



PORTRAIT OF THE CHEVALIER, PRESERVED IN
LEEK VICARAGE

THE "GOING-OUT"

OF

PRINCE CHARLIE IN 1745

SOME LOCAL LIGHTS ON A WELL-KNOWN EPISODE OF HISTORY

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Rector of Swettenham

Read 30th November 1905

BEFORE he enters upon the perusal of these pages, I should like to say a word or two to my reader.

The events with which they deal are of comparatively recent date.

They happened only 160 years ago. But at the time they took place they were of thrilling interest.

This we may see from the militia raised all over the country, from the forces gathered under King George himself (see page 81) at Finchley, and from the numerous references to them in the letters of our ancestors. Thus Mrs. Mary Holland, of Dam House, Mobberley, says in her diary :—

"Nov^r 24, 1745. The week past has been attended with a great deal of bad tidings from our armies, many in great alarm and consternation.

"Nov^r 27: ye last day. Every day brings fresh alarms, our Rebel enemies drawing nearer and nearer, and besides our own family come for shelter."

And thus Miss Rachel Bromfield writes from Swettenham on October 10, 1745: "We frequently receive various accounts about the Rebels,

but their procedure we can't certainly know; but we are sure there is a general stagnation of all Trade."

The question in men's minds was—whether the claims of the House of Hanover, which lay chiefly in the Act of Settlement, or the hereditary rights of the House of Stewart, should be supreme; whether the King reigned by will of the people, or whether his tenure was absolute and unassailable.

Now this little treatise does not profess to enter into the field of politics. It is merely a compilation of hitherto unpublished or little-known documents, and it is as such—as a historical record—that I have deemed it worthy of preservation.

With regard to the title, "The 'Going-out' of Prince Charlie," I would refer my reader to the following note by Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley":—

"To 'go out' was a conventional phrase. . . . It was accounted ill-breeding in Scotland . . . to use the phrase 'rebellion' or 'rebel,' which might be interpreted by some of the parties present as a personal insult. It was also esteemed more polite even for staunch Whigs to denominate Charles Edward the 'Chevalier' than to speak of him as the 'Pretender.'"

In order not to interfere with the MSS. or create confusion, the dates throughout are given in the Old Style.

In conclusion, I beg to thank very gratefully Lady Brocklehurst, Mrs. Pole, Captain T. R. Warren Swettenham, Sir Peter Walker, the Vicar of Leek, William Fergusson Irvine, Esq., F.S.A., Henry Reade, Esq., W. B. Brocklehurst, Esq., the Editor of *The Connoisseur*, the Governors of the King's School, Macclesfield, the Governors of the Nicholson Institute, Leek, Mr. Joseph Cunliffe, Mr. Prince, and many others, for their kindness

and courtesy in giving me information, and allowing me access to their relics and documents.

The first expedition of Charles Edward Stewart, in 1744, having come to a disastrous finale upon the rocks of Dungeness, and the enthusiasm of the French nation in his cause having somewhat cooled, the Chevalier found himself thrown upon his own slender resources. Pawning his jewels and borrowing money from his friends, he engaged the *Doutelle*, a brig of eighteen guns, and, accompanied by the *Elizabeth* (a French man-of-war, laden with his arms and armaments¹), he set out, with seven faithful companions, from the shores of France on July 8, 1745. The *Elizabeth* was so unfortunate as to meet with H.M.S. *Lion*, by which she was disabled and caused to put back to Brest. The *Doutelle*, after standing by and seeing her consort defeated, made sail for Scotland and reached Moidart, in Inverness-shire, in safety on the 25th of the same month.

Here, though many of the nobility stood aloof from the Prince, on account of his having arrived without the stipulated assistance from France,² a goodly number of Highland gentlemen joined the enterprise.

The appearance of the Chevalier at this time is thus described by McDonald, one of the "seven men of Moidart":—"A tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambrick stock, fixed with a plain silver buckle, a plain hatt, with a canvas string, having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockins, and brass buckles in his shoes."

¹ In the two ships were 2000 muskets, five or six hundred broadswords, and a sum of £3800.

² In the Stewart archives, discovered at Rome, there is ample evidence that he was first invited into Great Britain and then deserted by a great part of the English aristocracy.

On August 2nd he disembarked, and took up his residence at Auchnacarrie, the house of Lochiel. After some slight skirmishing with the Government troops near Fort William, it was publicly announced that the standard of the Prince would be set up on the 19th of August in the romantic valley of Glenfinnan. This was done ;¹ and within the next week over 2000 men had rallied to his cause ; so that he was enabled to march to Aberchallader, within three miles of Fort Augustus, with the intention of meeting General Cope.

Meanwhile the Government had been apprised of the audacity of the adventurer, and, though they at first affected to treat the matter with ridicule, they soon had occasion to change their sentiments. A proclamation, offering a reward of £30,000 for the apprehension of the Pretender's son, was issued,² and Sir John Cope, with a numerous and well-appointed force, was despatched to put a stop to his further progress.

On August 27th the two armies were within a few miles of each other, when the Commander-in-Chief of the regulars quite suddenly wheeled his men and marched northward to Aberdeen, leaving the low country open and undefended. Discussing this very strange move, the Rev. Mr. Morton (in "Waverley") says : "Is the man a coward, a traitor, or an idiot?" To which Melville replies : "None of these, I believe. Sir John has the commonplace courage of a common soldier, is honest enough, does what he is commanded, and understands what is told him, but is as fit to act

¹ The standard, which was made of white, blue, and red silk, and was about twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours, was raised by Moray (elder brother of the Marquess of Tullibardine), assisted by two working men. A handsome monument, commemorating the event, erected in 1820, now marks the spot.

² Charles replied by an offer of £30,000 for the person of the Elector of Hanover.

for himself in circumstances of importance as I, my dear parson, to occupy your pulpit."

On August 30th the Prince reached Blair, and on September 3rd had marched as far as Perth. Here he was joined by the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray. Both of these he created Lieutenant-Generals. On the evening of the 11th, driving two regiments of the enemy's horse before him, he arrived safely at Dunblane. On the 16th this cavalry ventured to attack him near to Corstorphine, but the Lowland horsemen charging and opening fire upon them, they precipitately fled.

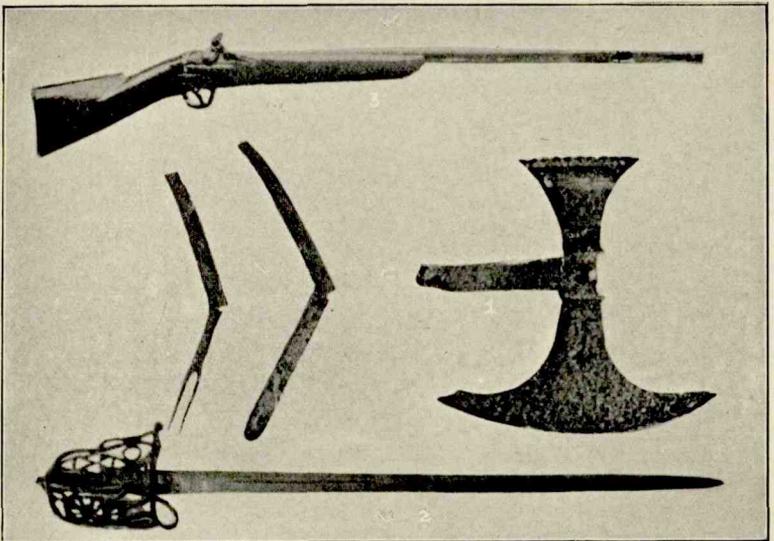
Matters were now becoming serious. The Prince was approaching the capital of Scotland and the home of his ancestors, at the head of a determined band of wild Highlanders and disaffected Lowlanders; and there was no adequate defence prepared for him. The citizens of Edinburgh were driven to despair. And so, when two letters demanding their surrender had been received, and no satisfactory conclusion had been come to, a deputation waited upon the Chevalier at Gray's Mill. When the carriage, which had conveyed these gentry on their midnight excursion, was returning to its stable, through the Netherbow Port gate, Lochiel, with 500 of his Cameronians, slipped into the city. The other gates, with the watchmen and guards, were soon secured, and the metropolis was in the hands of the enemy without the shedding of a drop of blood. This happened on the night of the 16th, and on the following day the Chevalier made a triumphal entry into the town.

