

ART. X.—*The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmorland in 1745.* BY THE WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.S.A. President of the Society.  
*Read at Kendal and Clifton, July 11th\* & 12th, 1888.*

SOME time in the year 1886 I was in the keep of the old castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which is occupied by the Society of Antiquaries of that city for the purposes of their museum. My attention was attracted to a manuscript plan hanging in one of the deep window recesses ; its limits were defined by a broad margin of red paint, within which a vast tartan boa constrictor seemed to be endeavouring to swallow a church and sundry red and black blocks. On a close inspection I found that the plan was titled

**An Exact Plan** OF THE SKIRMISH ON CLIFTON MOOR ;

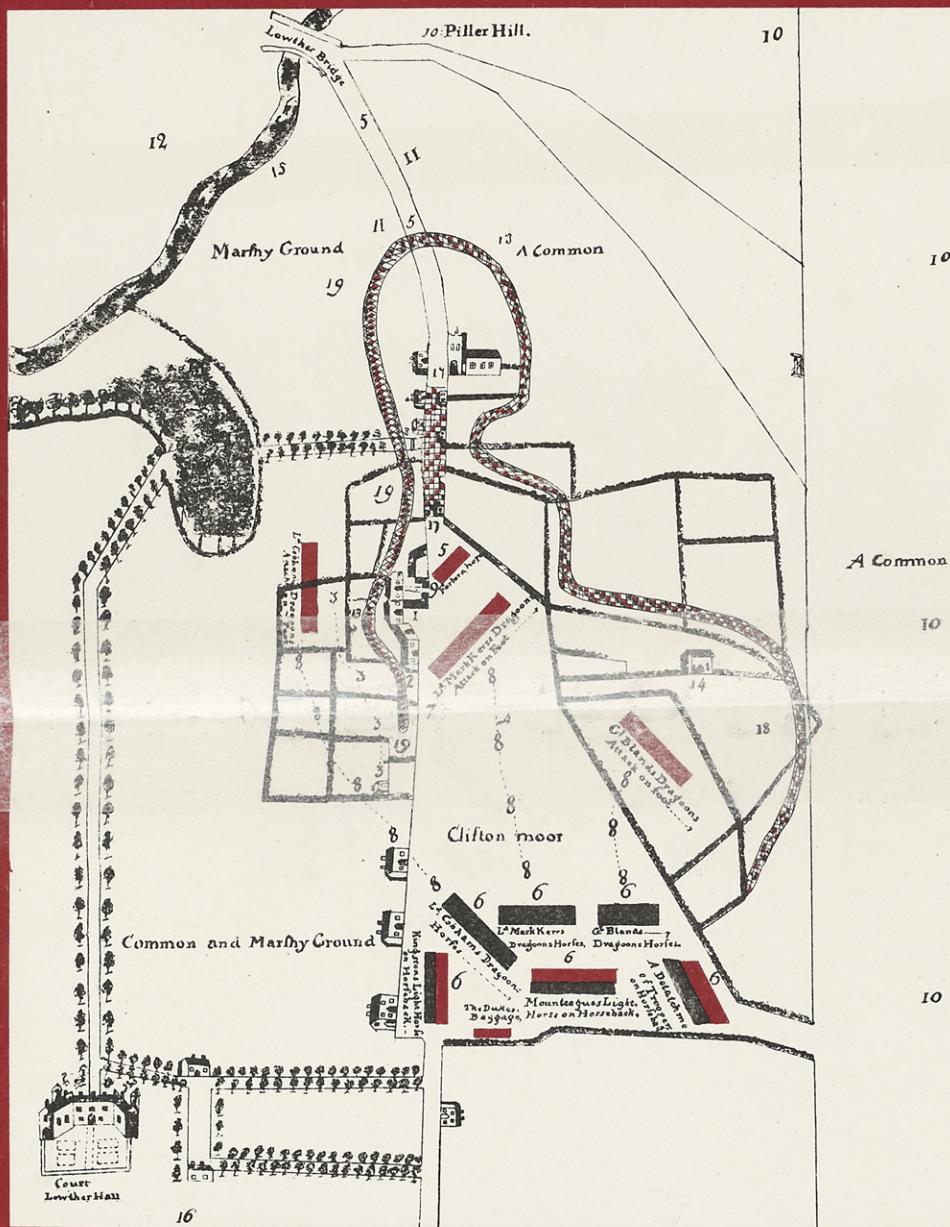
that the red and black blocks represented the forces of the Duke of Cumberland ; and that the tartan boa constrictor was nothing else than the Highland army, or a part of it.

As I have always thought that the history of the retreat of the Highlanders through Westmoreland in December, 1745, has been very inadequately dealt with by all previous writers, I viewed this strange plan with much interest : by the courtesy of the officials of the Newcastle Society of

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\* Part of this paper was delivered as a lecture at Penrith in 1887, with a view to arouse interest in the matter, and so revive the local legends. In this I was fairly successful. I then prepared this paper and sent it to the Society of Antiquaries of London : the paper was returned to me almost by the following post, the plans not having been opened. The executive committee stated that they had just refused a paper on Sir Cloudsley Shovel, in pursuance of a rule under which papers on matters later than 1700 were not laid before the Society of Antiquaries. This seemed to me very odd, as a paper by Lord Stanhope P.S.A. on the Highlanders at Derby in 1745, is printed in the Society's Proceedings, 2nd Series, vol. III, p. 118, and I wrote to the President ; on investigation no such rule could be discovered on record. I then sent the paper in "The Reliquary," from which it is now reproduced with additions and corrections.

Antiquaries



# An Exact Plan of the Skirmish on Cliftonmoor.

N<sup>o</sup>. 1. The Rebels Ambuscade. 2. The Advanced part of the Rebels Right Wing being part of the Rebels Hussars Ambuscade. 3. The Rebels Hussars Flight. 4. The Duke's Hussars. 5. The Rebels Hussars Flight. 6. The Kings Forces stood when he gave the King's Forces notice of the Rebels going to surround them. 7. The marching down of the King's Forces. 8. The place where the Rebels first appeared the way that he went to engage a party of Rebels at Pillar Hill who fled. 9. The Rebels first fire. 10. The Duke's Footmen. 11. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 12. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 13. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 14. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 15. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 16. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 17. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 18. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle. 19. The Duke's Footmen taken Prisoner and carried to Carlisle.

Savage went Thomas Savage came to before the Rebels with a Head of the Rebels were going.



Antiquaries the plan was entrusted to me for examination, and a fac-simile of it is here reproduced as Plate I. My first enquiries were as to how the Society became possessed of it, and Mr. C. J. Spence was kind enough to make the necessary researches, with the following result : In the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iii., Old Series, p. 12, under head of "Donations," is

1. March 1842

An exact plan of the Skirmish on Clifton-Moor in 1745 (M.S.).

Donor—Sir M. W. Ridley Bart.

This is, as Mr. Spence kindly ascertained, an exact copy of the entry in the minute book of the Society, signed by John Trotter Brockett; the file of the Society's correspondence for that year contains no letter from Sir M. W. Ridley, and no reference to the plan whatever. No engraving or account of the plan is in the publications of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. The present Sir M. W. Ridley, in reply to an enquiry, courteously regrets he has no information to give, nor can he suggest any reason why such a plan should have been in his father's possession. Internal evidence seems to prove the plan to be contemporary with the skirmish, and my own impression is that it is the work of G. Smith, a schoolmaster of Wigton, and at this period a frequent contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* on antiquarian subjects. He published, in 1746, plans of Carlisle and the vicinity, showing the position of the Duke of Cumberland's batteries, and the breaches made in the walls of the city.

This plan (plate I) represents the position of the troops at two distinct times on Wednesday the 18th Dec., namely at 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. I have therefore dissected this plan, which I shall call the Newcastle plan, and made from it two copies (plates VIII and IX) shewing matters at 3 p.m. and at 5 p.m.

The title, an "Exact Plan," is rather a stretch of the imagination on the part of the artist; it is rather a bird's eye

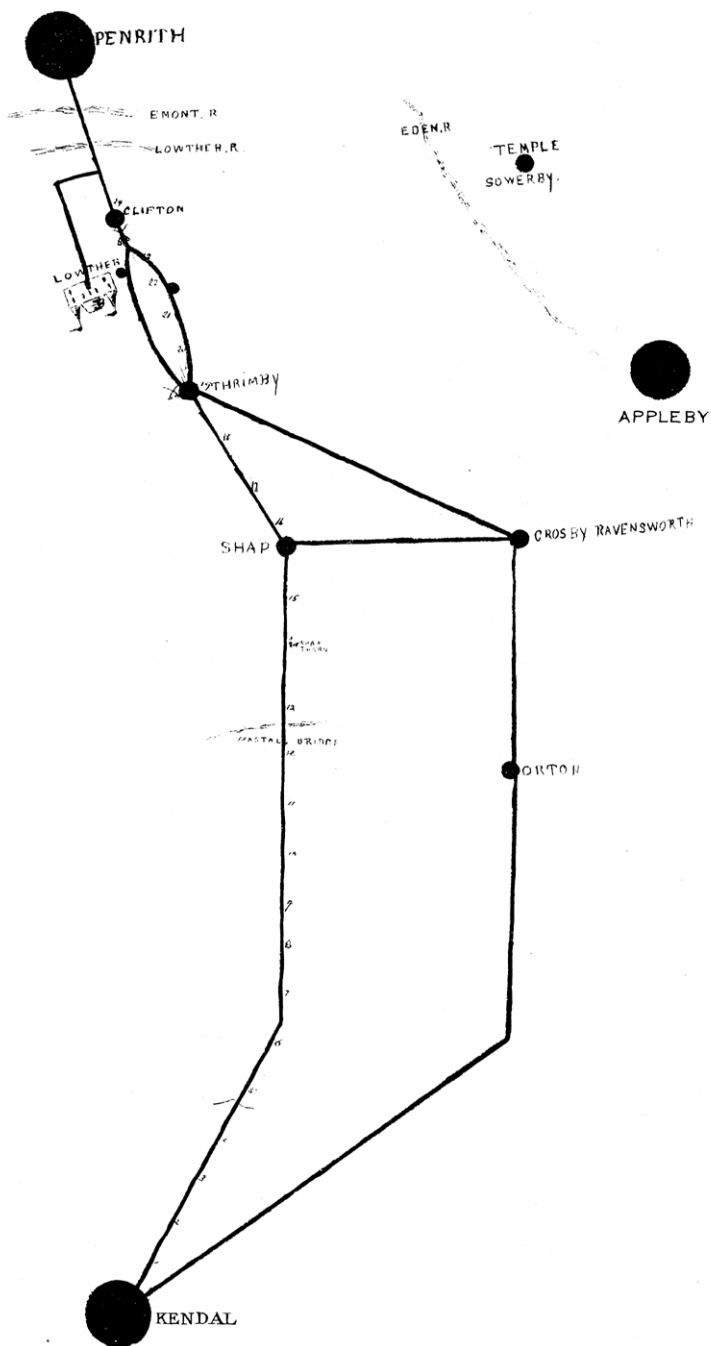
eye view of a somewhat large district, extending from the parallel of latitude, if we may so speak, of Lowther Hall on the south to that of Lowther Bridge on the north ; and from the longitude of Lowther Hall on the west to Brougham Common on the east. The Shap and Penrith road, running from south to north, bisects this district, whose centre is occupied by Clifton Moor, which is, roughly speaking, represented by a right-angled triangle, with its right angle toward the S.W. angle of the plan ; the longer of the sides that contain the right angle runs north and south, parallel to and between the Lowther enclosures and the Shap and Penrith road, while the shorter side runs due east and west, and at its eastern end a road communicating with the Appleby road leaves the Moor. The Shap and Penrith road leaves the Moor at the northern angle of the triangle, going through the town of Clifton, between the Church and the Hall, and down the hill to Lowther Bridge over the river of that name. The Moor slopes downwards to the north, and the northern angle is the "Foot of the Moor" and also "The Town End," where is, on the west of the road, the Town End farm-house, the residence, in 1745, of Thomas Savage, a Quaker, and the place where the Duke of Cumberland lodged on the night of Wednesday, December 18th, 1745. The Moor was enclosed in 1812, and only a small green at its north, or foot, left open.

The Clifton Moor of 1745 was thus surrounded by enclosures on all sides, and approached at each angle by a narrow road. A small lane running due east leads from the Moor into a small green among the eastern or Clifton enclosures. This can be identified on the ordnance map, for on it is marked "The Rebel Tree."

Plate II is a rough diagram of that portion of the county of Westmoreland, through which the Highlanders retired on the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of December, 1745, after their surprising march to Derby. It shows  
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PLATE II.



the towns of Kendal and Penrith (which last is just within the Cumberland borders); they are about 25 miles apart, and connected by a road, which, in December, 1745, must have been most trying for troops passing over the bleak moors of Shap Fell, well known to every traveler by the London and North-Western Railway. For most of the way the road was, in 1745, open to the fells and commons, but near the villages it became a narrow lane passing through the enclosures which surrounded these villages. The town of Shap is on this road, 14 miles distant from Kendal and 11 from Penrith. The village of Thrimby, with its enclosures and Thrimby Hill, is about half way between Shap and Penrith.

