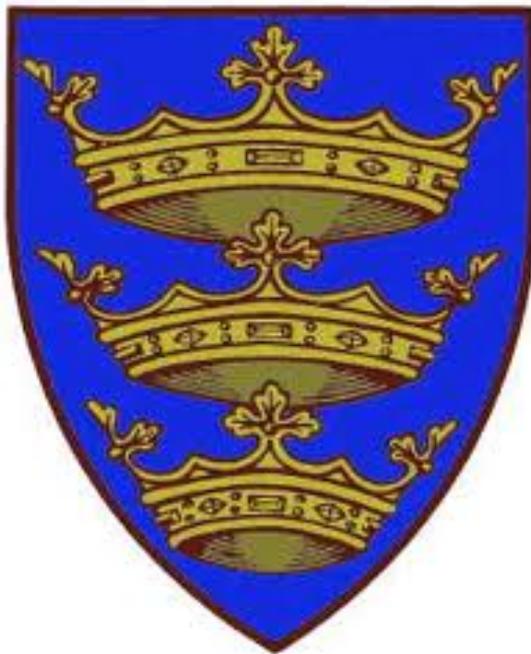


# **Spies, Scares and Scandals: Kingston-Upon-Hull and the Jacobite Rising of 1745**



Martyn Clarke

To my wife and daughter

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# Chapter 1

## *Introduction*

In 1688 King James VII of Scotland and II of England was deposed by his eldest daughter, Princess Mary and his son-in-law, William of Orange. James took refuge in France. In the years that followed loyal Jacobite supporters sought unsuccessfully to restore James and his successor and namesake James Francis Edward Stuart to the throne.

A last and somewhat mismanaged attempt was made in 1719, when a small army of some two hundred Spanish troops and one thousand Highlanders was put to flight at the battle of Glenshiel in Kintail, leaving the Stuarts bereft of military support. For the next twenty years or so help was sought amongst the royal courts of Europe but to little avail. The one exception was France. By 1745 the Jacobites could no longer count upon this support.

Despairing of further help from the French court James' grandson, Prince Charles Edward Louis John Casimir Silvester (Severino?) Maria Stuart, set sail from France on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1745 resolved to restore the Stuarts to the joint thrones of Britain. Charles landed on the Outer Hebridean Island of Eriskay on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1745, and quickly cast about for support. The initial response was muted. Without French assistance the clan chiefs were reluctant to come out. Undeterred, Charles decided to raise the Royal Stuart Standard at Glenfinnan on the mainland. By the end of that day, 19<sup>th</sup> August 1745, the head of the loch reverberated to the sounds of the pipes as seven hundred fighting men of Clan Cameron were joined by three hundred McDonalds from Keppoch and a party of McCleods from Skye.

Charles' objective was simple enough. From the start he proclaimed his father King James VIII of Scotland and III of England and he set about raising an army with which he intended to topple the Hanoverians from the throne. In order to achieve this he had to take the fight to London where a degree of support could be counted on and where a decision could be reached. Many in the Jacobite camp, whilst preferring to hold Scotland, recognised the military and political sense behind Charles' logic.

By-passing the government's army in Scotland, Charles and his fledgling Jacobite army, by a stroke of luck, seized Edinburgh on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1745. The prince took up residence in Holyrood House. Only the castle held out for the Hanoverian succession and King George II. The government's army in Scotland, under General Sir John Cope, made haste to Edinburgh and took up position to the east of the city, alongside the Firth of Forth at Prestonpans, on Friday, 20<sup>th</sup> September 1745. A fifteen minute battle the following day led to the defeat of the government's army in Scotland and to the flight of its commander to Berwick-Upon-Tweed. The Highlanders were jubilant, their losses small, some forty dead and seventy wounded. Alarm bells began to sound in England and at Kingston-Upon-Hull.

Following the defeat of Cope's army at Prestonpans, Charles returned to Holyrood Palace where he established a council of prominent Jacobite supporters to advise him as to what course of action he should now take. His army set up camp in and around Edinburgh. The Jacobites remained in Edinburgh for nearly six weeks before they began their advance into England. Charles used this time to reassure his council that they would meet with widespread support in England and went so far as to deliberately mislead them in this respect. It was finally resolved, by one vote, that an invasion of England should be undertaken.

Charles further proposed that the Jacobite army should march upon Berwick-Upon-Tweed and Newcastle, bring Marshal Wade and a second government army stationed there to battle and, if victorious, continue the march on London via the east coast. Lord George Murray, the effective leader of the Jacobite army and a lieutenant-general in the Jacobite service, demurred and eventually persuaded the council to sanction an invasion of England by way of Carlisle and the west coast. Carlisle speedily surrendered as did Lancaster, Preston, Manchester and Derby. Charles remained supremely confident that his small army was capable of overcoming all opposition and of taking London.

The majority of his men were Highland clansmen led by officers, clan chiefs and the like, of varying ability and military experience. By the time they reached Macclesfield, some of the clan chiefs were beginning to question the wisdom of continuing the advance. By Derby, an

overwhelming majority went further and openly agreed that the whole enterprise should be abandoned. In secret council Lord George Murray's views once again prevailed, despite heated attempts by Charles to persuade his supporters to continue the march on London. It was generally agreed that the enterprise was untenable in the face of effective Hanoverian countermeasures and a lack of widespread English and French support.

The retreat began on the morning of Friday, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1745. It ended two weeks later when the Jacobites successfully re-crossed the river Esk into Scotland. A small Jacobite garrison was left behind at Carlisle in the expectation that the Jacobites would return to England but they never did. Despite further Jacobite military success in the far north of Scotland and at Falkirk the initiative passed to the government and army of King George II. The subsequent Hanoverian victory over the Jacobites at Culloden Moor in April, 1746, effectively brought the rising to an end.

## Chapter 2

### *Town and county take action*

Five days before the Jacobite victory at Prestonpans, word reached Hull of events in Scotland. Two orders of council were sent to the mayor, Mr John Frogatt, along with precise instructions to distribute a cargo of advertisements to every gentleman and clergyman in Hullshire. These instructions were issued by Robert Appleton, at Beverley, and dated 15<sup>th</sup> September 1745. The advertisements gave detail of a meeting to be held at York, whereby all those well disposed towards the government were to be encouraged to enter into a county-wide association to safeguard the existing order.

The meeting eventually took place, at York Castle, on Tuesday, 24<sup>th</sup> September 1745, and was judged to have been a success by its principle promoter, Archbishop Herring of York. A county-wide subscription, to be paid in two parts, was entered into and many of the nobility, gentry and clergy of the shire pledged considerable sums of money for the defence of the county. In Hull, a little over seventy five pounds was pledged towards the county subscription, a great deal more was diverted into a local subscription. The villagers of nearby Skidby determined upon sixteen and a half shillings, whilst the towns-people of Beverley sought to raise nearly one hundred and seventy eight pounds. The collection of the county subscription was somewhat haphazard. One of the two men appointed to oversee its collection at Hull, mayor-elect William Cookson, admitted later that he had no subscription papers and that at one time the substantial sum of nearly £1,500 was kept in his house.

Representatives from Kingston-Upon-Hull agreed to raise and to maintain, at their own expense, troops for the defence of the town. On 28<sup>th</sup> September 1745, John Meek received the ten shillings due to him for '...going with advertisements about the meeting at York...' to Hull and the several divisions of Holderness and Dickering.

On the same day as the meeting at York, intelligence reached Hull of Sir John Cope's defeat at Prestonpans. A meeting was called, at the town hall, to consider matters. Those assembled, the Mayor, John Frogatt, Lieutenant-General John Jones, the town's magistrates, principal merchants and inhabitants, decided to look to the town's defences. General Jones was the military lieutenant-governor of the town. The mayor wrote to the Duke of Newcastle to enquire whether the king would grant commissions to such local men as he saw fit to raise sufficient troops to defend the town.

A loyal address, given under the town's common seal, was sent by the magistrates and burgesses of the town to the king. A similar address was sent by the brethren of Trinity House. Pessimists set little store by such expressions of loyalty and remembered that similar protestations of support had been sent to King James II at the time of William of Orange's descent on England. Despite this, the corporation's protestation of loyalty drew a favourable response, for the Duke of Newcastle was instructed by the king to express his majesty's personal satisfaction. Newcastle also sent the required authorisation granting the mayor authority to raise troops for the defence of Hull.

The Duke of Newcastle was well versed in such matters. His brother was Henry Pelham, Chancellor of the Exchequer and first Lord of the Treasury and nominal Prime Minister of the country. Newcastle himself was English Secretary of State, one of only two such appointments, and had been so for over twenty one years. Both brothers had served under Walpole. Underrated by his contemporaries, the Duke of Newcastle did much to ensure the survival of the Hanoverian dynasty, despite the king's strong disapproval of him. His foresight and energetic response to the crisis underpinned the Hanoverian victory the following year.

That same month efforts were made to protect Hull from sea-borne attack. The mayor and aldermen of the town saw to it that Trinity House removed from the Humber all navigational markers in case French privateers found their way to the town. The mayor and aldermen agreed to pay all expenses incurred in the operation, however, when finally presented with a bill for £58 10s 0d they reneged and continued to do so despite several requests from Trinity House to settle accounts. A resolution was passed whereby plans were made to open the town

sluices, if necessary, in order to flood the surrounding area to an extent of three miles. The marker buoys were reinstated the following January.

