

THE MANCHESTER REGIMENT OF 1745

JONATHAN OATES

In July 1745, Charles Edward Stuart arrived in Scotland in order to reclaim the British Crown for his father, James Francis. The Camerons, the MacDonalDs and other clans rallied to his cause. In September they took Edinburgh and routed a force of Regular troops under Sir John Cope at Prestonpans. They then gathered further strength from Scotland in October and by the end of the month had at least 5,000 fighting men. Their next step was to march south in order to topple George II from the throne.

In November 1745, Charles's army, hereafter known as the Jacobite (from Jacobus, the Latin for James) army, was marching southwards through the North West of England, from Carlisle to Manchester. Although most of the army was Scottish, there were high hopes of support from England. Indeed, in the previous year, a number of high ranking English Tories had invited James to regain the throne, though the enterprise was unsuccessful and none of these conspirators were active during the Forty-Five. Active Jacobite support in England in 1745, as opposed to vocal or covert sympathy, was at a distinct premium. Most sympathisers were men of extreme caution. The main English military contribution to the Jacobite cause was the men of the Manchester Regiment. These men were the exceptions to the rule.

However, this unit has attracted insufficient attention from local and national historians. Jarvis, in his numerous articles on the Forty-Five and the North West of England, does not examine it at all.¹ A series of articles explored a number of the officers in the Regiment, as does a more recent pamphlet,² but the only examination of its membership has come from a historian of Jacobitism in England, Paul Monod, in his survey of that movement in England. Monod mostly looked at the officers, but he also examined a cross section of the Other Ranks, in order to show who they were and what their motivations were. He spent little time in describing what contribution the Regiment made as a military unit. There is also a brief analysis of the composition of the unit, by occupation and by place of origin in a recent study by Oates.³

Lists of the members are to be found in other printed works, but none is as complete as the existing evidence allows.⁴ This article will provide a list of the Regi-

¹ R. C. Jarvis, *Collected Papers on the Jacobite Rising of 1745*, 2 vols., Manchester University Press, 1971).

² B. Stott, 'Charles Clement Deacon and William Bettargh', *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 41, 1924; *ibid*, 'James Dawson and Thomas Sydall', *ibid*, 46, 1929; R. Turner, 'Manchester in 1745', *Royal Stuart Society Paper*, XLIX.

³ P. K. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1689–1788*, Cambridge, 1993), pp. 330–340; J. D. Oates, *The North West of England and the Jacobite Invasion of 1745* (2006).

⁴ A. Livingstone, C. W. H. Aikman, B. S. Hart, *Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745–1746*, (Aberdeen University, 1984), pp. 194–199; J. S. Arnot and B. S. Seton, 'Prisoners of the Forty Five', *Scottish Historical Society*, 3rd series, 13–15, 1928–1929; E. Lord, *The Stuarts' Secret Army: The English Jacobites, 1689–1752*, (London, 2004).

ment's known members, with their ages, occupations, religion and parish of origin where known in order to provide the material for an analysis of the recruits. Were they the lowest of the low as Whig historians assumed? Were they predominantly Roman Catholics as contemporary sermon writers and propagandists alleged? Or were they a typical cross section of the manpower which any unit of the armed forces might gather in? Had they travelled from afar to join—if so, this could be a sign of the strength of their motivation. Even so, this can only be an incomplete assessment, for it is based on those men who were captured and does not include those who deserted and disappeared back into their communities.

Historians writing about the Forty-Five usually only mention the Regiment in passing. This is not surprising, because their purpose is to narrate the history of the rebellion from its inception to its defeat at Culloden.⁵ One does not even mention the Regiment.⁶ This article will place the Regiment at centre stage in order to gain a better insight into its composition and its part in the campaign. Its strengths and weaknesses as a military unit will also be examined. Whereas most English Jacobites were content to sit back and await events, these men actively supported the Jacobite cause, but because the unit surrendered, lists and examinations of prisoners, together with trial details, provide much information about its personnel. Such information is recorded in a number of sources, but chiefly the official records from State Papers Domestic and the King's Bench and published contemporary sources, such as *The Gentleman's Magazine* and the final speeches of those executed. The official records list the occupations, ages and the religions of most, though not all, of the prisoners. Some of the evidence is contradictory; differing ages and occupations are stated for some of the men and more is known about the officers because their final speeches were recorded and contemporaries paid more heed to them rather than to the Rank and File. Apart from these sources, there are contemporary histories by Whig historians, the memoirs of Jacobite officers and the diaries and letters of civilian commentators, all of which refer to the men of the Regiment. Despite these quite rich sources, much remains unknown and what follows, therefore, can only be a working hypothesis, dependent on incomplete data.

The origins of the force which was to be known as the Manchester Regiment date from some days before the Jacobite army marched into Manchester at the end of November. The Jacobite High Command expected much support in the north of England, and a few English recruits joined them before Manchester was reached. At Penrith, John Saunderson, a Catholic gentleman from Northumberland joined and William Vaughan, David Morgan and Francis Townley were waiting for the Prince's army at Preston.⁷ More important numerically were the thirty-nine men

⁵ E. Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the Forty Five*, (1979), pp. 88, 89; W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the Forty Five* (1981), p. 63; F. J. McLynn, *The Jacobite Army in England: 1745, the Final campaign* (1983), pp. 99–101; C. Duffy, *The '45* (2003), p. 270.

⁶ J. Black, *Culloden and the Forty Five* (1990).

⁷ E. Charteris, ed., Lord Elcho, *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland, 1744–1746*, (Edinburgh, 1907), 325–327; R. E. Bell, 'Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, 1740–1747', *Scottish Historical Society*, 27, (1897), p. 246.

recruited by John Daniel from the Fylde district of Lancashire.⁸ These may have been the thirty to forty Catholics whom his brother, Edward Daniel, encouraged to join.⁹ On the whole, however, recruitment from English sources was disappointing.

Initially, Charles Edward Stuart gave commissions to two Irishmen in the French service, Messrs Francis Geoghan and Brown, each to raise a regiment of English recruits. John Daniel was to have been given a captaincy in Geoghan's regiment. This scheme, however, was objected to by Scots officers on the grounds that the two prospective colonels were Catholics and as such would deter recruits. It was suggested that these commands would be more successful if offered to Protestants. In fact, the scheme was laid aside.¹⁰

There was certainly much apparent Jacobite support in Manchester, 'a city which has always been faithful to the House of Stuart'. John MacDonald, a French soldier and one of Charles Edward Stuart's initial seven companions, wrote 'We found many adherents in Manchester'.¹¹ Daniel wrote 'The ringing of Bells, and the great rejoicings and salutations with which we were welcomed, gave us mighty expectations'.¹² Eighty men enlisted on 28 November, the day the Jacobite vanguard arrived in the town. According to the Jacobite Chevalier de Johnstone, half the recruits were enlisted by one William Dickson, who arrived at Manchester on that day. Attempts at recruitment continued until 1 December, the day when the army left Manchester.¹³

Originally the Regiment was to have been called simply The English Regiment, but Daniel claimed that on hearing 'a number of men were at his service' in the town, it was decided to 'please and content the Town' by calling the unit the Manchester Regiment. Although, as will be seen, the majority of the men were not from Manchester, most of the officers either lived there or it was their place of business. This, and the fact that most of the enlistment took place there, was sufficient to fix the name.¹⁴ Recruitment was organised by David Morgan, a Welsh barrister who joined the Prince at Preston and was deputed by Charles Edward Stuart, to inspect the recruits for the Regiment and to choose suitable men as officers. These candidates would then be approved by the Prince and issued with commissions. The captains were chosen first, on the understanding they would be able to raise further recruits, before choosing the junior officers.¹⁵ As with the Government Army, some men paid for their commissions. George Fletcher gave £50 to be a captain.¹⁶ Recruitment further down the social scale was helped by the fact that the

⁸ W. B. Blaikie, ed., 'The Origins of the '45', *Scottish Historical Society*, II, (1916), p. 169.

