

THE  
**HISTORY,**  
GAZETTEER, AND DIRECTORY  
OF THE  
**COUNTY OF DERBY:**

DRAWN UP FROM ACTUAL OBSERVATION,

AND

FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES;

PART II.

CONTAINING THE

PAROCHIAL AND FAMILY HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY,  
AND STATISTICAL INFORMATION.

ILLUSTRATED BY A MAP OF THE COUNTY, AND NUMEROUS  
COPPER-PLATE AND WOOD ENGRAVINGS BY THE  
FIRST ARTISTS.

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The Materials and Directory collected by the Publisher,  
**STEPHEN GLOVER;**

EDITED BY  
THOMAS NOBLE, Esq.

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1829.

Towards the close of the year 1745, the town of Derby was distinguished by a great political event deeply connected with the protestant succession to the crown of these realms. It was the goal or boundary of a bold and desperate invasion of Prince Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender, for the recovery of a throne which his ancestors had twice lost by their bigotry and their mistaken notions of hereditary authority.

Charles Edward was about five-and-twenty years of age: in person he was tall and handsome, and he possessed intrepidity and an ardent love of enterprize: his manners were however reserved, and his intellect neither strong nor comprehensive. His youth, his hereditary claims, and the misfortunes of his family procured him adherents and even personal admirers, but both he and his counsellors seem to have wanted talent to seize the advantages which the circumstances of the period offered them. The whole nation was in a state of suffering and discontent. Many of the best constitutional securities of the people's property and liberty had been made to give way to measures for securing the stability of the throne. Taxes, in that worst form of imposts, the excise duties, had been greatly extended, with other vexatious modes of maintaining an expensive court, and providing for the cost of continental wars for the preservation principally of the king's hereditary foreign dominions. But neither the young Pretender nor any of his friends had any notion of the interests and rights of the people: all he could ask them was to undergo a fresh series of calamities in order to place his father on a throne which had been possessed by his ancestors. The people of England, and even the majority of the people of Scotland, were not inclined to believe that fifty-seven years of exile had rendered the Stuarts of that day less bigoted or less despotic in principle than their forefathers.

The Chevalier de St. George, the son of James II. and the father of Charles Edward, had in his youth displayed great courage. He had the command of the household troops in the French service, and at the battle of Malplaquet, he led his regiment twelve times to the charge. In the last charge he received a severe wound in the right arm. During the spring of the preceding year, when he had scarcely attained the twentieth year of his age, he attempted the invasion of Scotland, but, through the vigilance of the British fleet, was compelled to return to Dunkirk without having effected a landing. On the accession of George I. he published a manifesto asserting his claims to the British crown, which was extensively circulated in private among his adherents, who were then numerous in consequence of the strong and irritating measures of the triumphant Whigs. His standard was raised in Scotland by the Earl of Mar, and on the 22nd of December, 1715, he landed at Peterhead near Aberdeen, but the strength of his partisans was broken before his arrival, and he was compelled to make his escape in a small French vessel, which lay in the harbour of Montrose. Thus discomfitted, he retired to Lorraine, and afterwards to Rome, where he resided until the spring of 1719, when Cardinal Alberoni, then prime minister to the king of Spain, invited him to Madrid, where he was received with royal honours. A fleet, with a considerable body of troops, was equipped and placed under the command of the Duke of Ormond, in order to effect a descent upon the coast of Scotland. The ships were dispersed by a storm, and two only arrived at their destination. The Marquess of Tullibardine with three hundred Spaniards and a large quantity of arms, landed on the 4th of April, at Kintale in Ross-shire, and seized the castle of Donan. A few Highlanders joined them, but at the approach of the king's troops, the Spaniards laid down their arms, and the commotion their arrival had excited was suppressed. Peace being concluded shortly afterwards with Spain, the Chevalier de St. George retired to the Papal States, where he lived in retirement upon a pension allowed him by the Holy See.

The spring of 1744 opened fresh prospects to the exiled Stuarts of immediate support and eventual success. The Cardinal de Tencin, an intimate friend of the Pretender, had gained considerable influence in directing the councils of the French ministry, whom he encouraged to believe that the people of Great Britain were ready to throw off the authority of the Brunswick family and restore the line of their ancient sovereigns. An expedition under the command of Count Saxe was prepared, and vessels were assembled at Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne. Prince Charles Edward, on account of the increasing years and infirmities of his father, was invited from Rome by the French government in order to be placed at the head of the enterprize. The British dominions were in a state of great agitation and alarm, and the country was occupied in the means of defence, when the gratifying intelligence arrived, that the principal part of the French fleet had been driven back to their ports with great loss, by stormy and contrary winds. The vigilance of the British navy was awakened, and admiral Sir John Norris so unremittingly watched the French ports, that the court of Versailles, perceiving their design to be frustrated, began to treat the young adventurer with neglect, and to discourage his ambitious views.

