

ference of colours in the Tartan, as distinguishing various clans, is also held to be comparatively modern origin.

"Various reasons," says the author of the "Letters," are given both for and against the Highland dress. It is urged against it, that it distinguishes the natives as a body of people distinct and separate from the rest of the subjects of Great Britain, and thereby is one cause of their narrow adherence among themselves to the exclusion of all the rest of the kingdom; but the part of the habit chiefly objected to is the plaid (or mantle), which, they say, is calculated for the encouragement of an idle life in lying about upon the heath in the day-time, instead of following some lawful employment; that it serves to cover them in the night when they lie in wait among the mountains to commit their robberies and other depredations, and is composed of such colours as altogether in the mass so nearly resemble the heath on which they lie, that it is hardly to be distinguished from it till one is so near them as to be within their power, if they have any evil intention.

"On the other hand it is alleged; the dress is most convenient to those who, with no ill design, are obliged to travel from one part to another upon their lawful occasions, viz.: That they would not be so free to skip over the rocks and bogs with breeches, as they are in the short petticoat. That it would be greatly inconvenient, to those who are frequently to wade through waters, to wear breeches, which must be taken off upon every such occurrence, or would not only gall the wearer, but render it very unhealthful and dangerous to their limbs to be constantly wet in that part of the body, especially in winter-time, when they might be frozen. And with respect to the plaid, in particular, the distance between one place of shelter and another are often too great to be reached before night comes on, and being intercepted by sudden floods, or hindered by other impediments, they are frequently obliged to lie all night in the hills, in which case they must perish were it not for the covering they carry with them."

The preceding is an intelligible description, which may enable us to form a truer conception of the Highland army than we may derive from romances or melodramas. In the Act of Parliament of 1747, by which, "the clothes commonly called Highland clothes," are forbidden to be worn except by officers and soldiers; these clothes are described as "the plaid, philibeg or little kilt, trouze, shoulder-belts;" and it is enacted, "that no tartan or parti-coloured plaid should be used for great coats or upper coats." In the "Humphrey Clinker" of Smollett, which embodies his remarks on his native country in 1766, we may trace the operation of this statute, which had for its object the amalgamation of Highlanders and Lowlanders: "It must be observed that the poor Highlanders are now seen to disadvantage. They have been not only disarmed by Act of Parliament, but also deprived of their ancient garb, which was both graceful and convenient; and, what is a greater hardship still, they are compelled to wear breeches—a restraint which they cannot bear with any degree of patience; indeed, the majority wear them, not in their proper place, but on poles or long staves over their shoulders; they are even debarred the use of their striped stuff, called Tartan, which was their own manufacture, prized by them above all the velvet, brocades, and tissues of Europe and Asia. The now lounge along in loose great coats of coarse russet, equally mean and cumbersome, and betray manifest marks of dejection. Certain it is, the government could not have taken a more effectual method to break their national spirit." These "breeches" were certainly not the "trouze" of the Highland gentlemen. "The 'breeks' attempted to be forced upon the nether limbs of the brawny Highlanders were the Lowland and English knee-breeches of George the Second's reign, with all the buttons and buckles thereunto belonging."* The author of the interesting Letters which we have quoted gives an example to show that the whole people were "fond and tenacious of their Highland clothing" before the eventful period which was to produce such changes in this matter, as well as in greater affairs: "Being, in a wet season, upon one of my peregrinations, accompanied by a Highland gentleman, who was one of the clan through which I was passing, I observed the women to be in great anger with him about something that I did not understand. At length, I asked him wherein he had offended them? Upon this question he laughed, and told me his great coat was the cause of their wrath, and that their reproach was, that he could not be contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to follow their unmanly fashions."†

* Planché. "British Costume," p. 485.

† Burt's "Letters," vol. ii. p. 191.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Meeting of the British Parliament.—New regiments to be raised by Peers.—Divided counsels in the Cabinet and in Parliament.—The insurgent army crosses the Border.—Siege of Carlisle.—State of Public Intelligence.—The continued march into England.—Manchester recruits.—Roman Catholic families in Manchester.—The rebel army reaches Derby.—The duke of Cumberland's army close at hand. The retreat of the rebels resolved upon.—Public feeling in London.—The populace.—The commercial and moneyed classes.—Suspensions attached to Scotsmen in London.—Andrew Drummond, the banker.—Proceedings against Popish priests.