A little north of Thrimby the road bifurcates, the main road going through the village of Hackthorpe and its enclosures, while a mere lane runs (westward of the main road) through the village of Lowther and the Lowther enclosures, sometimes called by Lord George Murray "Lord Lonsdale's enclosures;" the lane falls again into the main road a little to the north of Lowther. The main road continues a little way and comes [or rather did in 1745] to Clifton Moor, a large right-angled triangular space which it enters at the right angle, and passes along one side, having the Lowther enclosures to the west and Clifton Moor to the east. Beyond Clifton Moor to the east are the Clifton enclosures, and beyond to the east is Brougham Common, in the parish of that name. The road leaves the Moor at its northern angle, where the "Foot of the Moor" and the "Town End" coincide. The town is about a third of a mile in length, and the Church and Clifton Hall are at its northern extremity, from which the road passes down a gentle slope of some half mile to the river Lowther and Lowther Bridge, beyond which, at about a quarter of a mile distance, it crosses the river Eamont by Eamont Bridge, and proceeds to Penrith, which is distant from Clifton about a mile and a quarter.

Lowther

Lowther Park and Hall are to the west of the Lowther enclosures, and a road leads from the north end of Clifton to Lowther Hall.

There was another main road from Kendal, by Orton and Crosby Ravensworth, to Appleby; cross roads, mere lanes, connect it with the Shap and Penrith road. There are bridges over the Eden at Appleby and Temple Sowerby in Westmorland, and another, lower down, at Langwathby, in Cumberland. All these remarks apply to the condition of things in 1745.

The next plan (plate III) is an enlargement of the map from the Chevalier de Johnstone's *Memoirs*.<sup>\*</sup> I have inverted it, as he puts the south at the top. This map is a very rough sketch, and the lane through the Lowther enclosures is carried down to the south of Thrimby Hill, instead of the north. He has omitted one of the two rivers, either Lowther or Eamont; and, most puzzling of all, he has shifted Clifton Hall, a small border peel, under the name of the "Castle of Clifton Hall," into Penrith, evidently confusing it with Penrith Castle. This map represents the troops as they were at three distinct times on December 18th—namely, at noon, 1 p.m., and 5 p.m. I have, therefore, made three copies, plates V, VI, and VII, in which I have put down matters as they were at such three times—viz., noon, 1 p.m., and 5 p.m. On these plans I have corrected Johnstone's title of Clifton Hall to Clifton Moor.

The editor of the Chevalier's *Memoirs* makes no attempt to explain the Chevalier's map or to reconcile it with his text.

The next plan (plate IV) is entitled "A plan of the Battle of Clifton Moor," and represents matters at 3 p.m.

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<sup>\*</sup> *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745, 1746*, by the Chevalier de Johnstone. London, 1822: Longman & Co.; third edition.





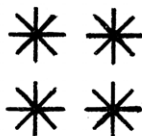
# A PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CLIFTON MUIR

NORTH SIDE

-FROM D GRAHAM

-TIME 3 P M-

EAST SIDE



A PARTY BEHIND THE VILLAGE AT THE QUAKERS HOUSE.

SOUTH SIDE

BLAND'S DRAGOONS, HUSSARS AND LIGHT HORSE  
ON THE HIGHWAY BETWEEN THE HEDGES

THE DUKE'S ARMY  
THREE MILES BEHIND

THE OTHER PARTY IN AMBUSH UNSEEN, WHO GAVE THEM A CLOSE  
FIRE THROUGH THE HEDGES.

WEST SIDE

on the 18th Dec. It is taken from Dugald Graham's history of the Rebellion, written in doggrel verse.\*

These three plans (Plates I, III, IV,) taken with the skeleton map of the country (Plate II), when carefully studied, give most important information as to the retreat of the Highlanders through Westmoreland in December 1745, and the skirmish on Clifton Moor on the 18th of that month. Previous writers have not known of the Newcastle plan; and D. Graham's they have ignored.

They have also ignored or not known of Mounsey's *Authentic Account of the Occupation of Carlisle in 1745*.† It contains the correspondence of Dr. Waugh, one of my predecessors as Chancellor of Carlisle. Dr. Waugh was an active Whig, in close correspondence with the Premier, the Duke of Newcastle; he organised an intelligence department for the benefit of the Government in the south of Scotland and north-west of England. The local guides who accompanied the Duke of Cumberland, were allies of his, probably found by him, and in constant communication with him. The book, *Carlisle in 1745*, is indispensable, and has been strangely overlooked by Mr. Ewald, in his *Life of Prince Charles*, and by Colonel Hozier in his *Invasions of England*. They have also overlooked *Walker's History of Penrith*, in which is a letter by Thomas Savage, giving a minute account of the skirmish on Clifton Moor. As this letter is not readily accessible, I have quoted largely from it, and put it *in extenso* in appendix III. In appendix IV I have put another important letter, hitherto unprinted, from Tom Tinkler.‡

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\* An Impartial History of the Rise, Progress and Extinction of the late Rebellion in Britain in 1745 and 1746. The Sixth Edition. Glasgow: Printed by J. and M. Robertson. MDCCXCVI.

† London: Longman & Co., Carlisle; James Steel, 1846.

‡ I applied to my friend Canon Machell, the owner of the "Hill MS. collections towards a History of Westmorland," and asked if any information was contained in the eleven magnificent volumes about Clifton skirmish. The Canon kindly searched and found a reference to the Chevalier de Johnstone's map, and to some curious map or maps of the skirmish said to be at Downing College,

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On the 4th of December, 1745, (O.S.) Prince Charles concentrated his army at Derby, and his advanced guard occupied the strong position of Swarkeston Bridge, which, nearly a mile in length, spans the Trent and the lowlands adjoining. On the 5th the Prince held a council of war; on the 6th he commenced his retreat. It is foreign to my purpose to discuss why he did so, or to speculate on what might have happened, had he pushed on for London, where the sensation produced by his arrival in Derby was intense. It was apprehended that he would evade the armies both of Marshal Wade and of the Duke of Cumberland, and march directly upon London. Wade's army he had already evaded; that commander, expecting the Highlanders to enter England by the eastern route, waited for them at Newcastle until too late; he then marched to Hexham, only to learn that Carlisle had surrendered, and to return to Newcastle, from which place he was marching through Yorkshire to the south, to intercept the Highlanders, if he could.

The Duke of Cumberland, with an army of about 8,000, occupied at Stone the passages of the Trent, between Newcastle-under-Lyne and Lichfield, and barred the way towards the west; while a third army, famous by Hogarth's well-known picture, assembled on Finchley Common for the protection of London.

The Highlanders commenced their retreat on December the 6th, and passed the night at Ashbourne: the Chevalier de Johnstone says:—

On the 7th we reached Leek, on the 8th Macclesfield, the 9th Manchester, 10th Wigan, and the 11th Preston, where we remained during the 12th. We arrived at Lancaster on the 13th, where we recruited ourselves during the 14th, and on the 15th we reached Kendal.\*

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Cambridge. I have to thank the Master of Downing and Mr. Courtney Kenny, M.P., for searching among the Downing archives, but with no result.

Canon Machell found an account of the burial of those who fell at Clifton Moor, which will be added in its place.

So soon as the Duke of Cumberland heard of the retreat, expresses were sent to the deputy-lieutenants and the magistrates, ordering them to rouse the country, to break up the roads, and to break down the bridges. The Duke of Cumberland commenced his pursuit of the Highlanders on the 8th December, when he marched north with the whole of his cavalry, and a number of infantry, mounted upon horses, which were supplied by the gentry of the neighbourhood. Wade returned to Newcastle, but sent his cavalry, under Major-General Oglethorpe, to join the Duke of Cumberland, which they did at Preston, on the 13th December, having marched, spite of weather, 100 miles in three days.

The principal difficulties the Highlanders encountered in their retreat occurred on their passage through Westmorland.\* The deputy lieutenants of that county, on the 14th of December, in obedience to the command of the Duke of Cumberland, raised a part of the county to demolish Wastall Bridge and break up the road down Grayrigge hawset† in order to make the roads from Kendal and Appleby impassable for artillery and wheel-carriages. Whether this was done or not I do not know. The sequel shows that the roads were bad enough in their natural state. The deputy lieutenants were a little late in moving in the matter, for an advanced party of the Highland army arrived at Kendal on the morning of that same day (Saturday, the 14th). It consisted of 110 or 120 hussars under the Duke of Perth, who, according to Lord George

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\* On their advance through Cumberland and Westmorland the Highlanders neither molested the country people, nor were molested by them. At first, supposed to be cannibals, they became mere objects of curiosity. *Carlisle in 1745*, p. 106. An account will be found in the same book, p. 116: (also in Ray's History of the Rebellion, and in Tom Tinkler's letter—Appendix iv. to this paper) of how some Penrith volunteers captured a marauding party at Lowther Hall.

† Wastall Bridge, now called Wasdale Bridge, is over Wasdale Beck, and is on the main road between Kendal and Shap, three-and-a-half miles south of Shap. Grayrigg hawse is on the road between Kendal and Appleby. See plate iv.

Murray's

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Murray's account, had been sent off to make his way to Scotland to bring up men and to carry dispatches. This force was accompanied by a chaise, in which was "a person in woman's clothes". Another account says two ladies, and the suggestion was thrown out that one was Prince Charles himself, in female attire, endeavouring to get back to Scotland. The reception the Duke of Perth got from the Kendal people was a warm one. Hodgson, in his *History of Westmorland*, says,

They passed quietly till they came into Finkle Street, when the mob suddenly fell upon them with clubs, stones, and anything they could pick up in their hurry. The Duke's men made a short stand, a little below the Fish Market, and fired several shots, by which four people received wounds of which they died. Of the rebels none were killed on the spot,\* but four made prisoners, one of them Perth's servant. The rebels then pushed briskly forward, and were pursued near a quarter of a mile to Stramongate bridge, by the enraged populace annoying them with stones. Then they made another stand here, and seemed as if they would return; but a townsman having crept privately to the bridge, fired at the foremost, who immediately let his gun and cloak fall, and could not turn his horse; but by the help of his companions they got to Shap, from which place they proceeded that afternoon to Eamont bridge; but perceiving Penrith beacon on fire, they enquired the reason, and being told that it was to raise the country, and that all the hedges from that place to Penrith were lined with armed men,† they returned to Shap, where they halted during the night.

The arrival of the Duke of Perth in Kendal had been preceded by an anonymous letter to the Mayor, contain-

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\* Kendal parish register contains the following entry:—"1745, Dec. 16th. —John Slack Kild by ye Scotts. Same day a Scotch rebel, name not known." Slack was a respectable farmer. Tradition mentions Richard Pindar, a shoemaker, as wounded, and also an ostler, name unknown. Further accounts of this affray will be found in Ray's *History of the Rebellion* and in *Carlisle, in 1745*, pp. 130, 151, 132. Ray states he had seen the grave of one of the hussars, on the roadside, about four miles from Kendal, where he dropped off his horse and died.

† Tom Tinkler's letter (Appendix IV) details the preparation made at Penrith. He says that Wade had sent 120 soldiers to Penrith; that these—some 50 volunteers and some countrymen—lined the road from Eamont bridge to Penrith at proper distances; that the Penrith Beacon was fired, and the whole countryside assembled on Penrith Fell.

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ing a report that the Highland army had been severely defeated by the Duke of Cumberland. The fact that the Duke of Perth and his hussars rode through the town without a halt would tend to confirm the Kendal men in the idea that they were fugitives, and might be mobbed, and stoned, and shot, things which they would hardly have indulged in had they known that the Highland infantry in full force, and undefeated, was close behind the horsemen.

To return to the Duke of Perth, whom we left halted for Saturday night the 14th, at Shap. The unfounded report of a Highland defeat had got well into circulation,<sup>†</sup> and not only were the Penrith people in arms to cut off stragglers, but even Dalston, Sebergham, and Brough turned out strong parties, armed as best they could, who guarded Armathwaite and Sebergham Bridges.\* On Sunday the 15th the Duke of Perth and his hussars made an attempt to get into Scotland, by the route along the eastern bank of the river Eden (plate II). They went by Cliburn, Temple Sowerby (where they crossed the Eden by Temple Sowerby Bridge) and Culgaith to Langwathby Moor. But the Penrith men crossed the river lower down at Langwathby Bridge, and with a number of country men got within pistol fire of the hussars at Appleside Hill on Langwathby Moor in Cumberland. They mobbed the hussars out of Cumberland, and through Westmoreland, through Culgaith, Newbiggen Moor, Kirkby Thore, where the hussars pressed one Jack Boucher as a guide, through the river Eden at Bolton, through Moorland, Newby-Mill-Flat, and Reagill to Shap, thence to Orton Scar, where they left them. The hussars refreshed at Orton, and got back to Kendal on Sunday night, after a somewhat excit-

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\* See Tom Tinkler's letter in appendix IV. The report at Penrith took the form that the Highlanders were surrounded at Lancaster.

† Another report was of a battle at Ellelmoor, five miles south of Lancaster; *Carlisle in 1745*, p. 131.

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ing, if somewhat inglorious two days' excursion through the two counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. One wonders that a party of over 100 hussars could not cut their way through a mob of Penrith townsmen and country people.\*

The Highlanders levied a fine on Kendal for the death of their hussar, and when the bulk of their army reached Penrith on the 17th they threatened to burn the town for "Sunday hunting". Tinkler tells us that ere the Highland army arrived, most of the Penrith men made themselves scarce, and that Wade's 120 soldiers marched out to Gamelsby.