King James VIII. (the Old Pretender) was proclaimed at the Cross, and the Prince, as Regent, took up his abode, and kept Court at Holyrood.

But Sir John Cope had by this time recovered from his *maladie*, whatever it might be, and was reported to be returned by sea to Dunbar, with



MEDAL OF CHARLES EDWARD AND HENRY, DUKE OF YORK
REPRODUCED, BY PERMISSION, FROM THE "CONNOISSEUR"
OF AUGUST 1903



1. Lochaber Axe head and enormous Knife and Fork picked up on Gun Moor after the passage of the insurgents. Now in the possession of Sir Peter Brocklehurst, Bart.
2. Sword found near Osmaston. In the possession of Sir Peter Walker, Bart.
3. Gun preserved at the Ship Inn, Swythamley.

300 troops and six pieces of artillery, and to be advancing upon the capital. It was resolved to meet and give him battle on his route. To this end a trustworthy old Jacobite was appointed Governor of Edinburgh, and the whole army set out for Tranent, where the Royalists were encamped.

The signal was given by the firing of a small iron cannon (the only one in the possession of the insurgents), and the clans marched forth, in a column three abreast, preceded by the standard of the Chevalier, bearing a red cross upon a white background, with the motto "Tandem Triumphans." The cavalry, which numbered fifty, was composed of Lowland gentlemen. Each clan displayed its own banner. The arms carried by these soldiers were many and various. Some had swords and targets, some guns, some pole-axes, some scythes set upon poles, and some only their dirks or stakes pulled out of the hedges; owing to the Disarming Act, weapons were scarce among the inferior peasantry, and Charles had some time before this discarded all that might hamper the movements of his agile host.

On the evening of September 20th they had arrived, much to the surprise of General Cope, who was looking for their approach by the high-road from the west, on the slopes above Tranent. Sir John wheeled round so as to have his right near Preston Pans and Seaton House upon his left. Between the combatants lay a morass. The position of the Government troops seemed unassailable, but during the night a gentleman named Anderson was found, who informed the insurgents of a path across to the firm ground below. Very early on the following morning, after a serious delay caused by an accident to this gentleman, who slipped and was rendered insensible, the passage was safely accomplished; and the Highlanders, having

successfully outflanked the Royalists, rushed down, in two lines, upon their foes. Sir John met this onslaught with his artillery. But the Scots were undismayed, and having fired their muskets and thrown them away, drew their claymores and carried all before them like a tornado. In seven or eight minutes both horse and foot were totally routed and driven from the field. The brave Colonel Gardiner was killed, and the Commander-in-Chief himself, having escaped by means of a subterfuge,¹ had fled to Berwick.

Such were the wonderful results of the celebrated Battle of Gladsmuir or Preston Pans. The night after the contest the Chevalier slept at Pinkie House, and the following day (September 22nd) he re-entered, as conqueror, the capital. With the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling and four small Highland forts, he was now the acknowledged Regent of the kingdom of his ancestors.

The next month was spent in organising the forces. Many Scottish lairds joined the cause, and arms as well as funds were contributed from France. Two bodies of cavalry were formed, under Lord Elcho and Lord Balmerino. A Council was held daily in the drawing-room at Holyrood. But the Chevalier could not rest contented with the partial success to which he had attained. He therefore announced to the assembled chieftains his intention of marching to Newcastle and giving battle to General Wade. For some time this proposition did not meet with the approval of his friends. They represented to

¹ Putting a white cockade, similar to those worn by the Prince's followers, in his hat, he passed through the Highlanders without observation, and was the first to communicate the news of his own defeat.

“When Johnnie Cope to Dunbar came,
They speer'd at him, 'Where's a' your men?'
'I left them a' this morning.'”

him that their forces (5500 men) were inadequate, that the Marshal had most of the English army at his command, and that they had not yet received invitations to cross the borderland. To these objections he made the spirited, if somewhat hot-headed reply: "I see, gentlemen, you are determined to stay in Scotland and defend your country; but I am not less resolved to try my fate in England, though I should go alone."

It being evident that the Prince's mind was made up, Lord George Murray and the other Councillors agreed to fall in with his wishes, provided the advance should be made along the western frontier.

This determination having been arrived at, the march out from Edinburgh was ordered to take place on the 31st October.

That night was spent by the Chevalier at Pinkie House, the two following at Kelso. From here, to mislead General Wade, orders were sent to Wooler to prepare quarters for the troops. This having been done, Charles suddenly turned to the westward, passed down Liddesdale, and entered Cumberland on the evening of the 8th of November.

"As the clans crossed the Border, they drew their swords and raised a loud shout of exultation; but in hastily unsheathing his claymore, Lochiel accidentally cut his hand, which was immediately looked upon as an unlucky omen, and spread consternation through the whole column."—Klose's "Memoirs."

Many of the common soldiers were as averse as their leaders to the English campaign, and deserted before reaching the borderland.

About the 9th of November, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the rough state of the roads, two divisions of the army had arrived at Carlisle and settled down to besiege it.

An interesting account of this investment is given by Mr. Gilpin, a contemporary, of which the substance is as follows :—

The city was as badly off as the insurgents, for, whilst the latter had no cannon and were in fear of the interruption of General Wade, and were many of them most unwilling to delay the advance upon London, the former was garrisoned only by two companies of invalids and two raw, undisciplined regiments of militia. The Governor had sent to Newcastle for reinforcements, but an answer had been returned that it was impossible to grant him aid. This mortifying intelligence was kept secret from the populace, but, through the indiscretion of a gentleman, it leaked out, and was carried by a well-known Papist into the rebels' camp. The Duke of Perth was assured that, if he would retain his quarters for but one day longer, he might confidently expect a mutiny within the town. Immediately the order to retire, which had been already given, was reversed; and all things happened just as they had been foretold. The militia dispersed, and the Mayor and Corporation, being left with only two companies of invalids for their defence, made terms with the Prince, and surrendered.

This great event took place on the 14th November.

The capture of Carlisle supplied the adventurers with arms and ammunition, and replenished their purse to the extent of £2000.

James Francis Edward was proclaimed King of Great Britain, with the Chevalier himself to act as the Regent.

When the news of this signal success reached Holmes Chapel the good people of that town manifested their joy by ringing the church bells. After a week's rest, on November 21st the Prince



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD IN HIGHLAND COSTUME
FROM A PRINT (BY E. SCRIVEN), PRESENTED TO THE NICHOLSON INSTITUTE,
LEEK, BY THE LATE JOHN SLEIGH, ESQ.

again set forth, and arrived that evening at Penrith. His intention was to try conclusions with Marshal Wade; but the latter, an old man, not accepting the challenge, he moved along towards Lancaster. And here let us pause, before studying his advance into our immediate neighbourhood, to inspect the persons of our hero and his uncouth host.

The Chevalier at the time of his expedition was but a young man of twenty-four, having been born at S. Gervais, December 31, 1720. He was tall, well-proportioned, and active. He was handsome in face, with a fair complexion and blue eyes. His hair, which was of a golden hue, fell in natural ringlets about his neck. Sometimes, in accordance with the fashion of the age, he wore a bob-tailed wig. There was a charm about his manner which proved only too attractive to men,¹ and made him, coupled with his romantic environment, the idol of female partisans. By education he was somewhat illiterate. Sir Thomas Sheridan, his tutor (one of his staff, whom he proposed to elevate to the Archbishopric of Canterbury), seems to have taken more pains to imbue him with the spirit of autocracy than to inculcate proficiency in literary accomplishments. The weapon which he knew so well how to wield he spelt a SORD; his father's name was GEMS; and a hunting-knife was COOTO DE CHAS. But to balance this deficiency of education he had many qualities of sterling worth. He was affable, dignified, kind-hearted, honourable, religious, courageous, and resolute. In dress he was, normally, particular. On foot,² he marched at the head of his regiment. He was clad after the Highland fashion, with a broad blue ribbon over one shoulder

¹ As in the case of Napoleon, many men felt they dare not come within his influence.

