

THE ENGLISH
HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITED BY

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VOLUME XIX.

1904



LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
89 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA

1904

PRINTED AT OXFORD, ENGLAND
BY FREDERICK HALL
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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The English Historical Review

NO. LXXV.—JANUARY 1904

Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745.

THE situation of the province of York on the frontier of Scotland frequently compelled its medieval archbishops to exchange the crozier for the sword. In the reign of Edward II Archbishop Greenfield was at one time too busy in repelling Scottish incursions to be able to attend parliament; and his successor, Archbishop Melton, fought a pitched battle with the invaders, who sorely discomfited him. These old-world times seemed to have returned when, upon the outbreak of the rebellion of 1745, Archbishop Herring, albeit the meekest of prelates, felt himself enforced to take the lead in organising resistance to the apprehended invasion of the Highland host by enlisting volunteers, convening meetings, concerting measures of defence with the nobility and gentry, and firing the flagging spirit of the country by a famous sermon. This course of action entailed an extensive correspondence with magnates in Yorkshire and ministers in London. To none of the latter was the archbishop likely to write with such freedom as to his benefactor Lord Hardwicke, the great chancellor who had made him archbishop of York, and was, much against his own inclination, to make him archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop's letters to him and copies of his answers are

extant among the extensive collection of Hardwicke papers recently acquired by the British Museum,¹ and appear well worthy of publication, at least down to the time when, the invasion having been repelled and all fear of its renewal averted, the duke of Cumberland passed through York on his way to take the command of the army in Scotland. They afford a lively picture of the anxieties, emotions, and multitudinous rumours of the time; reveal the general discontent with the administration; and display the prevailing apathy and incredulity, except on the part of the correspondents themselves, at the beginning of the rebellion, soon passing into lively alarm. It really does seem that, if the rebels had elected to march upon London by way of York instead of by way of Manchester, the lord mayor of York might have been reduced to the alternative, contemplated by the archbishop, of running away or of proclaiming the Pretender. The archbishop himself comes out admirably. Without being precisely a born leader of men, he appears endowed with excellent common sense and moral qualities almost more valuable still: loyal, patriotic, disinterested, indefatigable; careful of ecclesiastical decorum as a rule, but ready to discard it in cases of emergency; a good hater of his adversaries' principles, but never rancorous towards their persons; and always ready to enliven serious matters by a jocose remark or anecdote.

According to Rastall, who in his history of Southwell has given a pretty full account of Archbishop Herring, 'his politics were monarchical.' This must mean that he esteemed the hereditary title to the crown above the parliamentary; and the assertion is confirmed by the remarkable anecdote told by Hume of Herring's encouragement to him to persevere with his history when the first volume published, comprising the reigns of James I and Charles I, seemed to have fallen dead from the press. As a matter of abstract principle, therefore, his allegiance would have been to the house of Stuart, and Rastall is no doubt correct in holding that the zeal he displayed in the Hanoverian cause 'proceeded not from any speculative opinions of the subject's right to freedom, nor from any very enlarged ideas of the British constitution, but was the effect of religious conviction and of civil allegiance. Herring was sincere in his attachment to the religion he professed, and he believed the support of that religion to be intimately connected with the safety of the family in possession of the crown.' These letters also show that Herring was as inexorably set as Shakespeare's Faulconbridge against any claimant to the crown who should come with the support of France. As a good Englishman and a good protestant he saw his duty clearly, and discharged it manfully.

¹ Add. MS. 35598.

No more amiable and benign prelate than Herring ever sat at York or Canterbury, and the severity of his language towards Roman catholics may occasion surprise. In purely religious matters Herring, like most of the dignified ecclesiastics of his age, was a model of tolerance, and he regarded Roman catholics not as religious dissidents, but as civil enemies. It could not be otherwise while there was a Roman catholic pretender to the throne: the total overthrow of the Stuart cause had to precede the repeal of those penal enactments which Herring's correspondent, Lord Hardwicke, in a remarkable passage declared to be so inconsistent with the spirit of the age that even in an emergency like that of 1745 it was impossible to put them into effect. The attitude of the rulers of the church is pithily expressed in a letter from Herring's predecessor, Archbishop Blackburne, to Lord Carlisle, 3 Nov. 1733, printed in the Carlisle papers published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission:—

I am greatly obliged to your lordship for your kind intimation concerning the Roman catholics and the warm alarm they have taken at my proceedings. But whatever the hot ones among them may threaten of complaints against me on that account, I am in no pain about it. Such of them as are quiet and peaceable will find the Penal Act, for my part, as harmless as they can wish. But such as can be proved to have been perverting our people from their religion and allegiance must not expect to be suffered to do it with impunity, but to pay for their unquiet abuse of so much lenity as they enjoy under the present government.

One of the most interesting traits in Herring is his perception of natural beauty, a faculty long dormant in England, and which he was one of the first Englishmen to regain. In his letters to Duncombe his descriptions of Welsh scenery as beheld in his visitation tour (performed on horseback) reveal the same delight in nature as is subsequently met with in the letters of Gray. His considerable literary gift was chiefly expended upon his sermons, but almost amounts to genius when a picturesque theme presents itself. Goldsmith or Sterne might have envied his picture of a Welsh interior.

The novelty of the thing gave me spirits, and the air gave me appetite, much keener than the knife I ate with. We had music too, for there came in a harper, who soon drew about us a group of figures that Hogarth would give any price for. The harper was in his true place and attitude; a man and woman stood before him singing loudly, but not disagreeably; a little dirty child was playing with the bottom of the harp; a woman, in a sick night-cap, hanging over the stairs; a boy with crutches fixed in a staring attention; and a girl carding wool in the chimney, and rocking a cradle with her naked feet, interrupted in her business by the charms of the music; all ragged and dirty, and all intently attentive.

R. GARNETT.

I.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*Powis House Augst 31 1745 (arrived Sep^r 7th 1745).

My Lord,—I ought to have thanked your Grace long ago for your last kind letter; but, though you had the goodness to wish me a speedy deliverance from Chancery, I have been chained to that oar till within this fortnight, and the daily attendance there, together with others of a more disagreeable kind, hindered me from acknowledging that favour. Since that time, I have (with the interval only of two or three days at Wimple) been confined to this place, attending upon my duty of the twentieth part of a Vice-King, and expecting the much wished for arrival of our Principal. In the meantime we are threatened with having the disposition of the Kingdom wrested out of our hands, and in the North the storm is gathered. Archbishops of York have before now drawn the secular, as well as the spiritual sword, and I hope your Grace will stand between us and danger. That the Pretender's Son is actually in the Northwest Highlands of Scotland, and that he is joined by some of the clans of Macdonald and the Camerons, mostly papists, I take to be very certain. Infidelity has much prevailed here concerning this fact, though I think it is something altered; but I cannot help agreeing with your elder brother of Cant: that in this case, want of faith proceeds partly from want of zeal, which in political faith is the worst source. There seems to be a certain indifference and deadness among many, and the spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated to a right tone. Any degree of danger at home ought to be vastly the more attended to from the state of things abroad. *That* I lament from my heart. I think I see the evil cause to which it is to be ascribed, and yet I know not whether to wish that, by the Public, it should be attributed to that cause. Where to find a remedy I know not. I see only the probability of one, and am not sure that that will be taken. The success at Cape Breton is very considerable. A vast loss to France, and may be a very great advantage to this country. I wish we had more of these articles to balance the account.

Sir John Cope, with about 2000 more of the King's troops, is I believe now in the Highlands, and I hope his force is sufficient (by the blessing of God) to crush this infant rebellion, provided it be properly exerted before the assistance, which the rebels undoubtedly expect from abroad, can come to them. The Marquis of Tweeddale has this morning received letters from Scotland bringing intelligence from a spy, sent on purpose into those parts, that he had seen this young Pretender, and had been an eye witness of several persons kissing his hand. His standard was set up on the

19th inst. at Glenfinnan, on the borders of Moidart, the country where he landed.

I had writ thus far when a messenger from Margate brought the good news that the King landed there about half an hour after three this morning, and would be at Kensington within two hours. Accordingly His Majesty arrived there about two o'clock in perfect health, and really I think I never saw him look better in my life. He appears also to be in very good humour, and to value himself upon the haste he has made to us, when there was any apprehension of danger affecting this Country. I have not time to add more, except that his Majesty told me the election of an Emperor stood fixed for Monday next, and that I am ever,

My Dear Lord, most affectionately and faithfully yours,

HARDWICKE.

Is it not time for the Pulpits to sound the Trumpet against Popery and the Pretender?

II.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

Bishopthorpe Sep^r 7 1745.

My Lord,—I am extremely obliged by your favour of the 31st of August, and must take the liberty to trouble you with my most early acknowledgment for it. We received here great consolation from the King's arrival, and are in hopes that it will give some stability to the Public Affairs; as His Majesty has fulfilled the duty of a good King in quitting his insignificant Electorate for the honour of his Crown and the safety of this great People. I hope he will meet with a suitable return of Duty and Affection from them, for indeed, my Lord, the times demand a perfect intelligence between Prince and People. I was glad to hear, as I do from several hands, that the King is so well and cheerful, and his Court so gay; I would to God they would contrive to communicate some share of this fine spirit to the country, where we meet with nothing but sadness and mortifying forebodings of danger, with little or no life or disposition to action. The common topics of conversation for the whole summer have been extremely disagreeable, and no company has come near me (and your Lordship knows my correspondence is chiefly with the friends of the Government), nor have I gone into any company, but instantly we fall upon the disaster at Fontenoy; the perfidy or the weakness of the D[utch]; the frightful progress of the French King, and the ruinous consequences of our engagements on the Continent. To these have been added the perilous situation of our troops abroad, an evil the more felt, and

more strongly aggravated, since the alarms from Scotland have taken place, and your Lordship may imagine how ready some people are to point out the absurdity of being left defenceless at home, from the absence of those very troops, the reason of whose support in the kingdom was our home security. As to the Scotch affair, I hope of itself it is not considerable, and that Cope will soon give a good account of the rebels there; and, to be sure, the Court have substantial reasons for their security, and, if it can be, for their infidelity on that head, but your Lordship wont be angry, if I communicate to you an Intelligence directly from Edinburgh from no insignificant hand, that the rebels have plenty of money, are bold and desperate, and that the King's friends among the Clans are afraid of arming, and, but for that fear, the Grants and Campbells could have crushed the rebels instantly. I feel too a great diffidence in Cope, and a sort of persuasion, that if they gain the advantage of him, the whole country will be their own, as far as Stirling. I pray God, all this may be ill-grounded, and that the next Post may bring good news and set our minds at ease. I find the D[utch] forces are hastening to our assistance. We will accept their help, but are we never to stand upon our own legs again? And upon every occasion of danger must all Europe be told, what I hope to God is a lie, that the King has neither the hearts nor the hands of his own people? For my own part, I own I have always looked upon this as a pitiful measure of Government; I think I see that it is like to become a hateful one; and, considering the conduct of the Government, and their present connection with France, it is certainly a very disreputable—God forbid it should turn out a dangerous—expedient. Surely these low applications to the D[utch] must destroy every degree of our credit and influence with them, and they must look upon us, after all our blustering, as their inferiors.

I thank your Lordship for the intimation in your postscript. So far as my example or monitions can go, I shall not be wanting in my duty, but your Lordship will give me leave to observe, that Preaching will be of little avail, where the countenance of the Magistrate is wanting. To say the truth, I think his immediate help is necessary in a place where the numbers and spirit and boldness of the Papists is such, that their public Mass House joins in a manner to the Cathedral; their service is performed daily there, and their congregation formed by the same public notice, and their congregation as large or larger than that of the Protestant Church. In this respect I doubt the lenity of our Government has almost proceeded to Establishment, and the check that gentlemen received last year in their prosecution of the Papists agreeably to the King's Proclamation has cooled their spirit. As to their present actings, I believe the wolf must be actually at the door, before they will rise off their seats to guard against him. This I think I see as plain matter of fact. I beg of your Lordship to forgive the length and impertinence of this letter, but the wisest men know sometimes

how to profit by the suggestions of weak ones. I own, I am frighted at our present situation, and it looks like a demonstration to me, that we are now, as to the health of the Body Politic, in the condition of a man who does not ask his doctor whether he may recover, but how long he thinks he can hold out. I am sure your Lordship will not imagine by these observations that I am going to list myself among the factious. I scorn it. I will ever be dutiful to the King, and faithfully grateful to my friends, who will not be displeas'd with me for speaking like an honest man, though a weak one. I will answer for my Heart, though I cannot for my Head. It is always my heart that dictates, when I subscribe myself,

My Lord, your ever obliged and most faithful Friend & Serv^t

THO: EBOR:

III.

Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.

Powis House, Sep^r 12th 1745.

My Lord,—I lay hold on this first opportunity of returning your Grace my sincere thanks for your very honest, friendly and wise letter. The zeal you express for His Majesty, his family and Government, and the affection and regard you show for your friends, are very becoming your character and known principles; which set your Grace far above the suspicion of acting amongst the *factious*. At least you are secure against any such imputation from me, who have often insisted on most of the topics you mention, and very lately in that *place* where it is most material to say them. As we so well agree in our sentiments, I will not trouble you with going through the several points, but wish that imminent danger may teach us to correct former errors.