The hussars having now rejoined the Highland army at Kendal, we have the whole Highland army to deal with.

On Monday, December the 16th, the whole Highland army left Kendal at daybreak hoping to reach Penrith that night, a distance of about 25 miles. This march is well described by the Chevalier de Johnstone, who at this time served as a captain in the Lowland regiment of Scotch, known as the Duke of Perth's; the company which he commanded was, with three others of the same regiment, detailed off for the arduous duty of escorting the artillery. The rear of the march was brought up by the commander-in-chief, Lord George Murray, who was under the impression, an erroneous one, that Marshal Wade's army, was within two miles, and that an engagement was imminent; as a matter of fact, Wade's infantry were making for Newcastle, and his cavalry under Major-General Oglethorpe in company with the Duke of Cumberland and his cavalry and probably some mounted infantry only reached Kendal on the following day, Tuesday the 17th.

Owing to the bad state of the roads and the weather, the Highland army got on Monday, the 16th, no further than

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\* The 120 soldiers, whom we are told by Tinkler, vide ante p. 194 n., Wade sent to Penrith, do not appear to have been in this "Sunday Hunting," as Tinkler calls it, nor were the hunters militia or light horse, for the Highlanders had captured all the arms of these troops at Carlisle.

Shap, where they stayed the night ; their artillery did not even get so far, some ammunition waggons broke down about a league and a half or some four miles from Kendal, and the artillery and its escort passed the night on the high road in a storm of wind and rain. On Tuesday, the 17th, the Prince with the bulk of the army arrived at Penrith, but the artillery and its escort, now reinforced by the Macdonalds of Glengarry, to the number, the Chevalier says, of 500 men, but I think of only 300, only managed to reach Shap, and that with great difficulty at nightfall. It will be convenient to here give the Chevalier's own account of the first part of the next day's proceedings :—

We set out from Shap by break of day, on the 18th, to join our army, which waited for us at Penrith ; but we had scarcely begun our march, when we saw a great number of the enemy's light-horse continually hovering about us : without venturing, however, to come within musket-shot. The appearance of these light-horsemen appeared the more extraordinary, as hitherto we had seen none in the whole course of our expedition into England. Having arrived at mid-day, at the foot of an eminence [Thrimby Hill], which it was necessary to cross in our march to Penrith, about half-way between that town and Shap, the moment we began to ascend, we instantly discovered cavalry, marching two and two abreast on the top of the hill, who disappeared soon after, as if to form themselves in order of battle, behind the eminence which concealed their numbers from us, with the intention of disputing the passage. We heard at the same time a prodigious number of trumpets and kettle-drums. Mr. Brown, colonel in the train of Lally's regiment, was at the head of the columns with two of the companies, which the Duke of Perth had attached to the artillery, and of which mine was one. After them followed the guns and ammunition waggons, and then the two other companies attached to the artillery. Lord George was in the rear of the column with the regiment of Macdonalds. We stopt a moment at the foot of the hill, everybody believing it was the English Army, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums. In this seemingly desperate conjecture, we immediately adopted the opinion of Mr. Brown, and resolved to rush upon the enemy, sword in hand, and open a passage to our army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. Thus, without informing Lord George of our resolution, we darted forward with great swiftness, running up the hill as fast as our legs could carry us. Lord George, who  
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was in the rear, seeing our manœuvre at the head of the column, and being unable to pass the waggons in the deep roads confined by hedges, in which we then were, immediately ordered the Highlanders to proceed across the enclosure, and ascend the hill from another quarter. They ran so fast that they reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as those who were at the head of the column. We were agreeably surprised, when we reached the top of the hill to find, instead of the English Army, only three hundred light horse and chasseurs, who immediately fled in disorder,\* and of whom we were only able to come up with one man, who had been thrown from his horse, and whom we wished to make prisoner to obtain some intelligence from him; but it was impossible to save him from the fury of the Highlanders, who cut him to pieces in an instant. From the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums which the light-horse had with them, there is every reason for supposing that it was their design to endeavour to induce us to turn aside from the road to Penrith, by making us believe that the whole English Army was on the hill before us, and if we had fallen into the snare which was laid for us, in a few hours every man of our detachment would either have been killed or taken prisoner.

This episode, which is represented on plate V, took place about mid-day. The light horse and chasseurs have generally been put down as local militia: in reality they were light horse, pushed on from a column under General Bland, which was endeavouring to intercept the Highland army by pushing on through the lanes westward of the main road: when I first wrote this account in the Reliquary of July and October, 1888, I thought they might have been detached† from another column under General Oglethorpe, which was moving parallel to the main column of the Duke of Cumberland, and marching through Orton and Crosby Ravensworth (plate II). None of the historians of the occurrences of the 18th December mention that Oglethorpe was thus operating with a detached column, but it is proved by a letter from Mr. Lamb, printed in Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745*, p. 136. Mr. Lamb says--

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\*Lord George Murray, a more experienced soldier than the Chevalier, says, "they moved off at top gallop, and gave me no more trouble."

† We learn this from Dugald Graham and that Bland had with him Bland's dragoons, Kingston's light horse, and the Yorkshire Hunters.

SKIRMISH

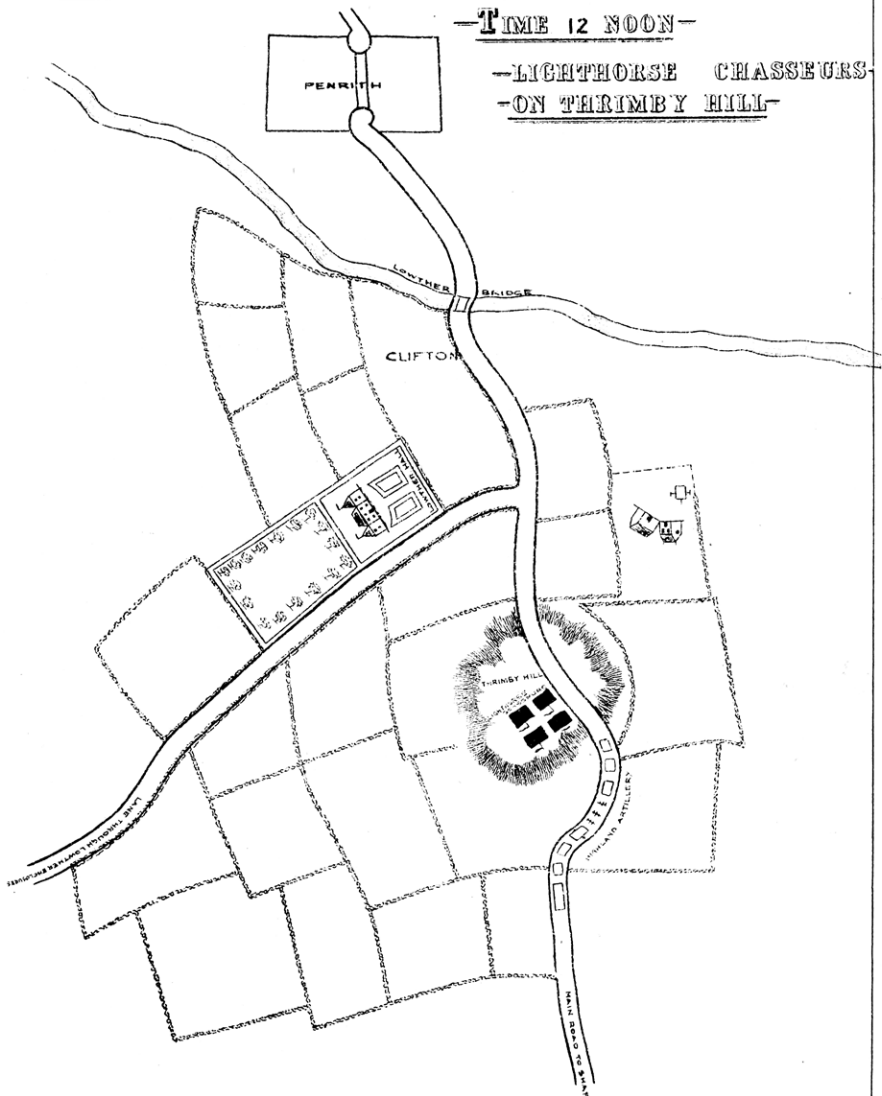
AT

CLIFTON MOOR DEC 1745

TIME 12 NOON

LIGHTHORSE CHASSEURS

ON THIMBY HILL



On Wednesday morning I carried some letters to General Oglethorpe, at Orton, who the Duke expected would have been with the Rear Guard of the Rebels the night before. I went with them till they took ye road to Strickland Head, then I took the Shap road, and at Shap Thorn\* (See plate II). I came in sight of the Duke's army about 120.†

There can be no doubt that the 300 chasseurs (light horse), trumpeters and kettledrums had been hurried on from Bland's column to intercept the lagging Highland train of artillery and its escort, and cut it off from the Highland army.

At twelve o'clock we get the position thus : the Duke of Cumberland's army at Shap ‡ ; the Highland artillery and its escort (four companies of the Duke of Perth's regiment and the Macdonalds) ascending Thrimby Hill, beyond which were light horse, chasseurs, trumpeters, and kettledrummers, while Bland was endeavouring to get in front of them on their west flank and Oglethorpe with Ligonier's dragoons, was somewhere on their east flank, making his way to Brougham Common, where the Appleby men were ordered to meet him.§ The situation was serious ; had the Highlanders halted or left the road, a short time would have seen them caught between the columns of the Duke of Cumberland and General Bland, and General Oglethorpe would have got before them to Brougham Common, and cut them off from Penrith. But they were able to brush away the

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\* Shap Thorn is on the road between Kendal and Shap, two miles to the south of Shap.

† Mr. Mounsey does not say who or what Mr. Lamb was, and I have been unable to ascertain. But he was a local man, in the confidence of the Chancellor of Carlisle, and serving with the Duke of Cumberland, as guide, etc. See appendix VI for additional information as to Oglethorpe's flank march.

‡ The Duke's army here means only a part of his army, the cavalry. He brought to Clifton moor the following cavalry regiments, viz., Cobham's, Kerr's, Bland's, and Montagu's dragoons, and Kingston's light horse : and some of the Royal or Yorkshire Hunters. See Appendix I.

§ Ligonier's dragoons were not with the Duke of Cumberland, and so must have been with Oglethorpe.

|| See unsigned letter appendix VI.

light

light horsemen and chasseurs, and with their charge up the hill ends Scene I of the military drama played in Westmoreland, on Wednesday, the 18th December.

I shall again put the Chevalier de Johnstone into the witness box, and he shall give an account of Scene II, which is, in the language of the theatre, a mere carpenter's flat, between two more important scenes.

We immediately resumed our march, but in less than an hour\* one of our ammunition waggons having broken from the badness of the roads, we were obliged to halt. The singular adventure of the light horse had filled me with some uneasiness, as I was unable to account for their audacity, unless the army of Marshal Wade were much nearer us than we imagined, and I communicated my fears to Mr. Grant, an officer of great talents, who commanded our artillery, and acted as our engineer at the same time; and, in order that we might not lose time in repairing the broken waggon, I suggested to him that we should go to a farm which we saw on our right, about a quarter of a league from us, and try to procure one. He consented; and we took seven or eight men with us, of whom my sergeant, Dickson, was one. Having found a waggon in the courtyard of the farmer, we immediately carried it off† (see Plate VI); and our march was retarded no longer than the time necessary for transferring the ammunition from one waggon to another. In returning from the farm, Dickson called our attention to something which appeared blackish to us, on a hill about a league to our left; and he alone, contrary to the opinion of every one else, maintained that he saw it moving, and that it was the English army advancing towards us. As we took what he saw for bushes, and as nobody, excepting himself, could distinguish anything, I treated him as a visionary; but he still persisted, till I ordered him to be silent, telling him that fear alone could have filled his imagination with the idea of an army. However, his last word was that we should see in an hour whether or not he was in the right. When we had advanced about two miles,‡ we were soon convinced that Dickson's eyes were

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\* That will make the time a little before one o'clock.

† I do not know if tradition preserves the name of the farm: Thrimby Hall suits the description of the place, or it may have been nearer Hackthorpe. It is marked on the Chevalier's plan.