THE king returned from Hanover on the 31st of August. The Parliament was summoned to meet on the 17th of October. On the 9th of October, "Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland," issued his proclamation from his palace of Holyrood House, warning all his subjects, peers or commoners, to pay no obedience to this summons of the Elector of Hanover, and threatening that if any peers or commoners of Scotland should presume to sit or vote in such Parliament, they should be proceeded against as rebels and traitors. Nevertheless, in spite of this doughty manifesto, the Parliament did meet at Westminster on the 17th of October, although some few Scottish peers did keep away. The king expressed his surprise that any of his Protestant subjects should have been concerned in this rebellion; for throughout the whole course of his reign he had made the laws of the land the rule of his government and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of his people, the main end and aim of all his actions. Whatever had been the defects of the government of the two Georges, the laws of the land had not been violated; the constitution under which they reigned had been upheld. The freedom of speech which was heard in both Houses, at this crisis of danger, is the best proof that no arbitrary power had deadened the old spirit which ejected the Stuarts; that the corruption, by which sir Robert Walpole had believed that the intrigues of the Jacobites could only be effectually resisted, had not created a Parliament of slaves and sycophants. In the Lords the earl of Westmoreland proclaimed that "the people suspect that both Houses are under a corrupt

dependency upon the Crown."* In the Commons, major Selwyn denounced the system of continually interposing in continental affairs: "We have been doing little else for above twenty years, than pulling down with one hand, and setting up again with the other; so that a drum was never to beat in Germany, but we, knight-errant like, thought we must have recourse to arms."† The Opposition in the House of Commons, even at this time of public alarm, supported an amendment to the address as boldly conceived as in the previous days of domestic security: "In order to the firmer establishment of his majesty's throne on the solid and truly glorious basis of his people's affections, it shall be our zealous and speedy care to frame such bills as, if passed into laws, may prove most effectual for securing to his majesty's faithful subjects the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right to be freely and fairly represented in Parliament, frequently chosen, and exempted from undue influence of any kind."‡ Lyttelton and Pitt, who had bearded Walpole in the height of his power, and had exercised all their oratory to drive Carteret from office, now spoke against the amendment. Pitt was indeed looking for place, from which the personal dislike of the king alone excluded him; but it was something far nobler than courtly subserviency which prompted him at this juncture to postpone every other consideration to the great question of the defence of his country; for he knew that the stability of the throne was undoubtedly the firmest foundation for the liberties of the people. In his speech on this occasion Pitt said that he had always been a friend to everything that could reasonably be offered to secure the independence of Parliament; that, because he was a real friend to every regulation that might appear likely to be effectual for preventing the fatal effects of corruption, he would never propose or advise the introduction of any such regulation into the House but at a proper season. Was this a proper season? "Whilst the nation is engaged in a most dangerous and expensive foreign war, a rebellion breaks out at home. Those rebels have already gained a victory over the king's troops, which has made them almost wholly masters of one part of the United Kingdom. We are under daily apprehensions, both of an irruption, and a foreign invasion, being made upon the other; and that invasion would, certainly, be attended with an insurrection. In such circumstances, shall we amuse ourselves with contriving methods to prevent the effects of corruption? Shall we spend our time in projects for guarding our liberties against corruption, when they are in such immediate danger of being trampled under foot by

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1324. † *Ibid.*, 1335. ‡ *Ibid.*, 1342.

force of arms? Would not this be like a man's sitting down to think of ways and means for preventing his being cheated by his servants, at the very time that thieves were breaking into his house?"* This was the language of a statesman. The amendment was negatived. On the 28th of October, a motion was made for a committee "to inquire into the causes of the progress of the Rebellion in Scotland." The supineness of the ministry was defended on the ground "that they could not have supposed that a few Scotch Highlanders would be so mad as to take it into their heads that without any foreign assistance they could conquer the whole island of Great Britain."† The motion was negatived.