Three years to the month after they had removed the navigational markers from the Humber, a record of the dispute between Trinity House and the corporation was made in the Guild's order book. It warned those who were to hold future high office to remember the corporation's actions on the occasion of the pretender's rebellion and to be mindful of a similar situation arising again.

In late September Major-General Henry Pulteney was hurriedly ordered to Hull to take command of all the regular troops stationed there. Throughout the month of October, two to nearly three thousand men laboured at cleaning out the ditches and dykes that lay in front of the town walls and which constituted the town's moat. This was done in order to fill the ditches with water. They also worked on the bastion and ramparts. At night-time, between the hours of eight and nine, the whole town was extensively lit up. One enthusiastic correspondent wrote, "... that the town seemed to be one continuing blaze."

A skilled engineer, Captain Peter Henry Bruce, was sent to Hull at the request of the military governor with orders to take charge of the work. He arrived on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1745, only to find that much of the essential work had already been completed or was well in hand. He stayed for at least a week, surveyed the various works, and promised a committee of nine prominent Hull men that he would inform the board of ordnance of the merits of their claims for assistance. The work on the town's defences continued well into the month and was still in progress as late as 23 October 1745.

Considerable delay was caused by the presence of a partially built 20 gun warship under construction near the North Gate. The area could not be defended until the ship was removed and a sluice and a section of damaged curtain walling was restored. A petition with this in mind was sent to the Duke of Montague, Master-General of Ordnance. No answer was received and a committee of nine subscribers headed by Henry Etherington was entrusted, by the corporation, to ask the Duke of Montague to forward the petition to the Duke of Newcastle and through him if necessary to the king.

Work started every morning with the beating of a drum to summon those involved to the tasks to hand. Day labourers received one shilling a day for their efforts. Volunteers, chiefly gentlemen and merchants, received, in lieu of payment, a hat cockade to distinguish them from those who were paid for their labour. Earthen ramparts were repaired and palisades and gun positions planted on their banking to protect the land ward approaches to the town. The cost of this work was met by the corporation.

The adjacent waterway or outer moat was scoured of the silt that had accumulated in the years following the English Civil War. The east side of the river Hull and citadel area were strengthened by the laying of new palisades alongside the New Cut. In addition, the Duke of Montague ordered a stockade to be built under the citadel parapet facing onto the Humber.

Extensive measures were put into effect to the east of Hull Castle and included earthen embrasures and palisades. A palisaded gate was placed before the south blockhouse leading to the citadel and a double palisade was laid to the Humber. This work continued into the New Year. Details from 1744 show that the Lieutenant-Governor of 'Hull and the Block House' received ten shillings pay per day in contrast to the garrison surgeon who received two shillings. Four Invalid companies made up the garrison, along with a few regular gunners under the command of John Shipman, Master Gunner at Hull.

In 1745 the average strength of an Invalid company was forty five men. This had been the strength of the four Hull-based Invalid companies twenty one years earlier, when an anonymous writer had crossed the Humber, at Barton, and dined at the Cross Keys in the Market place. Service in the Invalid companies was seen as desirable as it provided worn out soldiers with something approaching a regular pension.

The men of the Invalid companies were not always in the best of health. During the course of the rebellion fifteen soldiers succumbed to their infirmities and were buried in the churchyard of St. Peters, Drypool. The Custom House was closed and Roman Catholics were obliged to leave Hull and take up residence five miles distance from the town. Holy Trinity Church doubled as a fire station. Military stores were sent, by sea, to Hull.

At the same time that work was in hand to place Hull in a state of defence, a local subscription to meet some of the costs entailed was organised by the town's magistrates and principal citizens. £1,900 was raised in short order, nearly half of which was spent on the improvements to the town's defences. Nathaniel Maister of High Street, along with William Cookson, was entrusted to collect the Hull subscription and in turn contributed fifty pounds to the same fund. Hugh Blaydes exceeded this amount by giving sixty pounds. Mrs Jane Bayles subscribed over fifteen pounds, which in turn was matched by one Sarah Charlesworth.

The collection of the subscription money was somewhat haphazard. One of the two men appointed to oversee its collection in Hull, mayor-elect William Cookson, later admitted that he had no subscription papers and that the substantial sum of nearly £1,500 was kept in his house.

## Chapter 3

### *The raising of troops and other measures*

By all accounts once news of the young pretender's presence in Scotland was known, the militia should have been raised. That it was not may be laid partially at the door of ministerial parsimony. The relevant act of parliament whereby subsistence money was paid to the militia had lapsed in 1735 and had not been renewed. In 1745, the East Riding Militia was something of a broken reed, being poorly-organised, ill-trained and at worst indifferently officered. Throughout much of England it was speedily recognised that the raising of the militia was an impracticable proposition and one that could not be realistically implemented in a number of counties.

In certain quarters there was concern as to whether by embodying the militia, other alternative measures might be jeopardised. A solution to the problem of raising a force worthy of the effort was jointly agreed to by the county's three lord-lieutenants. In essence it was accepted that the militia was a financial risk not worth taking but that troops could be raised by forming Volunteer Association Companies. This particular method of raising troops had also been used during the Jacobite rebellion of 1715.

Yorkshire led the way in forming Loyal Associations. The militia was not called upon. One reason given in correspondence of the time was that such a move would interfere with the raising of the volunteer troops and the setting up of Loyal Associations. As a result of the county's success in raising volunteer troops, the idea caught on elsewhere. Two hundred recruiting posters were printed, in Hull, by John Rawson, for the captains of the projected East Riding and Hullshire companies. Payment for this work was made in early October.

As a panic measure the Duke of Newcastle was only too happy to give his blessing. Where Newcastle over-stepped his mark, in the eyes of the Lord-Lieutenant of the East Riding, Viscount Irwin, was in granting such powers of enlistment to the Mayor of Hull, Mr Frogatt. Similar commissions were also granted to the mayors of six other English towns.

With a royal warrant authorising him to raise Association troops within the erroneously termed '...county of Kingston-Upon-Hull...' Mayor Frogatt hesitated. His term of office was all but up and the warrant, whilst giving powers to the mayor of Kingston-Upon-Hull, should really have been addressed to the merchant and wine importer William Cookson, the mayor-elect or at the very least to the '...Mayor of our Town or Borough of Kingston-Upon-Hull'. The wine merchant William Cookson was elected mayor of Hull on the last day of September, 1745. Almost a full month elapsed before the amended document was dispatched. By this time Prince Charles' mixed Highland and Lowland army was completing preparations to cross the border into England. The decision to invade would be taken four days later, in Edinburgh, by Charles and his clan chiefs on the evening of 30<sup>th</sup> October 1745.

The authorities in Hull, that is the town's magistrates, had considerable success in raising Association troops within the town. Enrolment took place on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1745. In their enthusiasm and on a less formal basis some had apparently taken up arms in October. By early December thirteen Association companies of foot soldiers stood to arms ready to protect the town. Each one was officered at the discretion of the mayor or, later in 1746, by Lieutenant-General Jones. The infantry companies nominally stood at a strength of 60 men each and were captained by the principal gentlemen of the town. Joseph Buttery's artillery contingent was made up of 200 sailors, a number of whom came from the Georgia bound ship Success. Of the fourteen captains commissioned in late November three were involved in law, three were merchants, five were classed as gentlemen, and one was described as a ship builder.

Something is known of their make up as Robert Pease, who received his commission from Mayor Cookson on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1745, managed to find his full quota of volunteers. Following a military convention of the time, of the seventy men on his rolls twelve were listed as dead. The dead included a surgeon named Isaac Thompson, who died in 1748. The monies claimed for these men were used to offset the day-to-day running costs incurred by the

company. Typically his company had a drummer, William Briggs, two sergeants and two corporals.

It is also known how the East Riding volunteer companies were organised as several company listings remain, along with details of company disbursements. One such example is Captain Storr's company. In 1746 this East Riding company was stationed at Hull when it was feared that the French would attempt a landing on the East Yorkshire coast.

Fifty three men enrolled in the company, between 27<sup>th</sup> September and 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1745, including two out-pensioners from Chelsea Hospital, London. These latter joined two other out-pensioners Thomas Bushell and Francis Hoyle, who were appointed as sergeants to provide the necessary military backbone for an unschooled unit such as this.

Eleven shillings was paid out for a drummer, Robert Smith, and two shillings six pence for the mending of flintlocks. 54 coats cost two shillings and six pence each. In addition 55 pairs of breeches, gaiters, and knapsacks had to be procured. The knapsacks came from London. Hats came from Richard Milnes of Wakefield, their carriage amounting to four shillings and nine pence.

Captain Storr was instructed by Lord Irwin, to draw a bill for one month's pay, principally £99 9s 0d, from Nathaniel Maister. This was made up of £79 0s 0d subsistence money and £20 bounty money, for the period 25<sup>th</sup> September 1745 to 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1745. The document is dated York, 25<sup>th</sup> September 1745.

Thomas Grimston, whose East Riding company wore blue kersey uniforms faced red, wrote in March 1746, 'Though we had no enemy to encounter, we flatter ourselves we were of use in keeping every thing quiet in this country.' Stephen Thompson took a more partisan view and praised the 'soberer companies' of the Yorkshire Association. It is known that at least one of Grimston's men, William Todd of Preston, outside Hull, took to soldiering and later enlisted in the regular army. Unusually literate and numerate for a common soldier, he left behind an invaluable account of his service in Germany during the Seven Years War, which historians still draw upon to this day.

All Chelsea pensioners, Invalid soldiers and soldiers on furlough within Yorkshire had been ordered, by Major-General Oglethorpe, to report for duty at the George in York. From Coney Street they were sent to assist the newly raised Association troops being mustered throughout the county.