‡ Two miles would take about an hour to march; this brings the time of day to 2 p.m. We shall see the artillery passed Clifton Town End about 2.30, the charge mentioned in the text must have taken place about half-a-mile or rather more from the Town End.

much



**-SKIRMISH-**

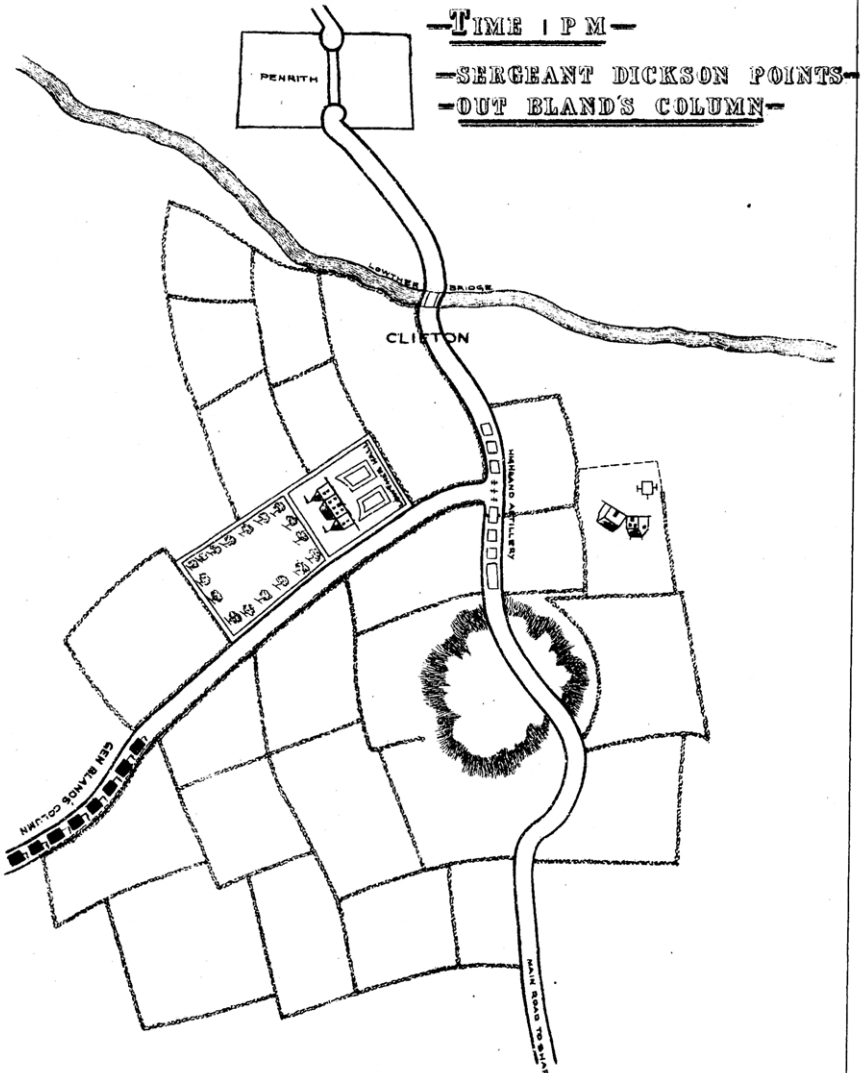
**-AT-**

**-CLIFTON - MOOR DEC 1745-**

**-TIME 1 P M-**

**-SERGEANT DICKSON POINTS-**

**-OUT BLAND'S COLUMN-**



much better than ours. The Duke of Cumberland, having followed us by forced marches, with two thousand cavalry, and as many foot soldiers mounted behind them, fell suddenly on the Macdonalds, who were in the rear of the column, with all the fury and impetuosity imaginable. Fortunately the road running between thorn hedges and ditches, the cavalry could not act in such a manner as to surround us, nor present a larger front than the breadth of the road. The Highlanders received their charge with most undaunted firmness. They repelled the assailants with their swords, and did not quit their ground till the artillery and waggons were a hundred paces from them and continuing their route. Then the Highlanders wheeled to the right and ran with full speed till they joined the waggons, when they stopt again for the cavalry, and stood their charge as firm as a wall. The cavalry were repulsed in the same manner as before with their swords. We marched in this manner about a mile, the cavalry continually renewing the charge, and the Highlanders always repulsing them, repeating the same manœuvre and behaving like lions.

The plan given by the Chevalier de Johnstone (Plates III and IV) shows that the column seen by Sergeant Dickson, was marching, not on the main road between Shap and Clifton, through Hackthorpe, but on a loop road or lane to the west of the main road, running through Lowther and the Lowther enclosures: it must have been the column under General Bland, consisting, as Dugald Graham tells, of Bland's dragoons, Kingston's light horse, and the Yorkshire Hunters, some of whom had already been encountered on Thrimby Hill; the Duke of Cumberland with his force was three miles behind, and no doubt on the main road, while Bland was pushing forward along the side lane through the Lowther enclosures, to get between the Highland artillery and Penrith (Plate VI.) This he probably would have done had any delay taken place over the broken waggon, but the Chevalier's presence of mind prevented this. The cavalry, however, got touch of the rear of the Highland artillery escort immediately after the junction of the two roads; the

Chevalier

[2 A]

Chevalier talks of a running fight for a mile, which is about the distance between the junction of the roads and Clifton moor. This running fight must have taken place about 2 p.m.; messengers had been sent to Penrith by Lord George Murray, and a body of Highland infantry under Cameron of Lochiel had moved from Penrith and taken post at Lowther bridge behind the river Lowther to assist the Highland train of artillery, and the Scotch cavalry had come out to Clifton. Here ends Scene II., and I will dismiss the Chevalier de Johnstone from the witness box, for though he continues his story, he was no longer an eye witness, as the train of artillery and the four companies of Perth's regiment did not stop for the fighting at Clifton, but proceeded at once to Carlisle, not stopping at Penrith, except for a short rest.

I shall now call into the witness box Thomas Savage of the Town End, Clifton, whose letter to his friend Richard Partridge is given in the appendix to this paper.\* Thomas Savage says :

Now I shall give thee to understand the beginning and the end of the engagement. First, the rebel hussars being gone past to Penrith, came riding back to my door in haste, between one and two in the afternoon. Then in an hour after† came back again driving up the rear of their army to my door, and some others then took their place, and they wheeled off and set themselves in ambush against my barn side, being so inclosed with cross houses that our king's men could not see them until close to them, we not knowing their design, but I firmly believed it to be evil, and so we went into my house; yet could not long be easy there, and returned forth and looking about me, I espied the commanders of the king's men appearing upon the hill,‡ at about 400 yards south of my house, whereupon my

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\* See appendices II. and III.

† This brings the time to about 2.30 p.m., the artillery and its escort, now reinforced by the Scotch hussars, passing Clifton Town End. We have previously at 2 p.m., got them to within a mile of the Town End, viz., the junction of the two roads, where the running fight began.

‡ Bland's column debouching from the road upon the south or high end of Clifton Moor.

very

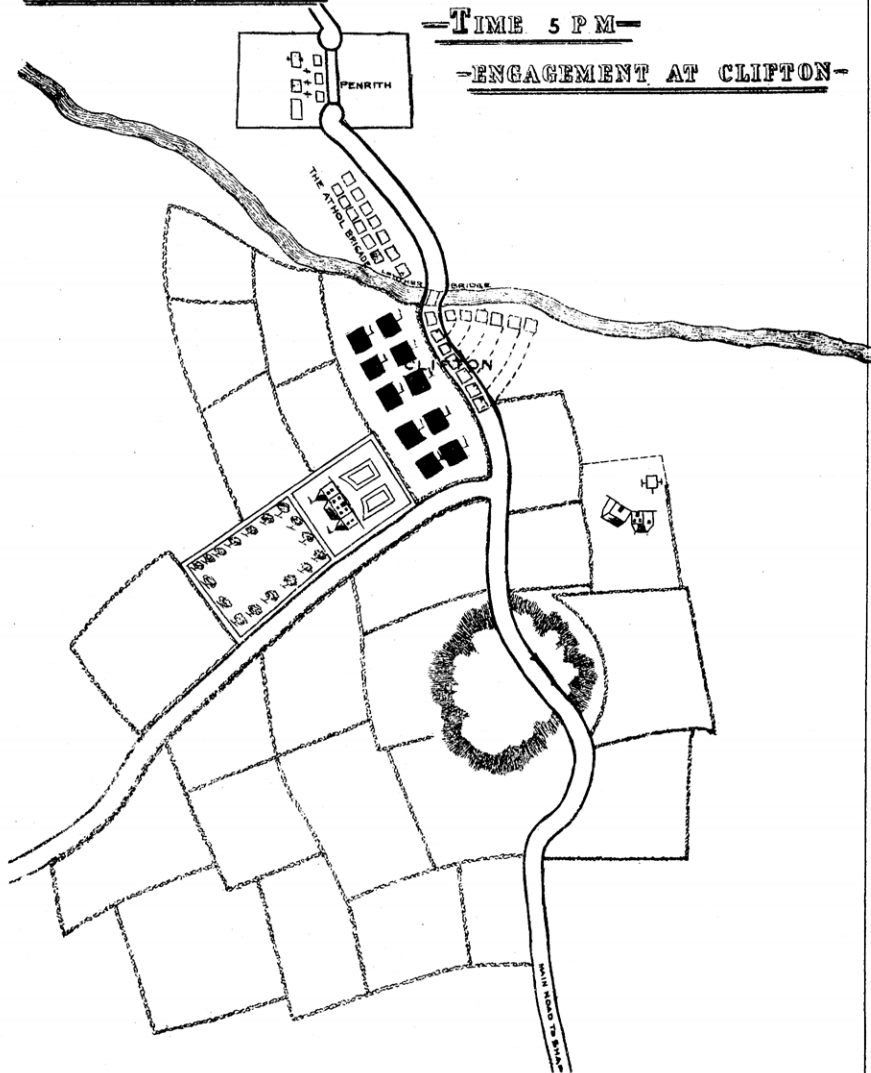
SKIRMISH

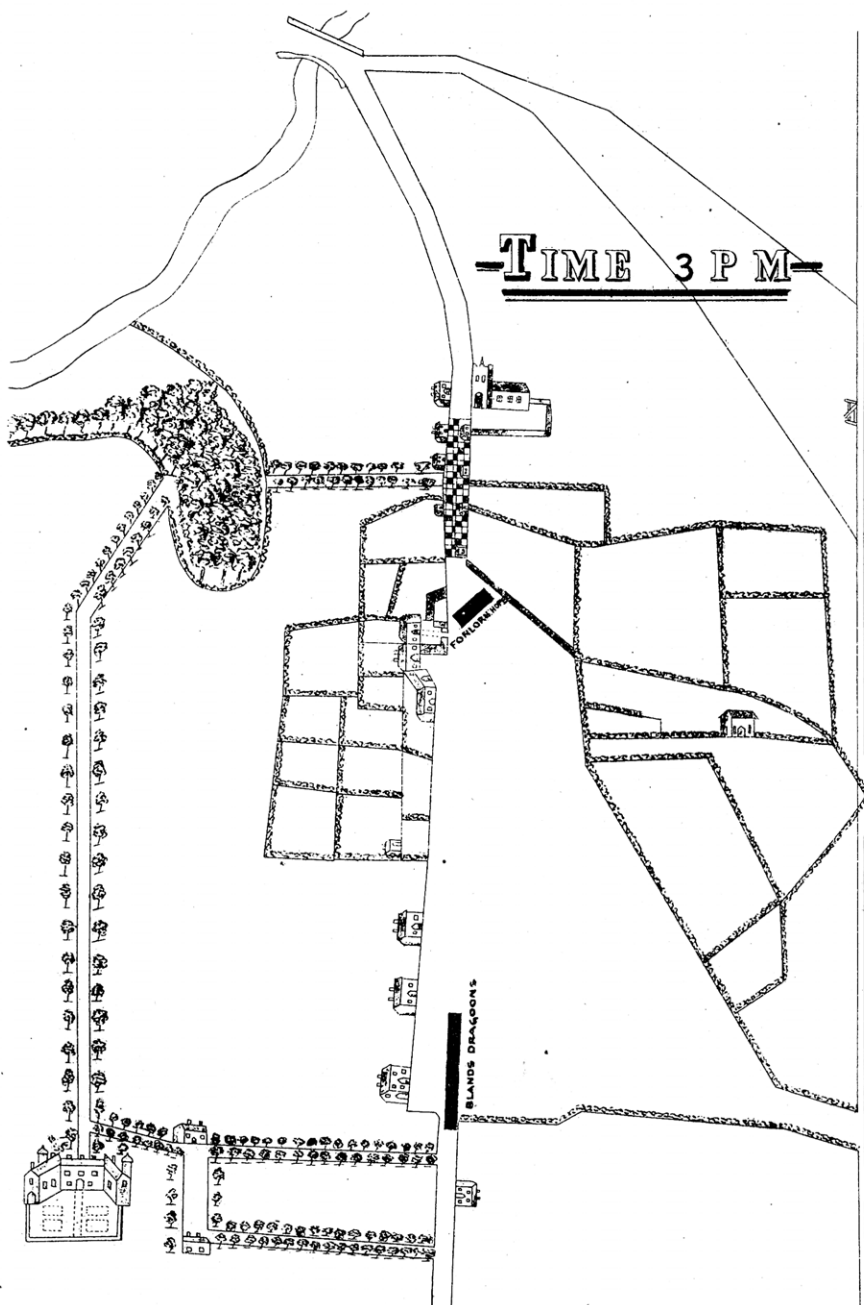
AT

CLIFTON MOOR DEC 1745

TIME 5 P M

ENGAGEMENT AT CLIFTON





very heart was in pain for believing that a great number might be cut off before they were aware; so our care was to give the king's men notice, for which my son\* ventured his life, and gave them notice about 300 yards before they came to the place; when in the meantime a second ambush was laid, about 100 yards nearer to our king's men,† and the king's hussars with some of the Yorkshire Hunters, came down, and so soon as they came opposite to the first ambush, the rebels fired upon them, but did no execution; and then issued out the ambush at my doors and a furious firing they had, the king's men acting the quickest and nimblest that ever my eyes beheld, not one of them receiving any harm. Some horse followed the former, so that in a few minutes the rebels ran away like mad men, and just by my door one of the rebels was brought down, and taken, and a Captain Hamilton was also taken at the same time. They were both had up to the Duke.

