial capability. Limits to safe networking. Limits to any activity outside the view of the crowns messengers, informers and the local militia. By contrast the international sphere held opportunity.

France and the Low Countries had long been a place of safety to Catholics fleeing oppression in England. Jackson goes so far as to explore the idea of England, as seen from the outside, as 'Devil Land' throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>331</sup> However as much as this assessment, based upon the very real

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<sup>327</sup> William Runacre, 'The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France', *Academia.edu*. [<https://independent.academia.edu/BillRunacre>] , (accessed 15/05/2026).

<sup>328</sup> Eamonn Ciarra, "Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766" (Four Courts, Dublin, 2004) pp. 182, 235

<sup>329</sup> William Runacre, 'The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France', *Academia.edu* [<https://independent.academia.edu/BillRunacre>]: William Runacre, 'Officers of the Jacobite Manchester Regiment - A Working List': TNA: StP RA SP/M/21 f.19 'Warrant or Writ to Captain John Towneley' (1746).

<sup>330</sup> Stuart state papers preserved in Windsor Castle, [Accessed via Gale].

<sup>331</sup> Clare Jackson, *Devil-Land* (London: Penguin, 2022).

chaos of the seventeenth century promoted in novel means through international trade and accessible print, is true, the Hanoverian succession serves as a backdrop to the end of this view of Britain as constantly under threat of coup-d'état, rebellion and strife. To Catholics this new establishment was an intensification of the chaos of the previous century. Jackson, Conway and Colley view the act of union and accession of George I as crucial in forming a modern identity of 'Britain' defined as protestant, maritime and an adversary of France.<sup>332</sup>

To Jacobites this threw old national images and loyalties into disarray. France had been an ally of England against the Dutch and retained bonds through diasporas in both countries. Though Protestantism was well established by even Elizabeth the First's reign, the abandonment of attempts to remove penal restrictions on Catholics after 1688 made arguments in favour of religious liberty appear bunk to Catholics.<sup>333</sup>

Likewise, national, regional and county identities were in flux during the eighteenth century. Even Colley navigates a national picture where militias were even reluctant to serve outside their county boundaries in the 1790s.<sup>334</sup> In 1715, General Wills was sure to contact presbyterian chapels who he could be sure of the loyalty of rather than necessarily contacting only militia captains. This is to say that although the idea of 'Britishness' was on the rise, local identities sat uncomfortably within this and Jacobites often rejected this new 'British' identity in favour of local and national identities.

Within this frame it is easy to understand the difficulty of understanding the national experience for Jacobites. Somewhat, and in conflict to Musgrove's thesis that Northern revolts target the midlands, London was the primary target.<sup>335</sup> Ralph Howard Standish went as far as to call London the 'piss pot' of England.<sup>336</sup> The experience of home and abroad may be more stretched than we can appreciate in this period of upheaval for the family.

#### 'The most humble servant of God': Faith and the English Catholic Diaspora.

The Standish family were no strangers to the world outside Lancashire. They travelled to the English College at Douay for education since at least the early seventeenth century.<sup>337</sup> Douay was a place of

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<sup>332</sup> Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31.4 (Oct., 1992), pp. 309-329; Linda Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale, 1992, 2009); Stephen Conway, "War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles." *The English Historical Review*, 116.468 (2001), pp. 863-93.

<sup>333</sup> Mullett, *Catholics* (1988), p.34.

<sup>334</sup> Colley, *Britons* (2009), p.210.

<sup>335</sup> Frank Musgrove, *The North of England: A History from Roman Times* (1990), p.20.

<sup>336</sup> AWL:D/D St./BundleC5/2 'Ralph Standish Howard to Ralph Standish re liaison with Miss Dolly Mollineux and his problems adjusting to the life of London society' (1727).

<sup>337</sup> Joseph Gillow, *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary, of the English Catholics: from the breach with Rome, in 1534, to the present time* (London: Burns & Oates, 1885, Vol.3), p.625.

sanctity for young Catholics to gain an education. It immersed them in a faith that was repressed in England. It also served as a social space for young Catholics to court and form new social connections. The church in France also offered career paths for those whose faith was especially strong. Edward Dicconson, a Catholic neighbour to the Standishes, studied at Douay and in Paris before becoming for a time tutor at the English College. He rose to become vicar apostolic of Northern England. Doyle writes that this was a 'flourishing inheritance'; the north of England had the most catholic missions. Lancashire had 69; the most of any county in England.<sup>338</sup>

Douay became increasingly influenced by Jacobite expatriates. In the period following the exile of James II, Northern France and Belgium were host to thousands of Jacobite migrants. These were especially concentrated around Calais and Saint-Germain-en-Laye. At their core was the court in exile which the Standishes had communicated with directly in 1691. Letters to and from Lord Melfort were penned and received at Standish Hall.<sup>339</sup> The presence of Colonel Parker and the Duke of Berwick both added gravitas to the action conducted by the network. William Dicconson would become treasurer and receiver general to the court in 1709 having fled due to involvement in the 1691 plot.<sup>340</sup> In this role he would mediate between the French government and the court in exile. By purchasing 'rentes' or bonds, he helped provide Jacobites in France with notional financial stability.

Ralph didn't become involved in major life events of Jacobite diaspora communities in France. He does not appear on witness lists or as a named person for christenings or marriages over this time. This may speak to his knowledge that this journey would be short. Certainly, this was the impression he would want to relay to his mother, the recipient of the journal and letters.<sup>341</sup> He is always a visitor and organises his lodgings only one or two nights in advance. However, his lack of participation in the social life of the diaspora speaks of a Jacobitism intrinsically linked to his place of home, to family and to the locale of Standish. This is more unusual than we may at first appreciate. Richard-Maupillier notes that English arrivals were quick to integrate into local networks in his example of Lorraine.<sup>342</sup>

His travelling companions on a visit to St Omer's church were Mr. Sheldon and Mr. Tempest. Both Jacobites arrested following the rising of 1715. It is unclear whether Sheldon and Tempest have found

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<sup>338</sup> Peter Doyle, *Mitres and missions in Lancashire: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000* (Liverpool: Bluecoat, 2005), p.12.

<sup>339</sup> AWL: D/D St. M3.17; 15; 19: 'Letters from Colonel Parker to Lord Melfort' (1691).

<sup>340</sup> Corp, *Jacobite Government* (2016): Rouffiac, Nathalie G., 'la Cour Jacobite Á Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Annuaire-Bulletin* (2013) p.171.

<sup>341</sup> AWL: D/D St./Bundle C4/1/1 'Ralph Standish at Wigan to Mrs. Standish on his journey to London in captivity' (1716); AWL: D/D St./Bundle C4/1/5 'Ralph Standish at London to Mrs. Standish re his wife's illness' (1717); AWL: D/D St./Bundle C4/1/6 'Ralph Standish to Mrs. Cecilia Standish re his return to Borwick' (1718); AWL: D/D St./Bundle C4/1/7 'Journal of Ralph Standish's travels to Flanders' (1719).

<sup>342</sup> Richard-Maupillier, Frédéric, 'The English Benedictines in Eighteenth Century Lorraine' in Chambers, L., O'Connor, T., (eds), *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish Scots and English College Networks in Europe 1568-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp.116-139.

themselves living permanently in France but they knew the rector well enough to ask him to view the ‘curiosities of St. Barlins Monastery’.<sup>343</sup> They even implored him to stay an extra night at St Omer yet Ralph wished to move swiftly on to Douay, where he met Mr. Dicconson, though her does not tell his mother of this.

He had family business on the continent in securing a place in a convent for his daughter, Mary. Most of the credit for this lies upon Phillipa Howard and Cecilia Bindloss, however. From 1719, Phillipa Howard Standish would write regularly to Madame de la Varenne, an individual closely related to French Jesuits.<sup>344</sup> This connection seems to have flourished following Ralphs travels but may have existed previously through Jesuit contacts in England. Phillipa would go to great pains to secure her daughter’s place at a convent. She handled money the La Varenne family intended to grow in the South Seas company. A furious exchange occurred when the bubble collapsed in 1720 and Phillipa attempted to recover Varenne’s investments.<sup>345</sup> Phillipa appeared to have salvaged the situation, though not the investments. Mary was secured a place at a convent in Normandy where she lived until her death in 1726 at twenty years of age.<sup>346</sup>

The letters to Madame de la Varenne place Phillipa Howard Standish in a position of Power. As a member of the Howard family, she could draw on her position as a relation to the Duke of Norfolk. Her position was further reinforced by her position at the head of the family, especially when Ralph was away from home.<sup>347</sup> Writing from Borwick Hall, a place periodically inhabited solely by the senior woman in the Standish family and her servants, gave Philippa some freedom. It also meant she has a more accurate record in her letters of her husband’s movements than we might expect at the time. In a letter of 1719 she is written to by Lady Petre who is visited by Ralph Standish on his return from France.<sup>348</sup> The letter alludes to a first exchange mentioning Lady Phillipa’s illness. ‘I was very sorry to hear by it [last letter] that dear Lady Phil: had been so much out of order, but was glad to find it was past.’ The letter goes on to offer for Lady Petre to pay the pension of Phillipa’s daughter Molly, should she wish to enter a monastery. Lady Petre’s generosity has a few caveats, however. She assures Phillipa that the support

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<sup>343</sup> This may refer to the remains of the Monastery of St Barling’s, Lincolnshire which may have been smuggled out during the dissolution of the monasteries. Graffius, Janet, “‘Bullwarks against the furie of heresie’: Identity, Education and Mission in the English Jesuit College of St. Omers’ in Chambers, L., O’Connor, T., (eds), *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish Scots and English College Networks in Europe 1568-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp.93-115 discusses the long term links between the English diaspora and St Omers.

<sup>344</sup> AWL: D/D St./Bundle C3/2/1-9 Various Letters between Madame de la Varenne and Phillipa Standish (1719-26).

<sup>345</sup> AWL: D/D St./Bundle C3/2/4 ‘Letter Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Ph. Standish re the Mississippi affair, denying knowledge of it’ (30/11/1719); AWL: D/D St./Bundle C3/2/5 ‘Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Ph. Standish re South Sea Affair’ (9/6/1720).

<sup>346</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/2/1 ‘Epitaph on sister Mary Standish, nun at St. Agatha’s, who died aged 20’ (1726)

<sup>347</sup> See Chapter 1; AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/1/8 ‘Ralph Standish Howard to his mother, Lady Phillipa Standish at Borwick Hall, nr. Lancaster, from Cambrais’ (July 1722); see appendix 1.

<sup>348</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/2/2 ‘Letter from Lady C. Petre to Lady Ph. Standish at Borwick re sending daughter Molly to a monastery’ (1719).

of Madame de la Varenne would be necessary to get Molly into the Monastery. The friendship of Phillipa and Varenne would be a necessary link to maintain to keep the children in the faith.

### Financial Activism

Petre's own links to the Standishes are multiple. Phillipa was related to the Petre's through marriage. Ralph was a cousin to Lord Petre through the Shireburn's and would be again cousin once removed to Lady Petre when her daughter married one of the Radcliffe's in exile.

Madamme de la Varenne was an aristocrat with close links to the Bourbons and the region of Anjou in France. Her involvement in the church gave her influence over entry to churches like St Agatha's, where Mary Standish went. Varenne also appears in the Jacobite state papers as a codename, whether this connects to Madame de la Varenne is unknown at this point.<sup>349</sup>

The Varenne and Petre connections were both dependent on a family close to the Standishes; the Dicconsons. In Ralph Howard Standish's 1722 letter, he notes how his father has sent letters to Mr Dicconson (presumably Edward Dicconson), and that he has received them.<sup>350</sup> He alludes to knowing of several letters seizure at Calais, forewarning his father of sending further sensitive material via this route.

The Standish family had reason to be wary when sending correspondence to the Dicconsons. Edward Dicconson of Wrightington entered the Catholic Church at a young age, studying at Douay in the same fashion as Ralph Standish.<sup>351</sup> It became clear however that he would present a much more radical brand of Catholic Jacobite activity. He briefly joined the Irish regiments in France and appears in the state papers as an officer of James II.<sup>352</sup> After this short military career he returned to the church becoming a tutor at Douay then Cambrai, where Ralph Howard Standishes letter arises.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> State papers: Stuart papers, RA SP/MAIN/2 f.140-141, 'The Duke of Berwick to James Francis Edward Stuart' (December 12<sup>th</sup> 1713): "St. Germain. -" I was to-day with M. Tallon (de Torcy) who told me that he had writt yesterday to your Majesty at large in answer to what I spoke to him of last Sunday so I shall not repeat it, but I believe you will be satisfy'd for his zeale in taking so much to hart the affaire of M. Robinson that you were pleas'd to recommend to him : I shall long extreamly for the answer. I have also writt in his packet to M. Walters, (Gaultier) and prest the business very home to him. As to the other points I was charged to speake to him about, I shall in brief give your Majesty an account of, for they are not so pressing as the other. He will take care to inform M. Raucourt, (James) if he has any bad account of M. Albert (Queen Anne), and at the same time M. Varennes (ships) shall be sent to to be ready, but he does not think it possible without giving some suspicion to place M. Jesper (the Irish) neare M. Varenne: So in case M. Robinson should want M. Jesper, M. Belley (Berwick) must give notice to his relations heare of it, and he may find wherewithal to make it up, in a few dayes warning. As to M. Moreau (the Highlander) no answer can be given till the answer comes from M. Walters."

<sup>350</sup> AWL: D/D St./BundleC3/1/8 'Ralph Standish Howard to his mother, Lady Phillipa Standish at Borwick Hall, nr. Lancaster, from Cambrais' (1722).

<sup>351</sup> Gillow, Joseph, A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary, of the English Catholics : from the breach with Rome, in 1534, to the present time (London: Burns & Oates, 1885, Vol.2) pp.56-57.