⁹ H. Tayler, ed., *Jacobite Epilogue*, (London, 1941), pp. 148-149.

¹⁰ Elcho, *Short Account*, 327-328.

¹¹ A. and H. Tayler, *1745 and After* (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 98n.

¹² Blaikie, 'Origins', p. 171.

¹³ H. Talon, ed., *Selections from the Journals and Papers of John Byrom, 1691-1763*, (London, 1950), pp. 228-229; B. Rawson, ed., *The Chevalier de Johnstone: A Memoir of the Forty Five*, (London, 1958), p. 56.

¹⁴ Blaikie, 'Origins', p. 171.

¹⁵ Bell, 'Memorials', pp. 246-247; Blaikie, 'Origins', pp. 172-174.

¹⁶ Talon, *John Byrom*, p. 230n.

Jacobites encouraged men to volunteer for their army and promised a bounty of five guineas, though this never seems to have been paid. Formal enlistment occurred at The Bull's Head Inn, and Thomas Deacon wrote down the men's names, gave them a shilling each and a cockade of blue and white ribbons.¹⁷ Enlistment also took place at The Talbot Inn.¹⁸ Attempts at recruiting continued at least as far as Derby, where the drums were beaten to attract recruits.¹⁹ Apart from Dickson, there were other enthusiastic recruiters in Manchester. One was Thomas Sydall, who was 'the busiest of anybody in Manchester in inlisting men'. Another was Thomas Deacon, 'one of the busiest in persuading the common men to enlist'.²⁰ Another active officer was James Dawson, who recruited in villages outside Manchester 'in which he had such success'.²¹

However the support gained at Manchester was limited. The Jacobite John William O'Sullivan 'expected yt at least 1,500 wou'd have joined us here . . . but very few joynd'. This was allegedly because the Jacobites had no French Regular troops with them.²² The Prince's army stayed in Manchester for a day longer than planned because the captains of the Manchester Regiment hoped to obtain extra recruits, but this hope was not to be fulfilled. Nevertheless, Charles was 'highly pleased at the report of the great number of Manchester men who were to join his standard' and declared they were under his protection and that he would grant them all the favours he could, which 'gave great joy'.²³

The number of men who joined the Manchester Regiment is disputed. The lowest estimate was reported by Horace Walpole as being 'one gentleman in Lancashire, one hundred and fifty common men, and two parsons, at Manchester, and a physician from York'.²⁴ The Jacobite Lord Elcho put the number at 'about 200 Common fellows', plus about 20 others of higher rank.²⁵ The Chevalier de Johnstone claimed it 'never exceeded three hundred men'.²⁶ Perhaps a number of approximately 250 men is nearest the mark, but the number fluctuated, as men left the ranks and others enlisted. The Regiment never reached its full potential strength and there were men who wanted to join, but who were unable to do so because they could not find the army, which was always on the move. Some would-be recruits were arrested en route, one being Richard Wright, a labourer, from Yorkshire.²⁷

It was common for commentators to make derogatory remarks about the men who enlisted into any armed forces, and to question their motives. Eighteenth cen-

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 228.

¹⁸ The National Archives, King's Bench, 33/4/1.

¹⁹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, (1746), p. 335.

²⁰ J. Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, (Aberdeen, 1896), pp. 442, 446.

²¹ T. B. Howell, ed., *Complete State Trials*, 18, (London, 1816), p. 423.

²² Tayler, *1745 and After*, p. 99.

²³ Blaikie, 'Origins', pp. 173–174.

²⁴ W. S. Lewis, ed., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 19, *Walpole to Man*, III, 1745–1748 (Yale, 1955), p. 209.

²⁵ Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 331.

²⁶ Rawson, *Memoir*, p. 56.

²⁷ Oates, J., 'The Responses in North East England to the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745', unpublished Reading University PhD thesis (2001), p. 731.

ture observers referred to them as comprising 'the filth of the nation, and everything which is useless and harmful to society' and 'the ranks are filled with the scum of every county, the refuse of mankind'.²⁸ Whig historians certainly did not hesitate to pour scorn on the social origins of the men of the Manchester Regiment. Andrew Henderson, a Scottish schoolmaster-turned-historian, wrote 'some Papists and Non-Jurors of desperate Fortunes, like some others they picked up on their Rout, engaged with them; but, to their Disappointment, no person of Rank or Distinction came in'.²⁹ The Reverend Richard Lluelyn, Rector of Saunderton, declared they were 'Men of desperate Fortunes'.³⁰ Ray claimed the recruits were 'mostly such as were a Nuisance to the Country' and 'those of the lowest Class both in Point of Morals as well as Condition'.³¹ It was not only Whigs who poured scorn on the recruits; Elcho referred to them as 'common fellows who it seems had no subsistence' and noted that other Jacobite leaders referred to them as '200 vagabonds'.³²

Some modern historians have concurred with such a derogatory assessment. McLynn wrote that the Regiment 'was raised from among the poor, dispossessed and socially precarious'.³³ However, a corrective was offered more recently by Duffy, 'the workers and small craftsmen among the other ranks were typical of the proletarian supporters of the cause in England. Most of the officers were people of high local standing'.³⁴

Not all contemporary observers had so poor an impression of the Manchester Regiment. James Maxwell, a Jacobite officer, wrote that at Manchester, the army was 'joined by some young men of the most reputable families in the town, several substantial tradesmen and farmers and above 100 common men'.³⁵ In some ways, the social composition of the unit resembled that of any Regular regiment.

There was some initial wrangling over command. Morgan claims he was offered the Colonelcy, but declined it in the light of his lack of military experience.³⁶ He suggested Francis Townley instead, and the latter became colonel, but not before a further dispute had taken place. It seems that John Daniel wished to be in charge—after all, he had enlisted about 40 men before Townley had appeared on the scene. Townley was of an old Catholic family in Lancashire, which had actively supported the Jacobite rebellion in 1715. Indeed, his uncle, Richard Townley, had been tried for his part in that rising, but was later pardoned. Although Townley was treated 'disdainfully' by the Scots, he was reported as being 'a gallant and loyal gentleman'.³⁷ Possibly he was not popular with the Scots because of his Catholic-

²⁸ Duffy, *Military Experience*, pp. 89–90.

²⁹ A. Henderson, *History of the Rebellion*, (London, 1748), p. 59.

³⁰ S. Markham, ed., *John Loveday: An Eighteenth Century Onlooker, 1717–1789*, (London, 1984), p. 362.

³¹ J. Ray, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion*, (London, 1755), pp. 152–3.

³² Charteris, *Short Account*, pp. 331, 332.

³³ F. J. McLynn, *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, (Oxford, 1991), p. 186.

³⁴ C. Duffy, *The Forty Five*, (London, 2003), p. 270.

³⁵ J. Maxwell, *Narrative of the expedition of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, (Edinburgh, 1841), p. 70.

³⁶ Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 449.

³⁷ Tayler, *1745 and After*, p. 98n; Blaikie, 'Origins', p. 173.

ism—after all, the two Irishmen who were Regular officers in the French army had been turned down on religious grounds by the Scots. His qualifications for command were not unimpressive. He was the only professional soldier in the Manchester Regiment, having served with the French Army in the previous decade, where he won accolades from the Duke of Berwick at the siege of Phillipsburg in 1733.³⁸ However, he may have been of a quarrelsome nature—his reported dispute with Daniel, who had no military experience, has been referred to—and his quarrel with Bradshaw led the latter to join the Life Guards in order to avoid serving in Townley's Foot. Yet, by the time of the retreat, Townley seems to have been on more cordial terms with at least some of the Scottish Jacobite leaders; at least if Dudley Bradstreet is to be believed. He recorded that Townley dined with Lords Kilmarnock and Ogilvie and 'many other persons of distinction'.³⁹

The Manchester Regiment's officers came from the usual backgrounds from which regimental officers would have come. The senior officers, Townley and William Vaughan of Herefordshire, were from the landed gentry, and the junior officers were from the ranks of the Middle Class, chiefly merchants and professionals. There was even a 'gentleman-ranker', Edmund Clavering, among the Private soldiers.⁴⁰ The officers were described as 'one or two Gentlemen and about 15 or twenty merchants'⁴¹ who 'had never been bred in the military way'.⁴² In the Manchester Regiment the senior officers were wealthy enough to own horses, but some of the junior officers were on foot.⁴³ Many were risking all—Sydall was well-to-do, owned several houses, was married and had five children.⁴⁴ In detail, the largest component of the middle ranking officers was drawn from merchants and business men, with a few professionals. They were mostly aged in their twenties and thirties, with David Morgan, aged 50, being the exception. As with the Government forces, the most junior officers; the ensigns, were in their teens. Five of the eight ensigns were aged between fifteen and eighteen.