His Majesty did a week ago yield so far to the advice of his faithful servants as to order six Regiments (*i.e.* 6000 men) of his British troops to be brought over from Flanders, with Sir John Ligonier at their head, for the defence of this country. I know this will be some consolation to your Grace, especially as the Lords Justices had some time ago sent our transports to Williamstadt, and they are actually ready to bring them over, so that they may be here with the first fair wind. But you will be surpris'd when I tell you how this measure has been misrepresented;— that it is deserting our Allies, and giving up the common cause; and the Ministry ought to be impeach'd for it. As if Great Britain was any otherwise essentially concern'd in the common cause, than as the support of it tends to her own preservation; or the whole common cause would not be absolutely lost, if G^t Britain (from whence it derives its strength and treasure) should become a prey to the Enemy?

And, as to the Ministry, I could draw a much better Article of Impeachment for leaving the country so unguarded, though even this they could not help.

The rebellion in Scotland proceeds. The numbers of the rebels increase, and the young Pretender is in possession of Perth, and I wish they may amuse themselves there for some time. I believe indeed they are not all armed with fire arms, and that (with the blessing of God) they might be easily subdued with regular troops; but without regular troops, I see not how. Some of the Dutch forces are sent to Leith, and we expect the rest in the River tonight or tomorrow morning, the wind being fair. You see how Cope has marched eastward to Inverness. I make no reflections on it, and he justifies himself and is now marching back again. Instead of being joined by the Clans of Grant, Lord Reay and Lord Sutherland, he has been joined only by Sir Robert Munro's son and brother with 200 men, much to their honour! But, what is more surprizing, advice is received that Lord George Murray, the Duke of Athol's brother, who was in the rebellion of 1715, and pardoned, and has lived ever since with his brother the Duke, and has received favours from the Government, and also a brother of my Lord Dunmore, have joined the rebels. What symptoms are these? And those, I mean of the King's friends, and some of his servants, who at first propagated the spirit of incredulity, do now, with the same views, represent the affair as dwindling; that the rebels are a despicable rabble, crushed with all the ease in the world. It is the duty of everybody, much more of those in employment, not to scatter terrors; but when there is a strange lethargy and deadness, and the spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated, opiates should not be administered to them.

This brings me to the latter part of your Grace's letter, which relates to my postscript, in which too I do, in a great measure, agree with your Grace. The case of the Papists, as you state it, and as I have heard of it before, in your great city, certainly calls for the interposition of the Magistrates; and one would think that a few examples would keep such an enormity under. But the true difficulty as to the secular arm in England lies in this:—the laws against papists, as they stand in the statute book, are so severe, that they are the cause of their own non-execution. I am sure your Grace will do everything that zeal, directed by knowledge, can warrant, both by your example and your monitions. In order to show you what is doing in this part of the world, I send you enclosed three papers. The letter to the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury I will make no observations upon. The Salisbury one has more spirit. But that which meets with the most applause is the London one. I submit it to your Grace's consideration whether you will not think it proper to do something of the same kind in your own diocese; and, if you do, I am sure it will be such as both for matter and manner will deserve the approbation of all true friends

to Liberty, the Protestant Religion, and the Protestant Succession. One thing I have always observed is:—that representing the Pretender as coming (as the truth is) under a dependence upon French support; I say, stating this point, together with Popery, in a strong light, has always the most popular effect.

I believe I have tired your Grace, and my time will not permit me to add more, except the sincerest assurances that I am ever,

My dear Lord, most faithfully and affectionately yours,

HARDWICKE.

IV.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

Bishophthorpe Sep^r 13 1745.

My Lord,—The history of the enclosed paper, which I trouble your Lordship with, in a few words is this. As I had received repeated and clear and concurrent evidence of the distress of Cope in Scotland, and the increase and strength and progress of the rebels there, I thought it my duty to communicate it to the Lord Lieutenant and other gentlemen of distinction in the West Riding. Their intelligence as to Scotland, though not quite so particular as mine, agreed in the main with it, and was sufficient to give them a very strong alarm. A meeting was agreed upon at Birom, Sir J. Ramsden's seat, for Wednesday morning, where were present; Lords Lonsdale, Malton, Irwin, Galway; Sir Rowland Winn, Sir William Lowther, Sir John Ramsden and myself. The evidences were produced and compared together, and at the same time the information which his Grace the Duke of Newcastle thought proper to communicate to Lord Lonsdale concerning the preparations from abroad; and Lord Malton produced His Majesty's Commission to put the country into the best posture of defence. All these things being laid together, it was the unanimous opinion of all present that something should be done to animate the King's friends, and, if possible, to repel the enemy, if it should please God they advanced upon us. The first step, in the common opinion, was for the Lords Lieutenant to advertise a general meeting at York, and there it is their intention, I believe, to enter into an association agreeably to His Majesty's direction on the Commission, and to engage in some measure of defence, to be adjusted previously to the meeting, and these to be prepared. As the application is to the Clergy, as well as Gentlemen, I thought it became me to sign, with the Lords. The 24th was the soonest and most commodious day. The advertisement will be worked off today and distributed as fast as possible. When I returned from Birom, I communicated the business to Lord Burlington, and Lord

Falconbridge, and went myself yesterday to Lord Carlisle, who approved the step extremely, and I have no reason to doubt but the meeting will be such as will give a Life to the King's friends. If there has been any error committed, it was not through want of zeal, but judgment. If the thing be right, I leave it to your Lordships judgment whether it wont be proper to approve it, to the noblemen concerned in it, and to give any orders from London that may be thought proper, before the meeting. Your Lordship is quite right in your notion of the public lethargy, and I must take the liberty to say, that the gentlemen of this country, who are His Majestys staunch friends, apprehend too little attention is paid to this affair above, and too little care taken to communicate right information. The rebels are certainly bold, and the Kings troops in the command of a man who (as the soldiers say who have served in Scotland) has shown most unsoldier-like conduct. The accounts here, of the 7th inst. from Edinburgh, are that the rebels are 7000 strong; that perhaps is the number of Fear, but it is certain, that transports were that day getting ready at Edinburgh to bring Cope and his men by sea from Inverness.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful servant,

THO: EBOR:

V.

The Same to the Same.

Bishopthorpe, Sep^r 15 1745.

My Lord,—It is a prodigious satisfaction, and gives a great stability to my mind, when I find my sentiments agreeing with your Lordship's. Before I received your Lordship's I had printed and dispersed a short admonition to the Clergy over part of the diocese here, and must now continue it without alteration, but it displeases me prodigiously both as to the *matter* and the *manner* of it. It is indeed nothing more than a sort of Direction that I received from his Grace of Canterbury, with two words of my own at the end of it; and the reason of this was not neglect or coldness—his Grace's Monition was the very first thing of *Authority* that satisfied me as to the reality of our present danger from abroad, and as there is a great delicacy to be observed in matters of a public nature, especially when communicated to the Clergy from their Diocesan, I kept religiously to his word, who spoke, as I imagined, from the Council Board. If I had received the intimation sooner, and in a more direct manner, from the proper fountain of intelligence, I think I should have made a better use of it; I might perhaps have thrown out something warm and injudicious, and that at this juncture had been better than the cold phlegm of an old man. I

know how full the heads of the administration are of more important matters, but I must beg the favour of your Lordship to intimate to my noble friend, the Duke of Newcastle, that I hope, as he has contributed to place me in a station of some eminence, he will support me in the figure of it, and let me know things which it imports me to know by some other canal than that of Canterbury. Your Lordship sees I am a little warm, but I will thaw my resentment by doubling my industry to serve my Royal Master and the faithful friends he confides in, and I hope one means of doing it will be to render this intended meeting in Yorkshire of as much importance as I can. I am considering how to make it general, and to that end, as I know and converse with men of both parties, and with equal civility, I try to recommend it to all as a case of common danger. I hope I shall succeed in it in some measure. M^r Fox speaks heartily, so I hear does M^r Wentworth. I have wrote to M^r Dawnay, Lord Downe's guardian and uncle; I have wrote too to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and think I see a spirit of concurrence in many people of that Denomination, and I took it for no bad omen on our side, that York was much illuminated on the last news from Frankfort.

Lord Falconbridge dined with me yesterday and expressed a perfect uneasiness for the honour of this meeting, and will give it all his credit. He offered a sort of security for the honour and innocence of his relation and neighbour, Lord Fairfax of Gilling, and intimated to lodge a deposition with me. I told him that was a matter of some nicety, but whatever I saw in favour of Lord Fairfax, notwithstanding my good opinion of him, must rest upon his authority. I purpose to go on Tuesday to Temple Newsome to meet some gentlemen there, and settle previously the business of the meeting, in which the lords have all offered their assistance. I enclose Lord B[urlington]'s letter, which I am not quite pleased with. For, though M^r Arundel was with him when he received mine, there is a coldness of Indolence or Incredulity in it.

If the present Administration should quit with no other imputation on their conduct than that of calling the forces from Flanders, they will certainly be canonized in this country; and the contrary conduct is as arrant rodomontade as ever was practised in the world. I hear from Scotland, that the plan there with the rebels is to magnify their expectations from England; I hope it may have no other foundation but keeping up the spirits of their ruffians. A very great man told me, that when he mentioned this Scotch tumult to Norfolk at Scarborough, he flouted it, as the errant in Romance; but added, that he could not answer for what might be done four or five years hence, if France got possession of the power they aimed at. This I think is matter of some observation for a Protestant. Give me leave to tell your Lordship a very short story I have heard. When the D. of Gordon gave his Bailiff orders to bring in his Clans for the King, the Bailiff drew his poignard, and told his master he

would stab him, if he pressed that matter further, for all his clans must go upon another service. A story incredible enough, but a little truth in it would show the inveteracy of those people. Well, be they as inveterate as they please, I hope we shall deal with these beggarly fellows unassisted, but when I think of descents from abroad, *Totus tremo horrescens*. Pray God preserve us from the insolence and tyranny of France!

If his G[race] of N[ewcastle] or your Lordship have any commands for me previous to this meeting, for as the world goes, it may be a matter of moment, you will please to communicate them to,

My Lord, your ever obliged and faithful Friend & Servant,

THO: EBOR.

I am told from good hands that there is a fine train of artillery at Berwick; God forbid it should fall into the rebels' hands, and be pointed against England. The stopping of the rebels in Fife must be owing to fear, or weakness, or design, or expectation of assistance. I pray God their reason may be of the first sort. There is a report in this country, of what authority I know not, that if Cope had attacked the fellows at Coriariak they were so well provided, that they would have torn him to pieces. However it is the general opinion that even in that case he ought to have retreated southward.

VI.

Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.

Powis House, Sep^r 17 1745.

My Lord,—The proofs of zeal and vigour for His Majesty and his Government, which appeared so laudably in your Grace, and in the other Lords and Gentlemen, who met at Sir John Ramsden's, and which are so fully expressed in your letter of the 13th inst., gave me the greatest pleasure. They have also given great satisfaction to His Majesty, and his Ministers, and I think the measures you have already taken, and also those you have further resolved upon, are extremely right. The only doubt I have heard made is whether the certainty of the intelligence of a foreign invasion is not rather too strongly expressed in your printed paper. But if that shall only tend to awaken and animate the friends of the Government to a greater degree of vigour in its defence and support, the effect will be good. I don't imagine you could appoint your day for the meeting at York earlier than the 24th inst., and I hope it will be very numerous and hearty.

Your Grace was extremely right in making the communication which you made to my Lord Carlisle, my Lord Burlington and Lord Falconbridge; and I take it for granted that you will have their company and assistance. Undoubtedly all the proper steps will be taken to signify to the Lords and Gentlemen, who have acted so meritoriously, the approbation and thanks of the Government; but I don't see what orders can be sent from home in the meantime, especially as my Lord Malton has His Majesty's Warrant in the manner he desired. One thing indeed might be done, which is Letters from the Lords of Council to the several Lords Lieutenant to have the Militia in readiness to march, which, as a Council is to be held at Kensington to morrow, may then be considered. Letters of that kind were sent ten days ago to the Lords Lieutenant of the four Northern Counties, but it seems a difficulty has been raised by some of them upon the month's pay, advanced in those Counties in the year 1715, not having been repaid to them. If this difficulty is stood upon, it may make it more necessary to draw out the militia of Yorkshire, who, I take it, are not in the same case as to that point.

At this Council I apprehend the Parliament will be appointed to sit to do business on the 15th or 17th of October, which is as early as possible.

Your intelligence that makes the number of the rebels 7000 is certainly the voice of Fear, or a voice spread to excite Fear. Possibly they may be about 3000, though some accounts make them fewer, and a great many not to be armed with fire arms. The letters of yesterday bring advice that they are marched from Perth to Dunblane, and that their design seems to be to pass the river Forth somewhere above Stirling, where it is fordable, and so to march into England on the side of Lancashire. Though this cannot be relied on as certain, yet it makes it necessary for the Government and all its friends to be upon their guard. A Dutch mail arrived this day informs us that the first embarcation of the Dutch troops (viz 5 Battalions) sailed from Williamstadt on Thursday last, and that they imagined that they were already in England. From hence we hope that the last orders have met them at sea, and that they are all sailed for Leith, to land thereabouts.

Though I have above hinted the writing letters to the Lieutenants of the three Ridings for raising the Militia, yet I am far from saying that measure will be taken; neither am I clear that it will be right; for if it should happen to interfere with your scheme of raising voluntary troops by associations, it may do more harm than good. Therefore all I say is that it will be considered tomorrow.

I pray God prosper your undertakings and am ever most truly and affectionately,

My dear Lord, your Graces most obedient & most
faithful humble Servant,

HARDWICKE.

VII.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

Temple Newsome Sep^r 17 1745.