Charles Edward was however in that period of life when hope is seldom relinquished while any probable means of attaining the object aimed at present themselves, and his partisans, who were certainly numerous both in England and Scotland, encouraged him to indulge the expectation, that as soon as he should set his feet on British territory, there would be a general insurrection in his favour. He therefore resolved to watch for an opportunity of presenting himself to his friends in Britain, even without the aid of French arms, should they continue to be refused him.

A year elapsed before he was master of sufficient resources to carry his design into execution upon the most limited scale. By the summer of 1745, he found himself able by the contributions of his adherents to purchase a quantity of arms, with which he embarked in a small frigate, and sailed from an obscure port in the west of France. A vessel of war which accompanied him with a larger supply of arms, and nearly a hundred French officers, was encountered by a British cruiser, and compelled, in a crippled condition, to seek safety in Brest harbour. In eighteen days he arrived at one of the little desert islands of the Hebrides, and shortly afterwards his standard was raised at Glen-Sinnan, where he was joined by several clans of hardy Highlanders. He marched at the head of about twelve hundred men across the country, and at Perth caused his father to be proclaimed king of Great Britain. His progress was unimpeded. The royal troops in Scotland were few. George H. was visiting his continental dominions, and his son, the Duke of Cumberland, was engaged in unsuccessful hostilities in the Netherlands. The rebel army, increasing daily in numbers, entered Edinburgh, and the prince made the palace of Holyrood house his residence. He caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-place, and seized upon the public money. In the meantime Sir John Cope had drawn together about three thousand troops, and encamped at Preston-Pans, where he was attacked by the young adventurer at the head of two thousand four hundred Highlanders, who completely defeated him, and became masters of his tents, baggage and military chest. The prince was now in possession of all Scotland except the fortresses, which he wanted artillery to make his own. His forces were augmented. He levied taxes, and compelled the merchants of Glasgow to accommodate him with a considerable loan.

But while he was so far successful, he could not but perceive that he was far from being secure. The Duke of Argyle and several other Scottish lords, in the interest of the court, were arming their vassals, and large bodies of troops, hastily brought from Holland and Flanders,

were on their march to the north, under the command of Marshal Wade. The young Pretender accordingly resolved to try the fidelity of his English adherents, who by their letters had encouraged him to show himself among them. At the head of little more than five thousand men he resolved to make an irruption into England, and at the beginning of November he invested Carlisle, which immediately surrendered. He then advanced to Penrith, Preston and Manchester, where he was joined by two hundred English Catholics under Colonel Townley. At Manchester he was received with illuminations and other public testimonies of congratulation, but the English were cautious in joining his standard, and he began to be aware that his situation was become extremely critical. Marshal Wade was marching on his left towards Northumberland, and the Duke of Cumberland, who had landed from Flanders, was advancing from London with a large body of troops to intercept his progress. Still he was encouraged by the promises of his adherents in various parts of the kingdom to persevere, and finding the bridge over the Mersey at Warrington broken down, he crossed that river at Stockport. He then passed through Macclesfield and Congleton, and would probably have proceeded onward by Birmingham and Oxford towards London had he not been informed that the Duke of Cumberland was awaiting him in that direction, ready to give him battle. He therefore turned off suddenly to the left and entered Ashbourn, where, during his short stay, he took up his abode at Ashbourn hall.

Preparations had been making during the autumn for arming the people throughout the country, but it was apparent that the government was mistrustful of the spirit of the nation. In September an order in council was addressed through the Lord Lieutenants of counties, calling upon the Justices of the Peace to put in force with severity the laws for disarming papists or persons suspected of being papists, for preventing persons of that description from keeping a horse of above £5. in value, and for restraining them from going more than five miles from their dwellings. In consequence of instructions from London, his Grace the Duke of Devonshire called a meeting at the George Inn, Derby, on the 28th of September, "to consider of such measures as are fit to be taken for the support of the royal person and government of his majesty king George, and our happy constitution in church and state, at a time when rebellion is carrying on in favour of a popish Pretender." The clerk of the peace announced this meeting in a circular letter addressed to the clergy and gentry of the county individually, and the appointed assembly is stated in the Derby Mercury of that period to have been "the greatest appearance of gentlemen ever seen here." An association was entered into and subscribed; and a grand entertainment was provided at the inn, for the whole of the company, at the expense of the Lord Lieutenant, who, with his eldest son, the Marquess of Hartington, attended on this important occasion. After dinner, a considerable sum was subscribed for the purposes of the association, and other persons who did not attend sent subsequently very liberal donations. On the Thursday following, another meeting was held at the King's Head, at which the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquess of Hartington were present. At this it was proposed to raise two companies of volunteers. This was opposed by several gentlemen present, who insisted that it would be more constitutional to call out the militia, a species of force in which was placed the legitimate defence of the country, and on which the government ought to rely. This proposition was heard with much dissatisfaction and speedily overruled. It was determined to raise the volunteers: the Marquess of Hartington and Sir Nathaniel Curzon, the representatives of the county in parliament, were appointed colonels.

