

ART. XVII.—*Mr George Clerk and the Royal Hunters*
in 1745. By W. A. J. PREVOST.

Read at Seascale, July 13th, 1962.

Introduction.

IN 1731 Sir John Clerk of Penicuik journeyed to Penrith to visit his son George, who was at Mr Wilkinson's school at Lowther. The baronet's account of this expedition, together with an introduction, was published in CW2 lxi. This paper is a sequel. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat the biographical notes concerning Sir John and his son, and only necessary to enlarge on the situation of the Clerk family when Prince Charles Edward and his Highlanders marched on Edinburgh in September 1745.

Sir John, in the early stages of his career, had played an important part in formulating the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England, and latterly, as one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was partly responsible for the administration of the Forfeited Estates after the "15". For these reasons alone Clerk was high up on the Jacobite black list and accordingly, when the Prince entered Edinburgh on 17 September, Sir John discreetly left his house at Mavisbank and retired to Mackerston near Kelso. After hearing the news of Cope's defeat at Prestonpans he went into England and "took up his place of exile" in Durham. There he was on friendly terms with many people of consequence and was thus kept advised of the situation both in Scotland and England, and it is safe to say that he received and despatched many letters. Some of those to his son George are preserved in Edinburgh Record Office.¹ He was well informed about the movements of the rebel army on its march south and he must have been notified of the return to Edinburgh of the

¹ Clerk of Penicuik, cited hereunder as "C. of P."

principal Government officers on 13 November after the Prince had entered England. At any rate, when the Highlanders were in Carlisle, Sir John left Durham to return to Scotland and had reached Newcastle on 19 November² when Wade was making his abortive attempt to bring the rebels to battle at Brampton. In due course he arrived home at Penicuik where he remained undisturbed until the troubles were over.

George (1715-1784),³ who was only twenty years of age when he married his cousin Dorothea Clerk, had been provided for by his father who was Dorothea's trustee. In addition to his wife's estate of Middlebie, George had had granted to him by his father in 1737 the small property of Dumcrieff near Moffat, all of which was insufficient to keep him fully employed. He seems to have followed the advice laid down by Sir John "for enabling a country gentleman to make a considerable figure in life"⁴ and to have taken a great interest in local affairs. With the idea of increasing his income he established a linen manufactory in Dumfries, where he was living when the rebellion broke out. Clerk was "a Gentleman well affected to His Majesty King George" and, with a pass dated 21 September which was signed by the Provost of Dumfries,⁵ made his way into England to join a "body of Yorkshire gentlemen" called the Royal or Yorkshire Hunters.⁶

The Royal Hunters.

This regiment was brought into being by the efforts of a number of fox-hunting Yorkshire gentlemen, probably following a meeting on 11 September at Byrom, the seat of Sir John Ramsden.⁷ Many of the leading men

² C. of P., Box 123/3257. Letters to George Clerk.

³ See R. Chambers, *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, and William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation*.

⁴ C. of P., Box 96/2325.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Box 123/3250.

⁶ "Memoirs of the Life of Sir J. Clerk of Penicuik, 1676-1755" (ed. J. M. Gray), *Scottish History Society*, xiii (1892) 192.

⁷ Sir John Ramsden, Bart., bap. 21 March 1698/9, M.P. for Appleby 1727/54, died at Byrom 10 April 1769. He was a scholar at the school at Lowther.

of the county attended, including Sir William Lowther⁸ and Lord Lonsdale,⁹ and they decided to call a meeting of all the nobility, gentry and clergy at York Castle on 24 September. Cedric Collyer in *Yorkshire and the "Forty-five"* relates how General Oglethorpe reached York on the day appointed for the meeting and was then asked to be colonel of this troop of light horse. Oglethorpe obtained official permission to do so, and the Royal Hunters were incorporated the following month in Wade's command at Newcastle.¹⁰

Ettinger, in his *James Edward Oglethorpe*, has something to say about the raising of the regiment and quotes a letter of 8 November 1745 from Stephen Thompson to Vice-Admiral Medley: that these fox-hunters . . . "to the number of twenty or thirty, have listed under a mad general Oglethorpe . . . They make more noise than they deserve, their numbers being much magnified."¹¹ It is doubtful whether the strength of the gentlemen, excluding their servants, ever exceeded thirty. When the Royal Hunters were following up the Highlanders near Lancaster on 11 December, O'Sullivan in his *Narrative* records that there were "25 or 30 of them".¹² They were "well mounted . . . serv'd at their own expense"¹³ and if "G.R." in *Intercepted Post* is to be believed . . . "each had 3 servants".¹⁴ The gentlemen were "clad in green with leathern caps . . ." ¹⁵ and George Clerk's arms of a sword and pistols was probably standard throughout the troop.¹⁶

⁸ Sir William Lowther, of Swillington, Yorks, 1715-1763. He married (2), in 1736, Catherine, dau. of Sir William Ramsden by Elizabeth, dau. of John Lowther, 1st Viscount Lonsdale.

⁹ Henry Lowther, 3rd Viscount Lonsdale (1694-1751), who succeeded his elder brother in 1713.

¹⁰ Cedric Collyer, "Yorkshire and the 'Forty-five'," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* xxxviii 79.

¹¹ A. A. Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe* (1936). See pp. 259-269 for Oglethorpe's itinerary.

¹² O'Sullivan's "Narrative" in A. & H. Tayler, 1745 and After, p. 104.

