

Authentic Copies

OF THE

LETTERS

And Other

PAPERS

Delivered, at their Execution, by the Nine
REBELS who suffer'd Death on
Wednesday, July 30, 1746, on *Ken-
nington Common*.



LONDON:

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The following was delivered to the Sheriff by Colonel *Townley*, Colonel of the *Manchester* Regiment, and Governor of the City of *Carlisle* for the Rebels; it was superscribed to the honourable Capt. *C—re*.

DEAR SIR



God knows whether this will ever come to your Hands, though I have a solemn Promise from one whom I can trust, if any Confidence may be placed in Man. I promised to write to you the last Thing I did meerly regarding this World, and I thank God that I have I have still Fortitude and Presence of Mind left to discharge this Obligation.

Be assured, dear Friend, that I die full of Gratitude for the Pains you have taken to save my life, and I do believe that if any private Man could have succeeded, it would have been you only.—But who can withstand the Decrees of Providence?—To-morrow I die, and hope to make my Exit in a Manner becoming a Christian and a Soldier. The Vulgar look upon the Death I am to die as ignominious and shameful in all Cases; but I think otherwise, and hope my unfortunate End will not be the Occasion of any Scandal to my Family. The Manner in which a Soldier, when taken Prisoner by his Enemies, may be treated by them, ought not in Reason to sully his Fame, or blacken his Memory. 'Tis the Cause only for which a Man suffers, that can derive either Honour or Infamy to his Name, and not the Manner in which his Enemies may please

to punish him. If a Man voluntarily does a shameful Deed, then Shame be to him; my Death is not my voluntary Choice, I cannot help my being sentenc'd to the Gallows, I am in the Power of those who may force me out of the World in what Manner they think proper; but they can neither stamp Honour or Dishonour on any Memory, my own Actions only can do that. Many of the blessed Saints and Martyrs have been put to the same Kinds of Death by which the vilest Criminals were punish'd; but from hence no Scandal hath been derived to Christianity, nor would any Man be asham'd to own one of such Saints or Martyrs as his Ancestor in a direct Line. No ignominious Circumstances were omitted, they suffer'd every Thing that their Persecutors accounted scandalous, yet neither the Sufferers nor their Friends were ashamed on that account: Nay, it was Matter of Glory to the Persecuted, and he was accounted happy who was honour'd with the Crown of Martyrdom. Our blessed Lord and Saviour was put to the most ignominious Death that the *Jewish* Laws could Sentence him to; but I hope no one that ever belonged to *Christ* thought himself scandalized on this Account.—I do not intend to put myself on a level with any of the blessed Saints or Martyrs; no, God forbid that I should presume to number myself with the lowest of them; all I aim at is only this Inference, *viz.* that the Punishment inflicted on me is no Scandal either to my Self or Friends, being only an accidental Thing, the Effect of my Enemies happening to be more powerful than my Friends. My dying the Death of the most atrocious Criminal reflects no more Dishonour upon me than my dying in Peace and in the highest Honours to which a Subject can be raised, would have added to my honest Fame: I say this on a Supposition that my Friends had succeeded; for if the Cause I have embarked in be

bad, I should have merited no less Dishonour, though it prospered, than I now do dying the Death of a Traitor. If I have been a wicked Man, and by my voluntary Crimes, by Actions which I knew to be sinful against God and Man, as Highwaymen and Murderers are conscious of their own Wickedness in what they do, in such Case my Family may indeed be ashamed of me, and my Name and Memory may be branded with Infamy. But I only suffer Death on the: same Account for which many honest and honourable Men have in like Manner suffer'd before me; if I have followed the Dictates of my own Conscience, and while I thought myself engaged in an honourable Undertaking, have unhappily wrought my own Ruin, surely I am more an Object of Pity than of Abhorrence. 'Tis true the Names of Rebel and Traitor found odiously, but it should be considered that they are bestowed by opposite Parties on each other, each thinks and calls his Adversary so; and only that Party which is the most powerful is exempted from the Rigour of the Laws against Treason and Rebellion.

The Party I engag'd in was defeated, and so I am called a Rebel; had we Succeeded, I should have had a more honourable Epithet; and those who are now our Judges and Executioners, would have been Rebels and Traitors, unless they had renounced their Party: So that it does not appear, from my suffering the Death of a Traitor, that I really am such; since it might have been the Fate of the worthiest of King *George's* Adherents, who yet in so unfortunate a Circumstance would not have been a Bit the more a Traitor, than he is now, flourishing in the general Esteem of all his Countrymen.