² The aged and infirm Lord Pitsligo occupied his carriage.

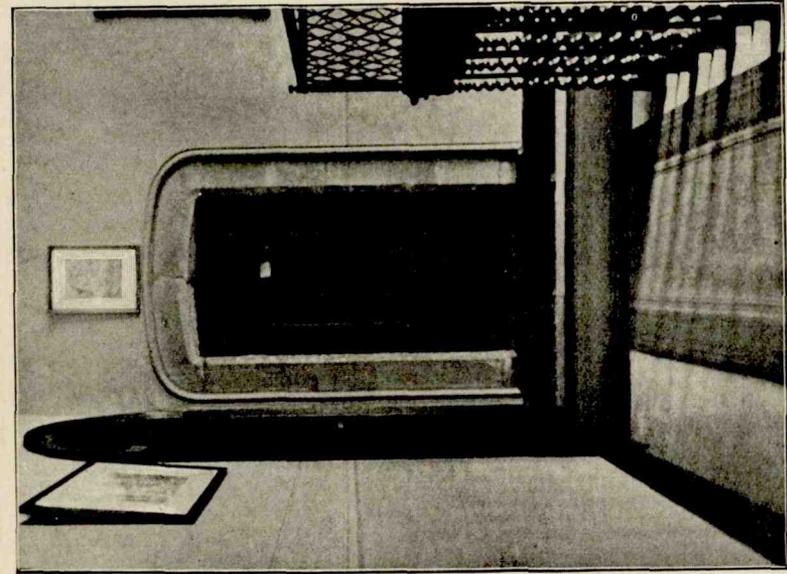
and a light green plaid over the other.¹ On his head he wore a blue bonnet with a white rose, the badge of the House of York, in it. In addition to these, when entering Macclesfield he had on, says Mr. John Stafford, "a blue waistcoat trimmed with silver." At Leek it was noticed that he was wearing "a light wig on his head"; and at Derby, which he entered in the evening, it was remarked that his headgear consisted of "a green bonnet laced with gold," and that he had "a broad-sword hanging by his side."² On his left breast he wore the cross of S. Andrew.

As a military leader he was lacking in skill, and by nature he was prone to give too much heed to the promptings of superstition. The army, by all accounts, including old men, boys, and some women, who formed about a third of the number, did not, at any rate whilst in England, exceed six or seven thousand at any time. The men were fine lusty fellows, but weather-beaten and poorly clad. They were all dressed in Highland costume, as were also their leaders. About five hundred of them, chiefly Lowlanders, were cavalry. A good number of the men rode horses which they had picked up on their route. Many of these were equipped only with halters, having no saddles or bridles. Some had pads stuffed with straw on them, and stirrups made of rope. Others were not even shod. The body-arms of the troops have been already described (see p. 67).

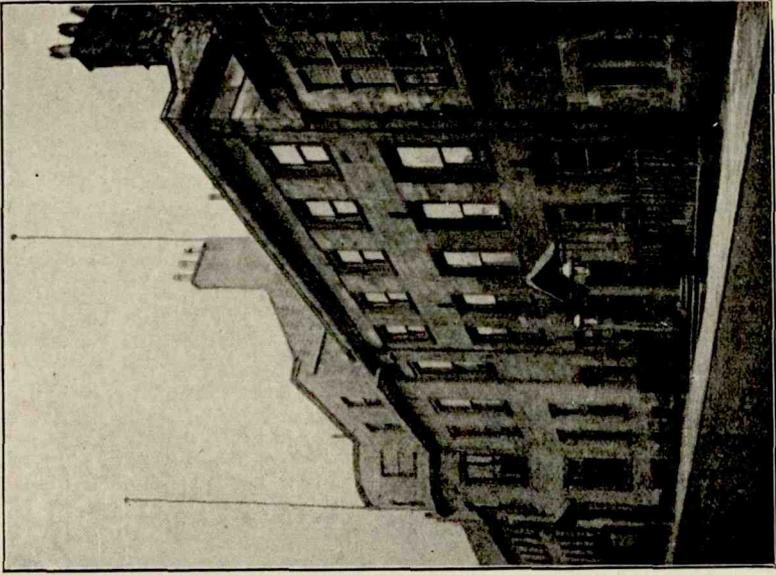
The Prince's guard were distinguished by dresses of blue trimmed with red. The soldiers marched

¹ At a lecture, delivered by Mr. Challinor at Leek in 1863, a work-bag made out of a piece of this identical plaid was exhibited.

² Some most interesting pictures of "the claymore of Prince Charles Edward, presented by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to Macdonald of Clanronald," will be found on page 202 of vol. xv. of the "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire."



BEDROOM DOOR AT ASHBOURNE HALL



HOUSE (NOW THE CONSERVATIVE CLUB) IN WHICH
PRINCE CHARLIE STAYED AT LANCASTER

in an orderly manner, usually six or eight abreast. Each company, of which there were thirteen, was preceded by its own colonel. The artillery consisted of fifteen 4-pound cannon (some of French and some of English make), one coehorn,¹ and fifty ammunition waggons. Their standards seem to have been many and various. There were eight with red crosses on white backgrounds. Some had "Tandem Triumphans" inscribed upon them, some had "Liberty and Property—Church and King"; and one, borne after the Chevalier, had for its motto "A la fin."

The music was supplied by bagpipes, fifes, and drums.

The whole body of troops was divided into two main sections; the one, consisting chiefly of Lowlanders, was led by General Murray; and the other, which was composed of the clans, and separated by an interval of half a day's march, was commanded by the Prince himself. Amongst the leaders there was a good deal of jealousy and friction, and this was added to by the unfounded suspicions which the Chevalier entertained of his most able General—Lord George Murray.

For the most part, on the way down to Derby the behaviour of the troops was good; but upon the return journey, when the poor Highlanders were wearied in body and distressed in mind, they did not hesitate to take by force, and rudely, whatever they could lay their hands upon. The pay of the private was sixpence a day; that of the Lowland gentry one shilling.

From Lancaster the insurgents proceeded to Preston, where they arrived on November 26th. So superstitious were the Scotsmen (on account of the ill-fated expedition of 1715) that they would not enter the town by the ordinary route, and Lord

¹ Mortar.

George Murray had to lead his forces a mile out of their way in order to cross the Ribble bridge. The Prince arrived in the evening to the inspiring strains of "The King shall have his own again."¹

The people welcomed him with shouts and cheers,² and rang their bells; but on beating up for recruits no one could be persuaded to enlist.

Undismayed by this, the Chevalier assured his followers that he would be joined by his English friends at Manchester. On the next day they set out from Preston, and by forced marches arrived at that town on the 28th.

The following interesting particulars are taken from a copy of the *Manchester Magazine*, published on December 24, 1745:³—

"*Thursday, November 28th.*—About 3 P.M. a Sergeant, a Drummer, and a woman, belonging to the rebels, made their appearance, and in about half an hour beat up for Volunteers, offering 5 guineas a man. They gave out that the Vanguard was but two miles off. A few young fellows, who had got their plaid waistcoats ready at the Bull's Head, immediately put them on, and white cockades in their hats, and joined them. About nine the Vanguard, consisting of about 100 Horsemen, came in.

"*Friday, November 29th.*—About ten, another small party of Horse came in. The best houses were examined, and one fixed on for the Pretender's son's quarters.⁴ About one, the main

¹ Strangely enough, on the return through Preston, a band of itinerant musicians were playing, "Hie thee, Charlie, home again."

² The first he had heard since leaving Scotland.

³ This little newspaper has a most interesting history. One of the Highlanders, on the return from Derby, entered the Ship Inn at Swythamley, with the intention of looting it. His purpose was to carry off the gun of the proprietor—Mr. Joseph Cunliffe; but the latter being a very powerful man, a scuffle ensued, which ended in the capture of the rebel's gun, the paper falling from his pocket in the struggle. Both of these are carefully preserved by Mr. Joseph Cunliffe, his grandson.

Sir Edward Cust says in "Local Chit-chat of the '45" (see vol. xv. of the "Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire"): "A newspaper was at that period a hebdomadal luxury."