The men in the ranks were from at least thirty respectable, if not necessarily affluent, urban occupations. Principal among these were the thirty weavers; there were also a few labourers, servants, shoemakers, husbandmen, tailors and carpenters. The occupations of sixty-seven of the ORs are unrecorded. Only one, Austin Coleman, is known to have been unemployed at the time of the Jacobite invasion. Furthermore, only Roger Fulthorp was known to be without means and in need of money at the time of his enlistment. Possibly more were similarly situated, but this is impossible to ascertain.⁴⁵ The ages of thirty-five of the men are known. They varied from 14 to 35, with most of them being in their late teens or early twenties.

³⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, p. 336.

³⁹ G. S. Taylor, ed., *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Captain Dudley Bradstreet*, (New York, nd.), p. 133.

⁴⁰ Rawson, *Memoir*, p. 56.

⁴¹ Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 331.

⁴² Ray, *History*, pp. 106, 110.

⁴³ Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, pp. 435–439.

⁴⁴ 'Manchester Collectanea', *Chetham Society*, 68, (1866), p. 212.

⁴⁵ TNA, King's Bench (hereafter, KB) 33/4/1,5.

Most were probably unmarried and so had no family responsibilities. This would have been similar to the recruits to the Regular Army. At least two had disabilities: Hugh Johnston only had one eye and Matthew Matthews was deaf.⁴⁶

Despite the title of the unit, and unlike the officers, only a minority of the men in the ranks were from Manchester. The Reverend Lluellyn heard that it was twenty-nine.⁴⁷ Most of the men were from other parts of Lancashire where support for the Stuarts was relatively strong and through which the army marched, making it easy for anyone who wished to, to enlist. Other counties through which the Jacobites marched—Cumberland, Staffordshire, Cheshire and Derbyshire—contributed a few men each. Two came from Yorkshire, five from Northumberland, four from Cumberland, four from Cheshire, one from Staffordshire, one from Nottinghamshire and five from Derbyshire. Sixteen men were from other parts of the British Isles; ten from Ireland and three each from Scotland and Wales.

The motivations of the officers are reasonably well known, and can be ascertained from examining their backgrounds. Some certainly came out of conviction, often based on family connection or religion. As noted, Townley's family had taken part in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, as had Clavering's family. The latter was his father's second son; the eldest, William, stayed at home. Both families were Roman Catholic. Sydall's father had been a Jacobite, having taken a prominent part in the rioting in Manchester in 1715 and later joined the rebellion. He was hanged for his pains in the following year. James Bradshaw was related to Townley through his mother. The Deacon brothers' father, Dr Thomas Deacon, was the Non-Juring Bishop of Manchester. John Byrom alleged that their father did not agree with their joining the Prince, but this is unlikely.⁴⁸ Religion was therefore important for some; Townley, Vaughan, Saunderson and Holker were Roman Catholics and the Deacons and Sydall were Non-Jurors, but the rest of the officers were Anglicans and their motivations could not have been primarily religious.⁴⁹ Chadwick's ideological motivation was demonstrated when he played the Jacobite tune 'The King shall enjoy his own again' on a church organ.⁵⁰

The officers were often well educated. Townley attended the Catholic seminary at Douai and Morgan was educated at the Middle Temple, and was known as 'the Pretender's Counsellor'.⁵¹ James Bradshaw had attended the Free School at Manchester and James Dawson and Thomas Coppock were former pupils of Salford Grammar School where the Reverend John Clayton, a Jacobite, was one of the masters. Both men had gone on to university; Oxford and Cambridge respectively. Coppock served as the regimental chaplain 'and ever after in all the towns and villages where the army was and their was a Church he used to Say prayers and Pray publicly for the Prince and all his family'.⁵² At Manchester he preached from

⁴⁶ Arnot and Seton, 'Prisoners' I, p. 234.

⁴⁷ Markham, *John Loveday*, p. 362.

⁴⁸ Talon, *John Byrom*, p. 228n, 244; L. P. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction?* (Hull, 1995), pp. 170–1.

⁴⁹ DNB, 55, p. 113; 56, p. 211.

⁵⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine* 16, 1746, p. 337.

⁵¹ DNB, 15, pp. 559–560, 55, p. 113, 39, p. 109.

⁵² Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 331.

Psalms XCVII, I, 'The Lord is King, the earth may be glad thereof'.⁵³ Apart from these religious duties, he was described as 'a very active man in seizing arms and horses'.⁵⁴ Another educated man was Samuel Maddox, an apothecary's apprentice, who became the unit's surgeon.⁵⁵

The publicly declared motivations of the officers may be adduced from the speeches they gave on the scaffold prior to their executions, but these need to be treated with caution. A number of common themes occur. They appear to show that the officers were highly dedicated to restoring the House of Stuart. For example, Thomas Deacon said 'I think myself happy in having an opportunity of dying in so just and so glorious a cause . . . being little inferiour to martyrdom itself'.⁵⁶ They stated their Jacobite creed in no uncertain terms. Thomas Sydall claimed 'My motive for serving in the Prince's army was the duty I owe to God and the country, in endeavouring the restoration of King James the Third and the royal family; which I am persuaded is the only human means by which this nation can ever become great and happy'.⁵⁷ Morgan poured scorn on the Hanoverian dynasty which had, he claimed, bled Britain dry 'for the convenience and support of the meanest Electorate in Germany'.⁵⁸ Most wished to lay on record their religious beliefs. Thomas Coppock announced 'I die an unworthy member of that particular Church, the Church of England, as she stood before the Revolution, which I firmly believe to be truly primitive, Catholic and Apostolic, free from superstition on one hand, and Fanaticism and Enthusiasm on the other. May she prosper and flourish!'⁵⁹ They claimed that their motives were selfless. Sydall said 'Neither was I tempted to enter into the army commanded by the Prince of Wales by any ambitious or self-interested views. I was easy in my circumstances and wanted no addition of riches to increase my happiness'.⁶⁰ Morgan was politically motivated, being a member of the Independent Electors of Westminster, an organisation in opposition to the Government.⁶¹ John Saunderson stated 'he would go up to the mouth of a cannon to serve the Prince'.⁶² It was said of Fletcher that he was 'unhappily prejudiced against the present Royal Family' and so 'very ready to join the Pretender's forces'.⁶³

The familiar themes which ran through the speeches were probably not accidental, but may have been composed and rehearsed in collaboration with each other. It is also worth noting that at their trials, some of the officers pleaded not guilty and tried to play down their roles in the campaign. Such flinching sits

⁵³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, p. 495.

⁵⁴ TNA, TS20/74/19.

⁵⁵ Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 376.

⁵⁶ Paton, 'Lyon in Mourning', I, p. 22.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶¹ DNB, 39, p. 109.

⁶² Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 440.