Tho' it is Something absurd for a Man who is about to leave the World, to trouble himself on account of what may be said of him when he is gone, yet I cannot

help being somewhat tender of the Reputation I leave behind me. You, my worthy Friend, have known me long, are acquainted with all my Faults and Frailties, and can witness for me that I did not wantonly or wickedly seek to disturb the Peace of my Country. My Situation in Life, added to the Tendency of those Principles of Government which I imbibed in my Education, induced me to stir in the *****'s Behalf: I had no particular Aversion to the present Government.

England was always dear to me; I took no Pleasure in disturbing her Peace; and could the Pretensions of that Family in the Service of which I have been so unfortunately engaged, have been prosecuted any other Way than by Violence and Bloodshed, I should gladly have let my Sword grow rusty in its Scabbard, or have employ'd it in some other Service; any War would have been more welcome to me than a civil War. My Inclinations never led me to a Military Life, my own and my Family Misfortunes drove me to it. Being forced into *France* eighteen Years ago, I had there no Prospect of living but by my Sword, I obtained a Commission from the *French* King, and I served him faithfully till the Year 1743, without ever entertaining the least thought to the prejudice of the House of *Hanover*. After my Return into *England*, I lived quietly in *Lancashire*, till the unhappy Invasion of those Parts by the Forces from *Scotland*. With these it was my Misfortune to join; a new Commission from the *French* King was put into my Hands, and I thought I did right in accepting it. I knew indeed that by this I incurred the Penalties of the Laws of *England*, made since the Expulsion of the *Stuarts*, from the Throne of that Kingdom; but I consider'd these Laws as forced upon great Part of the Nation, as arbitrarily procured, and unjustly supported; I also knew they

would be totally annulled if we succeeded, and I believed that if we failed, and I perished in the Field, or on a Gibbet, the Laws of God would not condemn me for taking Arms in Support of a Family which I thought it my Duty as well as my Interest to support.

Having openly joined the *****, I promoted the Cause with all my Power, and surely no honest Man will blame me for being Zealous for my Party. I raised about 120 Men in *Lancashire*, these being formed into a Regiment to be increased as we could; I was appointed Colonel thereof; and I call God to witness that I never compel'd, or offered to compel any Man to enlist under me, as some have, falsely reported, if I am truly informed. During our whole March from *Manchester* to *Derby*, and from thence back to *Carlisle*, I never willingly wronged, or caused any Man to be wronged of the Value of one Shilling nor was it at all agreeable to me that the Necessities of our Party obliged the Leaders to take any Thing by Violence. The Government of *Carlisle* was a Trust I did not solicit. I knew that was a desperate Expedient to retard the Pursuit of our Enemies, and that those left in Garrison there, could not possibly avoid being cut to Pieces in the Place, or submitting to the Conquerors, from whom we had no Reason to expect the least Mercy. However I readily accepted that Command, tho' I foresaw my Fate, but was willing to sacrifice my Life to the Safety of my ***** and his Friends. Had I refused the dangerous Post, another would have accepted it, and I in that Case have been deemed a Coward, an Epithet which no one I believe ever yet tack'd to my Name. I would have defended the City to the last Extremity, but Colonel *Hamilton*, God forgive him, counter-wrought my Resolutions, and giving up the Citadel, forced me also to Surrender the Town.

And now, dear C—, having said what I think necessary in my own Behalf, for the Satisfaction of my Friends, I will bid you adieu.—Adieu to the whole World, and to all Thoughts of every Thing in it. If there be any Person whom I have ever injur'd, I heartily beg their Pardon; and I beg of God to forgive all the original Authors of this my woeful End, by the Wrongs done to my Family. But blessed be the divine Providence which hath permitted this Misfortune to befall me. He that gave me Life, may deprive me of it in what Manner he seeth proper, Blessed be the Hour in which I shall quit this World: An unfortunate World hath it been to me. But when I consider it as a necessary Introduction to the happier World to come, I am thankful for all Things; and by so much the more as I have suffer'd here, the more do I hope for a better Lot hereafter,—Adieu once more, my last best Friend, Adieu! e'er thou wilt see this, I shall be launched into Eternity, and, I trust, into eternal Joy, through the Merits and Mediation of my dear Saviour Jesus Christ. In the Profession of that Religion instituted by him I die, humbly acknowledging that I have not lived up to the divine Precepts contained in the holy Scriptures, but relying on the infinite Mercy of God for Pardon, beseeching him to receive my Soul into the blessed Mansions of his glorious and immortal Kingdom.

