

ART. VII – *Cumberland and Westmorland in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715*

BY JONATHAN OATES

**A**LTHOUGH there have been numerous articles concerning the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 published in *Transactions*, the local impact of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 has been ignored. There has been like neglect in published histories of the region, except for a few references in the *Victoria County History*. Yet the rebellion of 1715 did have an impact on these counties which the Jacobite army marched through in early November 1715. There were those who supported the rebellion and those, such as the secular and religious authorities, who opposed it. This essay discusses their differing responses at a time of national crisis.

### **Background to the Rebellion**

Before exploring this topic, we need to recall events leading up to 1715. In 1688 the Catholic James II had been deposed by the forces of William of Orange, soon to be William III. James was eager to reclaim the throne and was helped by his supporters, who were known as Jacobites. Both sides were represented in Cumberland and Westmorland. An active minority of county gentry took Carlisle from the Catholic garrison in 1688 and then made public their support for William. Support for James was initially minimal. For instance, the militia were not summoned here in his support. Although Protestant Jacobites swore allegiance to William III in 1692, the Catholic Jacobites did not; some being fined, some fled.<sup>1</sup> There was some Jacobite behaviour in these counties. In 1689, a Catholic ex-soldier told how he was going to Scotland to enlist with James and that he had met 60 armed horsemen who were going to do the like. In the following year, there were two men in Cumberland who were indicted at the assizes for seditious language. In 1697 a crowd in Carlisle were offered money to drink James' health, but refused to do so.<sup>2</sup>

James never regained the throne and Queen Anne succeeded William in 1702. When she died in 1714, the succession passed to the Hanoverian George I. Although James had died in 1701, his son, James Francis Stuart, the Old Pretender, was just as determined to regain the throne, and looked towards Catholics and Tories for aid. However, the prospects for George I in these counties seemed, at least officially, to be good. At Carlisle, his accession was met with great celebrations. Money was spent on five gallons of ale, two dozen barrels of wine and four dozen pipes: three dozen candles and two tar barrels were purchased to add light to the proceedings. A further £11 2s. 6d. was spent on celebrating the King's coronation on 20 October.<sup>3</sup>

In many ways, these two counties were not obviously susceptible towards Jacobitism. There were very few Catholics for instance; perhaps about one in a hundred, at most. Dissent, in the form of Presbyterians and Quakers, was far stronger, though, of course as elsewhere, the vast majority of the population were of the Anglican Church.<sup>4</sup>

Politically, too, by 1715, both counties seemed stable. In the year after the

Hanoverian Succession there was a General Election, as was the case after the death of a sovereign. Nationally, contests between Tory and Whig candidates were many and fierce.<sup>5</sup> However, there were none in the five constituencies in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. The gentry there were able to come to amicable agreements without recourse to the controversy and cost engendered by an electoral contest. Cumberland was wholly dominated by Whigs and, in Westmorland there was a Whig and Tory split, which had been agreed beforehand.<sup>6</sup>

As proof of this religious and political stability, during 1714 and 1715, when there was a large number of Jacobite riots throughout England, there were none in Cumberland and Westmorland. Perhaps this was because riot was chiefly an urban phenomenon; perhaps it was due to the influence of Whig and Hanoverian Tory elites.<sup>7</sup>

### **The Jacobite Invasion**

External events were, however, to have an important impact, on these counties: the Jacobites being determined to oust King George. In September 1715 rebellion broke out in Scotland and then, on 6 October, in Northumberland, the latter led by Thomas Forster a Tory MP for the county. His followers linked up with some of their Scots allies and, on 1 November, began their march southwards through Cumberland. They were about 1,400 strong.<sup>8</sup>

The Jacobites certainly expected some support in these sparsely populated counties, although their reason for marching through them was in order to reach Lancashire, where, it was hoped, they might be joined by 20,000 men.<sup>9</sup> They arrived at Brampton on 1 November, at Penrith on 2 November, at Appleby on 3 November, leaving on 5 November for Kendal and arriving at Kirkby Lonsdale on the following day. On the 7 November they crossed the border into Lancashire.<sup>10</sup> It was at Preston on 12 November that the Jacobite forces faced regular troops, and, despite initial resistance, surrendered two days later, thus bringing the rebellion in England to an end.