My Lord,—I came hither to-day to confer with Lord Irwin and Sir Rowland Winn upon the methods of making the meeting of the 24th (which is likely to be a very great one) of as much credit and use to the Kings affairs as may be. It has been agreed to settle the matters to be proposed at the general meeting previously the day before at my house at Bishop Thorpe, and such Lords and others will be invited to it, as are like to give judicious and cool advice, and such as understand the county. I am apt to think an Association will be the first thing agreed on, and I hope some present methods of defence, in case the mischief gathers strength, will immediately be entered into. Some soldiers of experience and affection for the King will be called upon to assist and form a practicable plan of self defence, which, it is hoped, will be supported by a subscription. If it please God to give a good turn to our affairs before that time, this meeting in favour of the Government will have its use, and show the Kings enemies, both at home and abroad, that His Majesty has one County, and that a great one, that will stand by and support him, in time of danger, at all hazards, I have got somewhat deep into this affair, before I was aware of it—I will do the best I can to carry it through, and, be the event what it may, nobody can rob me of the satisfaction of having discharged, as I was able, my duty to the Public. I purpose calling upon M^r Fox on my way home tomorrow, and inviting him to the conference; For I have all along inculcated, that for the present all party considerations should be buried, and nothing attended to but the public safety. I send your Lordship a letter from Manchester, communicated by Sir R. Winn, who assures me that his correspondent is a man of understanding and integrity. I enclose too the Pretender's Deputation of his son, and his Sons Declaration.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships most obliged &
affectionate Friend and Servant,

THO: EBOR:

VIII.

The Same to the Same.

Bishophthorpe, Sep^r 21 1745.

My Lord,—I have the honour of yours of the 17th inst, and shall let the Lords know, in the best manner I can, how satisfactory their intended service is to His Majesty, and hope the meeting will prove of great use at this perilous season to the country in general.

The strong assurance of the danger from abroad was judged to be agreeable to the intelligence from London, but, for my own part, I had some inward doubts about it. I did not explain them; for as the Nation was in a lethargy (not yet I doubt full awake in the Southern parts of it) I thought it best to use such words as might tend to rouse them. If it is *mendacium officiosum*, I shall die without compunction about it, for those Powers are habitually bent on doing us all the mischief they can, and I wish experience may not show us, that the expression in the advertisement was not too strong, but premature.

I hear from all hands that the Meeting is like to be very general, and it is hoped, very unanimous. As I am in some measure embarked in conducting it, I begin to be very solicitous for such an issue of it as may be most for the service of the Public and the honour of the King. I believe a strong Association will meet with no difficulty; but I have my fears about a subscription for present defence. The money must be paid upon the nail, and in the quickest way; a body of Forces, Horse & Foot, they say will be three weeks or a month in raising. The Association in 1715 is now before me, and, *mutatis mutandis*, will be copied in this. That was followed by issuing proper commissions, and raising the Militia. Most of the Lords, I believe all the Protestant ones, will meet here early on Monday morning to settle the measures for the next day. Your Lordship may be sure I shall oppose nothing, but forward with my best abilities the most vigorous resolutions, but yet zeal must take counsel of prudence, and nothing should be proposed, but what the gentlemen of the County are sure can be carried into execution. There must be no debating at the General Meeting: I would to God, a large and exemplary subscription were practicable: if not, it is my opinion, that the stop should be at the Association of people who come together unanimous, sent home again in good humour, with an honest alarm upon their minds that the danger is real, and a resolution, if needs be, to stand up against it. M^r Fox and M^r Wentworth, members for York, are with us, and M^r Dawnay, Lord Downe's guardian, and yesterday the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, a committee of them, came from York to assure me that they would give the meeting all the countenance and help they can in the body. I hope the King will have very strong assurances of a general obedience and attachment to him in this country. Since the news of taking Edinburgh, we have been relieved by hearing Cope is at Dunbar. He is now in his proper part, and I hope will at least stand as a barrier to England, but yet I wish to God, every soldier of the

King's were here to cover us instead of Brabant— God forbid we should be in the position of the man who is busy putting out the fire in his neighbour's house, when the flames have seized his own! I am afraid of nothing so much as treachery; if that be stirring, the King's friends must be more stout and vigilant.

Your Lordship will forgive me, but I cannot help hinting to you, that the great people of this County think that the intelligence to them from above is not so direct and authentic as they could wish it. Certainly, my Lord; we are in the most imminent danger, and I am informed from all hands that the Papists, who met at Stockton races, are in high spirits, and I could give some instances of insolent behaviour from them. I pray God direct the minds of the King and his faithful servants to put a speedy and effectual end to our fears and our dangers.

I am, my Lord, with all possible affection, your Lordships
most obliged & faithful Friend,

THO: EBOR:

I cannot be easy without saying another thing to you. I have heard the security at London censured in this manner in several parts of this country:—Why should we stir to support a Government that does not seem to believe its danger, or be inclined to support itself? God forbid this should run.

IX.

Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.

Powis House Sep^r 21st 1745.

My Lord,—I owe your Grace a thousand thanks for the letters, the first of the 15th, the later of the 17th inst, from Temple Newsome; and have taken care to keep His Majesty particularly informed of your laudable zeal and activity in his service, of which he yesterday did to me express himself highly satisfied, and spoke with the utmost approbation and praise of the part which your Grace so worthily takes in this critical juncture.

I now proceed to answer your letters in order. I know your Grace does not suspect the Duke of N. of any design not to meet you with the greatest regard, and I am sure you have no reason for such a suspicion. You will permit me to say that your imagination that the Archbishop of Canterbury's Monition proceeds from deep consultation at the Council Board, is a little mistaken. No other intelligence was conveyed to him or any of the Bishops but the Recital contained in His Majesty's Proclamation against Papists, and it was left to every Bishop (how rightly I wont say) to act as

he pleased. And your Grace must observe that the Canterbury letter extends only to the Clergy of that diocese, and not even to the whole Province; and the Salisbury Monition expressly refers to the Preamble of the Proclamation. If there had been any general measure, you may be assured I should have taken care to have informed you earlier than I did. But this is now become quite immaterial, for the activity your Grace shows, and the acts you do, are ten times more importance than a printed paper.

As to your General Meeting at York, I think entirely with you that it is right to make it as extensive as possible, and to take in men of all parties and denominations, who are not Jacobites. I lay more weight upon the evidence and *éclat* that will arise from such meetings and Associations of the zeal and spirit, and good affections of His Majesty's subjects in support of his Government and against the Pretender, than upon the military utility of their troops, without however excluding that. For I think it material to convince Foreign Powers (as I told the King today) that the appearances in England are very different from those in Scotland, and that they will be mistaken if they take their measures from the latter. I return your Grace Lord B[urlington]'s letter. I take the coldness and dryness of it to proceed from the indolence of his temper, rather than from any other motive. Men must be taken as they are made. For these reasons I have not spoken of it to anybody, and should think it best for your Grace not to do so.

It was not thought proper to send any orders for raising the Militia in Yorkshire, for the reason hinted in the conclusion to my last—lest it should interfere with your scheme of Associations and voluntary troops, which indeed I believe to be a more effectual method.

By the contents of your last I think you are proceeding in a very right method, and a previous Conference of proper persons to settle preliminaries cannot fail, in my opinion, to bring things to some precision, and to have a good effect.

I have communicated a copy of the Manchester letter to the Duke of Newcastle, who writ to my Lord Derby last night by express.

I am glad your Grace is engaged deep in this affair. You cannot be engaged too deep when so much is at stake; and I am sure your wisdom and prudence will so regulate your conduct that it must end to your own honour, as well as the public service.

I dont wonder the Papists should affect to represent this rebellion as trifling, in order to bring about the neglect of it. But that Persons, who protest more zeal for the King, more flattery to his prejudices, and to enjoy more light of his countenance than

others should do so, is astonishing. It is something like Count Kaunitz, the Queen of Hungary's Governor at Brussels, and the French General, by an odd concurrence, sending orders to stop the making the great inundation at Ostend, on the same day. It is the talking of it down, and representing it as nothing— a rabble that might be crushed in an instant, and dissipated of itself, which, in my way of thinking, has brought it to the height it is at. The industry of some people has, for this week or ten days past, represented it as dwindling, and dying of its own weakness; and yet on Thursday about midnight an express arrived, which gives us the strongest reason to believe that the rebels are before now in possession of the City of Edinburgh, the Capital of Scotland, and some accounts add that they are more than 5000 strong: I fear that in Edinburgh they will find friends, money and arms. However, I rather like that they should amuse themselves there than march for England. But let me turn the medal, and show your Grace the better side. Cope with his troops are come back, and landed on Monday night at Dunbar, and joined by the two regiments of dragoons; so that he was south of the rebels, and within 20 miles of Edinburgh. We expect every hour news, of some action. God grant it may be more soldierlike than the march, and a successful one! The last embarcation of Dutch troops (*viz.* the other four regiments) arrived this morning in the river. Some of the first are marching for Lancashire; one is gone by sea to Cope; and two regiments of those left will be sent to Newcastle. There are letters also come to the Admiralty that one half of the British troops embarked at Willemstadt on Wednesday last, and the rest now there were to embark on Thursday; so that, the wind being now fair, we expect those 6000 men in the river every hour.

As to the story your Grace has heard relating to the Duke of Gordon, it is well known here. It was not the Bailiff, but one Gordon of Glenbucket, a vassal of the Duke's, who was in the rebellion of 1715, and is gone into this; and your story is in substance true. A monstrous instance of a very old, but hardy, daring Highlander.

I had writ thus far on Friday night when an express brought word that the Pretender's son with his rebels marched into Edinburgh on Tuesday morning, and was proclaimed there, and was lodged in Holyrood House. This is no more than I expected; but the same express says they are now not above 3000 men at most. Cope's army was all landed; the two regiments of dragoons had joined him; and the transports with the Dutch Battalion were seen the same day off Tynemouth. But Good God! what a figure does this Country make, when such a rabble has overrun one Kingdom, and taken possession of the Capital, and what an encouragement to foreign enemies to invade us!

I am called away, and can add no more but that I am, with my whole heart,

My dear Lord, most faithfully and affectionately Yours,

HARDWICKE.

X.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

Sep^t 27 1745.

My Lord,—It is a trouble to your Lordship, but permit me to write to you, as it is a relief to me. The Spirit of the Country is prodigious, and we are all in motion from one corner to the other, and the Lords will certainly do their duty. The city is so much in earnest, that they will make of themselves a considerable purse, and put between two and three troops into action. The Lord Mayor told me yesterday, that the lowest of the Citizens contributed something. Oglethorpe is here, and has persuaded thirty or forty young gentlemen volunteers to follow him to Berwick, a sort of Hussars. They are to rendezvous at Knavesmire on Monday morning, have a Ball at night, and march on Tuesday morning. We must leave it to the general to consider whether a Ball will inspire or enfeeble his myrmidons; but let the spirit of defence go forward. M^r Wood came to me last night, with a message from Lord Burlington. He is now, I believe, angry with himself for not being at the meeting, and I believe thanks me at his heart for answering for him in the hearing of the county. He has sent his subscription, and is certainly a warm friend. I have sent a minute of the previous transaction to the D. of Somerset, as I have partly done too to the Earl of Ailesbury.

I conceal it, but I own I conceive terrible apprehensions from the affair at Preston Pans, where the conduct of our General was—I wont give it the right name, but that of the rebels excellent; and from what I can collect, and the judgment which I form upon the opinion of the soldiers here, they are admirably disciplined; and, our men have felt it, well armed. Their resolution and conduct in taking the little battery was admirable, and, as they are keen and savage, their leaders well know how to point their strength properly and effectually. There is something too in their artful taciturnity that alarms one, and they say, it is fact, that from their setting out to this hour, it is not easy to say who leads them, and they are not seen, in a manner, till they are felt, so silent and well concerted are their motions. I hope in God all this is known above much better than it is here, and that it is now seen that this rebellion is not to be quashed by small platoons of an army, but must be attended to *totis viribus*. Who can say what would be the

consequence of such an advantage gained in England? What shall we think of the behaviour of the Scotch nobility upon this occasion? Strong marks of treachery, my Lord, when they fled their country, which they might have saved by only standing up in Edinburgh in their own defence, and lending Cope their advice and countenance. Lord Loudon is an exception to this, who has behaved like a brave and honest man. Some of the Papists here I am told have subscribed—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. The power of some of them is very great, and it must be left to the wisdom of the Government to consider whether Tempest of the W. Riding near Skipton, against whom an information of arms has been lodged on oath, and who is said to be very artful and zealous, should not be secured. I am told too that Constable of Holderness, Dunbar's heir, has a troop of three hundred at his command. Dunbar was secured by Lord Irwin at Hull in the year 1715. Lord Conyers D'Arcy told me yesterday, that young Duncombe had desired a commission, which may be a great accession of strength in the N. Riding. I write in some agitation of spirit, but I would do as I have done, were the rebels at Northallerton, and, by the grace of God, will die rather than live under a French Government. I hope Lady Hardwicke is in spirits.

I am, my Lord, your most faithful Friend,

THO: EBOR:

We have it from undoubted authority, that the meeting at York on the 24th inst. was the most numerous that was ever known, being composed of almost all the nobility, Gentlemen and Clergy of that great County. It was conducted, as the occasion required, with great seriousness and quiet. The Association was signed most heartily and unanimously, and the subscription, which is going on, was very large and cheerful. The City of York showed a laudable example upon that occasion, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen undertaking to raise and maintain troops for their own defence. The town of Kingston on Hull is resolved to do the same. There appears at York a fine spirit in a set of brave young gentlemen, who purpose to act as volunteers in the service of their country, and began to form themselves on the very day of the meeting.