Francis Townley.

From *my* Prison in *Southwark*,
July 28th 1746.



*Deliver'd by Councillor Thomas David
Morgan of Derby.*

Southwark, July 27th 1746.

AS I am now infallibly going out of the World, it is of more Importance to myself to employ the short Remainder of my Time in preparing for another State, than in any Concerns meerly, relating to his Life, All I had to say in extenuation of the Crime for which I die, I said at my Trial, and it availed me nothing: But I am now going to appear before a higher, an unerring Tribunal, where I hope to find more Mercy than I have found here.

However, as I have been unfortunate enough to have but too, many Enemies in the World, and as many of them, meanly triumphing over an unfortunate Man, have taken great Pains to blacken my Character, I Will leave behind me a short Testimony of myself, to the Truth of which I believe no impartial Person can object.

I never in my Life, before the late unhappy Arrival of the ***** Troops at *Derby*, formed the least Design against the present Government; nor had I ever been engaged in that rash Undertaking, had my personal Affairs been more to my Liking. I now see the Folly of the Course I took to better them, and have sincerely repented of my Error, declaring, on the Word of a dying Man, that had it pleased his Majesty to have rescued my Life from the Severity of the Law, I should for the future have been a very peaceable Subject, at least this is what I firmly believe at this Time. Nevertheless I own that my Notions of Government have ever led me to believe the *Stuart's* Family unjustly deprived of the Crown of *Great-Britain*. I was never ashamed to assert the Doctrine of hereditary indefeasible Right, when

ever I saw Occasion, and if ever I declin'd to avow my Principles, it was purely out of self-preservation, and a prudent Regard to my own Interest and Comfort in Life, I was unconscious of any Guilt in the Sight of God, when I joined the Enemies of the House of *Hanover*, and tho' for my own Sake I am sorry I embarked in such a Cause, I am not ashamed of it. Many honourable Persons have embarked in it likewise, many I foresee will also suffer for it; and if we are all in Error, God who punisheth only for conscious Wickedness, will I hope forgive us.

I ever esteemed his present Majesty, and if the House of *Stuart* was extinct, would rather acknowledge him for King of *England*, than any other Prince in the World. His Justice, Moderation, Bravery and Clemency are universally confess'd, even by his most inveterate Enemies. However I will to the last maintain that hereditary Right ought to supersede every other Confederation. The true Heir only ought to succeed to the Throne of these Kingdoms, whatever Consequence may happen. Let Man do right, and justly, and trust to God for the Consequences.

"Till this Day I was not without some Hopes that the peculiar Lenity of the Government would have been extended towards me, tho' I did put the Court of Justice to some Trouble at my Trial. A Man's Life is dear to him, and he that is drowning will catch at the smallest Blade of Grass for Safety. But tho' it has not pleased his Majesty to mitigate the Severity of my Sentence, I do not bear the least Resentment against his Person, nor towards any one living. I die an unworthy Member of the Church of *England*. I confess I have highly dishonour'd the Majesty of God and the Christian Religion, by my many and grievous Sins. I have indeed been a very unhappy Mortal from my very Childhood; and am conscious that my Misconduct hath procured me

many ill-willers. I believe I shall leave few Friends behind me, to defend that Flood of Censure which is ever cast on those who are manifestly the Authors of their own Misfortunes. But I hope for the Mercy of Almighty God, who has promis'd Forgiveness to repenting Sinners.

T. D. Morgan

Extract of a Paper sign'd by Mr. George Fletcher, who desired it might be communicated to his Friends, dated July 29th. 1746.

