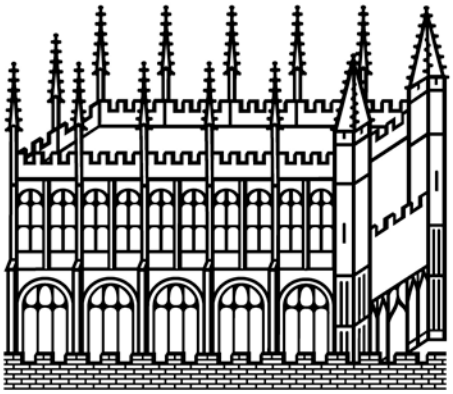

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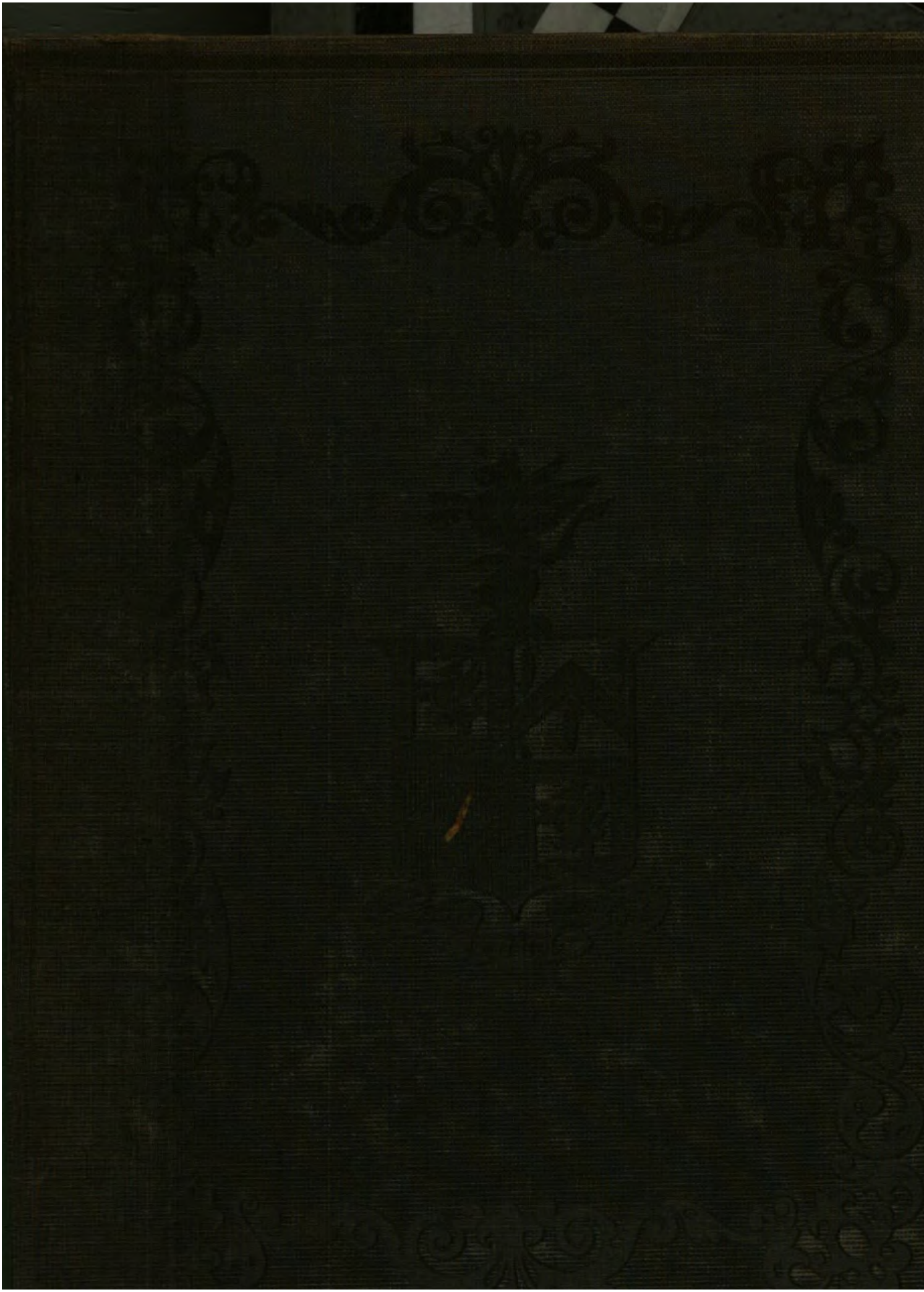

Per G.A. Lancs 4° 239

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HISTORICAL & LITERARY

CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

VOL. LVII.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXII.

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VOLUME THE THIRD:

CONTAINING,

I. THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

II. RENTALE DE COKERSAND: BEING THE BURSAR'S RENT ROLL OF THE ABBEY OF COKERSAND FOR THE YEAR 1501.

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PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

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The Poll Book of Manchester (No. VII. of this volume) was preserved in the Muniment Room of Sir OSWALD MOSLEY, Bart., the Lord of the Manor of Manchester, and presented by him to the CHETHAM SOCIETY.

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WILLIAM LANGTON,
HONORARY SECRETARY.

ON THE

SOUTH LANCASHIRE

DIALECT.

BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXI.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 5, add to Abreviations, *Wil.*, for Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary.
Page 8, line 15, after "appended Glossary," omit the rest of the sentence.
Page 10, line 8 from bottom, *for* "ought" *read* "aught."
Page 18, line 5, omit the repetition of "os weet."
Page 19, line 12 from bottom, *for* "yoodn, you was," *read* "you would."
Page 22, line 4 from bottom, *for* "curded" *read* "carded."
Page 23, line 17, *for* "vol. iii." *read* "vol. iv."
Page 24, line 9 from bottom, *for* "last 4to." *read* "first 4to."
Page 28, lines 10 and 11, *after* "(lacet, Fr.)" *read* "unlaight."
Page 28, line 3 from bottom, *for* "crowming" *read* "cromming."
Page 35, line 5, *for* "flower" *read* "flour."
Page 41, line 16, *for* "Slackthwaite" *read* "Staithwaite in the parish of Almondbury."
Page 43, line 4, note 16, *for* "them" *read* "it."
Page 43, line 3, note 17, *for* "no relations" *read* "no near relations."
Page 58, line 29, *for* "exhuberant" *read* "exuberant."
Page 69, line 8 of note 36, *for* "Thomas" *read* "Robert."
Page 83, *in voce* "Pot baws" *dele* "46."

ON THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

The Language of a district and its History although seldom altogether elucidating each other are too closely interwoven to be separated. Lancashire had no existence in its present limits until long after the geography of its dialects was fixed. Camden, somewhat conjecturally, mentions a Saxon Lancashire, and Baines dates the county from the returns of a sheriff temp. Stephen. But divisions of less importance than our shires then bore the name, and it is well here to dismiss the idea of the County Palatine in its present entirety, and, with a view to the language, examine what we gather from writers of authority of the parts so strangely united to form an appanage and not to benefit the inhabitants.

Lappenberg, removed from our troublesome local prejudices, considers the British sway from the Clyde to Lands-End along the western shores of greater continuance than we suppose. The difficulty is as to the district between the Lune and the Mersey, where this long Keltish line was first broken by the Anglo Saxons. "An obscurity still more dense than that over Wales involves the district lying to the north of that country comprised under the name of Cumbria." (Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 122.) Palgrave, (*History of England*, p. 46,) treating of the seventh century, writes: "The Britons maintained possession of Cumbria from Dunbarton to the southern boundaries of Lancashire, whilst the ridge of mountains, not unaptly termed the British Apennines, separated

them from Northumbria." The tradition of the British kingdoms long remained, and in the Chester Plays the shepherd binds together the space "from comely Conway unto Clyde." In A.D. 617 the Saxons conquered Elmet near Leeds called a portion of Cumbria, but whether then possessed by Saxons or Kelts the name of the ruler as Lappenberg remarks does not enable us to determine. This was the beginning of the invasion of Lancashire, and the entrance is therefore through the portion of country in which the Craven dialect obtains. We have thus early two divisions in the modern county indicated; *firstly*, north of the Lune, following the destinies of Cumberland and Westmoreland, (1) Keltish, (2) Scottish, to which last the tongue has a close affinity; *secondly*, between the Lune and the Ribble and to the south-east of the latter river, a district which for six centuries was connected with Yorkshire, as appears in Domboc and in the feudal superiority exercised by the Lacies from Pontefract.

But what was the fate of South Lancashire, with a dialect materially differing from those we have mentioned, and with a diphthongal system removed also from theirs — and Grimm tells us "that the chief characteristics of a dialect depend on the present or absent diphthongs"? (*D. G.*[1] vol. i. 7.)

[1] ABBREVIATIONS:

Archæ., Archaeologia.
A. S., Anglo Saxon.
An. Riw., Ancren Riwle, A.D. 1250.
Bam., Bamford's Lancashire Glossary.
Bos., Bosworth.
Ches. Pl., Chester Plays.
Cot., Cotgrave's Dictionary.
Cov. Mys., Coventry Mysteries.
Cr., Craven Glossary.
D. G., Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik.
Dief., Diefenbach's Lexicon.
D. S., Grimm's Deutsche Sprache.
Fr., French.
Hal., Hallamshire Glossary.
Halli., Halliwell's Dictionary.
Jn., Jamieson's Dictionary and Supplement.
N., North.
O. H. G., Old High German.
Pal., Palgrave.
Pol. Songs, Political Songs, John to Edward II., Camden Society.
Prompt. Par., Promptorium Parvulorum, edited by Way.
Q. R., Quarterly Review.
R. F., Rachde Felley, 1853.

We should have passed over the Keltish period in South Lancashire with little remark had not the indefatigable Welsh etymologists endeavoured to prove, by reciting words long habitués of general Dictionaries or of remote Glossaries, the Cambrian origin of our tongue. We will admit that we cannot show when the Anglo Saxons possessed themselves of the country between the Ribble and the Mersey, and that we are also unable to estimate the influence which the Kelts subsequently exercised there. Higden, Lappenberg (vol. i. p. 125), Palgrave (*England*, p. 45), regard the conquered British as living with the Anglo Saxons in great numbers and with equality of rights. The resolving however the question as to the share the British had in the existing dialect is matter of fact and not of inference, and thus treated we see no evidence of their interference. That the Welsh have adopted many Saxon and English words is clear. Dr. Johnson, dealing with "pluck," says: "I know not whether derived from the English or the English from the Erse;" and Mr. Lhuyd, in a somewhat hardy appropriation of *helan*, to cover, observes: "Perhaps we received it from the English; it is a word generally used in North Wales."

Are we then to regard the vehemence with which the Welsh affirm so much of most languages proceeds from them as misplaced? Are *addle* and *frying-pan* not Cambrian? and is *Cwr dha* the root of *Cervisia*,[2] as our Lord Chief Justice records? The probability is that the Keltish enters into all European languages. "Without doubt the third people of European history are the Kelts," (*D. S.*, p. 115); and in their influence on language hardly thus to be post-

Rich., Richardson's Dictionary.
S. L., South Lancashire.
T. B., Tim Bobbin, 1753.
T. J., Todd's Johnson.
W. & C., Westmoreland and Cumberland Glossary.
Wt., Wright's Dictionary.

