# Side Lights on Welsh Jacobitism

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#### **INTRODUCTION.**

MORE than one Welshman has asked me whether it would be not as sensible to write on the snakes of Iceland as on the Jacobites of Wales. The idea that underlies this remark may be unhistorical, but it illustrates the difficulty of the inquiry to which this paper is a feeble contribution. The religious revival of the eighteenth century in Wales turned Welshmen's thoughts in a direction far away from the cult of "the White Rose of Arno," (David Morgan's poetical name for Prince Charlie) and Welsh Jacobitism is to-day so extinct a tradition, that it does not seem absurd to question its very existence.

That Wales in the eighteenth century was far more Jacobite in political sentiment than was England is a fact which to those who have studied the question must nevertheless seem indisputable. To those, whom ignorance makes sceptical, I may recall a few facts. The greatest test of a political faith is its constancy to death. Even after Culloden there still lived, as the pages of *Redgauntlet* show, in the hearts of the faithful few a hope of aid for the Prince from the land of Wales, where the names Cavalier and Roundhead were still in common parlance as party names. And the hope was not without some foundation. As late as 1751 an almanac that found its way into the peasant farms of Wales, preached treason to the powers that were, in the following verses, the homage of a Welsh Redgauntlet to the dying Rose:—

(ALMANAC, SION PRYS, 1751.)

"Y peth a haeddeu ei ystyried yn fwyaf arbenig yn y flwyddyn hon yw Diffygiadeu'r Lleuad ar peth i maent yn ei arwyddo: ni feiddiaf moi egluro, ond mewn *Heroglyphics* ar ol athrawiaeth un Michael Nostradamus.

> "Llid yw affaith lliw'r Diffyg—ei Frydain Afrwydd-deb a Dirmig II ... f ... d, ddwfn Ryfig O lwynau Diawl a luniodd y dig.

"Boed enwog eurog ei Siar-las wrol Lwys arail ddigymmar, St . . . r . . . d hynaws diwar Ein Tywysog bach, tofia ei bar."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I would suggest the following as a free English rendering of the above. "The changes in the Moon and what they portend call for especial note this year. I dare not explain them except through hieroglyphics according to the doctrine of Nostradamus." "The hue of the eclipse of the moon portends wrath, disquiet, and scorn. The blasphemous Hanoverians, born of the -----, have brought on this feeling of wrath. May the brave Charles, unrivalled in grace, be glorious and crowned with gold, O Stuart, guileless and kindly, our dear Prince, tame their unruly ways."

Perchance, even then, there were Welshmen who went an inch beyond the homage of wine and song. We know now, thanks to Mr. Andrew Lang's researches, that the picture of the collapse of Jacobitism in the fiasco of the rebellion, portrayed in the last chapters of *Redgauntlet*, depicts in its main details an over true scene. Readers of these chapters will remember Squire Meredyth and his Shakesperian Welsh.

Of the strength of Welsh Jacobitism at an earlier period there can be no question.

In the '45 the two most dangerous men South of the Tweed, in the opinion of English Whigs, were Sir Watkin Wynn (the Brutus of Charles Edward's correspondence) and the Duke of Beaufort, and they were both Welsh landowners. The Cycle Club in Denbighshire, which was closely associated with the Wynn family, and existed down to our own day, was without doubt at one period an important political organisation, and there is no doubt some truth in the story, that Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion in 1745* (vol. i, p. 272 *et post)*, tells us on the authority of a Welsh friend, that at the time when the Highland hosts turned back on Derby a number of Welsh Squires were riding hard to join Prince Charlie's banner, and only turned back when they heard of the retreat, and that ever after "he was of the company most accounted, who had ridden furthest on the way."

Now, if the sceptic still insists that such facts as those that I have mentioned, only prove the sentiments of the Welsh aristocracy and Bards, it is only necessary to refer him to the curious facts relating to the Jacobitism of the lower orders in Wales, collected in Mr. Hobson Matthews' recent collection of Cardiff documents, though, perhaps, an even stronger proof is furnished by the savage riot with which the miners of Rhôs greeted the accession of the House of Brunswick to the English throne. Welsh Jacobitism being, then, an unquestioned fact, it is surely time to study its history before the disappearance of documents and the failure of tradition render the work impossible.