⁶³ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 351.

uneasily alongside their reported defiance on the scaffold. There is, therefore, reason to treat the motivations offered in the above speeches with some scepticism.⁶⁴

Yet some of the officers were less than zealous Jacobites. Robert Deacon, unlike his two brothers, was unenthusiastic for the cause, only joining because he did not want to offend his father.⁶⁵ John Berwick joined because he was in debt to his creditors, 'it was thought he was running behind in the world; and that not being able to settle his accounts with his creditors, was the principal reason that induced him to take on with the rebels'. Maddox was given a guinea on recruitment by Dawson, the former 'being short of money, and discontented'.⁶⁶

Evidence for the motivation of the common soldiers is less easy to ascertain. Some cast doubts on their reasons for enlistment. According to Elcho, the men 'it seems had no subsistence, for they used to Say by way of showing their military inclination, that they had for sometime been resolved to inlist with whichever of the two armies came first to town'.⁶⁷ However, as already noted, only Coleman and Fulthorp were definitely motivated by economic factors. This seems unusual because men from the ranks of eighteenth century armies were often motivated by economic reasons. One fifth of the men in the British Army during the American War of 1775–1781 came from economically distressed regions.⁶⁸ Others were criminals or in trouble with the law.⁶⁹ Some joined because they had harsh masters, were bored or were seeking adventure.⁷⁰

The reasons men gave for having joined the Jacobites varied. Eight men pleaded that they had been forced to enlist,⁷¹ but these excuses must be treated with caution. Benjamin Bowker, a Manchester deputy constable, reported 'The said several persons did not appear as people under any Restraint or Compulsion but as free agents'.⁷² More plausibly, alcohol was a persuasive recruiting sergeant and, as in the Regular Army, Jacobite recruiting and enlistment commonly occurred in taverns. Seven men claimed to have enlisted whilst drunk and in the company of persuasive friends. This is certainly plausible, as some new Jacobite foot soldiers wished to go home just a couple of days after joining, suggesting that the effects of alcohol had worn off. Others claimed that they had gone along to safeguard possessions and property. Many stated that they had been in Manchester on business or had come to see the Jacobite army out of curiosity and then became swept up with it.⁷³ An unsympathetic relative said of Clavering, 'he is no great loss, he having been half a madman as well as a whole rebel'.⁷⁴

⁶⁴ N. Rogers, 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death' in J. Black and E. Cruickhanks, eds., *The Jacobite Challenge* (1988).

⁶⁵ S. Hibbert-Ware, *Foundations of Manchester*, II, (Manchester, 1834), p. 101.

⁶⁶ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, pp. 370, 421.

⁶⁷ Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 331.

⁶⁸ Duffy, *Military Experience*, p. 91.

⁶⁹ R. Holmes, *Redcoat*, (London, 2002), pp. 138–139.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 139–149; Duffy, *Military Experience*, p. 91.

⁷¹ TNA, KB33/4/1.

⁷² *Ibid* TS20/89/2.

⁷³ *Ibid*, KB33/4/1.

⁷⁴ E. Hughes, ed., 'Letters of Spencer Cowper', *Surtees Society*, 165, (1956), p. 22.

The Rank and File may have been less ideologically motivated than their officers, but not necessarily so. There are two known pre-execution speeches by men from the ranks: John Rowbotham declared loyalties similar to those of his officers, saying that he died doing his 'Duty to God and my King and Country and in endeavouring to restore the House of Stuart who have been so long banished . . . whose right is indisputable to these three kingdoms'. He added that he died 'an unworthy member of the Church of Rome'.⁷⁵ The other was delivered by Clavering, who referred to 'my Duty to God, my King and Country . . . to restore my lawful and undoubted sovereign, KING JAMES THE THIRD'.⁷⁶ The similarities in the messages conveyed by these speeches suggests that they were probably following a set pattern which had been absorbed as part of the Jacobite creed, but there seems no reason to doubt their sincerity. Such speeches, and the courage in the beliefs which the condemned exhibited by their delivery in the moments before death, may have been designed to inspire in their audience the thought that perhaps these men were right. In an age of almost universal Christian belief it was unlikely that these speakers would wish to meet their Maker with a lie on their lips.

Some who served were undoubtedly enthusiastic Jacobites. One such was Edward Roper, who, 'as soon as the Rebels were come into Wigan, the prisoner, on seeing them come into the Town, kneeled down in the street, kissed the Ground for Joy and then repeated aloud "Now my Prince has come I dare appear in Wigan"'.⁷⁷ Similarly, James Sparkes met the army two miles outside Derby and said 'I am glad to see you, I have long wished it . . . P_C_ forever' and added 'he would fight for P_C_ as long as he had any blood left'.⁷⁸ Others enlisted after uttering Jacobite sentiments in public; John Thomlinson, a Bury shoemaker, drank a health to Charles Edward Stuart before enlisting.⁷⁹

As with the officers, religion probably played its part. The religious affiliation of sixty-one of the Other Ranks is known: forty-nine were Catholics, the others being Anglican. Given that Catholics formed a small proportion of the total population (even in Lancashire—perhaps one tenth), this indicates that Catholics were represented in the Regiment out of all proportion to the average religious affiliation of the county, and that, in this case at least, those who equated Catholics with Jacobites were not wholly wrong to do so. After all, Charles and his father were Catholics and a Stuart restoration would certainly have resulted in the end of the penal laws which imposed restrictions on Catholics. It is possible that many of the unrecorded Manchester recruits were Non-Jurors; Protestants who refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance to the Williamite and Hanoverian regimes and who saw the Stuarts as the rightful rulers of Britain.⁸⁰ It is worth noting, however, that none of the great Catholic families of Lancashire sent any of their younger sons to join the Prince; as

⁷⁵ Lancashire Record Office, RCLN/9/1.

⁷⁶ Anon, *True Copies of the dying declarations of . . . Andrew Blood . . . Edmund Clavering*, (Edinburgh, 1750), pp. 37–38.

⁷⁷ British Library, Stowe MSS. 255, f50r.

⁷⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, p. 573.

⁷⁹ TNA, PL26/35/4.

⁸⁰ 'Collectanea', p. 212.

with the Northumbrian and Durham Catholics in 1715, they were too cautious to do so. Perhaps memories of the failure of the Fifteen deterred them, as they looked to safeguard lives and estates above all, whichever King reigned.⁸¹

Despite testimony in mitigation of their participation in the rebellion, all these men were volunteers. They were not conscripted or in any way forced into the ranks, as was sometimes the case with Regular armies, even that of Great Britain, which was, at least in theory, made up of volunteers. Nor were the men of the Manchester Regiment the dependents of gentlemen or nobility, as many Englishmen in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 had been, and who may have faced pressure to join the Jacobite army in a similar, though less overt, way to the many Scottish Highlanders who had little option but to follow their chiefs against the Hanoverians. They must, therefore, have been strongly motivated by religion and politics to have taken part in the Forty-Five.

Sometimes, members of the same family enlisted. The obvious example are the three Deacon brothers. Thomas Coppock's brother, a tailor, also enlisted with him. The Crosbys, father and son, and both named William, did likewise. There are another ten instances of men with the same surname and the same approximate birthplace who enlisted together.

The Manchester Regiment was led by Colonel Townley, who had an adjutant to act as his agent and staff officer, and a lieutenant-colonel, eight captains, six lieutenants, eight ensigns and eight sergeants. Each captain was in charge of a company, and had a lieutenant, an ensign and a sergeant to help him. It would appear that there were probably eight companies (the discrepancies in the numbers of lieutenants may be due to these men deserting or avoiding capture). Each company may have numbered about 30 men, taking all ranks into consideration. The only oddity is that there were no corporals; these junior NCOs served to assist the sergeants in their work in conventional units. The regimental banner read 'Church and Country and Liberty and Property' and was carried by Ensign John Brit-tough.⁸² The Regiment's drummer was the young John Pendleton, who was no more than a lad.⁸³ The men were probably armed with muskets and bayonets,⁸⁴ but we know almost nothing of the composition of each company. Maddox was in Fletcher's.⁸⁵ Owen McCormack was in Moss's and Brit-tough was in Dawson's.⁸⁶ Coppock was appointed Quartermaster in addition to his duties as Chaplain.