The foregoing paragraph contains matter of fact, and I submit it to your Lordship whether it is not proper to be inserted in every newspaper. If so, your Lordship will be so good as to order it.

Besides the general sense of the danger, it is thought the spirit and courage of the people was raised by the news of the action in Scotland, which appears to have been a surprise, not an engagement. The brave English were butchered in cold blood, a plain proof of the savageness of the rebel Highlanders, and that their leader is a man of blood.

This is grounded upon hearsay, and I should think, if true, not improper to be annexed to the other, that the natural indignation may run like wildfire. The intelligence from Berwick is, that the whole affair was over in twelve minutes.

XI.

Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.

Powis House, Sep^r 28, 1745.

My Lord,—I return your Grace my hearty thanks for the honour of your letter and the several inclosures, which I received yesterday morning by flying packet. In this gloomy and melancholy season, nothing could possibly give me so much satisfaction as the uncommon zeal and ardour which has been shown, by so numerous a representation of your great and loyal County of York, in the cause of their King and Country. God grant that the glorious example they have set may be followed by other counties! But I own I feel a particular pleasure in the great and noble part which your Grace has taken on this occasion, and in the gallant, wise, and becoming manner, in which you have exerted yourself. I was so full of it, that I went immediately to Kensington, and gave the King an ample account of it in his Closet. I found him apprized of it by the Lord Lieutenants letters, which he received from the Duke of Newcastle; but he was so pleased with it that he desired to hear it over again. I informed his Majesty of the substance of your letter, the sermon your Grace had preached last Sunday, and with such prodigious expedition printed and dispersed; and when I came to your speech, he desired me to show it to him. His Majesty read it from beginning to end, and gave it the just praise it so highly deserves, and said it must be printed. I said I believed it was printed at York, but it is determined to print it in the Gazette. If in this my commission be exceeded, I plead my Master's commands, but I hope your Grace will not disapprove it, since my sincere opinion is that it deserves to be so published, and that the topics and animated spirit of your composition are calculated to do much good. When I had gone through this part, I said:—'Your Majesty will give me leave to acquaint my Lord Archbishop that you approve his zeal and activity in your service.' To this the King answered quick:—'My Lord, that is not enough; you must also tell the Archbishop that *I heartily thank him for it*' His Majesty also highly applauded the zeal, affection and unanimity which had appeared in the several Lords and Gentlemen on this occasion; the Association; the largeness and generosity of subscription; the union of all parties, and the general conduct of the whole; and doubt not, but the same zeal and industry will carry this good work through, and complete the utility of it; for which no assistance or powers from the Government will be wanting. But

these matters will be properly taken notice of and answered by the Duke of Newcastle to the respective Lords Lieutenants.

His majesty also took particular notice of the good affections and vigour expressed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and City of York, which are highly agreeable to him.

It is a most happy circumstance in this affair that the unfortunate and shameful defeat of our forces under Sir John Cope did not cast a damp on your meeting. As it did not, the spirit and success of your meeting will I hope give new spirits to the people, and abate the ill impressions of so tragical an event; just as the providential arrival of the British regiments from Flanders furnished a kind of armour to us in London against the first shock of that bad news. If those troops had not come in the critical moment, God only knows what would have been the terror and confusion here. Let me tell your Grace, for your further comfort, that eight British battalions more, and 1500 dragoons are actually ordered to be brought over immediately; transports are already provided here; and other transports are ordered to be taken up in Holland, so that they may take the opportunity of the first fair wind. I know some friends of yours, who have talked themselves hoarse in contending for this measure, and whose early advice, if followed some time ago, would have prevented, in all human probability, this dismal scene. But the conduct of *some persons* on this occasion has been infamous. However I hope in God it is not now too late: a great body of forces will forthwith be sent to the north, and some of them are actually on their march. I contend every where that they must be a *great body*; for the King's Crown; the protection of his People; the work of the Revolution, which has been building up these seven and fifty years, must not be risked upon an even chance.

Your Grace sees by the printed papers what has been done by the merchants of London to support the Bank and thereby the public Credit. It is a step that never was taken before, and has had a prodigious effect to stop the run which was begun.

We know nothing here of the Castle of Edinburgh having fired upon the town, and I believe the report is not true; neither have we heard of any extraordinary instances of cruelty committed in or after the battle; which has induced me not to add this last circumstance to your advertisement, but I have directed it to be published as a paragraph of news in all the papers, just as your Grace sent it up.

I am ever, with my whole heart, my dear Lord,
Most faithfully and affectionately yours,

HARDWICKE.

XII.

The Same to the Same.

Powis House, Oct^r 3. 1745.

My Lord,—You wrong your own good judgment when you say that your letters are a trouble to me. On the contrary, nothing is a greater consolation to me in these comfortless times than to hear from your Grace, and of you. By the former one is sure to learn something material; by the latter to hear of everything that can do honour to you, and credit to your friends. The part which I take in it I hope your Grace does me the justice to feel in some measure for me.

As I trust that my letter of Saturday last¹ got safe to your hands, I have little to add by way of answer to yours of 27 past. I am glad the raising of your troops goes on so briskly, and hope your corps of young hussars will prove of service. I dont doubt Lord B[urlington]'s being hearty, and am very much pleased that you have writ to the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Ailesbury. The affair of Gledsmuir was a terrible one. *Pudet haec opprobria*. But as to the discipline and excellent manœuvre of the rebels, dont let your people be too much alarmed with it. 'Tis cried up by one set of people to excuse their own shameful behaviour; by another, to strike terror, and excite, if possible, a general panic. Much exaggerated by both. But I entirely agree with your Grace, that it will not be prudent nor excusable, to attempt to crush them by small bodies. You see by my last the doctrine I have preached, and still continue to inculcate *totis viribus*. In short I have pressed more in the Closet, and at Councils of war, on this subject, than perhaps belongs to my station. For your comfort, you will have, to a trifle, all the rest of the British foot brought over from Flanders, so that I hope we shall have one good army in the North, and another in this part of the kingdom, to be ready against an invasion.

The subscription of some of the Papists is surprising, and your Grace's Latin observation upon it is just. *Aliquis latet error; equo ne credite Teucris*. It can be only colourable, and to procure some relaxation in their favour. I know nothing, nor can I find that anything is known by others here, relating to the two considerable Gentlemen you mention.² If the informations your Grace mentions are before the justices of the peace and Deputy Lieutenants, they know the powers which the Law invests them with, and the positive directions given by the proclamation and Letters of the

¹ No. XI. above.

² Tempest and Constable.

Privy Council to put them in execution. *Hannibal ad portas*. This is no time for suspense and delay. I am glad of the Declaration of young Mr Duncombe, and think it an acquisition of consequence in that part of the kingdom.

Letters came today that Gen^l Guest had threatened to cannonnade the Town of Edinburgh, unless they furnished him with provisions, and that, upon this threat, they had agreed to furnish the Castle with all they could want. This is good, provided he guards against a surprise, which he undertakes for. It is also writ that the rebels have begun to commit devastations and cruelties. I pity the poor sufferers, but the fame of it will do good. One inference I collect from their suffering the cattle to be supplied, which is, that they do not intend to stay there to compel that fortress to surrender, but will march forward, if they are not already set out. Some letters spoke of their designing to begin their march on Tuesday last. I wish Wade was nearer to them, but his troops advance as fast as possibly they can. I have a very good opinion of the zeal and good countenance of your volunteer corps, but I own my reliance is, under God, on the regular troops. Your Grace's resolution is a magnanimous one, and becoming every good Englishman and Protestant. The spirit you have shown proves you are above being intimidated. You are very good in remembering my poor wife. You know we have sometimes called her Cassandra. She is in raptures with you, and, with all the rest of the family, sends your Grace her best compliments, thanks, and wishes. Be assured I am ever,

My dear Lord, most faithfully and affectionately yours,

HARDWICKE.

XIII.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

Bishopthorpe (rec^d Oct^r 4th).

My Lord,—I shall lay it up on my memory as incomparably the most happy circumstance in my life, if it please God, to be of any service to the Public at this dangerous juncture, and your Lordship may be sure that I feel a satisfaction not easily expressed from having the approbation of a friend so wise and good as yourself, whom I must love and honour, *dum spiritus regit artus*. I took the liberty yesterday to send my Lord Mayor the passage in your Lordships letter which expresses the Kings approbation of their doings. Though indeed they want no spur, for they have raised an incredible sum of money for this City, and will in a little time perfect their intended levy of near 300 men.

Hull has been spoken of as in a panic. Upon inquiry I find it utterly false. The spirit is alive there, and shows itself in the most active preparations for defence. Nothing was ever better done, than sending Oglethorpe hither. He captivates the young fellows and the populace, and was received at his return from Knavesmire the other night with most prodigious acclamation. As the General desired it, I rode upon the ground with him for what he called Countenance.

The town of Rippon has showed a very good example; and as it happens to be so much under my peculiar jurisdiction, it was a peculiar pleasure to me to receive by the hands of their Recorder with the complete Declaration of Loyalty, a contribution of near 400*l*, and all this without solicitation, which makes it so much the better.

We were thoroughly alarmed on Tuesday with danger from the Papists, and particularly that Lord Fairfax of Gilling was on the point of rising. Search warrants went out instantly, and returned with the fullest justification of that noble Lord; who, I believe, is the King's friend. The alarm struck the more, as we had more certain intelligence at the same time that the Papists at Egton, a little town on the Moors full of them, had made public rejoicings on Cope's defeat, and had all like to have been cut to pieces by the protestant ship-carpenters of Whitby.

I believe it is very certain that Cholm[ondely] Turner will raise a thousand men in his own management for the service of the King in Cleveland.

I did not quite like the result of the previous meeting at Mansfield of the Notts Gentry. They wanted a Commission for their President, the D. of Kingston, and the subscriptions waited for the example of his Grace of Newcastle. I hope it appeared, as it should do, yesterday, for at this time what is done with spirit is twice done.

I purpose, God willing, to set out from hence this day sennight, and be in Town the Tuesday following, unless your Lordship should signify to me, and it should appear to me, that my being here is like to be of any use, and, to say the truth, that I have been of any, is owing to my having offended no man in point of party, and they happen to agree in me as *Uno Tertio*. I trouble your Lordship with our York Paper, for the sake of Oglethorpe's puff, and a paragraph relating to this young man's Cabinet Council, which comes to me from good hands and should be made public. They can't confute it, if it be wrong, but by telling truth, and that may have its use. We have had two or three papers dispersed here from Edinburgh, from the Pretender's press, called the Caledonian Mercury. One of them consisted of a journal of his progress,

agreeable to what we here know of it. Another was wrote with great fire and popular art, as the meditations of an honest, impartial man in his closet, raising an argument of the plain signs of God's finger in the manner and rapidity of his success. The third was a Proclamation issued after Cope's defeat, forbidding public rejoicings in Edinburgh for the victory, as it was purchased with the blood of his own subjects. These two last were calculated to do much mischief. I have ordered the Postmaster to day and for the future to open these letters, when he suspects them, and undertake to justify him. * * * I am my Lord with perfect truth

Your Lordships most faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

XIV.

Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York

Powis House Oct^r 5 1745.

My Lord,—I troubled your Grace with a long letter by the last post, and have been so much employed all this day that I have only time to answer the business part of your last. The principal point, and that a material one, is whether you should come to Town at present or not. I have not had an opportunity of seeing the King to day, but I have talked with the Duke of Newcastle and several of your Grace's friends on the subject. The letters from the Lords and Gentlemen in the North have all done you so much justice on this occasion, and every body here is so highly sensible of your Grace's eminent usefulness in those parts, that we are all of opinion that your Grace should postpone your journey for a short time at least, and that your presence in Yorkshire will be of infinitely greater service than it can be at Westminster, where no opposition is expected to any measures for the security of the King and Kingdom. You may be sure nobody pretends to prescribe to your Grace. I only lay before you our thoughts, leaving it entirely to your own judgment, which will be best formed upon the spot, where all circumstances must appear in the proper light. And in truth I dont know but this may be a better way than speaking directly to the King, for I am so fully apprized of the high opinion of the part your Grace has acted, and of the utility of your being there, that I know beforehand what his answer would be, and that might possibly put you under a difficulty.

I rejoice in the glorious progress of your subscriptions and levies; and am told that the second Nottinghamshire meeting succeeded extremely well, and that the first was only intended to agree upon the second, which was a general one.

I like your paragraph about the young Pretender's Cabinet Council. I believe it is in fact true; and it will be propagated here.

I entirely approve of what your Grace has done in order to suppress the distribution of that treasonable paper the Caledonian Mercury. The like orders have been given here, and will undoubtedly be justified and supported.

I am unfeignedly, my dear Lord, ever yours,

HARDWICKE.

(To be continued.)

*Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord
Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745.*

Part II.

XV.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

October 6 1745.