The Association\* was signed by one hundred and seventy-two of the wealthiest and most influential gentlemen in the county, and was submitted to the king for his approbation. On the 28th of October, another meeting, attended by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of the County, was held at the Talbot Inn. At this meeting an estimate was put in and agreed to, that the expenses of each of the two regiments, consisting of six hundred men, would amount to £1205. 9s. a month, and the officers were appointed to raise the men. In order that the county magistrates might the better employ their influence in encouraging their tenants to enlist and be vigilant in their several districts, the session for the county was adjourned from time to time at the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant.

While these means for the defence of the town and county were in agitation, the alarm of the inhabitants increased. From the middle until the close of November expresses were sent to the Duke of Devonshire respecting the movements of the enemy, which his Grace instantly communicated through the mayor to the people of Derby. From some copies of these expresses still extant, it appears that the royal armies were little acquainted with the movements of each other or of the enemy, and that the young Pretender, by turning his march towards Derby, baffled both the Marshal and the Duke of Cumberland, who might have compelled him to a general engagement long before he could have advanced into the very centre of England. Marshal Wade, at the head of sixteen thousand men, was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne when the city of Carlisle was taken by the enemy, whom he might have intercepted in their further progress towards the south had he used the requisite despatch, but we find him, three days after that occurrence, no farther from Newcastle than Hexham. The very day previous to the entrance of the rebels into Ashbourn, the royal Duke was no further off than Lichfield.

The particulars of the entrance of the rebels into Derby will be best detailed in the following extracts from the Derby Mercury at that period, and Hutton's History of Derby.

Nov. 28. "At a Common Hall held on Tuesday last by the Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of this Borough, it was agreed (in order to procure the most certain and speedy intelligence of the progress of the rebels) to fix upon proper persons to bring despatches from his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, immediately after his Grace receives them, to the Mayor of this Borough; one of which came yesterday, and brought an account that seven or eight of the rebels came to Preston in Lancashire, on Tuesday morning about eleven o'clock, the rest, about one thousand, were expected there in the afternoon."

*The following is a general account of the conduct and proceedings of the rebels during their stay at Derby, which may be depended upon for fact.*

"Derby, Dec. 12th. The chief business of late, amongst all ranks of people here, and in our neighbourhood, has been concerning the progress the rebels have made in England since their first step into it, little imagining they would have advanced so near the metropolis of this kingdom, as the capital of our country; though for several days before they approached near us, we were not without our fears, and had proper persons constantly out to watch and bring us an account of their motions. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire (who has been indefatigable in his care for the preservation of his county) left Chatsworth about a fortnight ago, with the Marquis of Hartington, his eldest son, and came to the George Inn here, where

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\* The copy of the Association with the names affixed to it will be found in the Appendix to Volume II. with other documents relative to the raising of these regiments.