⁴ This was the house of Mr. Dickinson in Market Sted Lane, which received the name of "The Palace." It afterwards became the "Palace Inn," and later on was rebuilt as a warehouse, which is now known as "Palace Buildings." A picture of the house, and portraits of several well-known Manchester Jacobites, will be found in "Manchester: Old and New," by Mr. William Arthur Shaw, M.A.

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body arrived, with the Pretender's son, who marched on foot in Highland dress, surrounded by a body of Highlanders, and was proclaimed about 3 o'clock. They continued coming in until about five. . . . They billeted themselves, and used other arts to prevent their numbers from being known. Many private houses had above twenty; but some, both public and private, had none.

"The Bellman went round the town to order the Innkeepers, &c., forthwith to bring their last acquittances, and all such as had any duty to pay, or had any cash, on pain of military execution. He also went round the town a second time and ordered that all houses should be illuminated; which was done, and bonfires made. The Bells also were rung. No doubt many of the ignorant Scots swallowed their forced meat for a dish of Loyalty.

"*Saturday, November 30th.*¹—The Pretender with his guards rode through the chief streets of the town, and had the mortification of perceiving that Manchester had been misrepresented, and that the people were not insensible to the difference between Liberty and Slavery, &c. The people of Manchester almost universally showed by their countenances (and the Pretender showed by his that he read their temper of mind) that they disapproved of and abhorred him, and his barbarous, rapacious, slavish crew, their base designs, and their abettors. Many of his officers, indeed, declared to gentlemen where they were quartered, they expected the whole town would join them; but, to its honour be it said, there appeared no marks of joy or approbation, though the Pretender failed not to call for such by his looks. Indeed it was with much difficulty that their own party could raise even a faint shout.

"Prayers were read, by order, at the old church this afternoon, and instead of his Majesty King George, &c., the King, Prince of Wales, and all the Royal family were prayed for. The Pretender's son did not attend the service:² a plain proof of his

¹ The following safe-conduct was given by the Lieutenant-General to Peter Pownall, Esq. (ancestor of W. B. Brocklehurst, Esq.), of Bramhall, upon this date: "Charles, Prince of Wales, &c., Regent of England and Scotland and France and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to all his Majesty's officers, Civil or Military. These are requiring you to protect and defend the Estate, House, and Effects of Peter Pownall, Gentleman, from all insult, violence, or injuries to be done by any person or persons whomsoever. Given at Manchester this 30th November, 1745, by his Highness' command.—GEORGE MURRAY."

² Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, in "The Manchester Rebels," says that he did attend the service on S. Andrew's Day, when a most fiery sermon was preached from the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" by the Rev. Mr. Coppack, chaplain to the Manchester Regiment.

being a Papist. On this occasion the insurgents obtained about £1000 by subscriptions."

Manchester had been Parliamentary during the Civil War of Charles I. ; but now it was of Royalist sentiments.

"During the two days spent in Manchester," says Mr. C. L. Klose in his "Memoirs of Charles Stuart," "about two hundred volunteers enlisted, and were embodied with the few English recruits who had hitherto joined the Prince into one corps, called the Manchester Regiment, the command of which was given to Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of an old family in Lancashire." It is believed that these volunteers were the originators of the scheme for raising money by subscription, which had not been previously exploited. On the return march from Derby the "Manchester Regulars," not wishing to leave England, were put in charge of the city of Carlisle, and upon its capitulation Colonel Townley, together with twenty officers of the garrison, were reserved to await the King's pleasure.

Eventually the colonel and eight of his companions were tried for high treason, and, in July 1746, were executed, with the greatest barbarity, on Kennington Common.¹

Having refreshed his army at Manchester, it had been the Prince's intention to prosecute his march

¹ After being suspended for three minutes from the gallows, their bodies were stripped and cut down. Their hearts were then cut out and thrown into a fire, and their heads were severed from their bodies. On throwing into the fire the last heart, which was that of Jimmy Dawson (celebrated in ballad), the executioner exclaimed, "God save King George!" and the spectators answered with a shout. The heads of Colonel Townley and Captain Fletcher were placed upon Temple Bar. Those of Messrs. Siddell and Deacon were set up on two poles in front of the Manchester Exchange. Five others, preserved in spirits, were sent for the same purpose to Preston, Wigan, and Carlisle. Mr. Coppack, chaplain to the Manchester Regiment (whom the Prince desired to make Bishop of Carlisle), was executed at the latter town.

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by Chester into Wales, for the Wynns and Wyndhams were esteemed favourable to his cause; but being informed that the bridges over the Mersey were broken down by the "Liverpool Blues,"¹ he decided to proceed on the direct route for the metropolis, and issued the following "sportive" proclamation:—

"To the Inhabitants of Manchester.

MANCHESTER, *November 30, 1745.*

"His Royal Highness being informed that several bridges have been pulled down in this county, he has given orders to repair them forthwith, particularly that at Crossforth, which is to be done this night by his own troops, though His Royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country; and if any forces that were with General Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it!
C. P. R."

On December 1st, the troops left Manchester in two columns. One of these, led by the Chevalier, waded through the river a little below Stockport,² where they found the water scarcely three feet deep, and were greeted by a few of the Cheshire gentry, and an old lady, Mrs. Skyring, who presented the Prince with a purse containing the proceeds of the sale of her jewels, her plate, and every little trinket she possessed.³

This division, passing through the low-lying ground by Woodford and Prestbury, reached Macclesfield about 2 P.M. The other column, with the baggage and artillery, passed over lower down at Cheadle, over a rough bridge made by

¹ A regiment of militia, 700 strong, raised by the citizens for his repulsion. One of them, William Liversley, was buried on December 4th, at Cheadle. On December 14th they were stationed at Warrington, and received orders to march to Preston, where they were expected to arrive on December 16th. They were "discharged," with much commendation, after the taking of Carlisle.

² The Lancashire bridge had been blown up.

³ This lady died upon hearing of the retreat.

choking up the channel with the trunks of poplar trees. Many of them also proceeded by Crossford near Stretford, where they compelled the country people to assist in repairing the bridge by laying poplar trees across the river, and planks on the top of them. A troop of horse arrived at Altringham at break of day, and bespoke quarters for a body of foot, which came in about ten, and later on, set out towards the east.

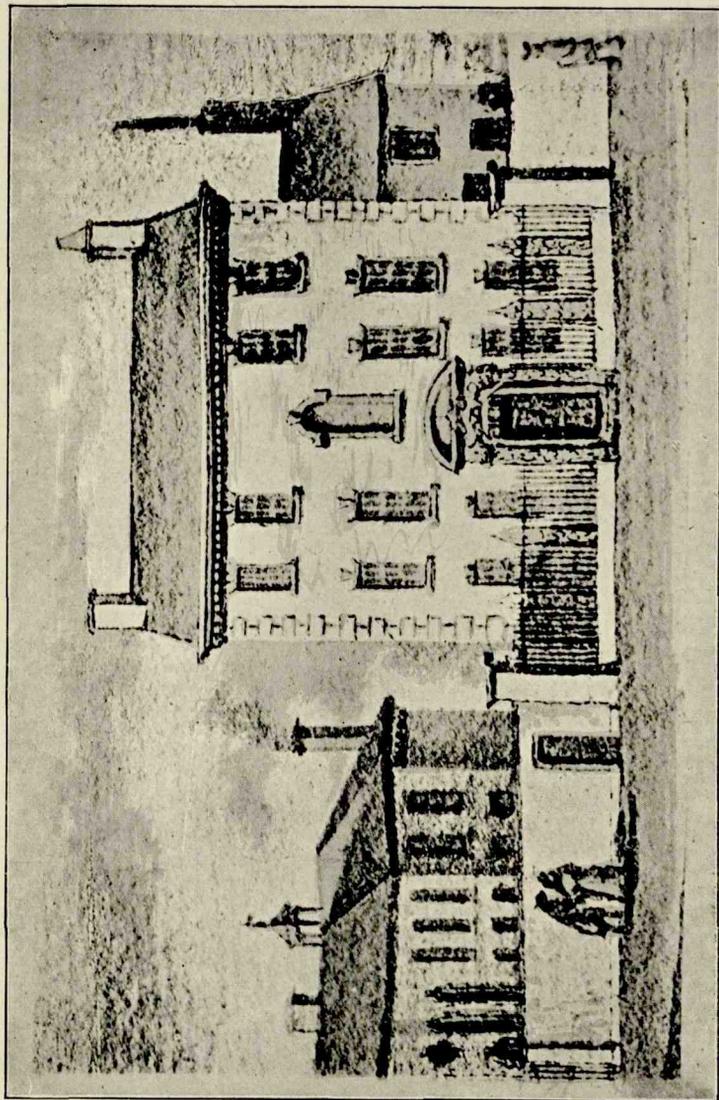
The main body advanced by Wilmslow and Chorley over Alderley Edge to Macclesfield.¹