They were to be largely disappointed. Robert Patten wrote that on the march from Penrith to Appleby “none of any Account had yet joined them”.<sup>11</sup> Apparently only one man enlisted at this point, perhaps escaping the constables, as he had stolen a horse an hour previously. Having escaped the law, he deserted on the following day.<sup>12</sup> Yet, on marching towards Kendal they were joined by one Francis Thornburgh of Selside Hall, near Kendal, a gentleman’s son.<sup>13</sup>

This lack of support was for four reasons. Firstly, one James Dacre of Lanercost, a Catholic gentleman, who, it was hoped, would enlist with his forty men “was taken with a fortunate Fever, which hindered him of his Design, and prevented him and his Family from Ruin”.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, the magistrates had arrested suspect Catholic gentry, placing them in Carlisle castle at the onset of the rebellion. These included Thomas Howard of Corby, John Warwick of Warwick Hall and Henry Curwen of Workington.<sup>15</sup> It is not known when they were released: presumably by early 1716 at the latest. Thirdly, as Brigadier Thomas Stanwix, governor of Carlisle castle and an MP for the city, observed on 17 October, “As for Cumberland and Westmorland, they [the Jacobites] could never expect many from them, because the disaffected or Romans are but a very inconsiderable numbre”.<sup>16</sup> Finally, although the Earl of

Derwentwater, a leading Jacobite nobleman, had estates in Cumberland, he did not attempt to encourage his tenants and workers there to join the rebellion. According to Patten this was because he was either not wholly committed to the enterprise or was not long enough aware of it beforehand.<sup>17</sup>

Despite all of this, there were a number of active Jacobite supporters in the two counties, and far more than was the case in 1745. There were at least 28 men from Cumberland and Westmorland who joined the Jacobite army, and the information about most of them is revealed in the list of prisoners taken after the Battle of Preston (see Appendix). Twenty-two were from Cumberland, and of these, ten were from Wetheral, perhaps because the Jacobite army marched east of Carlisle, presumably through the village. Four were from Whicham and the other eight were from eight different parishes. Four were gentlemen; John Parkson of Danby, William Sands of Whitehaven, William Linnett of Whicham and George Carrick of Denton. Most were of a lower status; eight were servants and three were labourers, there were three carpenters and a shoemaker. These men may have been Catholics: as Bishop Nicolson wrote “The papists flock into them everywhere”.<sup>18</sup>

There were six recruits from the rather less populous county of Westmorland. Of the two gentlemen from this county, we know a little about one of them. This was George Hilton (1673-1725) of Hale in Beetham, a minor Catholic gentleman. Hilton was in desperate financial straits, had no family to speak of, was of a violent and adventurous disposition as well as being sympathetic towards Jacobitism for religious reasons. He was therefore, an ideal candidate for participation in such a risky undertaking as a rebellion.<sup>19</sup>

These numbers may not represent all the Jacobite support that was garnered from Cumberland and Westmorland. After the first day of fighting at Preston on 12 November, many of the Jacobites decided to escape – perhaps hundreds of them. However, we will never know the full extent of these escapees, so will never know how many Cumberland and Westmorland men were among them.<sup>20</sup>

Some of these men were noted as forming part of the units commanded by a number of Jacobite captains, both English and Lowland Scots. Thirteen out of twenty-eight had not been assigned to any unit, probably because there was insufficient time in which to do so, as well as the peripatetic nature of the Jacobite campaign. We do not know the fates of all of these men. None were executed; but four were transported to the American colonies, two escaped and seven were discharged following the Act of Grace in 1717. The others may have died in prison or may have escaped and not been recorded. Apparently Hilton fled to hide, perhaps in one of the possible hideouts near Beetham, perhaps abroad. Despite subsequent searches for him, he was never found and so was subsequently pardoned with his fellows.<sup>21</sup>

Yet, if sympathy for the Jacobites was low, resistance against them was largely ineffective. This was in part because their army behaved in an orderly fashion; there being little or no looting of civilian property, as Patten stated “the inhabitants cannot charge them with any Rudeness, Violence or Plunder”.<sup>22</sup> The reason for this was that Excise and other taxes which had been collected and held locally, and which were ordinarily given to the government, were taken and used to pay the Jacobite troops.<sup>23</sup> There may even have been some collaboration at Kendal as the churchwardens spent a shilling to buy candles “when the Rebels searched the church

for arms". Likewise, according to Patten, during the Jacobite hunt for weapons at Penrith, "Tho' this Town is very Loyal, yet still there were some that informed where they might be furnished".<sup>24</sup> This, though, was not always so. Peter Clarke noted that in Kendal the Jacobites "compelled" the bellman to summon the tax collectors "or else they that denyed should be plundered by Jack Highlander". Nor would the mayor reveal where the town's weapons were – he was then taken into custody. The gunsmiths were forced to work night and day for little money. Patten recalled that Mr Whelpdale, JP, and the prominent citizens of Penrith were forced to help the Jacobites by a mixture of "Prudence and Necessity".<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere, on learning that he was about to be seized, one Mr Johnstone of Penrith, collector of the salt tax for the district, took his money and papers and fled towards the nearest units of the British Army for safety.<sup>26</sup>