they continued some days, waiting the event, and to concert the most proper measures for the safety of the public at a time of so much danger. We had also in town near six hundred men lately raised by a subscription of the gentlemen of this town and county, besides above one hundred and twenty raised by his Grace, and kept at his own expense; these were reviewed by his Grace, &c, on Tuesday, the 3rd instant; and went through their exercise to the great satisfaction of all present; his Grace also reviewed two or three other companies then in the field; and we were then all in high spirits, by some tidings just received that the Duke of Cumberland's army was near the rebels, and 'twas expected a battle would ensue the next day. Hut alas! how soon were we thrown into the utmost confusion, on hearing about an hour after, of the approach of the vanguard of the rebels towards Ashbourn: the hurry was also much increased by the number of soldiers and their immediate orders to march out of town, and nothing but distraction was to be read in every countenance. The best part of the effects and valuables had been sent away or secreted some days before, and most of the principal gentlemen and tradesmen with their wives and children were retiring as fast as possible. About four or five o'clock the same evening all the soldiers were drawn up in the Market-place, and stood under arms a considerable time, when they were ordered again to their quarters to refresh themselves: and about seven the same evening Captain Lowe of Hazzlewood, marched into the town, at the head of a company of brave men. About ten the drums beat to arms, and being again drawn up, they all marched off by torch-light towards Nottingham, headed by his Grace the Duke of Devonshire, &c. The next morning (Wednesday) about eleven o'clock two of the rebels' vanguard rode into the town, and at their entrance gave a specimen of what we were to expect from such villains, by seizing a very good horse belonging to young Mr. Stamford; after which they rode up to the George, and there enquiring for the magistrates demanded billets for 9000 men or more. In a short time after the vanguard rode into the town, consisting of about thirty men, clothed in blue, faced with red, most of 'em had a scarlet waistcoat with gold lace, and being likely men made a good appearance. They were drawn up in the market-place, and sat on horseback two or three hours: at the same time the bells were rung, and several bonfires made, to prevent any resentment from 'em, that might ensue on our showing a dislike of their coming among us. About three' in the afternoon Lord Elcho with the life guards and many of their chiefs, also arrived on horseback, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, most of 'em cloathed as above; these made a fine show, being the flower of their army. Soon after their main body also marched into town in tolerable order, six or eight abreast, with about eight standards, most of them white flags and a red cross. They had several bagpipers, who play'd as they marched along; and appeared in general to answer the description we have long had of them; viz't. most of their main body a parcel of shabby, lousy, pittiful looking fellows, mixed up with old men and boys; dressed in dirty plaids, and as dirty shirts, without breeches, and wore their stockings made of plaid, not much above half way up their legs, and some without shoes or next to none, and numbers of them so fatigued with their long march, that they really commanded our pity more than our fear. Whilst the market-place was filled with them, they ordered their pretended Prince before he arrived, to be publicly proclaimed, which was accordingly done by the common cryer: they then insisted upon the magistrates appearing in their gowns, but being told they had sent them out of the town, were content to have that ceremony excused. Their Prince (as they called him) did not arrive till the dusk of the evening; he walked on foot, being attended by a great body of his men, who conducted him to his lodgings(the Lord Exeter's) where he had guards placed all round his house. Every house allmost by this time was pretty well filled (tho' they kept driving in till ten or eleven at night) and we tho't we should have never seen the last of them. The Duke of Athol had his lodgings at Thomas Gisborne's, esq.; the Duke of Perth at Mr. Rivett's; Lord Elcho at Mr. Storer's; Lord George Murray at Mr. Heathcote's; Lord Pitsligo at Mr. Meynell's; Old Gordon of

Glenbucket at Mr. Alderman Smith's; Lord Nairn at Mr. John Bingham's; Lady Ogilvie, Mrs. Murray and some other persons of distinction at Mr. Francey's: and their other chiefs and great officers were lodged at the best gentlemen's houses. Many common ordinary houses, both public and private, had forty or fifty men each, and some gentlemen near one hundred. At their coming in they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer and ale, whilst all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready; after supper, being weary with their long march, they went to rest, many of them upon straw and others in beds. Being refreshed with a night's rest they were very alert the next day, running about from one shop to another, to buy or rather steal, tradesmen's goods, viz't. gloves, buckles, powder flasks, buttons, handkerchiefs, shoes, &c, and the town being filled with them, looked like some fair in the Highlands: nothing was more common for them if they liked a person's shoes better than their own, to demand them oil their feet, and not to give them any thing, or however what they pleas'd for 'em. The longer they stayed the more insolent and outrageous they grew, demanding every thing by threats, drawn swords, and pistols clapp'd to the breast of many persons, not only by common men, but their officers; so that several persons were obliged to abscond to preserve their lives. They appointed prayers to be read about six this evening at the great church, which was accordingly performed by one of their priests. They order'd the cryer to make public proclamation about the town for all persons that paid any excise to pay what was due by five o'clock the same evening, on pain of military execution; by which means they collected a considerable sum of money. They also demanded what money the gentlemen had lately subscribed and paid, towards raising men in this town and county, which many gentlemen were obliged to pay. They also made a demand of £100. upon the post-office, and afterwards insisted upon £50. which not being comply'd with, they took the post chaise along with them. They broke open closets, chests, boxes, &c at several gentlemen's houses, took away all the guns, pistols, swords, and all other arms they could find, in every house: pilfered and stole linen, stockings, shoes, and almost any thing they laid their hands on. In short, they committed almost all manner of outrages, which, were they to be particularized, would more than fill our paper. We esteem'd them very civil fellows who did not threaten us, but went away quietly without paying their quarters: and those that did pay it was so small 'twas scarce worth th' accepting. They beat up for volunteers, offering five shillings advance and five guineas when they came to London, but met with very little success; only two or three loose fellows enter'd, who serv'd their master but a short time, two being taken the next day, viz't. one Cooke, a journeyman blacksmith, who we hear is in Nottingham jail: the other is one Sparks of this town, who was taken plundering at Squire Meynell's, at Bradley, and brought here last Saturday night: and being examined before our Justices, was the same night committed to jail; when they were taking him thither, the populace shew'd so just an abhorrence of his actions, that it was thought they would have ty'd him up, before they could have got him into custody. The other is Hewitt, a butcher, who, we hear is still with them. These and such fellows, it is thought, were our greatest enemies, by informing the rebels of many particulars concerning the gentlemen in this town and neighbourhood. Early on Friday morning their drums beat to arms, and their bagpipers play'd about the town; no one then knowing their route, but most people imagined they would march to Loughborough for London, their advanced guard having secured the pass at Swarkstone bridge. However we were soon undeceived by their precipitate retreat the same road they came, marching off" about seven o'clock in the morning. The reason for their return back was not known, but thought to proceed from their fear of being surprised by the Duke of Cumberland's army: their chiefs seeming much confused, and all in a great hurry: many of their men left their horses, swords, pistols, targets, shot, powder, bullets and other odd things behind them where they quartered: a plain proof of their confusion. Their pretended Prince, mounted upon a black horse (said to be the brave Colonel Gardiner's) left his lodgings about nine o'clock, and