[2] "Cervisia" (or cerevisia) quasi Cereris vis in aqua." *Prompt. Par.*, in voce *ale*. Cervisia sine lupulo. Minsheu. Is *Cwr dha* thus restricted? Bishop Swinfeld's Accounts show hops in beer were unknown in 1289. In 1440 we find beer described as cervisia humulina, *Prompt. Par.*, another of the many proofs of the incorrectness of the old distich as to the date of the introduction of hops, &c.

poned to the Greeks and Romans. That in the period when the Kelts were overrunning Europe and settling in masses on the plains of Italy, France, Spain and Germany, language obtained those common features which we can now so little account for is indisputable. But the Keltish modern etymological pretensions are so extravagant that even the philosophical Grimm shrinks from them, and that in a most unphilosophical manner. He has to disembarrass the German language from the imputation of having a Keltish origin, and as the Kimbrians were located amongst Lithuanians (whose speech is denominated kostbare) and Finns (dear to the great critic), Slaves, Scandinavians, &c., the identity of Keltae and Kimbri is denied,[3] and a malediction directed against any German who shall declare it to be otherwise. Dr. Latham's expedient of doubting the authority of Tacitus beyond the Elbe did not it seems occur to Grimm.

In Domboc, South Lancashire is part of Cheshire; this may be taken as a prolongation of the Danish rule, Chester having been one of their most important boroughs and the evidences of their dominion being very decided in the names of places on the right bank of the Mersey. Anterior to this was South Lancashire a portion of Northumberland or of Mercia? and were the divisions of Yorkshire-Lancashire and Cheshire-Lancashire thus early shadowed forth? In Sir F. Palgrave's Map of England after Alfred's treaty with the Danes A.D. 884, the Ribble is the limit of Mercia, and the district beyond is set down as Cumbria. Whatever

[3] Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent parva nunc civitas sed gloria ingens. (Ger. 37.) There are also the Aestii at the mouth of the Vistula distinguished by a sermo Britannicae propior. (Ger. 45.) Neuere critik irre geleitet durch Kimmerier und Cymru (Cambria) hat sie zu Kelten stempeln und dem vaterland einen seiner altesten Zeugen rauben wollen, waren die Kimbern Keltisch so wurden dadurch selbst die deutscheit der Teutonen ihrer gefährten verdächtigt, (*D. S.*, p. 441). At the peril of inducing such a catastrophe we may remark, Tacitus (s. 37) held the two people as the same and so recounts their exploits. Sharon Turner (*History of the Saxons*, vol. i. pp. 44-53) has collected various authorities proving the Keltae to be Kimmerians. See also Niebuhr, vol. ii. pp. 588-590; Arnold's *Rome*, vol. i. pp. 519-523; Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 6.

changes subsequently occurred Northumbria and Mercia could hardly have been revived. Amidst the histories and local traditions of wars in earlier Saxon times we find the truth of Milton's resemblance of the doings of those bellicose days to the aerial transactions of kites and crows, and especially in the want of all trace of what was done. The *Saxon Chronicle* sets down Manchester in Northumbria; this must have been in some evanescent period of success and not when Whalley was attached to the Mercian diocese of Lichfield. We have in vain endeavoured to fix a period when Northumbria could have possessed South Lancashire, and we think the Saxon two northernmost kingdoms have a much stronger relation to the east than to the west of the island.

A few dates will show the fate of what is now South Lancashire after the Conquest and also render clear the cause of the lingual separation of Middle and South Lancashire. Roger of Poitou obtained West Derby, Salford and a large part of Leyland from the Conqueror; Ildebert de Lacy received Blackburn. We find these divisions described at various times as shires, wapentakes and hundreds. For imperial purposes South Lancashire was in 1086 governed from Chester, and probably this continued for nearly two centuries and a half afterwards. Roger of Poitou's possessions were resumed by the Crown in 1102, and granted early in Stephens' reign to the second Earl of Chester. On the death of the third Earl (A.D. 1232) his South Lancashire property went to his fourth sister, wife of William de Ferrers Earl of Derby. In 1266 this estate again reverted to the Crown and was granted to Edmund Crouchback, and on his resignation of the Earldom of Chester and being created Earl of Lancaster the county assumed its existing proportions. So John Selden affirmed, his opinion being strengthened by a judge's year book temp. Edw. III. The ancient connexion of South Lancashire and Cheshire is confirmed by their dialects which appear to have had more in common in the days of Ray than in those of Wilbraham.

The South Lancashire vernacular is common between the Ribble

and the Mersey, not equally distributed, and with diminished intensity affecting the Mercian counties of Chester, Derby and Stafford. It it so unfixed that not only colloquially but in books intended carefully to set down the dialect the pronoun *I* is given as *I, E, he, eh, aw, oi;* and Collier's own *Rachdaw,* possessing his shrine and the celebrated church steps, is actually converted into *Rachde* by its own "felley." We have *ther* and *theere* in the same sentence, and endless similar anomalies; and, to crown all, *Tim Bobbin* is "fettled and made gradely." What would a Scotchman think of the man who proposed to do this for Burns or Scott? As establishing the South Lancashire dialect in 1753 Collier's book is of the greatest value. The use made of it by Jamieson, Rev. W. Carr and other exponents of provincial speech is not altogether correct; they do not seem to have read *Tim Bobbin,* but to have extracted from the appended Glossary, which is not Collier's work and contains many words unauthorised by him, although that Glossary is written by one who evidently prepared himself for the task. Our South Lancashire speech, neglected as it has been etymologically, is second to none in England in the vestiges which it contains of the tongue of other days. Its diphthongs are Anglo Saxon whilst in 1753 it abounded in their words. The modern books in our "Leod-cwyde" exaggerate its difficulties by purposeless misspelling, thus: kole, blak, saime, farely, noboddi, minnit, notis, forin kuntry, and endless other divergences from the conventional mode of writing without affecting the pronunciation are to be deprecated. Still these books, in setting forth the humour and the genial character of our peasantry and in delivering to us the experience of observant and competent persons as to existing words and phrases, cannot be too highly estimated.

The South Lancashire dialect is in its construction English, retaining many archaic words but with few of the flexions of the Anglo Saxons. The making the plurals of verbs and of nouns in *en* are common oral peculiarities of Teutonic affinity and immediately derived from the period when Saxon was merging into English. Few of our more remarkable words are strictly belong-

ing to us but are either to be found in Dictionaries old or new as common to the nation or in Glossaries of other and often remote districts. *I'r, I wur,* for *I was,* prevails in Craven, which has the Yorkshire *I is* (we say *aw'm*). Yet *wur,* looking to the Scandinavian *var* and the German *war,* requires no explanation, the Anglo Saxon *was* being the irregularity. (See Bromley's *Grammar* on "were," p. 113.) Tutoying still pervades South Lancashire and under the rules eccentric as they are to which that practice accommodates itself in France; but, judging from the *Aelfrici Colloquium,* not those of the Anglo Saxons. It is used (1) by a superior to an inferior; (2) for abuse and insult; (3) for endearment. Of the *first,* in *Tim Bobbin's* prologue the author addressing his book as "thou" and the book replying in the second person plural is a sustained example; as also in the dialogue following the man uses the second person singular towards the woman, but she replying adopts "you" throughout. *Secondly:* any day in our streets the power of *thou* to convey the feelings of the irate may be estimated:

> If thou thous't him some thrice it shall not be amiss.
>
> *Twelfth Night.*

"Go luke theaw rapskallion." "E theau dusnt let me o bee wee thee bukes awl ko o poleese to thee." (*R. F.*) *Thirdly:* endearment;

> God bless tho, mo lass; aw'll go whoam,
> An aw'll kiss thee an' th' childer o reawnd;
> Thae knows, at wheerever aw roam,
> Awm fain to get back to th' owd greawnd.
>
> *Waugh.*

The Saxon double negative is rife amongst us; "un never said naut," "nout noather," "tey-in no pertikler notice o nout," (*T. B.*); and "au cuddent see no moore ov his marluks," (*R. F.*)

In strong preterites we abound; but we can only enumerate a portion of them, greatly restraining ourselves as to their derivations. *Bet,* did beat, in the sense of surpassed; *bode,* per aphæresin, for abode; *bote,* did bite (*Robert the Devyll,* vol. i. pp.

8, 9, Pickering; *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, p. 48; *Faerie Queene*, pp. 2, 5); *brad*, spread, opened (*T. B.*); "brad meh een," "bokes unbrad," (*Pol. Songs*, E 1, p. 156); *browt*, brought; this rejection of the guttural is congenial to South Lancashire. It is true we have Leigh pronounced Leck, but there we seem to exhaust our guttural tendencies; witness thowt, meety, reet, leet, seete, freetnt, sowte, &c. *Chez*, choose; *clum*, clomb; *crope*, crept (*T. B.* pp. 30, 37, 41, 45, edit. 1818); *cumm*, *cumn*, came; *dang*, struck, *dung* part. (*T. B.* p. 49); *drad*, feared; *driv*, drove (*T. B.* p. 55); *eet*, ate, eat; *feel*, fell; "His scrunt wig feel off," (*T. B.* p. 37); *flote*, scolded (flat, *A. S.*); "Mezzil feose hearink summon o whooup startit to his feet, flote none, boh gran like a foomurt dog," (*T. B.*); *fot*, *fotcht*, fetched (fatte, *Pol. Songs*, p. 152, fet or fette, *Gam. Gurton; Rois. Doister and Cynthia's Revels*); "Thenne thay fochet further a boke," (*Hale MS.* p. 75); *fotch*, fetch (*T. B.* pp. 21, 37, 49, 50, 55); *fun*, *fund*, found (*T. B.* p. 44, &c.); *ga*, *gen*, *gan*, *gav*, gave (*T. B.* pp. 20, 30, 41); *gin*, London (Tooke, p. 81); *gaight* (*S. L.*) gave it; "I gan a glent into th' shippin" (*T. B.*, *gan* is in old English began or to go); *geete*, got (*T. B.* pp. 28, 30, 34, 40, 55, 57; also *geet*, *S. L.*, gave); "So I geet up be skrike o dey" (*T. B.* p. 25); *gran*, grinned; "So I gran an I thrutcht" (*T. B.* p. 29). *Ha*, *han*, *hon*, *hav*, have; *height*, have it; *hed*, heeded (*Bam.*); *het*, hight (*R. of Glouc.*; *Rich.*); "But I freatn heaw he het" (*T. B.* p. 31). *Kest*, cast (*Mark* xii. Wyc). *Lad*, led (*Chauc. C. P.* t. 1, p. 99; *Man of Laws Tale*; *Romaunt of the Rose*, vol. ii. p. 225); *lee*, lay; *leep* or *lope*, leapt; *mede*, made; *ned*, needed; "On os prime veeol on pestil as ned be toucht" (*T. B.* p. 39). *Owt*, ought, owed; *quoke*, (?) quaked; *raught* ("rhift," *Blackpool Glossary*), belched; *rid*, to place two things apart (*Bam.*):

> Now, now he dies, rid him away, — *Revenger's Tragedy.*

Saigh, saw (also *seed*), "Hoos the finest ot ew'ry saigh, said he," (*T. B.* . 42,)

> I was affray'd
> The aungel whan I say. — *Cov. Mys.* p. 356.