My Lord,—I have the honour of your Lordships of the 3rd inst. Nothing new has occurred here lately—We are at present in a state of great repose, partly supported by the spirit which is shining at London and in the southern part of the Island, and partly from assurances given us, that Berwick and Newcastle are in no present danger from the Rebels. Our last advices are that they are divided into three bodies, the large one of 4 or 5000 in Edinburgh and the camp, 2000 returned to the North to gather their oats, and 1000 marching towards England. Oglethorpe tells me today, this is their present situation. The Castle seems to be in danger, but I hope Guest will hold out till relief comes, at the worst. Their attention to that business, and the secession for the harvest time, will give the King time, what is more wanted at present, to collect and march his

army. Oglethorpe is very alert, wants to collect our Lord Lieutenants and their forces together, and in conjunction with the Cleveland men to make the mien of opposition—at least to try to make these rascals suspend their incursions. I see from Lord Somervilles own hand that his house has been plundered, and three of his servants killed upon the spot, but two of the Highlanders were killed afterwards, which he feared would occasion setting fire to his house. Oglethorpe tells me, that the Scotch nobility in the Kings interest have offered, if empowered to do it, to regain the kingdom; it had been easier perhaps to have prevented the loss of it. I never had an opinion of Scotch faith, and now I am sure I never shall.

I purposed to have set out for London on Wednesday next, but I have had a sort of remonstrance from the City here, that it will create some uneasiness. There is a great matter in opinion, and if my presence at Bishopthorpe seems to support a spirit or preserve an Union, or that the people think so, I will not stir. For nothing is so hurtful at these times of suspicion, as a panic, which perhaps, as it is easily occasioned, is as easily prevented. I am sure it is so. If my presence will prevent it I have therefore put off my journey, but ordered my affairs so, that at the least intimation from your Lordship I can *vasa conclamare*, and set out in an hour. To talk in the style military (though my red coat is not made yet) the first column of my family went off a week ago, the second moves on Wednesday, and the third attends my motion. I purpose to leave my house in a condition to receive the Marshal if he pleases to make use of it, and there is a sort of policy in my civility too, for, while he occupies it, it cannot be plundered. I know your Lordship has even an anxiety for your friends, but, if I must fly, the General and his hussars have offered to cover my retreat. But enough of this—I had rather laugh when the battle is won, and could not help putting up an ejaculation at the Pond side tonight—God grant I may feed my swans in peace! Your Lordship will be so good as to excuse my attendance at the opening of Parliament to my Royal Master if he condescends to enquire after me. I am, my Lord, with perfect truth,

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

Fairfax and Tempest's houses have been searched, but no appearance of mischief.

XVI.

The Same to the Same.

Oct 9 1745.

My Lord,—I am honoured with your Lordships of the 5th inst, and am very glad my intention of staying here falls in with your judgment, and the rest of my friends in London. I do it with pleasure, and have presumed upon M^r Pelhams leave to keep one of his friends here as my assistant—Fred. Frankland, who however is ready to obey a call.

Our subscriptions here, I believe, will amount to more than 40000*l.*, and the forces, York and Hull included, to 4000 horse and foot. I had spoke to the Postmaster here about the Caledonian Mercury, and he had reason to suppose that one came last Post, but dare not open it, though I sent word I would justify him. He is an honest man, and would readily submit to proper Powers, and therefore if it is judged right to enable me, at this juncture, to open any letters, I will see it executed while I stay. A fellow in York, Dr Drake a Surgeon,¹ who was long suspected to be a Jacobite, has declared himself so by refusing publicly to take the oaths. It is a good discovery, for his insinuations here have done much mischief. My secretary is going to York, to watch the Northern Mail, and if anything material comes, to communicate it to your Lordship. I am with most affectionate Esteem, my Lord,

Your Lordships ever obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

XVII.

Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.

Powis House, Octr 12 1745.

My Lord,—I have now two letters of yours unacknowledged, for which I return your Grace my sincere thanks. The continuance of that fine spirit, which has shone forth with so much lustre in your part of the North, rejoices me, as well as the success which has hitherto attended your meritorious labours. In the south it has been greatly propagated, and the raising of regiments does in several parts go on, though I cannot Bay that the Association of Subscription in the City of London has made all the progress that one could wish. The meeting in Surrey was a prodigious one, and showed great zeal and alacrity. As to General Oglethorpe's intelligence, that the Scotch nobility had offered, if empowered, to regain the kingdom, I cannot say that I have heard of any such offer. Some few Lords indeed have talked of raising men in Scotland, in case the rebels leave it, and march into England, but I

¹ Francis Drake, author of *Eboracum*. He was compelled to enter into recognisances, and lost his post as city surgeon.

fear that will be a work of time, especially after all that has happened. I think your Grace has determined quite right in staying for the present at Bishop-Thorpe, and everybody here thinks so too. As soon as M^r Pelham returns from Sussex, whither he went on Thursday to a general meeting, I will acquaint him with the reason of M^r Frankland's staying with you. I find your Grace has learned the Style Military, and presume, though the paragraph about your Grace's red coat was not true, yet you are by this time skilled in the exercise, and can use the word of command. It brings to ones mind Shakespeare's Henry IVth:—'My gentle Lord of York . . . assembles all his Powers,'—though it happened that predecessor of yours mistook his side.

I am glad Edinburgh Castle, partly by threats, and partly by a little execution, has found means to relieve itself, and get in some provisions. I never thought that would be complied with till the last extremity. Possibly it is their despair of starving out the Castle makes them think of marching southward, and we have intelligence here that they intended to begin their march as upon Tuesday or Wednesday last; but we have heard nothing further. It is surprising that there should still be such an uncertainty about their numbers. Lockhart of Carnwath is come to Berwick, and has put himself into the power of the King's officers. This looks like a good symptom, and yet he, whose disposition and conduct is well known, has no great opinion of their success.

I am sorry your Postmaster is so nice. In such times as these people must take something upon themselves. I will speak about proper orders being sent to him.

I am ever, with the truest esteem, my dear Lord, most faithfully yours,

HARDWICKE.

XVIII.

The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.

Bishop Thorpe, Oct^r 19 1745.

My Lord,—It is not possible for me to forbear sending to your Lordship everything that occurs to me of moment at this nice and perilous season. The companies that were raised here by the Gentlemen have been completed some time, and they have been in daily expectation of arms for them, which they say they had assurance from above were put on shipboard for Hull, but afterwards, for reasons of despatch and safety, removed into waggons, above three weeks ago. They have heard nothing at all of them since, nor have any sort of information where they are. You

cannot imagine, my Lord, what an effect this disappointment has upon the whole Country; I see and hear a world of people every day, and I will tell your Lordship, as becomes an honest man and the Kings faithful subject, what they say upon the occasion. Before they speak, they lift up their eyes and shrug their shoulders;— ‘What, no news of Arms yet? Have we deserved this neglect? Are the Ministers asleep? Or do they mean to despite all we can do to defend ourselves, and tell the world so? Or do they intend to expose us to the derision of our enemies, and, after an expense of some thousand pounds, to gather together and clothe our people, will they put us into the poor condition of the well-affected clans in Scotland, without arms, at the mercy of these ruffians?’ I do assure your Lordship this is the plain literal truth and matter of fact, and I do in my conscience think, if this affair is not *instantly* attended to and satisfaction given to people’s minds, this uneasiness will grow up into a rank and strong indignation. I pray God send us good news to day from Scotland, for if the rebels are in motion Southward, I can’t describe the terror it would occasion—I am sure of it; the noble spirit of defence which has appeared here will, from this single circumstance of want of arms, sink into despondency and lame submission, if it produces nothing worse. Wade intended to move northwards tomorrow or Monday, but if he was here in Quarters at York, with all his army, the gentlemen of this country are disposed to the highest resentment, if the men whom they have raised have not at least the credit of arms in their hands. Your Lordship cannot imagine how shamed and vexed the King’s friends are, that their men are forced to exercise with broom staffs. In good truth, this is a most serious matter, and well known to the rebels, who, by means of an open and uncontrolled post, have to my knowledge a regular correspondence with people in the City of York. I hear extreme bad news from the Camp at Doncaster—quarrels, mutinies, and almost a murder, but the temper and prudence of the Magistrate has composed them for the present.

I received another paper from Edinburgh by the last post, which I transmit to day to your Lordship, but I presume they are scattered all over the Kingdom.

Upon reviewing my letter, I doubt I have run into a sort of saucy freedom, but if your Lordship thinks it of moment to be shown to the D. of N. I am sure you will answer for me, that it comes from an honest principle, and from an anxiety that nothing should be done or omitted, that can tend to the hurt or embarrassment of the King’s affairs, or the discredit of his faithful servants.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships ever most affectionately,

THO: EBOR:

Extract.

Bishopthorpe, Oct^r 23 1745.

—I am frighted with stress of bloody frays every day between the Dutch and English. It seems our fellows are perpetually twitting them with their poltroonery at Fontenoy. Would to God we were rid of them, and in due time with all connection with their perfidious masters! They quarrelled on Monday night at Ferrybridge. Good my Lord, dont forget the affair of arms for our Yorkshiremen. I feel I press that matter unhandsomely, but if it be not immediately taken care of, every thing that has been done here will be in a manner undone. I know this to be true from certain intelligence from every Riding.

XIX.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Oct^r 28 1745.

My Lord,—It was with great pain to me that I troubled your Lordship so upon the subject of arms, and I was fully sensible how cruel it would be to teaze the Ministers at this unfortunate juncture, but I thought it a point of duty to the public, and agreeable to that friendship with which I desire to be for ever attached to your Lordship, to apprize you fully of a thing of that consequence. I had yesterday the honour of your Lordships, and soon after an express came to Lord Irwin, who has been with me these two days, that a competent number of arms was or would soon be ready at Hull. Due notice shall be given of this instantly, and I dare say, the spirit of the country will continue such as it was a month ago.

I send the enclosed to your Lordship. The memorial may possibly be new to you; I think it is good. It is remarked at the bottom of one edition of this paper that it was published at the time the contribution was raised in Glasgow. It is added too that 900 Highlanders had deserted. I had a Kirk Minister with me the other day, who was a Volunteer at Edinburgh at the surrender of the town. He was a man of sense and apparent credit, and gave a confident account of things. It is beyond doubt that the City was betrayed, and that the Lord Provost did of most deliberate perfidy give up the guns upon the Walls, and the arms lent out of the Castle for the defence of the City. I except the arms of the Volunteers, which were put into the Castle again. . . . My secretary is just gone to York to attend the northern mail, and has my orders, if anything material arrives, to send it to your Lordship. General Wade does very prudently in concealing any disagreeable circumstances with regard to our joint forces, and is the best man in the world to prevent mischief. He has done it hitherto. The army marched in good spirits, and the better for receiving £9000 from Leeds of the public money. It has been well received. It halted

yesterday at Northallerton, proceeds to day onwards to Newcastle, which the Marshal purposes to reach on Tuesday. I hear Lord Malton received instructions from Wade at Doncaster how to make the best use of our country forces, which I hope he will put in motion. The mischief that ugly affair does is incredible. It has put an absolute stop to trade and business, and if it holds a little longer, I believe I must go upon credit for my bread and cheese. But that want of business in the W. Riding has made it much easier to raise soldiers there, for the manufacturer² has no other way to get bread. I hope some folks will consider the Chevalier's declaration very maturely, and ask themselves, whence he has received some of his principal topics of encouragement. I am sorry to hear that a spirit of *previously* redressing what are called grievances is stirring in a Certain Place. As to that, I think a single question would be worth a years debate. 'Sir, my house is in flames. Shall I try to put out the fire, or first satisfy myself by whose neglect or wickedness the mischief happened?'

My best compliments wait upon Lady Hardwick and your young soldier. I am sure he would not be frightened with a Highland broadsword as poor Lascelles was. God forbid, though, he should come in the reach of one. I accept the appellation of Camerade from him with all my heart. I find I must get into regimentals in my own defence in a double sense: for an engraver has already given me a Saracen's head surrounded with the Chevalier in chains and all the instruments of war, and the hydra of rebellion at my feet, and I see another copper-plate is promised where I am to be exhibited in the same martial manner with all my clergy with me. By my troth, as I judge from applications made to me every day, I believe I could raise a regiment of my own order, and I had a serious offer the other day from a Welsh curate at the bottom of Merionethshire,³ who is six feet and a half high, that, hearing I had put on scarlet, he was ready to attend me at an hour's warning, if the Bishop of Bangor did not call upon him for the same service

I should mention to your Lordship that the Scotch Kirk Minister named above expressed himself extremely solicitous that the Government should not lay the imputation of disloyalty on the Scotch nation at Geneva.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful Servant,

² Clearly equivalent to *operative*, a sense of the word now entirely disused.

³ Merionethshire was in Archbishop Herring's former diocese of Bangor.

THOS: EBOR.

XX.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Nov^r 3 1745.

My Lord,—I now sit down to communicate some things possibly worth your Lordship's observation, which I have just taken from the mouth of a Scotch Refugee, as they call themselves, who dined with me, and is just come out of Aberdeenshire, and a man of figure in his country. He appears thoroughly well affected to the King. He made a shift by steering westward to get into England, clear of the Rebels, and passed through Newcastle to talk with Wade and make his observations there, after having informed himself pretty well of the circumstances of the rebel army. To begin with what he says of their condition, and, as is natural, what he has heard of the character and qualities of the leader. He is told, that he is of undoubted courage and resolution, and determined to conquer or die, as he has publicly professed. His presence is good, and he affects a very winning affability, conversing almost with the lowest now and then. He is said too to have a good understanding, and my author thinks himself pretty well informed, that most of the things that have been well done in the progress of his affairs, have been done by his advice, and he was with great difficulty restrained from charging at the head of his men at the battle of Preston Pans. I enquired into what is said of the truth of his attachment to his religion, and was assured that he and all his people have purposely avoided showing anything like it. That he never has Mass said, has not a priest about him, and declined any communication with the Episcopal divines. As to his army, he confirms the notion of their being 8000; that they have the best intelligence, that they certainly will not disperse for reasons of fear. That they will act *pro re natd*, and not come into England unless it should appear the eligible scheme, and that, if they do slip Wade, they will march like a torrent. He speaks of it as a certainty, that their chiefs extremely regret their not pursuing their advantage at Haddington, which does indeed look like an infatuation in them. They boast that half Wade's army, and particularly the D[utch], will either be passive or act with them and endeavour to persuade their people, that many of the English gentlemen who are associated will in due time pull off the mask and declare for them; it being, they say, the only method left for their friends to arm in their favour.