The men were supposedly uniformed in blue with tartan sashes and wore white cockades in their hats, but most sources only note the latter adornment. Indeed, it is difficult to see how uniforms could have been made at such short notice and for such a peripatetic unit.⁸⁷ What pay they received is unknown. The officers never

⁸¹ L. P. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North East England, 1689-1746* (1995), pp. 177-178.

⁸² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, p. 335.

⁸³ TNA, KB33/4/1.

⁸⁴ Hibbert-Ware, *Manchester*, II, p. 105.

⁸⁵ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, 355, p. 361.

⁸⁶ Henderson, *History*, p. 59.

⁸⁷ Blaikie, 'Origins', p. 187.

sought pay for themselves, serving as volunteers supporting themselves from their personal funds.⁸⁸ As for the men, a shilling was given at the outset by way of bounty, but thereafter their pay is uncertain. Some of the men later claimed to have received no money at all, but this could be because they were being tried for their lives and admitting to paid service would have sat ill with claims of forcible recruitment. Private soldiers in the Regulars received sixpence a day, but if the men of the Manchester Regiment were paid at all, it may have been from their officers' pockets or from the public money taken from tax collectors along the line of march. The only definite reference to any other pay was when Townley paid them £80 during the siege of Carlisle; perhaps these were arrears or an attempt to boost sagging morale.⁸⁹ Though pay was in arrears or irregular at best, promises were extravagant: a bounty of five guineas and a crown per man were promised, once London was reached.⁹⁰

In other ways, the Regiment did not resemble a conventional military unit. It is uncertain how it was armed. There are references to officers carrying pistols and swords, but perhaps not all the Rank and File received firearms, let alone knew how to use them. Although Townley supplied arms to them, many of the Men later claimed never to have borne firearms, though this could be because they were trying to claim leniency from the courts.⁹¹ Furthermore, we know nothing of training and discipline. As the men were recruited in late November and spent almost all their service either marching or as part of the garrison at Carlisle, there could have been little time for such activities, which were crucial if they were to perform well on the battlefield or during a siege. Six months was thought to have been the minimum time required to train a Regular soldier, but in times of war, this would be less.⁹² James Bradshaw is said to have exercised his men, but perhaps he was the only one to do so.⁹³ Training would certainly have been difficult. Perhaps they could have been instructed by more experienced men from other units.

The Regiment's military service was brief. Leaving Manchester on 1 December with the Jacobite Army, it marched to Derby. It is said that on leaving their home town, the men sang the following song:

'Farewell, Manchester! Tho' my heart for you still beats,
Ne'er again will I swagger down your streets.
I must seek the foe everywhere that I go
Nor a friend be-side me as in Manchester.

Farewell Manchester! Bonnie Charlie's calling me,
I must haste away fro my King to be . . .
I fall in war none be sore for my death
I'll be true with my last breath to Manchester.'⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 376.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 445.

⁹⁰ Talon, *Selections*, p. 228.

⁹¹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, p. 335; TNA, KB33/4/1.

⁹² Holmes, *Redcoat*, p. 275.

⁹³ DNB, 39, p. 109.

⁹⁴ H. Ainsworth, *The Manchester Rebels*, p. 384.

On the evening of 1 December, the Regiment was in Macclesfield, and, being drawn up in the churchyard, was issued with whatever arms and ammunition were available; presumably muskets and ball. Morale was low and some men had become dispirited already. Some deserted and others did not go home only owing to pressure from their comrades. Maddox claimed that he was one who repented of joining at this stage, but carried on because Fletcher assured him that he would kill him if he quitted. Owen McCormack later claimed he wished to desert and had to be bribed to stay. At Derby, which was reached on 4 December, attempts were made to shore up such losses by enlisting replacements, but new recruits were sparse.⁹⁵ On the march south, some of the men were designated to form a pioneer corps, led by Blood.⁹⁶ Scouting parties including Morgan and Thomas Deacon went to spy on the Duke of Cumberland's movements.⁹⁷ Deacon also went ahead to Derby to reconnoitre the town in advance of the army.⁹⁸ He was said to have recruited a 'great many men' on the march from Manchester, but we know nothing of them. Sydall and Bradshaw also tried to recruit men at Leek, and Dawson beat up for recruits at Derby.⁹⁹

There is no record of Townley participating in the famous conference on 5 December, to decide whether the army should proceed on its march to London. Presumably, as a regimental colonel, he attended. Morgan was co-opted into the inner circle of command and advocated a march into Wales on both the advance from Manchester and the return from Derby, though these suggestions made very little military sense. At Derby he supported a march on London and, had it taken place, this might have resulted in a Jacobite victory. The Government forces had been outmarched, London was not strongly defended and a French invasion fleet was being prepared. But Morgan's pleas went unheeded. Lord George Murray pointed out that there had been little English support and that the Regular troops outnumbered them. This, coming from Charles's foremost general, swayed the council into arguing for a retreat.¹⁰⁰

On the retreat northwards, through Manchester and other northern towns, the Regiment's tasks were mundane. Several men refer to being employed as baggage handlers and others helped to repair the roads in order to assist with the movement of artillery and baggage carts.¹⁰¹

When billeted on private houses, the Men's accommodation was paid for. Morgan billeted twenty-one men on Edgar Howe's house on arriving at Derby, and Howe recorded that Morgan paid 'like a gentleman', the sum of a guinea and three shillings.¹⁰² On the return from Derby, however, some of the men took part in looting. John Berwick stole a horse, saddle and holsters between Derby and Ash-

⁹⁵ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 416.

⁹⁶ R. Williamson, *Records of the Old Regiment of Lancashire Militia*, (London, 1886), pp. 65-66.

⁹⁷ Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 376.

⁹⁸ Hibbert-Ware, *Manchester*, II, p. 105.

⁹⁹ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 356.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 444.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, pp. 447, 449.

¹⁰² Hibbert-Ware, *Manchester*, II, p. 105.

bourne.¹⁰³ In another incident a sack of arms was taken from a house.¹⁰⁴ Not only had householders cause for concern; Colonel Townley was uneasy and had two sentries posted at his sleeping quarters in case Cumberland's troops surprised him.¹⁰⁵

Before regaining Manchester, a party of men from the Regiment, led by Sydall and Holker was sent ahead of the vanguard to try and recruit more men. This attempt failed as the local Whigs were armed and ready to beat off such small parties and the recruiters were forced to evade them. When the Jacobite army arrived in Manchester in strength on the following day it took its revenge. Houses were broken into and other villainies committed.¹⁰⁶ A venomous, and possibly exaggerated, letter was later addressed to Dr. Deacon accusing him in the following words 'What has the town suffered from your sons parading it about, clapping their swords to their neighbour's throats, demanding their arms, purses . . .'¹⁰⁷

There had been a number of desertions on the retreat from Derby after 6 December; Daniel noted a fortnight later that the Regiment numbered about 200 men 'for many had quitted and returned home being unwilling to go to Scotland'. This figure seems a significant over-estimate, as only just over half this number formed the garrison at Carlisle. Even David Morgan, the Regiment's Inspector, declared 'it were better to be hanged in England than starved in Scotland'. With the knowledge and permission of Charles Edward Stuart, he went to London to gather intelligence. Others were more resolute in the cause and several men enlisted on the retreat of the army from Derby. Vaughan firmly declared 'Wherever they go, I am determined, now I have joined them, to go along with them'¹⁰⁸

It is said that Captain Bradshaw's company took part in the skirmish with Cumberland's advance guard at Clifton Moor, near Penrith on 18 December, though it is not recorded precisely what role it played.¹⁰⁹ When Carlisle was reached on 19 December, Townley was offered a new commission to raise a regiment of cavalry which would have been difficult, because of the scarcity of horses. Had he accepted, the command of the Manchester Regiment would have been given to Thomas Deacon. This possibility so angered Bradshaw that he left the Regiment to join the Lifeguards with which he was present at Culloden in the following year.¹¹⁰

Townley, however, remained in command of the Manchester Regiment and petitioned Prince Charles that the Regiment be allowed to remain as part of the garrison at Carlisle, though he had not consulted his officers and many wished to stay with the Prince and retire to Scotland. Their minds were changed when Townley told them that Charles wished them to remain at Carlisle and those who had

¹⁰³ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, pp. 360, 366, 374.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, KB33/4/1.