"And he say noise and men wepinge" (*Mark* v. Wyc.); also *saygh, seighe,* sigh; *scrat,* scratched; *seete,* set; *shad,* spillt, excelled; "Yo meetn shadn wrynot eh tellink this tele" (*T. B.* p. 51); *skam,* skimmed (*Bam.*); *slat* or *slatt,* dirtied, wet, spillt; *slattert,* spilled; *slat* or *sleeat* (slete, Ray), to set on dogs; *slattern* may be a figurative meaning of *slat* and is an idle sloven (*Rich.*); examples associate it with dirt, and *sladde* (*Icel.*), vir habitu et moribus indecorus, approximates to this sense, but wet is its true signification; *slaid* (*Scot.*), a hollow with a stream; *slaed* (*A. S.*), "a slade a plain," Bos.; *vallis,* Somner; hence our "slood a cart track." Two woods in our own neighbourhood still bear this name, they are both on miry ground, "The slad wood."

> Some go streyght thyder
> Be it slaty or slyder.—*Skelton Elyn. Rum.*, p. 257.

Slatter, to spill liquids; *slattery,* wet, rainy, also as a consequence dirty; "Its varra slattery walking," (*Cr.*) The derivative of *slaed* (*A. S.*) is *slith,* slippery, also fierce. In its second sense, *slat, sleeat, slete,* is supposed by Jamieson (in v. sleuth hound) to be derived from *slod,* callis, semita, vestigia, (*Isl., slóg,* Old North; *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 263.)

> His slots, his entries and his port
> His fraying fewmets.—*Sad Shepherd.*

Thus was game tracked formerly, and Milton uses *slot* for track by scent. To slete a dog is to set him at any thing, sheep, swine, &c., "canem immitere vel instigare," (*Cr.*), the quest and the encouragement to the quest confounded:

> I wylle not sleete
> My love to greete.
> *Welcome mine owne — circ. E.* 6.

Slot and *schlagen* Diefenbach (vol. ii. p. 263) shows to be synonimous, — the footstep coming from the blow which makes it; *hufschlag* is thus a *slot.*

> How did you kill him?
> Slatted his braines out, then sows'd him in the briny sea.
> *The Malcontent,* act iv. sc. 3.

Hunter, Thoresby, Carr and others agree that *slat* is the encouraging an animal to attack another, and the literal meaning of the word is therefore a blow or pat. In the following *slat* appears to the pret. of *slit* :

> He sytteth as a slat swyn that hongeth is eren.
> *Pol. Songs, E* 1, p. 154.

Slid, sought sighed; *sowd,* sold; *speek,* spoke; *spote,* spat; *sprad,* spread (*Bam.*); *spon, stank, streek* struck; *swat,* sweated; *sweer,* swore; *trat,* treated; *wed,* weeded; and others.

Next in order come the weak preterites; these almost universally end in *t*. The substitution of this letter for *d* Dr. Latham ranks amongst the most common of dialectic peculiarities, (*Grammar,* vol. i. p. 382.) In the *Cambridge Philol. Mus.*, vol. i. p. 656 (see also vol. ii. pp. 243 and 373), this softening of *d* is said to be congenial to the conformation of our organs, and yet the writer traces it no higher than to Spenser. The descent of the termination of the weak preterite is thus: *ode,* A. S.; *ede,* Robert of Gloucester; *ed,* Chaucer; *d* or *t,* Spencer. We have one Anglo Saxon preterite "whoavte" lingering with us and contradictory to the Cambridge theory. Weak preterites and past participles in *d* are with us of some rarity, as sperr'd, cropp'd, hong'd, puns'd, &c. We give a few weak preterites, they are numerous and comprise remarkable words, but we cannot pause to examine them: beawlt, bezzilt, blendit, borrut, berrit, culurt, deet, fittut, follut, glendurt, goart, kilt, lastut, maundert, moydert, quift, rattlt, roost, sattlt sheamt, showtit, scutcht, tarrit, toynt, warrit, whewtit, whoavt, &c.

The metathesis apparently suffered by South Lancashire words is sometimes the holding fast to the Anglo Saxon, the transposition being the modern English; brast, brent, brid, gerse, girn, kersen, shirl, (burst, burnt, bird, grass, grin, christen, shrill,) are examples. Aphæresis is used towards some words, as chieve, stract, skuse, strushion, lieve (believe), which will be found each to have archaic authority in their favour. We dare not follow

Collier in his superabundant use of oaths. The profanity assigned to Jonson from his early plays is exceeded. Marston's "canon oaths" are more than reproduced, they are increased from the comedies of Anne's reign. We utterly repudiate such constant and exquisite swearing as an attribute of our peasantry.

The South Lancashire methods of forming comparatives are deserving notice, and in one instance we believe is peculiarly its own. This is the use of *in* for *than*, which Collier by its repetition seems to have regarded as worthy of being recorded. "Its moor in bargain;" "O wur kneave in this;" "I'm wur off neaw in eer eh wur;" "It wur better in lickly;" "On bezzilt owey moor brass inney haddn;" "I'll be far if I'd naw rether ha seent in o puppy show." This *in* is the Old North *enn*, denominated by Grimm a pronominal adverb, (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 164); *än*, Swe., *end*, Dan., expressing *quam* after comparatives and *sed*. (*Dief.* vol. i. p. 49.) "Betra er ath vera felaus enn aerulaus," (*Isl.*) — "Better poor than without character." "Betra er halft brauth enn allt mist," (*Isl.*)— "Better half a loaf than all missed." In South Lancashire as in many other districts we give *nor* for *than*. In all Dictionaries from Minsheu to Richardson *nor* is a puzzle to lexicographers. Its application to comparison is purely oral, and has never received a higher notice than that of a Glossary. Jamieson says *nor* for *than* is of modern invention. *Nor* in Richardson's examples is traced only to the Bible of 1551; it is not in the *Prompt. Par.* We conclude, however, from the universality of the adoption of *nor than* that it is much older than this its negative and supposed congener. Perhaps they are not really allied; *nar*, Swe.; *naar*, prope and propius, Dan.; (*naer*, Old North, quum quando, *D. G.* vol. iii. pp. 182, 257), are on this question worth examining. The rationale of the comparative conjunction requires elucidation. Richardson's suggestion, which is the latest and is adopted by Dr. Latham (*Gram.* vol. ii. p. 322), that *than* is *then* a mere conjunction of succession will not bear examination. "*Than* is the same word as *then* applied to sequence, "succession, in taking, choosing, selecting, generally in acting or

"doing, thus: 'I take this first, then that second, then that third; "I take it upon comparison, I prefer it;' 'I do this first, then "that,'" &c. Richardson depends especially upon a quotation from Grafton: "And rather for your own causes being our christened "subjectes we would ye were persuaded then vanquished, taught "then overthrown, quietly pacified then rigourously prosecuted." (*Grafton*, E. P. a 3.) The word *then* here is *than*, no conjunction of succession but one of disruption, and understood as *then* would be nonsense in the last sentence and very unintelligible in the two others. The German grammarians carefully warn us against considering *dann* and *denn*, which are too commonly with them interchanged, as synonimous. *Dann* (*then*) fixes a time and points out an order of succession; it is our *then*, but guarded by our neighbours with a regime dependent on two other words, *wann* and *erst*. *Denn* (*than*) does not mark a time, but it is used in some of the meanings of our *then*: "So mag es denn dabei bleiben;" "So mag es denn gut seyn;" and no one can listen to a German speaking but must detect *denn* continually serving as a mere expletive. Still as the comparative conjunction it has an object of its own in which *dann* is not permitted to interfere. That conjunctions, those coupling chains of speech, are held in requisition in comparisons, to limit and qualify and in fact to disjoin, is not to be denied. The Latin *ac* and *atque*, the German *als* and *denn*, prove this. The presence of a negative here is less inexplicable than that of words of mere transition; there is a denial more or less qualified in every comparison, and it is therefore the French *que ne* is grateful to foreign ears but not it seems to the people who use it. "Les "Latins n'employaient pas de négation dans les phrases qui énoncent "une comparaison, 'Turpius est quam putas,' et nos ancêtres ont dit "à leur imitation, 'Il est plus honteux que vous le pensez;' c'est par "abus que nous avons transféré *le* en *ne*, 'Il est plus honteux que "vous ne pensez.'" (*Boinvilliers*, vol. ii. p. 484.) We repeat our *nor than* has probably no connexion with the negative *ne* or *nor*.

We cannot leave the conjunctions without noticing *ot*, that, which we share with the Scotch and which in South Lancashire

maintains its existence by the side of *that.* "That's eawr yung cowt ot lies reawt."[4] "The Gothic particle *at,* Anglo Saxon *ät,* "Old High German *az,* Old North *at,* the neuter of the pronoun "*ita,* separate themselves widely. In Gothic, Old High German "and Anglo Saxon *at, az, iz,* are simply prepositions; in the Old "North *at* is a preposition and conjunction with the meaning *ut,* "*quod.* The modern North tongues divide the preposition and "conjunction; as preposition it is pronounced *at,* Swe., *ad,* Dan.; "as conjunction *at* in both." (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 164, also vol. i. p. 781.) ὅτι Greek and *ut* Latin must have a derivation anterior to Gothic, in which however the conjunction *att, ut,* existed. Horne Tooke traces *that* to the past tense of *thean,* A. S., assumere, and Richardson accepts the derivation!

In South Lancashire *ot* is pronoun, conjunction and preposition. "O mon ots gallopt ofore," *pro.*; "Nowt ots owt theaw may be sure," *pro.*; "Neaw theaw mun know ot one neet," *conj.*; "T'a seen heaw'th gobbin wur awtert when ot tey poodn him eawt," *conj.*; "I'r ot heawse in o crack," *prep.* (*T. B.*) "I'd fene speke at him" occurs in the same book, and also *at after,* which we observe Dr. Byrom uses.

We cannot dive our hand into the bag of South Lancashire dialectical curiosities without extracting proofs of the sermo strenuus which agrees so well with the loud utterance we give to our thoughts. We clinch or elongate everything; "saime toime" is our ordinary conjunction, "for shure" our method of reaffirming the most simple proposition, and for our intensives they are always coming to hand. "Just mete saime,"[5] three words for one idea; "O grand heawse veri;" "O deyle o brass veri,"

[4] The application of rupta or rotto to an animal severed from its herd or shelter is natural. A cow or other creature after lying out three days in Lincolnshire is conveyed to the route or green yard and is there left until the owner is found. This custom prevails at Horncastle and advertisements occur "Routed at —— two pigs." — *Halli.*

[5] *Mete* or *fyt* or *even,* equus, *Prompt. Par.*; *gamotjan,* Goth.; *begegnen, metan,* A. S. occurrere; *mete,* exactly, S. L.