There was also some passive resistance towards the Jacobites. When James Stuart was proclaimed King at the market place in Kendal, a Quaker in the crowd refused to acknowledge the event by putting his hat back on and was lunged at by a Jacobite for his trouble. The Jacobite leader also came in for abuse. Mrs Bellingham, Thomas Forster's godmother, boxed his ears and called him "a rebel and a popish toole".<sup>27</sup>

### **The City of Carlisle**

Carlisle, as a key border fortress, was the first to be affected by the rebellion in Scotland, which broke out on 6 September. Fifteen days later, the city corporation noted that "the present state of affairs in the north" required action and that the city be prepared to take defensive measures. Therefore a count was taken of all able-bodied men in the city capable of bearing arms if needed. Furthermore, it was also ordered that weapons be made available to the men if necessary. These arms would be lodged in the castle in the meantime. Furthermore, in order to monitor strangers arriving in the city – in case they were spies – innkeepers were obliged to make a note of all strangers who lodged with them unless they wished to have their licence suppressed. Finally, the castle was to be supplied with bedding for an additional fifty men who could then reside within the castle at 12 hours notice if danger arose.<sup>28</sup> The city appeared loyal, as Stanwix, the castle commander, wrote on 14 October, "As for this place, no people ever were more hearty or more honest, and the garrison very much improved".<sup>29</sup> Such precautions were never needed as, unlike the case in 1745, the Jacobites bypassed Carlisle.

Yet there was a perceived danger. Henry Lowther (1694-1751), third Viscount Lonsdale, and a deputy lieutenant, reported that Stanwix had "received certain information of a design to seize Carlisle for the Pretender" in early October. This danger was all the more because the garrison only consisted of 65 soldiers. It is possible, though uncertain, that the trained bands (of the city?) were raised to help the regulars.<sup>30</sup> In mid-October 1715, Stanwix began a correspondence with loyalist Lowland magnates and they agreed to support one another.<sup>31</sup> On 31 October, he took the sixty militia horsemen, recently arrived in the city and they rode to Longtown in order to garner intelligence about the whereabouts of the Jacobite force and in doing so, arrested one Graham of Inchbrachy.<sup>32</sup>

### **The County Lieutenancy and the Militia**

We now turn to those responsible for the civilian defence of the counties; the county lieutenancy. They had two main security roles during the rebellion – to initiate the implementation of the anti-Catholic legislation and to muster the county militia. The Privy Council in London sent down instructions about the recusancy laws on 20 July, when news of a potential Jacobite conspiracy was first discovered, and orders to raise the militia were first sent on 16 September. As expected, these were sent to Charles Howard (1669-1738), the third Earl of Carlisle and Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland (unlike other counties in England, one Lieutenant served both counties). As an acknowledgement of this, he received two letters about the militia, one addressed to him as Lieutenant of Cumberland and the other, identical, was addressed to him as Lieutenant of Westmorland.<sup>33</sup>

The Earl of Carlisle sent copies of the July letters to Hugh Simpson, Clerk of the Peace of Cumberland. Simpson was to forward these to the deputy lieutenants and the JPs to implement. He also remarked that he had signed commissions for the militia captains, but they were to choose their junior officers, not he.<sup>34</sup>

These letters were reinforced by additional ones by Viscount Townshend, Secretary of State, and a leading force in countering the rebellion, on 19 and 21 September.<sup>35</sup> As regards the Catholics, and any other suspicious persons, Carlisle was expected to arrest all those he thought might participate in a rebellion.<sup>36</sup> For the militia, Carlisle was told to go to the counties where he had jurisdiction and to muster the whole militia, both infantry and cavalry and to put them in a state ready for action against the Jacobites.<sup>37</sup>

As it was, Viscount Lonsdale took charge and Carlisle (who stayed at Castle Howard, delegated authority to Lonsdale and was kept informed by the Lonsdale of events in correspondence) had no active part to play in the rebellion, though he did occasionally send directions. Lonsdale wrote to his fellow deputy lieutenants and told them about the orders from London. He was eager to have the anti-Catholic laws put into speedy execution, and suggested a meeting on 4 October in Penrith.<sup>38</sup>

At this meeting, attended by thirteen deputy lieutenants as well as the Bishop of Carlisle, William Nicolson (1655-1727), the decision was taken to seize Catholics and their weapons. However, their horses were left alone, as without their owners, these would have no possible dangerous use as potential cavalry horses. It was also decided to muster the militia. Each militia captain was to make a report on the state of their company's weapons to the deputy lieutenants on or before 19 October. It was initially also decided only to muster the Foot Militia as there were too many difficulties in "regulating the light horse". Some gentlemen were unaware whether, as deputy lieutenants for only one county, whether their authority extended to two, as Lonsdale was acting for one lieutenancy which covered both counties. Lonsdale asked the government for clarification on this matter. Meanwhile, he was determined to call another meeting and have the whole militia raised.<sup>39</sup> Each captain was to issue orders to the high constables, who would, in turn, command all the petty constables in their jurisdiction to each summon three men aged between 20-25 for service in the militia. Exemptions were allowed for the infirm. The constables were also to report on what arms they could supply for the militia.<sup>40</sup>