This happened about 3 o'clock, and is shown on the sketch (Plate IV) given by D. Graham, who tells that the hussars engaged on the English side were Kingston's light horse, and that the horse were Bland's dragoons, and that Bland ordered his cavalry to retire. The Newcastle map also has this scene laid down upon it, the Scotch hussars filling the town, and Kingston's light horse, who are marked "The Forlorn Hope," riding on them I have reproduced this from the Newcastle map as a separate map (Plate VIII.) Bland, after being warned by Jonathan Savage, would not consider it prudent to attack the enemy until the Duke of Cumberland came up in force; from Graham we learn the Duke was three miles (say an hour) behind Bland. Thomas Savage says the "rebels ran away like madmen;" this may seem strong language, but Lord George says:

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\* Jonathan Savage. The Newcastle map shows the route by which he went to warn the king's hussars, namely, through the fields at the back of his father's house; by a mistake it calls him Thomas.

† This is shown on the sketch (Plate IV.) given by D. Graham, who marks a Quaker's house on the east side of the road, the opposite side to the Town End farm house, which was Savage's house, and is generally known in connection with the 18th Dec., 1745, as the Quaker's house. The house on the east of the road was also a Quaker's house, belonging to a son-in-law of Thomas Savage, named Josiah Walker.

Our hussars upon seeing the enemy, went off to Penrith. One of their officers, Mr. Hamilton, with two or three of his men, had dismounted (being ashamed of the going off of the others).\*

Hamilton took refuge in a cottage a little detached from the town; one of the Duke's hussars (said by D. Graham to be an Austrian) fired through the window, and drove Hamilton out, a single combat ensued, but the hussar captured Hamilton, who was much cut about the head; the other prisoner was one Ogden, of the Manchester regiment. No other casualties are recorded as having occurred during this spirited little rally, which forms Scene III.

Scene IV. is a carpenter's flat, which Thomas Savage shall tell.

Then all was still about an hour,† in which time I abode in the house, the king's troops still standing upon the common; in which time my son went over a little green‡ to see if he could get the cattle brought into the houses, but seeing that in vain, came homewards again, when four rebels on horseback seized him, calling him a spy and had him down under their horses' feet, swearing desperately many times they would shoot him; three of them commanded the fourth to shoot him, which he attempted with his gun, and pistol, but neither would fire, so he escaped, and came in a little after. . . . and in the time of quietness as above, they had sent off a party of their horse§ to plunder and burn Lowther Hall and town, and were also plundering our town, leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks, and making ruinous work, even to all our victuals and little children's clothes of all sorts.

This ends Scene IV. Lord George Murray had, in sending horse to Lowther Hall (he accompanied them himself) a much more important object than that of

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\* The Sunday hunting had probably demoralised them.

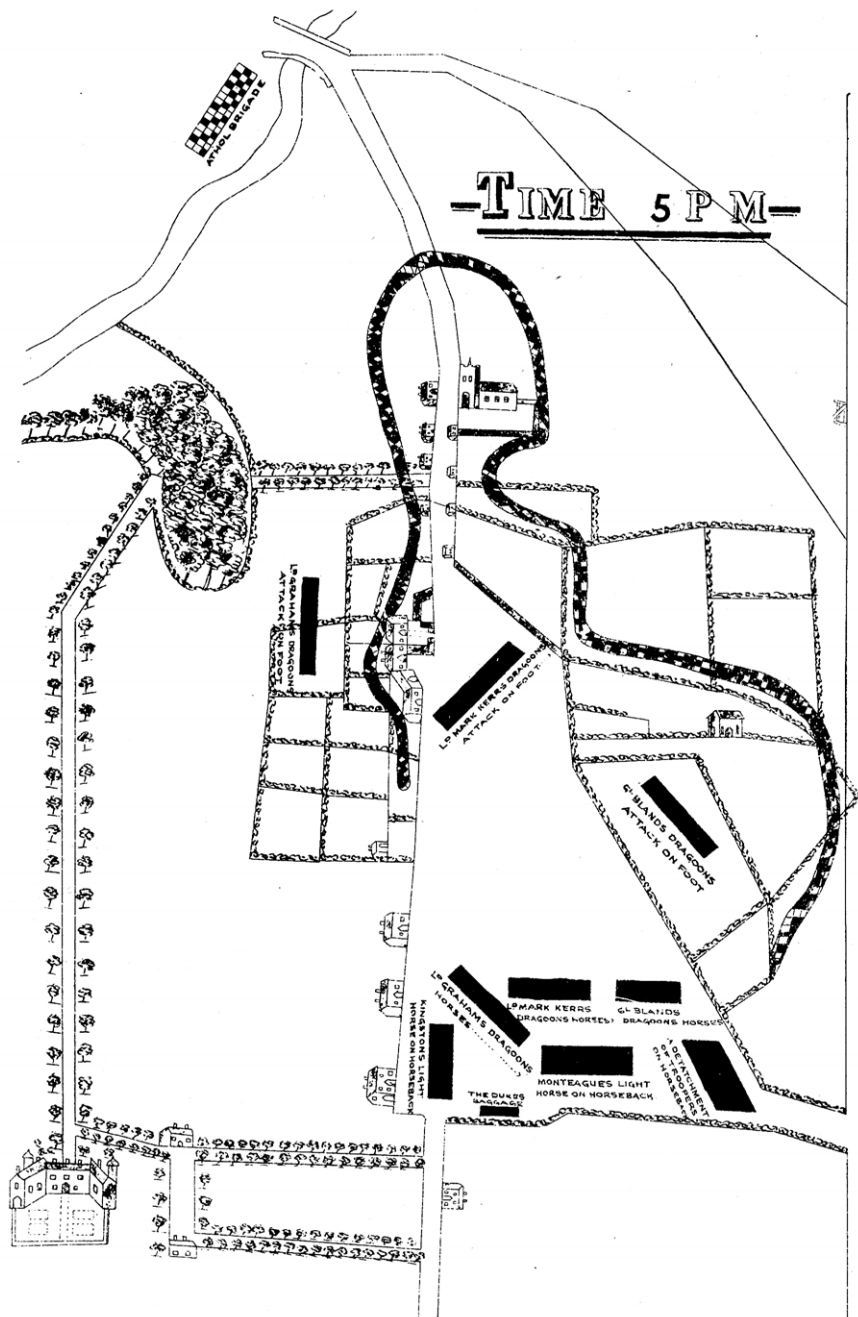
† This would bring the time to 4 p.m., when the popping shots Lord George mentions began.

‡ The little green is to be seen on the Newcastle map, Plate I.; the place marked 14, where Col. Honeywood was afterwards wounded; it is by the "Rebels' Tree."

§ A party of horse would be a detachment from the Scotch lifeguards, of which there were two troops, commanded by Lords Elcho and Balmarino; the hussars, who had gone off to Penrith, were commanded by Lord Pitsligo.

plunder.





plunder. He tells us that his object was to fall upon the Duke's army in the narrow lanes where he calculated that

If but twenty of their horse could be killed, it would make such an embarrass in the lane, that it would put them to confusion, and choke up the only road they had to retreat except the Appleby road, and that might also be secured, which would give us an advantage that perhaps we should not meet the like again.

This, however, Lord George was unable to effect. The Duke of Cumberland's forces were through the lanes, and drawn up on the Clifton Moor, before Lord George could intercept them; and Lord George's horse did nothing beyond capturing a militia officer in green, probably a Yorkshire hunter, and the Duke of Cumberland's footman. Lord George himself returned from Lowther Hall to Clifton, and saw to the disposition of the forces he had with him. He had sent the artillery off to Penrith, or rather, to Carlisle. His first object was, of course, to secure its safety. His hussars had bolted, but he had with him about 1,000 men, Highlanders and Lowlanders, most of whom had come out to him from Penrith. (Plates VII and IX). The Athol brigade had also advanced from Penrith to a position\* on the north side of Lowther Bridge, and there waited for orders. Lord George's account of how he disposed his forces is printed in several books, but Plate IX shows it at a glance. The Glengarry men were in the enclosures, on the right of the road—Lord George's right, that is, the west side, the same side as Savage's house at Town End. Appin's and Cluny's men were in the enclosures on the left, or east side of the road, with Roy Stewart's men (the Edinburgh regiment) on the side of the lane, or highway, close to the village (Plates I and IX.) Lord George says—

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\*Lord George is the authority for this; according to the Chevalier de Johnstone, Cameron of Lochiel had previously occupied this position, but he crossed the bridge to rescue Lord George and the Glengarry Macdonalds from the English cavalry.

The ditches at the foot advanced more towards the muir on the right than on the left; and that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale's other enclosures, so that they could not easily be attacked, but had the advantage that they could with their fire, flank the enemy when they made an attack on our left. The lane, which was the high road between these small enclosures was not above twenty feet broad. It was now an hour after sunset, pretty cloudy, but the moon, which was in its second quarter, from time to time broke out and gave good light; but this did not continue above two minutes at a time. We had the advantage of seeing their disposition, but they could not see ours.

Ray says the same, and that the buff belts of the dragoons made them conspicuous.

The Duke of Cumberland's forces were by now drawn up in two lines (see Plates I and XI) on the high end of the common, Bland's, Kerr's, and Cobham's forming the first line, and Montagu's and Kingston's the second; a detachment faced the Appleby road and the Duke's baggage was in the rear of the second line. The left regiment of each line was wheeled up inward, to their right, or east.

I have now got the flats set and scenery fixed, and will go on with Scene V.—the most important of all (see Plate IX.) Lord George gives us the time of its commencement—an hour after sunset, which on Dec. 18th, would be about 5 p.m. Mr. Lamb in a letter printed in Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745*, says the firing began about 4 p.m.—the “popping shots” no doubt, which Lord George mentions, as I shall presently show.\* I will again put Thomas Savage into the witness box. He says—

I was again growing uneasy to go out, which I ventured to do; and looking about me, I saw the king's men standing as before upon the common; turning me about I saw the rebels filling the town street, north of my house, and also lining the hedges and walls, even down

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\* It would be about 4 p.m., when Thomas Savage came out and looked round; 5 p.m. when the dragoons and Highlanders came to close quarters.

to my house on both sides. Then I was in great pain for the Duke and his men, it beginning to grow darkish ; but I ventured my life, and stood a little way off, and waved my hat in my hand, which some of them discovering, one of them riding down towards me, and I called to him, bidding him to cast his eyes about him, and see how the town was filled, and hedges lined, after which he returned.

I need not relate the personal adventures of the worthy Quaker, for they will be found in his letter in the appendix ; his evidence fails us now, for he, wise man that he was, locked himself into his house during the fight that presently ensued, and his daughter-in-law, the mistress of his house, hid in the kitchen cupboard. About this time Lord George received an important order from the Prince, and he shall tell what the order was and how he replied thereto. He says—

Colonel Roy Stewart returned to me from Penrith. He told me his royal highness had resolved to march for Carlisle immediately, and had sent off the cannon before, and desired me to retreat to Penrith. I showed Col. S. my situation with that of the enemy. They were by this time shooting popping shots among us. I told him if I retreated, being within musket shot of the enemy, they would follow up the lane, and I must lose a number of men, besides discouraging the rest ; that from Clifton it was a narrow road and very high walls, so that I could not line them to secure my retreat ; and that probably my men would fall into confusion in the dark ; and that the enemy by regular platoons in our rear, being encouraged by our retreat, must destroy a great many ; and by taking any wounded man prisoner, they would know our numbers ; whereas I told him I was confident I could dislodge them from where they were by a brisk attack, as they had by all that I could judge, not dismounted above 500. Their great body was on horseback, and at some distance ; and Cluny and he owned that what I proposed was the only prudent and sure way, so we agreed not to mention the message from the prince.

Lord George then visited the Glengarry men (see Plate IX) and cautioned them to reserve their fire until the enemy were close, and not to fire across the road ; further, when the enemy retired, they were to give them a flank fire, but not to follow them up the moor. He next returned to the left of his line east of the road.