"Moore worser tyert;" "Just mete neaw;" "As fause[6] as fause could be;" "Awm o Rachde felley mon un we're meterly[7] fause theere;" "E no toime," to which as not fully expressing a brief space we add "or less." Some, deal, and well, good old English terms, are familiar with us. "Eh there is sum stok o Rachde fok theere un sum wele they'n dun o deyle on um has." Fair is made to exaggerate foul things, as "fęre cheeotin."[8] *Gradely* or *greadley* is a very common word, but it is rather connected with *gerathen* than *gerade*. "To the Old North *greidr, greida,* explicare,

[6] *Fawse*, cunning, false, as cunning, derived by Mr. Hunter and Dr. Carr from an old colloquial name given to the fox. False comes from *faulse* (Nor. Cot.) a *fallo*, and both these have the sense of deceiving. "False and untrosty perfidus; false and deceyvable, versutus and versipellis." (*Prompt. Par.*) These last words express the South Lancashire *fawse*.

[7] *Mete*, as moderate, *maete*, modest, moderate, comparative; *maettra*, A. S.; *mitan*, Goth., *metan*, A. S., to measure. In all European languages moderate is the figurative meaning of measured. In this sense *mete* occurs, *Lazamon* (both manuscripts) vol. i. p. 279; *medful*, *Ancren Riwle*, p. 414; in Skelton twice. Halliwell quotes the following old MS., —

"Of heigte he was a metely mon,
Nouther to grete ny to smal."

Metely or *meterly* had a disparaging signification. (*Ray*). *He is metely learned*, mediocriter doctus est. (Dyce's Skelton, vol. i. p. 270; *Dief.* vol. ii. pp. 68, 77, 79, 91; *Thoresby*; *Cr.*; *W. & C.*, &c.) *Mete*, just fitting, has survived *mete*, moderate Probably the use of this word in our Bible has secured for it a vitality denied to *mete*, moderate. Grose annexes *meeverly* to this set of words, and its meaning in *Tim Bobbin* allies it to them. "*Boh*," says the book, "I carrit me sell meety meeverly too to." "These constable folk wur meety meeverly on modest too to." Moderate would answer for *meeverly* in both these sentences. It is rendered bashful, shy, mild (*North. Halli.*, *Wt.*), to which Carr has "of a quiet or gentle disposition, affectedly sparing in eating or drinking." These meanings are reconcileable with *meterly*, but they also approximate to another word. The Gothic *mavi* mädchen, *mavilo* magdlein, *meovle*, *meowle*, a maid, A. S., seems a probable source of *meverley*, expressing maidenly qualities, bashful, shy, gentle. But Grimm's ineffectual attempt to attach *môi* venustus (N. G. and Netherlandish) to *mavi* warns us not to insist on our conjecture. (*Dief.* vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.)

[8] Shakespere's affirmation of the identity of fair and foul, and the idea in his sonnet of "fairing his foul," seem here realised. We cannot by any license of metaphor reconcile the use of a word derived from the Anglo Saxon *faeger*, fair, beautiful, as an intensive of bad things. The eleventh meaning of *fair* "open, direct," "and fair in

parare, felicitare, belong the English obsolete words of dialect, *graithe*, parare, vestire; *grade, greide*, prepared; *gradely*, decently, orderly, moderately." *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 429. *Greithan*, to prepare, to dress, *Lazamon, Ancren Riwle*; *graithe*, ready, prepared, *Piers Ploughman*; *grayth*, to prepare, to clothe, *Chaucer*; *graythed*, donn'd, *Sir Perceval of G.* p. 123.

> And thare made he no lett
> At yate door ne wykett
> But in graythely (readily) he gett.—*Ibid.* p. 490.
>
> Graythe in his gere (proper in his dress).
> *Avowynge of King Arthur.—Hale MS.* p. 36.
>
> Now have we no graythe (preparation).
> *Anturs of Arthur.—Hale MS.* p. 34.
>
> Sir Gawan graythist on grene.—*Ibid.* p. 1.
> Thenne Gawan graythist of all.—*Ibid.* p. 34.

Or as we should say the most gradely, or "properest fellow." The *Hale MS.* probably of the fifteenth century has a value in South Lancashire etymological researches, although we cannot with Mr. Robson its editor identify its language altogether with any Lancashire dialect. The pronoun *hoo* (*heo*) for she, her, and which the MS. contains, is one of our most peculiar terms, and to this day is said to be limited in its use by the English Apennines dividing Lancashire and Derbyshire from Yorkshire. *Graythely* is in this MS. and in the sense of gradely. The writer in treating of women thus expresses himself:

sight" (Dryden, *T. J.*), and the quotation from Waterland in Richardson, "when he fairly gives them up" completely, are examples of *fair* allied to Collier's. But neither in Richardson nor in Webster's definitions is this sense of fair to be found. Minsheu would at once relieve us of our difficulty by associating beauty with every sort of thing that is perfect and complete. Discarding the common derivation of fair as here inapplicable, we turn to *ga Faurs gesezt*, Goth.; *fere*, Old Friesland *commodum*; *för*, Dan. *gesund kraftig*; *fær*, Old North *habilis, sufficiens, Dief.* vol. i. p. 364; *fere, fer*, adj., entire, sound; *faer*, Isl.; *foer*, Swe. *validus, Ju.*, who has a comparative *farar*, better.

No luffe will inne hom lenge
With gode wille grathely hom gete.
Avowyinge of Arthur, 62, 9.

(Vid. Jamieson's *grathe.*) *Primely* is one of Collier's intensives, we think it slang. "Boh theaw meh be shure I're primely boyrnt on os weet os weet os ewer eh could sye." *Boyrn* is set down as "to rince or wash out" in the glossary, and Davies deduces it from "*buer* (Nor. Fr.) to wash." Cotgrave translates it "to wash a buck, to scower with lye;" but this mild process was anything but that which Tummus underwent, for he had tumbled into the stream and was nearly drowned; "for be me troth I'r welly wherken't." *Bayne* submitted to the South Lancashire dipthong is *bawyne* (boyrne), and *bayne* is not uncommon as an Anglo Norman word:

And when salt tears did bayne my breast.
Surrey's Poems, vol. i. p. 23.

(Vid. Nott's note to this passage and quotation.) The Chevaliers des bains were called in English Knights of the bayne. *Sye* is in both branches of Teutonic words, and here means "as ever I could drip;" *sihan*, to flow down, to descend, also to strain, to filter; *sigan, sah, seh, soh* (*Bos., O. H. G.*, and *Swe.*); *sihon, sie* (Old English); *sey* (Scot.), colare, liquare; *seihe*, a strainer (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 204) σειω, quatio; *sie*, a drop (*Cr.*); *sya percolare* (Isl.); *sier* (Dan.); "sigh clout," a strainer, (*Percy's Reliques*, vol. i. p. 149; *sile, syle and sey* in Suppt. *Jn.*), Derbyshire; "Wherknt suffocated with water smoke," &c. (*T. B.*); *quark* (Goth.), the throat (*T. J.*); *querk*, (Old North); *querka mein*, angina, *irquepan*, suffocari (*O. H. G., Davies*, p. 273); *querkened*, noyé, suffoqué (*Cot.*); *woorghen* (*Bel.*); to choke (*Minsheu, Cr.*) Diefenbach treating of *kwekae* (Polish), stohnen, quaken, *kwokati* (Bohemian), *glucksen, achzen, quieken, quaken*, alludes to the remarkable accumulation of words (schallwörter) expressing the sense by the sound (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 470) resembling these.

Too too is one of our most prominent intensives. Its origin is no doubt the important Saxon prefix and suffix *to*, which as a pre-

fix frequently justifies a comparison with the German *zer* (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 629) in the force it communicates. Hamlet has made us familiar with this redoubled word which appears of no great antiquity, being traced by Mr. Halliwell only to Skelton (*Shakspere Society's Papers*, vol. i. p. 40). *Too too* in Ray's time was in a Cheshire proverb, and marked the highest tension: "Too too will in two;" but Wilbraham does not now claim the words which are perhaps peculiar to South Lancashire. "That wur clever too too:" "And savoury he lookt too too;" "Ney this is a cutter too too." Cutter has two meanings in *Tim Bobbin*, the ordinary one of a sharper, and also a verb explained in the Glossary "to make much of, as a hen or goose of their young." The author says to the book: "I dunnaw meon heaw fok harbortnt or cutternt oer thee." *Cythan, cuthan*, known, familiar; *cuthe* p. hence *kith*, Eng. The construction of *cutternt* is not uncommon with our preterites and past participles; the word is *cutterten*, but the otherwise terminal *en* is made penultimate with the loss of its vowel. We here touch upon one of the greatest causes of the unintelligibility of the South Lancashire dialect to strangers. The pronouns and verbs suffer mutations which defy the abounding art of Greek figures and German sounds (an, in, ab, aus, and um, lauts) to achieve or justify. *Yoan*, you will or have; "Fattle be i'th foyar;" *teawst, yoast*, thou shalt, you shall; *they'n*, they will; *I'd*, I had or would; *I'ddn*, you had; *yood'n*, you was; *Ire*, I were; *I'st*, I shall; *didnyono*, did you not; "I wuddiddn tell him I'd fene speyk to him" (*T. B.*), I wish you would, &c.; *yoad'n*, you would; "I height e meh pocket;" *tey'dn mede*, they had made; "Ot those ottn steyl win lie," that those who will steal will lie; *hoor heor*, she were; *inney haddn*, than he had; *hood*, she had or would, &c.

Well by the addition of *ly* is supposed to represent well nigh; "Un awd tey th' liberte of breykin ther yeds, appen not quite but welley" (*R. F.*) This word obtains from Three Counties' Hill to the Mersey. *Thrutch* in Ray's time was in a Cheshire proverb, it is now in the *Craven Glossary*; it is a Friesian donative, *thair* (Gothic), per *durch, thuruh* (A.S.); *thruch* (Old Friesland); "in

allen Norden dialecten nicht vorhanden" (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 261 ; also *Dief.* vol ii. p. 690). *Um* for 'em (*hem* them) is most common. In Dryden's early play of the *Wild Gallant* it occurs throughout. "Au laft whol au wur welly feyrd o brastin." *While* for *until* down to Shakespere's time was in common use (Yorkshire, *Halli.*, North. *Pegge*) ; *while* is time : "I could not awhile [find time] to do it" is in the Herefordshire dialect ; "stay a while," Eng. *Whoam*, the prefix of *w* is general orally, and this word has no exclusive domicile in South Lancashire. "And I'll axe meystur to night when I goos whoam" (*Halli. Isle of Wight*). "Coming whoame vrom market," (*Akerman, Wilts ;* also *Chester Plays*, vol. i. p. 58, 144, *Lodge's Illustrations*, 1516, vol. i. p. 8, &c.) *Dree*, *droegia* (*Old North*), mora, tarditus; *droja* (*Swe.*) cunctari; *dragan* (*Goth.*), "sich ziehen, acervare, coacervare," to draw or drag together, hence *drawl*, (and *drate*, to drawl out one's words, *North, Ray*, drat ?) *Dree* is hardly derived from *dreojan* to bear , vid. Diefenbach, quoting Grimm on the affinity between dragan and driuhan (*Goth.*) vol ii. p. 241. "'Whooas "lad art to?' 'Whau,' said he, 'I'm Jones o Salls o Simmys o "Marrions o Dicks o Nathans o Salls o Simmys i'th Hooms, an I'm "gooink whoam.' Odds, thinks I't meh sell, theaws a dreer neme "in me. On here, Meary, I cou'd nau boh think whot lung nemes "sum on us han, for thine and mine are meeterley, boh this lad's "wur so mitch dreer ot I thowt it dockt mine tone hawve." This supplying a pedigree of Christian names was and perhaps still is the custom among our genuine compatriots who of surnames had none. The reversing the ordinary modes of comparison and allowing precedence by docking has much humour in it. *Dock*, Minsheu says, is used by Chaucer, and means to curtail. The shortening a horse's tail is its radical signification, and this Webster extends to abbreviating an account. Richardson gives *dock* a German and Dutch origin, Webster a Welch one, and Todd's Johnson, perhaps wiser than either, is altogether at fault on the subject.