¹³ James Ray, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion* (1752) 68.

¹⁴ D. Nicholas, *Intercepted Post* 138. Published by The Bodley Head Ltd., to whom I am indebted for permission to quote.

¹⁵ O'Sullivan's "Narrative", *op. cit.*, 104.

¹⁶ C. of P., Box 139/4189. Letter, Morley to G. Clerk; and Box 179/5737. Letters, Carruthers to G. Clerk.

The Hunters were only intended to act as scouts and guides and for this they were well suited, for among their numbers was a seasoning of west countrymen and a strong element of gentlemen who had been educated at the school at Lowther. Their pooled knowledge of the countryside embraced the whole of the north of England. It is said that the regiment did not distinguish itself greatly¹⁷ but it was allotted a few lines by Sir John Fortescue in his *History of the British Army* as being the "first germ of our present Yeomanry".¹⁸

George Clerk.

George Clerk, having left Dumfries on 21 September, was unlikely to have covered the 150-odd miles to York in time to greet Oglethorpe on the 24th, but he could have been present at a meeting of the Royal Hunters held there on 1 October. A printed copy of the resolutions agreed to on that occasion is among his papers and is printed here.¹⁹

"Resolv'd . . .

"As soon as the Enemy comes into England, that General Oglethorpe be desir'd to summons the Gentlemen Volunteers, who upon such notice, will immediately repair to the appointed Rendezvous.

"Resolv'd . . .

"If any Body of His Majesty's Troops advances as far North as this place, the General to acquaint the Gentlemen, whether there is any likelihood of coming to Action; if so the Gentlemen upon such notice are immediately to repair to the appointed Rendezvous.

"Resolv'd . . .

"That the Gentlemen in the mean time will accustom their own and Servants Horses to stand Fire.

¹⁷ W. B. Blaikie, *Origins of the Forty-Five* (1916). Note on p. 183.

¹⁸ Hon. J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Book VII, chapter VI, 133.

¹⁹ C. of P., Box 139/4182.

“Resolv’d . . .

“That the Head Quarters be at York. If any Gentleman is desirous of entering into this Corps, let him Direct for Major General Oglethorpe, at Mr George Thompson’s at York. N.B. To meet on Knavesmire at one o’clock on Thursday the 3d Instant.”

In compliance with the tenor of these resolutions, George Clerk retired to Durham where he was agreeably surprised to meet with his father and others of his friends.²⁰ He left there on 21 October for Newcastle²¹ where his regiment mustered on or about the 29th, to be joined the next day by Wade and Oglethorpe, their colonel, who had been delayed in Durham. The latter stayed in Newcastle only a short time, for, as General Tyrawley reported on 4 November to Wade, Oglethorpe had “returned to Durham to stop the Horse and Dragoons . . .” Incidentally Tyrawley gave an alarming report concerning the unreadiness of the troops in Newcastle for action . . . “more especially that we have not one Single Dragoon to *battre la campagne* for intelligence, and in such a case the troops now in this town could not ever be got under arms . . .”²² He took no account of the Royal Hunters who had been sent north to Morpeth to round up deserters.²³

During the next three weeks Clerk and his regiment moved about the northern counties, apparently with little effect, for a correspondent in Newcastle commented in a letter that they might have done good service in watching the rear of the rebel army.^{23a} He was, however, constrained to add a rider in mitigation that the rebel

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Box 123/3250. Letter, Bell to G. Clerk.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Box 139/4183. Pass signed by Oglethorpe.

²² National Library of Scotland MS. 302, no. 49.

²³ C. of P., Box 123/3257. Letters, Sir John to G. Clerk. Note that Nat. Lib. MS. 303, Wade’s Orderly Book, contains no reference to the Royal Hunters.

^{23a} The Royal Hunters were not altogether idle as this letter from Newcastle suggests. On 13 November they were at Barnard Castle whence they marched on 20 November towards Penrith to reconnoitre the rebels. (*Caledonian Mercury*, 26 November and 3 December 1745.)

army would certainly have had many deserters had "those abandoned wretches known where to have got sanctuary, for many of them wanted greatly to desert if they could have got clear of, but [for] the thought of Carlisle being garrison'd by the Rebels."²⁴

The Jacobite retreat from Derby began on 6 December and Oglethorpe and his cavalry were left unemployed no longer. They were sent in pursuit and, to cut a long story short, Wade, on 10 December, detached Oglethorpe with a force of 500 cavalry to join the Duke of Cumberland's army at Preston. It was during the course of all these wanderings that George Clerk received the following letters from Durham and one from Dumfries:

17 October 1745, Dumfries. Dorothea Clerk to George Clerk in Durham.²⁵

Dear George. Yesterday I had the favour of yours. I cannot say but you are realy very complisant to tell me you have so much pleasure in reading my letters. I wish I had any thing to write that could be entertaining but as for news there is so many lies to be heard every where that one does scarce know what to believe. Your information has been bad as to the motions of the Highlanders, for I assure you according to the best accounts we have, there is no sign of their leaveing Edinburgh. I would not have the English to dissipse them, for I assure you they are a desperate set, and I do not doubt but they may be able to fight twice their number, for they are all to a man resolved to die in defence of the cause. As to their number no body can exactly tell what they are. The general opinion is that they are about seven or eight thousand, but this can be only guess work. Some folks of the best credit from this place say that great part of them are the most strong, hansome fellows they ever saw. The ladies in Edinburgh are as much enamour'd as ever with the Prince, and My Lady Dondonald²⁶ has the honour to furnish him with bed and table linnen, being acknowledged to have the finest of any woman in Edinburgh.