### PART II.

#### SIR WATKIN AND DAVID MORGAN.

To Welshmen the two most interesting things in connection with the '45 are the waiting of Sir Watkin Wynn and the fate of David Morgan.

On the first point I can now say little, though I hope on another occasion to return to the subject.

Two facts about Sir Watkin's attitude we know without dispute. As the Highland host entered England they received a message to the effect that Sir Watkin had been with the citizens of London, whom he found as well disposed as ever to treat with the Prince. "The Elector of Hanover and his Ministry's interests decline so fast that Sir Watkin says nobody now will accept of their places and employments, which throws them into the greatest distraction" (Ewald's *Life of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 181; *Wales*, 1894, p. 19). And we know also that the Prince wrote in after days to his father: "Mr. Barry arrived at Derby two days after I parted. He had been sent by Sir Watkin Wynn and Lord Barrymore to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they

were ready to join me in whatever manner I pleased, either in the capital or everyone to rise in his own country" (Stanhope's *History of England,* vol. ii, p. 415).

So much for undisputed facts; but on these facts two different conclusions are formed. Mr. Andrew Lang, who is unquestionably the highest living authority on Jacobite history, considers Sir Watkin's Jacobitism, like that of many English Peers, to have been of the Platonic order, that abstained deliberately from taking any practical step until the day after the fair. The other view, which is put forward in that charming story, For the White Rose of Arno, is that Sir Watkin and his friends were ready to take up arms, and actually despatched a messenger to the Prince, as soon as he entered England. This messenger, according to the story, had the bad luck to get intercepted. Thus, when the Highland chiefs at Derby offered to continue the advance if the Prince could produce a letter from a single nobleman or gentleman in England or Wales favourable to his cause, Sir Watkin had already written. The despatch of Barry was on this view a second attempt to get into communication with the Prince. Certainly the story that many Welsh gentlemen were riding to join the army which I have mentioned, also seems to show that Sir Watkin was ready and in earnest. There are, so far as I have as yet been able to learn, no documents in existence that throw much light on the subject one way or the other; the story indeed is that on the retreat of the Prince, Lady Wynn burnt all the papers that would have incriminated her husband, his friends of the Cycle, and in fact most of the Gentlemen of North Wales.<sup>2</sup> It is at least a significant fact that the Prince, in the Council at Derby, when the chiefs refused to continue the advance on London, is said to have vainly suggested that in place of retreating on Scotland, the army should march through Wales.

With regard to David Morgan, I am in a position to add something to what is generally known. Up to the present time, the chief authority for the life of that unfortunate Welshman has been the biographical sketch by Llewellin, and the record of his fate in the *State Trials.* For readers who are not acquainted with Llewellin's Memoirs (published at Tenby 1862), I may, perhaps, here reprint a summary of Morgan's early life, taken from that work.

"The most energetic of all the Jacobites of the South" *(i.e.* South Wales) "was Thomas David Morgan, Barrister-at-Law, of Pen-y-Graig and Coed-y-Gorres. David Morgan was a scion of the house of Tredegar, and so the blood of Ivor Hael ran in his veins. His father was Thomas Morgan, who in 1682 was under-sheriff of the county of Glamorgan. His mother, from whom he probably inherited Pen-y-Graig, was the daughter of David Mathew, of Llandaff, by his wife Joan, the daughter of Sir Edward Stradling. He was also first cousin of Admiral Mathews, member of Parliament for Glamorganshire. His wife appears to have been a London lady, and through her he seems to have acquired a considerable leasehold property at Shoreditch. He was a prominent member of a Club known as the 'Independent Electors of Westminster,' which was largely frequented by the magnates of the city. In the opinion of the author of a disgraceful pamphlet written after his death, and put in the form of a speech by his ghost to the members of this Club,<sup>3</sup> all the members fomented the insurrection for which the unlucky Welshman alone died. Two interesting facts in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This story was told to my informant by the late Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth. It is stated that the day after the burning of the papers the soldiers arrived and ransacked Wynnstay for documents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The pamphlet is at the British Museum.

connection with Morgan's relations with this Club the pamphleteer has also preserved. He had an intimate friend in a Welsh Squire of Bedford Street (whom I have failed to identify), and he entirely devoted his attention to the 'High Church' party, whom he sought to convince that the Church had everything to gain by a Stuart Restoration. It also appears from the same source that he rejoiced warmly at Walpole's fall."