These orders certainly had effect. Catholics were seized and sent to Carlisle

castle. Although there were petitions on their behalf that they should receive parole, Lonsdale replied that he could not do so, because the Northumberland Jacobites were at large in the border country. He asked for guidance from the Earl of Carlisle, but it is unknown if any was offered.<sup>41</sup>

The militia began to be mustered. Despite earlier reservations, on 14 October, it was decided to fit out a troop of light horse, who were to meet at Dalston on 21 October and would be provided with fourteen days' pay.<sup>42</sup>

A general muster of the militia was held on 26 October. They were, at first, issued with three days' pay. Once this expired, a fortnights' pay was ordered and the militia companies were distributed in several towns in the county "as we thought would be most for the advantage of the county".<sup>43</sup> There were seven companies of militia, four drawn from Cumberland and three from Westmorland. In detail, this resulted in one company being quartered on the following towns and villages – Appleby, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kendal, Penrith and Cockermouth. Two companies were to be quartered at Carlisle. They were to march there immediately.<sup>44</sup> An order of 9 November resulted in four companies of militia concentrating at Eamont Bridge for the afternoon of 12 November.<sup>45</sup>

However, as Lonsdale pointed out "The militia is almost throughout ill armed, but I don't know how this can be remedied at present, for they can't be provided with better in this country, and it is a long time before new ones can be had from London. We have ordered them to throw away their pikes and get firelocks in their place, and also to put the arms they have into the best condition possible".<sup>46</sup> Lonsdale wrote to the deputy lieutenants, hoping that they would be able to supply the necessary arms. He also told Simpson to provide each man with three pounds both of ball and powder. Flags and drums were also to be allocated to each company.<sup>47</sup> How well the militia were eventually armed is unknown, though Joseph Symson, a Kendal merchant reported that they were "well armed and strictly disciplined".<sup>48</sup>

The militia did four weeks service. Two companies seized Catholics, their horses and arms. Some others garnered intelligence. The company at Penrith spent 18 nights on guard there.<sup>49</sup> Lonsdale offered to aid the Marquis of Annandale with 400 or 500 countrymen, armed with makeshift weapons if the latter were attacked. Yet he was also of the opinion that the men could only be kept in service for a maximum of ten days because he would have to pay them out of his own pocket. Therefore, he hoped Annandale would not call for them unless the need was urgent, and he did not.<sup>50</sup> The isolated companies were unable to prevent the Jacobite march through Penrith, Appleby, Kendal, and Kirkby Lonsdale. Presumably the men left these places when the Jacobites arrived. At Kendal the militia's arms were hidden.<sup>51</sup> The only casualty was one Thomas Jackson, a shoemaker, whose gun went off and struck away three fingers from his left hand and made him incapable of pursuing his trade. He was given £5.<sup>52</sup>

The militia were disbanded on 19 November.<sup>53</sup>

The parish constables were meant to supply the militia with weapons. The only surviving constables' accounts for this period are for the parish of Dent – they refer to "New Arms for the Militia", at £6 12s. 8d.<sup>54</sup>

## The County Posses

Apart from the militia, another method of civil defence was utilised. Towards the end of October, Lonsdale ordered the posses of Cumberland and Westmorland to be summoned for active service. The posse was that force of able-bodied men aged between 16-60 liable for service in time of emergency. Humphrey Senhouse, sheriff of Cumberland, agreed and so did the deputy sheriff of Westmorland and they decided to meet on 2 and 3 November, respectively. A company of Cumberland militia joined the Cumberland posse at Penrith.<sup>55</sup>

Senhouse, Nicolson, his clergy and his daughter, along with Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York, and Lonsdale, had gathered with the posse near Penrith on 2 November. The numbers of this force are variously estimated; Clarke states it was 25,000 men; Patten, 14,000. They resolved to halt the Jacobite advance.<sup>56</sup> That they thought this was possible was due to the belief that the Jacobite force was in flight, having already been beaten by troops under General Carpenter and all that remained was “to pick up some of the shattered fragments in to which he would chop them: for such a service we were well enough equipped”.<sup>57</sup> It is impossible to assess the posse’s true numbers – in Northumberland, it only numbered 407 men and it is probable that the Cumberland posse was in the hundreds, not the thousands.<sup>58</sup> They had received some training from half pay officers of General Elliott’s regiment, “who were extremely diligent and were put in a very tolerable order”.<sup>59</sup> Yet they were poorly armed. According to Clarke, “very few of them had any regular armes”.<sup>60</sup> Another source stated that they were ploughmen armed with pitchforks. Yet another claimed they were armed with scythes, bill hooks, rusty spears, swords and muskets dating back to the previous century.<sup>61</sup>