<sup>352</sup> Stuart Papers RA SP/M/18 f.135-137, 'Warrant or Writ to Sheldon, Lt-General Dominick and Dicconson, William' (1700):

<sup>353</sup> Gillow, Joseph, A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary, of the English Catholics : from the breach with Rome, in 1534, to the present time (London: Burns & Oates, 1885, Vol.2) pp.56-57.

His brother, William, had even more direct Jacobite action. Having fled to the continent in the aftermath of the Lancashire plot in the 1690's, William became a favourite of Queen Mary of Modena.<sup>354</sup> From this he became trusted as treasurer of the crown and by 1709 he acted as receiver general to the court-in-exile. He handled the majority of the money moving between the exiled Jacobites, their supporters at home, and the Jacobite royal family. In this position he would be perfectly placed as a contact for the Standish family.

Dicconson's role as financier to the court is not without controversy. The poverty of many in the Jacobite diaspora leads Corp to argue that the whole court in exile was impoverished.<sup>355</sup> This issue was largely centred around the Irish Jacobite diaspora who made up the majority of those in the Irish regiments in the French army, however. The French treatment of the Irish regiments as second class, possibly to blame for this.<sup>356</sup> Rouffiac has recently challenged the notion that the court was financially limited by exploring the *rentes*, bonds issued by the French Government. Though these offered paltry returns, they secured the rights of many Jacobite exiles to claim at least a basic existence in France. Coudray argues that the recruits were often poor and dishevelled – the vast majority in the eighteenth century were 'vagrants' perhaps extending this perception of the Jacobite diaspora as desperate.<sup>357</sup> Furthermore, while there were periods of hardship, the core of the diaspora, centred on the royal court, remained in good financial standing.

The majority of these records are in the name of William Dicconson. Rouffiac however leaves open the extent to which these were simply *rentes* handled on behalf of the royal family using royal money.<sup>358</sup> The strong possibility exists that these were also the final destination of many donations given to the Jacobites from supporters in Britain and Ireland. To the Standish family, this would be even more significant. With multiple trips to France and at some points four family members residing there (albeit temporarily), they would have ample opportunity to relay these monies. Likewise, they would have the means through their rents collected at home, despite some occasional domestic hardship. As shown in Chapter 1, many members of the Standish family, including Ralph Standish, had the motivation to do such activity. But what evidence is there of a financial network relaying money from the Standish family to the Court in Exile?

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<sup>354</sup> Wife of James II and a key social supporter of the exiled Jacobites.

<sup>355</sup> Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 2004), p.30.

<sup>356</sup> Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, 'Les Britanniques du Roi Soleil la Cour Jacobite Á Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Societé de l'histoire de France* (2013) pp.167-200.

<sup>357</sup> Pierre-Louis Coudray, *More Furies than Men* (Warwick: 2022), pp.53-54.

<sup>358</sup> Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac, 'Les Britanniques du Roi Soleil la Cour Jacobite Á Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Societé de l'histoire de France* (2013) pp.167-200; 171. It could also be the case that the convent was facing similar financial difficulties to the Irish colleges explored in Karten, Christopher, 'Financial Mismanagement in the Irish College' in Chambers, L., O'Connor, T., (eds), *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish Scots and English College Networks in Europe 1568-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp180-200.

Not all money travelling to France through these channels may be motivated by pure Jacobite motivations. The kin in France, both Standish and Ratcliffe, gave enough reason to send monies to ensure the comfortable living of relatives living abroad.<sup>359</sup> It is clear that the Standishes wished to remain an English family at this point, choosing not to involve themselves in the life events occurring amongst the exiled. Yet there was still an obligation to support family members through their education as Ralph and Phillipa's two sons did, or those who had come upon unimaginably traumatic times such as Anne Marie Ratcliffe.

Another more concrete instance is in the case of Joseph Haldon D.D. Ralph supported Haldon during times of poverty at St Gregory's Paris being one of the Lancashire gentry that underwrote a pension for Haldon and the seminary.<sup>360</sup> Edward Howard, also sent considerable donations to the seminary though Haldon would be later forced to step down in 1755. It is entirely possible that the death of Ralph had a significant effect on the decision of Archbishop Beaumont of Paris to renew Haldon's patent.

This does link to Jacobite considerations. By encouraging and supporting active participation in French society and supporting expatriate kin, they in part strengthened the opinion of themselves and of other Jacobite exiles. In the case of the Howard-Standish boys in Douay, the college diary records them as 'nobilis', Nobles.<sup>361</sup> Their mother was indeed of noble inheritance; however this inflates their standing in comparison to other college members. Jerard Strickland, who was also studying at Douay is not recorded as 'Nobili', but the more appropriate 'armiger', Knight.<sup>362</sup>

Returning to the letter, the only notable reason to be wary of sending letters would be that the letters sent by Ralph to his son contained seditious material or intelligence. The Government were more than aware of both the Dicconson and Standish confessional stance and so this would not warrant caution. Jacobite activity would warrant this. The letter itself stands out as a unique case in that Ralph Howard Standish doesn't regularly communicate with his father. Over this time out of fifteen surviving letters sent from Ralph Howard Standish to his father, only this one is recorded before 1727.<sup>363</sup> This again backs up the thesis that this letter references lost explicit Jacobite material sent to the Dicconsions.

The nature of these may have related to the Varenne money. Though £8000 is given in receipt for Mary's entry into St. Agathas, this is strangely the same amount as handled during the Varenne

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<sup>359</sup> Sabeian and Teucher concur with this view of transnational family: Teucher and Sabeian, 'introduction' in Johnson, C., Sabeian, D.W., Teucher, S., et Trivellato, F., *Transregional and transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences Since the Middle Ages* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), p.1.

<sup>360</sup> Joseph Gillow, *A literary and biographical history, or bibliographical dictionary, of the English Catholics : from the breach with Rome, in 1534, to the present time* (London: Burns & Oates, 1885, Vol.3) p.341.

<sup>361</sup> Edward Burton & Edwin Nolan (Eds), 'The Douay College Diaries: The Seventh Diary: 1715-1778', *The Catholic Record Society*, 28 (1928), p.56 'October 1718 entry'.

<sup>362</sup> E. Burton & E. Nolan, (Eds), 'The Douay College Diaries: The Seventh Diary: 1715-1778', *The Catholic Record Society*, 28 (1928), p.90 'June 1722 entry'.

<sup>363</sup> See D/D St. BundleC5 for the bundle of letters regarding their later correspondence, mostly between 1727-29.

exchange.<sup>364</sup> £8000 is also a ludicrously high sum for entry to a convent, especially for a relatively poor Catholic family in the North of England. The original letter from Varenne sheds some light:

‘voila pour qu'ey je me suis refuice ly long terms le plaisir de vis erire, une autre raison qui men a encore emputie lest qu'on m'aurit dit que vis viendrick a londres, mais j'ai appris depuis que vis etick dispence de faire le voyage is qu'on esperait que vos affaires raisement beureasement.’<sup>365</sup>

Having been left some money at Viendrick's in London, Varenne was told she must collect it in person and hopes Phillipa will do it on her behalf. The investment seems to have been in the form of stocks in various companies.

This was not an uncommon request. Lord Melfort asked James Grahme to purchase and transfer stocks on behalf of James II in 1689.<sup>366</sup> The stock, to the value of £12,000, was in the Guinea company (Royal Africa Company) and Grahme was to send this to James II at great personal cost. When the stock price plummeted, he was forced to apply for external aid. Importantly, this highlights that engaging with international markets was not without risk for the local agent. Nor was this to be undertaken without a good motivation or resource base to fall back on.

Neither the Standishes nor Varenne appear to have the finances to fulfil their side of this bargain. On the Standish side, their account book of 1721-28 notes very tight budgets for the family. Although they had rents from their holdings, outlays were heavy. Recusancy fines were an added cost that was charged at £20 per head, per month. In this context it would be surprising if the Standishes could have produced this themselves. As previously noted, the Petre family of Essex were offering to upfront the costs of Mary's entry into St Agatha's and the Dukes of Norfolk may have been helping with other fines until the family returned to prosperity.

Varenne is more tricky to discern. The Varenne family show up little in the historical record aside from their crumbling castle and a notable mid-seventeenth-century cookbook. There is only one mention of 'Varenne' within the Stuart state papers and that is as its 1713 use as a code name for 'ships'.<sup>367</sup> Could 'Madame de la Varenne' be a Jacobite agent's alias? This is plausible but unlikely. The letter presents intimate knowledge of the workings of convents and presents a submissive tone towards the

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<sup>364</sup> AWL: D/D St./ Bundle C3/2/4 'Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Ph. Standish re the Mississippi affair, denying knowledge of it' (November 1719); D/D St./ Bundle C3/2/5 'Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Ph. Standish re South Sea Affair' (June 1720).

<sup>365</sup> AWL: D/D St./ Bundle C3/2/1 'Letter from Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Phillipa Standish re her daughter's vocation' (Feb 1719), p.1 in English the quote reads: 'here it is for I fled for [a] long term the pleasure of live left [me], another reason that still impregious lest that I am told that left in Viendrick in london, but I have learned since that in order to dispense it, I must make the trip, that is what we hoped that your business would reassure us of'

<sup>366</sup> Bagot, Josceline Fitz-Roy, *Colonel James Grahme of Levens: A Biographical Sketch of Jacobite Times: Compiled from Contemporary letters and papers at Levens Hall* (Kendal: T. Wilson, 1886), p.7.

<sup>367</sup> Blackburne, Daniell F.H. (ed.), *Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol.1, 1902), p.284 [Duke of Berwick to James III, Letter, 12 Dec 1713].

recipient, a contrast to other agent's letters. Likewise, there seem to be no codewords where one may expect – the Standish letter openly discusses the transfer of money. If Varenne was an alias, it was either a very good but lucky one, or a very bad one.

Yet, that leaves a question as to the identity of our Madame de la Varenne and how she came to own an £8,000 fortune in stocks. One lead places her as Marie-Françoise de la Varenne (née Froullay-Tessé), the dowager of the Fouquet de la Varenne family. This would place her in Maine during these events. Her father, Jean Baptiste René Mans III de Froullay, Comte de Tessé, was serving as Ambassador to Madrid.<sup>368</sup> This would have put him in an ideal position to support Jacobite activities using his daughter as an agent. Marie-Françoise was however disinherited in 1719, following the death of her son at fifteen.

The next Madame de la Varenne would be Catherine Françoise de La Varenne. Catherine or Marie would both have legitimacy to use the name 'Madame de la Varenne' at the time of the letter in 1719. By the time of the later letter, Catherine would have settled with the title, so it might be unusual for Marie to have continued with its usage. Yet, Catherine has little connection to England. The impatience of the later letters also backs up this image. Marie-Françoise de la Varenne née Froullay-Tessé is the most plausible identity of Madame de la Varenne.

This said, the motivation is muddled on behalf of both parties. If we take Varenne at her word that this money was hers from a flight from England, hers is the only source verifying this. Given her insecure position, it seems likely she was handling this money for someone else, likely Jacobite money on her father's orders. If she wished to trust someone in England simply to make an exchange on her behalf, the Petre family would have been a better match. Lady Petre more than likely brokered Phillipa Howard Standish's contact with Varenne. Furthermore, Petre held lands in Essex a more inconspicuous avenue of entry to handle money in London. Though Phillipa seemed to need Varenne's approval to send Mary to St Agatha's, it is unclear why this would relate to such a financial gamble. The only solution that fits all the boxes has Jacobitism at its heart.

Phillipa wished to send Mary to St Agatha's. Varenne, in receipt of monies from the court in exile has it carried to London. The Petre family, already known associates of the Varennes and in close proximity to London, view the risk on their part as too high. Phillipa, with her powerful Howard connections and experience working with her husband Ralph Standish would make her someone of interest.

The letters between Varenne and Phillipa present more questions than answers. They do fit into a cross-channel financial network. They also highlight how little attention has been given to these sources in the local archive. They do not fit easily into narratives of local identity or a family story. Yet experiences

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<sup>368</sup> Mans Jean Baptiste René de Froullay, comte de Tessé, & Philippe Henri, comte de Grimoard (Ed), *Mémoires et lettres du maréchal de Tessé, contenant des anecdotes et des faits historiques inconnus* (Paris: 1806), pp.350-351.

on the continent would become even more fundamental to members of the Standish family in the later eighteenth century. In these cases, allusions to Jacobitism are more clear-cut and familiar.

### Military Activity and the wider family

France hosted thousands of soldiers in the so-called 'wild geese' regiments. These soldiers, mostly of Irish origin, fought for the French king as part of the foreign brigades. A small minority of these, but overrepresented in officer numbers, were English in origin. The Towneley family had a few members in the Irish regiments. Francis, George and John Towneley all served as officers. Edward Dicconson for a while was counted amongst officers lists in the eighteenth-century.<sup>369</sup> Though the Standish family didn't choose this option, their choices in marriage and kinship placed them in proximity with officers at the centre of the Jacobite French military diaspora.<sup>370</sup>

Following Ralph Standish's death in 1755, Cecilia Towneley inherited. Ralph Howard Standish and his brothers had died in the seventeen-thirties. Likewise, Phillipa Howard-Standish had died in 1733 and despite remarrying, Cecilia was the oldest surviving child of Ralph. Her Husband, who passed in 1737, William Towneley was the fourth son of the Burnley-based Catholic Family.

In contrast to the Standish Family, following the rising of 1715, the Towneley family had continued to be active Jacobites in the pre-1715 model. As we saw in the previous chapter, they had a close connection to the Walton-le-Dale mock corporation. Towneleys served in executive roles in the organisation and helped to steer its intentions through the 1720's and 1730's. Likewise, they continued to collect songs, poetry and other obvious Jacobite cultural artefacts. Yet they provided a connection to the world outside Lancashire too for the Standish Family through their service in the French army.

