

Lancashire Britishness: Patriotism in the Manchester Region During the Napoleonic Wars

Keywords: patriotism, Napoleonic Wars, loyalism, radicalism, Britishness

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On 25 October 1809, Britain celebrated George III's fiftieth year on the throne. The golden jubilee occurred during the middle of the Napoleonic Wars, although Britons at the time were obviously unaware how many years of wartime hardship still lay ahead. According to Linda Colley and other historians of British patriotism, the wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France between 1792 and 1815 marked the 'apotheosis' of George III. The monarch was lauded as the paternal head of the United Kingdom, four nations that were recently united by constitutional union and a shared determination to resist the threat of French invasion. This was the era of 'Rule Britannia' and 'God Save the King', of Trafalgar and Waterloo, of John Bull and Britannia pitted against the diminutive character of Napoleon 'Boney' in the caricatures and songs of wartime propaganda. This was the era in which 'Britons' were made.¹

In some senses, this national ebullience was indeed centred around the monarch and national events such as the Jubilee and the king's birthday. The wealth of satirical cartoons and broadside ballads in this period pitted John Bull against Napoleon 'Boney', and as Colley and other historians have shown, did much to shape the imagery of Britishness in this period. The development of patriotism, however, was not a top-down process originating from the central state and diffusing out to the periphery. On the contrary, enthusiasm for defence of the country was shaped and defined by local and regional priorities. William Wordsworth recognized that 'local attachment ... is the tap-root of the tree of Patriotism', echoing a theme common to other Romantic poets and to Edmund Burke.² Caricaturist James Gillray portrayed John Bull in his cartoons as the archetypal Briton, but he appeared as the southern English country bumpkin (**Fig. 1**). The character did not and could not solely represent the industrious working classes of the Pennines. National elements of British identity were accepted by inhabitants of the region, but these only formed part of the overall fabric, through which existing allegiances shone through from below.

This article examines how patriotism in Manchester and its surrounding towns and 'neighbourhood' had a distinctive character, reflecting its sense of regional as much as its national identity. The region's inhabitants responded to Napoleon's threat of invasion with gusto, and were keen to demonstrate their loyalty to the Hanoverian crown. Yet patriotism in the region was not unthinking. South Lancashire patriotism did not produce a carbon-copy of the images, songs, and forms of organization that Colley and other historians have assumed to have been a mark of Britishness in this era. The region did feel 'British', but only after its population had filtered the elements of patriotism through their own local identities and socio-economic structures. Civic patriotism in particular, in the form of volunteer regiments and celebratory processions, reflected the desire of Manchester and its surrounding towns to demonstrate their increasing respectability, wealth, and importance to the nation. The inhabitants of Lancashire adapted national propaganda about the importance of Britishness through the filter of local and regional structures of social authority and economy. The result was 'Lancastrian Britishness'.

The response to the Napoleonic invasion scares

When the Demons of Faction hung over our realm
 And threat'n'd our law rolls and charters to burn;
 Our throne to demolish, our Altars o'erturn,
 Then a Patriot Band
 The True Sons of the Land
 In Armour step forth at Britannia's command,
 The Standards of Loyalty eager to rear
 Each proud of his birth right, a firm Volunteer.

'The Standards of Loyalty' was composed and sung for the presentation of colours to the Ashton-under-Lyne volunteer regiment on 10 July 1799. With a characteristic combination of female patriotism and local aristocratic paternalism, the colours were donated to the volunteers by Lady Stamford, the wife of the district's lord of the manor and main landowner the Earl of Stamford and Warrington. The 'demons of faction' referred to the revolutionary French, but loyalists could also interpret them to mean local radicals. Ireland had rebelled in the year before, and from 1799 to 1802 magistrates feared that the district around the river Tame was swarming with United Irish emissaries and secret republican United English cells. Major Gore, commander of the regular military troops in the Ashton area, was informed that men were 'regularly sworn in' by oaths to the revolutionary movement 'at Hurst near Ashton ... every Thursday night'.³ The volunteer regiments enabled loyalist local elites to regroup, infuse patriotic propaganda with loyalist sentiments, and keep an eye on the working classes within their rank-and-file.

The invasion scares of 1797-8 and 1803-5 stimulated a collective determination of defence among the inhabitants of Manchester and its region. The government's equivalent of Napoleon's *levée en masse* called upon all Britons to serve in defence of the nation. This ranged from forming and signing up to volunteer corps to support from women by raising money and

sewing uniforms. Inhabitants employed in transport had to be prepared to use their carts and other vehicles to drive supplies and livestock away from invading forces. The government had usually relied on county-based and aristocratically-controlled militia regiments and fencible units raised by large landowners and financed by the Treasury. Unpaid volunteer corps had been raised during the American war of independence, and again during the first French invasion scare of 1797-9, as at Ashton-under-Lyne. By contrast, the scale of the British *levée en masse* from 1803 was novel. The raising of volunteer regiments involved almost a fifth of adult males. By December 1803, Lancashire had raised a total of fifty-three volunteer regiments, with sixty-one officers commanding 14,278 rank and file. The Home Office did not accept all the regiments that the towns offered: this was partly because of restricted funds, and partly out of fear of the consequences of arming so large a number of the industrial working classes. Manchester was allowed nine regiments, composed of over 4000 rank-and-file.⁴