When Charles Edward was marching southward, party-jealousies and court-intrigues took a shape essentially characteristic of a period when most public men thought their own petty interests and rivalries of far more importance than the welfare of the nation. Fifteen peers had offered to raise regiments. The offer was accepted by the government. Had the lords "paid them too, the service had been noble," writes Horace Walpole. The king was to pay them; and their colonels, it was alleged, named none but their own relations and dependents for the officers. Walpole insinuates that some of these peers took the pay but did not raise the men; and he distinctly says that not six regiments were raised, and not four employed. The duke of Bedford, he admits, actually raised, and served with, his regiment. "The fourteen promised regiments," says lord Mahon, "all vanished to air or dwindled to jobs." There is no authority for this sweeping statement even in the sarcasms of Horace Walpole. But there is little doubt that the public spirit of the aristocracy was not very great or very universal. Andrew Mitchell describes in a letter to Duncan Forbes this affair of the new regiments with a bitter irony: "It is certain that no job was intended by those who made the first proposal, but your lordship knows this country too well to believe that in the time of public danger any man would attend to his own private advantage."‡ On the 4th of November, a motion was made in the Commons, for an address to beseech his majesty, "that the officers in the new regiments, now raising, or already raised, may not be allowed any rank from their commissions after these regiments are broke." This address was rejected only by a small majority. The king was against the officers taking rank, but he did not wish to refuse it. Courtiers, patriots, and Jacobites supported the address, which if carried would have put an end to the scheme for raising those regi-

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1349. † Winnington, *ibid.*, col. 1372.

‡ "Culloden Papers," p. 245. Letter of 19th November.

ments. Pitt took a part which may lead us not wholly to believe the calumnies of Walpole; a part best calculated to make any selfish grandee ashamed of his baseness, if any portion of these calumnies were true. The noble peers, he said, who had undertaken to raise these regiments, "have stood like men of fortitude and integrity in the gap at which war and confusion were breaking in upon us, and have by their influence and example raised the same spirit in others, who, had they not been thus animated to resistance and resolution, would inevitably have sunk under their fears, and suffered all the calamities of an invasion without daring to attempt the means of opposing or preventing them."* The officers, he said, who are to be employed under them, are men whose fortunes and whose merit raise them to distinction in their own counties—men who voluntarily serve their country from their zeal for its security. The suspicions of the integrity of the highest in rank, and the differences of opinion in statesmen professing the same principles, which these discussions exhibited, were not favourable to the belief that the prayer would be realized which the archbishop of York so fervently put up at the commencement of the Rebellion: "May the great God of battles stretch out his all powerful hand to defend us; inspire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people; a clear wisdom into the councils of his majesty; and a steady courage and resolution into the hearts of his generals." The want of concert amongst the Whigs in Parliament, and the absence of cordiality amongst the advisers of the king, are described in the letter of Andrew Mitchell just quoted: "Affairs in the House of Commons are not now carried on in the manner they were when your lordship sat in Parliament. Their proceedings are now like the operations of an army composed of several nations, where all the leaders must be satisfied, and where there is properly no commander-in-chief. Though the influence of some be great, yet in many points they must yield to their new allies. In the Cabinet, I fear, there is as little harmony as elsewhere; the consequence of which must be an unsteadiness of councils, and want of all scheme or plan of action."

The Parliamentary Reports in the "Gentleman's Magazine" and the "London Magazine," from which waverers in England might have learnt in October something of the divided opinions of Parliament, could scarcely have reached the west of Scotland, before prince Charles entered Cumberland on the 8th of November. His march into England had been regarded with little favour by the Highland chiefs. Some, according to the *Chevalier de John-*

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1388.

stone, told him that it was ridiculous to invade England with such a handful of men. Other said they had taken arms to seat him on the throne of Scotland, but wished to have nothing to do with England.* The adventurer had wild notions of a great insurrectionary movement in his favour, after he had crossed the Border. The experience of lord Kilmarnock might have taught the prince that communities flourishing by their industry were not likely to forsake the protection of an established government, to enter into a dispute of hereditary right against a constitutional succession of half-a-century's duration. The father of Kilmarnock raised a regiment for the Pretender in 1715; when claims to feudal service were respected in the Scottish Lowlands. In 1745, the mistaken and unfortunate lord called upon his tenants and the carpet-weaving population of the town of Kilmarnock, to follow him to fight for the Stuart; and he was roughly told by all, to a man, of those he called his people, that neither threats nor entreaties should take them from their homes. The young prince was as ignorant of the real condition of the English people—of the rapid progress that had been made in the industrial arts, and in the improved resources of all ranks, since his grandfather left Whitehall in 1688—as he was unconscious of the resolution of the people not to put to risk every good which they enjoyed, for the sake of a dynasty hated by four-fifths of the general population, without any zealous support except from the professors of antiquated creeds in religion and politics. The Georges had never been popular. They were disliked as foreigners. There was no comparison to be made between the attractions of the tall young prince, who was playing the part of a hero of romance, and of the little old gentleman, who, although he had flourished his sword at Dettingen, received no greetings of white handkerchiefs from fair ladies in London windows. But George II. had not been a harsh or an unjust king. Archbishop Herring spoke to the hearts of his hearers at York, when he said, "not an instance can be pointed out during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt upon the liberty, or property, or religion of a single person." The contrast with the last king of the Stuart line was not forgotten, even in Scotland.