Like Ralph Standish, Richard Towneley was placed on trial for his life in 1716.<sup>371</sup> He requested Lachlan Mackintosh to speak in his defence which, at great expense, was successful in getting him acquitted. He continued to administer affairs from Towneley Hall while sending some of his sons abroad to gain experience in the French army. Three Towneleys appear to have held commissions in the French army: Francis, John and George. Francis and John also held commissions during the 1745 rising. This

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<sup>369</sup> William Runacre, 'The Purchase of Commissions in the Irish Brigade of France', *Academia.edu* [<https://independent.academia.edu/BillRunacre>]: Runacre, William, 'Officers of the Jacobite Manchester Regiment – A Working List': TNA: StP RA SP/M/21 f.19 'Warrant or Writ to Captain John Towneley' (1746).

<sup>370</sup> Ralph Howard Standish may have wished to join the French army, his letter alludes to organising a meeting between his Father, Ralph and other Jacobites in the diaspora, See Appendix 1.

<sup>371</sup> TNA: StP 35/77/1 f.8 'Petition of Richard Towneley asking for Sclater, Crow, Dalmahoy. and Laughlan Mackintosh, prisoners, to be present at his trial' (1716).

section will depict their military careers. This is to relate it to Cecilia's own view on these careers having married one of the Towneleys who did not undertake French service.

John Towneley is noted to have received a commission in 1733 by the Jacobite Court in Rome.<sup>372</sup> His commission is renewed in 1743 and again in 1746. He is noted at holding the rank of Captain and later Colonel. This record indicates a more complex military career, however. The initial commission likely reflects the real beginning of his service. For his commission to be renewed in 1743 implies that he would be moving from one type of service to another. In John's case, from service in the French army back to direct control by James III in preparation for the anticipated rising. The war of Austrian succession prompting the French to invest in stirring unrest in Britain. Additionally, the 1743 Black Watch mutiny gave hope that the situation in Britain was so poor that even loyalist regiments would not stand to a rising.<sup>373</sup> In this context, John Towneley transferred his commission back to James II.

Yet the date of the commission was dated to the 25 April. This would place it before the mutiny which occurred in May. Looking at the other commissions, most are dated to match the date of their original commission. The interval of ten years likely makes this even more convenient for later consideration of longevity of service or pensions. It is possible this was backdated to reincorporate John Towneley into Jacobite forces preparing for a rising in 1743 which eventually manifested in 1745. It is also notable with John Towneley's commission papers that he receives a promotion to colonel after his brother, Francis', execution. This reflects the family's enduring loyalty to the regime and likely the close relationship John had to the cause despite, or perhaps because of his brother's execution.

John seemed to have felt this was his duty and though he had ambition, was led to serve his king through personal conviction. Having been only two years a lieutenant in Rothers regiment (French/Irish brigade) he made captain.<sup>374</sup> In a letter of 1733, John writes to James Francis Edward Stuart (James III) thanking him for his commission and writing that:

“ I am too Concious of my want of title to such a favour, not to be sensible, as I ought, of the greatness of it, my utmost ambition will always be to show my zeale for my King, and my dayly prayer”.<sup>375</sup>

He served at the siege of Phillipsburg in 1734. The regiment he served under was later sent to Scotland during the 1745 rising where it stayed in Scotland after the battle of Falkirk.<sup>376</sup> A 1749 letter reiterates this view. As well as being thankful for his position with the Jacobite court, he thanks Colonel

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<sup>372</sup> TNA: StP RA SP/M/21 f.19 'Warrant or Writ to Captain John Towneley' (1746).

<sup>373</sup> John Prebble, *Mutiny: Highland Regiments in Revolt 1743-1804* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), pp.49-53 suggest the real reason was due to the belief that the 43<sup>rd</sup> was to be sent to the West Indies.

<sup>374</sup> J. G. Alger, revised by Antonella Braidà, 'John Towneley' *ODNB* (2004).

<sup>375</sup> TNA StP. RA SP/MAIN/162 f.189-190 'Captain John Towneley to James Francis Edward Stuart' (1733).

<sup>376</sup> J.G. Alger, 'John Towneley', *ODNB* (2004).

O'Brien for his position in the court of France, too.<sup>377</sup> Both loyalties seemed to go hand in hand in the mind of John Towneley.

The Marquis d'Éguilles, a French envoy, mentioned John in a dispatch to Bachaumont, wrote on 20 February 1746: 'M. Townly, who will have the honour of delivering my despatches to you, is the man of most intelligence and prudence amongst those here with the prince: you may question him on any subject'.<sup>378</sup> He clearly made further impression as he was granted 1200 livres and the Order of St. Louis by Louis XV. This would have provided a model of how Jacobite loyalties and military service even after 1715 could bring personal success to the Standishes.

Francis Towneley's military career brought tragedy and triumph. Francis, as with John, joined the French army in time to join the siege of Philipsburg in 1734. Noticed by Louis XV he was made a Colonel.<sup>379</sup> At Philipsburg he fought under the Duke of Berwick, the previous recruiter for the Standish Plot Circle in the 1690's and illegitimate half-brother to the Jacobite James III.

Francis was not to remain in French service entirely. He returned to England in 1743. According to Gooch, he would likely have settled down were it not for the rising of 1745.<sup>380</sup> However, he had previously been warned not to join with the prince in March of 1745, returning to France. James III spoke in this exchange that he was displeased with both him and Francis Strickland (who would later accompany Charles Edward Stuart to Moidart).<sup>381</sup> James didn't seem to trust either of the men and imagined they had plans of their own to spark a rising.<sup>382</sup> In the case of Francis Towneley, his service had him lead England's only Jacobite regiment of the rising: the Manchester Regiment.

The Manchester Regiment had a disappointing recruitment by all accounts. Francis' colonelcy at its head mixed with the strong presence of the sons of infamous Nonjuror, Thomas Deacon gave the regiment limited appeal in the short time it remained in the area to recruit. Almost all the protestants in the regiment were drawn from the Deacons' Orthodox British Church. The remainder were mostly Roman

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<sup>377</sup> TNA StP. RA SP/MAIN/300 f.40-41 'Captain John Towneley to Colonel Daniel O'Brien' (1749).

<sup>378</sup> Cottin, P., *Un protégé de Bachaumont: correspondance inédite du marquis d'Éguilles* (1887), lxxi, p.28.

<sup>379</sup> Gooch, Leo, 'Francis Towneley', *ODNB* (2004).

<sup>380</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>381</sup> State Papers: Stuart Papers, RA SP/MAIN/263 f.67-68, 'Chevalier de St George to the Prince' (March 8<sup>th</sup> 1745): "Mr Townly having been told that he was not to follow the Duke to a campaign, in case he made one, has desired to return into France, and will, I believe, set out in a few days. The truth is, I have little reason to be pleased with either him or Strickland, but provided they keep within proper bounds for the future, it is not my intention to give them any mark of displeasure, and I shall be even glad to befriend them as occasion offers, tho' the less you have to do with them when in France the better. I shall write more fully to you next week on this disagreeable subject. J.R."

<sup>382</sup> State Papers: Stuart Papers, RA SP/MAIN/263 f.103-104, 'Chevalier de St George to the Prince' (March 16<sup>th</sup> 1745): "Townly parts to-morrow with the French courier, and will, I reckon, arrive in Paris soon after this; he has asked my leave to go and see you, which I have allowed of, because it is not my intention to give him any publick mark of displeasure, tho' it is known more or less that I am not pleased with him: so that on all accounts, my dear child, it would not be right you should give him a certain countenance, nor have any kind of familiarity with him, tho' I look upon him to have been more a fool than any thing else. Strickland wont be in France so soon, because he stays to take the waters of Lucca. But in general for these two be on your guard, never to give them any countenance, nor to allow them to be in any way about you."

Catholic. The regiment accompanied the Jacobite march south, turned back at Derby and marched northwards eventually being left at Carlisle as a rearguard. He was in favour of making a final stand on English soil and is reported to have said: 'it would be better to die by the sword than fall into the hands of those damned Hanoverians'<sup>383</sup>. Despite this judgement, he surrendered.

On capture Francis Towneley, along with most of the other officers in the regiment, was sentenced to death. In his trial, a key part of his defence lay on that as a holder of commission in the French army, and not James III's army, he was in fact not a rebel but a foreign combatant. Jacobite activity abroad had become his best defence. A jury of twelve Londoners were not convinced and he was sentenced to death.<sup>384</sup>

The account of his dying words seems to relay an accurate description of Francis' speech and thoughts at his execution.<sup>385</sup> His French commission date matches the French records and it is likely it was compiled by someone close to the trial who had access to such information. The chance to give a speech from the scaffold gave a unique opportunity for the sentenced to give their thoughts. Some repented. Others, like, Francis Towneley gave a polemic, reasoning their case for rebellion and redoubling their cause through example of their sacrifice. Szechi describes this as the 'Jacobite theatre of death'.<sup>386</sup> This attempt to canonise themselves in the eyes of supporters was perhaps their only contemporary use, as Szechi alludes.<sup>387</sup>

The execution had a he most profound effect on the executed. Upon hearing of his execution, Francis is noted to have cried to a friend: 'I never thought it would come to this'.<sup>388</sup> His speech from the scaffold presented a curated image of the martyr: 'the Oppression of a German Hanoverian Usurper ... I already see him Assending Step by Step, til at last he will arrive at the very Summit of Arbitrary Power and Despotick Sway'.<sup>389</sup> This speech foreshadowed a difficult execution. After being hanged by the neck,

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<sup>383</sup> Thomas Bayly Howell (ed.), *A complete collection of state trials and proceedings for high treason and other crimes and misdemeanors from the earliest period to the year 1783 : with notes and other illustrations* (London: Longman, 1816) Vol.18, p.339: Faulkener, George, *A Genuine account of the behaviour, confession and dying words of Francis Townly (nominal) Colonel of the Manchester Regiment, Thomas Deacon, James Dawson, John Barwick, George Fletcher, and Andrew Blood, Captains in the Manchester Regiment; Thomas Chadwick Lieutenant, Thomas Sydall Adjutant in the same; and councillor David Morgan a volunteer in the pretenders army who were executed the 30<sup>th</sup> day of July 1746 at Kennington Common for High Treason, in levying war against his Most sacred Majesty King George the Second* (Dublin: Faulkener, 1746), p.16.

<sup>384</sup> Howell, T.B. (ed.), *State Trials* (London: 1816), pp.333:352.

<sup>385</sup> Chetham Library, Raines MSS, Vol 25, pp.360-2; printed also in the broadsheet: Faulkener, George, *A Genuine account of the behaviour, confession and dying words of Francis Townly (nominal) Colonel of the Manchester Regiment, Thomas Deacon, James Dawson, John Barwick, George Fletcher, and Andrew Blood, Captains in the Manchester Regiment; Thomas Chadwick Lieutenant, Thomas Sydall Adjutant in the same; and councillor David Morgan a volunteer in the pretenders army who were executed the 30<sup>th</sup> day of July 1746 at Kennington Common for High Treason, in levying war against his Most sacred Majesty King George the Second* (Dublin: Faulkener, 1746), p.13.

<sup>386</sup> Szechi, Daniel, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death' in Cruickshanks, Eveline and Black, Jeremy, *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988) pp.57-73.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, p.71.

<sup>388</sup> Faulkener, G., *Dying Words* (1746), p.27.

<sup>389</sup> Chetham Library, Raines MSS, Vol 25, pp.360-2.

Francis was brought down but was still conscious; the executioner swiftly stabbing him in the heart before drawing and quartering.<sup>390</sup>

This also had profound effects on his relations including Cecilia Towneley. John Towneley returned to France after the rising of 1745. On his later return to England, he faced no charges and retired to the south-west, becoming an antiquarian. The estate was however in the hands of Cecilia as William Towneley's widow on his death in 1742. Her view remained complex. She initially fled from Towneley Hall on hearing of the rising, returning to Standish Hall to her father's seat.<sup>391</sup> This state of affairs lines up with her mother's reaction in 1715 and with Mrs Towneleys reaction too.<sup>392</sup> The aforesaid Mrs Towneley was in communication with St. Germain, so this movement between properties does not alone prove alienation from the Jacobite cause.<sup>393</sup>

One final piece of evidence may shed light on this ambiguity. Cecilia Towneley's surviving daughter married Charles Strickland in April 1762. This marriage once again paired her family with a key family involved with the 1745 rising. The memoirs of Chevalier de Johnstone make note of a member of the Strickland family accompanying Bonnie Prince Charlie as one of the 'seven of Moidart'.<sup>394</sup> He falsely attributes Strickland as an Irishman, though in this second edition it is corrected with a note. Yet this mistake more than likely is accounted for by the previous career of Francis Strickland, as a soldier fighting with the French in a similar fashion to the Towneleys. This was not an isolated event, for the Stricklands. The head of the family, Thomas Strickland accompanied James II into exile in 1690.<sup>395</sup> Charles Strickland once again incorporated the Standish Family with internationally connected Jacobites whose credentials are only apparent when searching from the international perspective. Cecilia Strickland Standish harboured these beliefs for herself, hosting the daughter of Charles Stuart's lawyer in 1788.<sup>396</sup> Monod reads this action as part of the continuing transfixion between English Catholics and their monarchs as a bridge to aristocratic independence.<sup>397</sup> This also seems to represent a gendered aspect; Cecilia continued the Standish method of hospitality when dealing with a connection to the court. She also welcomed connections to France as this would ensure social opportunity for her family. In the days following the Catholic Relief Act, this is all the more significant. No longer was there the imperative to move to be educated or worship freely. Yet Jacobite connections were maintained and fostered as a matter of family importance.

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<sup>390</sup> G. Faulkener, *Dying Words* (1746), p.31

<sup>391</sup> Friends of Towneley Hall, *Tracing the Towneleys*, 2004 (Burnley, Towneley Hall, 2004), pp.17;26.