On the morning of Saturday, November 30th, a small party of the insurgents entered Macclesfield. They rode round the cross and distributed leaflets which spoke of religious liberty, and called on the inhabitants to enlist in the Prince's service. Not meeting with any encouragement, and perhaps hearing of the approach of the King's dragoons, they retired. Later on in the day about twenty of the Royal cavalry entered the town and took up their abode there for the night. Next morning (December 1st) the country people came flocking in, saying that the rebels were only a quarter of a mile away; on hearing which the dragoons precipitately fled. The entrance of the Quartermasters, with their guard of twenty, then took place. These rode to the cross, and, summoning the constables, inquired for Sir Peter Davenport's house.² Finding he was away, they labelled the

¹ "They had given out that they would call at Knottsford, but they were prevented by a report that 2000 of the King's troops were there; a proof their intelligence was not always good."—*Manchester Magazine*.

Augustus Hare, in his "Memorials of a Quiet Life," narrates how his ancestors threw their wine into a large pool in front of Toft Hall, "from whence it was fished up, not much improved, a hundred years after."

² This was afterwards known as "Holyrood House," and was used as the Free Grammar School. It is situate in King Edward Street.



THE FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, MACCLESFIELD
FROM THE FRONTISPIECE OF THE GOVERNORS' MINUTE BOOK (DATED 1775)

door "Prince."¹ Following these came the advance guard, a regiment of lusty fellows, but poorly mounted, commanded by the Duke of Perth. Not long after, with banners flying and bagpipes playing, came four or five regiments, each led by its colonel.

Marching on foot (as he had done all the way from Carlisle) the Prince, surrounded by his bodyguards, then arrived. The populace received him in silence; but, from fear of insult, an attempt was made to ring a peal of bells. Only four of the ringers could be found; and these, through confusion, rang the bells backward. The Prince then ordered the Mayor and Aldermen to proclaim King James; and the bellman was sent round to bespeak quarters for 10,000, saying that 5000 were following the next day. All this evening the common soldiers were engaged "scaling their pieces, firing them, and putting them in order." A council of war was also held, at which Lord George Murray declared zealously in favour of marching, without loss of time, to London.² The vanguard took up their quarters late at night at Broken Cross.

Lord Eleho, with his division, and the scouts (numbering about 500 men), who had reconnoitred the country for eight or ten miles around, spent the night at Prestbury, and joined the army again on the morrow.³ On December 2nd, Lord George Murray, with 2000 men, instead of taking the road to Leek, which was the direct route for London, set out for Congleton; the object being to impress the Duke of Cumberland with the belief, either

¹ It seems to have been their custom to write in chalk upon the quarters the name of the person for whom they were assigned. (See page 85.)

² Home, the historian.

³ They called at Adlington, the house of Colonel Lee, and demanded a certain number of muskets, pistols, &c., and six French horns, and mentioned the particular rooms in which they should be found.

that they were seeking to give him battle, or else wishing to make their way to their partisans in Wales. At ten o'clock in the morning the column marched through Gawsworth, reaching Congleton between three and four in the afternoon, and announced that the Prince, with the remainder of the troops, would be there that evening. A small party of about thirty men were told off to Astbury. When the Prince arrived, the Mayor was compelled to proclaim him, with all formality, at the Market Cross.

The following interesting letter, written by Mr. Samuel Bromfield on the 4th of December 1745, is taken from the Swettenham muniments:—

"SIR,—I hope the communication is now open that we may hear from one another again, and shall be glad to hear your family and house have escaped the Rebels' fury. Although 4000 foot and horse lay at Congleton on Monday night, they paid this Parish no visit. They took in Congleton what horses and arms they could light on, ordered all their last receipts for Excise to be brought them, and obliged them to repay it, ordered provisions for 6000 men for Tuesday night, who lay at Maxfield on Monday, and for their Land Tax to be ready by Tuesday noon. But what altered their route I cannot tell, but the better part of them turned and went through Bosley and Rushton to Leek—so that Congleton saved its Land Tax by it, which that poor town could not well afford to pay.

"I hear that these went from Congleton to Ashbourne that day, and the remnant, their artillery, stayed at Leek; and I am told this morning that part of our troops set out from Newcastle and Stone at 11 o'clock on Tuesday night to have surprised them at Leek; which the Rebels had notice of and made their escape. I am afraid this adventure of our army has done them hurt and retarded them, so that the Rebels will get before them to London, and God only knows what will be the end of it. It gives great uneasiness in this country. But we are not left without hope that they will be scourged, and the more so because I do not hear that anybody of any consideration has joined them since they left Carlisle. I hear they whisked up a great many apprentices and cracked Tradesmen at Manchester, and call them the Manchester Regiment. I hear the Pretender's son lay two nights at Sir P. Davenport's, sent to Adlington for all the horses and arms (that six coach mares were got, &c.), and they had the rest



WATERFALL AT THE HEAD OF
MEAL-ARK-CLOUGH



MEAL-ARK-CLOUGH

of them sent to Prestbury, and sent to Thornycroft for arms, and broke open the lower rooms at Birtles new Hall for arms. Brothers was there yesterday, and says they took nothing but a few knives that were tipped with silver.

"They sent to Mr. Worth for 1000 measures of oats and a quantity of hay, and I hear he was glad to get rid of them upon such easy terms. I hear they wrested the Association money in Manchester. I think your tenant, Edward Booth, came off better than most that fell into their hands. A deserter took one of his horses out of the stable, whom he pursued and took, got his horse again, and sent the Rebel to Chester Castle.

"Manchester and all our country were in the utmost confusion for a fortnight past in removing their effects and families, and on Saturday I sent Brothers to Manchester to learn their motions for the comfort of ourselves and neighbours; when they took his horse, and he returned on Sunday on foot, who brought us word that he left part of them at Altringham. But before he came home a neighbour comes to our Church door in the service time and said the Rebels were near us and would take all our horses. You may think Mr. Sherratt's congregation was soon dispersed. Upon which I sent seven of my best horses and one of my brother's that night near Ashbourne,¹ thinking that no one would come there, and left three horses and two colts at home, thinking they might prevent me being insulted; but when I heard they marched towards Ashbourne, I sent a servant after my horses, but have heard nothing since.

"I am apt to think the Rebels were too much in haste to go much into the country there, and hope they are safe. It is now time to leave off this melancholy subject . . . these troublesome times have prevented me hunting . . . your most obedient and humble
SAM^L BROMFIELD."

Meantime the Government forces were hovering around. A great camp had been formed under the King himself at Finchley; the troops of Marshal Wade were in the rear of the Chevalier; and the Duke of Cumberland,² with 10,000 men, was encamped at Newcastle in Staffordshire. On hearing of the apparent approach of the Highlanders from his spy, Mr. Weir, the latter retired to Lichfield,

¹ The farmers of Swythamley and Heaton hid their cattle in a secluded little dell called Meal-ark-Clough, bounded at one end by a waterfall and at the other by the river Dane.

² Second son of George II. (See page 89.)

resolving to await the arrival of the army from the North, in order to give battle to the insurgents with the greater effectiveness. Here a great misfortune befell him; for a scouting party under Lord Elcho succeeded in taking prisoner Mr. Weir,¹ and by a ruse drew off 200 of his cavalry from the house of Sir Peter Talbot, which they were besieging, to the encampment at Congleton, where they were all captured without bloodshed.