Six sergeants, six corporals and two drummers were ordered north from London and instructed to march to Beverley by way of Enfield and Lincoln. They were also instructed to rest every third or fourth day and to cross the Humber at Brigg. At Beverley they were to attach themselves to Lord Irwin's command.

Plans existed for the withdrawal of the East Riding Association troops from the East Riding in the event of Jacobite forces approaching the county. Such was Lord Irwin's concern as to their actual ability to stand up to the Jacobite troops of Bonnie Prince Charlie in the open countryside between Hull and Beverley. In turn foodstuffs were to be removed from the surrounding area in the event of such a Jacobite incursion into the East Riding.

One armchair general suggested that London prostitutes be sent north and be strategically placed along the Jacobite line of march. Dressed in silk gowns and large hooped petticoats they were to allow themselves to be ravaged by the Highlanders in the expectation that the Jacobites would contract venereal disease. It was reasoned that this alone would stay their advance upon London and allow the Hanoverian military an easy and cheaply bought victory over the Jacobite army.

In October a false rumour reached York that Hull was in a panic. Archbishop Herring quickly established that the rumour was false and that much was being done in Hull to put the town in a posture of defence.

On 13<sup>th</sup> November 1745, the mayor and burgesses of the town acknowledged receipt of twenty cannons off-loaded from the ship *Success*, bound for America. Indemnifying Captain William Thompson, the frigate's Scottish master, the authorities undertook to return the guns as and when requested. These nine-pounder cannons, accompanying tackle and crew were placed in the charge of Captain Joseph Buttery.

On the point of sailing for the New World colony of Georgia, Thompson sailed Success into Hull when the Duke of Newcastle obtained the king's pleasure requiring him to land men and stores there. Thompson did so with the full agreement of the ship's owner, Major-General Oglethorpe, who wholeheartedly agreed that Success should be sent to Hull. This followed a request to him from the three lord lieutenants of the county for assistance.

On board were the officers, non-commissioned officers, private men and recruits of Major-General Oglethorpe's Regiment of Foot or Georgia Regiment. They took ship for Hull at Woolwich having first marched there from Dover.

The officers and men of the Georgia regiment were ordered ashore to assist in the training of the new levies then being raised by the shire's three lord-lieutenants. Oglethorpe also agreed to use the ship to augment the citadel defences. The Duke of Newcastle had endorsed the decision towards the end of September, seeing merit in the idea. The king had insisted that there should be no delay in sending Success to Hull.

Smaller cannon, from spares carried on the ship, were mounted on board and Success was moored as a floating artillery platform on the river Hull to provide enfilading fire to the defenders at the North Gate. The configuration of the river, just before the North Bridge, lent itself to this design. Stores and arms were off-loaded and sent to York along with two companies of Major-General Oglethorpe's Regiment, men who had signed on for military service in the colony.

The twenty nine-pounder cannon were mounted on the bastion walls. A total of seventy pieces of ordnance were eventually deployed on the town walls. Four independent companies of volunteers drawn from amongst the brethren of Hull Trinity House were raised to man the town's artillery. Commissions were granted to a number of the wardens, elder brethren and assistants of that establishment. The men of these formations wore no uniform as such but a hat cockade paid for by the corporation of the Trinity House.

Oglethorpe, stationed at Gravesend, also ordered a Dutch battalion northwards as a reinforcement. On route to its destination it passed through Hull, having taken the sea-way to reach the town.

Postmaster Thomas Richardson of Penrith sent a letter, dated 11<sup>th</sup> November 1745, to Viscount Irwin giving details of the strength of the Highland army. This letter was passed on to Lord Irwin, at Beverley, as part of an intelligence gathering scheme arranged with George Shelvocke, secretary to the Post Office. On average Lord Irwin received such a report, via the post office, once every two or three days. Two days later further intelligence, of the rebels' movements, was sent to Irwin from an anonymous source in nearby Hull.

The seven companies raised elsewhere in the East Riding were eventually stationed along the coastline, between Bridlington and Hull, throughout the winter of 1745-46. They took up their respective positions following a review at Campus-Ing Pasture outside York on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1745. Lord Irwin remained unconvinced by arguments that the French would not attempt a landing on the East Yorkshire coast and four days later, on Christmas Eve, marched them out of York towards Hull. All the Association troops were disbanded following Archbishop Herring's intervention in February, 1746. Five of the East Riding companies were stood down at Beverley.

Far greater contention was caused by the need to wisely apportion the unspent residue of the county subscription. Many gentlemen from the East Riding, including their spokesman Mr Moyser of Beverley, objected to a proposal to build a hospital in York with the excess funds. Similar objections were raised in Hull. It was suggested that the excess money should be used for the defence of the country. Mayor Cookson of Hull endorsed this suggestion by arguing that additional military forces could be raised, for his majesty, with the overplus money.

The Gordian knot was finally cut, in late March, 1746, by a suggestion emanating from Hull. The subscribers of Hull, in a memorial to Lord Irwin, proffered the idea that the remaining monies be returned to the subscribers in proportion to what each had paid. This suggestion was, in part, adopted by a general meeting of the subscribers held at the George Inn at York the following month. A further resolution was passed at this meeting of 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1746, in that a list of subscriber's names and the amounts pledged and paid by them was to be published.

This list was duly published at Hull at a price of two shillings each, although not without a number of errors for which the printer, John Rawson, was blamed.

John Gilfillan, a printer at York, exploited the resulting public disquiet and produced a further listing in May, 1747. He claimed that his listing was a complete account and that earlier lists published by other printers were not only extremely inaccurate but also faulty.

In the event a sizeable portion of the money collected in Yorkshire, about £26,000 was sent, under escort by a party of St. George Dragoons, to Scotland for the use of the army there. Any arrears were due by 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1746.

As Prince Charles' Jacobite army marched into England, rumour and counter-rumour began to spread. Otley and Leeds were thought to have fallen to the Jacobites. Despite the arrival at Hull in late November of ten companies of the Duke of Ancaster's newly-raised regiment, and the command of the garrison passing to General Pulteney earlier in September, there were those in Hull who felt the town could not be defended. Ancaster's regiment was one of fifteen regiments raised by the nobility for the duration of the rising. It was later written that the regiment had acquired a good discipline and that it entered Hull well turned out.

Not everyone accepted this view. The Duke of Cumberland, King George's third son, who was appointed by his father to the command of all the government forces in England, certainly questioned the ability of the best of these newly raised regiments to stand up to the rebels. He castigated all ranks, stating that '...neither men nor officers know what they are about...' A regular officer Colonel Yorke wrote that this same regiment, the Duke of Bedford's, made a sad appearance and that he was profoundly grateful that it was out of the first line. He further expressed relief that the fate of the nation did not depend upon these newly-raised formations as they were very poor. A regimental return, at the end of 1745, showed that Ancaster's regiment experienced a recruitment shortfall of some fifty one men.

The Duke of Ancaster and several of his officers, including the earl of Scarborough, were entertained, at the corporation's expense, by the mayor.

## Chapter 4

### *Rumours, alarms and dissent*

A modest spy scare in late November caused a degree of concern, when it was learnt in Hull that a Jacobite go-between, John Sanderson, had been taken prisoner at Brampton, eight miles from Carlisle. He had left Yorkshire with funds totalling 120 guineas for the Jacobite army. Sanderson was the Catholic son of a wealthy Northumbrian farmer. This intelligence rekindled fears, in the Wilberforce household, of a Catholic conspiracy in favour of the Jacobites. In the event Sanderson escaped and managed to join Prince Charles' Jacobite army. Here he accepted a captain's commission in Francis Townley's Manchester Regiment. This was a regiment of English Jacobites raised by Prince Charles in Lancashire.

In a little over a month he was recaptured, when the Jacobite garrison of Carlisle Castle surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland. Tried and sentenced he was transported to the West Indies. Again he escaped when his transport was captured by the French and its cargo of Jacobite prisoners released. In September, 1748, he was given a conditional pardon which in effect amounted to perpetual banishment from these shores.

The same month Sanderson was taken at Brampton, the area about Hessle as far west as North and South Cave, Elloughton and Brantingham was scoured, by order of Hugh Bethell and William Osbaldeston, East Riding Justices of the Peace, for a man suspected of being a spy. Josiah Milner and John Ramshaw accordingly ran the catholic John Batty to ground at Melton. For this they received at Beverley the sum of fifteen shillings.

The survivor of a so-called shipwreck, Jacques Labartt, had earlier given the bench in Hull their first foretaste of mischief-making when his story of woe did not stand up to scrutiny. Under examination, by two justices of the peace, it was established that he was a native of Piedmont, of English parents, and that he had navigated a London bound Genoese ship out of Amsterdam. The ship had floundered at sea due to contrary winds and he and two other mariners had been rescued by a collier and landed at Blyth some six miles north of Morpeth.

Labbart stated he could not recall the name of the collier's master but that it might have been Charles Hawkins. After several days recuperating at Blyth he repaired to the King's Head at Morpeth. He subsequently spent four weeks walking to Hull. He could not remember the names of any of the places he passed through save those of Durham and Hedon. Labbart spent two nights at Hedon before entering Hull.

In his two submissions, one written in English and the other in French, Labbart claimed that for a long time he had been ill with the flux and reduced to great want in a strange place. He asked for protection and assistance in continuing his journey. Labartt's case was weakened when it was shown that not only had he been able to visit, without good reason, a number of seaports between Berwick-Upon-Tweed and Hull but also two papers had been found on him. He was thought to be a French spy and an emissary from the pretender. It was said, by George Crowle, of Springhead, that he had the appearance of a gentleman and that he could converse in English, French and Italian. The bench ordered that he be detained.