riding across the market-place went through the Rotten-row, then turned down Sadler-gate towards Ashbourn, preceded and followed by the main body of his army. We were rid of them all (except a few stragglers) by eleven o'clock. Their hussars were a parcel of fierce and desperate ruffians, and were the last body that quitted the town. They rode out to the neighbouring villages, plundering most of the gentlemen's houses for arms and horses, of which they got a great number. The honest farmers hereabouts are all great sufferers, many of 'em having scarce a horse left, and others forced to go with their artillery. We had little or no market last Friday; nor no divine service at any of the churches last Sunday. But as we are now pretty well settled again, hope we shall soon overcome our late misfortunes, and see all things roll again in their proper channel."\*

"On their arrival at Derby, the rebel chiefs held a council of war; but the only resolution they appeared to have formed, was that of levying money on the inhabitants. Having obtained a list of those persons who had subscribed for the support of the lawful government, they obliged them to pay an equal sum towards the support of the Pretender. They demanded the produce of the land-tax, excise, and post-office; the latter was refused them; but from the two former, added to the contribution, they actually procured a sum little short of £3000. Articles of dress were every where applied for, for they were very much wanted, as many of the misguided men were but half covered: some they procured with money, but when that was wanting, they did not hesitate to take them without payment. The conduct of the inhabitants towards their unwelcome visitors, was humble and obliging, and every care was taken to prevent insult and depredation: but all efforts to attain this end were ineffectual. On the second day, they seized on all kinds of property, and behaved in so outrageous a manner, that many of the more respectable inhabitants thought it prudent to conceal themselves. During their stay they beat up for volunteers, at live shillings advance, and five guineas, which was to be paid on their arrival in London: but they were joined by only three idle and unprincipled fellows; Cook, a travelling journeyman blacksmith; Edward Hewit, a butcher; and James Sparks, a stocking-maker: men of degraded lives and sullied characters.

"On the evening of the second day, instead of marching forwards, as was expected, another council of war was privately held at the head quarters. Their situation by this time appeared critical; and many of the chiefs assumed a bold and commanding tone so warm at last did their debates grow, that they were overheard by Alderman Eaton, who constantly attended the Duke of Perth, and was waiting for him near the Prince's lodging. It was urged by the chiefs, that—"they had followed their Prince with alacrity; that their love for his cause, was equal to the hazard they ran. That the French had not fulfilled their engagements in sending the necessary supplies, nor in making a diversion in the West to draw the military attention. That the English promises were still more delusive; for they had been given to understand, as soon as the Prince's standard should be erected in England, the majority would run with eagerness to join it; instead of which, they had raised only one slender regiment in their long march, which barely supplied their travelling losses. That the English were extremely loyal to the house of Stuart, when warmed by a good fire and good liquor; but the warmth of their fire, their liquor, and loyalty, evaporated together. That they were then in the centre of an enemy's country, with a handful of men: to retreat was dangerous; but to proceed must be certain destruction."<sup>†</sup>

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\* Derby Mercury.

† Hutton's Derby.