<sup>392</sup> TNA StP: RA SP/MAIN/38 f.132a-133 'T. Bruce to the Duke of Mar' (1718)

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>394</sup> Chevalier de Johnstone, *Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745 and 1746* (London: Longman, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1821), p.3.

<sup>395</sup> Cruickshanks, Eveline and Corp, Edward, (eds.), *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995), p.30.

<sup>396</sup> P.K. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English* (Cambridge: 1989), p.138.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*

The period from the eclipse of the rising of 1715 to the death of Charles Edward Stuart in 1788 saw much continuity in the policy enacted by the Standish family. Their choice in spouse through subsequent generations appears to represent a familial preference for families with roots on each side of the English channel. In particular, the brothers of Jacobite officers in the French army, previously unlinked to the Standish family offered a direct chain to French and Italian politics.

There was significant change also. The strategies pursued by William Standish were not as possible in 1715, 1745 or 1788. The monitoring of mail abroad, or at least the perception thereof, put off family members from engaging in this type of organisation. Yet activity still took place. Although the documentary evidence is fragmentary, it seems more than likely that Ralph and Phillipa Standish were conducting financial transactions for the court-in-exile using Madame de la Varenne as a key contact. This aspect has been lost on previous studies that have rejected these letters as an interesting line of enquiry. Alongside the Dicconson letter, the evidence is even more damning.

Cecilia's doctoring of the record means that looking at the family papers alone is not enough- much of the meat of the papers was destroyed likely between 1755 and 1762, at the time of Cecilia's great documenting of the Standish holdings. However, returning to the family archive to create the corpus of people interesting to the Standish fixation with Jacobitism does bear fruit.

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Exploring the international connections to Jacobites in France, Spain and Italy shows that far from losing their faith in the cause, they redoubled efforts through different means. Marriage played a key role in the maintenance of these loyalties with the two generations following Ralph and Phillipa highlighting this. The death of so many children and grandchildren left the male line extinct. This once again placed the women of the family in a new, but different leadership role. The choice of marriage of Cecilia Towneley to William Towneley and then Cecilia Towneley-Standish to Charles Strickland both attached the family to Jacobite families intimately linked to international Jacobitism.

The international picture offers a picture of the Standish family not as defeated, but redoubled in efforts to support a wider movement of Jacobitism. Much has been made that no one of the name 'Standish' served with the Jacobites after 1715, however this litmus test obscures the reality of the amount of work required to sustain Jacobite activity *before* a rising would even be possible. Communication through close familial, kin and friendship connections helped to keep those in exile sustained for the next spike of activity. Of even more importance for the longevity of Jacobitism, the Standish family offered a safe place for those in the wider kin network to seek safety. This is the likely reason for the gift of the Standish Case from Prince Charles Edward Stuart in 1749. They may have

entertained the prince at the last rising but had acted as a key scaffold to the Towneley family supporting the household when Francis was executed.

All of this is blended together with a dual purpose. The Standish family cared also about familial survival and especially about their role in the Catholic community. Jacobite activities were sometimes pinned to Catholic activities such as the exchange of monies between Phillipa Howard and Madamme de la Varenne. They often encompassed overlapping circles; The letters between Ralph Standish and the Dicconsions were so inflammatory they only remain in evidence through their allusion in Ralph Howard Standishes letters.

By 1762 however, Cecilia still felt anxious enough about the manuscripts in the family archive to attempt a purge of Jacobite material. What is still unclear is whether this was intended to shroud an extant Jacobite present or to reform a Jacobite past.

## Epilogue and Conclusion: 'What is't that does vex and forment the poor swain?'

The Standish family's relationship with Jacobitism changed significantly over the eighteenth century. In 1688 the family were ingrained in local politics and though their faith was outlawed, the family had found ways to navigate the realities of Protestant rule in their Catholic enclave. By the end of the century, commercial interests had taken over from political ones. The family were more concerned with coal and tolls than lines of succession. Contrary to previous works, this thesis has shown Jacobitism's crucial role in this process allowing the family to break into new markets and to maintain their faith, family and kin networks.

Jacobitism also, at moments, represented a challenge to their way of life. The aftermath of the rising of 1715 brought real hardship to the family with confiscations of land and the ending of centuries-long privileges over local institutions, particularly over the local church. This break with Anglicans in their community changed their capacity for broad action permanently. Amongst Catholics in Standish, their role as patricians was maintained until the 1880s, however this leadership was markedly more defensive than politically offensive. The overt expression of Jacobitism in the core of the family became vastly diminished from this point onwards.

However, the Rising of 1715 represented not the highwater mark of their activism as has been previously argued, but a peak within a range of waxing and waning loyalties to the Stuarts within the family. These peaks and troughs were expressed through different means than has been previously understood.<sup>398</sup> After the rising there was significant activism within the family though demographic crisis within the family made it difficult to pursue direct military action again. Instead, existing networks were used to ensure their kin who suffered exile could survive, that the Stuarts were honoured at home and to encourage others to join risings in their place. Tacit complicity with the regime in 1745 showed the primacy at this point of preserving their position and to protect the local Catholic community in which they were leaders.<sup>399</sup>

This later gave the Standish family an advantage in accessing coalfields in the North-East against the interests of both the Lowther and Bradshaigh (Later Crawford) influence. This advantage was not enough for the village of Standish to rival Wigan (already a significant settlement in the preceding century)

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<sup>398</sup> Vullings, Georgia W.M., 'Loyal Exchange: The Material Culture and Visual Culture of Jacobite Exile, c.1716- c.1760', (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2021).

<sup>399</sup> It is also worth accepting the parallel conclusion that by protecting their local Catholic interests they were better able to access international Catholic networks as explored in Chambers, L., O'Connor, T., (eds), *Forming Catholic Communities. Irish Scots and English College Networks in Europe 1568-1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

or even to dislodge the hold of the Bradshaigh's over the town. It did ensure what the family had longed for over the long eighteenth century: Security and survival.

In the imagination of Ralph Standish's generation, Jacobitism retained a strong attractiveness. The family felt that Jacobitism was the solution to questions of the monarch's legitimacy, anti-Catholic measures and their own relative poverty. The most significant of these concerns was on balance, faith. As Mitchinson notes, Standish Jacobitism most significantly collapsed after Charles Edward Stuart entertained conversion to Anglicanism.<sup>400</sup> This fissure between the motivations of the family and the attempts of Charles to recruit from a broader pool of English support were, for the Standish family, folly.

The family maintained rituals and customs up to and past this date, however. They accepted awards from Charles Edward Stuart when they hosted him in 1748.<sup>401</sup> They continued to collect Stuart hair and blood and preserved their existing collection. Most crucially, they maintained networks in Jacobite organisations. They maintained links with Jacobites within their kin and family networks. They accepted a diminished role in local government and worked behind solid organisational barriers.

Within the family Jacobitism remained part of the family imagination until the later eighteenth century. It is hard to pin this down to a date, however. Mitchinson's date of 1788 is a relatively hard later date however when we consider the work done on the family archives by the two Cecílias, it might be sensible to make the distinction that experiencing Jacobitism as a force on their present time may have already waned in favour of an historical view of the family's role. If we are to judge the family as Corp advocates: 'the essential problem for the historian...is how much loyalty was retained' then we must conclude that the standish family were nevertheless amongst the most longstanding of supporters.<sup>402</sup>

Likewise, the picture in the local community is one of relative quietism. This shouldn't be taken too far, however. The family were not active members of local politics in much of the later seventeenth century and their prominence grew in Standish as colliery owners from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their two nodes of real local activism (1690-94 and 1715-16) are therefore to be taken as outliers of their experience in local politics. The outcome of the latter made doing organisation the same way, near impossible, they were under surveillance, their advowson taken away and their power as manorial landlords diminished. Their situation was thus comparable in these way to the highland chiefs

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<sup>400</sup> Allan Mitchinson, *The History of Catholicism in Standish* (Wigan: NWCHS, 2005), p.62.

<sup>401</sup> Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish* (Wigan: 2005), pp.54-55.

<sup>402</sup> Corp, Edward 'The Alternative to the House of Hanover: The Stuarts in Exile, 1714-1745' in Gestrich, A., Schiach, M., (eds), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical culture* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp251-261, 252.

who lost their rights over their *Dúchthas* following each rising in Scotland.<sup>403</sup> It is surprising therefore, that more attention has not been brought to bear exploring the experience of the families in England.<sup>404</sup>

The truly underappreciated sphere is the international. As Szechi writes, the intersections of Jacobitism, empire, the wider world and social networks are real spheres of potential in the field<sup>405</sup>. I hope the work done here presently lives up to this goal in a minor way. To the Standishes, France was a real place of safety, the experiences of Ralph in brief exile during 1717 and his sons in the 1720s sheds light on an aspect of Jacobitism and the wider Catholicism often ignored when studying an individual family. Their experience was international. Their networks were also international and became more-so following the rising of 1715.

In contrast to Murdoch's work, the experience of the Standish family was not primarily commercially motivated. Theirs was underpinned by faith and social ties. The yearning to secure an education and career in the Catholic church for children necessitated a tie to a Catholic nation such as France, Spain (often through the Spanish Netherlands), Italy (commonly the lands administered by the Papal States), or Portugal. All these areas hosted a diaspora population of English, Scottish or Irish Catholics offering a confessional establishment-in-exile for Catholics. The Standish's links to the French church were already strong, especially with Douay. These were only enhanced in the following period, Ralph's children attended Douay and convents in Rouen. The connection to their former neighbours, the Dicconsos was enhanced. Meeting with Jacobites was easier in this sphere also, though it is not clear how much this was actually undertaken.

Most startlingly, this grew new avenues of Jacobite activism, particularly financial, across national borders. The staggering sum of £8,000 (around £1 million in today's money), was handled and transferred by the family with the given reason to secure a spot in a convent for Molly, Phillipa and Ralph's Daughter. Whether this was in fact a *Jacobite* plot seems unclear but the staggering amount is only comparable to the amount handled by Colonel Grahme of Levens in the 1690's so it would seem the most reasonable conclusion. The intention either way was a deeper relationship with actors in France to the detriment of England.

Much like Glickman argues, English Catholics did not experience the eighteenth century as a wholly flagellative period.<sup>406</sup> They enjoyed an enrichment of culture and secured avenues for a distinct

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<sup>403</sup> Ryan Dziadowiec, '*Dúthchas: Locating and Nourishing the Roots of Scotland's Land Reform Revolution*', (Coventry: Unpublished PhD thesis, 2024).

<sup>404</sup> The work of Sankey and Gooch have been fundamental to this present study, however there are far fewer studies of individual families or over the whole experience of Catholic families in England after the 1715 with the exception of Cogan and Glickman.

<sup>405</sup> Szechi, D., *Jacobites Home and Abroad* (Manchester, 2<sup>nd</sup>), P.15.

<sup>406</sup> Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell Brewer, 2009), pp.8-10.

culture of English Catholicism across national boundaries. They also made inroads into protestant communities and the family story of the early nineteenth century illustrates this well.

Their position as members of the Catholic community enabled the astute purchases of land in the coalfields in county Durham which gave them an advantage over some of their protestant neighbours. This commercial growth brought them into conflict with these very neighbours like the Lindsays of Haigh. The Hall's former residents had been reluctant occasional allies of the Jacobites. The father of the Lindsay resident at Haigh in the 1820's was present with the Jacobites at Sherrifmuir, (the battle on the same day as the one fought by Ralph Standish at Preston). This did not temper the fires of competition between the two and court cases challenged each other over coal rights, tolls and access to canals. The next century therefore divided the coalition brought together by Jacobitism both along and across confessional and class lines. It is unsurprising that the family spent more time in France during the nineteenth century with the final member of the family, a permanent resident of France dying in 1921.

What this study therefore shows is a long history of connection to places in tension with the lived experience of being from somewhere that creates a hostile environment. The family had gone from the killers of Wat Tyler and hailed by the monarchy as their saviours, to viewed with suspicion and horror by the military fiscal state. It therefore holds a limited moral teaching: consider those you isolate and vilify and what they will offer to those that will accept them, an adage that today is used far too much when considering those with broad shoulders and not enough when considering marginalised communities of colour, queer communities and minority religions.

It also shows through the example of Jacobitism in Standish, that the locale was connected to the wider world. The family were connected to the wider world, not as one might expect solely through a level of privilege, but because of their position on the margins. Their Catholicism, built into their political beliefs providing both the benefits and challenges that came with a more international experience of the world.

Likewise, their adoption of industrial practices was far from a straightforward path. Coal was mined as a response to the challenges that arose from restrictions they faced as Catholics and as active Jacobites especially after the two periods of direct action in the 1690s and 1710s. their later prosperity with coal and industry would accelerate the end of their traditional modes of power in the locale and would lead to a different relationship with the communities around them in the nineteenth century. Yet the expansion of their coal interests was only made possible through Jacobitism, not only the hardship formed but the networks of fellow Jacobites who had land or coal interests to sell to pay for their own debts and diminished position.

## Appendices.



By the King,  
**A PROCLAMATION,**  
For Apprehending of *William Standish* of *Standish-Hall* in the  
County of *Lancaster*, Esquire.

WILLIAM R.