"But I mawkint an lost my gete ogen snap, so I powlert oer yeates and steels" (*T. B.*) *Mawkin* as a verb must not be confounded with the noun, signifying a mop, a bundle of rags, a scarecrow, a scullion

wench. For the verb two etymons present themselves, *meach* or *mich* (Old English), to conceal, to sneak, to act the eavesdropper, sich verstecken, lauschen, schleichen. (Vid. *mich* in *Halliwell's Dictionary*.)

> Say we should all meach here and stay the feast.
> *The Honest Man's Fortunes*, act v. sc. 2.

> How like a mitcher he stands as though he had truanted
> from honesty. — *Mother Bombie*, act i. sc. 3.

"*Maucht* (Roxburgs.) part. and ad., tired, worn out, puzzled, evi-"dently the same as *mate, mait*, with the interjection of the gut-"tural." (*Jn.*)

Powlert, (*bullt*, Old North, motus creber, *bulta*, schlagen, klopfen, to which belong *bultra*, Dan. and Old North; *buldra*, poltern, Ger. (auch plaudern), *Dief.* vol. i. p. 283.) *Pouldre* was held in requisition to describe a straggling or wandering disposition, "avoir les pieds pouldreux" (*Cot.*); and in Todd's Johnson *poulder*, to come tumultously and violently; "a low corrupt word," *L'Estrange*. We say in South Lancashire of a somewhat noisy and purposeless rambler: "He goes pouldering about;" and another word, "bawping," expressing almost the same thing, we well remember to have heard some half century ago amongst our peasantry.

Appern and *barm skin* are so fully explained in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (in vv. naperon, barme cloth, barn skin) that we have little to add; we prefer the derivation *naperon, nappe* to *aet foran* (A.S.), *aforne* (Chaucer), although *f* and *p* "inter se cognatæ sunt." Aporne, aperne, apern are used by Gosson in *Gammer Gurton*, act ii. sc. 4, in *May Day*, act iii. sc. 1, and by Tusser. The shortening the vowel by geminating the following consonants is congenial to the South Lancashire tongue: papper, babby, labbor, monny, onny, &c. *Ashelt* literally "as held" is less worthy of observation than *eldar*, potius (*R. F.*), the old Icelandic *Hœldr*.

Feaberry, gooseberry, is in Bamford and the old South Lancashire Glossaries, but we never heard this truly Lancashire fruit so designated. Gerard says the name is used in Cheshire "my native

county." It is also common in Yorkshire, and known in East Anglia as *feabes* or *fapes*. "I do not know the origin of this any more than of *carberry* which is said to be another name," (*Miller, Ray, Hunter, Wilb.*) *Filu faibus*, varius, mannigfältig (*Goth.*); "*Feh bunt*, varius pictus, multicolor" (*O. H. G., Oberd., Alt. Sax., Dief.*, vol. i. p. 351); *fah*, different colours (*A.S., Bos.*); *faw*, of diverse colours (*Jn.*). Cotgrave has the word in v. *groseilles* (*Halli.*)

Balderdash: "Stuff, stuff, meer balderdash, sed the cunstable" (*T. B.*) This is one of the most universal of British colloquial words; it is found in Scotland and throughout England. As applied to nonsensical conversation it is probably very ancient. *Bulldur* (*Icl.*); "Susurrorum blateratio vel stultorum balbuties" (*Jn.*) Horne Tooke's use of the word is Richardson's earliest example of it in this sense: "I heard him charge this publication with ribaldry, scurrility, billingsgate and balderdash" (*Horne's Trial*, p. 25.) Here it has evidently a worse meaning than nonsense. "*Balder*, to use coarse language" (*East.*) "Any mixture of rubbish is called balderdash. In some districts the term is restricted to absolute filth whether applied to language or in its literal sense" (*Halli.*) This apparently is modern and derived from the figurative sense attached to balderdash by the Elizabethan dramatists, of a mixture of bad wines such as Jonson detested:

> Let our wine without mixture or stum be all fine.

Jonson is both Todd's Johnson's and Richardson's authority; the former adds Beaumont and Fletcher, and Nash, speaking of "bubbly spume or barber's balderdash," being the foam made by dashing balls of soap backwards and forwards in a bason (*Malone*). The quotation in Todd's Johnson wants the succeeding line to make it applicable.

> Mine is such a drench of balderdash
> Such a strange curded [mixed] cunningness.
>
> *Fletcher's Woman's Prize*, act iv. sc. 5.

> S'foot, wine sucker, what have you filled us here? balderdash?
>
> *May Day*, act iii. sc. 1.

Now and then in beer and balderdash
Her lips she dips. — *Taylor's Drink and welcome.*

Mr. Davies claims this word for the Welch *bal,* what jets out, and *tordd,* a din or tumult. Dr. Johnson deduced it from *bald, bold* and *dash.*

Blether is also a South Lancashire expression common to England. "Doant ee kep blethering about fairings" (*Berks. Dial., Tom Brown's School Days*). Bamford says it means "to blubber or cry;" perhaps to talk unintelligibly or without purpose from vehemence, repetition or any other cause, is a better definition. *Bladdra* (Swe.), plaudern; *blateren* (Teut.) stulte loqui, blaterare, to babble (*Jn., Cr., Dief.* vol. i. p. 306); *Blauthjan* (Goth.) abschaffen, delere; *blauder* (Icel.), *bluther* (Scot.), *blother* (Old Eng.), to gabble.

Thus eche of other blother. — *Skelton's Colin Clout,* p. 66.
That blaber, barke and blother. — *Ibid. p.* 779.

"He and hys wyfe and other have blaveryd here of my kynred in heder moder" (*Paston's Letters* 1461, vol. iii. p. 22). *Hugger mugger* is thus shown to be a century older than in Richardson's first example from Ascham, and its meaning is clearly "secretly," and not as the compilers of some of our South Lancashire Glossaries affirm, "a jumble, a confusion" (*Bam.*), "peevish, uncomfortable, cross-grained" (*T. B.* edit. 1833); the first edition with a Glossary designates it "conceals," which would be correct if applied to a verb.

What, my lusty Frank,
So near a wife and will not tell your friend,
But you will to this gear in hugger mugger?
Merry Devil of Edmonton, v. 235.

"Such a one they sawe there by lyrkinge and huggeringe two hours before the gentleman came;" (*A Caveat,* &c. *by Harman,* 1567). In Florio's Dictionary (Italian) *dinascoso* is rendered secretly, hiddenly, in hugger mugger. (Vid. *Reed's Shakspere,* vol. xviii. p. 284; *Old Plays* 1780, vol. viii. p. 48; *Revenger's Tragedy,* act v. sc. 4, p. 357; *Mother Hubbard's Tale (Old Plays),* vol. vii. p. 409.)

Tory rory is explained in our Glossaries by a reference to *hey-go-*

mad: "He drank the health five times supernaculum to my son "Brainsick, and dipt my daughter Pleasances little finger to make "it go down more glibly, and, before George, I grew 'tory rory'[9] "as they say, and strained a brimmer;" (*Dryden's Kind Keeper*, vol. i. p. 1.)

Bam appears to us imputed to South Lancashire for the sake of a Welch derivation. We believe it is an abbreviation of bamboozle, and the only use of it in our district we have either seen or heard is in an old Liverpool Squib Book, where Mr. Bamber Gascoyne is designated by an opponent as "a bam from Gascony."

Grewnt, greyhound (*T. B.*); this is merely an abbreviation. In the canons of Canute quoted in Manwood's *Forest Laws*, "canes quos Angli greyhound appellunt" occurs. (Vid. *Rich., Jn.* and *Suppt.*, and *Knapp*, p. 136). The old greyhound had a scent and hunted deer. *Grew* (Scot.), a greyhound; *grey* (Icel.), a dog; *grewan*, a greyhound (*Kinross*), grewhund; *grei* or *grey hound*, Grecian hound (*Minsheu*), *grewe, greece* (Scot), *grey*, a badger: "And they "not only cowrsydd w^{t} sum grewnds but also w^{t} horsemen, w^{t} darts "and sperys, and many [stags] so sleyn, (1516, *Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 6); "Yoad'n be os gawnt os a grewnt" (*T. B.*)

The *guts* are with us what the *brains* are to other people. "Boh I think i my guts ittle doo;" "For I think e me guts I'st stink like a foomurt" (*T. B.*) Butler seated the affections in this portion of the body:

> It grieved him to the guts that they—
> *Hudibras*, part i. canto 2, line 893.

[9] North's origin of the epithet "Tory" has been generally adopted. Richardson throws some doubt upon it by quoting Skinner (ob. 1687). North's date for the word is 1679 (*Examen*, p. 321), Johnson's 1680, which is the year of the last 4to edition of Dryden's *Limberham, or the Kind Keeper*. The designations Tory and Whig were no doubt given by adversaries as abusive. Skinner derived *tory rory* from *thor* (Teut.) a fool, and in that sense Dryden adopted it adjectively. It is rendered "wildly" by Halliwell and in Wright's Dictionary. If Tory be deduced from the worst of the Irish in 1679, *tory rory* has evidently another parentage; and if *tantivy* was also temp. Car. II. (North *ut supra*) descriptive of a Jacobite, perhaps *tory rory*, another boisterous expressiou, may also be an additional imputation on the party to be maligned.

He has no guts in his brains. The anfractus of the brain looked upon when the dura mater is taken off do much resemble guts. — *Ray.*

The guts of my conscience begin to be of whit leather. — *Virgin Martyr*, act iv. sc. 2.

We must pass from the words to the letters and diphthongs which obtain in South Lancashire. The vowels interchange and the tendency of the consonants is to soften. *A* sinks into insignificance, its place being variously supplied and especially by *o*. This before printing fixed conventionalisms was generally the case in the English language, and words like *man* and *land* were spelt *mon* and *lond* by the Anglo-Saxons. The custom of doing this is firmly retained amongst us, and although a common archaism it is in the present day one of the distinctive characteristics of the dialect. Thus a *Loncoshire* or *Monchester mon* are sobriquets which we may neither repudiate nor even explain by pleading "the natural tendency of *a* to become *o*." (*Latham's Gram.* vol. ii. p. 287.) Camden says the Saxons styled the county *Loncasterscyre*, vulgo *Lonkashire*. *On, os, ot, con, onseer, condle, crom, lone, hong'd, hommer, hondle, hont, stond,* and a number of other words bear testimony to the displacement of *a*. In Halifax, according to Mr. Watson, *o* is converted into *a,* and it is perhaps this counter and neighbouring influence which accounts for Collier's occasional relaxation of his rule in the opposite change, as *crap, wark, misfartins, rank* (wrong), *ward, far.* As a prefix *o* intrudes on the first vowel in *owey, ogen, onny* (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 226), *onother, ofore, oboon, obeawt, ofeard,* &c. *A* and *o* from Beowulf to Skelton were considered as alike.