The wars gave the merchants, manufacturers, and other members of the increasingly wealthy middle classes an ideal opportunity to display their largesse and become involved in the running of civic institutions. The volunteer regiments in particular raised the profile of the urban bourgeoisie, making them firmly part of the loyalist establishment. The accounts of the committee for General Defence for Manchester totalled over £21,500 in 1803. It involved over 1,300 subscribers, including the major manufacturers and merchants the Gould brothers, who gave £315; Lawrence Peel, £300; the lord of the manor, Sir Oswald Mosley, £200; James Ackers, the Philips family, the Unitarians Samuel Greg and Benjamin Heywood, who all donated £100 each.⁵ Being a volunteer officer meant that merchants and manufacturers could flaunt the trappings of military prowess without having to participate in a full-time military career. In December 1803, for example, the *Blackburn Mail* reported how 'Thomas Cooper Esq, Lieut[enant] of the Preston and Chorley Light Horse and commander of the Chorley Division, gave a most sumptuous Entertainment to them and the gentlemen of the Neighbourhood; everything the season could possibly produce was given on the occasion'.⁶ Volunteers were reviewed in public squares, racecourses or outside commanders'

mansion-houses, all symbols of the 'urban renaissance' that had brought northern towns to the fore in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The urban bourgeois and gentry officers sought social order through the observance of hierarchy. But the ideal could also involve community and independence. The 'Fourth class' was composed of men too old or with too many family responsibilities to belong to the other types of volunteers. The father of the bookseller James Weatherley belonged to the Manchester Fourth Class volunteers, who were nicknamed 'Old Fogeys' because of their age. The 'Dad's Army' connotations of the volunteer corps were apparent at the time. Weatherley noted in his autobiography:

I recollect on the Parade days when they were turning out they would send out their wives to see if Mr so and so was ready as they could not forshame to go to Parade singly but would wait until they could muster 7 or 8 to go together in the Group. There would perhaps be one as fat as Falstaff and another as fat as the living Skeleton that was once exhibited in Manchester, one five feet five another six feet one another bow legged and another inkneed.⁷

A portrait of 'A private of the first battalion of the Independent Manchester and Salford Volunteer Infantry' (**Fig. 2**) from 1805 shows a proud volunteer standing ready for muster on Kersal Moor. The painting, published by the Italian craftsman, Vittore Zanetti of Market Street Lane, shows how Manchester, and the nature of patriotism, has changed by the Napoleonic Wars. There is a picturesque background common to military portraits, but the landscape is also industrial. McConnel and Kennedy's large factory complex in Ancoats, and chimneys across the Manchester townscape are proudly on show. This was a world away from the southern country bumpkin of John Bull of the London-made caricatures.

Some volunteer corps reflected the personalities and paternalism of their commanders. A broadside ballad about the Warrington volunteers for example praised each officer at length. Many of the officers were factory

owners employing the ninety-eight weavers and other artisans and mechanics who were the privates of the corps. Volunteer corps expressed the geographical extent of their identity and the reach of their commanders. John Trafford Esq of Trafford House raised a regiment of 350 from the tenants and workers on his estates. When they assembled in Trafford Park in August 1803, he made a speech proclaiming that Napoleon pledged to deprive Englishmen of their right to England as a nation. Therefore, he asserted, 'the towns of Barton, Stretford and Eccles have sent Heroes to the field, and victory has crowned their zeal'.⁸ This was a localized patriotism, filtered through and firmly centred around the identity of the local area and its resident landowner. By contrast, the regular militia and army lacked this immediacy of contact, with their aristocratic commanders and soldiers who rarely resided in the region and usually served outside it. The volunteers were a brief but significant movement enabling local notables to display their status through civic patriotism. Outside the big urban centres like Manchester and Liverpool, the North West had lower rates of recruitment relative to other areas of the country.⁹ In inland areas, where the threat of invasion was less immediate, this social motivation proved stronger than national defence patriotism.

Local patriotisms

The French Wars had an emotional and cultural, as well as military and political, impact upon the British populace. Victorian patriotism harked back to the memory of Trafalgar and repeated the mantra of 'Rule Britannia' as the empire expanded. Underneath the rhetoric of the songs and civic celebrations, however, these events and patriotic activities had a more complex and contested history.

Civic patriotism focused on naval battles as the real indicators of national success and vindication of Britain (or more often England)'s providential mission against the French. Again this was an example of local elites appropriating and ritualising popular patriotism. To celebrate Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile, the boroughreeves and constables of Manchester and Salford arranged with the officers of the volunteer regiments to have a military

procession through the two towns in October 1798.¹⁰ Naval admirals were regarded as the greatest type of war heroes. They were disassociated from both the hatred press gangs and the idea of a standing army, both of which dogged the reputation of military generals in the eighteenth century. Naval victories were regarded as separate from the failures of Pittite foreign policy and the lengthening war. Local notables seized on the cult of Nelson to enhance their own civic patriotism. Nelson's career was read in some circles as a commentary on the establishment's ingratitude for spectacular victories and on the ways in which political and social influence affected the distribution of national honours. Many perhaps preferred a somewhat maverick hero to a royal family and government that was beginning to be revealed as corrupt as soon as Nelson had been interred.¹¹ This 'cult of Nelson' filtered down into popular patriotism. In January 1806, Oldham diarist William Rowbottom bemoaned the 'late disasterous events upon the Continent' and the 'unparalleled victories of Buonaparte', which had 'thrown Europe into the greatest consternation' and 'had a visable effect upon Trade and Commerce'. Yet this was followed by a statement that could almost have been lifted out of patriotic propaganda: 'but the glorious victory of Trafalgar, has been of great utility to the Commerce and Credit of this nation, and has placed us at present triumphant over our enemies, which may ever be the case, is the wish of every honest Englishman'. Rowbottom certainly hoped for a successful end to the war, achieved quickly in order to save the burgeoning textile industry of south Lancashire. Perhaps he was more comfortable using the generic language of public patriotism to express hope than bitter negativity over the government's economic and foreign policies.