Whereas his Majesty hath received Information, That *William Standish* of *Standish-Hall* in the County of *Lancaster*, Esquire, hath Conspired, with divers other Disaffected Persons, to Disturb and Destroy the Government, and for that purpose bought up Arms, and Abetted and Adhered to his Majesties Enemies; For which cause several Warrants have Issued for the Apprehending of the said *William Standish*, but he hath withdrawn himself from his usual Place of Abode, and is fled from Justice: His Majesty therefore hath thought fit, by and with the Advice of his Privy Council, and upon an humble Address from the House of Commons for that purpose,

to Issue this his Royal Proclamation: And his Majesty doth hereby Command and Require all his Loving Subjects to Discover, Take and Apprehend the said *William Standish* wheresoever he may be found, and to Carry him before the next Justice of Peace, or Chief Magistrate, who is hereby Required to Commit him to the next Gaol, there to remain until he be thence delivered by due Course of Law. And his Majesty doth Require the said Justice, or other Magistrate immediately to give Notice thereof to his Privy Council, or one of the Principal Secretaries of State. And his Majesty doth hereby Publish and Declare, That all Persons who shall Conceal the said *William Standish*, or be Aiding or Assisting in Concealing him, or furthering his Escape, shall be Prosecuted against for such their Offence, with the utmost Severity according to Law. And his Majesty does hereby Promise, That whosoever shall Discover and Apprehend the said *William Standish*, and Bring him before some Justice of Peace, or Chief Magistrate, shall have and Receive the Reward of five hundred Pounds for so doing. And We do hereby Authorize and Require Our present Commissioners of Our Treasury, and Our High Treasurer and Commissioners of Our Treasury for the time being, to make Payment of the said Sum accordingly.

Given at Our Court at *Whitehall* the Fourteenth Day of *March* 1694. In the Seventh Year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

London, Printed by *Charles Bill*, and the Executors of *Thomas Newcomb* deceased, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1694.

### Appendix 3.1: Register of Burials, Warton Parish Register.

'Mr Edward (E.T. Edmond) Gilping of B[orwick] Roman Priest, 19 June 1725'

'Mrs Cecily Standish the d. of Sir Rebert Bindloss of B[orwick] 23 Jan 1728'

### Appendix 3.2: Register of Burials, Standish Hall Chapel.

'29 December 1777 Mrs Cecilia Townley'

### Appendix 3.3: Register of Burials, Standish St. Wilfred's 1653-1732 (WLS: MF1A 17/1).

'3<sup>rd</sup> May 1726

Mr Howard Standish s.[on of] Ralph Standish esquire'

'7<sup>th</sup> April 1732

The right Hon-ble the Lady Phillipa Standish of Standish'

'12 Jun 1705

William Standish, Esq. -

Abode: Standish, Died at Woolston'

### Appendix 3.4: Register of Baptisms, Standish St. Wilfred's 1653-1732 (WLS: MF1A 17/1).

'1<sup>st</sup> June 1698

William s.[on of] Ralph Standish of Standish esq and Phillipa his wife d. Henery Duke of Norfolk'

'March 1700

Ralph S. Ralph Standish of Standish Esq. and Phillipa his wife d. Henery Duke of Norfolk'

'February 1701

\_\_\_\_\_ of Ralph Standish of Standish gentleman and Phillipa his wife d. Henery Duke of Norfolk'

'4 May 1707

Mary d. Ralph Standish of Standish esq. and Phillipa his wife d. Henery Duke of Norfolk'

'1703/4

Sharlott d. Ralph Standish of Standish esq. and Phillipa'

### Appendix 4.1 some illustrative papist estates records:

'John Duxbury of Standish, Linenweaver

Cottage and 2 crofts held from William Standish, esq. as 3s 4d rent, 2 days shearing or 1s., 1 day filling dung or 4d. and 2 hens or 1s.'

'Ann Laithwaite of Borwick, Widow

Moiety of Burgage in Wiggan held for life. In possession of Elenor Ford, rent £1. 17s. 6d.

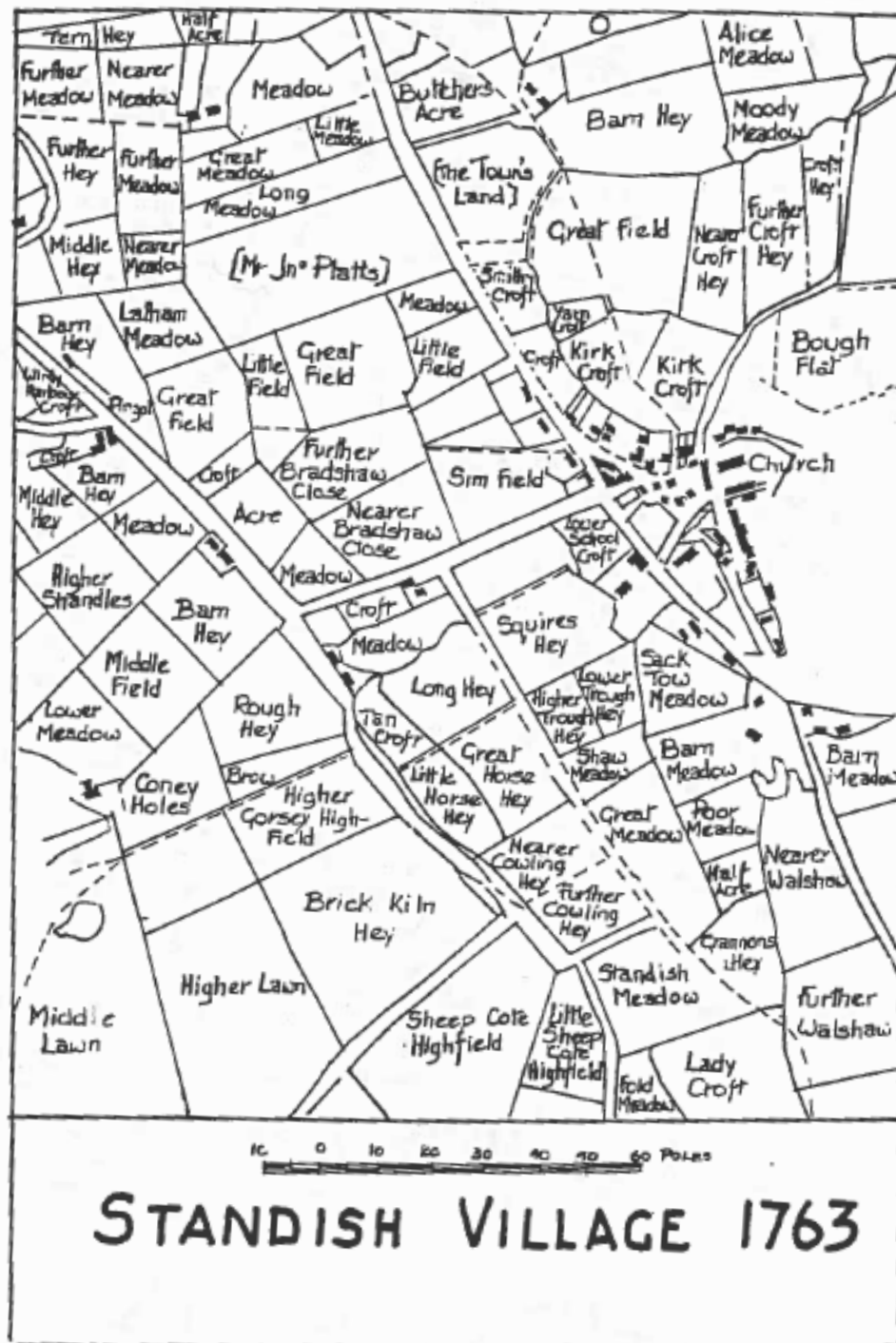
Moiety of 2 closes in Wiggan called the Higher and Lower Batch Heyes. In possession of Charles Hartley, rent £4 yearly.

Annuity of £10 from tithes of Bulke and Quarmore by bequest of Mary Standish of Borwicke, in possession of Cisilia Standish of Borwick, Widow.'

'Thomas Blundell of Standish, Yeoman

Messuage in Standish held from Ralph Standish esq. for lives of T.B. and Daughters Dorothy and Ann, rent £1. 2s. yearly and several boons or 3s. in Lieu'

Appendix 4.2: Map of Standish Village, c.1763 from Johnson, Eleanor, *The Standish Family* (Wigan: Heritage Service, 1972), p.30.



Appendix 4.3: Map of surrounds of Standish Hall from Johnson, Eleanor, *The Standish Family* (Wigan: Heritage Service, 1972), p.29.



## Appendix 4.4 Select entries from the Walton-le-Dale Mock Corporation book

1705:

Lanc' JS	The names of all and singular the officers will in Walton in the Dale in the said county for the year of our lord 1705				
[Encompaiing all]	Elected and Sworne Nov 1705				
Forename	Surname	Title	given	notes	
Henry	Fleetwood	Major	esq		
William	Greenfield	Recorder	esq		
John	Bruce	Bayliffes	esq		
Samuell	Hinton	Bayliffes	esq		
Edward	Ashton	Serjeants	esq		
William	Crichley	Serjeants	esq		
	Farrington	Phisitian	Doctor		
	Tildesley	Pester	Doctor		(Uncle Thomas)
Edmund	Trafford	Macebearer	esq		
Evan	Wall	housegropere	mr	poss all one surname: Evanwall	
	Tunstall	Poet Laureat	mr		
Joseph	Curtis	Townes Clarck	mr		
Thomas	Dale	Deputy Major			
				[endorsed bottom, different handwriting]	
				J. Burnett came to the Unicorn	
				Jan 12th 1719(?) ---	

1714:

Walton JS	The names of the Officers ellected to serve for the year 1714 as follows			
forename	surname	title	given	notes
Rowland	Eyre	Mayor	Esq.	
John	Winckley	Recorder	Esq.	
John	Allenson	Mayors Bayliffe	Esq.	
George	Moor	Towns Bayliffe	Esq.	
Alexander	Osbalderston	Mayors Serjeant	Esq.	Of Sunderland
Edward	Starkey	Towns Serjeant	Esq.	

Peter	Eyre	Macebearer	Esq.	
Alexander	Howell	Swordbearer	Esq.	
William	Hobson	House Groper	Esq.	
Thomas	Worthington	Physitian & Poet Laureat	Esq.	
William	Farrington	Huntsman	Esq.	
Ralph	Loxam	Chaplain	A.M	
Arthur	Cecil	Slutt Kisser	Esq.	
William	Escort	Custard Eater	Esq.	
Roger	Whichcott - Massey	Towns Clark		
George	Yates	Deputy Mayor		
				Jusd 10 Nov.r 1714
				R:d Massey Towns Clark
				Nov 1715 All officers continued for the years ending
Ralph	Asheton	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
Thomas	Winckley	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
John	Asheton	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
Jeff	Prescott	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
James	Franciks	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
Francis	Elcock	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
Francis	Elcock (jr.)	Freemen	Esq.	P3 of entry
	Cooper			

### Appendix 5.1: D/DST.M3/24: List of Names, primarily of Gentlemen from Cheshire 1692-3.

Richard Barry - Esq.

Arthur Barry - Esq.

Two Mr. Brookes's

Mr Edgerton of Tatton

S-r Peter Warburton

S-r W[illia]m Dutsinfield Daniel

Peter Legh esq.

S-r Tho-s Egerton of Eaton

Geroge Legh of High Legh

Robert Gwyllyn esq.

Phillip Egerton of Bulton esq.

W-m Tatton of Withenshaw esq.

Edward Greaves esq.

John Blackburne esq.

Domvile Halsted esq.

Tho-s Cholmondley esq.

Daniel Ashley, Gent.

Henry Houghton of Bagueley

Ralph Leyeston of Taft, esq.

S-r Richard Brooke

Colonel Warburton of Winnington

Appendix 5.2: Google earth map of the plotters in the 1690s compared to local prisoners in the 1715 rising.

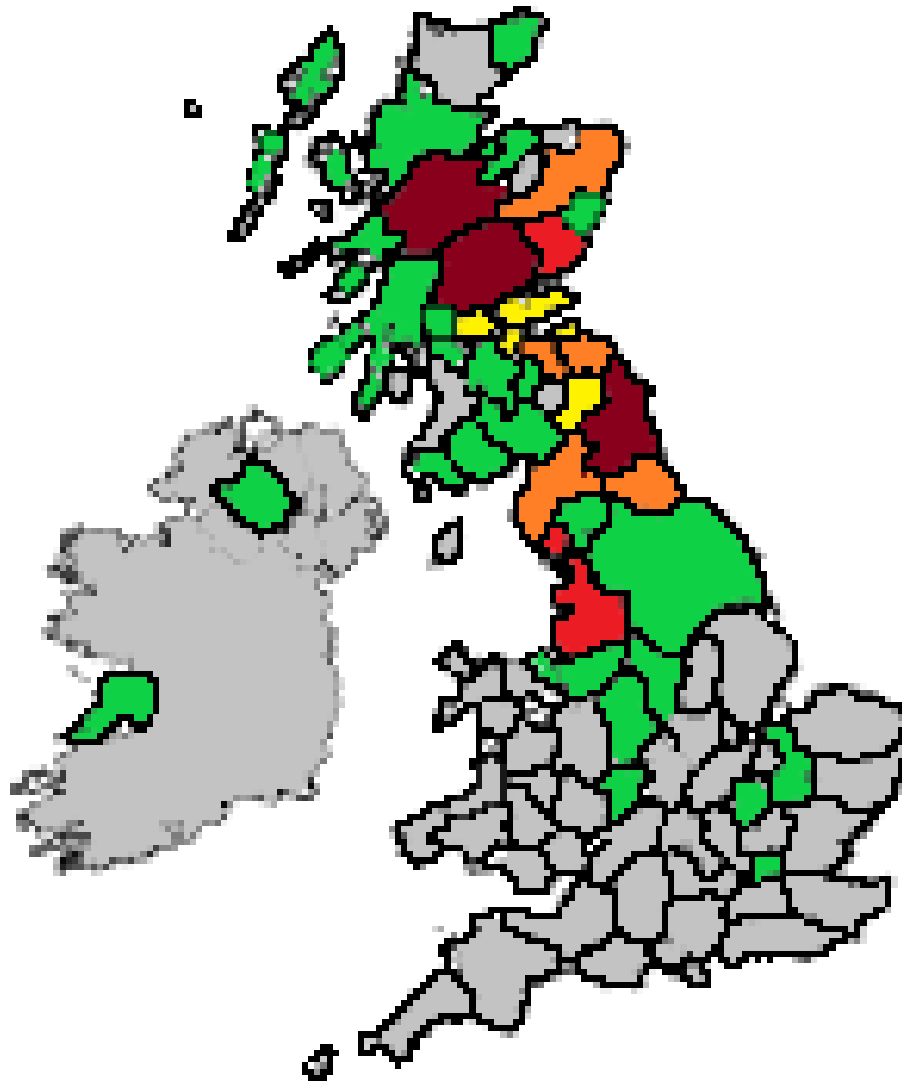
[https://earth.google.com/earth/d/1j\\_bhEmYsEpC2uTtbl6Yeb04EF9RcvjDO?usp=sharing](https://earth.google.com/earth/d/1j_bhEmYsEpC2uTtbl6Yeb04EF9RcvjDO?usp=sharing)

Blue: Sites of importance.