Thus much for the rebel forces; my friend halted at Newcastle, and made his observations there; and the reports he brings are disagreeable, but I must and will relate them to your Lordship. He says that the numbers, he is told, are far short of report; that there

are great deficiencies in the corps, and besides that very many of them are sick. That as to those that are well, there are great doubts of their integrity. That the Scotch and Irish are suspected to be false, and the first not disposed to fight against their countrymen. That most of the D[utch] are Papists, and that, if there are not many priests armed among them, that they are there in disguise. He says that one of St George's dragoons was discharged at Durham for declaring over night in his cups, and standing to it the next morning when he was sober,—That Right was with the Pretender and his son,—and there certainly have been such facts in Sinclair's and other regiments.

These things he said he mentioned in private, and as reasons of caution, and so far they are good, for, great as our army is, Prudence to be sure would suggest that we should not contemn our enemy, but consider some resource in case of a disappointment. My guest went on in the following manner. If I may speak the sentiments of an honest man:—Our Governors, as they paid too little attention to the King's friends at the beginning, seem to continue in the same bad politics still. The true friends of K G are nine parts in ten of Scotland, but without authority, arms, or money. The Lord Loudoun and the president are in the north, but for want of the materials above mentioned can do nothing. Lord Loudoun has carried £4000 and some arms, but very insufficient. Soon after the beginning of this affair, the Grants alone assembled in the number of a thousand good men, but could not stir nor act for want of power, but yet their assembling only defeated the rebel levies for ten miles round them; They are still in the same disposition, and so are the men of Argyllshire, and many in the West, and nothing can import the Government more than to collect and arm a competent number of these men, who might be of incredible service to the King's affairs, by cutting off the retreat of the rebels, and their communication with the northern ports, which are now all open; or, in any case of any disaster to the King's army, affording a resource or reinforcement. He says the rebels give out great expectations from the Western Isles, but none have yet come in, and he hopes will not. He mentioned one thing, which may be deemed of little consequence at London, but he thinks very material, That care should be taken to circulate good intelligence in the northern parts of Scotland, which would be well read, and obviate the mischief arising from delusive lies of the rebels.

I have now told your Lordship my facts and my reasonings. Sir Archibald Grant is my author, and he gives me leave to name him. Your Lordship I daresay knows him; I do not. Perhaps the Ch[aritable] Corporation affair has not helped his reputation, but he is a man of sense, and the Grants he says have been Whigs at origin, but, in their cases, one would hear a fool, and receive information, if one could from an Enemy. Sir Archibald says that the people publicly about the Pretender are weak ones, but that

there are abler hands behind the Curtain, who draw up all their public things. . . .

I am ever your Lordships most faithfully,

THO: EBOR.

I was going to fold up my letter, but your Lordship will pardon me for two or three stories of chit chat. As to what I have said of this Young Pretenders affability, I have reason to retract it, being assured that his behaviour is rather stiff. I would observe that Sir Archibald's account of the temper of the rebel army as to courage was speaking of them three weeks ago. There is one thing worth observing, that the spirit of enthusiasm is very strong in the army, and that there is amongst them a sober turn of religion, an instance of which he knows in the behaviour of two Highlanders, who were treated by Dr Wisheart's lady. She said the fellows covered their faces with their bonnets, and said grace, observing to her that they kept up that good old custom, though the fashionable folks had dropped it. They professed themselves protestants, and determined friends to Hereditary Right. I must give your Lordship a mark of this young mans religion. Upon being called to attend his father to mass, he refused with an oath to go, for it has cost his father three kingdoms. For his courage, it seems Schulemberg said of him, that he should be loath to have a crown which that man had a right to. I find two stories current in Edinburgh to the disadvantage of a great D[uke], one, that he gave it as a reason for his inaction in Scotland, that he did not choose to have two halters about his neck at once, from the severity of the disarming Act, and the progress of the Chevalier. The other intimates the opinion people have of him, for in a conversation, where some Highlanders were jocosely parcelling out his estate, a sly Highlander asked the gentleman whether the Dukes neutrality had no merit in it.

M^r M^cLaurin, who converses with many young gentlemen that have travelled, seems to think it likely that this young [man] is in the scheme of no religion at all, but of the loose Deistical turn prevalent at present.

* The Young Pretenders character is now well known. He had no great personal courage, but obstinacy enough. He certainly professed to have his religion to choose, and has said to Humphries the painter, that his family had suffered too much from priests for him to have anything to do with them. He grew sottish, indolent &c after his escape from Scotland, is said to have been in London a few years after the rebellion, and the late King being told of it, forbid any notice to be taken of him.

XXI.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Nov^r 6 1745.

My Lord,—I am afraid your Lordship will think that my letters smell strong of the gloomy North and the despairing month of November, but, if I am of any use here, it is by communicating to your Lordship what I hear of any moment, and leave it to your consideration. The perusal of the Gazette this morning of the 2nd inst. has put me upon troubling your Lordship now. I find there several encouraging circumstances to the Kings friends mentioned, as received from Berwick, relating to Lord Lowdon and Col. Campbell, which I doubt have no truth in them, and your Lordship will please to hear the reason of my doubt. M^r M^cLaurin, who left me this morning for the North, showed me a letter yesterday from M^r Pringle, a refugee now at Durham. It is dated Nov^r 2nd and cautions M^r M^cLaurin from believing any thing of the reports from the North mentioned in that day's Newcastle Courant. Now those

* The following paragraph is manifestly a much later addition by another hand. Ed. E.H.B.

reports are of the same favourable sort expressly with those in the Gazette. He adds that a messenger is returned from Edinburgh despatched by Baron Craigie and Lord Arnistown, who reports the present number of rebels at about 7000. It is asserted on all hands that 5000 of these are as fine fellows as any in Europe. I have great confidence in General Wade, but I own I think we take it too much for granted, that he can't possibly miscarry, and I wish our credulity in one respect now mayn't hurt us as much as our incredulity did some time ago in another. I fancy if I was with your Lordship now, you would send me up to a Lady whom you are pleased to call Cassandra. I own frankly our present situation does call to my mind instances in which great wicked nations have been severely scourged by very despicable instruments. The proceedings at Westminster do not tend to clear me of these apprehensions. I am so chagrined at the unreasonableness of some late motions, that I think the Patrons of the Divisions would have hurt the public less if they had subscribed to a regiment or two forthe services of —.

I am ever, My Lord, your Lordship's most faithfully & affectionately,

THO: EBOR:

XXII.

The Same to the Same.

Nov^r 10th 1745.

My Lord,—Whatever be the issue of this doubtful state of things, and however it may please God to deal with this distracted nation, the present Ministers, who have the confidence of His Majesty, and the conduct of public affairs, will be sure to have the approbation of all good men for their integrity and very singular patience, which certainly has been tried to the utmost. The great consolation I received at this fearful juncture arose from the prospect of our hearty unanimity, which certainly, if kept up to its first appearance, would have done its work without bloodshed. But that prospect is over, and long before this our enemies are convinced from London, that there are still people enow, that are either so weak or so designing as to help their cause much better than their faithful ally from France can do; for I do assure you such is the judgment of all good people here upon the late Divisions at W[estminster\ Nobody would much have wondered to have seen such behaviour in Jacobites, but that any man of sense of a better denomination should join such malcontents is beyond our comprehension here, more especially when we are told that the dependants of a certain very great man have lent an helping hand to ruin their Masters family. For my part, I can give but one reason for the conduct of some Whigs on this occasion, but that they really think that the danger is all over, and that they have nothing to do but debate *en gayeté de cœur*. It were well if those gentlemen would consider, that before we set about improving our constitution, they should be quite sure that we have any Constitution at all. I shall long to hear the result of the conference of the two Houses; for if a man is found, that can scruple to lend an helping hand to repress the insolence of the enemy in their public declarations, he should be furnished with accoutrements and *transire in castra hostium*.

I send your Lordship the enclosed, not from any new intelligence in it, but for the certainty of what is there. The writer is a very good honest young clergyman, chaplain to the Royal Hunters, and his account is more consistent than any I have seen. The postmaster at Dumfries told me by Wednesday's post he feared he should be able to write no more, and by his silence on Friday I judge the rebels were at that town, and are now moving westward. For God's sake, my Lord, obviate as much as possible the notion that the enemy is contemptible, and Wade invincible; neither is true, the enemy is certainly extremely formidable. The enclosed, of which M^r Yorke has a copy, is a proof of their spirit, and what shall we say, if they have advocates in S^t Stephen's chapel?

We are extremely at a loss here to account for our hearing nothing of the President and Lord Lowdon. It is to me the more surprising, as every Scotchman I have seen, and I have seen and do see many, assures me that the K's friends there are at least six to one, and ready to unite at an hour's warning.

The enclosed appeal is a mark of the lion, before he is in power. It raised my indignation, and on Saturday I set myself to transpose it, and I submit it to your Lordship's judgment whether it is right it should be answered, and if it be, whether I have hit upon the proper method of doing it. If your Lordship approve of it, I have desired my friend M^r Say of Ely House to attend your summons. His brother is a printer, and I can safely trust M^r Say with the whole management. Your Lordship will please to inform me, that it came safe to hand. If I had more time it should not have come in so slovenly a manner. If Say has the answer, your Lordship may safely trust him with the printed papers.

I am ever, My Lord, most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

XXIII.

Tlic Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Nov^r 18th 1745.

My Lord,—I am extremely obliged to your Lordship for yours of the 9th inst.⁴ on many accounts. It has given me a clear and right notion of my Scotch Bart, and a good key to his intelligence and his reasonings. I have received a letter from him since on his road to Sir James Grants, in Town, where he now is, but that contains so romantic a scheme of public defence at this juncture, that I begin to suspect his head, but I shall thank him for the civility of his letter. Another consolation I received from your Lordship was the assurance of so good a force marching to Lancashire, for I do believe the rebels have hopes—though groundless—from thence and Wales, and I hear from a very good hand, that there is a very unpromising coldness at Chester. I send your Lordship the enclosed more as matter of curiosity than useful intelligence, for the information is particular, and seems to be given *naivement*. We had repeated assurances yesterday, that Carlisle had within their walls 15000 able and resolute men, who would not submit tamely. Nothing in the world was more acceptable here than the vigorous and unanimous Resolution of both Houses. I observe no mention of the Declaration of the Chevalier's Nobility, or of the Appeal to

⁴ This letter is not in the collection.

the People.—I suppose they were either not received, or nothing thought worth such solemn notice, but what had the sanction of J[acobua] R[ex] or P[ro] R[ex]. I think my scheme of an answer may very well be looked upon as superseded, or, if your Lordship judge it proper to go forth, I believe I need not intimate it must be anonymous, as I have told Say.

I thank the Colonel for his supposed emendation of the skull cap; that shall remain for a soup dish, and the velvet be converted, as was meant, into breeches. M^r Prankland left me yesterday, and purposes to be in town tomorrow. He will be proud to wait upon your Lordship, whenever you are pleased to signify that you have half an hour to spare.

I am with perfect sincerity, My Lord, your Lordships most obliged and affectionate Friend,

THO: EBOR:

I should be ashamed to show Dr Dunstan's letter to any one but yourself, and I send it now on account of its relation to Lancashire.

XXIV.

The Same to the Same-

Bishop Thorpe Nov^r 20. 1745.

My Lord,—I thank you extremely for your last letter,⁵ and the honour of your Lordships judgment with regard to the papers I troubled you with. M^r Say has my orders to commit them to the flames. I am going to York to a sheriffs dinner, and I dont know, but the Trouble-Feasts may spoil our stomachs, or make us scamper. If they come forward on the York Road, I will endeavour to take care of one, and march off Southward. We can certainly make no sort of defence against their depredations, for I cannot tell by what policy or what direction, but our Lord Lieutenants with their respective corps are all in their own Ridings, when, if they are like to be of any significancy, they ought, I should have thought, to have been together.

I heard last post that the Court have had an alarm of risings in Wales, Shropshire, and Chester. This makes me conjecture that the destination of these wolves is through Lancashire. It would be a satisfaction to me if your Lordship would order my good friend the Colonel to acquaint me what truth there is in this, and whether Sir W[atkin] is concerned in it.

⁵ Not in the collection.

It has blown all night, and threatens to blow a great storm. The rebel army lay last night at Penrith.

I am, with great truth and affection, my Lord your Lordships ever,

THO: EBOR.