The Sowdane with his ownne honde
Crowned hir Quene of all his londe,
And sent hir to his countré;
A chartir was made fulle wele farande,
The Sowdane selide it with his hande,
That thofe he never come in his lande
That scho solde quene be.

Sir Isumbras, l. 330.

Londs (*Paston Letters*, vol. iii. p. 130); *onye* (*ib.* p. 132); *mony*, many (*ib.* p. 284); *mare*, more; *sare*, sore; *alde*, old; *nane*, none, (*Thornton MS. Camd. Soc.*, 4, 6, 90, 92, 95.) Piers Ploughman, Chaucer, Mandeville and Wicliff will abundantly in almost any of their pages exemplify the interchange of *a* and *o*.

The substitution of *e* for *a* is another of the instincts of our language. From the most remote days, and through all of the tongues from which they are derived, the Teutonic lingual family have shown this tendency (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 43, 49, 79, 202, 225, 269, 281). Unfortunately the great European philologue only treats of Early Anglo-Saxon (vol. i. p. 222), and tells us that a more thorough knowledge of the tongue is to be achieved by an examination of the remains found in England itself. It is however sufficient for our purpose to show, without tracing the use of *e* for *a* from Early Anglo-Saxon downwards, that before printing the practice prevailed in England generally, and therefore its being retained in any district proves nothing as to a peculiarity of origin but the contrary. Our custom in this exchange of vowels comes within the scope of Grimm's disparaging remarks on English: "So great is the con-"fusion in the oscillation between the old writing and the modern "pronunciation that one may as well leave the true orthoepy un-"learnt as attempt to gather it by the ear" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 540). Then follows a denunciation similar to that of Dr. Trench against our pronouncing dictionaries.

We find *kese* ("condition as to outward circumstances"), *ete, seme, tene* (*tane*, Old Eng., ta'en), *deme, keke, mede, brevely*, &c. in *Tim Bobbin;* this is converting the *a* elongated by the silent *e* into *e*. *Same* and *made* are resumed in the South Lancashire of 1853. This long soft *a* however formed, even by *ai*, as *fain, tail, plain*, &c., or otherwise occurring, is reduced to *e*, as "Kene kilt Ebil;" *tele, plene, fere, eem, fene* (fane, *R. F.*) This transition is Scandinavian (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 293-295) and not Anglo-Saxon, and proceeds from the dipthong *ai, ay, ei*, leaving the accent on the first letter; in some dialects the second is prominent as in Herefordshire. *Berm* (*beirma* Gael., *beorma* A.S., *θερμος Dief.* p. 326, *berm* Chaucer,

bermyn Prompt. Par.), *kest* (Wiclif, c. 4 and 12, and *Faerie Queene*, xii. 15.), *keckle* (*kaeckelen* Dutch) retain their legitimate pronunciation. Formerly (1753) we said *fethur*, *rethur*, *wetur*; and now (1853) *faythur*, *raythur*, *waytur*. Of father, *fadar* Goth., we suspect the German *vater* gives the true accent of the first *á*; but we look to the Old Friesish *feder* and the Anglo-Saxon *faeder* (*ä*) as well as the Icelandic *fedr*, as justifying *fethur*; on the other hand the Greek and Latin *πατηρ* and *pater*, the French *pere* and the North Friesish *vaer*, all prepare us for *faythur*. *Rather*, *hraed*, *hraethe* (Bos., A.S.) *Waytur* again the Anglo-Saxon *ae*, alike transferable to *ay* or *e*. Our inconsistency is however not to be explained away. We turn *e* into *a* in *clark*, *laft*, *marry*, *hard bally*, &c. "And cheryte so colde" (Skelton's *Speke Parrot*, p. 493); *gret*, great; *farre*, far; *werre*, war; *Remond*, Raymond; *hertely*, *clerly*, *yerd* (*Paston Letters*, vol. i. pp. 42, 52, 56, 58; vol. iii. pp. 264, 290, 300, 316.) "And the two sterres ne moven never" (*Mandeville*). Then Chaucer abounds in *e* supplying the place of *a*. *Ai* is not a dipthong but *ā* as in fate, and in the use of this letter we seem to follow the derivation of the words. *Blain*, *fair*, *swaith*, are pronounced as in English.

> By flyes death, botch and blayne. — 1538, *God's Promises; Dodsley*, vol. i. p. 25.

Aighs (*ax*, and perhaps the *a* was formerly softened by the silent *e*, maugre the double consonant, *axe*, *acs*, *aex*, *eax*, Bos.)

> With is ax in ys hond. — *Pol. Songs*, *E.* 1, 222.
>
> Let him make an axe for the nones. — *Richard Cœur de Lyon; Warton*, vol. i. p. 167.

Fartin is altogether exceptional, derived from the French *fortune*; it is one of the few vulgarisms with which we are afflicted. *Flaight*, a light turf; (*flah* and *flaight*, turf, fuel, *Halli.*, *Wt.*; *ad flaa* Icel.; cutem detrahere, *Cr.* flay); *gaight*, give it; *gainer*, nearer (*Cr. gane*, *gayn*, adj. near, applied to a way; *gen*, utilis, Old Swe.; *genwaeg* via brevior, Jn.) *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 395. "A word peculiarly used "in the north of England, *gain* adj., commodus, facilis, promptus,

"alacer, propinquus, honestus." Diefenbach hesitates about its French origin. "In remoter times the French *gaignage* served for it. In "fact Bosworth gives *gynan* (A.S.) lucrari." This is however on Somner's authority. *Gain*, near, is in Lilly and Lydgate; but although in the *Tim Bobbin* glossaries, as likewise the more important word *gar*, we do not perceive them in the book itself. *Saig*, a saw (*saga A.S.*) *saigh* v. saw (*seed*, *sen*).

I seigh the sonne and the see. — *Piers Ploughman.*

Reson I seigh soothly. — *Ibid.*

Slaigh, *sleawgh*, the sloe; *slae* (*Jn.*); *unlaight*, unlaced; *unleawght*, (*lacet*, Fr.) unlaughed (*Bam.*); *haigs*, haws (*haga A.S.*)

Aw, *au*, is so common in the South Lancashire dialect, and apparently acts as the sound substituted for the radical vowel in so many cases, that but for the connection of this diphthong both with the Scandinavian and Teutonic tongues, we should vainly attempt to account for its ubiquity. Modern German, however, has *au* so embedded in it that we must not be surprised to find another of the same family lavish in its use. It is chiefly in the diphthong *eaw* that South Lancashire adopts the sound. With us *aw* replaces *I*; it likewise stands for *all*. *Awlung*, *awtercation*, *awmeety*, *awteration*, *bawks*, *sawt*, *fawt*, &c.; before *l* this sound is both archaic and not partially colloquial. Its interchange with *o* is worthy observation: *awlus*, always (*T. B.*); *olis* (*R. F.*); *ealleweza* (*A.S.*); *awf* (aelf, *Bos.* oaf, *Eng. Dial.*; *Dief.* vol. i. p. 208; aufe, *Drayton;* ouphe *Shakspere;*) *awts*, orts, *Eng.*, refuse of hay, left meat, fragments.

Evening orts are good morning fodder. — *Ray*, p. 103.

To make orts of good hay. — *Ibid.*. p. 205.

Dief. vol. i. p. 132; *iate*, *iotu*, *krippe* (Old North): *ort* (Ger.); perhaps the crib became to signify what it contained, "uberbleibsel des Futters." (See Mr. Garnett on *odd* and *ort*, *Qu. Rev.* liv. p. 328.) "On began o crowming o'th leawp hoyles on th' slifters i'th leath "woughs full o awts." The second *o* here stands for *aw*, all. *Awse*, *hawse*, 1853; *oss*, 1753; *osi* (W.), to offer, essayer (French),

audeo, ausus. "I durst ostite o tean a bear by th' tooth osta ost seech "hur i'th teawn." *Naw* (*T. B.*, *R. F.*); *not*, *ne*, *nawt*, nothing (*R. F.*); *nowt* (*T. B.*, *Bam.*); *néaht*, *náht*, *nauht* (*A.S.*); *nowther*, *nother*; these various South Lancashire negatives are as old as the English language and have been steadfastly retained, whilst other forms have been supplied to the educated classes.

> And nout one our earen auh ower eie thurles tuneth azein idel speche. *Anc. Riwle*, p. 70.
>
> Ne clothes nouther. — *Ibid.* p. 350.
>
> That nath nout en hod his hed for te hude. — *Pol. Songs*, *E.* 1, p. 150.

Gawm, understand or comprehend, *gaumjau* (Goth.), sehen, gewahren, *geomian gieman* (*A.S.*), to regard (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 387; *Bos.*); *yeme*, animadvertere, attendere (*Dief.*; *Jn.*)

> And theroff had owre kynge an awme (a knowledge.)—*Sege of Roan*, *Arch.* xxi. p. 62.

Gaum (*Halli.*, *Wt.*, *Ches. Pl.*, *Cr.*)

Gawster, another most expressive and peculiarly South Lancashire word. Mr. Davies here holds in requisition "Old North *geistr* "vehemens, and Ger. Bav. *gaustern*, to act with precipitancy or rash-"ness." This family of words on which the German *geist* depends are given in *Dief.* vol. i. p. 398; but we do not think *gawster* belongs to them. Jamieson's *gawcy* affords a trace of the word in its third meaning:

> Weel might ye trow to see them there
> Whan pacing wi' a gawsy air
> In gude braid claith. — *Fergusson.*

And again from Ramsay:

> Lang syne, my Lord, I had a court
> And nobles filled my cawsy,
> But since I have been fortune's sport
> I look nae hawff sae gawsy.

Here the word means swaggering as our *gawster*. The Netherlands' "*guysen* effluere cum strepitu, *gausen* (*Swz.*) liquida miscere et

"pejorare, blaterare" (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 409), deserves consideration. Gairstering (*Cr.*); goyster (*Grose*).

There are several French words on which we have imposed our *aw*. *Gawmble* (gambol), *dawmp*, *gauby*, *jawms* (door jambs), &c.; and one affording an illustration of that misdivision of syllables on which Latham dilates (*Gram.* vol. ii. p. 51). His example is *an ôg* (Dan.), *a nag* (Eng.) The indefinite article *an* appears here to be in fault, so *a nawstler* (ostler) or *a noánt* (aunt) *S. L.*; but the article will not account for this usage in the common South Lancashire word *nown* (own), and which is frequent in Old English.