James Maxwell of Kirkonell²⁷ is the only person in this

²⁴Leeds Central Library MS. TS/PO. 3C/115.

²⁵C. of P., Box 123/3251.

²⁶Katherine, widow of Thomas, 6th Earl of Dundonald who died in 1737. She died in 1779.

²⁷James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, whose *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales's Expedition to Scotland in 1745* (Volume 53) was published in 1841 by the Maitland Club.

country that has join'd them. He could get none of his tennants to go with him. He is one of the Life Guards . . .

[*Letter torn and part missing.*]

27 October 1745, Durham. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk.²⁸

[*Note: The letter is damaged. It begins with the news that Sir John is afraid that his son Harry is dead.*²⁹]

James,³⁰ I hear, is come to London, so that I expect every day to see him here, and in this case he may soon follow you.

General Wade is no doubt with you and the army will be at Newcastle on Tuesday.

Our letters from Scotland say that the Highlanders are encamped at Dalkeith, so that this poor town is in a fair way of being destroyed if they continue till our troops come up. However some say they design to march to Carlyle.

[*Remainder of letter damaged.*]

28 October 1745, Durham. Oglethorpe to "George Clark Esq." at Newcastle.³¹

The pleasure I proposed to my self in waiting on the Gentlemen at Newcastle has been disappointed by my being oblig'd to stay in this place with the cavalry till the army passes Newcastle, at which place I hope to be on the 30th of this instant, and to meet the gentlemen there.

I am Sir

Your very humble servant, J. Oglethorpe.

Tuesday, 29 October 1745, Durham. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk.³²

George. I should be glad to know how you and your friend Mr Paton . . . , and if John Lindsey found you.

By accident yesterday in the river (?), when I was seeing the army pass, I fell acquainted with one Lieutenant Colonel

²⁸ C. of P., Box 123/3257.

²⁹ Henry Clerk, Sir John's son, then 1st Lieut. to the Earl of Northesk, commanding a 50-gun man-of-war in the E. Indies. In a letter written from H.M.S. Preston, "cruising of the Straites of Sunda", on 11 February 1745/6, he complained of ill health. He was about 27 when he died of a lingering distemper. In his *Memoirs*, Sir John says (p. 203): "I had got some accounts of this great family disaster while I staid at Durham, but never firmly believed it, nor communicated it to my wife till we were got back to Edinburgh."

³⁰ James Clerk, 1709-1782, eldest surviving son of Sir John. He was in Holland when the rebellion broke out and at once returned to England. He succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death.

³¹ C. of P., Box 123/3257.

³² *Ibid.*

Whitworth who commands the Horse here.³³ A most civil man. He came this morning to see me and introduced me to General Oglethorpe. The General was very friendly and told me that you was amongst his Hussars and that he wou'd take particular care of you. He regretted that his regiment was not more numerous but said that you all wou'd be safe, tho you should never come within gun shot of the ennemy, and said he never designed to expose any of you. He told me you had marched to Morpeth to intercept deserters, for that he found the priests were too bussy every where. I expect James every day.

Remember that Doctor Pringle,^{33a} your cousin, is at Morpeth. Pray call for him and give him my most humble service. He is a Roman Catholick and it will be no disservice to him to see him as often as you can, for he is afraid of the mob. He is the son of Mary Clerk, my uncle's daughter.

My service to Mr Morley,³⁴

Adieu.

3 November 1745, Durham. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk.³⁵

George. I had yours from Morpeth and I suppose you have seen James. I wish he wou'd go on to Berwick, for he is not a case to be one of your Hunters.³⁶

Before this comes to your hands you cannot be far from the stragling parties of Highlanders. These people must be carefully watched, for they will, under the shelter of houses and dyks, fire on you and do a world of mischief. Our army exceeds them much in numbers but as they are fresh and our people toiled and wearied to death, I wou'd not wish to see any of you too confident. They are at present without doubt practising some tricks and faints against our folks, making appearances sometimes as if they were to retire to the north and at other times to march towards Carlyle. In the mean time it is very possible that by a long march in the night our folks will be attaqued when they least expect it. This I rather believe since they are keeping on a great many more horses than they possibly can have use for.

³³ Of Montague's Regiment of Horse.

^{33a} James Pringle, later of Richmond in Yorkshire, for whom see C. Roy Hudleston, *Durham Recusants' Estates 1717-1778* 179-180 (Surtees Society clxxiii 1962).

³⁴ Josias Morley (died 1783) in the Hunters with his school friend George Clerk. His mother was living in Lancaster in 1745, and staying with her in July 1746 was Morley's "sister Wilson", who was married to Thomas Wilson, b. *circa* 1715, Prebendary of Carlisle 1743-1764, and afterwards Dean of Carlisle until his death in 1778.

³⁵ C. of P., Box 123/3257.

³⁶ Sir John had dissuaded James from joining the service and advised him to return to Scotland, "Memoirs of Sir J. Clerk", *op. cit.* 192.

Remember that they have Horse Guards and 2 considerable bodies of Light Horse as well as we, and some of them as good.