Orange: Plotters mentioned in documents D/DSt/M3-24.

Green: Prisoners of 1715, multiple sources.

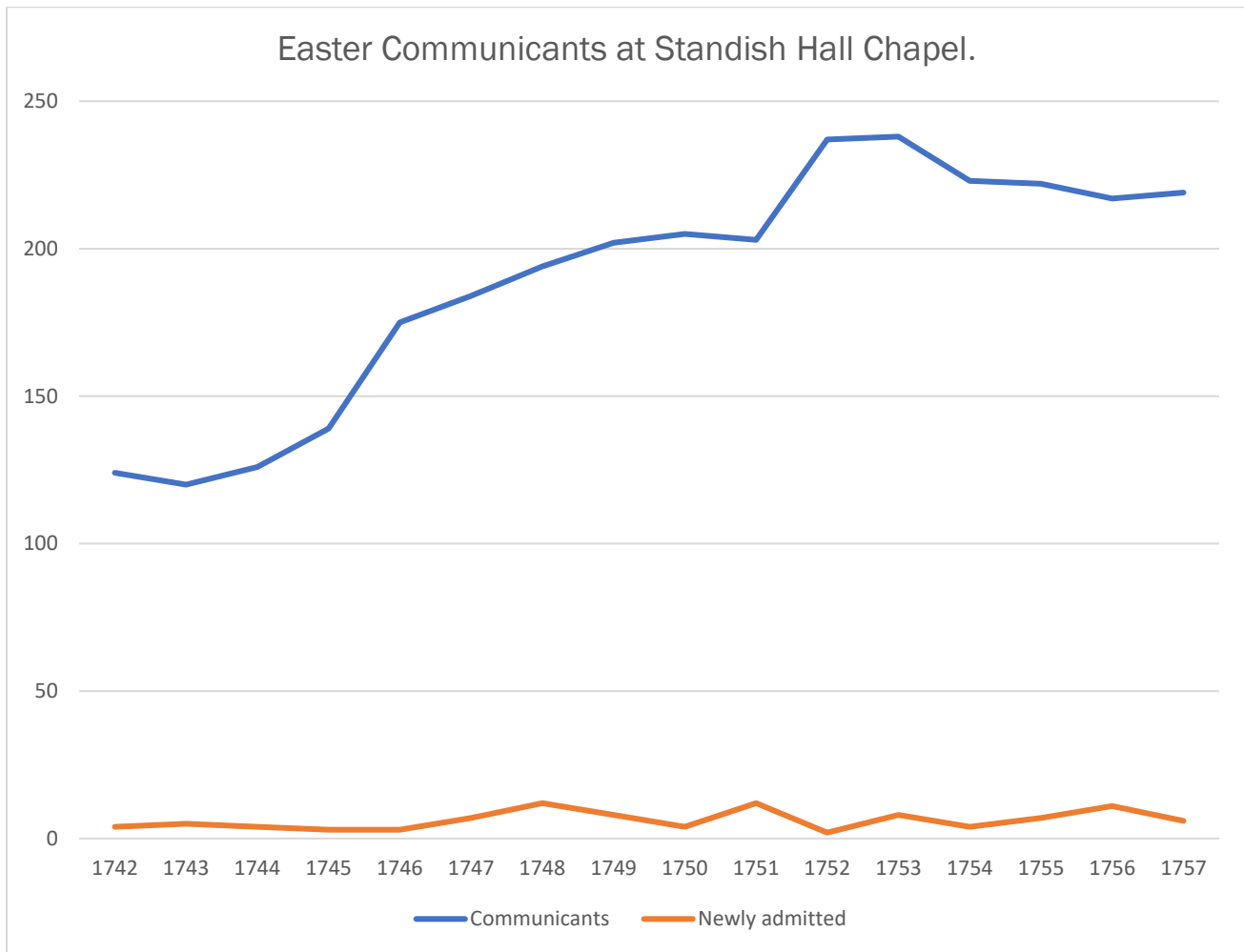
Appendix 5.3: Origins of Jacobite prisoners by county, 1715-17.



Key Colour	Range (Prisoner numbers)
Grey	No data
Green	1-10
Yellow	11-20
Orange	21-40
Red	41-99
Brown	100+

#### Appendix 5.4: Easter Communicants at Standish Hall.

From Mitchinson (ed.), *Registers of Standish Hall chapel, 1742-1884* (Wigan: NWCHS, 2001), p.186.



### Appendix 6.1: D/D.St Bundle C3/1/8: 'letter from Ralph Howard Standish to his Mother Phillipa Howard from Cambrai (1722).

1/ For the Right honourable the Lady Phillipa Standish, at Borwick near Lancaster : Pour L'Angleterre Lancashære

2/ Dear Mama,

Cambrai July ye 25<sup>th</sup> 1722

Papa's letter to Mr Dicconson, date ye 25 of June, came to him on the 24 of July this still, very luckaly for we intended to have set out for Rheimes on ye 25 the same month. This letter gives me a wonderful sense of satisfaction for I began to be in great fears of apprehensions for ye and papa. I am extremely sorry to heare yr ladyship has been so much out of order. I hade a thousand different thoughts rouling in my heade, but still hoped for the best, because I know several letters had been stoped of late at Dover. We have hade no news from ye before this since our first arrival at Lisle.

I can not help expressing the joy I feel with the very thoughts I have of seeing my dear mama so soone. I write to papa but three days agoe & find by his letter to Mr Dicconson that he never rescieved my letters; I dare sware papa do's not think me capable of forgetting either him or yr ladyship of that and both all I am or ever shall be. I am affraid I have exceeded the bounds of respect, but flatter myself of an easy pardon since it is only the true love or affection that makes me sorry.

3/ I have no news at all but what I writ to papa in my last three days agoe; dear mama I beg yr ladyships blessing with papa's #grande mama# pray be pleased to assure them of my duty & respects. As for a Gerdine that papa

desires, I will tak all for one, so that I if I can gett none here I'll take libert  of writing to Mr Edward Dicconson who is at spa with Mr Gifford & he's the properant man in the world for such an affaire. Mr Howard that I mensiend in papa's letter is just come in & lagaing me taking so long that the pope is just going out. We shall set out from hence for England tomorrow, so I fancy shall be there almost as soon as this letter. If yr ladyship or papa pleases to writ, ye know how to direct to cuzen Betty Howard who I shall certainly go to see. I am [ ] the present time is so shorte, how ever it will appear to me very long before I can have the happiness of seeing my dear mama and hope you'll find me,

Yr Ladyships

Ever effectionate & dutiful son & humble servant

Ra: Standish

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- Kendal Record Office: Papers of Colonel James Grahme of Levens Hall (Microfilm).
- Standish Papers (Archives Wigan and Leigh) D/DST: Family records of the Standish family, a prominent catholic family near Wigan – the collection includes letters to family members in France, tenants and friends.

#### consulted papers:

D/D St./BundleC2

D/D St./BundleC2/1  
braid and instructions

Notebook of Lady Binlosse "Directions to make braids "with examples of the finished silk

D/D St./BundleC2/2

Notebook of Lady Bindlosse

D/D St./BundleC3/1	
D/D St./BundleC3/1/1	Inventories (3) of goods, mainly jewels, given to Lady Phillippa Howard by her father, the 6th Duke of Norfolk
D/D St./BundleC3/1/2	Title of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, on his installation as Knight of the Garter
D/D St./BundleC3/1/3	Petition (2) of Lady Phillippa Standish and others to the House of Commons on behalf of their husbands, convicted of treason
D/D St./BundleC3/1/4	Extract of Cardinal Philip Thomas Howard's will, original and translation
D/D St./BundleC3/1/5	Henry Peike to Lady Phillippa Standish re late Cardinal's will
D/D St./BundleC3/1/6	Names of parties at play in card games, including Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Aboyn
D/D St./BundleC3/1/7	Ralph Standish from London to his wife, Lady Phillippa Standish with reference to a murder
D/D St./BundleC3/1/8	Ralph Standish Howard to his mother, Lady Phillippa Standish at Borwick Hall, nr. Lancaster, from Cambrais
D/D St./BundleC3/1/9	Copy of letter from Lady Phillippa Standish to Mr. Culcheth re settlement of estate on daughter Cecily
D/D St./BundleC3/1/10	Accounts of Matthew Hodson and others at Borwick Hall including payments to constables of Hutton, and signed by Ralph and Lady P. Standish
D/D St./BundleC3/1/11	Letter from Elizabeth Gordon to her sister (Lady Phillippa) re children's education
D/D St./BundleC3/2	
D/D St./BundleC3/2/1	Letter from Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Phillippa Standish re her daughter's vocation
D/D St./BundleC3/2/2	Lady C. Petre to Lady Ph. Standish at Borwick re sending daughter Molly to a monastery
D/D St./BundleC3/2/3	Lady Phillippa Standish to Sister Catherine re Mary Rosa Howard's account and receipt for pension paid by Ralph Standish for his niece's (?) entry into nunnery
D/D St./BundleC3/2/4	Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Ph. Standish re the Mississippi affair, denying knowledge of it
D/D St./BundleC3/2/5	Mme. de la Varenne to Lady Ph. Standish re South Sea Affair
D/D St./BundleC3/2/6	Letter from C.P. (daughter of Lady Petre?) to Lady Ph. Standish at Borwick
D/D St./BundleC3/2/7	Mary Standish and M. Walmsley to Lady Phillippa Standish re lie she inadvertently told
D/D St./BundleC3/2/8	Mary Standish to Lady Ph. Standish re sister Phill's entry to the convent
D/D St./BundleC3/2/9	Mary Standish to Lady Ph. Standish asking why she has not replied to a letter

D/D St./BundleC3/2/10 Walmsley	Mary Standish to Ralph Standish her father - news re her noviceship with letter from M.
D/D St./BundleC3/2/11	Bond for £8,000 granted by prioress of St. Agatha's on entry of Mary into nunnery
D/D St./BundleC3/2/12	Epitaph on sister Mary Standish, nun at St. Agatha's, who died aged 20
D/D St./BundleC3/3	
D/D St./BundleC3/3/1	Mary Cross to Lady Ph. Standish desires £15 to cover Mary Phillippa's costs
D/D St./BundleC3/3/2	Mary Cross to Lady Ph. Standish re progress of Mary Phillippa in her noviceship at the home of St. Mary's of the Order of the Visitation, Rouen
D/D St./BundleC3/3/3	Mary Cross to Lady Ph. Standish - details re house where Mary Phillippa had entered and accounts for the pension she had received
D/D St./BundleC3/3/4	Mary Cross to Ralph Standish, desires him to find Mary Phil. a servant
D/D St./BundleC3/3/5	Mary Cross to Ralph Standish desiring him to send the servant; no news of Mary Ph
D/D St./BundleC3/3/6 Phillippa's debt	Mary Cross to Lady Phillippa Standish - more desires for servant, and reference to Mary
D/D St./BundleC3/3/7	Sister Marie - Philippe Standish from the house of St. Mary of Rouen, Gravelines, with news of her progress
D/D St./BundleC3/3/8	Mary Cross to Ralph Standish - begs for more money to pay debts
D/D St./BundleC3/4	
D/D St./BundleC3/4/1	An account of Lady Phillippa Standish's china
D/D St./BundleC3/4/2	Inventory of goods at Borwick Hall by Cecilia Towneley, with a copy for Ralph Standish
D/D St./BundleC3/4/3	Accounts of goods taken from Borwick Hall, and those at Borwick deposited in room no. 8, made by William Hull
D/D St./BundleC3/4/4	Inventory of plate delivered to Ralph Standish on 8 Sep 1762
D/D St./BundleC3/4/5 Hall	Inventory of goods belonging to the Administrators of the late Ralph Standish at Borwick
D/D St./BundleC3/4/6	Schedule of things taken out of the inventory of late Ralph Standish's things left at Borwick Hall, by his mother Cecilia Towneley
D/D St./BundleC3/4/7	Account of "things in the room that was locked up" at Borwick Hall, and plate at Borwick, made by Cecilia Strickland and sent to her mother, Cecilia Towneley