Horace Walpole sums up Morgan as a "poetical lawyer." And it is not surprising if his muse found a theme in the fall of Walpole, the great enemy of the Stuart cause. Mr. Ballinger, the Librarian of the Cardiff Free Library, has shown me a printed poem which is ascribed to Morgan. It is not of great merit, though there are occasional flashes of powerful satire. It is in the main taken up with a denunciation of Walpole's pacific policy, and would mark the author if he were living in these days as a strong Imperialist. In his prophetic frenzy he almost foresees the coming triumphs of Chatham's administration. It is dated 1739, entitled the *Country Bard*, and dedicated to Frederick, Prince of Wales. I give the commencement and conclusion:—

- "Since Monarchs by Prerogative are wise, How daring the Presumption to advise! How idly wild our *Compliments* to pay! They have the *highest* made them every day;
- Censure *exalted natures* can't endure, Censure is Satyr, and too rough a cure. To compliment, advise, or censure them, Hence seems an awkward and imprudent scheme, Nor is it less a misdemeanour held,
- 10. Rashly to say *the knight hath not excell'd.*Since it prevails in spite of Common Sense,
  Whoever hits the *Courtier* wounds the Prince.
  A Prince ----- not much in Politicks refin'd,
  When to a *Courtier's little Arts* resign'd;
- 15. When grown the *Property* of *sycophants,* That know no candour, and abound in wants. *Laymen* and *Priests* at C----t all sympathize, Their Incense Flattery, Truth their Sacrifice. The *haughtiest* P----te, and the *proudest* P----r,
- 20. Obsequious cringe with low Obeisance here."
- 401. "If VIRTUE can divert the Storms of Fate, Let our few PATRIOTS save our sinking State.
  ---- Our P[r]ay'rs are heard, arm Britons, scour the Main, A few Broadsides shall humble *haughty Spain*.
- 405. See dawning Hope creaks on us from afar, *Too long obscur'd in Peace,* declares for War. Bright she advances from yon azure Sky, Big with success, and fraught with Victory. Resume your Spirit, Britons, arm again,
- 410. Heav'n will support us, if we act like Men."

The two following MS. poems in the Cardiff Free Library, the one a circuit song, the other a sarcastic poem on the marriage of a young vicar-choral of Llandaff Cathedral with an old lady, are more interesting.

The latter, in particular, throws an interesting light on the condition of the Church as seen from the eyes of a sympathetic High Churchman in the middle of the eighteenth century.

## "To THE BARR ON THE WELSH CIRCUIT. "By Counsellor David Morgan.<sup>4</sup>

1

"Friends! frankly I send you my Thoughts, To my Ballad give Ear; I promise it free'er from Faults Then *this here* and *that there.*<sup>5</sup>

2

"O Wales! how unhappy thy Fate, Beyond doubt it's severe; Thy Judges, the Farce of the State, Are *this here* and *that there,* 

3

"Which of them is worst, or is best, The moot Question forbear; Poor Creatures, by all its confest, Are *this here* and *that there*.

4

*"This here,* what a formal dull Fool! *That there* what a Bear! All Ministers have a sure tool, In *this here* and *that there.* 

5

"What a Void and a Chaos of Mind, In their judgment appear! To Justice and Candour stark blind Are *this here* and *that there.* 

6 "When obvious Point they'd explain, They puzzle what's clear;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> From Ph. MSS., No. 14970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Judges Carter and Proctor.

All they say, and more than they mean, Are *this here* and *that there*.