I was again with General Oglethorpe yesterday who was very civil and kept me in conversation alone with him for near 2 houres. He understands his business and has seen a good deal of hot work. I advised him to take care of night attempts and of marches stollen upon him. He asked me my opinion if the Highlanders wou'd fight the King's troops. I said I knew not what rash practise madness and desperation might prompt them to, but I thought a reasone they woud not fight but retire and make a winter's campaign in the north which wou'd answere the French King's purposes best, as this wou'd detain our troops in Britain and give the French an opportunity to make an early campaign. He approved of this thought but said that the consequence wou'd be that some regiments must be raised in Scotland, and that the King wou'd grant commissions to such gentlemen in the country as con'd raise them best, and at the same time give them regular pay and rank as officers in the Army. I thought of you at that time but said nothing.

Give my service to Mr Morley. Pray let him and his companions shun foolhardiness and wounderful exploits, for the Highlanders are as treacherous as ventorious. A fellow will lye at the side of a dyke, very often with no other design than to try how he can kill a man as he does a deer, and without the least reflexion whether or not he can come safe off.

There is one Lieutenant Colonel Whitworth in Wade's Dragons, a very civil man . . .

[*Remainder of letter damaged.*]

8 November 1745, Durham. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk.³⁷

George. I fear now it is but too certain that poor Harry is dead. However, I have not mentioned one word of it to your mother, nor do I intend to do it, and when you write to me say nothing about it.

By the motions the Highlanders have made and are making westward, it seems to me that they intend the same route they took in 1715. The troops, therefor, here and at Newcastle are lying still under an uncertainty how or where to fall on them. It occurs to me in the mean[time] that if they are marching into Lancaster you ought to desire liberty to return to Drumfrishshire there where you may be of some use, for you can be of none in Lancaster. I have now been with G——l Oglethorpe 3 or 4 times and found him always very civil so that if there

³⁷ C. of P., Box 123/3257.

is any thing you wou'd have me to propose by a letter to him, I cou'd very easily do it.

My service to Mr Morley,
Adieu.

Montegue's Horse and St George's Dragons are still here with General Oglethorp's foot. Marshal Wade's Horse, I believe, are at Chester in the Street, for they went off yesterday morning.

Our late accounts are only that the main body of the Highland Army is at Jedburgh and I am confident there will be some desertions, as in 1715, before they march into England. For my part I do expect they will all return and they certainly will do so if their baggage had not proceeded to Carlyle.

10 November at 1 in the afternoon. Sunday. Durham. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk, "one of the Royal Hunters" at Morpeth.³⁸

Dr George. I'll be glad to hear from you every post, not having got any letter these 3 days.

We are very much in the dark about the Highlanders, and some say they are still about Jedburgh. We have indeed very different reports about them, for some say they [have] taken or will take Carlyle and are gone there.³⁹

I believe it may be fit both for James and you to go into Scotland, but it will not be fit to do this unless 2000 men at least of the Regular Troops have possession of Edinburgh.

If you happen to go to Dumfriesshire I'll endeavour by my friends in London to get you a commission under the King's hand to be Captain of a Troop of Light Horse. I may indeed fail in this attempt but I'll try it if you think it right.

My service to Mr Morley,
Adieu.

The Pursuit.

As related by James Ray,⁴⁰ Oglethorpe, with a great body of horse and dragoons, arrived at Preston on 13 December to join the Duke of Cumberland in the pursuit of the Highland army. They had marched a hundred miles in three days over ice and snow, which was an exhausting performance for both men and horses. On the 14th Oglethorpe continued the march to Lancaster

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ On 10 November the Prince summoned Carlisle to surrender.

⁴⁰ James Ray, *op. cit.* 194.

and at some time during the day the Royal Hunters made contact with the enemy. They were nearly cut off by a party of reconnoitring Highlanders and were forced to make a hasty retreat. The gentlemen were not mounted on their own hunters but on horses taken from the country people.⁴¹ This incident was the skirmish on Ellet Moor a few miles beyond Garstang when, according to Oglethorpe in a letter to his wife, "three of the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse and one of the Royal Hunters were killed, and another was taken prisoner by his horse falling under him."⁴²

There is no doubt that Sir John's report to George of the state of the government troops early in November was a true one. They, and in particular the horses, were still "toiled and wearied to death" and of this the Jacobites were well aware. On 14 December, the day after the Highlanders had entered Manchester, a lady wrote that they were much afraid of the Duke of Cumberland "but don't seem to mind anyone 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."⁴³ Unfortunately they were not mistaken, for though the Rangers and Hunters came up with the enemy rearguard four miles south of Kendal the day following the Garstang skirmish, they were hardly in a fit state to take effective action.

Oglethorpe reached Shap, which was occupied by the Highlanders, at about five or six o'clock in the evening of 17 December and his movements that night and his handling of the situation the following morning have been fully recorded by C. Roy Hudleston.⁴⁴ However,

⁴¹ O'Sullivan, *op. cit.* 104.

⁴² *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 24 December 1745. Letter from Chorley, 15 December 1745.

⁴³ F. S. Banner, "The Going-Out of Prince Charlie in 1745", *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lancs. & Ches.* lvii 90-91.