I Am, thanks to the infinite Goodness of God, thoroughly prepared for another World. I now abhor the mad Enterprize I was engaged in, and shudder at the Thoughts of what I have seen and done. My Conversion I owe to the kind Assistance of the good Mr. D——, whom Heaven reward for the Christian Pains he has taken for my eternal Welfare. I solemnly renounce the narrow Notions which have brought me to this shameful End. I now abhor and despise the slavish Principles of Hereditary infeasible Right in the Government of the State. Principles which I never understood, but blindly obey'd, tenaciously adhering to those Prejudices of which I am too late ashamed. I have, I confess, been a grievous Sinner, and doubtless my approaching dreadful End is the just Judgment of Heaven upon me for my private Sins: O! my God! what a thoughtless wicked Wretch have I been? My Neglect of the most essential Duties of Religion lies heavy upon me; all my Immoralities now stare me in the Face, and tell me they have brought me to the Gallows. But, blessed be the God of Mercy, I sincerely repent, and tho' terrible hath been, my Despair, am at length comforted; and doubt not, through the gracious Mediation of *Christ*, to obtain Forgiveness. Happy hath it been for me that the equitable Laws of my Country, against which I have so wickedly rebell'd, have allowed me Time for Repentance; My Peace I hope is made with Heaven, and sealed there; in humble Confidence of which I bequeath my Soul to its Almighty and most merciful Maker

George Fletcher.

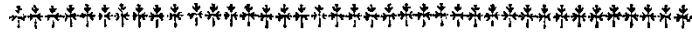


Extract of a Paper delivered by Thomas Syddal of Manchester, Barber, and Adjutant in the Manchester Regiment, dated July 26, 1746.

I AM going to die a Death which some may think a very Shocking Thing, but I am, not ashamed of it. I should indeed have been glad to escape it by the Success of my Friends, but since we have missed our Purpose, I am not sorry to suffer in a Cause which I have ever wished to promote, or to perish in its Service. My Father died for it in 1716, and it would have been doubly agreeable to me, had the late Attempt succeeded to my Wish; for then both the * * * * for whom I lose my Life had recovered his Rights, and my Father's Death had been revenged. I have been represented to the Government as an inveterate factious Zealot. My Enemies may bestow what Names they please on me, but I am not ashamed of the Zeal I have ever shown for the *****. It has been alledged against me, that eight Years ago, and frequently since, as Occasion presented; I have said, "That I wished not for a more honourable Death than in the Service in which I now die; and that I also wish'd my Wife and Children might all have the Honour to suffer Death in the same Cause." This I am so far from denying, that I hope to persist in the same Sentiments to the last Moment. When I engaged in this last Attempt, I was far from being over confident of Success, but resolving to contribute what Assistance lay in my Power, I freely abandon'd a good Shop and full Business, to follow the Fortune of a * * * * for whole Interest I also joyfully hazarded my Life. The Prospect of Death is

not terrible to me, and I hope to die with
a Resolution becoming a Man satisfied
with his own Conscience.

Thomas Syddal.



Delivered by James Dawson, Captain in the Manchester Regiment, dated July 25, 1746.

THE Man who suffers Death in a Cause which his own Conscience approves, may die cheerfully; but God only knows what I suffer, when I reflect on the Terrors of my approaching dreadful End. My Fate bears the harder upon me, as I never desired to embark in any Party Contentions? As for the Cause in which I suffer, God knows I never once concerned myself about it; till Mr. *Peter Moss*,* with whom I unhappily was but too intimate, caused me to join with him in that rash Undertaking, which has completed my Ruin, and perhaps his Ruin too. I never desired to become a Rebel to King *George*, (both I and Family having always professed Revolution Principles) it was my unfortunate Immoralities only that induced me to it. The Wrath of God has overtaken me for my Sins: May Heaven be satisfied with this Atonement. O! that my Blood justly shed, may expiate my Guilt for innocent Blood unjustly spilt.† So great hath been my Wickedness, that; infinitely merciful as God Almighty is, I know not how to ask for Pardon. I have no Hopes but in *Jesus Christ*, my Blessed Redeemer. Yet how greatly do I merit his eternal Displeasure? How unfit alas was I for that sacred Profession which my early Wickedness began to scandalize, even on my first Appearance at the University, from whence I was so justly expell'd. Fatal to me was that Expulsion. But I forgive all who indi-

* This *Moss* was taken at *Carlisle*, but escaped out of Prison after he was sent to *London*.