7

"To say, would be wickedly odd, And so like a damn'd sneer, That such were the Image of God, As *this here* and *that there*.

8

"I'll no more in your Circuit regale, My Companions so dear; But Cambria's hard Fate will bewail, In *this here* and *that there.*"

"ON MISS HADDOCKS, AFTERWARDS MRS. PRICE, OF LANDAFF.

By COUNSELLOR MORGAN.<sup>6</sup>

"Hannah, some years ago a Toast, By Justice *Sly*<sup>7</sup> admir'd, For Shape and Features then could boast, Her Eyes all youths set fire; Genteel and easy is her Air, She learn'd of Lady Betty, Still of her years a clever Fair, And justly too thought pretty.

2.

"Long had she liv'd a maid, 'twas hard, To man a perfect Stranger; Time had her Frame somewhat impair'd, Her charms were in some danger; Pensive one morn the maid reflects, Lord! what have I been doing? I have some beauties of the Sex, They're surely worth the wooing.

3

"My Eyes preserve their Lustre still, No mortal can deny it;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> From Ph. MSS. No. 14970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Mr. Powel, of Eneyslyn.

Resolv'd I am, marry I will, If there be Joys, I'll try it; Then straight her Eyes with Lustre glow'd, No Lightning e'er flashed quicker; They roll'd at Prayers, that from the Pew Struck thro' the Choral Vicar.<sup>8</sup>

4

"The Vicar soon disclos'd his Love, Supported well by Grany, At Fifty Hannah he did move, Tho' clogg'd with Children many: Marry she must, Fate had ordain'd, 'Gainst all her Friends' Persuasion; Nought else could please, 'twas all in vain, Her Parts in Agitation."

"Made to her Brother, who married a good Fortune in London, which he spent in entertaining Sir Robert Walpole and other great men in expectation of a Bishoprick.

> "Our Brother does much assume At Hannah's Indiscretion; O! Brother George, look once at Home, You'll see as odd a Passion; Twelve hundred Pounds, quoth George, she's mad, To Choral Vicar given; While he twelve thousand pounds has had, Priests marry sure in Heaven."

The account of the part played by David Morgan in the '45, alike in Llewellin's Memoirs and in the *White Rose of Arno,* is drawn from the proceedings against him in the *State Trials (vol.* xviii, pp. 371-394). Two facts of importance have also been added by Llewellin, the local tradition of his talk with the smith at Efail Llancaiach, when starting on the fatal expedition, and his remark to Vaughan<sup>9</sup> on the first day of the retreat from Derby, when the latter declared that wherever the army went he was determined to go with them, which is taken from Lord Elcho's *Memoirs*.

The report of the trial shews that David Morgan, in company with a friend, joined the Jacobite army at Preston, and accompanied them as a volunteer to Derby, taking a prominent part in arranging the plans of the campaign, and being known as the "Pretender's counsellor", that he followed their retreat to Ashburne, where he left them and proceeded to Stone, where he was arrested on suspicion. He was finally, as is well known, executed at Kennington Common, on July 30th, 1746.

The briefs of the counsel engaged in the prosecution of the Jacobite prisoners are, however, preserved in the British Museum, and from a study of the brief relating to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mr. Price.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> There were two of the Court-field Vaughans out in the '45, William and Richard. *See* article on William Vaughan, *Dictionary of Rational Biography*, vol. lviii, 187.

David Morgan, I am enabled to throw considerably fresh light alike on his journey to join the Prince's army, and on the position held by him in the army after he had joined it.