⁴⁴ C. Roy Hudleston, *The Court-Martial of General Oglethorpe*, CW2 liv 200-211.

in the light of what follows, it must be explained that the general retired to Orton five miles from Shap where he spent the night, and next day kept his cavalry standing-to for four hours from eight o'clock till midday and made no attempt to attack the rebels in Shap. It was this delay which resulted in his court-martial, for the Duke was the first to enter the village, only to find that the Jacobites had got clear away and that Oglethorpe and his cavalry were a mile in rear.

The Skirmish at Clifton.

The Duke's cavalry had marched that morning at 5 a.m. and ten hours later were approaching Lowther. It seems that the Hunters, many of whom knew the district intimately, had been reconnoitring, for a "messenger" reported at Richmond that "upon intimation of the Royal Hunters" about 300 Rebels had assembled at or about Lowther and that they were afterwards attacked and put to flight.⁴⁵ Another informant, who had spent that night on Clifton Moor with the Duke's forces, made the following report two days later at Bedale in Yorkshire:⁴⁶

"A party of Rebels, between 2 and 300, were at Lord Lonnsdale's that same afternoon, and the Royal Hunters, Hussars and Light Horse went thither to attack them and exchanged several shot with them but were forced to retreat from the superiority of numbers of the Rebels, and 'twas unlucky that Lord Lonnsdale's Steward informed the Duke that he saw a great body of the Rebels go into the wood a little distance from Lowther Hall, but part went thro and other part on the side of the wood and marched directly forward, upon which Information the Duke ordered a party to go and attack them, but they were gone, which retarded his march a full hour and threw him and his forces in the dark which occasioned them stay all night on Clifton Moor . . ."

⁴⁵ Leeds Central Library MS. TN/PO 3C/150.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

A feature of this affair, by no means unique in the annals of the "45", was the part played by former scholars of Mr Wilkinson. George Clerk was there with his friend Josias Morley, whose knowledge of the district had already been made use of when Oglethorpe retired from Shap to Orton the night before.⁴⁷ On the other side, and fighting for the Jacobites, were a number of others from the school of Lowther who were almost certainly represented on this occasion, for three weeks earlier Charles Boyd, who was Lord Kilmarnock's second son, and Edward Clavering from Northumberland, with a party of about 20 rebels, had broken into and plundered Lord Lonsdale's house.⁴⁸ Boyd was at Culloden and afterwards went into hiding,⁴⁹ but Clavering, at some later date, was captured, taken to Carlisle and finally executed at York in November 1746. He had pleaded guilty to being one of the rebels who went to plunder Lowther Hall.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ C. Roy Hudleston, *op. cit.* 204.

⁴⁸ James Ray, *op. cit.* 200 ff., tells the story of the escapade of Boyd, Clavering and seventeen other Jacobites, who set out from Carlisle on horseback, with swords drawn, and having arrived in Penrith, demanded billets for 1,000 men, whom they pretended were following them. The Penrith people became so threatening that the Jacobites hastily rode off to Lowther, where having locked the gates leading to the Hall, they went into the house, broke fourteen locks and ordered the servants to serve supper. One of Lord Lonsdale's stewards managed to get to Penrith, whence he returned with thirty well armed young men, about 11 p.m., just when the Jacobites were sitting down to supper. The Jacobites sprang to arms and "there was pretty smart firing on both Sides for about half an Hour." The Penrith men forced their way into the Hall, and took eleven prisoners, whom they sent to Wade. It is believed that three other Jacobites were fatally wounded. The Penrithians also seized fifteen horses and some good arms. Boyd and Clavering "and some others, having been brought up at Lowther School, and knowing all the Roads about the House, escaped." This incident took place on 27 November and was reported, with minor variations, in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 10 December 1745.

⁴⁹ Scottish History Society viii (1890), *A List of Persons concerned in The Rebellion . . . 1745-46*.

⁵⁰ *Scots Magazine*, October 1746, 485; and Scottish History Society 3 S. xiii (1928) *Prisoners of the Forty-Five* i 134.

"Clavering Edmund (Edward)" is listed thus at the last named reference. I am indebted to Mr C. Roy Hudleston for biographical details of Clavering. He was Edward, not Edmund, and was son of William Clavering of Berrington, Northumberland, and Anne (Widdrington) his wife. After the rising was over he was a prisoner in York Castle, and while there he married Elizabeth Grant, widow. Despite attempts by his brother William to save his life he was executed on 1 November 1746. See letters printed in AA4 xxxiv 22 — though the dates are wrongly given as 15 October and 7 November 1716. Edward's distant cousin, Spencer Cowper, Dean of

With the Highlanders in the policies of Lowther on the afternoon of 18 December was Lord George Murray who recorded his Jacobite version of the events leading up to the skirmish at Clifton and of the skirmish itself late that evening.^{50a} That morning Lord George, who commanded the rebel rearguard, had marched from Shap to join the Prince at Penrith. Throughout the day he had been shadowed by parties of light horse and on one occasion "a considerable body formed and seemed resolved to attempt something but galloped off when the Highlanders faced about and began to advance towards them."⁵¹

"When I came to Clifton," writes Lord George Murray, "I sent off the cannon and other carriages to Penrith, being two miles farther; and as I believed these light horse that had met me would probably be near Lord Lonsdale's house at Lowther, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the county, I went a short way with the Glengary men to that place, through several enclosures, it being not above a mile. Lord Pitsligoe's horse had joined me,⁵² so I was in hopes, by scouring these enclosures, to meet with the light horse. We got sight of several hard by Lord Lonsdale's house, but could come up with a few; at a turn of one of the parks, one like a militia officer, *clothed in green*, and a footman of the Duke of Cumberland's, were taken. We understood by them, that the Duke of Cumberland, with a body of four hundred horse, as they said, were about a mile behind. I sent Colonel Roy Stewart with the prisoners to Penrith, and