Yet the posse did not stand and face the foe, but fled. According to Clarke, they ran at 11 in the morning, but had they stood their ground, the Jacobites would have fled, though the veracity of this statement is impossible to determine; at best it seems unlikely.<sup>62</sup> The time of the rout is, however, debateable. One newspaper account has it that the posse began to fade away at 1.00 p.m. because of the need to find refreshments, only departing en masse at 3.00 p.m. on hearing of the Jacobite advance. Unlike Clarke, its assessment of the posse was unfavourable: “I never beheld such instance of the cowardice of Rabble”.<sup>63</sup>

The rout has been attributed to a number of reasons. Firstly, once a scouting party of the posse saw a patrol of Jacobites advancing and drawing up on the moor in order to attack them, “they had carried an Account of this to their Main Body, they broke up their Camp in the utmost Confusion, shifting every one for themselves as well as they could, as is generally the Case of an armed, but undisciplined Multitude”. Paton concurs that they fled on hearing the Jacobites were advancing towards them, but this was when they were still six miles distant.<sup>64</sup> Another account states that stories which grossly inflated the numbers of the Jacobites were spread, causing all the posse to flee.<sup>65</sup> This was despite all attempts made to rally the men, in order to defend Penrith.<sup>66</sup> Lonsdale wondered whether the rout “proceeded from fear or Disaffection” and concluded it was the latter because the men came without weapons and because the Jacobites did not alter their route of march, even though they were aware of the posse “if they had not depended upon a great many friends who did not shew themselves”.<sup>67</sup> Finally Dudley Ryder alleged that a conversation

was overheard between the posse's officers in which it was agreed not to fight should the Jacobites approach them and that this was heard by Jacobite spies sent to eavesdrop.<sup>68</sup> Poor morale among the men was probably the deciding factor.

All who were left were Nicolson, Lonsdale and twenty others (one hundred light horsemen, according to Sir William Johnstone). They eventually left the scene, too, Lonsdale retiring to his estate in Yorkshire. Some cast aspersions on his conduct, but Patten remarked that he had "no small share of Courage" and praised his "wise conduct", stating that his men were ill prepared and poorly armed.<sup>69</sup> Nicolson only missed being captured as orders to do so were countermanded. He fled to his palace, Rose Castle.<sup>70</sup>

Joseph Symson was enthusiastic about the prospects of the Westmorland posse. Unaware of the imbroglio at Penrith on the previous day, on 3 November, he wrote, "the enemy dare not stand us. I am, with my second son and a servant, well armed, just going to mount with my neighbours in defence of His Majesty King George and the Protestant religion".<sup>71</sup> Yet it was not to be. The Westmorland posse had been ordered to muster at Appleby on the following day, but once again, this body, lacking arms, and hearing of the Jacobite advance, dispersed.<sup>72</sup> According to Lonsdale, they were influenced by the rout of the Cumberland posse which "so terrified the people, that those who were a coming to the place appointed for the rendezvous turned back".<sup>73</sup> Following the failure of the posse, a despondent Lonsdale, on 4 November, concluded, "The county is entirely without Defence and I am very much afraid the Rebels won't be stopped till they meet with Regular Forces".<sup>74</sup>

### **The County Quarter Sessions**

The administration of the two counties was, as with other counties, in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, who collectively made up the Quarter Sessions. They also took steps against possible Jacobite sympathisers. The court of Westmorland Quarter Sessions, meeting at Kendal in October, ordered the High Constable of Kendal ward and his opposite number in the Lonsdale ward, to have the petty constables under his jurisdiction collate lists of all the Catholics and others suspected to be disaffected towards the government residing in their parishes. These were to be presented before the court on 12 November.<sup>75</sup> It is unlikely that they did so, because similar orders were given on 3 December of that year, with the rejoinder "And hereof you are not to fail".<sup>76</sup> Certainly the instructions of early September about informing the government on those taken up had been ignored so a reminder was sent on 8 November.<sup>77</sup>