> Of my noune p'per godes. — *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 13.
>
> Wrytin w^t^ my noune chaunsery hand. — *Ibid.* p. 48.
>
> And my nowne body. — *Avowynge of Arther*, p. 35.
>
> How thynk you by this, my nowne deare mother? — *Wit and Science*, p. 36.
>
> Ye have offended me wyth mysse and kepte me fro my nowne cete. — *Sege of Roan*, *Arch.* xxi. p. 75.
>
> Boh his gronny's alive, an wooan weh his noant Margary e Grinfilt, at pleck where his nown mother coom fro. — (*T. B.*)

The diphthong *au* proceeds from the Gothic and is adopted in the Scandinavian, Teutonic and Scotch languages. Grimm, treating of Gothic vowels (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 46), says: "*áu* answers to the *o* and "*u* of Old High German, *eâ* of Anglo Saxon, and *au* Icelandic; and "*aú* is represented by the *o* or *u* of Old High German, Old Saxon, "and Icelandic, and sometimes by the *ea* of Anglo Saxon." "The "modern Scandinavian dialects approximate the old *au* to the sound "of *ô*." The troubled *o* or *ou* is meant, for treating of the Old North (Icel.) vowels we find "*au* corresponds to *áu* Goth., *au* (ou) *ô* Old High German, and *eâ* Anglo Saxon" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 293); and here is a note in which Grimm differs from Rask who rejects the sound in modern German of *au*, a somewhat hardy Danish conjecture, which the Teuton affirms to be sometimes *áu* and sometimes *aú*, and he has fortunately in his analysis of modern German vowels given us a clear idea of this difference (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 523). Here

au "is a common diphthong in which two kinds of organic sounds "disadvantageously mix; 1° *au* equivalent to the Old High German "*á* in *haus*, 2° equivalent to *ou* in *taub*, *baum*, &c." To this last we would direct attention as identical with our pronunciation of the second portion of *eaw*. "The mixing *u* and *ou* began long ago in "Modern High German; at present the distinction between the two "kinds of *au* is no longer made by the educated classes, and it would "be impracticable, as in some low dialects, to represent the first *au* "as *áu* and the second as *aú*, that is to say *kaum* is a good rhyme "for *baum* and *schaum* for *traum*." Under the head of modern English vowels we find: "The Anglo-Saxon *ó û í* the English of "our day will not express, although *u* in the English middle age "grew to *ou* and thence to *au*." (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 543.)

We must further remark, in order to connect the *û* (*A.S.*) with *eaw*[10] (*S. L.*), that *eo* is one of the most usual changes for the Anglo-Saxon *u* to receive; *lufan* leofan, *clufan* cleofan, *murnan* meornan, *burg* beorg; this radical vowel also sometimes escaped in the opposite direction by the adoption of *y*; *scrud* scrydan, *hunger* hyngrian. "*Ea* (*A.S.*) is every where hard to separate from *eo* (*A.S.*)" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 240.) We experience this in another class of words; *breod* (*A.S.*) bread (*S. L.*), *cheap* (*A.S.*) cheop (*S. L.*) The *eá* of the Anglo Saxon is set down (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 238) as similar to *áu* (Goth.), *au*, *ó*, *ou* (O. H. G.), *au* (Icel.); "the preceding *e* dare I "not accept for an *ë* (springing out of *i*), it appears the weakening "of some other vowel." This is precisely our *e* "mit flüchtig vorgeschlagenem ë" in *beawt* quod literis dicere non est. Our general substitute in modern English for the Saxon *u* is *ou* or *ow*, the representatives of *eo* with the troubled *o* which necessarily attracted the accent and thus adapted itself to the Teutonic inclination of mixing *u* and *ou*.

The fate of words having *u* for their principal vowel is illustrated

[10] "The shibboleth of the three dialects is *house*, which the Northumbrian pro-"nounces *hoose*, the North Anglian *häoose*, nearly like *au* in Italian flauto, and the "inhabitants of South Lancashire in a way quod literis dicere non est, but generally "represented in print by *heawse*." — (*Mr. Garnett, Quar. Rev.*, No. lv. p. 386.)

in *be utan,* be out (*Tooke,* p. 713). "*But* could entirely supply the place of the conjunction *without*" (*ibid.* p. 175), without ab (*A.S.*) *withutan*, extra (*Skinner*). Our *beawt* is sine and not extra; it does not mean externally or beyond, but without applied to deprivation. "*Butan* (*A.S.* sine, præter, extra), in common use, prep. and simple "participle, sometimes written *bute*, whence arises the English *but* "of many significations, *bûta*, Old Fries." (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 263.) "It begun t' be dark on I'r beawt scoance" (*T. B.*) "Aw waitud "o greyt whoile ofore aw cud get oer th' rode tuth Palus beawt bein "run oer" (*R. F.*) Thorpe calls *butan* without, semi-Saxon.

> Ne cymst thu butan aelmyssen on mine gesyhde. — *Exod.* xxiii. 15.
>
> And synd buton leahtre. — *Matt.* xii. 15.
>
> Fortham ge ne magon nan thing don butan me. — *John* xv. 6; so Luke i. 6.
>
> And feolle ase dude Lucifer vor he was bute charge. — *Ancren Riwle*, p. 140; and one bute vere, *ibid.* p. 398; butan leave, *ibid.* p. 238.

Chaucer is quoted by Junius three times as using this word (*Tooke*, vol i. p. 203, Note.)

> But temperance in tene.
> But baite or tiring.
> But mete or drink.

In *Piers Ploughman* we have the Lancashire word, the suffix *en* being removed.

> Al thei blessyng of God
> Beouten thei walken. — *Creed* 1297.
>
> This cote boute seame
> To break yt were shame. — *Chester Plays*, vol. ii. p. 55.
>
> Goe wee worck boute dyne (din). — *Ibid.* p. 47.

But the source of *eaw* will be made manifest in the following list of Anglo Saxon words with their modern English and South Lancashire representatives. *Clut*, clout, cleawt; *druncnian*, drowned, dreawnt; *úre*, our, eawer; *úle*, owl, eawl; *út*, out, eawt; *fúl*, foul,

feaw (ugly); *hu*, how, heaw; *hund*, hound, heawnd; *hus*, house, heawse; *kú*, cow, keaw; *lus*, louse, leawse; *mus*, mouse, meawse; *muth*, mouth, meawth; *nú*, now, neaw; *púnd*, pound, peawnd; *runian*, rouned, reawnt (whispered); *súnd*, soundly, seawndly; *scúfan*, shoved, sheawvt; *súr*, sour, seawer; *scúr*, scour, skeawr; *tún*, town, teawn; *plume*, plumb, pleawm; *rust*, rust, reawst; *sucan*, suck, seawke; *sluma*, slumber, sleawm ("slumerian *A.S.*, slomer "*Old. Eng.*, slumber *Eng.*; also stupere, stupefacere, slumra *Swe.*, "sloom *Eng.*, schlummer, sloomy, träge, sloum *Cum.*; compare the "Old North *slum* n. silentium pudor, *sluma* tacere, vultum et ani- "mum demittere," *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 269). We think our monosyllable is derived from the Old North and not from the Anglo-Saxon dis-syllable; sloum, (*Cr.*), not in *West. and Cumb.*; (sloom, *Wt.* and *Halli.*, as belonging to the North); sloum, slaum, *Old North*, a gentle sleep (*Jn.*); *stupian*, stoop, steawp; *thuma*, thumb, theawm (daum *Ger.*); *thúsend*, thousand, theawsend; *zyllan* (*A.S.*), howl, yeawl. *Deawk*, *teawse* and *cleawds* (duck, touze, clouds), the last of not very certain derivation, are perhaps of late introduction, they are each however with *u* or *ou* as the radical vowel. The word *meawl* (*miauller*), evidently an echo to the sound a cat makes, may be classed with *cuckoo*, *peewit*, *bitter bump*, the Irish designation of a quail, "wet my lips," and the like schallwöreer. *Creawse*, set down as "very loving, lustful," in the old *Tim Bobbin* glossaries. Ray defines *crowse* "brisk, budge, lively, jolly;" "as crowse as a new washen louse."

> A gray haired knight set up his head
> And crackit right crousely. — *Auld Maitland.*
>
> Here at thy friends will crack full crowse. — *Robin Hood and the Potter*, p. 74.

"Evidently connected with *crus*, wrathful (*Havelok* 1966), and "hence perhaps crusty."

> Azeyn hem was he kene and crous. — *Cursor Mundi MS.*, Trin. Col., Cantab.
>
> *Crowse*, sprightly, merry, or alert. — *North.*

Such one thou art as is the little fly
Who is so crowse and gamesome with the flame. — *Drayton, Ecl.* 7; *Nares.*

Spr. How chear my hearts?
1*st Beggar.* Most crowse, most capringly. — *Jovial Crew.*

"*Corrouce* (Fr.) angry; *kroes* (Belg.), *kraus* (Ger.) *krus*, *krusig* "(Swe.), crisp, curled, frizzled. This may be the origin, as our "term conveys the idea of a person assuming a great deal of self-"importance.

Ajax for a his crouseness now
Cud na get out his sword. — *Poem; Buchan Dial.*

"The primary allusion seems to be to a cock who is said to be "crowse when he bristles up his feathers so as to make them appear "as if curled; *krusa* (Dan.), ad orno cincinnum paro" (*Jn.* and supplement). The word perhaps has its lustful meaning in the following passage from the *Chester Plays*, vol. i. p. 51:

Heare are beastes in this howse,
Heare cattes make yt crowsse,
Heare a rotten heare a mousse,
That standeth nighe togeither.

Gras, *grasse*, *graise*, crassus. *Causes grasses*, immodest actions; *paroles grasses*, lascivious speeches; *un gras*, a bawdie tale (*Cotgrave*). We doubt the word in *Tim Bobbin* having this meaning: "Boh has ta nau heard of tat creawse tike Stuart, and clummerheads "Finch?" This hardly justifies a conjecture removing *crowse* from its ordinary signification, and after all *crowse* like *brade* may express anything which a particular action or appearance of the body shows. The *start* or *brade* (sawte or brunt, *Prompt. Par.*; *Q. R.* liv. p. 321). "Eh brad (clapped) me een on im" (*T. B.* p. 50). "On there I'r ill breed ogen" (*ibid.* p. 37), frightened, in which sense it is frequently used by Collier. (See also Diefenbach, vol. i. p. 266, and Jamieson). So *crowse* stands figuratively for pertness, presumption, and is said to be synonimous with *kipper*[11] (*T. B.*), anything for

[11] A term applied to salmon when unfit to be taken, of unknown etymology (*T. J.*) "Go teaw on slaver Seroh o Ratchot's in ye bin so kipper" (*T. B.*)

which a man imitates a bird in ruffling himself. *Seawl*, wet stuff to eat with bread; "An dear is seawl and cheese" (*T. B.*); "buttermilk or whey taken with oaten cake" (*Bam.*) Collier alludes to oat cake in fat or dripping. *Seawl* in Lancashire is now used for a size for silk, made of water and flower; and in the Fylde *sawlin* is the stiffening for warps (*Mr. Raines*). *Sowen* in Scotland is paste used to stiffen yarn; *sowens*, flummery made of the dust of oatmeal remaining among the seeds, steeped and soured; *seawe* (A.S.); *sogh* (Belg.); *suan* (Gallic, *Jn.*); *seawe* (A.S.), juice, moisture, glue (*Somner; Bos.*)

Ceawnty, *ceawnsil*, *meawnt*, *reawnd*, are also exceptional as not being derived from words having *u* for their radical vowel; (comté, conseil, monter, ronde). But we treat the French (and we are great appropriators of their language) very much as we serve the Anglo-Saxon; the Gallic *ou* and the Saxon *ú* are both replaced by *eaw* according to our phonesis; but adopting Grimm's monitory remark, "immer bleibt die gemeine schrift hinter den feinheiten der "laute zurück" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 232, note), and remembering Mr. Garnett's characteristic of this diphthong, *eaw* may be hardly as correct a representation of the sound it would convey as *ou*. The French words which occur to us as thus naturalized in South Lancashire are *bankreawt*, *beawlt*, *creawp*, *creawn*, *deawt*, *keawerser* and *peawr*; banqueroute, boule, croupe, couronne, douter, cours, pouvoir. *Leawp*, loop, lub (*Erse*), and *keawr*, cower; curian (*Welch*), or courber (*Fr.*)

That the South Lancashire *eaw* is oral in its origin and unproduced in writing until Collier set it down is indisputable. The *eaw* of the Anglo-Saxon appears also to be the metathesis of *ae* as in *Caelin* who Bede tells us was called *Ceawlin*. There were other words having this diphthong: *Gleawcester*, Gloucester; *meaw*, a sea-mew; *leawde*, lewd; *heaw*, hue; *ceaw*, chewed; *heawan*, to hew; *deaw*, dew, &c., showing an interchange between *eaw* and *u* and *ou*. Of the first description, the *ae* converted into *ea*, we possess many examples, and which indeed are generally pure English but for the double intonation in which our peasants always rejoice, just as did the

Frieslanders who so amazed Bosworth by the endless nuances they gave words. *Eat*, aet; *feather*, faether; *fear*, faer; *leady*, hlaefdig, &c.; these with us are pronounced with the true doppelter selbst laut, and are never dissyllabic.