Durham, also refers to his fate in a letter of 11 November 1746: "We had yesterday the news that our Rebel Cousin Clavering was hanged with the rest, notwithstanding your [i.e. Lord Cowper's] kind interposition, the reprieve coming a few hours too late. By what his Relations say of him here, he is no great loss, he having been half a madman as well as a whole Rebel" (*Surtees Society* clxv 74). Edward's widow was in April 1747 "transported along with several rebels", probably to the West Indies (*Catholic Record Society* xiv 386). For these details I am indebted to Dr A. Forster and Mr W. Percy Hedley, F.S.A.

^{50a} Rev. R. Forbes, *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. (1834.) Forbes published Murray's manuscript which is entitled "Marches of the Highland Army."

⁵¹ Maxwell of Kirkconnell, *op. cit.* 85.

⁵² Pitsligoe's horse had been sent from Penrith by the Prince to reinforce Lord George Murray.

to know his Royal Highness's orders, and that I would stop at Clifton, which was a good post, till I heard from him. When I came back to Clifton, the Duke of Perth was there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stewart's men, being about two hundred, that I left there, Cluny with his men, and Ardshiel with the Appin men, were with them."⁵³

Murray occupied the village with part of his men and placed the rest along the lane which led to it. The Macdonalds of Glengarry, who had returned from Lowther, were disposed upon the enclosures to the right of the highway, but Pitsligoe's horse and hussars retired to Penrith.

About four o'clock that evening, when it was getting dark, the Duke's army came to Clifton moor where he dismounted the dragoons and attacked the Highlanders who were lurking in the village. What ensued is outside the scope of this paper as the action has been fully described by Chancellor Ferguson in CWI x 186-228, but it should be noted that in the failing light the dragoons were at a considerable disadvantage, for they could scarcely see the blue bonnets and plaids of the Highlanders, while they themselves, with their "buff belts and Lac'd hats", made obvious and easy targets.⁵⁴ The rebels claimed a victory, which indeed it was, and the main body of the Duke's forces "laid exposed on Clifton moor all night without cover, not daring to proceed to Penrith least the Rebels should be lurking in the way from Clifton to Penrith with their artillery, it being dark . . ."⁵⁵

Next day, "on Thursday about 11 in the forenoon, the Duke's army came into Penrith, and after a little refreshment the Hunters, Raingers and Light Horse were despatched from thence to harrass [the rebels], but the Duke with his forces, from the great fatigues the preceed-

⁵³ Rev R. Forbes, *op. cit.* 65-66.

⁵⁴ Ray, *op. cit.*

⁵⁵ MS. TN/PO. 3C/150 in Leeds Central Library.

ing night without meat or drink for man or horse, were obliged to halt at Penrith."^{55a} That evening the Prince reached Carlisle and on Friday the following morning continued his march northward, leaving behind a garrison to deny the city to his pursuers. Meanwhile "the country people, and our Hussars and Royal Hunters, were constantly bringing the Rebels into Penrith."⁵⁶

The Duke arrived at the outskirts of Carlisle on the 21st and his army surrounded the city. George Clerk and the Hunters were located at Kingsmoor two miles north of Carlisle,⁵⁷ and it would appear that he and his companions were excused further military service shortly after 30 December when the Jacobite garrison surrendered.⁵⁸ At any rate, Clerk was home again in Dumfries soon after the New Year, much to the delight of his father, who thought that George had done quite enough. Indeed, the Royal Hunters may not have covered themselves with glory but they had suffered casualties, campaigned under the most arduous conditions and till the last had been able to carry out the tasks for which they had been enrolled. Letters received from Carlisle, which were quoted by the *Caledonian Mercury* on 15 January 1746, record that most of the officers and soldiers were never in better health and that some of the regiments of horse, which were then with the Duke of Cumberland, had marched nearly 800 miles during the preceding six weeks. "As to being without, or in want of provisions for a day, any gentleman in the north especially, would be laughed at if he could not continue a fox-chace nine or ten hours and then regale at the next cottage on the coarsest food. All therefore that our armed Hunters must regret, (and this surely includes Clerk and his companions), . . . is that instead of the fox, they could only get part of his tail."

^{55a} *Ibid*

⁵⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 3 January 1746. Letter dated 21 December 1745.

⁵⁷ C. of P., Box 123/3250. Letter, 24 December 1745, Bell to Clerk.

⁵⁸ I have been unable to confirm Chancellor Ferguson's statement that the Hunters marched into Scotland with General Hawley.

The following letters, received by George Clerk after his return, refer to his experiences in the late campaign. Edin. Thursday, 9 January 1746. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk at Dumfries.⁵⁹

Dear George,

We are all glad that you have got safely back from your military exploits. I think you have done enough for one not bred in that way, and therefore wou'd have you to lay up your broad sword for the future.