National patriotism was often expressed and understood through the filter of localism. A common theme of ballads, sermons and tracts was to portray Napoleon and his troops raiding each individual town and family of their property and liberty.¹² News of local events and national print distribution were dependent upon local means of transmission. Both radical and loyalist views of national events used analogies of local places to explain them. Dialect writer and self-proclaimed 'Tim Bobbin the Second', Robert Walker of Rochdale, wrote a radical diatribe *Plebeian Politics* during the brief peace of

1801-3. **(Fig. 3)** Initially published in instalments by the radical newspaper printer William Cowdroy, the text was later published as a whole and remains as one of the only surviving radical dialect pamphlets from this 'patriotic' period. Using the comedic literary device of a conversation between two protagonists, 'Tum' and 'Whistlepig', Walker attacked local loyalists for what he regarded as their hypocritical triumphalist support for the war against France. Discussing the British acquisition of Trinidad and Tobago in 1802-3, the character of 'Tum' retorted using a fusion of local and international analogies:

Dun they think ot too ilonds ar' a recompense for o th' blud an tresure ot has bin spilt an spent? Beh th'wuns I'd oz leef a had Duck'nfilt Ho, and Sheply Ho; gan meh; beside theese ilonds ne'er belong'nt to France; Bonnipeeter wud naw let us ha nout ot belongt to France.

[Do they think that two islands are a recompense for all the blood and treasure that has been spilled and spent? But you know I'd rather have had Dukinfield Hall and Shepley Hall given to me; besides, these islands never belonged to France; Buonaparte would not have let us have anything that belonged to France].

By referring to specific landmarks, Walker thus appealed to a Tameside audience, giving both their radical sympathies and geographical identity a local distinctiveness. During a time when many writers regarded the use of dialect as vulgar and backward, Walker attempted to foster an alternative language for patriotism that expressed pride in locality and heritage as much as in the new 'modern' nation.¹³

Varieties of patriotism

Despite their efforts, however, Walker and Cowdroy were among few radical 'patriots' during the Napoleonic Wars. Loyalism colonized the definition and forms of patriotism in reaction to the French Revolution. Yet as with patriotism, loyalism was not a homogeneous concept and descended from a

range of different lineages, several of which were distinctive to Lancashire. Three elements distinguished south Lancashire Britishness from other regions: an identification with the industrialising economy; a Jacobite heritage; 'Church-and-King' loyalism; and in some cases, Orangeism. All of these were product of the socio-economic changes that made Manchester and its surrounding towns into the centre of the industrial revolution, as well as a response to the political ideologies emerging from the French Revolution.

South Lancashire was the heart of popular radicalism and industrial unrest throughout the French Wars. Inspired by the French Jacobins and the writings of Thomas Paine, the middle and working classes formed radical societies for the first time, calling for parliamentary reform and universal suffrage. Patriotism maintained its original association with reform; indeed the working-class Manchester Patriotic Society laid claim to the meaning of the term in their title as they campaigned for universal manhood suffrage. Anti-radical legislation passed by William Pitt the Younger's government, and repression by local 'Church-and-King' loyalists, however, dampened the fervour of radical agitation from 1795 onwards. What Mark Philp has termed the 'vulgar conservatism' of the populace ensured that during the Napoleonic Wars, loyalism elided with patriotism. The French invasion scares of 1798-99 and 1803-5 fostered what J. E. Cookson has termed 'national defence patriotism'. A solid commitment to defend the nation came over and above internal dissent, and calls for reform were muted in the lead up to Trafalgar.¹⁴

Yet by 1809, reformers were trying to regain the meaning of patriotism that they had had to subdue during the years of invasion threat. The joy of the jubilee was tempered by bad harvests and economic depression. Loyalty was the watchword, but popular discontent with the government and mistrust of the monarchy were rising. This was the year of a major scandal involving the Duke of York and venal corruption in the military. The furore in parliament and in the newspaper press over the Duke of York affair opened the gateway for a revival of petitions for parliamentary reform. Philip Harling has argued that 1809 marked a flash point for the opposition to government during the Napoleonic Wars.¹⁵ The magistrates, clergy, and other 'Church-and-King'

local elites were anxious about the resurgence of popular collective action. Their fears were further heightened by renewed strikes and other illegal trades union action among the textile workers. George III's Jubilee therefore provided loyalists with an opportunity to reassert their control over the meaning of patriotism.

Although Linda Colley acknowledges that radicals criticized the planned Jubilee festivities, she generally portrays the event as a successful marshalling of public sentiment for loyalism. Stuart Semmel by contrast argues that the Jubilee was 'constructed by contention as much as it was by consensus'. The meaning of patriotism in 1809 was shaped by a loyalist reaction against radical criticisms, particularly by William Cobbett and reformers in the City of London. Nevertheless, he also points out the significance of localism and regionalism. The Jubilee allowed 'far-flung towns and villages ... to knit themselves ... into an encompassing narrative'.¹⁶ This was patriotism from the bottom-up.