D/D St./BundleC4/1	
D/D St./BundleC4/1/1	Ralph Standish at Wigan to Mrs. Standish on his journey to London in captivity
D/D St./BundleC4/1/2	Ralph Standish to his mother Mrs. Standish re his confinement in prison
D/D St./BundleC4/1/3	Ralph Standish to his mother re illness of Lady Phillippa - suspected cancer
D/D St./BundleC4/1/4	Ralph Standish to his mother re recovery of his wife
D/D St./BundleC4/1/5	Ralph Standish at London to Mrs. Standish re his wife's illness
D/D St./BundleC4/1/6	Ralph Standish to Mrs. Cecilia Standish re his return to Borwick
D/D St./BundleC4/1/7	Journal of Ralph Standish's travels to Flanders
D/D St./BundleC4/1/8	Petition of William Widdington, Ralph Standish etc. to the King for their lives and liberty
D/D St./BundleC4/1/9	Notice of forfeiture of goods of Ralph Standish - provision for his wife and children
D/D St./BundleC4/2	
D/D St./BundleC4/2/1	Particulars of the estate settled upon Ralph Standish
D/D St./BundleC4/2/2	Inventory of china left to Nanny by her aunt, and brought to Standish
D/D St./BundleC4/2/3	W.B.? to Mr. Worthington, London, re money matters of Standish family
D/D St./BundleC4/2/4	Duke of Norfolk to Ralph Standish re a lease on property in the Isle of Man
D/D St./BundleC4/2/5	John Gilliebrand to Ralph Standish re business matters and news of his family
D/D St./BundleC4/2/6	John Chadwick to Ralph Standish re lease of cottage and other news of the estate
D/D St./BundleC4/2/7	List of documents brought up to London by Ralph Standish for perusal by Mr. Saxton
D/D St./BundleC4/2/8	Willm. Towneley re Act of Parliament, with a copy of the written opinions of J. Ward
D/D St./BundleC4/2/9	Thomas Starkie to Ralph Standish with copy of letter from Albert Hodshon
D/D St./BundleC4/2/10	Certificate that Ralph Standish had pledged 4 black coach geldings to the use of the King, signed by R. Clayton J.P
D/D St./BundleC4/2/11	Anonymous letter to Lady Phillippa Standish (?) re linen mysteriously covered with blood at Chorley
D/D St./BundleC4/2/12	Blackborn (?) to Ralph Standish
D/D St./BundleC4/2/13	Fragment of letter from R. Standish ? to his father W. Standish? warning him of a possible false deed
D/D St./BundleC4/2/14	J. Benison (?) to Ralph Standish
D/D St./BundleC4/2/15	Acts and clauses relating to Papists in England and penalties imposed

D/D St./BundleC4/3

D/D St./BundleC4/3/1 W. Dicconson at London to Ralph Standish re Lord George Howard and the legacy

D/D St./BundleC4/3/2 Letters from Lord Fitzwilliam to Madame Standish at Borwick Hall re family news

D/D St./BundleC4/3/3 Mr. Clopton to Ralph Standish at Borwick - account of death and legacies of Lord George Howard

D/D St./BundleC4/3/4 Will (copy) of Lord George Howard, 3rd son of the Duke of Norfolk

D/D St./BundleC4/3/5 John Culcheth to Ralph Standish re interest on estate

D/D St./BundleC4/3/6 John Culcheth at Gray's Inn to Ralph Standish re rights of Catholics to inherit land

D/D St./BundleC4/3/7 Philip Howard at London to Ralph Standish at Standish, his uncle, re details of Lord George Howard's legacies

D/D St./BundleC4/3/8 John Culcheth to Ralph Standish

D/D St./BundleC4/3/9 John Culcheth at Gray's Inn to Ralph Standish re his dealings with Lord Frederick

D/D St./BundleC4/3/10 Nathaniel Pigott to Ralph Standish re Lord Frederick's affairs

D/D St./BundleC4/3/11 R. Westby to Ralph Standish re disposal of late Lord Frederick's estate

D/D St./BundleC4/3/12 Joseph Biscoe to Ralph Standish re £162 - 10 - 0 as half-yearly interest due to Lady Phillippa

D/D St./BundleC4/4

D/D St./BundleC4/4/1 Alice Standish (daughter of Sir James Harrington) to her "bedfellow" Ralph Standish, her husband

D/D St./BundleC4/4/2 Receipt for £20 from Madam Standish, signed John Price

D/D St./BundleC4/4/3 Receipts for £19 in total payment from William Lord Fitzwilliam by order of Mrs. Mary Standish, signed Tho. Taylor

D/D St./BundleC4/4/4 Note from W. Cook to Mrs. Standish with letter on reverse (draft?) signed WS

D/D St./BundleC4/4/5 To Mrs. Standish from her husband re business matters

D/D St./BundleC4/4/6 Receipts of £6 and £5 - 1 - 5 from Robt. Mason and John Ellis, with tithe agreement of Mary Standish and the above on the reverse

D/D St./BundleC4/4/7 J. Benison to Mrs. Mary Standish

D/D St./BundleC4/4/8 Tho. Hatton to Mrs. Standish re her proposed visit

D/D St./BundleC4/4/9 Estimate for supply of silver from Antho. Champion to Mrs. Standish Junior

D/D St./BundleC4/4/10	Inventory of the vestments, linen, and ornaments belonging to the Chapel at Standish Hall
D/D St./BundleC4/4/11	Schedule of the plate in the pantry of Standish Hall with an old list
D/D St./BundleC4/4/12	Marshall to Mrs. Mary Standish re lodgings in London
D/D St./BundleC4/4/13	Description of portraits dated 1595 onwards of the Towneley family in the gallery at the family home
D/D St./BundleC4/5	
D/D St./BundleC4/5/1	Accounts of John Parkinson of Dolphin Holme for tithe, etc. for Stabgill and Fox Houses, to Lady Bindloss
D/D St./BundleC4/5/2	From T. Benison to Mrs. Mary Standish
D/D St./BundleC4/5/3	Mrs. Mary Standish at Leighton to Ralph Standish at Wigan re pedigree of Bindloss family
D/D St./BundleC4/5/4	Recipe for a sore breast and a recipe for a red powder
D/D St./BundleC4/6	
D/D St./BundleC4/6/1	Acquittance of debt of £350. Lady Fitzwilliam to her sister Lady Bindloss to redeem a pearl necklace
D/D St./BundleC4/6/2	Lempster (?) to his aunt Lady Bindloss at Borwick Hall re birth of his second son, and reference to his "cousin Standish" (Cecilia?)
D/D St./BundleC4/6/3	Fitzwilliam, to his aunt Lady Bindloss at Borwick Hall re his increasing ill health at 62 years
D/D St./BundleC4/6/4	Ralph Wilson to Madame Mary Standish re a herbal remedy and "King James's blood"
D/D St./BundleC5	
D/D St./BundleC5/1	Ralph Standish Howard to Ralph Standish re family matters - Duke of Norfolk wishes to borrow £2,000 from Mr. Standish
D/D St./BundleC5/2	Ralph Standish Howard to Ralph Standish re liaison with Miss Dolly Mollineux and his problems adjusting to the life of London society
D/D St./BundleC5/3	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re his progress in finding a suitable wife
D/D St./BundleC5/4	Ralph Standish Howard at London to Ralph Standish re Howard estate
D/D St./BundleC5/5	Ralph St. H. at Wills Coffee House, London, to Ralph Standish re a Howard wedding and its guests

D/D St./BundleC5/6	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re Lord George's will (old Duke of Norfolk) and the codicil
D/D St./BundleC5/7 and deed required	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re money due to Lady Phillippa out of Rotherham estate,
D/D St./BundleC5/8	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re his courtships and his decision on a prospective wife
D/D St./BundleC5/9	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re Lady Frederick's intentions over the estate dispute
D/D St./BundleC5/10	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re further news of the Lady Frederick case
D/D St./BundleC5/11 wedding trousseau	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re Howard family news, with detailed description of a
D/D St./BundleC5/12	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re £6,500 borrowed from Lady Buckingham
D/D St./BundleC5/13 London	Ralph St. H. to Ralph Standish re family matters, more details of his life and clothes in
D/D St./BundleC5/14	Ralph St. H. from Kilkenny Castle to Ralph Standish re Lady Petre's possible marriage
D/D St./BundleC6	
D/D St./BundleC6/1	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re tithes of Pilling and advowson of Standish
D/D St./BundleC6/2 Bewes	Charles Towneley, Clarenceux King of Arms to Mrs. Towneley re enquiry about Thomas
D/D St./BundleC6/3	William Brigham to Mrs. Towneley, offering his services
D/D St./BundleC6/4	Mr. Stephen Tempest to Mrs. Towneley re Chancery suit and reference to her son, Ralph
D/D St./BundleC6/5	Mrs. Fleetwood Butler to Mrs. Towneley re death of a friend
D/D St./BundleC6/6	Richard Kendall to Mrs. C. Towneley re business matters
D/D St./BundleC6/7	Mathew Deane at Lincoln's Inn to Mrs. Towneley re Letters of Administration
D/D St./BundleC6/8	Tho. Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re legal matters eg. line of inheritance
D/D St./BundleC6/9	Tho. Starkie to Mr. Hall re deed of Mrs. Towneley
D/D St./BundleC6/10	Thomas Starkie to William Hull at Standish Hall re Mr. Pilgrim's life estate in the rectory
D/D St./BundleC6/11 that of her brother in 1730	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re her father's settlement of 1726 - witnesses and
D/D St./BundleC6/12	Cecilia Towneley to Mr. Mair re Standish Howard's marriage settlement
D/D St./BundleC6/13 marriage settlement	Cecilia Towneley to Mr. Starkie (copy) re witnesses for her case in Preston and search for
D/D St./BundleC6/14	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re witnesses to settlement

D/D St./BundleC6/15	Cecilia Towneley to Stephen Tempest of Broughton, nr. Shipton re case at Preston
D/D St./BundleC6/16	Writ (draft) Cecilia Towneley v Richard Tomlinson and others, to appear before the Commissioners at Preston
D/D St./BundleC6/17	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re witnesses to a deed
D/D St./BundleC6/18	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley at Standish re legal matters relating to witnesses
D/D St./BundleC6/19	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley, re Mr. Aspinall's business
D/D St./BundleC6/20	List of witnesses to the 1726 deed of settlement, and family deaths
D/D St./BundleC6/21	Thomas Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re forthcoming hearing
D/D St./BundleC7	
D/D St./BundleC7/1	Ma. Standish Howard to her sister Mrs. C. Towneley re payment of a bill
D/D St./BundleC7/2	Summons for Mrs. C. Towneley to take the Oath of Allegiance
D/D St./BundleC7/3	Mary Pelagica Ratcliffe from Rouen to Mrs. C. Towneley - news re community and especially of her daughter
D/D St./BundleC7/4	John Towneley to Mrs. C. Towneley re family news
D/D St./BundleC7/5	T. Needham at Paris and Louvain to Mrs. C. Towneley with news of her family in Paris, and of his own affairs and travels
D/D St./BundleC7/6	Gyles Craven, steward, to Mrs. C. Towneley - account of receipts and work done on the Towneley estate
D/D St./BundleC7/7	Catalogue of the curiosities formerly belonging to the Duke of Norfolk and given to Cecilia Towneley (Née Standish) by her father Ralph Standish
D/D St./BundleC7/8	Ralph Standish to Mrs. C. Towneley re death of his grandfather
D/D St./BundleC7/9	C. Towneley to Madn Towneley re pension left to clergy by Rch'd Towneley (great grandfather of C. Towneley)
D/D St./BundleC7/10	Delajarie, Abbess of Chasseridy, to Mrs. C. Towneley re her daughter, and copy of Mrs. Towneley's reply
D/D St./BundleC7/11	William Hull to Towneley family re pony for Miss Towneley, repairs to Standish turnpikes, advice on buying coach horses, and details on re-building of Warrington church
D/D St./BundleC7/12	M. Hornyhold to her sister, C. Towneley, re family accounts and news
D/D St./BundleC7/13	Notes by C. Towneley on the travels of the family in England, especially her son
D/D St./BundleC7/14	Archibald Mackdonald to Mrs. Towneley re thanks for favours granted

D/D St./BundleC7/15	C. Towneley to Pickering - copy of letter, re dispute between them
D/D St./BundleC7/16	Copy of letters to Wm Willcocke from Rd. Chamberlain, and from Wm. Willcocke to Mr. Starkey re rents owing to Mr. S
D/D St./BundleC7/17	Duchess of Norfolk to Mrs. C. Towneley re news of her family and mutual friends, with note from Duke of Norfolk to Mrs. T. inviting her to dinner
D/D St./BundleC7/18	Geo. & Mrs. Towneley to Dr. & Mrs. Hawarden with the reply - re annuity of £20 paid in connection with the Welch estate and Colliery
D/D St./BundleC7/19	J. Price to Mrs. Towneley re her son and other family matters, written from Paris
D/D St./BundleC7/20	Ralph Standish to his mother Mrs. Towneley from Bordeaux, re news of his travels
D/D St./BundleC7/21	Ric. Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re sum of £51-9-0
D/D St./BundleC7/22	W. Strickland to Mrs. C. Towneley conveying his regrets in not thanking her personally for her kindness
D/D St./BundleC7/23	Law. Tattersale to Mrs. C. Towneley re sum of £13 owing to his late mother
D/D St./BundleC7/24	Charles Towneley, Clarenceux King of Arms, re his application for Garter King of Arms in succession to the Duke of Norfolk
D/D St./BundleC7/25	Thomas West to Mrs. McDonald (?) with news of his health
D/D St./BundleC7/26	Archibald McDonald to Mr. Bulmer re his travels in Scotland and his proposed return to Standish
D/D St./BundleC7/27	C. Langdale to Mrs. Towneley asking her advice on a problem
D/D St./BundleC7/28	Petition of Giles Hussey to Mrs. Towneley (humorous)
D/D St./BundleC7/29	B. Southcote to Mrs. Towneley with news of mutual friends
D/D St./BundleC7/30	Mrs. Towneley: drafts of a letter to her son Charles re his brother Edward's demands for more money
D/D St./BundleC7/31	Fragment of letter asking for assistance from Mrs. C. Towneley
D/D St./BundleC8	
D/D St./BundleC8/1	Tho. Starkie to Mrs. C. Towneley re leases of Molyneux estate
D/D St./BundleC8/2	Mrs. C. Towneley to Mrs. Molyneux (copy) re petition and Act of Parliament relating to leases in Lord Molyneux's estate
D/D St./BundleC8/3	Anonymous draft or copy of letter re a proposed petition and Act of Parliament
D/D St./BundleC8/4	Petition to Parliament by Honble. Maria Molyneux re leases to Sir Wm. Gerard, Peter Legh and Ralph Standish

D/D St./BundleC9

D/D St./BundleC9/1 Ned (Edward Towneley Standish) to his "cousin" re family news of his brothers and sister