At Burton Constable three hundred mounted Jacobites were said to have held themselves in readiness in order to support Prince Charles. They were alleged to have formed a troop of horse under the command of William Constable. Government supporters investigating these claims, on behalf of Archbishop Herring of York, were unable to substantiate these suggestions, for lack of evidence. Far from supporting the Stuart prince the Constable's were fearful that a Jacobite advance into Yorkshire would force them to seek shelter in Lincolnshire or some wild spot on the moors.

An earlier report submitted by Chief Constable Thomas Fisher intimated that an unsuccessful search for horses and arms had already been made throughout the North Bailiwick of Holderness. Fisher's warrant specified that his endeavours were to have been directed towards the finding of papists, horses and arms. Of the latter two nothing was found. Fisher's report, to the East Riding Quarter Session sitting at Beverley, was submitted on 28 September 1745. Searches were also made by Thomas Norrison in Hunsley Beacon and by Richard Dudding of Elloughton.

The second part of the county subscription was requested in mid-December and outstanding monies, in Hull, were to be paid to Nathaniel Maister, William Cookson, Richard Matson or William Markham at the Guild-Hall. This last half payment came in, but slowly, in Hull. Payments at Beverley were to be made at the White Horse.

There were those in Hull who displayed pro-Jacobite leanings and were prepared to speak out so. The wife of a Catholic sugar boiler damned, from an open window near the Sugar-House, all those Hull Protestants who refused to allow the Pretender entry into the town. What Henry Hamilton her husband thought of this one can only hazard. Adding insult to injury, he had to contend with the knowledge that his wife had further said that the Pretender should be quietly allowed into Hull as he would not hurt anyone there. The Duke of Newcastle, running the country through his brother, Prime Minister Henry Pelham, was therefore misinformed when told by George Crowle that there were no papists or non-jurors in Hull.

Two labourers, Robert Hesslewood and Anthony Hesslewood, in conversation with John Wallis, maintained that they would fight on behalf of the Stuart prince or seek to join him before they were locked up in Hull. John Wallis, a blacksmith and servant to Bartholomew Branton of Sutton in Holderness, gave evidence, on oath, of their treason before Mayor Cookson on 24<sup>th</sup> October 1745. He further gave evidence against Henry Hamilton's wife and stated that Hamilton himself was a papist or reputed papist. Wallis was of the opinion that none of the pretender's crew would have been allowed into Hull as long as people thereabouts had powder and ball to fire at them.

As late as 1757 an Irishman, allegedly, damned King George II at Beverley. The Hesslewood's opportunity to support their prince came when a small group of Scots wearing Highland garb arrived in nearby Barton-Upon-Humber. The episode later became known as 'The Invasion of Barton'.

The story centres upon the rumour telling exploits of Timothy Kean and Jacob Grit of Barton-Upon-Humber. Kean, a barber, and Grit, a tailor, so worked up the people of Barton with their blood-curdling stories as to what might happen to the town should the Highlanders ever reach it that, when three northern bound Scots happened upon the town, pandemonium broke out. Despite the fact that they were obviously haggard, famished, way-worn and dead-beat, when the Highlanders appeared at the market cross one morning the town was thrown into a state that bordered on panic. The locally-appointed constable was summoned but to no avail as he proffered the ready excuse that he could do nothing without a proper warrant. This prudent officer of the law, stout in girth, short of leg and of breath, quickly took himself off to bed and remained there behind a locked door.

In the marketplace doors were barricaded, the streets abandoned and the cry of murder put about. Confused by events the three Highlanders walked to Fleetgate and into the Ferry-Boat Inn. One stood guard at the door whilst the others entered the kitchen, much to the alarm of the landlord. Here they drew their swords and helped themselves to food and drink. The landlord's wife promptly made off and sought help from a neighbour, the bluff miller. Despite being thought of as a Jacobite sympathiser the miller picked up a partially filled flour bag and set about the Highland sentinel outside the inn. Before he had time to rub the flour from his eyes the Scot was overpowered. The two Highlanders in the kitchen came running through and met the same treatment at the hands of the miller and his two assistants, a flour bag swung in their faces and their broad swords removed. Secured as prisoners, the Highlanders were led off to the chantry and locked in. The chantry, long since demolished, lay on the north side of St. Mary's church.

As news spread of the miller's success the townsfolk came out of hiding, the men from their coal-holes and the women from behind their upper windows, and held a meeting at the George Inn. Volunteers armed with a medley of rustic weapons, including rolling pins and clothes-props set out in search of the enemy. The Brigg, Barrow and Ferriby roads were all in turn scoured but to no avail. Many a gallant boast was made on the return journey as to what would have happened had any further Scots been encountered.

In Barton it was decided to send a special boat to Hull and request the authorities there to take charge of the captive clansmen. This was duly done and the next morning a file of soldiers, bayonets fixed, arrived under the command of an officer to escort the prisoners to

Hull. It was found however that the Highlanders had escaped during the night through a hole which they had cut in the roof.

The reaction of the residents of Barton may be judged typical of the time. For what took place at Barton mirrored a similar story set in a Sheffield inn, where two unsuspecting and innocent Liverpool merchants were mistaken for Jacobite billeting officers.

Whilst matters proceeded well enough in Barton and whilst there was no need to garrison the town with the twenty thousand men demanded by some of Kean and Grit's adherents, the same could not be said of Hull, where General Pulteney walked a tight-rope. Piqued that Mayor Cookson had been granted authority to issue commissions, the lord-lieutenants of the shire argued that their authority to do just that had been usurped. Lord Irwin was particularly galled by this and fresh warrants signed by the king were dispatched in order to mollify him, Lord Malton and Sir Conyers Darcy.

News of the dissent reached the Duke of Newcastle who, in turn, wrote to General Pulteney at the end of November, requesting that he attempt to heal the rift. In matters such as this Pulteney acted very much as Newcastle's go-between. This was not a moment too soon. Two days after the Jacobite army began its return journey to Scotland, having reached Swarkestone Bridge on the direct road to London from Derby, Irwin clashed with Mayor Cookson. Again, the vexed issue of who had the prerogative to grant commissions caused sufficient discord, to the extent that Lord Irwin complained that Mayor Cookson had ill-received him. This was symptomatic of the ill-feeling that existed between the two men, a situation not helped by Cookson's forthright manner.

One of Mayor Cookson's earlier complaints, in November, had been that Lord Irwin failed to regularly communicate with the authorities in the town. It apparently irked Mayor Cookson that he was criticised by some in Hull for not waiting upon Lord Irwin in order to receive intelligence at first hand. Mayor Cookson was reluctant to call upon Lord Irwin, at his Beverley address, as he did not wish to bump into Mr Musgrave with whom he was at loggerheads.

Mayor Cookson was no stranger to controversy. As early as July 1745 he had found himself in dispute with the local Customs Commissioners over their seizure of Spanish wine and raisins he had imported into Hull. He petitioned the treasury for their return and agreed to pay the requisite Crown charges and to meet any other requirements fixed upon by the treasury. Cookson's case dragged on until 28<sup>th</sup> November 1745, when it was finally agreed that his wine could be returned to him upon condition that certain restrictions were met.

William Cookson continued to make his mark by being the first mayor of Hull to attend 'High-Church' in a coach with a sword out of one window and the mayor's mace of office out of the other. He did so several times that year.

Dissent manifested itself in several ways in Hull. Resentment existed on account of the plans by Lord Irwin to abandon the town, in the event of a Jacobite incursion into the East Riding. Others, including two aldermen, argued that in such an event, the town's defences were inadequate for their intended purpose and that the town could not be held in the face of such opposition. There were no drawbridges at the gates. Consequently it followed that the well-connected in Hull objected to the continued financial expenditure by the town on defensive measures that were deemed not sufficient to withstand a possible siege.

The Duke of Newcastle was, in part, informed of these concerns by Mayor Cookson in a letter dated 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1745. A few days later General Pulteney wrote to Newcastle informing him that he had just directed an alderman of the town to solicit Newcastle's support by asking that the cost of caulking Captain Thompson's ship, Success, be met by the Admiralty. This had been earlier been agreed to as the price for his assistance in augmenting the town's defences and the ship could not sail until this was done.

General Pulteney, anticipating a Hanoverian victory over the Jacobites, begged leave to return to London where he maintained he had a number of concerns to attend to. Before leaving he held a ball, to which all his officers were invited to attend. Abandoning plans, due to a lack of necessities, to send four companies of the Duke of Ancaster's regiment to the citadel, General Pulteney had only sufficient stores to place one company there. He was not helped by governmental pressure to ensure that no unnecessary expenses were to be incurred

by him even down to the last half penny. He left Hull out of pocket admitting to Newcastle that the various incumbent expenses had latterly been a drain on his finances.

Under the able generalship of Lord George Murray, the Jacobite army throughout the course of its advance and retreat in England had been able to confuse and hoodwink the Hanoverian generals marshalled to oppose it. Uncertain as to the movements of Charles' army, government troops had been sent hither and thither.

The Duke of Ancaster's Regiment of Foot remained in Hull for much of the rising except for a brief spell spent further north. On Tuesday, 10<sup>th</sup> December 1745, several companies of the regiment, divided into two divisions, were ordered to Newcastle. Detailed instructions directed the regiment to march on Newcastle and Gateshead by way of Market Weighton, York, Darlington and Durham. The men of the first division were the first to march out of Hull. The men of the second division left the next day.