We

We must now go to the Duke of Cumberland; he had dismounted some of his men, namely, portions of Bland's, Kerr's, and Cobham's dragoons (see Plate IX.), who advanced against the Highlanders, leaving their horses in charge of their comrades. Bland's dismounted dragoons went into the enclosures east of the road, Kerr's went straight up the road, while Cobham's went through the enclosures and got in rear of the Glengarry men. Then the fighting began. Thomas Savage can tell no more than that "the firing on all hands was dreadful and continued half-an-hour." Lord George's account is as follows—

We had advanced and a good deal of fire on both sides. After the Highlanders on that side\* had given most of their fire they lay close at an open hedge, which was the second in these fields. We then received the whole fire of the dragoons that were at the bottom, upon which Cluny said "What the devil is this?" Indeed the bullets were going thick enough. I told him we had nothing for it but going down upon them sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. I immediately drew my sword and cried "Claymore." Cluny did the same, and we ran down to the bottom ditch, clearing the diagonal hedges as we went. There were a good many of the enemy killed at the bottom ditch,† and the rest took to their heels, but received the fire of the Glengarry regiment. Most of Ardshiel's‡ men, being next the lane, did not meet with so much opposition.§ I had given orders that our men should not pass the bottom ditch to go up the muir, for they would have been exposed to the fire of the Glengarry regiment that could not distinguish them from the enemy. We had now done what we proposed, and, being sure of no more trouble from the enemy, I ordered the retreat, first Roy Stewart, then Appin,

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\* The main fighting was between the Macphersons under Lord George and Cluny, and Bland's dragoons under Colonel Honeywood; the dragoons evidently (see the Newcastle map, Plate I) penetrated from the moor over two diagonal hedges to the place marked 14, as where Colonel Honeywood was wounded; from this place they were driven back to the moor. Except that Kerr's lost one man killed, and Cobham's three, I have found no details as to the fighting done by these two regiments.

† The bottom ditch means the last ditch between the enclosures and the moor; the Newcastle map shows Bland's dragoons between the diagonal hedges, and just in front of this ditch.

‡ That is the Appin men; Stewart of Ardshiel commanded Stewart of Appin's men.

§ The west side, where were the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

Cluny

Cluny and the Glengarry men; and it was half an hour after the skirmish before we went off.\* The Atholl brigade had come the length of a bridge, within half a mile of Clifton, hearing of my being in sight of the enemy, and there waited for orders. Had the rest of the army come out, and following the plan that was proposed, they would have been on the flank of the dragoons that were on horse-back by the time we attacked the others.

I will now give the Duke of Cumberland's account of of this skirmish, quoting it from Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles*.

After a ten hours' march our cavalry came up with the rebels just beyond Lowther Hall: nay, we heard that their rear was in possession of it, but they left it on our approach, and threw themselves into the village of Clifton, which we immediately attacked with the dismounted dragoons, and though it is the most defensible village I ever saw, yet our men drove them out of it in an hour's time, with a very small loss. Cobham's and Mark Kerr's behaved both extremely well. As it was quite dark before the skirmish was over, we were obliged to remain content with the ground we had gained. What the rebels may have lost I can't tell; we have four officers wounded, none mortally, and about forty men killed and wounded. The regiment which suffered the greatest loss was the King's Own Regiment of Dragoons. By some confusion in the two dismounted squadrons commanded by Colonel Honeywood, they firing at 150 yards distance, and then giving way, the rebels came out with broadswords and wounded several of the officers, and some of the men. When the officers of the King's regiment were wounded, the rebels cried "No quarter, murder them," and they received several wounds after they were knocked down.†

These two accounts fit into one another very well; it is clear Bland's dragoons broke—the regimental records say they were ordered to retire a few paces, which the Highlanders took for a retreat and rushed on them. Ray gives the following account—

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\*The skirmish began at 5 p.m.; Savage says the firing lasted half an hour; half an hour more brings the time of the Highland retreat to 6 p.m.

†At Thrimby Hill it was impossible, says the Chevalier de Johnstone, to save a prisoner from the fury of the Highlanders, who cut him to pieces in an instant.

The action was very sharp and desperate while it lasted, but at last ended in our favour, notwithstanding the rebels, from their situation, had greatly the advantage of us, we being obliged to go over the hedges up to the boot tops in water; not only so, but it being late in the evening, they could see our buff belts and laced hats, when we could not so well discern their blue bonnets and dark colour'd plaids, so that we directed our fire at their fire, which was very hot on both sides. Notwithstanding these disadvantages we pushed them with such intrepidity that in about an hour they quitted the field and village and fled to Penrith.

For what happened next, I will go again to Thomas Savage. He says :—

And after the heat of firing was over, all seemed still a little space, after which some came and broke in at my court door, calling sharply to open; but we believed it to be the rebels, and would not open, when they began to be sharp; and orders were given to fire—they supposing the house to be full of rebels; but I called and said I would open as fast as I could, and the first words said to me were “Could the Duke lodge here to-night?” to which with pleasure I answered “Yes;” and pleasant agreeable company he was—a man of parts, very friendly and no pride in him.

Young Mrs. Savage also emerged from the kitchen cupboard, and was saluted by the Duke with: “Madame, we come to protect you, not to do you any harm.” One local legend I have picked up concerning Colonel Honeywood, who commanded the dismounted squadrons of Bland’s. One of the Highland prisoners was asked about the fight, how his side got on. His reply was: “We gat on (no)\* vary weel, till the lang man in the muckle boots came ower the dyke, but his fut slipped on a turd, and we gat him down.” The “lang man in the muckle boots” was the luckless Colonel Honeywood, who had but recently recovered from wounds received at Dettingen, namely, 23 broadsword cuts and two musket balls, which

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\* The “no” is a conjectural emendation of mine; it makes the story tally with Cluny’s surprised exclamation of “What the devil is this,” which looks as if at first things were not going well with Cluny’s men; no doubt matters were much improved for Cluny when the commander of the dragoons went down.

were



were never extracted. On this occasion he received three sword cuts about the head; he was removed to Howgill Castle, of which he was the owner, through his mother, the heiress of the Sandfords, of Howgill. He was afterwards M.P. for Appleby from 1754 to 1784, and died in 1785, having attained high rank in the army. He lost his sword at Clifton, which was carried off by Cluny, chief of the Macphersons, as a trophy. According to Mr. Savage and Lord George the fighting must have been over about 5.30, but Mr. Lamb, in a letter printed in *Carlisle in 1745*, says it lasted until 8 o'clock. I imagine that when the Highlanders began to retreat after the skirmish the Duke's light horse followed them up, and that "popping shots" continued for long to be exchanged between stragglers from both sides. The Newcastle map marks a spot north of Lowther Bridge as the "Rebels Last Fire".

One episode of the fight remains to be mentioned, for which the Newcastle map (see plan I.) is the authority. The figures 10, thrice repeated, are explained as "The place that Oglethorpe first appeared; the way that he went to engage a partie of Rebels at Pillar Hill, who fled." The place is Brougham Common, east of Clifton. Oglethorpe was, as mentioned before, moving up with Ligonier's dragoons from Orton, and the Appleby men were to meet him on Brougham Common.\* Nothing is said as to what time he appeared on Brougham Common. If Oglethorpe was on Brougham Common before Lord George retreated from Clifton he should have cut Lord George off from Lowther Bridge and Penrith. We can only suppose Oglethorpe was unable to get up in time; for his failure he was brought before a court of enquiry at the Horse Guards in Feb. 1746, and was honourably acquitted.†

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\* Appendix VI.

† Lecky *History of England* 18th century vol I., p. 503. See also *General Biographical Dictionary* revised by Chalmers in 1814, *sub voce* Oglethorpe.

The

The Highlanders, after the skirmish at Clifton, went off to Penrith, and marched at once from that place to Carlisle, marching all night; the whole Highland army arrived at Carlisle early next morning in a sorry condition, and straggling over eight miles of road. The Duke and his forces occupied Clifton that night, the main bulk of them standing under arms on the moor.

The number of the killed and wounded on each side has been the subject of much discussion. Captain Hozier says the total number of the English killed and wounded exceeded one hundred men, while the Highlanders lost but twelve. Let us see what the actual witnesses say. Thomas Savage says: "Ten of the King's men were killed and twenty-one wounded, and five rebels." Mr. Lamb rode over the field next morning, and saw "Seven of our men dead, and there was thirteen wounded. . . . I only see four rebels killed." Ray says eleven of the King's men were killed and twenty-nine wounded, and he specifies the killed as seven of Bland's, three of Cobham's, and one of Mark Kerr's. The wounded included Colonel Honeywood, Captain East, and Cornets Owen and Hamilton. The English official account was 40 killed and wounded. The parish register at Clifton agrees exactly with Ray's account, except in giving one man less from Bland's; it agrees exactly with the number of dead given by Savage, viz., ten; but one man of Bland's lingered and was buried on the 8th of January, 1745, O.S. The following are the extracts from the register:—

The 19th of December, 1745, Ten Dragoons, to wit, six of Bland's three of Cobham's, and one of Mark Kerr's Regiment buried, who was killed y<sup>e</sup> evening before by y<sup>e</sup> Rebels in y<sup>e</sup> skirmish between y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Cumberland's army and them at y<sup>e</sup> end of Clifton Moor next y<sup>e</sup> Town.\*

Robert Akins, a private Dragoon of General Bland's Regiment, Buried y<sup>e</sup> 8th Day of Janry., 1745.

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\* I have been told that before the English dragoons were buried, "the clerk's wife stripped their holland shirts from them, and that woman never did a day's good after".

Savage

Savage and Lamb were eye-witnesses, so was Ray, but he had also the opportunity, before he wrote his book, of correcting his information by the official returns. The regimental records of the three regiments engaged make the killed twelve; the discrepancy of one man may be accounted for by a desertion, or a wounded man dying subsequently at Carlisle.\*

Against these statements must be put one by the Chevalier de Johnstone, that "whole platoons of forty and fifty men might be seen falling all at once under the swords of the Highlanders". He also says some put the English loss as high as 600, *i.e.*, at more than the number at which Lord George estimated the whole number of men dismounted for the attack. The Chevalier was not an eye-witness, for he marched on to Penrith with the artillery, and what he says are "mere camp shaves," and may be paired off with the statements of the "eye-witness cited in Hodgson's Westmoreland, who says he saw scores of Highlanders fall, and "I am sure they never rose again while I kept my station." All accounts agree that only five of the Highlanders were found dead on the field. Canon Machell has supplied me with the following interesting note by Mr. Hill, from the Hill Collections for a history of Westmoreland :—

27th Oct., 1847. Being in company with Mr. William Brougham† in Clifton church this day, when he was speaking of levelling the earth immediately about the church and removing it to another part of the burial ground, I mentioned the foregoing extract,‡ and expressed my surprise that no parochial record appeared relative to the interment of the devoted Highlanders who were known to have

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\* Bland's dragoons buried several men at Carlisle, but not necessarily wounded men; so did the following foot regiments—Guise's, Herbert's, Pultney's, Bocland's, Perry's, Richbell's, Lord Bury's, General Wolf's, the Old Buffs, the Welsh Fusiliers, ye Royal Irish, the 7th, 56th, 12th, and the train of artillery; about a man daily for six months after the Duke of Cumberland retook Carlisle; there was an equal mortality among the prisoners taken and kept at Carlisle. *Transactions Cumb'd and West'd Antiq. Society.* Vol. II., p. 350.

† The late (second) Lord Brougham.

‡ The entry in the register about the dragoons.

fallen

fallen in the skirmish, when Mr. Brougham stated they had all been buried in a field now belonging to him, near the upper end of the village, where their place of sepulchre had, many years ago, been pointed out to him by old Rachel [Quere Rachel Younger, of Penrith, buried at Clifton, 14th July, 1823, aged 89], who died some 30 years ago, in about her 90th year, and who told him she had seen them all laid side by side in one grave, under a hedge; it was several years since he had been upon the ground, but he thought he could still find the place.

They were buried by the "Rebel Tree." The legend that 30 or 40 dead Highlanders were thrown into Clifton Mill Dam is very doubtful,\* in fact I take it that in the dark both parties fired high and wide; there is proof of this in the fact that Thomas Savage's cattle were in the thick of the fray, and were unhurt. The Chevalier de Johnstone says the total loss of the Highlanders at Clifton was only twelve, and their total loss in England, including these twelve, only forty. But letters printed in *Carlisle in 1745* and written by Messrs. Hutchinson, Lamb, and Nicolson† state that from 40 to 70 Highland prisoners were taken after the Skirmish at Clifton. This is corroborated by an inscription on the gilt chandeliers in Penrith parish church:—

These chandeliers were purchased with the fifty guineas given by the most noble William, Duke of Portland, to his tenants of the honor of Penrith, who, under his Grace's encouragement, associated in defence of the government, and town of Penrith, against the rebels in 1745. The rebels after their retreat from Darby, were put to flight from Clifton and Penrith, by His Royal Highness, Duke of Cumberland, after a short skirmish nigh Clifton moor, which began at four in the afternoon, on Wednesday, the 18th December, 1745. Rebel prisoners taken by the tenants of Penrith and the neighbours, were upwards of 80.

The question has been much mooted as to which army was victorious in this, the last engagement ever fought

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\* Highland stragglers were probably drowned in crossing the Lowther and Eamont which were in high flood: so the report may have originated.

† pp. 136, 137, 138.

on English ground. Both commanders claimed a victory. Most writers put it down as a defeat for the English, which checked their pursuit of the Highlanders, and Ewald, in his life of Prince Charles, accuses (very groundlessly it seems to me) the Duke of Cumberland of a want of veracity in his account of the action. But the very account cited by Ewald as proof of the Duke's want of veracity agrees most singularly with the real facts of the action as detailed by the witnesses I have called. The Duke says :—

After a ten hours' march\* our cavalry came up with rebels just beyond Lowther Hall—nay, we even heard that their rear was in possession of it, but they left it on our approach, and threw themselves into the valley of Clifton, which we immediately attacked with the dismounted dragoons, and though it is the most defensible village I ever saw, yet our men drove them out of it in about an hour's time, with a very small loss.