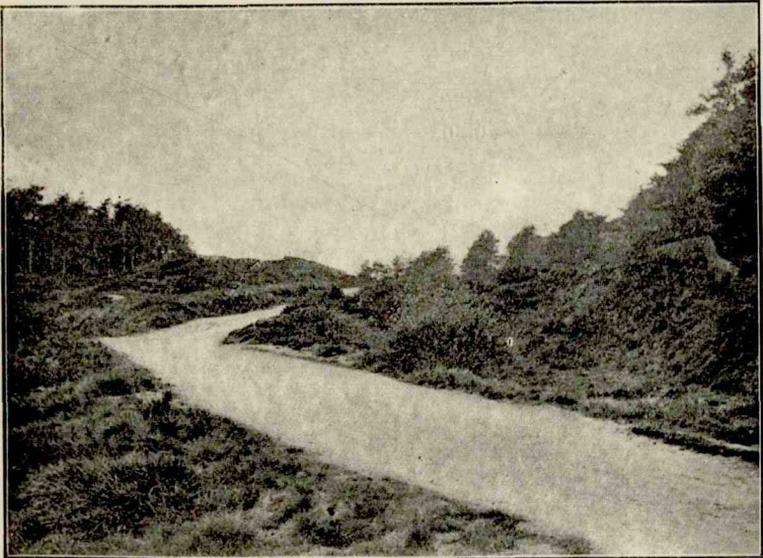
During their stay the insurgents sought for and seized whatever arms they could find, and "lived gratuitously." On the following morning they set out, some of them by Bosley and Rushton, and others by the high road through Mossley and Dane Enshaw, to rejoin the main army, which had marched direct from Macclesfield and lay at Leek.

About half a mile beyond The Cloud, just off the turnpike road, there is an eminence called Drummer's Knob, which takes its name from the following incident:—A drummer was here sitting and amusing himself by playing (or singing), "Hie thee, Jamie, hame again," when he was espied by some English soldiers. One of these requested permission of his officer to have a shot at him. Leave was given, and, though the distance was great, the bullet reached its billet, and the poor fellow died. On their arrival at Leek the vanguard did not tarry, but hastened on to Ashbourne, where they demanded quarters for 3000 men. The Prince wished to put up at the Vicarage, but Mrs. Daintry (the wife of the Vicar) refused to have

¹ Mr. Weir was the most important of the Government spies. He claimed to have been in and out amongst the Highlanders, learning their secrets, dozens of times on their way down from Carlisle. It was only when, by Lord Elcho's orders, the halter was around his neck, that he consented to turn traitor to the King.



THE MARCH TO FINCHLEY. BY HOGARTH



DRUMMER'S KNOB

him in the house,¹ and he had to spend the night at Ashbourne Hall. The close of the day was spent by the remainder of his forces in practising shooting at the old Norman Church cross, and in sharpening their claymores and broadswords in readiness for the anticipated brush with the Duke of Cumberland's army.² Meanwhile the good people of Derby were making preparations to defend themselves. Six hundred men were provided by the gentry, and another 150 by the Duke of Devonshire. On the 3rd December, news having reached them that Ashbourne was "occupied," all was immediately confusion. The soldiers were ordered off to Nottingham, and the magistrates, gentry, and chief tradespeople fled with their families and goods. When the Highlanders arrived at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 4th, and demanded billets for 9000 troops, their terror was complete. Soon after this thirty of the vanguard rode in and remained on horseback for two or three hours, whilst "bells were rung and bonfires lit." Lord Balmerino and Lord Elcho at the head of the army then marched in.

The Chevalier himself, who had paid a visit to Radbourne Hall,³ arrived on foot at dusk, and pro-

¹ With regard to this statement, made by Mr. Cruso, grandson of Mr. Daintry, I am open to correction. At Leek Vicarage there is a bedroom, with a signed portrait of the Chevalier in it. On the back of this picture it is asserted that the Prince slept "in this room." But on the other hand, Mrs. Daintry is said to have died of the fright occasioned by these ruffians, on December 15, 1745 (see Sleigh's "Leek"); and at Ashbourne there is a tradition that "the Pretender on his march to Derby took possession of the Hall and slept there, and again on returning through that town."

² This would in all probability have taken place, but for the fact that Joshua Ball, the messenger despatched to the Royalists, was waylaid by a partisan of Prince Charles and made so much the worse for drink that he reached Stone too late for his information to be of any avail.

³ At Radbourne Hall there is a most magnificent portrait (sent to the family of Pole by the Chevalier himself) of the Prince, spoken of in quite recent times as "The Gentleman in Red." The following

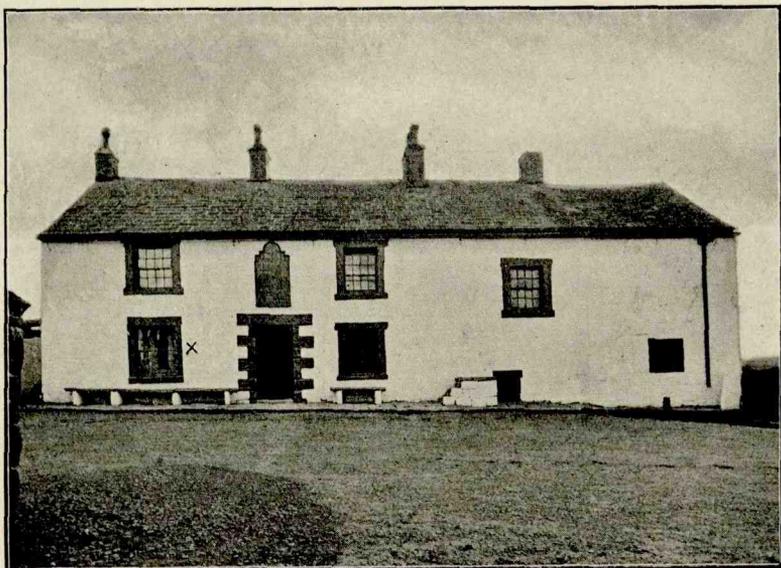
ceeded to the house of Lord Exeter in Full Street. Here guards were posted round the residence. The same evening the chiefs held a Council of War, and it was resolved to levy contributions from all who had subscribed for the defence of the Government. This was done, and the sum amounted to between two and three thousand pounds. As usual the sergeants beat up for recruits. Only three idle fellows of the lowest classes were induced to enlist. Many of the inhabitants had forty or fifty soldiers apiece to entertain, and some even as many as one hundred.

And now the smouldering differences between the Scottish lairds (and especially between Lord George Murray and John Murray, the Prince's secretary) began to take a definite form. On the morning of December 5th, the former waited on the Chevalier and counselled a retreat. Charles could not agree to this, and throughout the day had interviews with the other leaders, whom he tried to induce to come over to his views. The same evening a second and most momentous Council was held at the house of the Duke of Exeter. Differences of opinion arose, and such high words were bandied that they were overheard by Alderman Eaton. The gathering of the armies around, the slight encouragement which they had received since leaving the north, and the ominous portent that the standard of the Prince had been

account of his appearance in 1770, given by Mrs. Miller, an English lady, may be aptly quoted as applying in detail to this picture:—
 "When a young man he must have been esteemed handsome. His complexion is of the fair tint, his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the contour of his face a long oval; he is by no means thin, has a noble person, and a graceful manner. His dress is scarlet, laced with broad gold lace; he wears the blue riband outside of his coat, from which depends a cameo antique, as large as the palm of my hand; and he wears the same garter and motto as those of the noble order of S. George in England." In this portrait the skirt of his coat is raised, and beneath it is seen that he is wearing a cuirass.



THE HOUSE OF LORD EXETER AT DERBY (NOW DEMOLISHED)



THE ROYAL COTTAGE (NOW AN INN) ON THE ROAD FROM
LEEK TO BUXTON

x CHARLES EDWARD SLEPT IN THIS ROOM

broken in attempting to get it through the door of his lodgings, were all discussed.