That same Tuesday instructions were also sent to Brigadier Wolfe directing him to take command of all the troops at Newcastle and to safeguard the military stores there. It was feared that the Jacobites on their retreat through Lancashire might cut across Yorkshire and make for Newcastle and the arms held there.

At Scarborough such a move had been anticipated and several batteries had subsequently been raised to protect both the seaward and the landward approaches to the town. The reaction of the well-affected in Scarborough matched in many ways that shown by their peers in Hull. A subscription of £320 was entered into, the town's moat was scoured and ship-borne cannon were off-loaded to augment the local defence.

As a result of the Jacobite incursion into England a barrack block with accommodation for 120 soldiers was built within the protective walls of the castle. A gunpowder store also established here for the use of the district.

Wolfe's orders were transmitted through Marshal Wade, the elderly Hanoverian general, who at the beginning of the campaign had secured the town of Newcastle for the Hanoverian authorities. In the event, the future hero of Quebec was not called upon to withdraw the Duke of Ancaster's regiment or indeed the few regulars troops stationed at Hull, as Jacobite moves elsewhere led to his redeployment.

When it became known that the Jacobites were marching back to Scotland the bells of St. Mary's Church, in Hull, were rung in celebration.

Ancaster's regiment, on its return journey to Hull, passed through York, where two companies were left behind as a part of the garrison. The remaining companies arrived back in Hull just in time for Christmas. They were followed some days later by the East Riding Association companies, also on route for Hull. Instructions were issued in early June 1746 ordering Ancaster's regiment to march with all possible speed to Lincoln where it was disbanded. The two companies stationed at York were also ordered to Lincoln.

## Chapter 5

### *Events in Hull during the rising*

Despite the vicissitudes of the times, Humber trade continued. News of the arrival or non-arrival of coasters at Hull continued to dominate newspaper coverage of events in the port. Advertisements in the press remained as before and, in spite of national events, addressed the every-day concerns of the readership. A six foot high slave, on route from Hull to York, escaped. A two guinea reward was offered and intelligence of his movements sought by Mr. John Bondfield of Hull.

The Hull press gang remained active. In Glasgow sailors could not be persuaded to sail to Hull for fear of being impressed there. One such impressed sailor jumped ship at the port and tried to swim ashore but drowned in the attempt. Two boys in a small boat were swept out into the Humber and drowned. Accidents abounded. A tide waiter slipped overboard, as he was approaching the shore, and drowned. The body of a man lost in the Haven, nine weeks previously, was found near Dairycoates sluice. Shortly afterwards another man fell into the Haven and also drowned.

One man plunged headlong out of an upper chamber window and was killed. Another fell from his horse, in Myton Carr, and died. A butcher from Ellerker was found dead in the same area. Alderman Williamson's son was found dead in his bed. Percival Clay and Judith Grant were transported. Clay had set fire to a house belonging to Mr. John Grainger and Grant had stolen linen. Eleanor Fielding, acquitted of murdering her illegitimate child, sold herself into service and went with them. A man was taken up for forging gold coins.

The newly established York Journal or Protestant Courant began to compete in Hull with the local Hull Courant. The less than objective York Journal was sold by Messrs Munby and Mare. Established by the Whigs of York, the paper was seen as an alternative to the Tory York Courant. John Munby, a bookseller and stationer and later mace bearer for the corporation in Hull, also sold the York Courant and had done so for a number of years. He also had a useful sideline in medicines.

In January 1746, constables were appointed in order to keep watch at the town's turnpikes in the hope of apprehending a person believed to be a spy. Apparently, this suspicious person had been seen to pass through Beverley at seven o'clock at night on a tired horse. He had asked the way to Hull but had not stopped to learn the answer, the net result being that the constables were kept to the task two nights and a day. They were each paid two shillings for their endeavours. A corrected description was circulated which described the man as a youth of middle size wearing a straight moor-grey coloured coat and riding a dark coloured horse of some fifteen hands.

Charles Henderson, a mariner, and John Bourn, a blacksmith, came ashore at Hull on Sunday, 19<sup>th</sup> January 1746, and provided Marmaduke Constable and Francis Best with intelligence of French troop concentrations at Boulogne and Calais. They had been captured off Beachy Head by the French and imprisoned at Dieppe and subsequently forced to enrol in Lord Clare's Regiment of the Irish Brigade. After six days service with the regiment, they escaped and after several adventures reached Holland from where they took ship to Hull.

## Chapter 6

### *The provision of arms*

On the eve of Bonnie Prince Charlie's victory at Prestonpans, prior to his invasion of England, Lord Malton was advised that muskets and ammunition would be made available to his West Riding troops from stores held in Hull. As insufficient weapons were kept at Hull the land carriage was ordered up. 1,200 muskets, 900 cartouche boxes, 360 swords, carbines and pistols were sent by waggoner, in two consignments. Their dispatch was delayed as it was not fully appreciated, in Yorkshire that all weapons supplied by the board of ordnance had first to be delivered to an agent at the Tower of London before transportation elsewhere. These deliveries included the 350 muskets earmarked for the men of the East Riding Association.

Ultimately Irwin, Malton, and Darcy were able to claim these muskets and by early November their troops stood by fully armed. The store keeper at Hull was instructed to deliver the arms as soon as he received them. In between times much had to be done as it was found that many of the weapons stored at Hull were damaged and unusable. Some muskets were too long and others were too short. They bent after firing. Furthermore a shortage of muskets, county-wide, had earlier complicated matters. An exchange of letters flowed from Lord Irwin to the Tower of London. In turn, Irwin was directed to approach the manufacturers in Birmingham. All this added to the overall delay and resulted in needless time being lost as stocks of assembled muskets were not held by the manufacturers.

In the meantime it was suggested, by General Wentworth, that the men of the Yorkshire companies be trained, with broomsticks and pikes. These were to be made by attaching scythes to poles. By October matters stood in dire need of addressing. The North Riding Association had a paltry 70 muskets for around five hundred men. It was evident that neither Hull nor the shire as a whole had first call on available stocks from London. The dispatch of the 1,200 muskets clearly rectified matters. A further 500 muskets, ordered by the Duke of Newcastle, were packed up at the Tower and readied for dispatch to Yorkshire. This hinged upon the appointment of a proper receiving agent at the Tower.

By 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1745, all the Association troops in Hull were armed with muskets. The raising of thirteen such companies within Hull ranked as a remarkable achievement when measured against similar efforts elsewhere. At dawn the very same day Prince Charles' Lifeguard trotted into Macclesfield, *en route* for Derby. They remained in Derby until Friday, 6<sup>th</sup> December, when they turned about and began the long journey back home.

Had an east coast route been taken, then matters in Hull would have been fraught to say the least. The idea was no mere fantasy. Half-plans were laid before King Louis XV for a French landing at Bridlington in order to sever communications between government forces in Scotland and England. Moreover the town of Hull lay at one end of a principal communication artery, the great post road, which started in Plymouth.

A proposed landing of some ten thousand men in Bridlington Bay as part of a 'strategic operation' was broached, as a smoke screen by a former French ambassador, the Comte de Bussy. Unbeknown to King Louis, de Bussy, the illegitimate son of an impoverished noblewoman, was a British spy and personally opposed to the policies of his master's minister of war, the Comte d'Argenson. By suggesting a Yorkshire landfall, de Bussy effectively diverted moves to land a French force nearer to London. This met with all-round British approval, as any French move against London was viewed with some foreboding.

Several regiments of the line were indeed stationed by the government in Kent, in anticipation of such a French move, including Lieutenant-General Harrison's Regiment later the East Yorkshire Regiment. This regiment returned to England in late October 1745, following service in Flanders.

On Friday, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1745, Charles and his mixed Highland and Lowland army forded a raging Esk at Longton and reached Scotland, with the loss of only two camp-followers to the turbulent waters of that river. In Hull the parole or call-sign for that day was St Andrew and the counter-sign Berwick. Ensign Turnbull was to mount the main guard the following day

and the town and garrison was to hold itself in readiness to fire off a celebratory volley of musketry. Similar orders were also issued, to Ensign Renwick, the day after.

Detailed instructions, as to the form the celebration was to have taken, had been drawn up two days earlier. In the event the preparations were premature, although the orders were both detailed and thorough. Lieutenant Healey was to have mounted the main guard on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1745.

Confirmation of the rebels defeat should have resulted in a drummer beating a call to arms, whereupon all the officers and men of the Invalid companies were to have repaired to the ramparts of the citadel. The Associating companies were to have manned the ramparts of the town and the sailors their cannon on the bastions. The cannon of the citadel were to have opened up, following receipt of the governors instructions. These were to have been delivered by Pulteney's Aide de Camp.

In response the cannon in the town were likewise expected to follow suit and open up a celebratory cannonade. Following hard upon the last roll of cannon fire the Association troops were to have discharged their muskets. This was to have been done, first of all, by those troops to the left of the line with the volley being concluded by the troops of the Invalid Company. The men were to be encouraged to wait for the man immediately to their left to fire first before discharging their own muskets. Three further cannonades and rolls of celebratory musketry were planned before a general hurrah concluded the day's events.

## Chapter 7

### *The end of the rising*

In Scotland augmented by freshly raised troops, including a stiffening of regular French soldiers sent from France, the Jacobites turned on a second Hanoverian force at Falkirk and inflicted yet another stinging defeat on the troops of King George, this time under the command of General Hawley.