In Manchester, the 1809 Jubilee celebrations centred on a procession of the 'principal inhabitants' from the Exchange to the Collegiate Church and, after divine service, a further procession to St Ann's Square, where the military fired a *feu de joie*. By following this route in the view of thousands of spectators, the local elites enacted a perambulation of power. They connected physical representations of their source of wealth, the Established Church and the state, and thereby confirmed their authority as guardians of the economic and moral as well as political order. This was not unusual and indeed was an expected element of civic patriotism. But the patriotism of the event was layered with a further loyalist reaction against popular radicalism. Petitions for peace and reform had revived in 1808, and the popular reaction to the Duke of York affair earlier in 1809 provoked the local authorities to use the Jubilee celebrations to reaffirm their loyalist rule. In his sermon during the service at the Collegiate Church, Reverend Charles Wicksted Ethelston preached on the verse, 'My son fear thou the Lord and the King and meddle not with them that are given to change'. Ethelston (1767-1830) was an active magistrate, and

later gained notoriety when he read out the riot act at what became the Peterloo massacre in 1819.¹⁷

Industrial civic patriotism

The celebrations in the Manchester region differed from those elsewhere in the country in that local elites made sure to emphasize the manufacturing identity of the region and its distinctive contribution to the national economy. In Manchester, 'the warehouses and shops were closed, business was suspended'. In some senses, merchants and manufacturers, increasingly members of civic bodies who organized the events, were keen to show their role at the forefront of progress and new technologies of 'improvement'. The most spectacular scene was provided by the major cotton manufacturers Philips and Lee. The roof of their large twist mill in Salford 'exhibited a splendid Crown, formed of gas lights, which, from the pure flame emitted by that curious preparation, looked beautifully luminous'. Manchester and Salford merchants and manufacturers already had form in displaying their own identity and economy through patriotism. During most serious invasion scare of the autumn of 1803, Prince William, Duke of Gloucester and Commander General of the North West Military District, travelled round Lancashire to survey the extent of defence preparations. He was given a tour of Philips and Lee's factory, where he was shown the machinery and the unique iron structure of the building, which he observed 'might afford a useful hint for a deposit of military stores'. At Greenwood and Bateman's factory, the prince was given a demonstration of 'the operation of weaving the Imperial Arms of the United Kingdom'. The manufacturers therefore shaped royal symbols physically as well as symbolically through the produce of their wealth, using innovative technology in gas and textiles. Philips and Lee's factory was the first in the world to be lit by gas.¹⁸

Another element of Lancashire patriotism at the Jubilee involved overt shows of paternalism, reflecting the socio-economic changes that had taken place during the eighteenth century. The older type of paternalism of lords of the manor towards their tenants persisted in the more rural areas of the county,

but by this time it was paralleled by merchants and manufacturers bestowing their largesse upon their employees. The *Manchester Mercury* reported how Bolton celebrated George III's Jubilee on 25 October 1809 in distinctive style: 'The roast beef of old England, with its usual national accompaniments of plum pudding and ale, were plentifully distributed to many thousands of the labouring classes at the cotton factories, bleaching grounds, foundries and other places by the truly patriotic spirit of their employers, Messrs Brand, T. Ainsworth, Carlile, Jones, Bollings, Slater, Bolton, Rothwells'. Similarly, attorney's clerk John Holden noted in his diary:

A great number of different Sorts of work people went in procession to the Church, Mr James Carlisle's [sic] work people to the number of 300 or upwards ... Mr Rich'd Ainsworth of Halliwell gave meat and drink to all his men 500 and upwards and paid every man his day's wage, Mr Jones gave his work people a meal and drinks.

Another account marvelled at how Richard Ainsworth's workers assembled in the quadrangle of Smithills Old Hall, their employer's residence, sang God Save the King, before proceeding to a field. They were there addressed by Ainsworth 'in very impressive and appropriate terms', before sitting down to dinner. Ainsworth also presided over giving soup, meat, and potatoes to the 'poor of the neighbourhood', and subscribed 100 guineas towards the establishment of a new school.¹⁹

The major Bolton manufacturers shared a similar economic and social vision. These were ambitious local men who looked towards the future in trade and industry. Katrina Honeyman identified how most were 'hereditary leaders', former workshop owners who had previously worked in the fustian trade. The later part of the Napoleonic Wars was the crucial period for such entrepreneurs to expand their businesses into the cotton industry. The Carlisle brothers were instrumental in Bolton's rise to prominence as a cotton manufacturing centre, and their Bradshawgate mill was the second largest in the town in terms of mule spindlage in 1811. Richard Ainsworth ran an extensive bleaching works in Halliwell. Nevertheless, the actions of these

entrepreneurs at the Jubilee harked back to the paternalism of the old gentry. Economists, antiquarians, and compilers of trade directories, all lamented how the old gentry and yeomanry lineages were dying and how landownership was fragmenting in the region. For example, Dr John Aikin noted in his *Description of the Country from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* of 1795 that Mottram-in-Longdendale 'was formerly famous of the number of halls occupied by their owners, who resided on their own estates'. South-east Lancashire was no longer a land of established gentry, but rather a mix of socially-aspirant 'squirearchy'. Richard Ainsworth had bought the medieval Smithills Hall in the 1790s from the Byrom family for the princely sum of £21,000.²⁰

Significantly, some of the new manufacturers organized their own Jubilee events separately from the Bolton civic celebrations. Situated out of the urban centres, somewhat isolated in their 'neighbourhood' townships, their actions echoed if not deliberately imitated the gentry holding their own events on their estates for their tenants. Spinning and bleaching works became the new demesnes. At Thomas Ridgway and Sons's bleachworks at Wallsuches near Horwich, three large flags were displayed on the highest rood early in the morning. The workers assembled and 'the heads of the different departments in the Works selected their men, and after calling over their names, the whole formed in one line, amounting to upwards of 500'. Echoing the military arrangement of volunteer regiments, the workers sang 'God Save the King' 'in a very impressive manner' before being led by their overlookers in procession to church. Money was distributed to the women and children, and the 'men returned to two Public Houses in the village, where excellent dinners were provided'. The account of the event noted approvingly, 'after dinner, every man was allowed to drink as much as he pleased, so long as he remained peaceable, and from the report of the men, who were overlookers on the occasion, never was there so large an assembly of people that conducted themselves with more harmony and good humour'.²¹ Of course we cannot take this report as a completely accurate representation of the attitudes of Ridgway's workers, but it is clear that the intention of the employers was a paternalism of control and social order. Potential trouble was anticipated, not

just because of working-class drinking culture, but also considering the industrial disputes that had troubled the district the year previously.