This progress of prince Charles from the borders of Scotland to the very centre of England, at the head of little more than seven thousand men; and in the face of regular troops commanded by distinguished generals is a curious fact, nor is his retreat from Derby to the northern kingdom less worthy of our attention. That his friends were numerous in many parts of England there can be no doubt, and had he been accompanied by sufficient force to warrant any just expectation of his ultimate success, his partisans would have shown themselves, and thousands would have flocked to his standard. The period for this invasion was well selected, as we have before observed. The British cabinet was devoid of men of talent or public principle, and, since the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, one administration had rapidly followed another in the possession or distribution of the lucrative offices of the state, while the affairs of the nation were marked by defeat abroad and by distress and discontent at home. The people were, however, reluctant to add to their other miseries the evils of civil war, and many even of the warmest Jacobites, whose fathers had seen the days of Charles II. were unwilling to expose the nation to the tyranny of an unconditional restoration. Nor was public discontent, though excited by taxes heavier than any previously known, sufficient to conceal the dangers of a violent revolution. Certain important constitutional principles had been acknowledged in the settlement of the crown on the Brunswick family. The liberties acquired by that settlement had certainly not yet been enjoyed, but the people gladly flattered themselves that those liberties were only suspended until their foundation should be rendered secure.

On his arrival at Derby, the young Pretender and his Scottish friends had more reason to congratulate themselves on their unassailed intrepidity than on their ultimate prospect of success. He had passed through a district which even at the present day abounds in papists, and which was not then, as it is now, the seat of wealthy manufacturers, enterprising commerce, and well-informed artisans. Liverpool and Manchester did not then rival the metropolis in activity, intelligence and numbers. Still he was not strengthened, though he was not opposed, where he undoubtedly expected to be joined by multitudes. That Marshal Wade was not already upon his rear, and that the Duke of Cumberland, who was no farther off than Coventry, should have left him to deliberate whether he ought to advance from Derby towards London, or retreat by the road he had advanced, are circumstances not favourable either to the generalship of these two commanders, or to the decision and intelligence of the cabinet. His situation at Derby had manifestly become desperate, but his own personal resolution was little abated, and could he have persuaded the Scottish chiefs around him, that a victory over the royal Duke would have been certain of inducing his English adherents to rise in his favour, he would not have hesitated to make the attempt. Perhaps a general who had proceeded so far, and who had so great a stake at issue, ought to have risked an engagement; but mistrust and dissension had arisen among the Highland chieftains, whose followers, as well as themselves, were impatient of the subordination necessary to the success of a distant expedition.

But what chiefly persuaded the young Prince that to retreat would not appear an abandonment of his purpose was the intelligence that his friends in Scotland had raised forces consisting of ten or twelve thousand men, under Lord John Drummond, who would maintain him in the possession of that kingdom, while the expedition which the French were preparing at Dunkirk and Calais would be ready for the invasion of the southern coasts of England early in the spring. This news had influence with the council held at Exeter-house, Derby; though still Lord Nairn and the Prince himself insisted upon proceeding towards London, or risking an immediate battle. These bold propositions were overruled, and the retreat began on the 6th of December, early in the morning. Some movements were actually made for the march

towards London: a part of the advanced guard, accompanied by some foragers, advanced southward. At Swarkstone bridge, their commanding officer enquired what towns or villages lay in that direction, and being informed of the situation of Melbourn, he said that two thousand troops would take up their quarters there that evening. This being communicated to the inhabitants of Melbourn, they immediately began to provide victuals for their expected visitors, but were not sorry that they did not keep their appointment.

It is surprising that a retreat in the midst of winter, and in the vicinity of two considerable armies, should have been successful. The Duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden common, between Coventry and Birmingham, despatched his cavalry in pursuit of the rebels, while Marshal Wade, who had arrived on his tardy march through Yorkshire as far as Wakefield, when he heard that the enemy had reached Wigan on their return to Scotland, sent General Oglethorpe with the light horse and dragoons, to join the cavalry from Meriden, while he marched back to his winter quarters at Newcastle. These troops of horse speedily overtook the rear of the rebels, and several skirmishes ensued, but the pursuit was continually repressed, and the retreating army continued to gain ground upon their adversaries, without sustaining any considerable loss, or being obliged to relinquish a single piece of their small train of artillery. In vain were the bridges broken down, and the militia called out to intercept their march. The retreat continued to be conducted with a compactness and vigilance that completely foiled every assault. At the village of Clifton, near Penrith, on the border of Cumberland, their rear-guard, consisting of the Macpherson clan, under the command of Lord John Murray, was fiercely attacked by two regiments of cavalry, who, dismounting their horses, lay concealed along the hedges that skirted the road. The broad swords of the Highlanders prevailed, and, after a sharp conflict, the dragoons fled. The young Pretender pushed on his forces to Carlisle, which he entered on the 19th of December, having in thirteen days of mid-winter effected so signal and so unaccountable a retreat of more than a hundred and eighty miles, that some historians have supposed that it was connived at by the government.