Likewise, the Cumberland JPs ordered their constables to visit the Catholics within their jurisdiction at the Michaelmas Sessions.<sup>78</sup> John Parker, constable of Penrith was written to on 2 November and on 28 November and 1 December, and carried out these instructions by calling upon fifteen Catholics. Those who were not at home were left messages. All had to meet the Justices of the Peace at Widow Sanderson's in Penrith on 6 December.<sup>79</sup> Joseph Herbert, Chief Constable of Allerdale Ward, went "to a great deal of Trouble and Expences in Rideing about to summon Papists". He also summoned men for the militia.<sup>80</sup> After the rebellion, the constables of Alston and Penrith had searched for and apprehended suspects at Alston Moor, which was part of the Derwentwater estates.<sup>81</sup>

The constables had other duties during the rebellion. Whilst the militia company were stationed at Penrith, coal, wood, and candles were provided for them by the constables. They also patrolled with the militia cavalry and provided horses for carrying army baggage. When the Jacobite army was at Penrith, they made a survey of their numbers.<sup>82</sup> They also arrested suspects and escorted them to Carlisle. These were William Richardson, suspected as a Jacobite sympathiser, Robert McKay, a Scot forced into the rebellion and one Harrison.<sup>83</sup> Richardson was released after a petition was sent to the JPs, on account of his advanced age.<sup>84</sup> Less successfully, from the constables' point of view, were the orders to arrest James Singleton, a Lancashire Jacobite thought to be at large in the county, and of whom, no more is heard.<sup>85</sup>

Hugh Simpson had been particularly busy in the execution of his administrative duties. He had been the one had attended all the necessary meetings, who had copied letters and sent them out to the magistrates and others. He had sent warrants to the constables. He had also travelled around both counties on three occasions when the roads were poor. He was awarded £37 for his expenses.<sup>86</sup>

### **The Anglican Church**

Last, but not least, was the response of the Anglican Church, a key pillar of state. Bishop Nicolson's positive, though ultimately futile action against the rebellion has already been noted. He acted in other ways, too. On 15 October, he issued a circular letter to his clergy, where he asked his clergy to "animate and encourage your respective parishioners in defence of their religion, laws and liberties against all such traitorous attempts towards the destruction of his majesty's royal person and the subversion of his most gracious government".<sup>87</sup> Although there are no surviving sermons, some clergy spoke from the pulpits in favour of King George. One Mr Bolton "preach'd against the spirit of Rebellion".<sup>88</sup> However, there were some Anglican clergy in Westmorland who behaved with a great deal of caution, though were not necessarily Jacobite. When the Jacobites ordered the clergy at Appleby to read prayers, they refused, "but they were not very backward as to the thing itself, tho' they thought it their safest way modestly to excuse themselves". Yet they did arrange for the church bells to be rung and they also made everything ready for the service. This behaviour encouraged the Jacobites to believe that the Anglican Church was on their side. However, the Revd John Biggs of Kirkby Lonsdale fled on their arrival.<sup>89</sup>

The Kendal clergy were perhaps the exception. There was very public opposition in the parishes towards the Jacobites. This was also evinced by payments towards bell ringing in the churches. Some rang on 20 October to celebrate the first anniversary of the King's coronation – those at Appleby, Kirkby Lonsdale, Penrith and at Carlisle Cathedral did so.<sup>90</sup> The most popular day for such activity was 5 November, signifying the deliverance of Protestant England from Catholicism both at the time of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and the arrival of William of Orange in 1688. The parish of Heversham paid their ringers about 4s. on this occasion and the like occurred at Carlisle and also at Beetham.<sup>91</sup> What is more noteworthy is that in Kirkby Lonsdale the churchwardens gave 2s. 3d. for ale to their bell ringers at this time, just one day before the Jacobite army arrived.<sup>92</sup> No wonder the Revd Biggs fled before the army's arrival!

When news of the defeat of the Jacobites at the battles of Preston and Dunblane was known, there was more rejoicing. Nicolson noted on 14 November “Good News from Preston” and, five days later “rejoicing on good news from Stirling”.<sup>93</sup> Once again, bells rang throughout the counties. In the parishes, the accounts for Appleby for 15-16 November read “Given in ale to the ringers upon the news and rejoicing of the defeat of the rebels: 2s.”<sup>94</sup> At Penrith there was ale at the cross when the “News of the Defeat of the Rebels” was heard.<sup>95</sup> Celebrations in Kirkby Lonsdale were delayed until 1716, when the ringers were given 8s. to ring both for the victory at Preston and for the victory at Dunblane.<sup>96</sup> When the rebellion had been finally suppressed, there was more rejoicing. At Penrith 2s. was spent on bell ringing when James Stuart left Scotland in February.<sup>97</sup> Official thanksgiving took place on 7 June and was marked at Beetham, Kirkby Lonsdale and Heversham by the bells being rung.<sup>98</sup>