The evidence of John Barry (or Berry) occupies only seventeen lines in the *State Trials* report, and as to the unlucky ride of Morgan to Preston, he merely states that he came out of Monmouthshire with his Master and "the defendant," and that they joined the Prince's army at Preston. The proof, however, of John Barry in the brief enables us to follow Morgan and his friend throughout their journey. The proof, which is of sufficient importance for a full transcription, is as follows:—

"That he (Barry) was servant to Mr. William Vaughan in Monmouthshire, and in the beginning of November, last" (of course 1745), "his master told him that he was going ashooting at Mr. Berkeley's of Speechly in Worcestershire, and bid him get a couple of fowling pieces and the spaniels ready in the morning, and they went to Mr. Berkeley's and stayed there one night, and then his master met with the defendant Morgan, and from thence his master and Mr. Morgan went to Mr. FitzHerbert's house in Staffordshire, and stayed there one night, and then went to a gentleman's house near Leigh, in Lancashire-but does not remember his name—and stayed there two nights. And then went to Preston, and stayed there all the night before the rebels came, and he says he and Mr. Morgan's servant were ordered by their masters to take the horses to Walton (about a mile north of Preston), and in case any of the rebels came that way, then they were to take the horses to a village four miles further off. And that about 10 or 11 o'clock the said Vaughan and Morgan came to the house, where witness and the other servant were with the horses, stay'd there all night and walked back to Preston the next morning, and directed the witness and the other servant to stay where they were till they came again. And they came again about 10 o'clock the second night, and the next morning directed the witness and the other servant to take the portmanteau and horses and go to Leigh aforesaid; but to wait in the road a little way short of Leigh, till they were come to them. And about 4 o'clock in the afternoon he said Vaughan and Morgan came to them, with each a white cockade in his hat, and then went to the same gentleman's house at Leigh where they had been and lay there that night; and next morning they went to Manchester with the said cockades in their hats and put up at a constable's house behind a church, but does not know the name, and he attended his master at supper the second night he lay there. And there were there the said Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Murray, the Secretary to the young Pretender, at supper together. And he heard Mr. Morgan call him Mr. Murray. And he saw Mr. Murray go in and out of the said house, where Vaughan and Morgan lodged, several times. And he says his master and defendant Morgan joined the young Pretender's life guards, under the command of Lord Elcho, and rode with them from Manchester to Derby, and his master gave him two guns to carry from Manchester to Derby. And he says, when the rebels went back to Manchester, his time being out with his master, he left him there. As he was going," he concludes "he was taken up and committed to gaol."

These statements clear up several points of doubt in Morgan's story. In the first place they show that Morgan did not, as I thought probable *(Wales,* 1894, p. 20), proceed through North Wales or visit Sir Watkin on his journey, and therefore relegates some interesting chapters in the *White Rose of Arno* to the region of fiction.

In whatever negotiations, therefore, Sir Watkin may have been carrying on with the Prince at this juncture,

Morgan played no part. It also clears up the further point as to the companion of Morgan's ride, it has been always supposed that it was one of the two Vaughans, and the proof makes it clear that it was William and not Richard. How or when Richard Vaughan joined the Jacobite army there is, so far as I know, no evidence. The remaining proofs relate to the action of Morgan after he had joined the Jacobites, and throw a considerable light on the part played by him in the campaign.

Most important on this matter is the proof of Samuel Maddock or Maddox, the informer on whose evidence Morgan was mainly convicted. Maddox, as the chief witness for the Crown, was naturally examined at considerable length; and I do not think that any purpose would be served by repeating here such parts of his evidence as appear in the *State Trials.* 

Maddox's evidence at the trial and his statement in the proof, however, contain an apparent discrepancy on a small point to which attention may be drawn. In the report (p. 374) the informer is first asked when he saw the prisoner, and he replied at Manchester. He is next asked "Did he march away from Manchester with the rebels?" and replies: "He marched with them TO DERBY, and there being an information given that some arms were secreted from the rebels, he gave orders for a party of the rebel army to go and search for them." Being asked whether the prisoner went with the party, he adds not to his knowledge, and states that he saw "Captain James Dawson" (whose tragic fate Shenstone has told in verse), "deliver him a pair of pistols." In the proof, however, Maddox states that the search for arms took place at Manchester. The proof on this point is as follows: "When the rebels came to Manchester he" (Maddox) "saw the Defendant among them with a white cockade in his hat, and he was reported the chief man in getting from the Pretender's son press warrants "to seize horses and arms." The proof proceeds to state how information was given to the officers of the Manchester regiment of the place to which a certain Justice Drinckenfield had fled with a large quantity of arms, and then Morgan obtained a warrant from the Prince to send a file of Highland soldiers and Lord Pitsligo (the old Scottish Cavalier of Aytoun's lays) in a fruitless search after him. The discrepancy between the proof and the evidence in the report will not perhaps strike a lawyer as serious, since it is not impossible that Morgan, as a matter of fact, may have been engaged in superintending a search for arms at Derby as well as at Manchester. At the same time, the statement in the proof is interesting, since it makes it clear that immediately on his joining the army, Morgan took a leading position. The rest of the proof is certainly worth transcription, as it very considerably amplifies, though it does not contradict, Maddox's evidence in the report.