¹⁰⁵ Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 338.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 446. Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 446.

¹⁰⁷ Hibbert-Ware, *Manchester*, II, p. 106.

¹⁰⁸ Elcho, *Short Account*, pp. 86, 333; Bell, 'Memorials', p. 434; Blaikie, 'Origins', p. 186. Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 450.

¹⁰⁹ Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, p. 442.

¹¹⁰ Hibbert-Ware, *Manchester*, II, p. 107.

horses then gave them away to their retreating comrades. Daniel saluted their courage 'they were a set of brave men; and though it is often objected to them, that they were not of an extraordinary rank, yet they behaved so as to make those of a nobler birth blush . . . Unhappy Gentlemen! They merited a better fate than what was awaiting them!'¹¹¹ By this time, the Regiment numbered a mere 113 men.¹¹² Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, however, took the opportunity to stay with the main body and left his former colleagues, to continue serving with the Jacobite army until Culloden.¹¹³

It is not known why Townley made the fateful decision to remain at Carlisle. Perhaps it was to show loyalty to his master by trying to safeguard the only substantial English town that the Prince still held. Perhaps he was reluctant to go into Scotland. He may also have feared that with the numbers under his command diminishing through desertion, he might have been deprived of his independent command and that his Manchester men were likely to be merged with another small unit to make a viable regiment.

The defence of Carlisle began on 21 December when the Duke of Cumberland and his troops arrived before the town. Townley had been appointed governor of Carlisle, but John Hamilton, a Scot, was in overall command. Townley, as a professional soldier, had a number of ideas about the defence of the place. He arranged for artillery to be posted on the walls, installed chevaux de frise to impede the attackers and suggested making sallies against the besieging forces.¹¹⁴ He recommended that scaffolding be placed behind the walls, though the precise purpose of this recommendation is not clear. His men guarded the walls and the town hall and a sortie was made to steal sheep for food. Maddox alleged that Townley had a house in the city burnt down. Once Cumberland's heavy artillery had been brought from Whitehaven, a breach was quickly made in the city walls, but Townley suggested that the garrison retire to the castle to fight on from there. However, morale was low among the defenders; men deserted their posts, others refused to man the walls and most of the officers thought that further resistance was useless. To compound the difficulties, food was in short supply; Maddox and Brittough even fought over some sausages. Only Dawson, among the officers, agreed with Townley to fight on and the two of them were overruled.¹¹⁵ Townley urged that it was 'better to die by the sword than to fall into the hands of these damned Hanoverians'.¹¹⁶ Sydall later alleged that 'it was the opinion of every one of the garrison who had been in foreign service that the place was tenable many days' and that 'it is highly probable that a gallant defence (which I strenuously insisted upon) would have procured us such terms as to have prevented the fate to which we are now consign'd'.¹¹⁷ This

¹¹¹ Blaikie, 'Origins', 172n, pp. 186–187.

¹¹² TNA, SP36/80, f11r-16r.

¹¹³ DNB, 56, p. 211.

¹¹⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, pp. 335–336.

¹¹⁵ Royal Archives, Cumberland Papers, 8/209; 'Manchester Collectanea', p. 231; Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 362.

¹¹⁶ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, p. 336; Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 339.

¹¹⁷ Paton, 'Lyon in Mourning', I, p. 24 and n.

was a reference to the surrender being unconditional; the worst terms they could have received.

The men of the Manchester Regiment suffered disproportionately for their commitment to the Jacobite cause. Eleven officers and sixteen men from the ranks were executed (roughly a quarter of all executions of Jacobite prisoners). The heads of some of the officers were put on spikes for public display; Townley's at Carlisle, Morgan's at Temple Bar in London and Sydall's and Deacon's at Manchester. Thirty-eight Other Ranks were transported to the American colonies and the fate of others is uncertain. Some undoubtedly died in prison. Two were banished. Three of those captured managed to escape and nineteen were acquitted, pardoned or discharged. Nevertheless, more from the Manchester Regiment were tried and executed than from any other unit in the Jacobite Army. Perhaps this was because rebellion was expected of the Scots; whereas the same was not the case with the English. One commentator, William Buck, wrote on 2 July 1746 'I must own, I have a stronger inclination to punish an Englishman who could join those wretched Rascals, and plunder his Neighbours . . . than the Scotch themselves'.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, there was an element of compulsion among the Scots clans, as tenants and dependants were obliged to serve their masters; the same could not be said to excuse the English volunteers.

At their trials, pleas in mitigation were made on behalf of some of these men. Bradshaw's friends claimed he was insane.¹¹⁹ Thomas Brereton, a Liverpool Whig MP, forwarded pleas on the behalf of John Furnivall, alleging he was 'a very weak man and consequently the more easily seduced and hurried into rebellion by bad company'.¹²⁰ Likewise it was said that Brittough, although 'guilty enough to deserve death', had got into bad company, not realised the Jacobites' true intent and then had been forced to stay with them, despite trying to escape.¹²¹ Townley was convinced that, because he was a commissioned officer in the French Army, he was not a rebel, but a prisoner of war.¹²² Even apparently ardent Jacobites such as Coppock claimed innocence. He said that he had met friends in Manchester and then, only when it was too late, did he realise he was among Jacobites. He then felt unable to leave the army because he would be arrested for consorting with Jacobites.¹²³ Such pleas sometimes had an effect: though Bradshaw, Coppock and Townley were hanged; the other two escaped the capital sentence.

Others did not die on the scaffold nor did they suffer transportation. Twenty-one men chose to enlist in the British Army and eight men chose to turn King's Evidence against their fellows in order to avoid death on the gallows. Persuaded by his brother, who visited him in gaol, Maddox was the only officer to turn King's Evidence and many of his former colleagues made reference to him in their last

¹¹⁸ TNA, TS20/7/1.

¹¹⁹ Paton, 'Lyon in Mourning', I, p. 29; Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, pp. 340, 355. Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, II, pp. 474–475

¹²⁰ TNA, SP36/85, f103v.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 259r–260v.

¹²² Howell, *Complete State Trials*, 18, p. 352.

¹²³ TNA, KB33/4/1.

speeches. Austin Coleman and Owen McCormack, among the Men, also gave testimony against their fellows. Maddox had sworn that Thomas Deacon helped with the enlistment of men at Manchester. Deacon claimed Maddox was 'unfortunate, deluded', guilty of 'the sin of unparallel'd ingratitude' and 'perfidiousness to his lawful prince and perjury against God, having sworn away the lives of those persons who chiefly supported him while he attended the Prince's army'.¹²⁴ Sydall said that Maddox's fellow prisoners had subsisted him while he was in gaol and for this he showed nothing but ingratitude.¹²⁵

Before condemning those who turned on their comrades, the testimony of James Miller who had joined the Jacobite army on 12 December should be borne in mind. He recounted the experiences of himself and his fellow prisoners in Carlisle and then at Lancaster where 'We were barbarously treated'; the men's clothes, money and property was stolen; their food and drink was poor, they were loaded with heavy irons and eighty prisoners died in Lancaster Castle.¹²⁶ For those who were not strongly committed to the Prince's cause, turning King's Evidence seemed a reasonable tactic which offered a chance of survival.