"In the year 1745," writes Gibbon, the throne and the constitution were attacked by a rebellion, which does not reflect much honour on the national spirit; since the English friends of the Pretender wanted courage to join his standard; and his enemies—the bulk of the people—allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom." The father of the great historian was one of those

* "Memoirs," p. 55.

who had not the courage to take a decided part in a cause to which his inclination tended; "Without daring, perhaps without desiring, to aid the rebels, my father invariably adhered to the Tory opposition. In the most critical season he accepted, for the service of the party, the office of alderman in the city of London." * This covert Jacobitism, "willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike," furnishes an explanation for a portion of the seeming indifference to the result, which marked the public demeanour of some men of rank and wealth on the approach towards London of the Highland army. Why the enemies of the leader of this army allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom, is capable of very easy solution, if we trace his progress step by step. We doubt if this non-resistance can be fairly ascribed to any want of national spirit in "the bulk of the people."

The Highland army, upon leaving Dalkeith, divided into two columns. One under the command of lord George Murray, took the western route into England by Peebles and Moffat; the other, with the prince at its head, marched as if about to proceed by the eastern road to Berwick. The Chevalier de Johnstone attributed to this stratagem the determination of Wade to remain with his large force to protect Newcastle. The prince, suddenly turning westward from Kelso, joined the other division near Reddings. On the 10th, the entire army invested Carlisle. The inhabitants of Newcastle were relieved from the fears which they are held to have entertained after the battle of Preston-Pans. John Wesley was in the town on the 23rd of September. No English or Dutch troops were yet there for the protection of the inhabitants; but, writes Wesley, "the walls are mounted with cannon, and all things prepared for sustaining an assault." This preparation for defence scarcely bears out the belief that at Newcastle the arms of Charles Edward "had struck the deepest dismay." † Wesley says, "Our poor neighbours on either hand are busy removing their goods; and most of the best houses in our street are left without either furniture or inhabitants." When a bombardment is expected, the inhabitants of the threatened town may remove their goods from an exposed to a secure place, without feeling "the deepest dismay." General Wade did not march from Newcastle till five days after the investment of Carlisle. The surrender of that city, before Wade arrived in the neighbourhood for its relief, can scarcely be accounted for, except through the disaffection of a few, operating

* "Memoirs of Edward Gibbon." The alderman resigned about two months before the landing of Charles Edward.

† Lord Mahon.

upon the gross ignorance and folly of its magisterial defenders. In the castle, the garrison consisted of only one company of invalids, commanded by colonel Durand. The besieged were not wanting in artillery. The city was surrounded with old walls, within which was the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The siege was conducted by the duke of Perth with a small force; for the prince, with the greater part of the army, had marched to Brampton, in the expectation of giving battle to Wade. There was a valiant mayor of Carlisle, who wrote to the Secretary of State that he had fired on the rebels and made them retire; adding, in his heroic epistle, "And so I think the town of Carlisle has done his majesty more service than the great city of Edinburgh, or than all Scotland together." * The king spoke of this Mr. Patteson, at his levee, with great encomiums. The boasts of the mayor soon came to an end. The besieging army had twelve field-pieces, six of which had been taken at Preston. The city, says De Johnstone, "surrendered the third day after the opening of the trenches, rather from our threatening to fire red-hot balls upon the town and reduce it to ashes, than from the force of our artillery; as we did not discharge a single shot, lest the garrison should become acquainted with the smallness of their calibre, which might have encouraged them to defend themselves." † The town authorities compelled the feeble garrison to join in the capitulation; and they had previously ordered them to desist from firing upon the besiegers. In a letter from a gentleman in Kendal, dated the 18th of November, the citizens of Carlisle are represented in no favourable light: "Most of our militia are got home from Carlisle, who generally complained of very ill-usage in that place; and though perhaps some of them may exaggerate matters through resentment, yet, by all accounts, the conduct of that city fell much short of what was expected from a place of so much strength and reputed loyalty." ‡ The people of Whitehaven, according to the loyal volunteer, James Ray, had raised ten companies of fifty men each, for the defence of the place, and had formed breastworks before the town, in which cannon was planted. But when they heard of the surrender of Carlisle, the guns were dismantled, and put on board ships, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands.