"And the witness afterwards frequently saw the defendant upon the march with the Rebels from Manchester to Derby armed with a brace of pistols and a broad sword and" (he) "had a white cockade. And in the retreat to Ashburn the defendant came to the house where the Manchester officers were quartered, where Capt. Dawson of the Manchester Regiment gave him a brace of pistols. And then the said defendant left the Army. This Witness heard the defendant say that he had the offer of the Manchester Regiment made him by the young Pretender, but he refused it, not being a military man. That the defendant was generally with the young Pretender at nights, and lodged in the same quarters with him. And that he acted as spy for the rebel army in observing the Duke's (*i.e.*, the Duke of Cumberland) Army. And further, that while the Rebels were at Manchester, the defendant met Mr. Francis Townley, Peter Moss, Jas. Dawson, George Fletcher, James Bradshaw, Thomas Furnival, all at Mr. Cookson's, the sign of the Dog in Manchester. And the said defendant proposed the raising of a regiment for the said Pretender, to which proposal all present agreed. And all of them having white cockades in their hats. And then the company considered which should have the command of the regiment, and after a short consultation offered the command to the defendant; but he thanked them, and desired to be excused, saying he did not understand

military discipline well enough to take so large a command upon him. And said that Mr. Townley had been in the French service and understood the military discipline much better than he. Whereupon Mr. Townley was named Colonel. And he set his name down in a paper first as Colonel. And the rest set down their names with title of rank in the said regiment. And then the defendant took the list away with him to the Pretender, and promised to furnish them arms, and then ordered a drummer about the town to beat up for volunteers."

The remaining proof in the brief is that of the witness, Edward How, who was Morgan's landlord at Derby. The evidence in the report is in the main similar to that in the proof—but as the latter is short, and throws considerable light on the geniality of Morgan's character, I give it in full:—

"This witness says the defendant and about twenty other rebels, eight of whom were officers, were quartered in his house at Derby when the rebel army was there, and defendant told him that these eight officers were not come to live upon him or anybody else, for they would pay for what they had. And he said the defendant appeared to be the chiefest person of those quartered at his house, and gave all the directions for providing for their entertainment and the witness a guinea and three shillings for such entertainment of himself and the other rebels, and sayd he payd him like a gentleman. And says defendant was then publicly called and reported to be the prince's, meaning the young Pretender's, counsellor. The witness having seen the prisoner in Newgate" (this must have been of course after Morgan's arrest) "who told the witness he would come to Derby and see him again in spight of King George, and all the people in the world, or to that purpose, and he saw the defendant frequently go to the Pretender's lodging-house and never appeared to be under any restraint while he was at Derby."

There exists no proof of the evidence of the other Crown witnesses against Morgan, whose testimony appears in the reports, Edward Tew, of Preston, who gave evidence as to Morgan's conversation with Lord Elcho at the Joiners' Arms, Preston, Benjamin Bowker, the deputy constable at Manchester, who gave evidence as to the warrant which Esquire Morgan gave him to search for arms in the town, and Captain Vere, the Hanoverian officer, who seems to have been practically a military spy. In drawing any conclusions from these proofs, it should of course be remembered that the evidence it affords is in a sense tainted by the character of most of the deponents. Reading them, however, in connection with the report of this and the other Jacobite trials, and making all allowances, they at least establish the fact that David Morgan was unquestionably one of the prime movers in the rebellion of '45: and that no man outside the circle of Scotch adherents and French and Irish officers possessed greater influence with the Prince.