Finally, it was determined—much to the disappointment of the Chevalier, who exclaimed, "Rather than go back I would wish to be twenty feet under ground!"—to return to Scotland; but in future, said the Prince, he would be accountable for his actions only to God and his father, and would call no more Councils of War.¹

By this time the advanced guard had secured the pass at Swarkstone Bridge; and so it was with much surprise that the troops heard, instead of the command to advance towards Loughborough, the order to retire. At 7 A.M. on December 6th the homeward journey was begun. The chiefs seemed "much confused,"² and the poor Prince was so upset that he could not walk. He who had always been the first in the morning to place himself at the head of his column, now followed (mounted on the black charger of the late Colonel Gardiner) in the wake. He set out from Derby at 9 A.M.

The Hussars plundered most of the neighbouring gentlemen's houses for arms and horses, and obtained a good supply of both. That night was spent by the main body of the army at Ashbourne. About 300 slept at the Talbot Inn; and the landlord only received £10, being left £34 out of pocket. The Prince stayed at the Hall.³ The

¹ The very next day appeared the following announcement in the *S. James's Evening Post*: "Decr. 6.—We hear the embarkation of troops designed for the service of the Pretender's eldest son is fixed for the 14th instant. This body of troops consists of the Irish and Scotch in the King's service, with the regiments of Normandy, Crillon, and Niverois."

² *Manchester Magazine*.

³ At Ashbourne Hall the bedroom doors were labelled in chalk with the names of the noble occupants. There were chambers assigned to the Prince, the Duke of Perth, the Marquess of Tullibardine, Lord Elcho, and others. One of these doors, which till recently had on it "Sir Tamas Cheridon," carefully varnished over, is still in existence. This was preserved *in situ* by Mrs. Franks. The others were sold by a temporary possessor of the Hall. (See p. 73.)

following day was occupied with the return to Leek.¹

The Prince lodged this night at the house of Mr. Mills, and it is recorded that in the morning "his pillow-case was found saturated with tears."²

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland, hearing of the occupation of Derby, made a retrograde movement to cover London, and did not receive information of the retreat until his arrival at Meridan More, near Coventry.

Immediately, mounting a thousand of his infantry on horseback, he placed himself at the head of his cavalry, and set off in pursuit.

From Leek the Chevalier proceeded round by Buxton³ to Stockport, the main body of his troops going direct to Macclesfield.

Somewhere about this time, or perhaps earlier, a very interesting sermon was preached from I. S. Timothy, ii. 1 and 2, by the Rev. George Read, M.A., Vicar of Peover and Rector of Baddily, in the Parish Church at Leek. It is endorsed "Leek sermon on ye Rebellion in 1745," and I am sorry that owing to want of space I cannot quote it in full. After dwelling upon the duties of praying for all men, and especially our governors, he says that this is sometimes peculiarly and more ordinarily seasonable, and he then proceeds to show that the present is an occasion for special pleading:—

"Incendiary papers have been distributed into all parts and into every corner of the kingdom. Great pains have been taken

¹ An old man, living in 1835, described the poor clansmen as straggling as far as Elkstone on the one side and Weaver, whose summits were covered with "them there Scotch rabils as thick as leaves in Vallambrosia," on the other.

² Sleigh's "History of the Parish of Leek."

³ It must have been on this night that he stayed at a lonely farmhouse, in a most romantic situation, about four and a half miles from Leek. This house has been known ever since as the "Royal Cottage." The settle on which Prince Charlie lay is still preserved.

to proclaim and prove the Pretender's right to the Crown of these Kingdoms, though it's well known to those who remember to have read the history of those times, that the Pretender's birth was generally suspected by the nation, was looked upon by many as an arrant cheat, and was never yet sufficiently proved to impartialise disinterested people; and it's now too late to prove this—or if it was proved, he inevitably stands excluded by our Constitution, and can come to the throne in no other way nor by any other right than that of conquest; and though this is true, yet numbers have been carried away with the notion of his rights. The adversaries of the Government have so far succeeded in their hellish endeavours, that a dangerous Rebellion is actually raised, headed as it is by the eldest son of the Pretender, sent from home and buoyed up with assurances from France and Spain. Success has in some measure already favoured and spirited up the Rebels—numbers have been oppressed, robbed, and plundered, and the blood of faithful subjects spilt by them; trade and commerce is obstructed, honest people are alarmed, and everything is threatened by their success. . . . These are reasons, and other might be easily recited, that demonstrate the enormous guilt and infatuation of the present Rebellion."

The news of the occupation of Derby by the Prince's troops threw London into the greatest consternation. It arrived on December 6th, which for years after was known as "Black Friday." People thronged the Bank to obtain payment of their notes; and it was only by blocking the counter with assistants (who presented cheques which were paid in sixpences), and receiving the same money back into the Bank by another entrance, that the establishment saved itself from bankruptcy.

About nine on the morning of Saturday, December 7th, intelligence arrived at Macclesfield that the rebels were returning. The Mayor and many of the gentry fled. About five or six in the evening 1500 of them came in, and throughout Sunday their numbers kept increasing.

At eleven o'clock on the Sunday night an order was issued requiring all those people who had subscribed to the support of the Government to

reproduce their contributions by six o'clock on the following morning, on pain of having their houses set on fire.

A party of the Manchester recruits went round by Altringham, and Mrs. Holland, of Dam House, Mobberley, has left the following entry in her diary:—

"Decr. ye 8.—On Saturday night they begun to come in (to 'poor Maxfield'); all the country alarmed again with great fear of them; one and twenty came this day by the Hall and Mill and made towards Altringham, gave us disturbance in the neighbourhood."

At Altringham these men wished to cross the Mersey and go through Stretford, but finding the bridge at Crossforth again broken down, they were forced to return to Stockport, where a considerable body lay that night. On the previous evening four of the rebels had succeeded in giving the watch the slip and in crossing the river at Stockport ford, but one of their horses had been shot, and this so enraged the Highlanders that they threatened to burn the town,¹ cut several persons with their swords, and seized upon Mr. Elcock, an attorney; Mr. Osborne; Mr. Robinson, a grocer; Mr. Bower, a mercer; one Lee, and the constable (about whose neck they put a halter, threatening to hang him; and both he and many others thought they would have been as good as their word). Eventually these men were discharged.

The four fugitives above mentioned reached Manchester on the Saturday evening, and one of them, supposed to be Thomas Siddell, the barber,

¹ "The people of the country, who had shown them little goodwill upon their advance, appeared more actively malevolent when they beheld the Scots in retreat, and in the act of pillaging the places they passed through. At a village near Stockport the inhabitants fired upon the patrols of the Highlanders, who, in retaliation, set fire to the place."—"Tales of a Grandfather."



PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUMBERLAND

FROM AN ORIGINAL EDITION OF RAY'S "HISTORY OF THE REBELLION OF 1745"
PUBLISHED IN 1749

narrowly escaped being seized at the upper end of Market Street Lane. He was obliged to gallop down the street and through the Ackers gate, and in the square he quit his mare.

Captain Hilton, with four or five hundred men, had been sent from Manchester to contest the crossing at Cheadle Ford, and, it is said, occasioned a party of the insurgents to go back to Stockport.

On December 9th the rebels returned to Manchester. The same evening the constables gathered together a meeting of many of the most influential citizens at the Old Coffee House, and showed them a warrant for £5000,¹ which they had received from the young Prince, and which they had been commanded, under pain of military execution, to raise by four o'clock of the next day.

On Tuesday, December 10th, at the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants, the warrant was reduced to £2500, and was made payable by Manchester and Salford. Mr. Bayley was seized by Secretary Murray as "security."

This morning the main body of the rebels marched off for Wigan,² and the remainder set out this afternoon.

By advices from Wigan of the 14th, the first division of the rebels went from Preston on Thursday (December 12th), but their rear stayed there till ten o'clock on Friday morning.³ It was the 8th of December before the Duke of Cumberland

¹ This was levied as indemnity for the opposition of a violent mob.

² Mr. Richard Kay, of Baldingstone, near Bury, has this note in his diary: "Decr. 10.—Having never seen the Rebels or any in Highland Dress, I set out this morning on foot in company with some other friends to see them on the road from Manchester to Wigan. We went to a place called four Lane Ends, in Hilton (*i.e.* Hulton), where the Rebels marched from one o' the clock till betwixt four and five o' the clock in the afternoon, as throng as the road could well receive them; I suppose their number may be near 10,000 men in all."—"Palatine Note Book," vol. iv.