Most of the officers, except Coppock, were taken to London after the fall of Carlisle and tried between 15–18 July 1746. Executions occurred on 28 July. The Rank and File were divided between gaols in Lancaster, Staffordshire and York. They were tried at Carlisle in September and York in October; executions following in late October and early November. The majority of those who survived were either transported or enlisted into the army in 1747–1748.¹²⁷

The Manchester Regiment was short-lived, existing for just one month. Its achievements were minimal. Many of the men enlisted for ideological or religious reasons or both, though the two cannot be entirely separated. This was a volunteer unit; none of the men had been pressed or forced by chieftains, employers or magistrates. Well organised on conventional military lines and under the command of an experienced Regular officer, it might have achieved much in more favourable circumstances. Instead, its colonel committed untrained men to the defence of Carlisle, where they met an inevitable end, facing overwhelming odds and achieving little for the Jacobite cause. All of this is indicative of the weakness of the Jacobite cause in England. No one of any political or social standing joined the Regiment and its lack of strength when compared to the level of activity amongst English Jacobites in 1715, demonstrates how much the Stuart cause had declined in thirty years. This is even more significant because the Jacobite army had marched through Lancashire, a county renowned for its Stuart sympathies among both Catholics and the Non-Jurors. If few men from this county were going to enlist, then little support could be expected elsewhere. The true significance of the Manchester Regiment lay in its very weakness—it exemplified how few Englishmen were prepared to fight for the Stuarts.

¹²⁴ Paton, 'Lyon in Mourning', I, p. 29.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ J. H. Leslie, ed., 'The Diary of James Miller, 1745–1750', *The Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, III, (1924), pp. 209–210.

¹²⁷ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746, pp. 335–337, 495, 523–526, 555, 573, 614.

The Personnel of the Manchester Regiment

The list below presents the known members of the Manchester Regiment by seniority. Where the field is blank in any column, no data is available. Men who claimed to have been recruited after drinking in a tavern are shown in **bold**. Those who claimed to have been forced into the Jacobite Army are shown in *italics*. Those who enlisted in the Army during its retreat from Derby are shown in underlined script. Those marked in the Fates column as 'enlisted' were taken into the British Army as their punishment despite the fact that some of them were Roman Catholics and therefore ineligible, normally, to serve in the Army.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Fate</i>
Francis Townley	Colonel	Gentleman	Townley Hall, Lancashire	36	Catholic	Executed, 30 July 1746. London
William Vaughan	Lieutenant Colonel	Gentleman	Ross Herefordshire	29	Catholic	Escaped
Andrew Blood	Captain	Steward	Yorkshire			Executed, 30 July 1746. London
James Bradshaw	Captain	Merchant	Manchester	28		Executed, 28 Nov. 1746
James Dawson	Captain		Lancashire	29		Executed, 30 July 1746. London
George Fletcher	Captain	Linen draper	Salford	25(28)		Executed, 30 July 1746. London
David Morgan	Captain	Barrister	Monmouthshire		Anglican	Executed, 30 July 1746. London
Peter Moss	Captain	Woolen draper	Manchester	50		Discharged
William Moss	Captain		Lancashire			Escaped
John Saunderson	Captain	Overseer	Northumberland		Catholic	Banished
Thomas Sydall	Adjutant	Barber	Manchester	36/40	Non Juror	Executed, 30 July 1746. London
John Berwick	Lieutenant	Linen draper/ malt dealer	Manchester	31		Executed, 30 July 1746. London
Thomas Chadwick	Lieutenant	Tallow chandler	Manchester/Staffordshire	32		Executed, 30 July 1746. London
Robert Deacon	Lieutenant		Manchester	19	Non Juror	Died in prison, January 1746
Thomas Deacon	Lieutenant		Manchester	21	Non Juror	Executed, 30 July 1746. London
Thomas Furnivall	Lieutenant	Warehouseman	Manchester/Cheshire			Banished
John Holker	Lieutenant	Calendar man	Lancashire	26	Catholic	Escaped
John Betts	Ensign	Music maker	Lancashire			Escaped
John Brittough	Ensign	Attorney's clerk	Salford	17		Fate unknown
William Bradshaw	Ensign		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Charles Deacon	Ensign	Schoolboy	Manchester	15		Transported
John Hunter	Ensign	Apprentice apothecary	Northumberland Cheshire	18		Acquitted Transported
Samuel Maddox	Ensign					
Christopher Taylor	Ensign	Apprentice dyer	Wigan	16		Transported
James Wilding	Ensign		Manchester	15		Pardoned
Thomas Coppock	Chaplain			26	Anglican clergyman	Executed, 18 Oct. 1746. Carlisle
Michael Brady	Sergeant		Ireland			Executed, 8 Nov. 1746. York.

William Dempsey	Sergeant	Joiner	Ireland	Executed, 1 Nov. 1746. York
John Ellis	Sergeant		Northumberland	Fate unknown
Valentine Holt	Sergeant	Clothmaker	Rochdale	Executed, 21 Oct. 1746. Penrith
Philip Hunt	Sergeant	Barber/wigmaker	Wigan/Standish	Executed, 28 Oct. 1746. Penrith
Thomas Parker	Sergeant	Shoemaker	Lancashire	Executed, 28 Oct. 1746. Penrith
John Rowbotham	Sergeant	Carpenter and weaver	Manchester	Executed, 21 Oct. 1746. Penrith
Andrew Swan	Sergeant	Shoemaker	Edinburgh	Executed, 28 Oct. 1746. Penrith
John Alker	Private	Porter	Wigan	Fate unknown
John Allan	Private	Labourer	Manchester	Transported
John Andrew	Private	Labourer	Lancashire	Fate unknown
<i>John Ashton/Appleton</i>	Private	Labourer	Ashton	Fate unknown
James Baghall	Private	Labourer/	Wigan	Fate unknown
James Bald	Private	husbandman		Fate unknown
Thomas Ball	Private		Lancashire	Fate unknown
John Bartlett	Private	Cordwainer	Kellough, County Down	Enlisted
Edward Barrow	Private	Husbandman	Westby Hall	Fate unknown
Lewis Barton	Private	Weaver	Wigan	Transported
<i>Edmund Bean</i>	Private	Carpenter	Myerscot	Fate unknown
William Bell	Private	Book seller	Berwickshire	Fate unknown
John Bendleton	Private			Fate unknown
<i>Henry Bibby</i>	Private	Weaver	Wigan	Transported
<i>Thomas Bold</i>	Private	Labourer/	Wigan	Transported
		husbandman		
Thomas Bolton	Private		Warrington	Fate unknown
George Bouston	Private			Fate unknown
James Braithwaite	Private	Saddler	Penrith	Acquitted
Edmund Brayne	Private		Lancashire	Fate unknown
George Brower	Private			Fate unknown
Matthew Brindle	Private	Husbandman	Wigan	Fate unknown
John Briggs	Private	Weaver	Manchester	Fate unknown
Francis Brown	Private	Farmer	Wigan	Fate unknown
Richard Brown	Private	Apprentice	Wigan	Transported
		carpenter		Fate unknown
John Burn	Private	Servant	Northumberland	Fate unknown
John Burn	Private		Northumberland	Transported
Samuel/James	Private	Farmer/servant	Wigan	Enlisted
<u>Chaddock</u>				

The Personnel of the Manchester Regiment (continued)