Despite witnessing, at first hand, the defeat of Hawley's regular troops at Falkirk, Captain William Thornton of Cattal, near Knaresborough, maintained that two good regiments of Yorkshire militia were sufficient to finish the business of crushing the Jacobites. He was regarded as something of an oddity. He had earlier led a sixty strong company of locally raised volunteers to Newcastle, where his blue-coated infantry had joined forces with the government army marshalling there under General Wade. They were attached to Pulteney's foot regiment, which numbered 300 men. The regiment later became the Somerset Light Infantry. Blind Jack Metcalf of Knaresborough served as a fiddler in Thornton's small command and survived the scattering of Pulteney's and Thornton's North Riding volunteers that day. Squire Thornton managed to escape the debacle by hiding in the closet of a nearby cottage, until he was able to escape disguised as a carpenter's mate. His ensign and twenty of his Yorkshire Blues were unable to escape and were taken prisoner by the victorious Jacobites.

Failing to capture Stirling Castle in the aftermath of the victory gained at Falkirk, the Jacobites moved further north and centred their plans on Inverness. Here, not far from the Moray Firth, Prince Charles took command of his army. Ignoring the sound advice of his Scottish commanders, Charles led his followers to a crushing defeat at Culloden Moor. The date was Wednesday, 16<sup>th</sup> April 1746, and the victorious Hanoverian general was William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland.

News of the government victory at Culloden reached Wetherby, on the morning of 25<sup>th</sup> April 1746, when an account, by a passing royal messenger, was given at that place. Lord Irwin received the news, two days earlier, in a letter sent by James Gilchrist from Dumfries. Within a day the news had reached Hull. Again the five bells of St. Mary's Church in Low Gate rang out in celebration as the news spread through the town.

As befitted the occasion, a further loyal address was sent to the king by the mayor and burgesses of the town. It was presented to King George by George Crowle and Major-General Henry Pulteney, the town's two members of Parliament.

Morning and evening services were to be held in October and set prayers were to be offered as a general thanksgiving for '...the late signal Victory vouchsafed to his Majesty's Forces, under the wise and valiant Conduct of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland...'

Lord Irwin returned to Temple Newsam House following the Culloden victory. He had stayed in Beverley throughout much of the rising, attending to his various county duties.

When Charles took to the heather the Hanoverian government decided to be rid of the Highland menace once and for all. Punitive laws were enacted and savage actions sanctioned. An army of occupation was stationed in Scotland and for a time a Hull man served in that army. His name was Ralph Burton and his family seat was Hull Bank House, today known as Haworth Hall.

Born in 1725, Ralph was baptised at St. Mary's church, Beverley. He was commissioned into the army as a second lieutenant on 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1742. He still held this rank in 1745, in Colonel William Douglas' Regiment. Colonel Douglas' Regiment, later the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, was stationed in Flanders at the onset of the rising under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. On 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1745, the regiment landed at Gravesend and was brigaded, at Stafford, with three other regiments before moving north into Lancashire. The regiment does not appear to have fought against the Jacobites but rather formed a part of the occupation army in 1746. This thankless service was short-lived and the regiment returned to

its usual theatre of operations in the Netherlands that very summer, seeing action against the French at Warem and Roucoux.

Following the victory at Culloden ten companies of Lieutenant-General Harrison's Regiment took leave of Kent and marched north to relieve the various government garrisons at Newcastle, Gateshead and Berwick-Upon-Tweed. Earlier the two companies of Major-General Oglethorpe's Georgia Regiment stationed at York left that place on Friday, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1746, for Hull where they were ordered to re-embark for Georgia. The preceding month they had fired a volley at the graveside of one of their number, Lieutenant Wansell, who had died at York and who was buried in a most gentle manner at St. Martin's Church on Coney Street. A large number of gentlemen and all the officers of the town attend his funeral.

Eight days before the calamitous engagement on Culloden Moor, at around 7pm on Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup> April 1746, a convoy of military transports bound for Scotland sailed into Hull Road seeking a safe haven. The convoy had received intelligence, off Scarborough, that four or five French men-o-war had been seen off the coast lying in wait for the transports. This news had been conveyed by the crews of several colliers plying their trade up and down the coast. The escorting warships immediately bore away northwards with the intention of gathering fresh intelligence of the French, who were thought to be privateers. Two men of war were promptly dispatched to the Humber, by Commodore Smith, where they met up with the Gravesend transports on the Sunday morning. A fair wind speeded them on their way.

Ironically, one ship capable of escorting the convoy, HMS Glasgow, a 29-gun frigate lay at that time off the Scottish coast on blockade duty. The vessel had been commissioned and laid down at Hull and was taken on by the Royal Navy in July 1745, when Captain Lloyd claimed his ship and set sail to join Commodore Smith's command off the east coast of Scotland. For a time the vessel operated in Yorkshire waters when, bound for Scotland, contrary winds forced it to take shelter in Bridlington Bay.

HMS Glasgow began wages, at Hull, on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1745 and sea victualling the following month. Two local men, Leon Yeator and Sam Deacon, volunteered for sea service aboard the frigate. They joined a ship's complement of 160 men, in late June and July, 1745.

In time Captain Lloyd captured a French Brig of some 70 tons and brought it safely into Mull. Onboard were fourteen French officers. Lloyd had a reputation for treating his prisoners harshly and he was described as cruel and barbarous by one such prisoner, the Chevalier de Dupont. When word generally became known as to the manner in which he had kept his French prisoners, English officers wrote to the king and complained.

The ability of the Royal Navy to keep the bulk of the French troops earmarked for Scotland at bay proved to be decisive. Consequently, the French were obliged to run penny packet sorties through the blockade, many of which were intercepted by the Royal Navy before Scotland was reached. Such a fate befell the French vessel Le Louis XV, taken by HMS Milford on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1745, with 176 Franco-Irish troop reinforcements on board.

The majority of these men were veterans of the Battle of Fontenoy. A considerable number of these men, both officers and common soldiers alike, were conveyed to Hull where they were imprisoned. Their journey took them by way of Leith, where they were first landed, an overcrowded Edinburgh Castle and thence on two hired transports to Berwick-Upon-Tweed. Not all were so lucky.

At Edinburgh sixteen were found to be deserters from the British Army on the continent. Tried by a General Court Martial, four were hanged. They were a mixed bag. Two had deserted to the French from the infantry, and two had crossed over from the horse. All but one, Henry Macnamara, were shown to have been Irishmen. They first entered Edinburgh Castle on Boxing Day 1746.

A warrant dated 10 July 1746 was belatedly sent to Hull with orders that Nicholas Morris and 145 other officers and soldiers taken at sea be held there. Nicholas Morris was a captain in Bulkeley's Regiment of the Irish Brigade in the service of France.

General Pulteney wrote that 153 rebels were sent to the town. A move that caused considerable disquiet as it was not known where the prisoners were to be safely housed. The town goal was in a state of disrepair as it had yet to be decided whether the costs of repairing the prison were to be met by the county or the town. There was no prison at all in the citadel.

Despite this it was thought that the garrison contained better quarters than the town's people could offer.

General Pulteney suggested that the board of ordnance be asked to speedily appoint sufficient of their number to oversee the manufacture of locks, bolts and doors in order to convert the governor's house into a prison. Pulteney also wisely proposed an alternative in the event that the board of ordnance saw fit to dispute this additional expense. Mindful that no time be lost he argued that the lieutenant-governor should be directed to meet the necessary costs. The Duke of Newcastle concurred and replied within three days. He instructed General Jones, the lieutenant-governor, to see to the necessary arrangements. Newcastle further signified that the expense of doing so would be reimbursed by the secretary of war.

It was at Hull that the officers were described as '...jolly good-like men as one can see, they seem quite harden'd, bold and impudent...' and the other ranks as '...a parcell of mean shabby fellows...' The rank and file were said to be clothed in red, many had caps with the initials C.R. on them whilst their officers wore gold-laced hats. Other descriptions spoke of the officers as being '...proper men...' and the other ranks as '...very good-like men...'

The eighteen officers, aged upwards of forty years or more, made a marked impression upon the townsfolk of Hull standing as they did in excess of 5 feet 10 inches. It was accepted that had they reached Scotland they would have a boon to the cause of rebellion there. As regular soldiers of the king of France they expected to be treated with the usual courtesies due to such captured enemy personnel.

They were a valuable prize in that they were soldiers of a premier French military formation, the Irish Brigade, otherwise known as the Wild Geese. The Irish Brigade was made up of several infantry regiments - Lally's, Ruth's, Dillon's, Bulkeley's, Clare's and Berwick's plus one cavalry formation, Fitzjames'. The prisoners in Hull were drawn from the latter three infantry regiments. They were escorted into Hull by a guard of the Duke of Ancaster's Regiment with Lieutenant-General Jones at their head. They arrived in Hull on Tuesday, 27<sup>th</sup> January 1746, and were sent to either the town goal or garrison.

Over time other Jacobite captives made their way to Hull, oddments in the French service taken at sea. These possibly included a few men of the Scots Royals, another émigré unit, and Scotsmen taken on the retreat from Derby. The men of the Scots Royals appear to have been a section taken at sea, along with elements of the Irish Brigade. They were captured on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1745, when their vessel, L'Esperance, a French privateer, was seized by the Royal Navy in the form of Captain Bully and his ship HMS Sheerness. Before capture L'Esperance was known as the Soleil. The other ranks were sent to a number of differing places of incarceration. During their time at Deal they were guarded by three companies of Lieutenant-General Harrison's Regiment of Foot. The Hull warrant of 10 July 1746 made reference to such prisoners from the L'Esperance and Le Louis XV. The same day as Lord John Drummond's Scots Royals were taken at sea and landed at Deal, the Wild Geese and their ship were taken off Montrose.