† This is supposed not to allude to the Blood spilt in opposing the Rebels, but to a Murder of which Mr. *Dawson* was suspected.

rectly contributed to my Ruin; directly I believe no one ever design'd it. Even my Father, tho' justly incensed and provoked at my evil Courses, never did, I am satisfied, desire to see me so severely punished. I heartily forgive him for turning me out of his House, which occasioned my taking Refuge with the Rebels, for such I ever esteemed them: nor did I wish them to prosper, except on my own Account, for I had no other Resource, I saw no other Method of subsisting. My Spirits are so oppressed, I can say no more. God forgive me, the molt wretched of Sinners,

James Dawson.

Andrew Blood *of Yorkshire, Captain in the Manchester Regiment, deliver'd a Letter directed to Mr. J. N. of L—ds; of which Letter the following is an Abstract, it not being proper to give the whole, great Part of it relating to private Affairs.*

HAVING settled this Matter, I will now disclose to you the present State of my Mind. I am not afraid of Death, nor so much shock'd at the Manner of it as I myself expected, when first I perceived my certain Danger. I was a Madman, I own, for embarking in this unhappy Affair, but you see many more; and Men of greater Abilities were deceived as well as myself.—I believe it is the Fate of *Englishmen* to be cheated by *French* Promises. I can die in Charity with all Men, but the King of *France* and his Ministers. On their Heads be the Blood of myself and fellow Sufferers. By an inconsiderate Dependance on their Promises our Lives are sacrificed. But Reflexions of this kind come too late, yet others may profit by them. The Remainder of the short Space allow'd me for Preparation for another Life, I shall apply to that End. Adieu, may you be happier in this Life than I have been, as for the next, all is Uncertainty before me; what is past I know, what is to come God knows, I know not; but I hope for the best.

A. Blood.

Delivered by Thomas Deacon, Lieutenant Colonel in the Manchester Regiment, dated on the Day of Execution.

AFTER what has been said at my Tryal, I thought it would be unnecessary to add any Thing at my leaving the World, but some who are of another Opinion, have prevailed on me, for the Sake of Decency, and out of Regard to my Friends, to leave behind me a Confession of the Principles I die in.

God knows my Sincerity, I would not abjure the Cause of my Friends, nor renounce the Principles I have been educated in, tho' it were to save my Life. Nevertheless, as I believe the Cause is ruin'd for ever, I do not wish they should at any Time hereafter make another Attempt, for why should any more Blood be spilt to no Purpose. I do not believe the King intends to spare my Brother *Charles's* Life any more than he hath spared mine; but if he should find Mercy, I hope he will be grateful both to God and Man, and live soberly and quietly the rest of his Days.—I die in the Christian Faith, according to Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and hoping for Salvation through *Christ*, do meet my Death cheerfully,

Thomas Deacon.

Deliver'd by *Thomas Chadwick* of *Staffordshire* Lieutenant in the *Manchester* Regiment.

LITTLE did I think I should ever have come to this unhappy End, but I have merited it by my Folly. I engaged in the late Rebellion through principle, and not merely through Necessity, as many unhappy Wretches did. I might easily have foreseen that with so few Forces we could never be successful, but I was infatuated and madly wrought my own Destruction. But, I now declare, was it to do again, I would not be concerned with the Pretender nor any of his Adherents. My Eyes Have been open'd, tho' alas! too late to prevent my Fate. I am now satisfied that the Rebellion in which I have been so unhappily engaged, was in itself, unjust, unnatural, and tended to the Destruction of my Country. But I hope my Punishment will expiate my Offence, and that the God of all Mercy will forgive an unhappy Wretch, who sincerely repents, and who the more confidently hopes for Pardon, as his Crimes proceeded rather from Errors in Judgment, than Profligacy of Disposition.

Thomas Chadwick.

Deliver'd by John Barwick, of Lancashire, Lieutenant in the Manchester Regiment.

WHAT can an unhappy Man in my Circumstances have to say to the World at parting with it?

To lament my Fate publicly would not alleviate my Misfortune to say I am not grieved at it, would be untrue, I do indeed sincerely repent my joining in the late Attempt against the King and his Family; and this because I have brought myself to a miserable End, without having contributed any thing to the Advancement of the Interest I adhered to.

I have now no further Concerns with this World, as to my Hopes of the next, that only regards myself. I die in Charity with all Men, and intreat the Forgiveness of all I have injur'd in Word or Deed. May God Almighty preserve the Life of * * * *
* * * * * * * * *

July 27, 1746. John Barwick.

N. B. the Words in the Copy, the Place of which the above Asterisks supply, were erased before they came into the Printer's Hands.

F I N I S.