Similar tales of manufacturer paternalism featured at Ardwick, Denton, Ramsbottom, and other industrial villages and townships in the region. In the more aristocratically-dominated district around the river Tame, lords of the manor did likewise. The Earl of Stamford and Warrington 'aided liberally' a subscription for linen and blankets given to 500 poor families in Ashton-under-Lyne and its neighbourhood. Local elites nevertheless kept their distance from the plebeian entertainments. In Ashton, after parading the town (the rest of the population carefully segregated as spectators), and hearing divine service at the church, sixty gentlemen dined at the Globe Tavern, where 'a number of appropriate toasts were given, the first of which was 'The King, and may the present Jubilee form a lasting impression on the hearts of his faithful subjects'.²²

Malcolm Chase argues that the idea of jubilee had altered. Before 1809, 'jubilee' had held radical or millenarian connotations as a period of revolution. George III's jubilee, by contrast, was firmly loyalist in character, the effect of two decades of reaction against the French Revolution. Bolton in particular was 'long famed for its loyalty and adherence to the royal cause'. What was ostensibly an embracing and inclusive patriotic event, therefore served to entrench loyalist and elite control over the concept of patriotism.²³ Paternalism became a process of looking backwards not forwards. Local notables used the Jubilee to display an explicitly Christian paternalism, with such biblical actions as setting debtors free from prison and feeding the deserving poor of the parish. Stuart Semmel has also suggested that these actions became the dominant narrative of the national celebrations after radicals in London put pressure on the authorities not to waste money on luxurious displays of elite wealth such as illuminations and excessive feasting. Following the lead of the Common Council of the City of London, therefore, provincial authorities soon realized the utility of shifting from 'jollity' towards philanthropy during the period of economic distress.²⁴

The efforts of local elites were nevertheless still a show of power as much as an expression of humanitarian concern. Paternalistic patriotism was an attempt to prevent popular disorder at a time of extreme hardship. War had become a fight of attrition with both the British and the French engaged in economic blockade. Indeed, many of these merchants and manufacturers petitioned the government to repeal the Orders in Council that were harming their trade and imports as well as severely affecting the livelihoods of their workers. Brian Lewis has noted with regard to Richard Ainsworth's efforts at the Jubilee: 'this largesse was little more than tokenism at a time when gentry and gentlemen-capitalists between them were dismantling a more extensive paternalism and undermining the moral economy in Parliament'.²⁵ The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 prohibited workers from combining to raise wages. Handloom weavers petitioned parliament in spring 1808 for legislation to enforce a minimum wage and piece prices. Upon the failure of the bill in May 1808, weavers and other textile workers held mass meetings in St. George's Fields in the Newtown district of Manchester and strikes broke out across the region. A major part of the demands, as with the cotton spinners' strike in 1810 and the Luddite outbreaks of 1812, involved the maintenance of statutory regulation of prices and working conditions, established by custom and by the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers. From the point of the view of the textile workers, government had bowed under pressure from manufacturers who had drunk deep from the new political economy of *laissez-faire* free trade preached by Adam Smith.²⁶ The Jubilee paternalism of the manufacturers therefore proved little more than a sticking-plaster over these divisive tensions about class and the future shape of the Manchester region's industrial economy.

Jacobite loyalism

Another distinctive element of the patriotism of Manchester and its region involved a less obvious and more diffuse political heritage, that of Jacobitism, support of the old Stuart monarchy displaced by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Jacobitism is usually portrayed as dead, both ideologically and as a physical presence, soon after the end of the 1745 rebellion. In Lancashire, a

majority of those gentry involved in the rebellion were arrested, executed, or had their estates confiscated. Yet Paul Monod and several other historians have suggested that Jacobitism maintained a cultural legacy well into the late eighteenth century. This heritage was particularly strong in the Manchester region, and centred on a small community of non-jurors (very high Anglicans nominally loyal to the exiled Stuarts) associated with the Collegiate Church, the future Manchester Cathedral. A grocer, 'Bishop Garnett', was still ministering to a congregation of thirty in 1804. He distributed nonjuring litanies and prayers to five fellows of the Collegiate Church in 1798. Although the Jacobite 'mock corporations' of Preston, Walton and Sefton had died out, the Ardwick Ancient and Loyal Corporation still functioned, albeit without any power. It still adhered to the Jacobite ritual of drinking the health of the 'prince over the water' (Charles Edward Stuart) and reserving an empty chair at the dinner table for many years after the 'Prince of Wales' had died in 1788. The members included respectable merchants and manufacturers who settled in the new development of bourgeois villas away from the smoke and noise of Manchester centre: Thomas Tipping, James Potter, and James Bateman consecutively held the post of 'mayor'. Many of its officials would see each other regularly again at John Shaw's punch house, a former Jacobite club near the Collegiate Church. They also became members of loyalist societies in the 1790s and the Tory Pitt Club in the 1810s.²⁷