There were also private reflections made about the end of the rebellion. Symson reflected on 23 November that they “were in great fear when the rebels were at Kendal”. When news of their defeat reached them, Symson wrote “praised be our Good and merciful God they were all defeated”. He had no sympathy for the captured Jacobites, who he described as “rebellious villains who I hope will meet with their desserts”. He also thanked God that the Jacobites had been defeated in Scotland, too.<sup>99</sup>

## **Conclusion**

On the whole, the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland gave little support to the Jacobite cause in 1715. However, their passage southwards was unsuccessfully opposed. The rout of the posse is eloquent testimony to that. This was not due to unwillingness on the part of the county, but to inability. The county authorities certainly tried to oppose Jacobitism and did indeed limit its impact by arresting Catholics who might otherwise have joined. But the poorly armed militia, scattered throughout the counties as they were, were not intended to fight, but probably to prevent recruits accruing to the Jacobite cause, especially after noting the flight of the posse. Elsewhere, those in authority, whether as clergy, JPs, constables or churchwardens, seemed to oppose the rebellion, acting against Catholics and other suspects, and ringing the bells to denote their negative attitudes towards the rebellion. They could do no more – military action was the remit of the armed forces, and they did not confront the Jacobite army until Preston.

## **APPENDIX**

Cumberland and Westmorland men captured after the battle of Preston, with fates where known. Source: NA:PRO, KB8/66.

### **Cumberland**

Charles Nevill, Wetheral, servant. Unknown.  
John Parkson, Danby, gentleman. Unknown.

Edward Matthey, Wetheral, servant. Unknown.  
 Michael Mosses, Whicham, labourer. Discharged.  
 Thomas Bell, Kirkandrew, carpenter. Unknown.  
 Oliver Hamilton, Whicham, servant. Discharged.  
 Charles Batty, Whicham, labourer. Unknown.  
 William Sands, Whitehaven, gentleman. Unknown.  
 William Fenworth, Wetheral, labourer. Discharged.  
 John Farme, Wetheral, carpenter. Discharged.  
 William Willson, Wetheral, servant. Unknown.  
 John Willson, Wetheral, carpenter. Discharged.  
 John Bready, Wetheral, servant. Discharged.  
 Edward Tinklow, Wetheral, servant. Discharged.  
 Thomas Harrington, St. Cuthbert's, shoemaker. Unknown.  
 Alexander Rideley, Denton, servant. Transported.  
 John Burton, Parton, servant. Unknown.  
 Robert Stuby, Wetheral. Transported.  
 John Pestodd, Wetheral. Unknown.  
 George Graham, Arthuret. Unknown.  
 William Linnett, Whicham, gentleman. Unknown.  
 George Carrick, Denton, gentleman. Unknown.

### Westmorland

Alexander Sanderson, Heversham, labourer. Transported.  
 John Gibson, Kirkby Lonsdale, servant. Unknown.  
 John Willson, Morland, gentleman. Unknown.  
 Joseph Chamber, Witherslack, yeoman. Transported.  
 Francis Thornburgh, Kendal. Escaped.

### Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> *VCH Cumberland II* (London, 1905), 298-299.
- <sup>2</sup> P. K. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1993), 252, 309-310, 169.
- <sup>3</sup> CRO(C) Ca4/4.
- <sup>4</sup> C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *The Lake Counties, 1500-1830: A Social and Economic History* (Manchester University Press, 1961), 174-182.
- <sup>5</sup> W. A. Speck, *Stability and Strife, England, 1714-1760* (London, 1977), 176-178.
- <sup>6</sup> R. Sedgwick, *History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715-1754* Vol. 1 (London, 1970), 221-223, 341-342.
- <sup>7</sup> Monod, *Jacobitism*, 161-194, J. D. Oates, "Jacobitism and Popular Disturbances in the North of England, 1714-1719", *Northern History* XLI (2004).
- <sup>8</sup> R. Patten, *History of the Rebellion* (London, 1717), 64.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 82, 71.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-88.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.
- <sup>12</sup> H. Paton (ed.), "A Journall of Several Occurrences", *Scottish Historical Society, Miscellany I* (1893), 514n.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 514.
- <sup>14</sup> Patten, *History*, p.82.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