The captive French troops were all eventually housed in the citadel for safe keeping. Reports reached France of the poor conditions in which their troops were being kept in Hull. Central to the complaints levied were a lack of funds and the right to be treated as prisoners of war. The usual convention of allowing the French officers concerned to write to France for funds to ease their incarceration had not been met by the authorities in Hull. Lieutenant-General Jones pursued the question as to whether the French officers held at Hull could write to France for succour. He provided an account of their rank, regiment and numbers plus details of their pay in France. This came to a total of one thousand three hundred and two livres a month. There were also complaints of overcrowding brought on by the new arrivals. Jones had been lieutenant governor at Hull since 1715. He died in July 1749, at the age of eighty seven.

In the citadel the prisoners, following instructions issued by the Duke of Cumberland, were given the opportunity to stroll about the fortification during the hours of daylight. In addition the officers were to be lodged in accommodation more becoming men of rank and supplied with provisions. They had been kept in two large rooms. Cumberland's orders, sent via London, reached Hull on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1746. The same instructions were given to the commissary that provided for the prisoners at Hull.

French protests, through the good offices of a Dutch diplomat, Van Hoey, had borne fruit. Van Hoey was unfairly characterised as being servile to French interests, in a June issue of the *York Courant*.

The arrival of further prisoners, this time 36 Spanish, captured at sea in early 1746 sorely taxed the town's ability to absorb any more inmates. These men claimed to be subjects of the king of Spain but had been intercepted on board the French ship *Charité* bound for Scotland and Prince Charles' service.

Also on-board the *Charité* and accompanying troop transport *Bourbon* were the bulk of the officers and men of Fitzjames' Horse of the Irish Brigade. Amongst that formation's other ranks, taken that February day, were a number of British Army deserters. These included William Smith of Lieutenant-General Harrison's Regiment and Anthony Perkinson of Colonel Douglas' Regiment. The latter had deserted from his regiment during the time of Douglas' predecessor, Colonel Skelton, and as such may well have been known to Ralph Burton of Hull Bank House. They were duly executed on Thursday, 5<sup>th</sup> June 1746, after having failed to win a royal pardon. Their fate and that of three others was determined by the roll of two dice.

Requests to accept these additional prisoners, from Berwick-Upon-Tweed, were met with dismay on the part of Mayor Cookson. He strongly queried whether such a move was prudent, given that the French might mutiny and take over the town. This possibility had also troubled General Pulteney. Such an opportunity presented itself in June, 1746, when the Duke of Ancaster's regiment departed Hull for Lincoln. That nothing of the sort took place may have been due to the fact that the rising, if not the war between Britain and France, was over.

The Duke of Cumberland's order, specifying that liberty of movement be given to the French within the citadel, led to a reluctance within Hull to accept any further prisoners. Fearful that the French might mutiny and take over the town Mayor Cookson suggested that they be paroled to Beverley. This being unacceptable, the Duke of Newcastle instructed Jones to send the French officers home on parole via Boulogne or another such port. Calais may well have been such a port.

Lieutenant-General Jones was provided with a copy of a parole used by other French officers. This stipulated that the Frenchmen were not to serve against King George or any of his allies. Additional instructions were sent by the Duke of Newcastle. These advised that the French officers were to be returned to France immediately and that funds were to be advanced to them in proportion to their pay. The cost of providing these funds was ultimately met by the commissioners appointed to oversee the transfer of the prisoners.

Before this was done the returning officers were carefully examined, by Lieutenant-General Jones, in order to establish whether they actually held commissions in the French Army and where they came from. Any who did not hold the French king's commission were to be detained lest they were subjects of the British monarch and as such rebels.

The majority of the other ranks had to wait until early 1747, before they too were discharged and sent back to France. On 7<sup>th</sup> February 1747, instructions were finally sent to Hull giving details of the arrangements required for the return home of those French soldiers still held there. An officer from the town was appointed as an escort. It was his job to oversee their transfer to Calais. Once across the channel they were handed over to Captain Des Cogne, the French commissary authorised to receive them. Those prisoners who were not Roman Catholic and who were deemed to be British subjects were given the choice of deciding whether they wished to return to France or not. No penalty was imposed on those who elected to remain.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were to furnish the necessary vessels to transport the prisoner's home. As early as March 1746, these men, and in particular their Spanish allies, were described as being very sulky.

French anger at the way their troops had been treated in Hull and London had led to protracted negotiations between the two powers and eventually to the arrest of all English subjects in France without passports. This move quashed further complaints of ill treatment of French soldiers at the hands of the Hanoverian authorities.

For one unfortunate French prisoner these moves came too late—he died. His body was subsequently acquired for dissection but kept too long to be of any use. The undertakers involved decided against the risk of a burial and disposed of the body in a most unseemly way.

The body was thrown into the town moat opposite Salthouse Lane, corded up in a mat but minus bowels and legs. These were found about three weeks later, in the same area wrapped up in the same fashion.

At the time of the original find, when the man's head was found stuffed inside his stomach, the townspeople were outraged. Many suspected foul-play or worse, that resurrectionists had been at work on behalf of the medical faculty. It is assumed that matters did not take a turn for the worse when it became generally known that he was a Frenchman.

The Spanish prisoners departed Hull in late August, 1746, when a cartel ship arrived here on the 25<sup>th</sup> of that month to take them home.

The example of the authorities in Hull, in refusing to accept further Jacobite prisoners, helped embolden the authorities of Newcastle in their dispute with the government over Jacobite prisoners, earmarked for that place. These prisoners had been taken in the aftermath of the Culloden defeat.

There were no escapes at Hull, although one Jacobite prisoner at York, George Mills, managed to secure his liberty by simply walking out of the castle behind a coach as it left through the main gate. He was not heard of again. One lowlander is known to have been sent from Hull to York where he pleaded guilty to high treason and from whence he was transported. He was a citizen of Edinburgh and went by the name of John Poustie. Obligated to throw lots to determine his fate, Poustie managed to avoid standing trial and successfully petitioned to be transported.

A number of local men were sworn in as jurors at the trial of the rebel Duncan Stuart held at York. Stuart was a common soldier in Roy Stuart's Edinburgh Regiment, who had marched with the Jacobite army as far as Derby and had been captured at Carlisle. He came from Strathband and lived near to Dunkeld. The empanelled locals were Mr. John Hardy of Winestead, Mr. John Hart of South Dalton and Mr. William Elliot of Walkington. Stuart who could not speak English, was found guilty and sentenced to be hung, drawn and quartered.

In the event, Duncan Stuart was pardoned on condition that he enlisted in King George's army. The York Courant recorded his initial reprieve, along with forty four others, and the subsequent erroneous detail that he was to be transported. He had served in the same Jacobite regiment as John Poustie of Edinburgh and like Poustie he was a tailor.

At Preston, outside Hull, Henry Welburn of Coniston, with a bold voice foolishly damned the Duke of Cumberland. He was variously described as either a servant or a labourer and was reputed to have said, in the presence of others, 'God Damn the Duke of Cumberland he never did good in his life'. For this he had to appear before a Justice of the Peace, find a hundred pound recognizance and persuade two others from Coniston, James Hardy and Robert Carrick, to pledge a further fifty pounds each.

As a part of his recognisance he had to make his way to Beverley to appear before the General Quarter Session of the Peace. In between times, Welburn also had to keep the peace lest the terms of his recognizance and that of the two others, levied on their goods, chattels, lands and tenements, be broken. On 15<sup>th</sup> July 1746, he submitted at Beverley and was fined. Welburn immediately paid up, handing his money over to the sheriff in court.

## Chapter 8

### *Conclusion*

The events of the past fifteen months or more were brought to a close in Hull on Thursday, 9<sup>th</sup> October 1746, when the day was given over to officially sanctioned thanksgiving. As the day coincided with the general quarter sessions of the peace, a degree of solemnity and ceremony marked its passage. The bench continued to sit and deliberate on matters of local import.

The Mayor-elect, Josiah Robinson, and the corporation's recorder, sheriff and chamberlains met at the house of Mayor Cookson in the morning. Together with Mayor Cookson they then trooped to Holy Trinity Church and afterwards to the town hall.

At four o'clock in the afternoon a larger gathering met outside Mayor Cookson's house. Music provided by the town's waits attended this gathering of aldermen and civic officers as it processed through the town towards the town hall. Mayor-elect Robinson and Lieutenant-General Jones accompanied the procession, which was escorted by the constables of the various wards. At the town hall the king's health was drunk as was that of his family. A twelve gallon cask of ale was set up by the market cross for all those who wished to emulate the corporation. This expense was met by the corporation.

Church services were held throughout the East Riding. The sermon delivered by the rector of Patrington, Nicholas Nichols MA., was printed in Hull by George Ferraby in the Butchery. The reverend Nichols took as his text Isaiah VII verses five to seven wherein he likened Charles Edward Stuart to King Rezin of Syria and King Pekah of Israel, two turbulent and ambitious princes.

The bell-ringers of Cottingham received twelve shillings for their efforts that day, this was in addition to the five shillings they had earlier received following the news of the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden.