This agrees exactly with what Savage and Lord George say : the firing lasted half an hour : after it ceased Lord George retired. The Duke continues :—

Cobham's and Mark Kerr's behaved both extremely well. As it was quite dark before the skirmish was over, we were obliged to remain contented with the ground we had gained.

I shall have something to say on this presently.

What the rebels may have lost I can't tell; we have four officers wounded, none mortally, and about forty men killed and wounded.

All this is strictly correct and true. He then goes on to say that the King's Own Regiment (Bland's) suffered severely, got into confusion and gave way; he does not conceal it. He further says that—

The little affair at Clifton, though but trifling, has increased the the terror and panic which has daily been coming on among the rebels.

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\* Twenty miles of difficult country and bad roads.

Mr. Ewald cites this with the remark "H.R.H. coolly says." H.R.H.'s remark was, however, quite justifiable. The way in which the Scotch hussars were "Sunday-chased" all round Westmoreland by a few rustics justifies it. Of the conduct of the same hussars at Clifton Lord George says:—

Our hussars, upon seeing the enemy, went to Penrith. One of their officers, Mr. Hamilton, with two or three of his men, had dismounted, being ashamed of the going off of the others.

That is "terror and panic" enough, bolting and leaving their officer. The whole Highland army was, after Clifton, in a very disorganised condition. What does Lord George himself say of it?—

It was lucky I made the stand at Clifton, for otherwise the enemy would have been at our heels, and come straight to Penrith; where, after refreshing two or three hours, they might have come up with us before we got to Carlisle. I am persuaded that night and next morning when the van entered Carlisle there was above eight miles from van to our rear, and mostly an open country full of commons.

I will not say Lord George Murray was under the influence of "terror and panic," but clearly he was in a very anxious frame of mind.

But why did not the Duke pursue the Highlanders in their hurried retreat? He says:—

He dared not follow them because it was so dark, and the country between Clifton and Penrith so extremely covered; besides his troops, both horse and men, were so fatigued with their forced marches.

Mr. Ewald calls this an excuse; it seems a very reasonable one. His troops had marched that day 24 miles in 10 hours; it was dark; after 6 p.m. on the 18th of December; the country between Clifton and Penrith such as could be most easily defended; two rapid and broad rivers, Lowther and Eamont, crossed by narrow bridges,  
are

are situate between these places; the road was a narrow lane between high walls. Lord George indeed says he could not have hindered the Duke from following him into Penrith, and that he could not have lined the walls. Lord George is quite right—with the Duke at his heels he would have had no time to loophole and line the walls, and form ambushes, but the Highlanders, who remained in Penrith and never appeared on Clifton moor, might easily have loopholed and lined every wall, defended Lowther and Eamont bridges, and turned every house (and there are some very suitable ones) into forts. No prudent commander would by night venture into such country unless he were first aware of the sort of opposition he would meet with.

Mr. Ewald indulges in the following sneer at the Duke, for which I think there is not the slightest foundation.

History teaches us that the Duke of Cumberland is not the only commander who has represented a defeat as a victory in his despatches.

The Duke fought his enemy, drove him off the ground, and bivouacked for the night on it; by all the laws of war he is entitled to score a victory. He did not follow up his advantage for three good reasons:—His troops were fatigued, the country was difficult, it was dark, after night-fall.

Lord George himself, as we have seen, only writes of the affair as a “stand,” a successful one indeed, and he withdrew at once after he had made it; he did not (as Mr. Ewald says) send for reinforcements *after it*, that he might improve it; he sent for reinforcements *before it*, in order that he might make a flank attack on the dragoons while in the lanes to the south of Clifton moor. These reinforcements he did not get, so that he could not carry out his intention. But he did get his artillery off safe, and  
that

[2 C]



that artillery must have been for the last two days a matter of great apprehension to him. It seems that the events of the day are creditable to the military skill of both generals, and each was probably justified in considering he had got the better of his rival. I think that neither of them is open to the charge of falsifying despatches; one admits his hussars bolted, the other that Bland's dragoons broke.

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#### APPENDIX I.

##### REGIMENTS PRESENT AT CLIFTON MOOR.

It may be interesting to identify the various cavalry regiments which figure in the fight, with the names by which they are now known in the Army List.

Lord Cobham's dragoons are the present 10th Hussars, to whose colonelcy F. M. Lord Cobham was appointed the 14th May, 1745. Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons are the present 11th Hussars, whose colonelcy was held by that officer from 1732 to 1752. Gen. Bland's dragoons are the present 3rd Hussars, formerly the K.O.L.D. Ligonier's dragoons were afterwards the 8th Horse, but are now the 7th Dragoon Guards. Kingston's Light Horse has no representative in our present army; it was raised by the Duke of that name on the occasion of the 1745, and was disbanded in the next year, immediately re-embodied as the 15th Light Horse, but disembodied in 1749. Two regiments in 1745 bore the name of the Duke of Montagu, one, that now known as the Bays or 2nd Dragoon Guards, and formerly known as the Queen's Horse; the other, a regiment of Light Horse, raised like Kingston's on the occasion of the 1745, and disbanded in the following year; the regimental records show that the Bays (2nd D. G.'s) were at Clifton. There were also present a "large body of gentlemen volunteers, well mounted, who appeared under arms, served at their own expense, and put themselves under Major-General Oglethorpe, styled the Royal Hunters." (*Ray's History of the Rebellion.*) They are more frequently called the Yorkshire Hunters, and were afterwards with General Hawley in Scotland.

#### APPENDIX

## APPENDIX II.

## THOMAS SAVAGE, OF THE TOWN END, CLIFTON.

The identification of Thomas Savage's house as the farm marked "Town End" on the Ordnance Map is proved by a map of Clifton, kindly lent me by Mr. Little, Lord Lonsdale's agent; this was prepared in 1810 or thereabouts, with a view to the enclosure of Clifton moor, and Thomas Savage's house is distinctly marked on it. Mr. P. Gillbanks, of the Lowther Estate office, has kindly consulted the title deeds. It was purchased on April 29th, 1819, by the Earl of Lonsdale from Thomas Savage, grandson of the Thomas Savage of the 1745.

## APPENDIX III.

## THOMAS SAVAGE TO RICHARD PARTRIDGE.\*

CLIFTON, 29TH, 12MO., 1745.

ESTEEMED FRIEND RICHARD PARTRIDGE.

By this know thine I received, and shall hereby give thee the results of the affair here, as it was from the beginning to the end, I being both an eye and ear witness to the truth thereof. But in the first place I cannot easily avoid acknowledging the favour and protecting hand of power to be manifested, as thou, by the following account, may understand.

(1.) First, as to the rebels, when they came south we did not suffer much, but they seemed to have great confidence that they would proclaim their king in London on the 24th of last month, and crown him on New Year's day, and then they would send Geordy, as they called him, over to Hanover, and would tread down his turnip field dykes; highly disesteeming the Duke, calling him Geordy's lad, Geordy's Wully, with many more opprobrious speeches;

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\*This letter is printed in "The History of Penrith," published in 1858 by B. T. Sweeten of that place, without any author's name on the title page; a second edition without date was published by Hodgson of Penrith, in which the author's name is given as T. Walker. The letter is said to be printed from a copy of the original letter in the possession of Mr. John Mason, of Eamont Bridge, and Mrs. Mason is stated to be a descendant of Thomas Savage, but this is probably an error for Mr., as Esther, daughter of Thomas Savage, married John Mason, of Bleach Green, Eamont Bridge. As these books are not very accessible, I print this letter *in extenso*, but for greater convenience broken up into numbered paragraphs.

(2.) But on their return north they were cruelly barbarous and inhuman when here, for their leaders gave them liberty to plunder for four hours, and then to burn Lowther, Clifton . . . and Penrith, and some say for six miles round. But the Most High, whose power is above the power of man often preventing wicked designs, it certainly was the Lord's doing in bringing forward the noble Duke and his men in the very hour of great distress; as for my own part I must ever love and esteem him as a man of worth.

(3.) Now I shall give thee to understand the beginning and the end of the engagement.

(4.) First the rebel hussars being gone past to Penrith, came riding back to my door in haste between one and two in the afternoon. Then in an hour after came back again, driving up the rear of their army to my door, and some others then took their place, and they wheeled off and set themselves in ambush against my barn side, being so enclosed with cross houses that our King's men could not see them until close to them, we not knowing their design, but I firmly believed it to be evil, and so went into my house; yet could not long be easy there, and returned forth again, and looking about me I espied the commanders of the King's men appearing upon the hill at about 400 yards south of my house, whereupon my very heart was in pain, for believing that a great number might be cut off before they were aware; so our care was to give the King's men notice, for which my son\* ventured his life and gave them notice about 300 yards before they came to the place; when, in the meantime, a second ambush was laid about 100 yards nearer to our King's men, and the King's hussars, with some of the Yorkshire hunters, came down, and so soon as they came opposite to the first ambush, the rebels fired upon them, but did no execution, and then issued out the ambush at my doors, and a furious firing they had, the King's men acting the quickest and nimblest that ever my eyes beheld, not one of them receiving any harm. Some horse followed the former, so that in a few minutes the rebels ran away like mad men, and just by my door one of the rebels was brought down and taken, and a Captain Hamilton was also taken at the same time. They were both had up to the Duke.

(5.) Then all was still about an hour, in which time I abode in the house, the King's troops still standing upon the common; in which

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\* From Ray we learn that his son was named Jonathan; he was married, and as his father was a widower, his wife acted as mistress of the house. During the fighting she concealed herself in a large cupboard, and did not emerge, until the Duke entered the house, who addressed her "Madam, we come to protect you, not to do you any harm."

time my son went over a little green, to see if he could get the cattle brought into the houses, but seeing that in vain, came homewards again, when four rebels, on horseback, seized him, called him a spy, and had him down under their horses' feet, swearing desperately many times they would shoot him; three of them commanded the fourth to shoot him, which he attempted with his gun, and then pistol, but neither would fire, so he escaped, and came in a little after.

(6.) I was again growing uneasy to go out, which I ventured to do; and, looking about me, I saw the King's men standing, as before, upon the common; turning me about, I saw the rebels filling the town street, north of my house, and also running down and lining the hedges and walls, even down to my house on both sides. Then I was in great pain for the Duke and his men, it beginning to grow darkish; but I ventured my life and stood a little off, and waved my hat in my hand, which, some of them discovering, one of them came down towards me, and I called to him, bidding him cast his eyes about him, and see how the town was filled and hedges lined, after which he returned, and then a party was dismounted and sent down to meet the rebels.

(7.) And in the time of quietness as above, they had sent off a party of their horse to plunder and burn Lowther Hall and town, and were also plundering our town, leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks and making ruinous work, even to all our victuals and little children's clothes of all sorts. Now, it beginning to grow dark, the rebels were so thick about my house, we had no hopes of saving ourselves; but we concluded to leave the house and go into the fields, if we could but get there. In the middle of the orchard we were parted by the rebels, one part of us driven into the fields and the other part into the house, severely threatening our lives, never expecting to see one another alive again. A son-in-law and his family were under like circumstances, for they seemed more severe upon us than upon others.

(8.) Now, to come to the matter above again, we were not all got to the fire-side again, before the firing, on all hands, was dreadful, which continued half-an-hour, in which time were killed ten of the King's men, and twenty-one wounded, and the Duke's footman taken prisoner, who was recovered; and of the rebels, five killed and many wounded.

(9.) Early next morning were thirty prisoners under custody.

(10.) And after the heat of firing was all over all seemed still a little space, after which some came and broke in at my court door, calling sharply to open; but we believed it to be the rebels and would  
not

not open, when they began to be sharp, and orders were given to fire, they supposing the house to be full of rebels; but I called, and said I would open as fast as I could, and the first words said to me were, "Could the Duke lodge here to-night," to which, with pleasure, I answered "Yes;" and pleasant, agreeable company he was—a man of parts, very friendly, and no pride in him.

(11.) Much on this head I could say, if it would not be tedious to thee, yet I shall mention one thing more to thee, very remarkable, which was, our cattle were all standing amongst the slain men, and not one of them hurt, and them that were banished from our house, came in again next morning, which the Duke's men said was a wonder they were not all killed, our next neighbour\* being shot at the same time.

(12.) Thou mayest know, also, I had the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Kingston, with about one hundred more, and as many horse. I have not yet mentioned a scaffold erected by the rebels behind a wall at the corner of my house, as we believe, to cut off any that night coming to my Court, which, if it had not been that they had fled, the noble Duke had stood a bad chance there. I am afraid thou can scarcely read this; but, if thou thinks to show this to anyone, I would have thee copy it fair; and show it whom thou wilt, even if it be to the King, I should be easy, because I know it to be the truth. I will conclude, with true love,

THOMAS SAVAGE.

#### APPENDIX IV.

TOM TINKLER TO HIS COUSIN.†

Dear Cousin,

(1.) As I promised in my last to be a correspondent of yours, I have delayed longer than I would have done thinking to get you

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\* I have not found this person's name.