- <sup>16</sup> HMC 46, *Johnstone* (1897), 129.
- <sup>17</sup> Patten, *History*, 59.
- <sup>18</sup> PRO, KB8/66; *Letters of Eminent Men to Ralph Thoresby II* (London, 1832), 319.
- <sup>19</sup> PRO, KB8/66; A. Hillman (ed.), *The Rake's Diary: The Journal of George Hilton* (Kendal, 1994), xviii-xxxiv.
- <sup>20</sup> Patten, *History*, 111.
- <sup>21</sup> PRO, KB8/66; Hillman, *Rake's Diary*, xxix.
- <sup>22</sup> Patten, *History*, 84.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> CRO(K) WPR38; Patten, *History* (1745) 66.
- <sup>25</sup> Paton, "A Journall", 515-516; Patten *History* (1745), 66-67.
- <sup>26</sup> Patten, *History*, 83-84.
- <sup>27</sup> Paton, "A Journall", 515-516.
- <sup>28</sup> CRO(C) CA2/3, 57r, 58v.
- <sup>29</sup> HMC *Johnstone*, 128.
- <sup>30</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 16.
- <sup>31</sup> HMC *Johnstone*, 127-128.
- <sup>32</sup> *The London Gazette*, 5378, 1-5 Nov. 1715.
- <sup>33</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 14.
- <sup>34</sup> R. C. Jarvis, *The Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745* (Carlisle, 1954), 148-149.
- <sup>35</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 15.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.
- <sup>40</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 154-155.
- <sup>41</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 17.
- <sup>42</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 159.
- <sup>43</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 18.
- <sup>44</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 170, 163.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.
- <sup>46</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 18.
- <sup>47</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 162, 164.
- <sup>48</sup> S. D. Smith (ed.), *The Letter Books of Joseph Symson of Kendal, 1711-1720* (Oxford, 2002), 342.
- <sup>49</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 170-171, 203.
- <sup>50</sup> HMC *Johnstone*, 129.
- <sup>51</sup> Paton, "A Journall", 515.
- <sup>52</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 207-208.
- <sup>53</sup> Bishop of Barrow in Furness, "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries: Part V", CW2, v, 6.
- <sup>54</sup> CRO(K) PR70/W1.
- <sup>55</sup> HMC *Carlisle*, 18; R. C. Jarvis, *Collected Papers on the Jacobite Risings I* (Manchester, 1971), 170.
- <sup>56</sup> Patten, *History*, 82; Paton, "A Journall", 513; *The Glasgow Courant*, issue 2.
- <sup>57</sup> *Letters of Eminent Men to Ralph Thoresby II*, 319.
- <sup>58</sup> Hertfordshire Record Office, D/EP F195, Johnson – Liddell, 11 October 1715.
- <sup>59</sup> British Library, Additional Manuscripts, 63093, f60r.
- <sup>60</sup> Paton, "A Journall", 513.
- <sup>61</sup> *The Original Weekly Journal*, 355, 19-26 November 1715; J. Lowthian (ed.), *Life and Literary Remains of Thomas Sanderson* (Carlisle, 1829), 9.
- <sup>62</sup> Paton, "A Journall", 513.
- <sup>63</sup> *The Original Weekly Journal*, 355, 19-26 November 1715.
- <sup>64</sup> Patten, *History*, 82-3; Paton, "A Journall", 513.
- <sup>65</sup> P. Rae, *The History of the Late Rebellion* (London, 1745), 280; Paton, "A Journall", 513.
- <sup>66</sup> BL.ADD.MSS.63093, f61v.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> W. Matthews (ed.), *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716* (London, 1939), 136.
- <sup>69</sup> Rae, *History*, 280; Paton, "A Journall", 514; HMC *Johnstone*, 131; Patten *History* (1745), 64-65.

- <sup>70</sup> Patten, *History*, 82-3.  
<sup>71</sup> Smith, *Letter Books* 343.  
<sup>72</sup> *HMC Johnstone*, 131.  
<sup>73</sup> BL.ADD.MSS. 639093, f61v.  
<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>75</sup> CRO(K) WQ/0/2, 347.  
<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.  
<sup>77</sup> *HMC Carlisle*, 19.  
<sup>78</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 178-179.  
<sup>79</sup> *HMC Carlisle*, 19-20.  
<sup>80</sup> Jarvis, *Jacobite Risings*, 181-183.  
<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 184-185.  
<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 203-207.  
<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 185, 209-211.  
<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.  
<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 212-213.  
<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 179-181.  
<sup>87</sup> *VCH Cumberland*, II, 104.  
<sup>88</sup> "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries", *CW2*, v, 5.  
<sup>89</sup> Patten, *History*, 86-87.  
<sup>90</sup> CRO(K) WPR28; WPR19; CRO(C) PR110/75; Ca4/4.  
<sup>91</sup> CRO(K) WPR8/W1; WPR43/W1; CRO(C) Ca4/4.  
<sup>92</sup> CRO(K) WPR19.  
<sup>93</sup> "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries", *CW2*, v, 6.  
<sup>94</sup> CRO(K) WPR28.  
<sup>95</sup> CRO(C) PR110/75.  
<sup>96</sup> CRO(K) WPR19.  
<sup>97</sup> CRO(C) PR110/75.  
<sup>98</sup> CRO(K) WPR43/W1; WPR19; WPR8/W1.  
<sup>99</sup> Smith, *Letter Books*, 345.