Name	Rank	Occupation	Place	Age	Religion	Fate
Thomas Chadley	Private		Preston			Fate unknown
<i>Thomas Charnley</i>	Private	Weaver	Walton	18	Anglican	Transported
David Charnock	Private	weaver	Walton	20		Fate unknown
John Cheisley	Private		Lancashire			Transported
John Chesterfield	Private	Coalminer	Ashton		Anglican	Transported
John Chetham	Private		Northumberland		Catholic	Fate unknown
Edmund Clavering	Private	Unemployed	County Mayo			Executed, 1 Nov. 1746. York
Austin Coleman	Private	weaver				Discharged
James Collinge	Private	Publican				Fate unknown
Laurence Collingwood	Private	Yeoman/servant	Northumberland			Fate unknown
Thomas Collingwood	Private	Yeoman	Carlisle			Fate unknown
William Comb	Private	Husbandman	Wigan			Fate unknown
Humphry Cook	Private	Blacksmith	Derbyshire			Fate unknown
<i>William Cook</i>	Private	Husbandman	Wigan		Catholic	Enlisted
William Cooper	Private	Carpenter	Preston		Catholic	Fate unknown
John Coppock	Private	Tailor	Manchester		Anglican	Enlisted
<i>John Cottam</i>	Private	Labourer	Clifton	15/17	Catholic	Transported
<i>Thomas Cragg</i>	Private	Calendar man	Manchester		Anglican	Discharged
William Crosby	Private	Weaver	Whitchurch			Transported
William Crosby	Private		Whitehaven			Fate unknown
Augustus Cullinan	Private		Dublin			Fate unknown
<i>Henry Dawson</i>	Private	Shopkeeper	Ribchester		Catholic	Fate unknown
Michael Dellard	Private	Woolcomber	Manchester			Executed, 1 Oct. 1746. Brampton
William Dickenson	Private	Weaver	Lancashire			Transported
Molineux Eaton	Private	Weaver	Preston		Catholic	Transported
M. Eaton	Private	Servant	Standish			Fate unknown
Mark Farrier	Private					Fate unknown
William Farrier	Private		Arsellaugh, Meath			Escaped
Peter Flanagan	Private	Shoemaker	Wigan		Catholic	Fate unknown
John Fletcher	Private		Newcastle			Discharged
William Fletcher	Private	Barber/servant	Warrington/Manchester			Fate unknown
<i>Roger Fulthorp</i>	Private	Tailor	Leigh	21	Anglican	Enlisted
Thomas Gornall	Private		Lancashire		Catholic	Discharged
James Grenshire	Private					Fate unknown

William Hardbuckle	Private	Labourer	Brindle			Fate unknown
<u>William Hargreaves</u>	Private		Manchester	20	Catholic	Enlisted
George Hartley	Private	Carpenter	Brindle		Catholic	Enlisted
John Hartley	Private		Lancashire	17	Catholic	Executed, 15 Nov. 1746
Thomas Haycs	Private		Notttingham			Fate unknown
Thomas Henson	Private	Weaver	Wigan/Standish	17	Catholic	Fate unknown
Thomas Hervey	Private	Butcher	Derby			Fate unknown
Edward Hewit	Private					Fate unknown
Thomas Highley	Private					Fate unknown
John Hodgson	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
William Home	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
John Hudson	Private		Lancaster			Fate unknown
Francis Hully	Private	Weaver	Newcastle			Fate unknown
William Hunter	Private		Manchester			Executed, 8 Nov. 1746. York
Richard Jackson	Private	Dealer				Fate unknown
Thomas Jay	Private					Discharged
<u>Hugh Johnston</u>	Private	Weaver	Walton/Extonburgh	27	Catholic	Transported
John Johnson	Private		Lancashire			Transported
Richard Johnstone	Private	Comb maker	Lancashire			Transported
Thomas Joy	Private	Weaver	Lancashire/Dublin			Discharged
<u>Thomas Keighley</u>	Private	Husbandman	Hindley	19	Catholic	Enlisted
Joseph Inchley	Private	Tallow chandler	York			Transported
William Lackey	Private					Enlisted
Robert Lawson	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Humphry Lea	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
<u>Richard Leatherbarrow</u>	Private	Weaver/labourer	Winwick/Keilsley	22	Catholic	Transported
<u>Samuel Lee</u>	Private	Tailor	Rochdale		Anglican	Enlisted
John Livesay	Private	Cordwainer	Lancashire	17/24	Catholic	Transported
Andrew Longing	Private		Ireland			Fate unknown
William Lowman	Private	Servant	Lancashire			Fate unknown
John Mackensen	Private		Lancashire			Discharged
John Magnald	Private	Servant,	Garstang	17		Fate unknown
John Marnery	Private					Fate unknown
William Martin	Private		Preston			Fate unknown
James Mash	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Barnabas Matthew	Private		Lancashire	24		Executed, 15 Nov. 1746
Matthew Matthias	Private	Weaver	Ireland			Transported
Ormesby McCormack	Private	Weaver/haymaker	Ireland			Discharged

The Personnel of the Manchester Regiment (continued)

Name	Rank	Occupation	Place	Age	Religion	Fate
John McNeal	Private		Lancashire			Enlisted
Richard McNeal	Private		Lancashire			Transported
John Mean	Private		Lancashire			Transported
James Mellin	Private	Weaver	Preston	23	Catholic	Fate unknown
James Miller	Private					Enlisted
William Mills	Private		Lancashire	23		Transported
James Mollin,	Private					Fate unknown
William Morris	Private		Derbyshire			Fate unknown
John Murray	Private	Weaver	Annandale	30		Fate unknown
<i>John Neaton</i>	Private	Weaver	Oldham	12/16	Anglican	Transported
Thomas Norris	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Edward Ogden	Private		Manchester			Fate unknown
Thomas Ogden	Private	Weaver	Manchester	34		Transported
Thomas Parkes	Private		Manchester			Fate unknown
Henry Parkinson	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Robert Paterson	Private		Lancashire			Transported
Archibald Paton	Private	Joiner	Lancashire			Transported
John Pendleton	Private	Apprentice weaver	Hadington	13/15	Anglican	Transported
Thomas Poor	Private		Manchester			Fate unknown
Matthew Pringle	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Richard Proctor	Private		Lancashire	20	Catholic	Transported
John Radcliffe	Private	Weaver	Whittle	19	Catholic	Died
Richard Riding	Private	Weaver	Houghton	24	Catholic	Transported
Thomas Ribley	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Edward Roper	Private	Weaver	Wigan		Catholic	Executed, 18 Oct. 1746
<i>John Saunderson</i>	Private	Labourer/servant	Wigan		Catholic	Enlisted
James Shorrocks	Private	Tailor	Preston	21	Catholic	Transported
David Shorrocks	Private	Weaver	Preston	19	Catholic	Transported
Francis Singleton	Private	Weaver	Preston	17		Fate unknown
Robert Singleton	Private	Apprentice	Manchester			Transported
James Sparkes	Private	Framework knitter	Derby	16	Catholic	Executed, 1 Nov. 1746, York
William Spencer	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
Oliver Taylor	Private		Standish			Fate unknown
Peter Taylor	Private	Joiner	Lancashire			Executed, 21 Oct. 1746
Thomas Thompson	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown

John Thomlinson	Private	Shoemaker	Bury	20/29	Catholic	Acquitted
William Tickhall	Private	Tailor	Walton			Transported
Samuel Tiercon	Private		Chester			Fate unknown
Robert Tinsley	Private	Weaver	Wigan		Catholic	Fate unknown
John Todd	Private	Labourer	Lancaster			Discharged
Thomas Turner	Private	Apprentice shoemaker	Bury	18	Catholic	Enlisted
Thomas Turner	Private	Weaver	Walcot		Anglican	Enlisted
John Walker	Private	Labourer	Lancashire	20		Enlisted
John Walmsley	Private		Lancashire			Fate unknown
George Waring	Private	Weaver	Brindall	25	Catholic	Enlisted.
Matthew Waring	Private	Weaver	Lancashire	23	Catholic	Enlisted
James Warren	Private				Anglican	Discharged
Thomas Warrington	Private	Chairmaker/servant	Macclesfield	18	Catholic	Acquitted
Charles Webster	Private		Derby			Acquitted
Edward Wilcock	Private		Lancashire	21	Catholic	Fate unknown
Wilding's father						Fate unknown
Owen Williams	Private		Wales			Fate unknown
John Williamson	Private		Ireland			Discharged
Thomas Williamson	Private		Manchester		Anglican	Acquitted
William Winstanley	Private	Weaver	Wigan			Transported

The list was compiled from the following sources:

Livingstone, A., Aikman, C. W. H., and Hart, B. S., *Master Roll of Princes Charles Edward Stuart's Army, 1745-1746*, Aberdeen University, 1984, 194-199, Arnot, J. S. and Seton, B. S., 'Prisoners of the Forty Five', *Scottish Historical Society*, 3rd series, 13-15, 1928-1929, The National Archives, PL26/35/4; TS20/74/19; TS20/89, KB33/4/1, 5; SP36/80, f11r-16r; 107, f130v, British Library, Stowe MSS., 255, f57v, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 16, 1746.