The result would seem to be that Welshmen may claim, in this country-man, the most active of the Prince's southern adherents, and more, the one man whose advice, if followed, might have placed the Prince in St. James' Palace.

#### A WHIG SCHOOL-BOY.

I may conclude this paper with certain Latin verses on Culloden, by a Whig Welsh school-boy (or at least a boy educated at Cowbridge school) shortly after the battle, composed, no doubt, with a view of obtaining a half-holiday for the school. The poem is here printed exactly as it was written. The author must be responsible for the syntax. For these verses I am indebted to my friend, the present Head-Master of that ancient school.

#### "GEORGIDES, VICTAE PROCURUERE METU.

"Reppulit, inque fugam trepidas dare terga coegit, Vertit in auctores saevaque bella suos. Qui modo terrebat minitans, nunc dicere causam Cogitur, et legum subdere colla jugo. Sic erat in fatis: sic inconsulta ruit vis. Praecipitans fatum saepe sinistra suum. Spes ubinunc, Ludovice, tuae vocesque, minaeq?<sup>1</sup> Illa ubi Brunsviciae certa ruina domûs? Si nescis, domus haec humanis altuis ortum Traxit, et e coelis, unde perennet habet. Italut Angliacas regeret peregrinus habenas, Brunsvicâ regeret sceptra gerenda manu? Demens, illa tibi quando sperare, tuisque A usus es, hunc aleret cum Domus ista DUCEM? Quid parat ille tibi campo monstravit in illo, Spes ubi Scotorum, spes tua fracta jacet. Scoticae eum pavidae videre in montibus Alpes Tendere. et in summis poenere<sup>2</sup> castra jugis. Non illum montes, non illum sistere possunt Flumina, nix et Hiems, difficilesque viae. Et levis est, leviorque avium pernicibus alis, Cunctantes linguit post sua terga duces. Nec mora longa fuit, Cyclopum allabitur oris; Monticolis solo nomine terror errat.<sup>3</sup> Hirta illis mens est, et corporis aemula, qualis Et decet agrestes, monticolasque decet. Et credas, scopulorum instar, traxisse rigorem, Mens adeo est illis effera, mensque ferox. Barbara gens tota est, effraenaque, et horrida et exlex, Sive homines mavis dicere, sive feras. Aspice *Monticolam;* Dii talem avertite pestem! Impya Styx illo nil, puto, pejus habet. Arma dedit rabies, quaetrux Polyphemus, et ingens Sidera qui fulcit, ferre recuset. Atlas. Lumborumque tenus falcatus acinace largo est; Hoc fuit Aetnaei munus opusque fabri. Et capite a summo totus jam ferreus ille est; Visus et ingenti mole Colossus erat. Tum nova turmatim videas erumpere monstra, Aetneos fratres Nubigenasque truces; Tullibardinos, Glenbuckettosque rebelles, Totque alios scelerum perfidiaeque duces. Quo vos, quo belli rabies, furiaeque, scelesti, Praecipitant? scelerum terror, et ultor adest. Nec mora: GEORGIDEM venientem fulminis instar,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *quære* minaeque.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *quære* ponere.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *quære,* erat.

Quem non posse putat Scotus adesse, videt. Stant acies: dant signa tubae: concurritur, et mox Horruit Angliacum barbara turba DUCEM. Emicat ante alios Miles spectandus in hostem Regius, in primâ proeha fronte ciens. Qui vigor oris erat? qualis pugnantis Imago? Aut Mars, aut certe Martis Imago fuit. Dimicat, et totum castris DUX exuit hostem, Omniaque ingenti cæde fugâque replet. Vicini montes, vicini sanguine valles, Et procul hinc late sanguine terra rubet. Sic quatit attonitos, sic fulmen vibrat in illos, Ut dextrâ credas fulmina missa Jovis. Facti certa fides; perierunt millia quinque; Ipsa facit caedes Cullodenana fidem."

G. Simpson, PRINTER, DEVIZES.