I'll be glad to hear from you the particulars of the skirmish near Louder, a place where once Mr Morley and you never dreamt of an ennemy, except perhaps honest Wilkinsone with his taes (tawse). The Jacobites braged of a victory obtained there and asserted that the Highlanders had killed 100 Dragoons and had taken many more with hussars etc, but, as I take it, these people will lye and cheat one another to absolute ruine and destruction, for they will not allow (admit) us to have here above 500 of regular troops, for [the reason] that the invasion from France wou'd not allow our generals to send down any assistance to us against the rebels. In the mean time we have here ten Regiments of Foot and 2 Regiments of Dragoons, and expect 5 Regiments more of Foot and 3 of Dragoons, so that we are so far from wanting a competent number of troops that I think if it was not for putting a speedy end to the rebellion we are taking a hammer to break an egg, and besides all this we are to have 6000 Hessians to land in our Frith.

General Haley⁶⁰ is here and so soon as our Foot and Dragoons come all in he will march against the rebels. They are pretending to fortify a camp or two between Falkirk and Stirling and brag that Stirling Castle is immediately to be taken. In the mean time they have got over no cannon as yet, and 'tis probable that by this time 3 or 400 men who went off yesterday in boats to Allowa have destroyed the floats that were making there to bring over the French Artillery.

I was much concerned for the losses of Drumfries, but at the same time glad that the town escaped so well. Their disaster in a good measure was oweing to the want of proper intelligence, for the rejoycings there were a little premature and consequently not a little provocking to an ennemy.

Your wife and bairns, I think, were vastly happy in their lodgers. If it had not been for the taking of Carlyle I doubt

⁵⁹ C. of P., Box 123/3257.

⁶⁰ Hawley arrived in Edinburgh on 6 January 1746, having been appointed to command the army in Scotland.

not but your folks wou'd have had a second visite from these Highlanders.

Your mother recovers very well from her feaver but Jackie and John have had a relapse, yet I hope they will get better of it.⁶¹

A good New Year to you all,
Adieu.

P.S. Since what is above I received yours with the plan of the grounds and attaques about Clifton.⁶² I understand it pretty well, but I should be glad to know what took General Oglethorpe out of the way, for it seems the Duke was disoblidged by his conduct. Next I wou'd know where the Hunters were at the time of the action. Third I wou'd know how the Highlanders came to be reckoned 1400, for the action must have been in the dark. Fourth I wou'd know why the darkness was chosen, for the action wou'd have proceeded better with day light, since friend cou'd not be well distinguished from enemies. I can account I think for other things.

We are to have here 75,000 lib. ster. in ten days, coming by land and much need we have of it, for at our new bank there is an absolute stop of business and very little at the old bank.

My service to etc. . . .

15 January 1745 [i.e. 1746], Carlisle. Thomas Wilson to George Clerk, Dumfries.⁶³

Sir. Your gun by Mr Hewet's⁶⁴ management escap'd the rebels eyes. When the King's soldiers search'd Mr Hewet's house, it was seiz'd: the family assur'd them it belong'd to you, and being back'd in it by Mr Tullie⁶⁵ it was by the General's order given to him and will be deliver'd as you'll please to give me direction.

I shall write to Mrs Morley⁶⁶ this post to send your portman-

⁶¹ "Jackie" or Joanna, born 10 March 1724, Sir John's 5th daughter. John, born 10 December 1728, 7th son of Sir John and Janet Inglis.

⁶² C. of P., 3249.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Box 130/4190. Thomas Wilson was a Prebendary of Carlisle 1743-1764 when he became Dean.

⁶⁴ For Francis Hewitt, a Carlisle merchant see G. G. Mounsey, *Carlisle in 1745* 156 and *passim*. He was one of those ordered into custody by the Duke of Cumberland after his entry into Carlisle on 31 December 1745.

⁶⁵ Presumably Jerome Tullie, sheriff of Cumberland 1744-5 and brother-in-law of the Rev. John Waugh.

⁶⁶ Wilson married in 1744 Margaret, daughter of John Morley of Beamsley Hall, Yorks., and sister of Josias Morley, who has already been mentioned as one of George Clerk's friends and companion in arms. It seems likely that George Clerk jettisoned his portmanteau with Mrs Morley during the pursuit through Lancaster. C. of P., Box 139/4189, is a letter from Josias Morley to George Clerk, dated Giggleswick 20 July 1746. Josias writes: "My sister Wilson is not now with my mother at Lancaster. When she returns I think of coming to Carlisle and then I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you."



From Clerk of Penicuik, no. 3429.

Reproduced by courtesy of the Scottish Record Office.

The Skirmish at Clifton.
tcwaas_002_1963_v0163_0020

teau to this place by the first carrier: you'll let me know who is to have the care of it from hence, as James Hewet, I'm informed, is imprisoned. It is probable Bro: Morley has never thot about it since he parted with you. He has so often disappointed me in things of this kind that I'm determined never to rely upon him again.

The Earl of Hallifax's Regimt is now marching in here, this and Lord Granby's are to be the strength we must have.

If any thing happens material within your reach, an account of it will oblige.

Sir etc.,

Tho: Wilson.

16 January 1746, Edinburgh. Sir John Clerk to George Clerk, Dumfries.⁶⁷

George. By yours of the 13 which I received this day, you have pretty well removed my difficulties except as to one point which might be a mistake in figures. You say what made them march out of Lancaster in so great haste when there were only 400 Horse within 20 miles of them and no foot nearer than 50 or 60 miles. I apprehend you should have said 4000 Horse, for we heard that the Duke had there with him 3000 Horse and 1000 Foot mounted on horseback. I think it impossible that the Duke wou'd offer to follow them, as you say, with 400 Horse, or they have had very bad intelligence.