There is some evidence that Jacobite culture persisted in the region. Samuel Curwen, an American loyalist visiting England during the American revolution, passed through Manchester on Restoration Day, 29 May 1777. He claimed that his landlady was a Jacobite who informed him that all those 'in the abdicated family's interest, which is here openly professed', were in the habit of 'putting up large Oak boughs over their doors on 29 May to express Joy at the Glorious Event of the restoration of the Stuart family to the English throne'. He saw oak branches on houses that had reputedly harboured Bonnie Prince Charlie and members of his court in 1745, including Mr Dixon's residence on Market Street and at Mr Bower's on Leigh Street. In 1780, he again noted oak branches in Manchester on Restoration Day. During the American Revolution the dominant sentiments among Manchester elites were Tory and loyalist, in

favour of coercion of the American rebels. This was a position that contrasted greatly with the pro-American reform movement that consumed the efforts of Yorkshire elites.²⁸

The Lancashire loyalist calendar reinterpreted the past in a new context. Whereas the Restoration Day of Charles II, 29 May, had been neutralized into the apolitical 'Oak Apple Day' in many parts of the country, in the Manchester region it maintained its Jacobite cultural heritage. Vestry accounts show that 29 May was celebrated annually in Didsbury and Bolton with bell ringing and dinners. The 'martyrdom' of Charles I on 30 January was commemorated with church sermons. In the Manchester region, these commemorations, according to Peter Nockles, served to 'keep alive a distinctly High Church political identity', distinguishing the local elites against Whiggery and theological heterodoxy.²⁹ Here is where the surviving threads of Jacobitism were appropriated by the 'Church-and-King' loyalism of the 1790s. In Blackburn, Oak Apple Day was combined with popular loyalism; the number of oak boughs on show in May 1794 was noted as conspicuously high and 'the sight at this time was truly pleasing, as it evinced the detestation entertained of French Tyranny etc by the loyal inhabitants of the town'.³⁰ High Church High Tory strongholds in previously Jacobite centres were more susceptible to principles of divine right and passive obedience to the monarchy.

Orange loyalism

The final feature of the processions and church services of the Jubilee celebrations that made south Lancashire patriotism distinctive if not unique compared to the rest of England was the participation of Orange lodges and societies. In Bury, 'the Orangemen marched in procession to St John's Chapel, where the Rev H. Unsworth preached an appropriate sermon'. At Oldham, 'that loyal body of men, the Orange Society, was drawn up with the Staff [of the local militia], and went in procession to the church'. Oldham diarist William Rowbottom noted how they 'made a fine show'. The Manchester procession of the rifle regiment, musicians and freemasons to the Collegiate Church was joined by 'the Orangemen ... in their orange scarves'.

These bodies were clearly respected as part of the associational local elites. Working-class Irish Protestants were also represented. John Holden recorded in his diary how in Bolton the factory workers marched to the church 'with the Orange Men from John Baron's, Church Bank, and the Freemasons from two Lodges'.³¹

The rapidity and apparent ease with which the Orange societies had been accepted into local elite culture is testimony to the strength of the particular type of loyalism in the Manchester region. The Pennine areas of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire had been more strongly Protestant than the rest of the region. Bolton was dubbed 'the Geneva of the North'. Orangeism is usually associated with social clubs of immigrant Irish Protestant labourers, as it became in the Victorian era in Liverpool and Glasgow. In this first decade, however, the Orange movement was not just a working-class social phenomenon. The first lodges were formed by gentry, magistrates and clergy. Orangeism facilitated and shaped their ideas of loyalism and their enforcement of law and order. Some of the acting magistrates who sent in the yeomanry at the Peterloo Massacre had been officers of militia regiments that had been sent over to Ireland in 1798-9 to quell the rebellion there.³²

In 1793, the number of Irish residents in Manchester and Salford were estimated at 5000 or about eight per cent of the population. Irish immigration increased on a large scale from the 1798 Irish Rebellion onwards. The first record of Orange societies in Manchester, Salford and Stockport appeared around 1802. 12 July parades to celebrate the 1690 Battle of the Boyne were prohibited by the boroughreeve of Manchester after a disturbance in 1803. The more respectable 12 July processions were by contrast encouraged in Oldham, Mottram and Bolton, where the vicars gave 'appropriate sermons' in the parish churches.³³ The Grand Lodge of Great Britain had been formed only two years prior to the Jubilee, during a period of heightened sectarian tension. Lord Howick's Roman Catholics Army and Navy Service Bill of 1807 would have allowed Catholics to become military officers. The anti-Catholic feeling roused by the bill echoed the reaction to the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, which had sparked the Gordon Riots in 1780. Local loyalist elites held

meetings to compose addresses to the King congratulating him on the defeat of the bill in April 1807. The Manchester address was composed at the Bull's Head Inn, the headquarters of the loyalist societies. The loyal address was signed by, amongst others, three clergymen (including Revd Ethelston) and the major manufacturers Charles Frederick Brandt, James Ackers, and John Leigh Philips. A riot broke out between Protestant and Catholic Irish in Newton Lane, Manchester, after an Orange parade on 12 July. In response to the disturbances, the English Grand Orange Institution was formed at the Star Inn. Colonel Ralph Fletcher, magistrate of Bolton, was Grand Master, with James Lever Esq, bleacher and part lord of the manor of Bolton as Grand Treasurer. By 1830, there were 77 lodges in Lancashire (out of a Great Britain total of 230). A lodge (Irish warrant 1128) was formed in the Manchester and Salford Rifle Volunteers, commanded by Colonel James Silvester, magistrate and owner of mills in Atherton and Chorley. His regiment put down the 12 July 1807 riot in Manchester. 500 members of his militia regiment were called out by the magistrates to suppress the Luddite disturbances in the area in May 1812. His regiment were later involved in the Peterloo massacre of 1819.³⁴