Having re-enforced the garrison of Carlisle and left in that city such of his English adherents as were unwilling to cross the borders into Scotland, the young prince led his Scottish followers into their native land. Two days after his leaving Carlisle, that city was invested by the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of his whole army. The garrison held out for five days, and then offered to surrender upon terms. The Duke of Richmond held a conference with them, but whatever terms were agreed upon, it is certain that the garrison, to the number of four hundred men, were imprisoned in various English jails.

The Duke of Cumberland returned to London, while the young Pretender advanced to Glasgow, which he laid under severe contribution, and being considerably re-enforced he took several towns, and seemed to have acquired a preponderating influence throughout the greater part of Scotland. In these circumstances he attempted the siege of Stirling castle, and gained a complete victory over the English general Hawley, who, at the head of a very considerable force of cavalry and infantry, attempted the relief of that place. This battle was fought near Falkirk, and the English tents and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. It was now time for the British government, the administration of which had been completely changed during the winter, to act with more decision. Fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons and twelve hundred loyal Highlanders from Argyleshire, were placed under the Duke of Cumberland, who, on the last day of January, 1746, proceeded to Edinburgh, and marching against the enemy, compelled the Pretender to retreat with precipitation across the Forth. Still the rebels, as they retired towards the Highlands, gained

strength: they took Inverness, which their prince made his head quarters; became masters of fort Augustus, and at Keith defeated a detachment of horse which had been despatched from the main army to annoy them. Prince Charles then resolved to attack the royal Duke, who had advanced to Aberdeen, but he found that the Highland chieftains could not be brought to unite in so important a step, and they still believed that re-enforcements from France would soon enable them to take the field with better hope of success.

Affairs remained in this state until the month of April, when the young Pretender, encouraged by some partial successes, formed a design of surprising the Duke of Cumberland's army at Aberdeen, and advanced from Inverness to Culloden. The Duke had encamped at Nairn, nine miles from Culloden. The rebel force, impatient of delay, without taking time to recruit their strength, moved on by night, with the intention of surrounding and attacking the royal army before day-break. Unable from fatigue and the obstacles of a mountainous road to make the progress they expected, Charles was compelled by the chieftains to return to Culloden, and many of the undisciplined Highlanders dispersed themselves around the spot in search of provisions, while others, completely exhausted, sank to sleep upon the ground. The sun had scarcely appeared above the horizon, when intelligence was brought that the royal forces might be seen from the hills slowly approaching, with a large train of artillery. The stragglers were instantly called in, and the clans, formed in thirteen divisions, stood ready to receive the attack of their foes. It was one o'clock in the afternoon before the Duke of Cumberland drew up his line of battle, and opened a destructive fire of artillery upon the enemy. The conflict was severe but of short duration. The Highlanders charged with their usual impetuosity, and threw the left wing of the royal army into disorder, but were themselves charged by the dragoons and put to flight. "In less than thirty minutes," says an historian,\* "they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road as far as Inverness was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguished vengeance of the victors."

The young Pretender having witnessed the destruction of his hopes rode from the field, attended by the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and a few horsemen. To have taken refuge in the dwellings of any of his principal adherents would have been certain destruction both to them and himself; he therefore put on a mean disguise, and sought safety among the rocks and caverns of the coast. He sometimes obtained temporary protection among the Western Islands, and frequently traversed the mountains and moors as a peasant, uncertain of food or of a place of repose, and was fearful even of speaking, lest his foreign accent should betray him. In this distress he was obliged to confide his secret to more than fifty persons in the various conditions of life, all of whom well knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head. At length, on the 20th of September, a privateer, hired at St. Malo for the purpose, ran into Lochnanach, near the place where the young adventurer had landed thirteen months before. In this the Prince, with the two Camerons of Lochiel, and a few other adherents embarked, and passing unobserved through a British squadron, arrived safely at Roseau near Morlaix, in Brittany.

This rebellion, which, by the folly and weakness of the government, had been permitted to disturb the minds and the affairs of men for so long a period, was followed by that vindictive spirit which actuates those who have neither prudence in danger nor magnanimity in success. The battle of Culloden led the way to a series of sanguinary barbarities, while numbers

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\* Smollett's Continuation, George II, chap. 2.

suffered under the forms of justice by the halter and the axe. This was the more lamented, because, it was plain that, by moderate exertion, the enterprize of the young adventurer might have been suppressed at the very moment of his landing; nor would his audacity have been encouraged to attempt such an invasion, had the people been ruled according to the principles established at the Revolution. Many causes originating in the mistaken policy of the government had rendered the people discontented. The expensive wars maintained by taxes of the most odious character irritated men's minds, but still there was no disposition to seek refuge in the arbitrary principles and obstinate bigotry of the Stuart family, much less to add to their grievances the calamities of civil war. The people generally looked to their representatives in parliament for relief, and had these representatives acted with firmness and honesty, the favourers of the Pretender would have been totally without a pretence by which they might flatter him with the slightest hope of success. It had long been felt throughout the country that placemen and pensioners, who were for the most part merely tools of the court, enjoying seats in the House of Commons, destroyed the independence of parliament; and at Derby, in August, 1740, during the summer assizes, an address was presented under the auspices of the high sheriff and grand jury to the county members. It was thus expressed:

“To the Right Honourable the Lord Charles Cavendish and Sir Nathaniel Curzon, bart. Representatives of the County of Derby in Parliament,

“We, the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of Derby, take this opportunity of expressing our concern that all endeavours for obtaining a Bill for reducing and limiting the number of placemen in the House of Commons, have hitherto proved fruitless; We, therefore, recommend to you, *and insist upon it*, that you use your utmost endeavours in the ensuing session of parliament, to promote a Bill for that purpose, which we think absolutely necessary for the securing the independency of Parliament, and preserving our liberties and ancient constitution.”

We have given this remarkable address in this place to show that the want of confidence in parliament paved the way for the Pretender's otherwise unwarrantable expectations. A few years after the presentation of this unavailing address, the young heir of the Stuart name and expectations landed in Scotland and marched without impediment to Derby.

*The following is an exact account of the rebels as they were quartered in the several parishes.*

Parish.	First Night.	Second Night.
All Saints'	2979	3027
St. Werburgh's.	1590	1641
St. Peter's	1091	1001
St Michael's	724	724
St. Alkmund's.	714	755
	<hr/> 7098	<hr/> 7148

“The fate of a gentleman, son to Mr. Birch of Manchester, is particularly deserving of



notice. Arriving at Derby in the evening of the second day from the Duke of Cumberland, he was stopped by the guard attending the artillery on Nuns' Green, which consisted of thirteen pieces) and being suspected as a spy, was closely confined in the house of Lord Exeter\*. The next morning, before it was light, when the main body was leaving the town, he leaped from a window, six yards high, into the garden. Attempting to pass a spiked part of the wall at the end of it, he fell into the river Derwent, but swam to some steps in an adjoining garden. Thinking himself not safe in this situation, he took off his clothes, and left them with a gold watch and some money, which soon fell into the hands of the rebels. He then plunged again into the river, and followed its course, four miles, to Alvaston: in his way thither frequently swimming across it. When he came to the village, he took refuge in a farm house, where, after the surprise of the family had subsided, he met with the utmost care and attention. After having procured some clothes at another house, he escaped to Nottingham, and the day following passed through Derby on his way to his friends in Manchester.”

1746, June 2nd. We find the following Address *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty*.

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\* *Exeter House*.—The author has thought it right to give a sketch of Exeter House, the mansion house which communicates with the Full-street, from its connexion with the history of this county, in the year 1745. At that time it belonged to the Earl of Exeter, and Prince Charles Edward, commonly designated "the Young Pretender," took up his abode there, and held his council of war in a fine old oak-wainscoted room (now used as a drawing-room) before he determined to abandon his project. This house was subsequently occupied by an ancestor of the late celebrated William Strutt, esq. and by other families, and is now the residence of William Eaton Mousley, esq. to whom it belongs.

“The humble address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Town Clerk, Brethren, and Capital Burgesses of your Majesty’s ancient Borough of Derby in the County of Derby, in Common Council assembled.

*“Most Gracious Sovereign,*

“We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Majesty, upon the late important success of your Majesty’s forces, commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke (of Cumberland) and animated by his great prudence and courage, against the most wicked and unnatural rebellion designed to subvert our happy Constitution in Church and State, in order to introduce popery and arbitrary power.

“This victory is never to be effaced from our memories, which (through God’s providence) has wonderfully brought back to us, the fruition of those real and inestimable blessings, of our Religion, Laws and Libertys, so much of late endangered by the parricides and invaders of your Majesty’s most lawful and rightful dominions in favour of a popish and long abjured Pretender.—We of this Borough are the more sensible of this blessing, because the enemies of your Majesty’s kingdom and government made this place their last scene of action before their return into Scotland, and inexpressible were the horrors and confusion they brought hither, attended in many instances with violent and open acts of rapine and plunder. May your Majesty, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with a continuance of descendants, from your Majesties own Royal family, always reign and live triumphant and victorious over rebellious subjects and their abettors, and hand down to us and our posterity the blessings we now enjoy, to the end of time. Given under the Common Seal of the said Borough the 2nd day of June, in the nineteenth year of your Majesty’s reign.

“ROBERT HAGUE, MAYOR.”