About 4 days ago General Haley sent for me and asked me if I knew who the two gentlemen deserters were whom your folks took at Hartwhissel and whom the Royal Hunters dismissed upon your saying you knew them. He said that the common opinion was that they were really spies and that a laugh went against Sir William Middleton⁶⁸ and the Gentlemen Hunters for their credulity. In the mean time he said that these were really 3 officers a missing which belonged to the Batalion of Royal Scots which is here. He desired me to get your answer as soon as I cou'd, for that he wanted much to be better acquainted with the story of those spies, for instead of coming to Newcastle as they pretended they were, they went directly back to Carlyle with their intelligence.

To all this I told the General that you had written to me something about those officers but that I had forgot the particulars. However that I should get your answer by the next week's post he should be glad, as he said, to see it, for that

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Box 123/3257.

⁶⁸ Sir William Middleton of Belsay Castle, Northumberland, born *circa* 1700, succeeded to the baronetcy in 1717. Died 29 September 1757.

those officers might be in the other batallion of the Royal Scots who had returned to London. When you write to me let your answere be such as I can show it to the general, for probably he will enquire further about those gentlemen.

[Note. *Follows one and a half pages concerning the situation in Scotland.*]

27 March 1746, Carlisle. Tho: Wilson to George Clerk, Dumfries, "with a portmanteau & a Gun." A postscript on the cover reads "I shall be glad to hear from you of the rect of the port: and Gun. T.W." A note in another hand: "Preb Mr Willson."⁶⁹

Sir. I have left proper directions for your portmanteau and Gun to be deliver'd on Saturday next to the care of Jackson the Dumfries carrier which I wou'd have don my self, but that I am call'd this afternoon from home and shall not return till after that time. I paid for the carriage of your portmanteau from Lancaster, half a crown which, when we meet in peaceable times, I will receive of you.

Accounts from your kingdom afford no rejoycings here. I hope it will be otherwise in a little time as an engagem't seems almost to be unavoidable. Pray God send it a successful one on our side. We have heard nothing from Brother Morley since he left Carlisle. I fancy he will think it less trouble to come and see how we do, than to write to know it. My wife has recover'd her health exceedingly well, and fights the seige of Carlisle more courageously than when you last saw her: her humble service attends you and yours, as does the same of your most obedient, humble servt.

Tho: Wilson.

Francis Hewet is in statu quo as are the rest of the prisoners here.

22 October 1746, London. Jos. Morley to George Clerk, Dumfries.⁷⁰

Dear Sir. I have been call'd here to be a witness in the Trayal of General Oglethorp relating his conduct while we was with him, but it turned upon what happned at Shap and Orton. I was in great fear for him. There was an houre betwixt nine and — whic the Generall could not account for. At last he proved Order to March given to [Colonel] Arabin which made the

⁶⁹ C. of P., Box 139/4190.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Box 139/4189.

thing clear. The court began to sit the 2 of Septembe and the affair last a week, but the court did not make there report till last Monday when the King was pleased to aquit him with honour. I have got a copy of his defence which I will send you the first opportunity . . .

Dear George, Your most ob. Hum. ser
Jos Morley.

Mr Lasles, Mr Strickland, Mr Moore, Mr Thomson, Mr Hodgson, Mr M—s—m and your Hum: ser: was all the Royal Hunter that was calld fr and they all desired there service to you.

Appendix.

One of George Clerk's schoolfellows at Lowther was John Jameson, who was Rector of Melmerby from 1759 until his death in 1785. A letter written by him to George on 19 January 1782 is in Clerk of Penicuik MSS., box 174/5521. It is in answer to one written by George on 5 January, and in reply Jameson says that George still retains "that amiable obliging and friendly disposition you were so remarkable for at Lowther." Jameson goes on to say that he has had three children — two boys and a girl: The elder boy died in infancy, and the daughter died of consumption "seven years ago . . . aged 13." The son who survives, "a stout young man about two and twenty" is at present home with his father, owing to business being at a low ebb. The letter continues:

"My brother, that you were kind enough to enquire after, is still alive, but grows old . . . I shall be sixty nine next month. There are but few of our old schoolfellows living, especially in this neighbourhood. I had the pleasure of seeing Sir Joseph Pennington at Melmerby, a few years ago, along with his eldest son who was, since that time, kill'd in a duel; I was surprised to see Sir Joseph grown so stout. Our old friend Mr Morley was kind enough to call upon me at Ousby, before I came to live at Melmerby, in his way from Scotland where he had been upon a shooting party, along with a gentleman whose name was Green. He told me he had the pleasure of seeing you . . .

I came into Cumberland near 43 years ago, was curate to my late very worthy and good friend Mr Pattenson at Ousby, about two miles from Melmerby, near 20 years when, my friend dying, left me by will the living of Melmerby, of which he was patron, where I have lived ever since.

Ousby and Melmerby are situated at the foot of Cross Fell,

a fine country for shooting and fishing which, as you know, I was ever fond of . . .”

Jameson was misinformed about Sir Joseph Pennington's son. He fought a duel with Capt. the Hon. John Tollemache in New York in 1777, but it was Tollemache who was killed.

Acknowledgement.

I am indebted to Mr C. Roy Hudleston for including this appendix and for many notes and corrections to my manuscript, which are too numerous to mention.—
W.A.J.P.