Orangeism therefore involved more than just gentry show and sociability and benefit societies for immigrant Irish Protestants. Underneath the civic patriotism lay more sinister aspects of local government. Magistrates' military connections and their determination to track down 'sedition' enabled the Orange movement to provide a useful network for the enforcement of law and order in the Manchester region. The most energetic employers of spies to track down radicals were Orangemen, including Colonel Ralph Fletcher of Bolton, Joseph Radcliffe of Ashton and Huddersfield, Rev Robert William Hay, head of the Salford bench, William Chippendale of Oldham, and Charles Prescott and John Lloyd of Stockport. These were the most active magistrates against Luddism in 1812 and the mass platform radicalism leading up to Peterloo. The Irish Grand Lodge issued a declaration to the English Grand Lodge on 12 July 1813, which rejoiced that 'following your loyal example, the British Orangemen have saved their country by suppressing the treasonable bands calling themselves Luddites'. At a dinner in the Spread Eagle in Manchester on 4 November 1814, the anniversary of the landing of William III

in Britain, Colonel Ralph Fletcher proclaimed in a speech that he had 'witnessed the utility of the Orange Institution, in the cheerful co-operation of its members with the civil and military powers, at an alarming period, in maintaining the peace of the country, and he knew nothing better calculated for public good than a great diffusion of its principles'.³⁵

Conclusion

Patriotism in the Manchester region was distinguished by multiple meanings and political interpretations. However sincere was attachment to the ideal of a common British identity, the inhabitants of the Manchester region could only accept it when filtered through local particularities and identities. Lancashire Britishness shared something of the defiance and independence of the archetypal John Bull. But it was also accompanied by a good measure of northern grit, political and sectarian tension, and a sincere pride in the contribution of the region to the burgeoning industrial economy of the nation.

The contested nature of the Jubilee was a signpost for a changing politics, changing society and economy in the region. Just over two years later, Bolton and Middleton would be convulsed by Luddite machine-breaking. Following the end of the war popular radicalism revived, culminating in the Peterloo massacre of 1819. The first two decades of the nineteenth century were therefore crucial in the development of the Manchester region's identity and politics.

¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992); Linda Colley, 'The apotheosis of George III: loyalty, royalty and the British Nation, 1760–1820', *Past and Present*, 102 (1984), 94-129. This article expands on material discussed in Katrina Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism in Lancashire, 1798-1815* (Oxford, 2009).

² Alexandra Franklin, 'John Bull in a dream: fear and fantasy in the visual satires of 1803', in Mark Philp, ed., *Resisting Napoleon: the British response to the threat of invasion, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 2006), 125-140; Miles Taylor, 'John Bull and the iconography of public opinion in England, c.1712-1929', *Past and Present*, 134 (Feb. 1992), 93-128; K.D.M. Snell, *The regional novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 46; *The prose works of William Wordsworth* (Cirencester, 2005), p. 190.

³ Tameside Archives, DD 41/1, manuscript of the ballad written by Mr William Hampson; The National Archives, PC 1/3118, papers relating to United Irishmen and United Englishmen, 1798; Roger Wells, *Insurrection: the British experience, 1795-1803* (Gloucester, 1983), p. 200; Alan Booth, 'The United Englishmen and radical politics in the industrial North-West of England, 1795-1803', *International Review of Social History*, 31 (1986), 276; Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism*, pp. 141-2.

⁴ Parliamentary Papers 1803-4, 10 (XI), Returns of Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps; The National Archives, HO 50/76, Internal Defence, Lancaster District, Volunteer lists, 3 September 1803; J. Fortescue, *County lieutenancies and the army, 1803-14* (1909), p. 66.

⁵ Manchester Archives, BR 356 M12, Accounts of the treasurers to the Committee for General Defence, 1803.

⁶ *Blackburn Mail*, 21 December 1803.

⁷ Chetham's Library, A.6.30, autobiography of James Weatherley, transcript.

⁸ Warrington Library, 'A new song in praise of the Warrington Volunteers' by J.B. One of the Corps', 1803; MS 11, Warrington Volunteers muster roll, 1807; Warrington poor rates 1802; *Blackburn Mail*, 24 August 1803.

⁹ J. E. Cookson, *The British armed nation, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1997), p. 236.

¹⁰ Broadside printed by J. Harrop, Manchester, October 1798.

¹¹ Timothy Jenks, 'Contesting the hero: the funeral of Admiral Lord Nelson', *Journal of British Studies*, 39: 4 (2000), 423; Gerald Jordan and Nicholas Rogers, 'Admirals as heroes: patriotism and liberty in Hanoverian England', *Journal of British Studies*, 28 (Jul. 1989), 222.

¹² Stuart Semmel, *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven, 2003), p. 58.