³ *Manchester Magazine*.

started from Derby ; and, though he made all haste, by the same route as the Prince had taken,¹ to catch up with the retreating force, it was not until the evening of December 13th that he reached Wigan ; but his horsemen were in great spirits, and he was only about a day's march then behind the Highlanders.

By advices from Preston of the 15th, the rebels began to march out of Lancaster at eight o'clock the night before in a very great hurry ; the baggage proceeded first. They were marching out in different bodies all night. The last of them left that town at eight o'clock in the morning of the 15th. They took the road to Kendal.²

The Chevalier's eye had lost much of its fire ; his cheek was hollow, his voice languid, his gait less firm and elastic, and his dress (which he had usually been most particular about) was slovenly.³

The following letter, dated December 14th, from a lady in Preston to her friend in town, published in Mr. Cunliff's *Manchester Magazine*, is interesting :—

"Yesterday the whole rebel army re-entered our town, all sufficiently wearied and out of humour enough. There were with them four ladies, who seemed to be of some distinction—Lady Ogilvy, Mrs. Murray, Jenny Cameron, and another, whose name I could not learn. . . . The two first were in a chariot by themselves, the other ladies in a coach and six with the young Pretender and Mr. Sheridan, who it seems is called the Archbishop of Canterbury. The young Pretender seemed very faint and sick, and is very assiduously ministered to by Jenny Cameron. O'Sullivan, one of the young Pretender's council, and a very likely fellow, made free with our house ; and we were under the necessity to treat him civilly. He returned it obligingly enough. . . . This wild rabble made no long stay here, nor I daresay will ever come back again. They look all like hunted hares, and would rather hear the name of the devil than of the Duke ; but

¹ There is still standing a house in Macclesfield which the Duke occupied.

² *Manchester Magazine*.

³ "Waverley."

don't seem to mind anybody else in particular except General Oglethorpe, whose vivacity they are no strangers to.

"They seem to hope his forwardness may outrun his judgment, in which, I don't doubt, they will be fatally mistaken.

"They are marched or rather gone off in a very unaccountable manner; galloping, trotting, and running, and as we say bidding the devil take the hindermost. . . . The Post waiting, I can give you no further particulars."

On Saturday, December the 14th, the Highlanders began to arrive at Kendal. About ten o'clock in the morning the Duke of Perth and his cavalry, after a slight fracas, obtained possession of the river bridge.

Towards the evening of the 17th of December, the Prince, with the main body of his army, had entered the town of Penrith in Cumberland. Lord George Murray, who had undertaken the charge of the rear-guard (a position of great danger and honour) was detained, by the necessity of getting some of the baggage-waggons repaired, at Shap. On the following morning, on arriving at Clifton, three miles to the south of Penrith, the heights were discovered to be occupied by local gentry and Cumberland's dragoons; but towards evening, M. de Cluny, with two regiments, arrived from the Prince with orders to cover his retreat. Lord George, with his accustomed intrepidity, resolved on making an attack. He drew his sword, and, with the cry of "Claymore!" at the head of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, 200 men under Colonel Roy Stewart, and the two regiments detached for his support, rushed upon the 5000 English troops. The engagement took place by moonlight; and in a very short time the affair was concluded. Colonel Honeywood, the Royalist, was severely wounded, and 150 men were slain.¹ Lord George immediately

¹ At the south end of the village of Clifton there is an oak under which, according to local tradition, the Highlanders who fell in this engagement are buried. It is called "The Rebels' Tree."

sent for reinforcements, hoping to follow up his victory and destroy the vanguard of the enemy, and possibly get possession of the Duke himself.¹ But these were never sent; and the Prince has been adversely criticised for this.

As a consequence of the defeat at Clifton bridge, the Government forces were henceforth extremely chary of attacking the Highlanders on their retreat, and took care to keep a day's march in the rear.

In the centre aisle of Penrith Church are two large gilt chandeliers, "purchased at the expense of the first Duke of Portland, to reward the spirited exertions of his tenants, the inhabitants of the Honour of Penrith, during the rebellion in the year 1745."² The next day, Charles retreated to Carlisle, and arrived there, with his army, on the morning of the 19th of December.

As already related, a garrison (including the Manchester Regiment) of about 300 men was left here—the Prince hoping to return to it—and the insurgents proceeded on their way.

Fatigued and dejected, they arrived at Langton, and crossed the Esk into Scotland on the Chevalier's birthday, the 31st of December. To break the force of the current (the river being much swollen, and four feet deep) the cavalry entered the water just above the point where the infantry were to cross, and the latter waded through in parties of ten or twelve, locked arm in arm.

Charles had the good fortune to save the life of one of his Highlanders at some risk to his own. The troops, as they landed on Scottish ground, saluted their native soil with shouts and cheers.

¹ A servant of the Duke of Cumberland, taken prisoner, related that a Highlander had presented a pistol at the Duke's breast, but that the weapon had missed fire.

² "The Beauties of England and Wales," published 1802.

And now that I have exhausted my local gleanings concerning this daring venture of the representative of a long line of illustrious kings, I beg to pass over the subsequent events—the augmenting of the Chevalier's forces, the siege of Stirling, the victory of Falkirk, the battle of Culloden, and the miserable wanderings and final escape of the Prince (by the aid of the faithful Flora Macdonald)—all which have been so fully and ably related by Sir Walter Scott, Mr. C. L. Klose, Mr. Andrew Lang,¹ and other authorities, and conclude with a brief statement of the retributive results which followed in its wake.

By Act of Attainder the lands of those engaged in the "fatal '45" were forfeited, the hereditary and arbitrary jurisdiction of the Highland lairds abolished, and the carrying of arms and wearing of the distinctive dress—the plaid, philibeg, and shoulder-belt, or parti-coloured tartan—prohibited.

The estates and national dress remained in abeyance until, by an "Act of Grace," they were restored in 1784.

Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, and the Prince escaped to the Continent; the Duke of Perth, of whom a very fine portrait is preserved at Radbourne Hall, died at sea; and the Marquess of Tullibardine ended his days and was buried in the Tower of London.

The Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Lord Lovat were executed in 1746 on Tower Hill.

Lord Pitsligo was obliged to hide for many years, but finally was ignored, and died in his bed.

The Earl of Cromarty was granted his life at the earnest solicitation of his friends. Charles Radcliffe, the brother of the Earl of Derwentwater

¹ In "The True Story Book."

(according to Roby's "Traditions of Lancashire"), took service as farm-servant to a fisherman near Southport, and, by feigning to be deaf and dumb, succeeded for a time in escaping observation. In the end he was captured on board a French man-of-war, and admitted to the sad honours of the axe on December 7, 1746.

John Murray, the Prince's secretary, turned "King's evidence," and was ever afterwards stigmatised as "Traitor Murray."

Thus ended this extraordinary march of 580 miles—made over bad roads in the depth of winter—with three capable armies continually hovering around.

It is the opinion of many that had the Chevalier pursued his course, or had he, after the battle of Culloden, rallied his forces instead of dismissing them, the end might have been very different. Even as it was, the Prince reigned long enthroned in many a loving heart. "How well I remember," says Miss Mary Ann Schimmelpenninck in her Autobiography, "a fine portrait of the Catholic Prince Charles Edward, which made a great impression on me, because I knew the part my great-uncle, Cameron of Lochiel, had taken in his cause, and that my grandfather and great-grandfather of Urie had had a full-length likeness of the Prince, before which they taught their children to bow every day, especially since the cause of the Stuarts, whose blood mingled with their own, had been unfortunate."

On the 30th of January, 1788, Charles Edward Stewart died at Rome, the sole male survivor of his illustrious house being his retiring and inoffensive younger brother, Henry Benedict Maria Clemens, Cardinal of Rome, and Duke of York. This Prince was never very forward in laying claim to the British throne, though, upon his

brother's death, he caused a medal to be struck, which bore the following inscriptions: "Henricus nonus Angliae Rex," and "Gratia Dei, sed non voluntate hominum." His death occurred in 1801, and with him expired the flickering flame of a once mighty—now fallen—dynasty.