It is at this period, when the newspapers announced the advance of the rebels into England, and their successful attack upon Carlisle, which from early times had been regarded as one of the most formidable barriers against Scottish assault, that we find in

* Walpole to Mann, November 22.

† "Memoirs," p. 58.

‡ Given in "History of the Rebellion," by James Ray of Whitehaven, Volunteer, &c.

the letters of the poet of the Leasowes, a slight indication of the popular interest which these stirring events excited in the midland counties. Shenstone, on the 22nd of November, thus writes to his friend, Mr. Graves: "The rebellion, you may guess, is the subject of all conversation. Every individual nailer here takes in a newspaper (a more pregnant one by far than any of the London ones), and talks as familiarly of kings and princes as ever Master Shallow did of John of Gaunt. Indeed it is no bad thing that they do so; for I cannot conceive that the people want so much to be convinced by sermons of the absurdity of popery, as they do by newspapers that it may possibly prevail. The reasons and arguments, too, in favour of the present government are so strong and obvious, that even I, and every country squire and every country clerk, and Sam Shaw the tailor, seem to be as much masters of them as the bishops themselves. I must not say we could express them so politely."* Secker and Sherlock and Warburton were preaching like sensible divines against the mischiefs which a change of dynasty would produce; and the newspapers, London and provincial, give little encouragement to the enterprise of a family that had not been distinguished for a regard to the freedom of the press. A few years later than this, Dr. Johnson, who saw without much favour the fact that "almost every large town has its weekly historian," makes this admission of the utility of newspapers, even in this early period of the development of their mighty influence: "All foreigners remark that the knowledge of the common people in England is greater than that of any other vulgar. This superiority we undoubtedly owe to the rivulets of intelligence which are continually trickling among us, which every one may catch, and of which every one partakes." †

The possession of Carlisle appears to have somewhat influenced the decision of Charles's council to march onward towards London. Some, according to lord George Murray, proposed returning to Scotland. The cause of the Stuarts was not flourishing there. Although lord Strathallan, who had been left in command at Perth, had received a considerable accession of force, from clans who had taken arms under the son of lord Lovat and other chiefs, the large commercial towns had given the most decided manifestations in favour of the established government. Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries had raised their militia for the reigning House. Edinburgh had renewed its allegiance. Even at Dundee and Perth, "the populace had insisted on celebrating king George's birthday, and a few shots or blows had been exchanged between

* Shenstone's Works, vol. iii. p. 103.

† "Idler," No. 7.

them and their Jacobite garrisons."* "The populace" may here have a wider significance than "the mob." Lord George Murray (the project for marching back to Scotland not being approved) says that some were for quartering in the country about Carlisle. "Others were for marching forward the west road, and that now we had Carlisle, at worst we had a safe retreat. His Royal Highness declared for this." His own opinion being asked, lord George said he could not venture to advise "to march far into England without more encouragement from the country than we had hitherto got;" but he added that, if the prince was resolved to make a trial, the army, though small, would follow him. "Upon this he immediately said he would venture." † Murray at that time had resigned his commission, and was determined to serve only as a volunteer. There had been differences between him and the duke of Perth, who was in especial favour with Charles. But the experience and knowledge of the plain-speaking general could not be safely dispensed with. He soon, he says, "as all the other officers were very pressing with me," laid aside the thought of serving only as a volunteer.