† A copy of this letter was given to me by Mr. John Powley, of Langwathby, to which village the writer belonged; it was written to a cousin in London. The original draft or a contemporary copy (which I have seen) is in the possession of Mr. William Hodgson, of Langwathby, who is descended from the writer. From the absence of date, signature or address, and the presence of numerous corrections and interlineations, I feel convinced Mr. Hodgson's document is the original draft of the letter. Richard and Thomas Tinkler were, in 1745, well to-do statesmen (yeomen) of Langwathby. The baptism of Thomas, the son of Thomas Tinkler, and Elizabeth, his wife, is entered in the Langwathby register for February the 17th day, 1697-8. Thomas Tinkler, of Edenhall, and Isabel Barrow were married at Langwathby, May 19th, 1734; they had a numerous family, some of whom were baptized at Langwathby and some at Edenhall, which are contiguous parishes always held together, Langwathby being originally a chapel to Edenhall.

some

some news material, and some particulars of what has happened in and about Penrith. As a great many places in this nation had raised numbers of men in arms, the gentlemen of Penrith, to show themselves loyal subjects among the rest, associated and raised about eighty as a guard for the town, and to distinguish themselves, and had been exercising near a fortnight.

(2.) On the 9th of November, when the rebels appeared before Carlisle, all their intentions were laid aside and as silent as if there had been nothing to do; but, however, as there's bad persons in every place, and for doing all the prejudice they can, some had informed the rebels of everything that had been carried on at Penrith.

(3.) On the 18th their vanguard, composed of 100 horse and several of them quarter-masters, came to Penrith. The 19th they made a demand of 1,000 sts. of hay and 10 loads of oats each from Lowther Hall, Ednal Hall, Dalemain, Hutton John, Hutton Hall, and Grey-stoke Castle. They all complied with their demand except Lowther, who would not bring them anything. The 20th the said horse left the town and took up their quarters at Lowther Hall: the same evening Lord George Murray arrived with 600 Highlanders, and as many more lay at Plumpton Wall: these marched over Eamont Bridge by six o'clock. The 21st in the evening their prince as they called him, arrived, and great Lords who had marched on foot from Carlisle at the head of their regiments, who came straggling in all that night. 22nd they halted; several of them put their linen out to wash, and made the same demand as above, and 10 bushel of oats from Langwathby and all the towns as near Penrith, and billets for a great number of men likewise. This made everyone think they had been for staying some time, because General Wade was at Hexham. 23rd they all marched out of town; they behaved better than was expected, and most of them left something. Every (one) was cheerful and thought they had got well quit of them; they kept 150 in Carlisle.

(4.) 28th, 20 horse of those came and demanded quarters for 2,000 more; the townsmen did not credit this, and resolved to take them; some let them know what designed against them; they mounted and rode out of town in great hurry; they went but to Lowther Hall, and took up their quarters, begun very rude, forced open all the doors. At this Mr. Armitage rode to Penrith for aid. He no sooner made it known, than there was 60 to assist him with 20 guns only. They advanced to Lowther in the best order they could, and at the first fire they drove the rebel guard from the gates. Another party rushed into

into stables at backside and seized some of them, while the rest fired so briskly at those making for the kitchen and others in the inside that they wounded eight of the rebels; then they called for quarter. In the meanwhile eight had made their escape through the garden (this happened at ten o'clock at night). One man from Penrith shot through thigh, but recovered soon.\* As this was the first defeat the rebels had met with, they returned like victors to Penrith that night. This so incensed the rebels at Carlisle that they threatened to burn Penrith and Lowther. Circular letters were sent all the country round desiring assistance in case of an attack; the beacon was to give the signal where the guard was kept. The townsmen began to wear their cockades again, and raised all their force, which was 50. In the meanwhile they carried the prisoners to General Wade, who was then in Yorkshire. At the instance of this he sent them 120 soldiers to their assistance, so they were not afraid of anything from those at Carlisle.†

(5.) The 10th of December news came that the Rebels was retreating back again which put all in a great stickle. Again 14th, express came that a 1,000 were near Shap all their armed men were called up and soldiers were resolved to resist; they lined the lane at proper distances between the town and Bridge,‡ and orders were to be given when to begin the attack. The beacon was fired, and several country fellows went to assist, and all the country arose and went on to Penrith Fell. In the morning express arrived signed Duke of Cumberland, that the rebels that were seen night before were only 116 horse, the Pretender was amongst, and the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, and others of their chiefs, and supposed to have half-a-million of money with them, desired to take care of them, and for the rest they were all surrounded at Lancaster. At 10 o'clock word came they were at Cliburn, same number as mentioned in the express. This made the country in greater spirits than ever. A great number of horse rode to Udfit (Udford) expecting them there, word came they were going over Eden Bridge;§ some crossed the water into Mickleton's, others over our bridge,|| horse and foot expecting battle upon our moor.¶ They met at

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\* An account of this exploit is in Ray's *History of the Rebellion*. See also a letter from Mr. Nicolson to Dr. Waugh, printed in Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745* p. 116. Mr. Armytage was the steward at Lowther.

† I do not recollect these soldiers being mentioned in any other account.

‡ Eamont Bridge.

§ At Temple Sowerby.

|| Langwathby Bridge over Eden.

¶ Langwathby Moor.

Appleside hill within pistol shot. Thos. Teesdale,\* of Ousby, was the first that fired at them, they returned and rode back up the moor by Culgaith, conuntry pursuing through Newbiggin up-moor through Kirkby-thore, still firing when near; Jack Bouchert† standing upon what design I cannot tell was desired to keep out of their way; they seized him for a guide; he answered he would go for his horse and accordingly he did. He has been imprisoned since. He conducted through the water, Bolton, Morland, Newby-Mill-flat, up a narrow lane near Reagle, and were pursued so close they were forced to quit two horses with something like large cloak bags on them, some attempted to take them off, but they were heavy. The rebels were no sooner out of the lane than they faced about and sent a shower of shot amongst them, which hurt none, but made the country retreat in confusion coming at so great a disadvantage. Thos. Teesdale was forced to quit his mare of £7 value, which fell into their hands, and (he was) ill put to it to save himself. This gave them time to recover their bags. As soon as the rear of the cavalry came up made a push and shot a horse under a hussar and took him a prisoner, they were put to flight again as far as Orton Scar; then night coming on and horses so much fatigued they were obliged to leave the chase for the day. The Rebels refreshed at Orton two hours, and went quite back to Kendal, where the rest of the army was.

(6.) The 16th, all the bottom of Westmorland was up in arms thinking to (get) this rich prize, but it was a day too late, otherwise they could not have escaped. News came in the morning to Penrith that the whole rebel army was at Shap, this put all in confusion. The soldiers came to Gamelsby that night and scarce a man was left in town. 17th, the rebels entered the town at two o'clock afternoon, threatening to burn it and all the country round, for Sunday hunting‡ took all horses they could meet, and stripped any one of their

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\* "Thomas, son of Thomas Teasdale and Isabel, baptised Oct. 9, 1748," Ousby Register; the father in this entry is probably the hero of Appleside Hill.

† The name of Boucher does not occur in the Kirkby-thore register, but Bowser does; John Bowser was churchwarden in 1742, and married Margaret Hutton in 1743. In 1741 he executed a conveyance in which his name is spelt Boushar, and Boushur, though he signs John Bowser. He must be the Jack Boucher of the letter: he was father of General Sir Thomas Bowser, commander-in-Chief Madras Army, see Atkinson's "Worthies of Westmorland," vol. II, p. 229. John Bowser was a substantial yeoman: the family estate was sold by the general.

A local tradition, of which Mr. Jamieson of Crackenthorpe informs me, says that four of the Duke of Perth's hussars, who had lost their way, were guided through Bolton, by one Bowsher of Drybeck, just as people were going to church. Drybeck is a village  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles S.S.W. of Appleby, where the Bowshers had property, which was sold about 35 years ago.

‡ The 15th, the day of the great chase, was a Sunday.

shoes



shoes, they also forced open all doors that were shut. 18th, they seemed to halt until four o'clock when they all got to arms, our army had been seen by them. Half of them marched over Eamont Bridge and lined all the lanes and hedges about Clifton to Brougham, the rest made for Carlisle. Five o'clock Duke of Cumberland arrived at Clifton with part of the army.

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#### APPENDIX V.

LETTER FROM JOSEPH HERBERT TO SIR J. PENNINGTON, Bt., M.P.

We had an account this morning that the Rebels are returning, and were got back to Preston on Wednesday last, that they burn and destroy all forrage they can meet with, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland's army, who is in pursuit of them, and that the Rebels march in one body, and while they keep so together, I hope we are in no danger of their coming this road. Dated at Muncaster, December 13, 1745.

#### THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Duke of Perth with 120 of his Hussars entered Lancaster last Friday morning, and after setting at liberty the Rebel prisoners then in Lancaster Castle, and plundering Doctor Braken's house, the Doctor being the cause of taking those prisoners, he that day marched to Burton, and the next morning about 9 o'clock he and his Hussars marched through Kendal without halting, when a mob rose upon them and took 5 of them and their horses. Amongst those taken was the Duke of Perth's cook with a mail behind him upon a valuable horse, which Captn. Wilson of Dallen Tower lost at Carlisle. Upon this the Rebels fired at the mob, killed 2 and wounded 3. One of the wounded is since dead. The mob returned the fire and killed 2 of the Rebels. They turned about at Stramongate Bridge, and threatened to burn the town, but Duke of Perth prevented them, who was heard to say, "You have no powder, drive on." I've heard nothing of these rebels since with any certainty. The Pretender with the rest of the Rebel Army and all their luggage came to Lancaster the same day that the Duke of Perth left that town, and immediately employed all the taylors and shoemakers in town to make cloaks and shoes for his army, and on Sunday morning last they marched to Kendal. Dated at Muncaster, December 18, 1845.

Hist: MSS Commission  
10th report p. 296.

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The following interesting letter is furnished me by the Rev. W. Grenside of Melling in Lancashire.

MELLING, DECEMBER 22, 1745.

• Just got home from my journey into the North with the King's Army. I was abroad four days in Expectation of seeing a decisive Battle every Day, but the Rebels always ran away. I suppose you would have a report of the Skirmish that happen'd on Wednesday last in the Evening, at a place called Clifton Moor, within about two miles of Penrith. A party of the Rebels had placed Themselves behind the hedges and some old Houses, and fired upon our Huzzars unawares, which oblig'd them to retire to the Duke's Army, which was but just behind, as there was no foot come up (which was a great misfortune at that time) the Dragoons were oblig'd to Dismount and draw up in order of Battle as well as the time and place would permit, but they only fired three platoons upon them, and they ran away to the main body of the Rebels, which was then at Penrith, but before ten o'clock that night, the whole Body with their Baggage left Penrith going towards Carlisle, we have no certain account of them since but suppose the Duke is in close pursuit after them, we had about 12 Dragoons kill'd in the Place, and about 20 wounded, but no account of any officer of Distinction (except Collonel Honeywood wounded) but hopes not mortel, & of the Rebel party not above six kill'd but have taken 60 prisoners or upwards. I was within about two miles of the Battle that night, and had the Curiosity next morning to go down to the place, I see about six or seven lying dead strept naked in the fields, but the sight was so Dismal did not choose to see any more.

We had none at Melling neither going nor coming, so that we suffered no damage by them, but in the Road where they passed they were very rude in plundering and am affraid have almost ruin'd some people.

I suppose you wou'd be in our Case at Chester very ill frightened but not much hurt.

Yr. loving Brother

Henry Remington.

To Miss Remington with Mr. Benjn. Wilson  
in Bridge Street,  
Chester.

APPENDIX

## APPENDIX VI.

## OGLETHORPE'S FLANK MARCH.

After this paper appeared in the Reliquary Mr. Lister of Shibden Hall near Halifax, kindly sent me a copy of the following unsigned letter which he discovered among the papers of General Sir William Fawcett who, as a stripling, took part in the campaign. He also referred me to the authorities for the court marshal on General Oglethorpe, *ante* p. 211, n.

BROUGH, DEC. 18th, 1745.

My Lord,

I have just rec'd a letter from Mr. Burn of Orton that Genll. Oglethorpe (*sic*) is in his house & the town is full of our Forces. Our Messenger is amongst them. And the Duke of Cumberland has taken the Rear Guard of the Rebles at Shap & has an Express to Appleby to summons all the Country to joyn him at Brougham as soon as possible this day whit (*sic*!) such Arms as they can get to pursue the Rest.

The story is confirmed in the following note to me from the present Col. Burn of Orton Hall.

ORTON HALL, TEBAY, WESTMORELAND,  
29th OCT. 1888

My dear Mr. Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of yesterday.

The Mr. Burn mentioned in the letter from Brough was Richard Burn, elected by the parishioners to the living of Orton in 1736 (as you are aware was Chancellor of Carlisle & had the Oxford LL.D conferred upon him). It was at the Orton Vicarage that Genl. Oglethorpe took up his quarters in Decr. 1745. There was a room there which always was known by his name & a bed in it in which the General was said to have *overslept* himself & so allowed a part of the Scotch army to get past unattacked. This house [i.e., Orton Hall] was built by Dr. Burns' only son John, who was born 1744. A room in it is still called "Oglethorpe". The (unlucky for the Genl.) bed was brought here after Dr. Burns' death, (1785) & retained its name & history. The *bed* in course of time required to be replaced by a more modern couch, but the room has retained the name & the legend which the note you kindly sent me to a certain extent corroborates.

Yours sincerely,

RICHARD BURN.  
ART.