D/D St./BundleC9/2 Notes on John Pratt's account of growing lucerne grass for animal fodder, for which he received a Gold Medal - made by E.T. Standish

D/D St./BundleC9/3 E.T. Standish to Mr. C. Paris giving details of goods he wishes to be moved from his home in Paris to England

D/D St./BundleC9/4 Edward Towneley Standish to Mr. Paris re money matters, packing and transport of furniture from Paris to London

D/D St./BundleC9/5 Letters from E.T. Standish to Messrs. Paris, Ainsley, Garvey and others re business and family matters

D/D St./BundleC9/6 Draft/copy from E.T. Standish to Mr. Ainsley re providing stoves in the servants' quarters to replace "smoky chimneys"

D/D St./BundleC9/7 E.T. Standish to Mr. Patten (?) re claims to land (copy)

D/D St./BundleC9/8 E.T. Standish to Nath. Clayton at Grays Inn declining a request (copy)

D/D St./BundleC9/9 E.T. Standish to Towneley (?) re Mr. Elkington's arrival at Standish and his opinions of drainage, wells etc. (draft and original)

D/D St./BundleC9/10 Report and drawing from Mr. Elkington to C. Towneley (Charles) re drainage, notes and water-colour illustration showing structure of land for drainage purposes, sketch and notes by Elkington of drainage of grounds in Warwick

D/D St./BundleC9/11 Charles Towneley to E.T. Standish (copy) re produce of the meadows at Towneley 1793 - 1796

D/D St./BundleC9/12 Draft of lease by E.T. Standish between Thomas Constantinople and Andrew Langtree

D/D St./BundleC9/13 E.T. Standish to Mr. Ainsley (draft) re his household expenses and business matters

D/D St./BundleC9/14 E.T. Standish to his sister (Cecilia Strickland?) re increase of £400 in her annual allowance, to be paid half-yearly (copy)

D/D St./BundleC9/15 E.T. Standish to his uncle re family business and finance

D/D St./BundleC9/16 E.T. Standish to the Trustees of the British Museum reminding them of payment due for the Towneley Marbles, and offering to deliver them

D/D St./BundleC9/17 A plan for enabling Cottagers to build cottages for themselves, by E.T. Standish, with extracts from communications to the Board of Agriculture on cottagers renting land

D/D St./BundleC9/18 Notes by E.T. Standish on using flora and fauna to make weather forecasts

D/D St./BundleC9/19 Notes by E.T. Standish on kinds of grasses and their appropriate uses on the estate

- Standish Plot Papers (Wigan Archives) D/DST.M – a Collection of letters, coded letters, maps, commission papers and other papers associated with the plot circle in Standish in the 1690's:

D/D St. M1-3	STANDISH PLOT PAPERS
D/D St. M1	Blank commissions from James II in exile at St. Germain, to raise a troop of horse
D/D St. M1/1	Commission to raise and command a regiment of horse in England
D/D St. M1/2,3	Commissions to raise and command a troop of horse as Lieutenant and Captain
D/D St. M1/4-6	Commissions to raise and command a troop of horse as Captain
D/D St. M1/7-11	Commissions to be Lieutenant to a troop of horse
D/D St. M1/12-19	Commissions to be Cornet to a troop of horse
D/D St. M1/20	Commission to be ? to a troop of horse (fragment only)
D/D St. M2	Blank commissions from James II, in exile at St. Germain, to raise a troop of dragoons
D/D St. M2/1	Commission to raise and command a troop of dragoons as Lieutenant Colonel and Captain
D/D St. M2/2	Commission to raise and command a troop of dragoons as Major and Captain
D/D St. M2/3-8	Commissions to raise and command a troop of dragoons as Captain
D/D St. M2/9-17	Commissions to be Lieutenant to a troop of dragoons
D/D St. M2/18-25	Commissions to be Cornet to a troop of dragoons
D/D St. M3	Correspondence, etc., relating to the plot
D/D St. M3/1	The original cover for the bundle of papers, endorsed 'my son Standish's accounts' (crossed out); a later endorsement reads, 'these papers were found in taking down the old copy wall in 1757 - Standish'
D/D St. M3/2	Instructions from James II to Captain Sheveray (N.D.), to inform Colonel Parker that the King is pleased with him, and encouraging him to make preparations for the Restoration
D/D St. M3/3	Letter from Colonel Parker (N.D.) referring to the opposition to and lukewarm support for the cause, and stressing the need for commissions
D/D St. M3/4	20th May, 1692, after the battle of La Hague. Fragment of a letter from Colonel Parker, written in cipher

- D/D St. M3/5                21st July, 1692, Amsterdam. Letter from Lord Melfort confirming readiness for the next attempt to 'come to the musket'
- D/D St. M3/6                Letter from Colonel Parker (N.D.) referring to 600 Jacobite recruits, and the need for more money
- D/D St. M3/7                2nd October, 1692, Amsterdam. Letter from Lord Melfort to Mr. Green (a pseudonym for Colonel Parker) referring to a gift of £50
- D/D St. M3/8                Letter from Colonel Parker (N.D.), referring to James II's instructions to suspend recruiting operations, and his own successes in Yorkshire. There is considerable sympathy for the cause
- D/D St. M3/9                Letter from 'J.H.' to Mrs. Duckett at Standish Hall (N.D.)
- D/D St. M3/10              25th January, 1692/3. Letter from John Harrington, asking for any available news
- D/D St. M3/11              11th February, 1692/3. Letter from 'J.H.' to Mrs. Duckett at Standish Hall (see D/D St. M3/9). On the reverse side is another letter in invisible ink; two words, boxes and carbines, are written in cipher
- D/D St. M3/12              21st February, 1692/3. Letter from 'J.H.' in support of James II
- D/D St. M3/13              Letter from 'J.H.' (N.D.) re the repayment of money
- D/D St. M3/14              16th October, 1693, Amsterdam. Letter from Lord Melfort, expressing the 'warden's' satisfaction with the services of the other party
- D/D St. M3/15              16th October, 1693. Letter from James II, mostly in cipher, approving the work carried out by Colonel Parker, and requesting confirmation of the strength of his support in England
- D/D St. M3/15A             A deciphered version of D/D St. M3/15, probably written by Colonel Parker
- D/D St. M3/16              18th November, 1693. Declaration of Loyalty to James II from his supporters in Lancashire and elsewhere, with ten signatures
- D/D St. M3/17              Letter from Colonel Parker to Ralph Standish (N.D.) referring to 2 letters from Mr. Ford (Lord Melfort). It mentions money for 2 servants and "returns from the factory abroad"
- D/D St. M3/18              Letter from Colonel Parker (N.D.) stating that he must journey north and so a meeting with the other party will have to be delayed until his return
- D/D St. M3/19              Letter from Colonel Parker (N.D.), in cipher, referring to a quarrel with James II's Catholic chaplains
- D/D St. M3/20              Fragment of a letter (N.D.) from 'B' (see D/D St. M3/23), requesting a meeting and referring to the death of a child
- D/D St. M3/21              Fragment of a letter (N.D.) from 'B' (see D/D St. M3/23) in London, mentioning 'Mad Webster' and 'Bett'
- D/D St. M3/22              Letter (N.D.) from 'B' (see D/D St. M3/23) to Mrs. Duckett at Standish Hall (see D/D St. M3/9). The letter begins 'Sir', and refers to a marriage, and to a journey to Lyons with Mrs. Banilair
- D/D St. M3/23              25th October. Fragment of a letter from a lady and signed 'B'

D/D St. M3/24	List of "Commissioners designed to be invited". There are 24 names, mostly of Cheshire gentlemen
D/D St. M3/25	List of names, presumably of Jacobite sympathisers
D/D St. M3/26	List of Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, in cipher
D/D St. M3/27	Continuation of D/D St. M3/26 (missing)
D/D St. M3/28	Continuation of D/D St. M3/27
D/D St. M3/29	Copy of a letter from the Commissary General to the Justices of the Peace of Lancashire, asking them to proceed with the muster for Colonel Henry Gage's new regiment
D/D St. M3/30	Catalogued under D/D St. M1, M2
D/D St. M3/31	List of the land forces thought to be necessary by King William III, 1693
D/D St. M3/32	Identical to D/D St. M3/31
D/D St. M3/33	Memorandum referring to King William III's army list
D/D St. M3/34	Instructions for a military camp, with a list of regiments; overleaf is a drawing of a camp
D/D St. E	ESTATE
D/D St. E/1	Memoranda and account book of Ralph Standish
D/D St. E/2	Survey of the estate of Ralph Standish
D/D St. E/3	Estate rents and accounts
D/D St. E/4	Survey of the estate of Charles Standish
D/D St. E/5	Terrier of the estate
D/D St. E/6	Estate wages account
D/D St. E/7	Terrier of the estate
D/D St. M/4-54	MISCELLANEOUS
D/D St. M/4	Schedule of charters, pedigrees, correspondence, etc., re the Standish family and estate, compiled by the Rev. Thomas West, 1771
D/D St. M/5	(Copy) Mill of Richard Standish
D/D St. M/6	Account of the Strickland family's connection with Thornton Briggs, Yorkshire, 1495-1684
D/D St. M/7	Case of the defence of Edward Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, tried at Preston for rebellion

D/D St. M/8	Consent for Grant of Arms to Ralph Standish Howard
D/D St. M/9	Grant of Arms of George Howard to Ralph Standish Howard
D/D St. M/10/1-3	Church leys for the townships of Standish and Langtree
D/D St. M/11	Notice of association to prosecute all poachers in Standish, Shevington and Wrightington
D/D St. M/12/1,2	Inventory of the contents of Standish Hall
D/D St. M/13	Receipt from Charles Strickland to Mrs. C. Towneley re loan of diamonds
D/D St. M/14/1,2	Copies of court roll, manor of Standish, presenting Joseph Barrow and John Mather for non-repair of their houses
D/D St. M/15/1,2	Letters from William Standish to Dr. Paris re removal of furniture
D/D St. M/16/1-3	Act
D/D St. M/17	Returns to the Board of Agriculture for Standish - with - Langtree and Shevington
D/D St. M/18	Grant of Arms to Thomas Strickland Standish
D/D St. M/19	Notebooks, correspondence, etc., re a visit to Greece
D/D St. M/20	Liverpool Mercury, including notice of death of Thomas Strickland Standish
D/D St. M/21	Inventories and bills for books acquired by Charles Standish
D/D St. M/22	(Copies) Will of Frank Hall Standish
D/D St. M/23	Papers re claim of Frank Hall and Peter Standish to the Standish of Duxbury estate
D/D St. M/24	Bill re repair and widening of the road from Wigan to Preston
D/D St. M/25	List of census enumerators, Bolton district
D/D St. M/26	Handbill, Theatre Royal, Wigan
D/D St. M/27	Biographical notes re certain eminent Lancashire persons
D/D St. M/28	Lease from William de Souleby to Thomas, son of Conan de Ormesheued, of land in Appleby, Westmoreland
D/D St. M/29	Grant from Henry Grystwyth, chaplain, and John, son of Henry de Cailow, to John, son of Richard de Berwick, of the manor of Berwick, Cumberland
D/D St. M/30	Grant from Ralph Peacock and Isabella, his wife, to Henry de Hawardyn, of a part-rent from a messuage in Watergate Street, Chester
D/D St. M/31	Grant from Robert del Wode of Flint to John Hawardyn, of Chester of a messuage in Watergate Street, Chester
D/D St. M/32	Release from John Statham to Thomas Hawardyn of messuages in Lymm, Lymmebothes and Statham, Cheshire

- D/D St. M/33 Arguments against the claim by the Earl of Portland to Lordships in Denbigh
- D/D St. M/34 'The Whigs' Litany' and 'The General Wronged'; scurrilous verse
- D/D St. M/35 'On Mrs. Teresa Blunt's Leaving The Town After The Coronation By Mr. Pope' - verses, probably in the handwriting of Alexander Pope
- D/D St. M/36 Letter from Mr. Charles Lesley to the Bishop of Salisbury; a Jacobite attack on Whiggery
- D/D St. M/37 Proposal by Sir David Dalrymple re the treatment of various classes of prisoners taken during the Jacobite rebellion
- D/D St. M/38 Report of a parliamentary debate re extending the division of parliaments, with list of votes cast
- D/D St. M/39 'Letter from a Member of Parliament to his friend in the Country, upon the Motion to address his Majesty to settle £100.000 per annum on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales'
- D/D St. M/40 'Letter from Scots Sawney, the Barber, to Mr. Wiles, an English Parliamenter; a Scottish Royalist's attack on libertarian attitudes
- D/D St. M/41 Memorial by George of Doulis re the sufferings of the Catholics of the Western Isles of Scotland
- D/D St. M/42 'Constitutional Queries, earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of every True Briton'
- D/D St. M/43 'Mock Court of St. Cloud;' satirical broadsheet re Napoleonic society
- D/D St. M/44 Passport of Mr. Montague; issued in Paris, 1815, and mainly stamped in Italian cities
- D/D St. M/45 Regency Theatre, London. Playbill for performances of 'Othello' and 'Matrimony'
- D/D St. M/46 Funeral oration for the Dauphin and Dauphine of France
- D/D St. M/47 'The Case of Thomas Fleetwood Esquire, and Frances his wife, only Sister of Charles, Lord Gereard, Deceased.'
- D/D St. M/48 Ballad, addressed to Mr. Howard Standish, by Philip, Duke of Wharton, entitled 'John Shepherded to the Earl of Macclesfield - A Greeting'
- D/D St. M/49 Lampon entitled, 'The Duke of Wharton's Verses.'
- D/D St. M/50 Recipes for paper mosaics, destroying insects, and preventing knots
- D/D St. M/51 Plan of an Augustinian convent in Argenteuil, near Paris
- D/D St. M/52 Anonymous addresses re death
- D/D St. M/53 Notes on the death of Rousseau, etc
- D/D St. M/54 Genealogy of Ralph Standish, compiled by Charles Townley

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