On the 20th of November, the van of the Highland army marched from Carlisle; and the main body, in a second division commanded by the prince, followed shortly after. The whole force did not reach five thousand men, according to some accounts; it amounted nearly to seven thousand, upon other estimates. At Penrith the main body halted on the 22nd for a day, the van having marched to Kendal. Home says that the second division, "coming to Penrith, occupied the quarters which the van had left." ‡ The chaplain, from whose MS. we have already quoted, says, under the date of the 22nd, "the van marched to Kendal, and the main body halted at Penrith." These accounts, corroborated by De Johnstone, refute the statement that "the whole army re-united at Penrith, and halted there one day, in the expectation that Wade was advancing to attack them; but on learning the retreat of that doughty veteran from Hexham they pursued their progress." § On the 27th the two divisions were united at Preston. "Last night they were to be at Preston," writes Walpole, on the 29th. He adds, "The country is so far from rising for them that the towns are left desolate on their approach, and the people hide and bury their effects, even to their pewter." We must not cease to bear in mind that the towns, then left desolate, were essentially different from the towns of half a century later—

* Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 395.

† "History of the Rebellion," vol. iii. p. 122.

‡ "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 48.

§ Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 397.

mere hamlets compared with the vast abodes of manufacturing industry into whose localities Charles Edward was now entering. "Manchester," says Volunteer Ray, "was taken by a sergeant, a drum, and a woman, about two o'clock in the afternoon [of the 28th], who rode up to the Bull's Head on horses with hempen halters, where they dined. After dinner they beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty."* This seemingly apocryphal story is confirmed by letters given by Lord Mahon, but more circumstantially by a very interesting narrative of the Chevalier de Johnstone. One of his sergeants, he says, a young Scotsman named Dickson, who had been enlisted from the prisoners of war at Gladsmuir, asked his permission to go forward to Manchester to make sure of some recruits before the arrival of the army. The general laughed at the notion of the adventurous youth, "as bold and intrepid as a lion." But Dickson was not to be balked in this way. He went off with a horse, and with his commander's portmanteau and blunderbuss; and on the evening of the 26th atoned for his insubordination by presenting himself at Manchester with a hundred and eighty recruits. De Johnstone gives with considerable narrative power the history of the surrender of Manchester to Dickson and his blunderbuss: "He had quitted Preston, in the evening, with his mistress, and my drummer: and having marched all night, he arrived next morning at Manchester, which is about twenty miles distant from Preston, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for 'the yellow-haired laddie.' The populace, at first, did not interrupt him, conceiving our army to be near the town; but as soon as they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the house of Stuart took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he soon had five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded, undisturbed, the whole day, with his drummer, enlisting for my company all who offered themselves.

* Ray, p. 132.

On presenting me with a list of one hundred and eighty recruits, I was agreeably surprised to find that the whole amount of his expenses did not exceed three guineas. This adventure of Dickson gave rise to many a joke at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a girl. The circumstance may serve to show the enthusiastic courage of our army, and the alarm and terror with which the English were seized.* The "alarm and terror" were perhaps as much produced by "those of the inhabitants of Manchester who, attached to the house of Stuart, took arms," as by the enthusiastic courage of the sergeant, the drummer, and the girl, as the representatives of "our army." The Manchester recruits were formed into a regiment. It "never exceeded three hundred men," says De Johnstone, "of whom the recruits furnished by my sergeant formed more than the half. These were all the English who ever declared themselves openly in favour of the prince; and the chiefs of the clans were not far wrong, therefore, in distrusting the pretended succours on which the prince so implicitly relied." The bell-ringing, the illuminations, the bonfires, which are described as "signs of popular favour upon the entry of the prince," lose a little of their value, when we learn, from one source, that "the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses to night, which must be done;" † and from Volunteer Ray, that the bellman, who, in the morning, "had been sent about the town requiring all such as had any public money in their hands to bring it in," was, in the evening, "again sent about to order the town to be illuminated." The probability is that the inhabitants generally of Manchester, thriving as they were upon their manufactures of fustians, dimities, laces, and the various small articles of dress known as Manchester ware, and having extensive dealings with distant places, would not very gladly have seen property destroyed and credit suspended by the near prospect of insurrection and civil war. But the ancient and wealthy Roman Catholic families who dwelt among them were in general harmless; and if the bellman ordered illuminations, it was not for the industrious and loyal majority to break the Papist windows. The Protestants of this busy town were not likely to be more disaffected than their neighbours. "In every place we passed through," says De Johnstone, "we found the English very ill-disposed towards us, except at Manchester, where there appeared some remains of attachment to the House of Stuart." ‡ The Jacobite sympathy, "the old spirit of loyalty," that displayed itself in

* "Memoirs of the Rebellion," p. 64.

† Letter given by Lord Mahon.

‡ "Memoirs," p. 81.