XXV.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Nov^r 22 1745

My Lord,—I am just returned from York, where I have been ever since Wednesday morning. It is very necessary that your Lordship should be acquainted with the true state of our City. I have informed myself, not only from my own observation, but from the best evidence, that York is in no sort of condition to make any resistance, if the rebels move this way, and therefore I have given it as my opinion to one of the principal Magistrates, that the best way is to let these people in without hesitation. I hope and believe that none except Papists (if they) are in a disposition to rise up against the King, and that the whole county are loyally affected, and all will be quiet. Upon enquiry of the Recorder, what care had been taken that the arms of the Militia should not fall into the Highlanders' hands, he told me very frankly, there were none of any significance in the City, and that the arms coming from Malton and Birmingham had been countermanded. Our people here are in strange apprehension of mischief from the Papists, and it has been proposed to me that the principal of them should be apprehended and secured. I opposed that for many reasons, but one in stead of every other; that it would be too nice and dangerous a point for us to set such a precedent, and that the necessity or propriety of it ought to come from the Administration. The rebels are come to Penrith, and we are told today that the most advanced party of them are on the Lancashire route to Kendal. It is not to be conceived, how frightful the hurry was in the City of York on Wednesday, while the apprehension was strong that they would take this road. They are a little quieted today by the hopes that they are turned toward Lancashire. If the next express differs from this, and they come this way, not a soul will stay in York that can move from it. If they plunder the City, the loss will be prodigious to the King's subjects, and yet perhaps even that would be better for the public than civil and cajoling usage from them. It is high time that a check was given to this insolence, but it will hardly be in the power of Wade to do it till they have advanced far into Lancashire, for they move with uncommon spirit and rapidity. Your Lordship is a far better judge than I am of the consequences of their getting York and Leeds in this road, or Manchester or Chester in the other.

If I am rightly informed, Shrewsbury has shown an inclination to receive them. One thing I am quite sure of, that the attempts of a Militia or new raised forces to preserve these Towns are arrant folly.

Every sensible gentleman whom I converse with in this country sees this matter more in a light the most alarming, and if it be otherwise in London, it is an infatuation that will ruin us. I should think from some of my correspondents to day, that London is in great security, but for my part, I have so strong a sense of the public danger, as Wade is so far off, and so fatigued and encumbered, and Ligonier not come much forward, that, had I my Royal Master's ear, I should think it the duty of an honest man and good subject to tell him that his crown was in danger of being shaken, and that whoever at this juncture could give him contrary advice, either knew nothing as he ought to know, or meant to betray him. This is warm, my Lord, but uttered in no spirit of fear, but from the clearest and strongest evidence.

As to my own safety for the present, I will stay till the last moment, and if any scheme of defence of any likelihood can be formed, I will share in the common danger. If not, I know of no duty that obliges me to run the hazard of being knocked on the head, or taken prisoner. I stand ready to escape at half an hour's warning, and shall endeavour to do so. This upon supposition that these ruffians take the York road. If they take the other, I am determined to fix my abode and wait the fate of, and as I may, serve, my country here. I have taken the best method I could think of to persuade the Lord Mayor, if he cant stand it out, to fly rather than submit to proclaim the Pretender.

I am, my Lord, your ever obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

This morning Nov^r 23rd.

Express from Leeds brings certain intelligence that the vanguard of the Highland Army was on Thursday night at Kendal.

Lord Irwin is settled in the E. Riding and sends me word they are securing the persons of the Papists.

XXVI.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe, Nov^r 24 1745.

My Lord,—I submit the paragraph under which I have drawn lines in the enclosed letter to your Lordship's consideration. It is a written letter sent hither every post to the Lord Mayor, and passes for their Gospel in politics. It is a very bad passage, and my Lord Duke of N. may possibly think it right to prevent the poison of it. Surely if it be false, it ought to be contradicted by Authority.

I trouble your Lordship too with an account from Sedbergh of the march and figure of these tatterdemalions, which, if true, would give a very contemptible notion of the well affected people in Scotland, and shows them as hardly worthy the notice of an English army. And yet, my Lord, this is not a time to lessen our sense of danger.

Our apprehensions here are gone, and for aught I know, York may for the ensuing month be one of the quietest towns in England, which, after a few sleepless nights, will be a great consolation to,

My Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

THO: EBOR:

If your Lordship please, send the enclosed story of the march to my brother of Chichester.

Wade is expected at Boroughbridge on Wednesday or Thursday.

XXVII.

The Same to the Same.

Dec^r 4. 1745.

My Lord,—Give me leave to thank you for your last most obliging letter. While the rebels were in the North, I might possibly sometimes give your Lordship some little new or more particular intelligence than you met with in public. The scene of action is now removed, and no occurrences happen here at all worth your Lordships notice. Wade came on Monday night to Boroughbridge; halted there yesterday, and moves to Wetherby to day. I hear they have done encamping, and their troops are to be cantoned in the towns hereabouts. Fifty Swiss came last night to York. M^r Hill, my

chaplain, who dined yesterday with Wentworth, brings a very good account of the health and spirits of the men, who are under no other apprehensions of fear, but from being sent back again into Scotland, and put upon the hard, and indeed intolerable service of encamping. Some of them have deserted, owing to a foolish report, conveyed to the army by Vane of Raby Castle, that all Lancashire was in arms for the Chevalier. Sure this could not be malice, but it might very well be folly in the reporter. Oglethorpe breakfasted with me, yesterday; as he travels in character, he filled my yard and my house with troopers and hussars, who were prodigiously welcome to my ale and bread and cheese. He complained much of the Dutch, and ascribed the start of our horse to a march to Newcastle at their solicitation, when they could have gone to Hexham directly through Durham, without any inconvenience at all. I heard afterwards that the people below stairs were free in their censures upon them, and speak of them broadly, as a dead weight upon our army, and a set of slothful, dirty, dastardly, pilfering fellows, and indeed Ogle told me, that if only our own people (with the Swiss, of whom all speak well) had been to march, they could easily have been at Manchester on Monday. I only hint these things to your Lordship, who I dare say thinks with me, that England can never be properly defended but by Englishmen. I thank God, they are all such in the D[uke's] army.

Last night eleven fellows were lodged in the Castle. One of them is a gentleman of Northumberland, Clavering by name; the rest are inferior people, one in the D. of Cumberland's livery, his servant in Flanders, another servant to the Lord Kilmarnock's son. They were pushing to their friends in Cheshire, but alarmed the town of Penrith with demanding billets for 1000 men, and went through to Lowther Castle. There they purposed to spend the night, but the militia in Penrith took heart, forty of them followed the gentlemen, attacked them in the house and stables, from whence the rebels fired, and took them, wounded three, eight escaped, among whom was Kilmarnock's son. They took all their horses.

I find Sir Rowland Winn has informed the D. of N. of the doings of one Burton, a physician in York.⁶ He is in confinement in the Castle. His character of the worst sort, as to affection to the Government; his journey to Hornby Castle, where he said he was taken by the rebels, very unaccountable, and, as he explains it himself, full of dark and contradictory passages, two particularly of very strong marks of a good correspondence with them, for he sent

⁶ The D^r. Slop of Tristram Shandy. Notwithstanding his excuses, he was detained in prison for fourteen months. His Jacobitism is sufficiently evinced by a curious pamphlet published at York in 1756 relating to a fracas between him and M^r. George Thompson of that city.

up a letter to the Chiefs at the Castle, before they had attempted to seize him, and brought off a brace of geldings safe, each worth 20 guineas. This he owns himself. M^r York has a small dialogue between him and Charles, which was literally as he delivered it to me and the Recorder. I enclose to your Lordship a letter he sent me from the Castle on Sunday night; I doubt it is the first time in his life that ever he made profession of serving K. George.

My Lord Mayor, I hope, is an honest Magistrate, though a weak one. As to the apprehension from the Pretender's having known that there were arms, I am told my Lord is clear of it, and that the caution dropped from Wood of Lincoln's Inn, who was at the consultation. I will endeavour to find the name of the Alamain Writer, and send it to your Lordship. But the Letter is forbidden for the future. I communicated in proper places your Lordships good account of the Fleet. The Whigs here are sometimes too violent, and take fire at stories of terrible appearance, but no reality. I make it my business to keep up their zeal but temper their prosecutions, and would willingly open my arms at this juncture to receive converted Tories. Your Lordship, I hope, knows better things. I do not like our intelligence from Scotland. Where are the nine, to one of the King's friends? But we hear little from thence, for the past is still under some interruption. I need not intimate to your Lordship that I gave no answer to Burton's letter, but that he was in the hands of the Civil Magistrate.

I am my Lord, your Lordships most obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

Your Lordship will please preserve Burton's letter. Your Lordship should know Burton is a silly fellow of no mark or likelihood, and in my own mind I am in much doubt whether this journey of his had not as much or more folly than treason in it. He knows Perth and Maxwell, who was with Elcho at Hornby.

XXVIII.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Dec^r 11 1745.

My Lord,— ... D^r. Sterne⁷ imparts a matter to the Duke by that post of real significancy, as it brings a proof that our physician D^r

⁷ Sterne's uncle, equally conspicuous as a politician and a pluralist: so ardent in the former capacity that, according to his nephew, he disinherited him for refusing to write paragraphs in the newspapers.

Burton, so far as his influence reaches, is a dangerous and barefaced traitor, as well as he is a bad man. I think your Lordship has a letter of his, wrote to me out of the Castle, professing, in the most solemn manner, an attachment to K. George. How truly these professions were made, the information about him will leave out of all doubt. I am glad he has dropped the mask, for he was a sort of darling of the Party here, and had the direction of a printing press.

Your Lordship would laugh immoderately to see what a resort of people I have here every day. I can easily with a little self conceit fancy myself a kind of Lord President of the North. Now and then the Lords Lieutenants do me the honour to consult me upon their motions, and I have more than once been invited, by way of credit to the thing, (God knows, as they say in Wales) to be present at a review. Expresses come to me with the previous alarm of a horn, from the North and South, and this very day I have had one officer from General Wentworth and another from Oglethorpe with intelligence. What they brought was what your Lordship knows by this time that Oglethorpe and a few hours after him the Duke had got to Preston yesterday, and Wade was marching to the North in three divisions, one by Richmond, the others by Darlington to Newcastle, where, the Officer told me, it was presumed the Dutch would stay, and the English march to Scotland, but that was conjecture. This Gentleman told me that the nobleness of the King to the poor soldiers in the shoes and stockings had been most wickedly abused, insomuch that neither of them, through the villainous job of the contractors, would last a soldier above a day, which, in the worst weather and marches, used to hold out a fortnight. This is horrible, and would mortify a good man exceedingly. The flannel from the Quakers is excellent. Here is a report, that four French transports have been taken and two sunk. I think I mentioned to your Lordship the irregularity of the Edinburgh post, though it has been open a long time, and it is certainly worth some attention to set it right.

I am ever, my Lord, your most faithful Friend,

Tho: Ebor:

XXIX.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Dec^r 20 1745.

My Lord,—I enclose a copy to your Lordship of what I wrote today to Lord Malton by Sir Roland Winn. I did it in order to facilitate the execution of what the D. of Newcastle recommended to Lord Irwin with regard to our Yorkshire companies. There is no occasion for me to enter particularly now with your Lordship into

every point of conduct with regard to our county forces and their application; I shall only say, that it was an infelicity to us, that they never could be put under the direction of some one head. For as the lords were distributed into their several Ridings, it was not possible to act, for reasons of distance, with that perfect steadiness and union which was to be desired. Besides that the irregular motions of the enemy, and their hanging so long on their march, over the skirts of the W Riding, the most considerable part of this County, made the councils and resolutions of our Gentlemen very fluctuating. These vermin have now passed our County again. I hope soon to hear that the defeat of their rear guard at Shap will be followed with the total destruction, if it please God, or at least dissolution of their whole force. The point now is to convert our companies to some immediate use to the public, and I will hope, if the Lords set earnestly about it, something may be done. I dare be confident the Lords will do their utmost, but as many of the new raised men are brought up to trades, and many of them sons of wealthy farmers, or such as in the country phrase are well to pass, it will be difficult to persuade them, unless their officers show them the example, which, I am told to day, many of them are inclined to do. As the turn of things has made me a little confident by them, every ounce of weight that I have shall be employed to serve my Master. Lord Irwin has done us the honour with his seven companies to come to York. They were reviewed in my neighbourhood to day. I walked along their ranks with their colonel, and everybody says they were a set of fine fellows and performed their exercise to admiration. Their Captain did me the honour to dine yesterday at Bishop Thorpe. I am glad your Lordship approved of the cautious step of the Lord Mayor with regard to the gun.

I am ever, my Lord, your Lordships most obliged & faithful

THO: EBOR:

XXX.

The Same to the Same.

Dec^r 23 1745.

My Lord,—I send your Lordship a second letter which regards the disposition of our country forces, and hope what is proposed in it will not interfere with the contents of the D. of Newcastle's last express to the Lords Lieutenants. Lord Irwin and his friends seem to think it right, and as Lord Scarborough did me the honour to breakfast with me this morning on his way to Hull, I showed it him, and have his approbation. His visit was so long, that I have only time to assure you that I am ever, My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful

THO: EBOR:

All is safe yet, but I wish the D. had given over his pursuit of these Highwaymen.

XXXI.

The Same to the Same.

York Dec^r 23 1745.

My Lord,—Since I wrote to your Lordship in the morning I received the two enclosed letters. They amazed and grieved me much, and as my situation and concern in this business makes it necessary for me to do something, I really dont know what to do. I will endeavour to get as good a meeting at Pomfret as may be on Monday, where it will be, as of great moment, so of the greatest consolation in the world to meet the D. of Newcastle's and your Lordship's secretaries. If you approve of it, let them be directed to Lord Malton, with a copy for my private use, and by all means let a disbanding be prevented. I can neither describe nor conceive the hurt of such a measure here in this county, and such is the opinion of all the sensible gentlemen to whom I have imparted it. Your Lordship may be assured, that I will say or do nothing in this affair in the interim, but in consultation with Lord Irwin, Sir Conyers d'Arcy, and other gentlemen of the first weight. Indeed, my Lord, our friends must be advised rightly from above.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships most faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

Perhaps the directions his Grace of Newcastle honours us with should be sent to the three L^d Lieutenants in conjunction.