¹³ Robert Walker, 'Tim Bobbin the Second', *Plebeian Politics, or, the principles and practices of certain mole-eyed maniacs vulgarly called warrites* (Manchester, 1803), p. 33. Dukinfield Lodge near Audenshaw was the seat of Francis Dukinfield Astley, mineowner and later High Sheriff of Cheshire; nearby Shepley Hall was owned at the time by John Lowe, partner in an extensive calico printing works. Edwin Butterworth, *An historical account of the towns of Ashton-under-Lyne, Stalybridge, and Dukinfield* (Ashton, 1842), pp. 162, 123. For more on Robert Walker, see Katrina Navickas, "'Theaw Kon Ekspect No Mooar Eawt ov a Pig Thin a Grunt": searching for the radical dialect voice in industrial Lancashire and the West Riding, 1798–1819', in Michael Brown, John Kirk and Andrew Noble, *United islands? The languages of resistance* (London, 2012). For radicalism during the Napoleonic wars, see Peter Spence, *The birth of romantic radicalism: war, popular politics, and English radical reformism, 1800-1815* (London, 1996).

¹⁴ Craig Horner, 'The rise and fall of Manchester's "set of infernal miscreants": radicalism in 1790s Manchester', *Manchester Region History Review*, 12 (1998), 21; Cookson, *The British armed nation*.

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- ¹⁵ Philip Harling, 'Rethinking old corruption', *Past and Present*, 147 (1995), 127-58.
- ¹⁶ Stuart Semmel, 'Radicals, loyalists, and the royal jubilee of 1809', *Journal of British Studies*, 46: 3 (2007), 544-5, 554; Philip Harling, 'The Duke of York affair 1809 and the complexities of war-time patriotism', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 963-84.
- ¹⁷ *Manchester Mercury*, 31 October 1809; Donald Read, *Peterloo: the massacre and its background* (Manchester, 1958), p. 76; William Hone depicted Ethelston as 'the clerical magistrate' in his radical satirical pamphlet, *The political house that Jack built* (1820).
- ¹⁸ *Blackburn Mail*, 28 September 1803; *The Times*, 20 September 1803; Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism*, p. 57.
- ¹⁹ *Manchester Mercury*, 31 October 1809; Bolton Archives, ZZ 530/1, diaries of John Holden; 'A Lady', *An account of the celebration of the jubilee on the 25th October, 1809* (Birmingham, n.d.), p. 96.
- ²⁰ Katrina Honeyman, *The origins of enterprise: business leadership in the industrial revolution* (Manchester, 1982), p. 102; John Aikin, *A description of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester* (Manchester, 1795), p. 468; Henry Taylor, *Old halls of Lancashire and Cheshire* (1884).
- ²¹ 'A Lady', *An account of the celebration*, p. 101.
- ²² 'A Lady', *An account of the celebration*, p. 94; *Manchester Mercury*, 31 October 1809.
- ²³ Malcolm Chase, 'From millennium to anniversary: the concept of Jubilee in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 141-2, 144.

²⁴ Semmel, 'Radicals, loyalists, and the royal jubilee', 558.

²⁵ Brian Lewis, *The middlemost and the milltowns: bourgeois culture and politics in early industrial England* (Stanford, 2001), p. 290.

²⁶ Arthur Aspinall, *The early English trade unions: documents from the Home Office papers in the Public Record Office* (London, 1949), pp. 102-3; Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism*, p. 187; Malcolm Chase, *Early trade unionism: fraternity, skill and the politics of labour* (Aldershot, 2000), p. 66.

²⁷ Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989); Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, 1994); J. Aston, *Manchester Guide* (Manchester, 1804), p. 136; H. Broxap, *The later nonjurors* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 288; R. A. Burrows and H. S. Kershaw, *The Ancient and Loyal Corporation of Ardwick* (Ardwick, 1954), p. 1; Manchester Archives, BR F 369.242.A.3, Ancient and Loyal Corporation of Ardwick MS; Frederick Stancliffe, *John Shaw's, 1738-1938* (Manchester, 1939), p. 26.

²⁸ Monod, *English Jacobitism*, p. 209; George Atkinson Ward, ed., *Journals and letters of the late Samuel Curwen* (New York, 1842), pp. 137, 241; P. Marshall, 'Manchester and the American Revolution', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester*, 62 (1979), 173.

²⁹ Manchester Archives, M62/1/2-3, Ledgers of William and Thomas Wood of Didsbury; Bolton Archives, Bolton vestry ledgers; Peter Nockles, *The Oxford movement in context: Anglican high churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 51.

³⁰ Lewis, *Middlemost and the milltowns*, p. 19.

³¹ Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism*, p. 123; 'A Lady', *An account of the celebration*, p. 99; Oldham Local Studies, William Rowbottom, 'Annals of Oldham', typescript; Bolton Archives, diaries of John Holden.

³² J. C. Scholes, *History of Bolton* (Bolton, 1892), p. 432.

³³ M. Busteed and R. Hodgson, 'Irish migrant responses to urban life in early nineteenth-century Manchester', *Geographical Journal*, 162 (1996); *Liverpool Chronicle*, 12 August 1807; *Manchester Mercury*, 21 July 1807; Oldham Archives, Rowbottom diaries.

³⁴ Frank Neal, 'Manchester origins of the Orange Order', *Manchester Region History Review*, 4 (1990-1); *Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette*, 25 April 1807; *Manchester Mercury*, 21 July 1807; Frank O Darvall, *Popular disturbances and public order in Regency England* (London, 1969), p. 256; Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism*, p. 121.

³⁵ Navickas, *Loyalism and radicalism*, pp. 126-7; William Nuttall, *Orange miscellany* (Huddersfield, 1815), p. 200; H. Senior, *Orangeism in Ireland and Britain, 1795-1836* (London, 1966); Bernadette Turner, 'A loyal Englishman? John Lloyd and aspects of oath-taking in 1812', in M. T. Davis, *Radicalism and revolution in Britain, 1775-1848* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 133-42.