It was recognised that the town had evinced an outward spirit of defiance not necessarily backed by determined actions. When confronted by the full cost of the measures to be undertaken, both in financial terms and loss of civic power, the town had opted to take a course of action so typical of the time. Level-headed logic prevailed over notions of self-sacrifice. It is as near an epitaph as can be given. Had Prince Charles and his Jacobite army appeared before Hull towards the end of November, the town would have surrendered. Had they arrived in early December, when all that could have been done to place Hull on a defensive footing had been done, the outcome would probably have been the same.

Despite the manifold difficulties of attempting an east coast descent upon London, and there were a number on the prince's council who favoured such an advance via Newcastle, the arrival of a Jacobite force before Hull on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1745, would have led to a change of heart on the part of the town's volunteer defenders and the corporation. This is amply borne out by what happened at Edinburgh, Carlisle, and Derby and also assumes that there was sufficient time available to raise enough men to defend the town. The first commissions to raise troops amongst the citizens of Hull were not issued by Mayor Cookson until Monday, 25<sup>th</sup> November, the actual recruitment announcements were not circulated for a further three days.

At Edinburgh, where efforts to put that place in a defensive posture were lukewarm, the authorities feared that those foolhardy enough to volunteer would be cut down in any encounter with the Jacobites. They readily concurred when the Association companies, town guard and trained bands were stood down for it was widely recognised that Edinburgh could not afford to lose so many young men of good standing. It has to be doubted whether, in similar circumstances, the authorities in Hull would have been prepared to risk its own mercantile elite in such an uncertain venture.

This also takes at face value that Lord Irwin's plans for a wholesale military withdrawal from the East Riding had been put into effect and that only the local, ill-trained and gravely inexperienced, Association companies remained in Hull, alongside the Duke of Ancaster's newly raised and equally untried regiment of foot. This again presupposes that the local

companies were raised in time. This view of surrender is supported by the actions of the militia and civil authorities in Carlisle where there was a rapid and complete collapse of morale in the face of serious moves by the Jacobites to secure that town. Abandoned by Lord Irwin and the East Riding companies it is hardly likely that anything other than a token resistance would have been offered by the authorities in Hull.

The defence of Carlisle cost Prince Charles nearly a week. It cannot be determined how long Charles or Lord George Murray would have been prepared to tarry before Hull. Certainly the defences at Hull were immeasurably better than those to be found at Edinburgh and Carlisle but what of the spirit of its defenders. It would have been upon this question that the defence of Hull rested. The men who would have stood on the walls and bastions were newly raised with little if any military experience worthy of the name and whose training had hardly begun. They were not the motivated and experienced soldiers of 1643. It has to be doubted whether they would have remained steadfast in the face of a Highland army intent upon their destruction.

The number of armed and inadequately trained men available to defend the town, excluding the few regular soldiers of the Invalid companies and gunners of the citadel, would have been determined by the date the Jacobite army appeared before Hull. This of course cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty given that Hull never formed a part of the Jacobite itinerary in England. At best it may be said that had the Jacobites marched through the eastern counties of England at a similar pace to that of their western descent then they might have arrived before Hull on or about 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1745. On that day the Jacobites passed through Preston heading for Manchester. Hull lies due east of Preston.

Coincidentally or not the period up to 24 November was viewed to be the time of greatest peril by those who lived in York, with many families seeking refuge in Hull or other such places along the Yorkshire coast.

On 26<sup>th</sup> November 1745, the defence of Hull rested upon a handful of regular gunners and the Invalid soldiers of the garrison. These men were later described as being too few in number and too infirm as to be capable of even guarding one hundred and fifty three Jacobite prisoners, let alone of beating off a serious Jacobite attack on Hull. It would have been impossible for them to have manned the town's walls nor was this their responsibility. Hull would have fallen to the Jacobites.

By the end of the month the defence of Hull rested upon the shoulders of one thousand men. These were the volunteers of the thirteen Association companies, Captain Buttery's 200 strong volunteer artillery contingent, the brethren of Trinity House, and the 180 or so men of the Invalid companies. It is questionable whether the Duke of Ancaster's 729 strong regiment of foot would have reached Hull by this date as it was only ordered up on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1745.

Dispersed over Lincolnshire the regiment was ordered to march without delay to Hull. Five companies immediately set out post haste from Lincoln, three from Stamford and two from Grantham. They were instructed to cross over to Hull at Barton-Upon-Humber. On 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1745, Mayor Cookson wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that the battalion was in Hull and that the defence now rested upon the shoulders of two thousand men. Even so it has to be doubted whether these numbers were sufficient or whether their collective resolve would have held when faced with the real prospect of annihilation at the hands of Prince Charles' Jacobite army. In October 1745, it had been estimated that a force of some three thousand armed men was required to adequately defend the town against the Jacobites.

The fall of Hull in itself would not have been a tragedy as any Jacobite occupation would have been short lived. The seizure of London and not that of Hull was the key to a successful Jacobite campaign in 1745. At the very best Prince Charles would have gathered in but a handful of recruits and the remoter prospect of piecemeal French support reaching him through the port. This however hinges on the proposition that such vessels would have been prepared to and indeed were able to operate in the narrower confines of the Humber, at a time when the Royal Navy would have been straining every nerve to intercept them.

When obliged to Prince Charles' Highland troops were quite capable of conducting siege operations, although this was neither their forte nor was it to their liking. More often than not the barefooted clansmen had little difficulty negotiating the worst of England's pre-turnpike highways. It therefore follows that had the town's sluices been opened the Highlanders at

least would not have been handicapped in the same way as regular troops might have been in such circumstances. The opening of the town sluices would have been Pulteney's trump card and something of a last ditch move.

A little over one hundred years earlier such flooding had severely hampered numerous attempts by a large and well equipped Royalist army to take Hull. It has to be doubted whether such a move, in the winter of 1745, would have seriously hampered Prince Charles' Highland followers as they moved into the attack. With meagre artillery support the Jacobite high command would have had little option but to consider storming the town. This they were quite capable of doing.

Their apparent resolve to do so at Carlisle panicked the mass of the civilian-soldiers manning the town walls and sent them scurrying for home. In turn the local populace, led by their lord-mayor, had speedily sought terms and had readily agreed to the surrender of both town and castle into Prince Charles' hands. At Derby the approach of the Jacobite army precipitated a night-time retreat by the town's six hundred gentlemen volunteers.

Had such things come to pass in Hull then the attitude and behaviour of the town's authorities and citizens would have been judged no different from that of any other place in England that happened to be visited by the Jacobite army in that autumn of 1745. This, if anything, confirms the contention that the town of Kingston-Upon-Hull chose to respond to the Jacobite threat in a manner that typified the rest of the country, namely one of half-hearted adherence to the existing order.

On the surface much was done or appeared to be done. Supporters of the Hanoverian cause in Hull could well have been forgiven for thinking that the efforts to put the town in a state of defence meant that the political will to stand up to the rebels was also present in equal measure. Events elsewhere however have shown that this was unlikely to have been the case.

This does not denigrate the efforts of those in Hull who sought to support the government of King George II. Rather such a conclusion merely reinforces the view that the people of Hull, despite favouring the Hanoverian cause, were only prepared to venture so much in the face of political and dynastic uncertainty. Of that there was an abundance in 1745 for no one knew how events would work out and therefore it was not only prudent to consider adopting a middle course but in times of imminent danger necessary to do so.

That Hull was not called upon to make this choice is more a reflection of Lord George Murray's sound military judgment and powers of persuasion. For it was Lord George Murray, more than any other in the Jacobite camp, who persuaded Charles Edward Stuart to invade England down the west coast and not the east coast as many Jacobites preferred. As a result Hull was spared a visitation and something of the fear experienced by the citizens of nearby Barton-Upon-Humber when their town was visited by three weary and hungry Highland drovers. Hull then had much cause to be thankful when its citizens attended church in October 1746, in order to give praise for their deliverance from the hands of the Jacobite army and their Stuart prince.

In the final analysis had Prince Charles taken the east coast option and invaded England by way of Berwick-Upon-Tweed and Newcastle it is unlikely that he would have pressed on for London by way of Hull. He had nothing to gain by doing so and much to lose in the event of a defeat between Hull and London. Hull was a Whig town of some twenty thousand people and little could be expected of its populace. Charles would have found few local men willing to risk all in his cause nor by seizing Hull could he coordinate his advance with the French.

Any French assistance by way of Hull would have been of little immediate value as the essence to a successful conclusion to the campaign hinged upon securing London before the Hanoverian government had time to fully organise its defence. Moreover, holding Hull in anticipation of French reinforcements reaching the town would have necessitated leaving a garrison behind. Such a weakening of Jacobite strength at such a critical juncture is inconceivable. In addition Lord George Murray would not have countenanced an advance upon London with the Humber to his rear.

In the winter of 1745 York, not Hull, would have been the logical place for Charles to have made for following the fall or abandonment of Newcastle to the Jacobite army. He had friends in the town and the psychological effect of the fall of York may have further panicked the government in London. It is a moot point whether the seizure of York would have persuaded

more of the English to come out in support of the Stuart prince but what is important is that such a move against York would have removed the threat to Hull.

Historically, Charles and his supporters, after much hard debate, chose to invade England by way of Carlisle and the west coast, and as such that decision renders the debate on whether Hull would have stood against him null and void. Nonetheless, it is interesting and of some value to speculate as this requires a detailed appreciation of the military measures taken to put Hull in a state of defence during the Jacobite rising of 1745. That we can never know for certain what that outcome might have been had the Jacobite army appeared before Hull is neither here nor there. What is important is that Hull now has a place in the study of Jacobite history and a part in the story that is the Year of the Prince.

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