XXXII.

The Same to the Same.

Bishop Thorpe Jan^y 1st 174⁶.

My Lord,—At the meeting on Monday, of which I gave your Lordship an account as soon as it was up, it appeared upon enquiry into the fund, that about two thousand pounds of the first call was in arrear, and little come in of the second, so it was pretty obvious and easily agreed to that nothing more should be done at present than publishing the enclosed advertisement. By this means, the business of disbanding and recruiting the King's army are *res integra*. I foresee by what dropped in the debate, that it may be made a question, whether the trust reposed in the Lords

Lieutenants will justify the applying the subscription money by way of bounty, but this and every other consideration must be postponed till the subscription comes in, for if that fail, down drops every scheme at once. Though possibly some of the fellows may then be persuaded to 'list, and the officers will endeavour it, yet it must be considered that the greatest part of these men are above being common soldiers, and all of them 'listed for country service under a promise from the gentlemen that they should not be put under military discipline, or sent to the army. As these troops were raised here, with such uncommon generosity, and sure to great purpose, as the County has been preserved in perfect peace, it is my aim, and as they give me permission to speak what I think, it was my instruction to my friend at Pomfret, that for their own popularity and the public good, to which they are the sincerest friends, they would take care to dismiss these troops in such a manner that they may return home in the best humour, and be ready to engage again if ever they were called out on such an occasion, and at present we consider that danger is far from being over. Lord Scarborough with his regiment had got as far as North Allerton on march to the Marshal's army, but was countermanded. The corps is reckoned a good one, is regimented, and the only reason the Marshal gave against receiving them was that Newcastle was too full already; but they might have been cantoned near. The Marshal rejected too ten good men that offered themselves at Boroughbridge, because they were raw men. That is not understood here.

I wish your Lordship joy of the Royal Duke's conduct, which has gained the hearts of all this part of the world. We only lament his not overtaking these villains, which seems owing to some infelicities. Lord Higham is returned to his father, and the Earl is easy. He brought him to me at Pomfret on purpose to tell me the tale of his expedition, which the boy did very sensibly and gracefully, with one particular which the boy did not apply but I did. It was the answer of an old Highlander to the question, Why he brought his son, who was not above fourteen years, into the rebellion? The old fellow said:—'The laddie wonot stay at home, but his spirit was up, as soon as he heard the bagpipes.'

I enclose to your Lordship, to be conveyed, if you please, to the D: of N. a minute from Sir Rowland Winn. He desired, and it was not possible for me to decline it. The Duke knows his importance in this county, and his steady and useful activity for the King. Pray God send your Lordship and the noble Duke a happier year than the last. I am, My Lord, your Lordships most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

My Lord,—It is easy to foresee that this Ministry will have many applications of the sort enclosed from Sir Rowland, as well

as others, and I was very averse to beginning the trouble, but Sir Rowland's consequence in this county and his attachment to the King and his friends made it impossible for me to decline it. Will your Lordship give me leave through your hands to congratulate Lady Hardwicke on the removal of those ruffians by the activity of the Royal Duke; though my Lady would have had a fine opportunity of observing their descent from Highgate had they reached the capital, which I doubt would have been agreeable to the curiosity of some ladies. I hope in God, now they are there, effectual means will be found to keep these wolves locked up in their mountains, for in truth, should they get loose again, and overrun the country, despair and dejection of spirit would hurt the King much more than disaffection. The well affected in Scotland, from some of whom I hear often, grow extremely uneasy again, and complain of a want of Lieutenancys, of which I dont know the meaning. Our dragoons are in the highest contempt with these rascals, runaways are their constant language, and the boys and old women hiss them. I doubt their credit is sunk too in this country, since the infamous behaviour at S^t George's, and Blanes at Clifton. That is our account, which I hope the aid de camp knows to be a false one. We are told they are mostly Scotch and Irish, and their misbehaviour, added to our just fears of the Dutch, is matter of some uneasiness to honest people. It is certainly a felicity that Wade did not engage.

Our castle is being full of prisoners, and of so low and dirty a sort, that when the wind sets fair, I can almost fancy that I smell them, as they do the hogs at a distillery. They are so many, that people begin to be apprehensive of them. Part of Oglethorpe's Georgians (he left a hundred here under a terrible captain) are appointed guard, for the Gentlemen of the County have not the best opinion of the Jailor, how justly I cannot say. However, so many persons ought to be well watched. Your Lordship will I am sure forgive me, if I suggest that Ibbotson of Leeds be thought a proper person for High Sheriff at a time that may be full of important business. He is young, healthy, rich, active for the king, prudent, and would like the office.

May the new year arrive upon us with peace and healing in its Wings!

I am, my Lord, your Lordships ever most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

XXXIV.

The Same to the Same.

Jan^y 21 174⁵₆.

My Lord,—It is always matter of the highest satisfaction to me to find your lordship pleased with the situation of our public affairs, for then I am sure we are in a safe, at least hopeful way, and such as every honest and understanding man in the kingdom would wish. M^r Yorke is extremely good to me, in often obliging me with parliamentary views, and I dare say your Lordship will easily believe me, when I say I like the relation of things the better for his being the relator. I do in truth receive particular satisfaction in considering the part which he does bear, and the part that, in a course of years, he is like to bear in that great assembly.

The present system of politics, in having a proper regard to the affairs abroad, is very acceptable here, and there is the utmost confidence, that we shall neither overlook our concerns at home, nor stretch ourselves beyond our line, nor help those who will not help themselves. We are in hopes every day of good news from Scotland, and to hear of the arrival of the Hessians, for the Dutch are become extremely odious, and indeed hurtful to the country, and I am very well assured that in towns where their sick have been left, in Leeds particularly, they have spread very mortal distempers.

The Kings friends here are universally pleased with the nomination of our new High Sheriff. He dined with me today, and I find did not want the hint your lordship mentioned. He changes the Jailor for good reasons, and will set himself to the execution of his office with great alacrity, and I hope equal prudence. The prisoners here are many, and under the care of Oglethorpe's Georgians at present. If they should be withdrawn, M^r Ibbotson is apprehensive that he should want a military guard to supply their room. I doubt that could not be supplied here, for both the City and County forces will soon be disbanded. The money for the support of the first is almost at an end, and some people think there has been too much dilatoriness used in not disbanding the other some time ago. That is the point which indeed keeps me in the country, and I would willingly contribute to put an happy and popular end to this business. Lord Malton is in London, Sir Conyers not well, and wants much to be there, so that to be sure the county forces will soon be disbanded. There will be then a residue of eight thousand pounds or more in cash; that according to the resolutions at the first meeting should be returned to the subscribers, but if the gentlemen at a public meeting will come into it, I should think the best use of it will be that (and I have more gentlemen of the same opinion) which his Grace of Newcastle has intimated as agreeable

to His Majesty and useful to the public, recruiting the King's Army. There is one objection to that stirring in the country, viz. that by advancing bounty moneys you dont benefit the public, but the recruiting officers; an objection that does not weigh with me, for I think it ungenerous, and, in spite of it, shall do what I can to promote the measure, but I think it ought to go with the public approbation. For I am extremely solicitous, and think the nation is in some degree interested in it, that the Yorkshire affair be concluded with as much good temper and popularity as it begun. I have no interest in it at all but for that single consideration, and, but for that reason, would not have pestered your Lordship, at this time of infinite business, with my thoughts about it. M^r Ibbotson tells me that six of their blue coats have listed into Barretts regiment, and I hear many more are disposed to do it. I wish our gentlemen may be able to make the King a present of 1000 men. I acquainted Sir Rowland with your Lordships goodness to him and his brother, and my own acknowledgments go along with theirs. I accept the noble colonels apology for the dragoons with great pleasure. The D. of Richmond had set me right in it before. I own it would mortify me to hear such men are in any sort of apprehension from a gang of thieves.

I saw poor Oglethorpe last night in York. He looks dismally, and I judged of the sore place by his falling instantly upon the affair of Shap.

I am ever, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful servant,

THO: EBOR:

The Secretary of States answer to the Popish Memorial is an excellent thing. Lord Irwin sent me word he had wrote to my Lord Duke of Newcastle with a proposal to form the men of his Riding into a regiment, but I fancied it would be at present an impracticable thing, as I suppose is so.

I was in hopes I could have regulated my Scotch correspondence without troubling your Lordship, but in fact I find I can't. My Northern letters go from Berwick to London, and back to York by Berwick. If an exception could be procured as to my letters at the Post Office at Berwick, I would make no ill use of the indulgence.

XXXV.

The Same to the Same.

Jan^y 23 174₆⁵.

My Lord,—We have had large accounts of the disappointments at Falkirk. It gives me some concern (as I hear it was known in town on Monday) that no history of the day has come from the Government. Our story is bad enough in all conscience, but this silence above makes one suspect more. That event proves if the enemy is not too brave or too numerous for us, he is at least too cunning, and it is for them an happy issue, of what here is appearance of an ignominious flight. I am not particular in my opinion, but from laying circumstances together I always thought, though I dared not declare it, that there was more of art than fright in their retreat out of England, and have thanked God twenty times that they did not turn upon the Duke, and it is a fact most certain, that they traversed Scotland more like conquerors than fugitives, and are now in great strength and credit, and though I dont believe the report which makes them twelve thousand, I am very much afraid those dont know their precise number who, one would wish, did. The behaviour of Hamiltons dragoons is quite intolerable, and I have pretty good authority to say, that but three of all the foot regiments did their duty, and that some of them did not stand to fire once. It is a certain fact that the runaway dragoons, who have been the hissing and scorn of old women these three months, were at the gates of Edinburgh by eight o'clock on Friday evening, though the battle did not end till after six. I am afraid of meddling, but I cannot help observing to your Lordship on this occasion the ill conduct of the Gazette. It is certainly of public importance that that paper dont lose its credit. It has been found much fault with here, and yesterday more particularly, when people read there, that the whole body of the rebels was in the utmost panic and confusion at Stirling on the 14th, and on the 14th it appears they were in condition to attack and drive the King's whole forces.

I enclose a strange letter received yesterday from Ireland. The anonymous is ignorant, but I doubt speaks the true spirit of Popery, and shows they are making observations. Since that new incident from the North, I would beg leave to crave your Lordships judgment as to our county troops. I have by this post intimated to Sir Conyers, and Sir Rowland, and Lord Irwin, that the disbanding scheme had better be suspended, but if his Grace of Newcastle pleases to advise that still, and recommend the experiment of recruiting the King's army, I will with pleasure pursue those directions, but I fancy the Duke would mean it should be done with the approbation and good temper of the County, not otherwise. God forbid the story of a rising in Sussex should be true. It is not yet known here publicly, when it is, if it prove true, one would

rather augment, if possible, than disband the county forces, for though they cannot oppose a regular force, they will employ indigent and idle people, awe the Papists, and are more than a match for any home commotions.

I am ever, My Lord, your Lordships most faithful and affectionate

THO: EBOR:

I am quite sensible of the impropriety of my meddling in these military matters, but as one Lord Lieutenant is in London, another laid up with the gout, and a third, to speak plainly, sick of the service, all differing in opinion, and all referring to me, I will do my best with my Lord Duke's and your Lordship's directions. The fund will maintain through three months.

I trouble your Lordship to turn over just to say that Count Nassau dined with me here yesterday; that he seemed aghast at the Scotch news; that he is coming to London for instructions, having left provisional orders for his lieutenant in case of danger. He blames Wade much for his halting so long at Leeds and Wakefield at the retirement of the rebels, and Wade, I have heard, lays as much blame on him. He said he was ready for action at all times and places. His men are recovering apace, and he told me 800 quartered at Guisborough in Cleveland were well, and, what I was pleased to hear, very acceptable to the people there. It was chiefly at Leeds that I heard they were much otherwise. Your Lordship will please to preserve the Irish letter.

N.B.—Wade and other officers of the old Army were grown sluggish and timid. The Duke's activity and mettle put another spirit into them.

XXXVI.

The Same to the Same.

Wetherby, Jan^y 26 174^z₆.

My Lord,—Just before I sat down to dinner to day the Kings messenger came in with notice that the Duke would be here to night. I ordered my coach immediately to pay my duty to his R. Highness, and got here by six, about ten minutes before him. He is going to lie down for an hour or two, and does me the honour to take my coach to Boroughbridge about one in the morning. After I had kissed his hand and wished him a good journey, I took the liberty to desire him to take care of himself, and intimated, that we wanted no proof of his spirit and intrepidity.

My good friend the Colonel has just parted with me. He seems extremely well; is as confident as a modest man should be of success, and talks of the ragged enemy with a very cool contempt. I pray God grant that this expedition may put an entire stop to the mischief of this diabolical crew. That this harassed nation may come to itself again and enjoy a little, I mean a lasting repose. I have troubled your Lordship so much lately that I am ashamed to pester you by this post.

I am My Lord, ever your Lordships most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

By my last intelligence from Edinburgh I learn that my friend Sir Arch^d Grant brings up all his children Jacobites, and that one Jack, whom your Lordship once mentioned in a letter, is a man to be trusted with great caution. *Gens infida!*