The Anglo-Saxons appear to have added the *e* to the Old German *hauen* and *dau*, heawan deaw (*hauen thau*, Modern German); this last is *doegg* (Icel.) and *dagg* (Swe.), whence our South Lancashire *deg*, to wet, to sprinkle water on, and *dagg*, to splash, daggle.

> Wyth theyr heles dagged,
> Their kirtles all to iagged,
> Theyr smockes all to ragged. — *Skelton Elyn. Rum.*, 123.

"I daggyll or I dagge a thyng with myer" (*Pal.*; Lesclar de la langue Fr. 1530, table of verbs); *daggyde* fractillosus (*Prompt. Par.*); "pounsed and dagged clothing" (*Chau.; Parson's Tale*); "jagging or foliating the edge of a garment" (*Way's note in Prompt. Par.* in v., and *Dyce's note*, *Skelton*, vol. ii. p. 163).

We must here break off. Our object is to show that the South Lancashire dialect merits an examination which it has not hitherto received. No one person can do this. A small number were it is true employed by Sully to inform him of the events of his own life, but a crowd are invoked by Grimm and Dr. Trench to render complete a work of lexicography. Our diphthongs comprise almost every possible vowel combination, and we have only here briefly noticed one. Our words scattered through districts and used by a population, yet held marvellously together amongst immigrants twentyfold their number, require collection. Collier's diligent accumulation a century ago is invaluable, but the very glossary which accompanies his book shows that his verbal knowledge was defective. Grimm (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 222) says that it yet remains to explain Anglo-Saxon to enquire closely into the play (spielarten) of dialects which must be gathered with a reference to place and time, and this can only be done in England. We are satisfied there is no speech so original and so important to the end thus proposed as our own neglected South Lancashire patois.

ON THE

SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

PART II.

OF "TIM BOBBIN" AND ITS

AUTHOR.

PART II.

A CENTURY has passed since Collier remarked that commerce, intercourse with strangers and education were lessening the purity of our vernacular. These causes have since been in increasing operation, and though the genuine patois may still be discriminated amidst the Babel of tongues with which it is intermixed, yet the speech of earlier times is most valuable to the philologist.

Mr. Halliwell in the preface to his *Dictionary* refers to two ancient specimens of the Lancashire dialect. The first (*Lansd. MSS.* 560, fo. 45, circ. 1440) consists of Latin hexameters to facilitate the acquiring of nouns, with an English translation which we see no reason to claim as ours. *Bely*, *follis*, is our ballis, doris (hostia, for the aspirates are here misplaced), with us *dur*, *hows heawse*, *hale ele*, *nayl nele*, &c. The second is a letter (or speech?) in Braithwaite's *Lancashire Lovers*, and is a very meagre specimen and only connected with our tongue as containing the verbs *han* and *don*.

Although the interesting collection of words and letters accumulated by Mr. Harland, (Notes to *Shuttleworth Accounts*, part iii. p. 751,) might belong at the period they were used to any part of the island, yet they contain much which it is important to our enquiry to examine. For the writers of these Accounts lived before conventionalism had bound speech in its rigid and enduring fetters, when orthoepy and orthography were supposed to be unfixed and subject to constant mutation.

> Our sons their fathers' falling language see,
> And such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be. — *Pope.*

Thus the great Anglo-Saxon diphthong *ae* (*aec*, *eac*, *an oak*, *ae*, *ea*, *water*) still retained its versatility; *faythur*, *feathur*, *maystur*, *meastur*, *waytur*, *weatur*; *a* was changed into *o* or *e*; *d*, *t* and *th* replaced each other; *r* before or after a vowel suffered metathesis; *an* attached the second letter to the following noun, as in *Tim Bobbin*; *a nominy*, *a noon* (*oon*, oven), *a nawstler*, *a neeom* and *neeam*, *a noant*, *a noger* (auger), *nown*, &c. These and many other lingual anomalies once universal are now perpetuated orally in South Lancashire, and their value is in exhibiting the English language as it worked its way to its present excellence.

The *Shuttleworth Accounts* are not however kept in *Tim Bobbin's* dialect. *Bowlton*, *cowlt*, *stoullen*, *foulk* savor of Scottish; with us they are spelt *Bowtun*, &c., omitting the *l* and *fok*. *Here*, *peper*, *cunstablye*, *outtes*, *clode*, *fool* (fowl), *lewe*, *brekefast*, *dower*, *louppe*, *mane*, *lade*, *fee*, *rowme*, *ayther*, would not do service in the Salford hundred for *hure*, *papper*, *cunstable*, *whoats*, *cleawd*, *feawl*, *lawm*, *breckfust*, *dur*, *leawp*, *mon*, *lad*, *fey*, *reawm*, *oather*. The want of *eaw* in the *Shuttleworth MSS.* is sufficient to show that they were not concocted by the countrymen of *Tim Bobbin*, and *oy* or *oi* is also not there.

Of this diphthong, which Dr. Latham (*Gram.* vol. i. p. 381) assigns to Cheshire, Halifax and East Anglia, we have several examples in Collier. *Choynge*, *cloyse*, *droy*, *droyve*, *foyer*, *groyn*, *hoyde*, *hoyse*, *loyt*, *loyse*, *oytch*, *sloytch*, *moider*. *Oi*, *loike*, *troy*, *whoyle*, *quoite*, &c. are in more recent local books. In the North this diphthong seems confined to South Lancashire and its immediate neighbourhood, and generally represents *u* or its substitutes *i* or *y*. *Oi*, *oy* is neither Teutonic (ein undeutscher diphth. welcher nur in romanischen wörten beibehalten, *D. G.* vol. i. p. 354) nor Scandinavian, and seems with us taken from the Norman. It is unknown to the Craven and Westmoreland and Cumberland tongues.

We are unable to find an earlier or a better example of the South Lancashire vernacular than that which John Collier of Milnrow has left us. A hundred and twenty years have passed since the materials for *Tim Bobbin* were begun to be gathered, and the author and

his circumstances were singularly adapted for the compilation of such a book.

The Rev. John Collier the father of the author of *Tim Bobbin* was descended from a race of small landholders[12] at Newton in

[12] The CHETHAM SOCIETY are indebted to the Rev. Canon Raines for the following valuable account of the Collier family. It is for the most part in the handwriting of John Collier of Milnrow, and is transcribed from his family Bible, 4to, 1610. On the titlepage is written "John Collier, 1729. The first ed. of the Bible was printed by one Fust, A.D. 1462."

Robert Collier, descended from the Colliers of Chowbent, Lancashire, married an heiress, named Harrison of Harrison Fold in Newton, Mottram parish, in Cheshire. His son,

John Collier, (commonly called "the cavalier,") married one of the family of Beeley. His son,

Nathan Collier, of Harrison Fold aforesaid, married the daughter of one Shaw of Slackwait in the county of York, yeoman. He had two sons, of whom Nathan ob. April 5th, 1763, and

John Collier, curate of Hollins Green in Warrington, died at Newton, Mottram, 1739, married Mary Cook of . . . . . in the parish of Winwick. She died at Hollins Green about 1726. They had issue Robert, Mary, Hannah, Elizabeth, Sarah, Nathan, John, Benjamin and Joseph. Mary died at Salford April 11th, 1735; Benjamin died at Worcester 1735; Robert died in London 31st December 1749; Nathan died in London some few years before Robert; Sally died October 22nd, 1760; Hannah died 1770; Elizabeth died January 1st, 1772; Joseph died in London, the time uncertain.

John, son of John Collier, clerk, born in Urmston January 18th, 1708. (There is a certificate from the Flixton Register appended, making it January 6th; and Mr. Waugh, who copied from the Register, has another date, — probably written in forgetfulness that the old style was then used). He married Mary Clay of Flockton in the county of York, April 1st, 1744. He had with her some fortune. Their children were:

1. John, born February 24th 1744–5, died 1815; married twice, first Elizabeth Rankin of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and had two daughters; and secondly Elizabeth Howard (alias Forster) of Rochdale, and had issue an only son Edward, whose son John is now living.

2. Thomas Collier, ob. s.p.

3. Charles, the portrait painter, born 1749, married Mrs. Singleton, died s.p. circ. 1816.

Sally, born 1751, married twice, died s.p.

Nancy, born 1755, married Mr. James Clegg of Milnrow, by whom she had issue three sons and two daughters, who all died unmarried except Mary, the wife of Mr. John Clegg of Rochdale, and the mother of Mr. James Clegg now of Milnrow.

Betty, born 1760, married twice, first Charles Milne of Milnrow; they had a son and two daughters; the elder married to James Brearley of Milnrow, the other to William Whitworth of Rochdale. By her second marriage, with Chadwick, she had one daughter, and died at Milnrow February 1843.

Mottram, Cheshire, and appears to have been the younger of two sons. His elder brother long surviving him we may conclude John was left to provide for himself as best he might. He was born 1682, and styles himself minister of Stretford[12a] in 1706, being licensed to Eccles school in the same year. This school was neither free nor then endowed (*Notitia Cest.* vol. ii. part i. p. 53). Stretford chapel depended almost entirely on a voluntary contribution of ten pounds per annum (*Ibid.* p. 95). Collier resided at Urmston, and had also a small school there. In 1709 he is styled curate of Eccles. There is no certainty as to the period when he was ordained deacon. In 1716 John Collier a literate was admitted to perform or discharge the office of deacon at Hollinfare (Hollins Green), "ad peragendum officium Diaconi" (Gastrell's *Register*). In 1722 he became partially blind.[12b] In June, 1725, with many others he was compelled to take priest's orders at Chester. His wife died at Hollins Green 1726, and the poor curate and schoolmaster withdrew from a world that had not smiled upon him in 1739 at Newton in Mottram.

John Collier, the third son of the above, was born in 1708 at Urmston,[13] and thus speaks of his youth: "He's Lancashire born. "In the reign of Queen Anne he was a boy and one of the nine chil- "dren of a poor curate in Lancashire, whose stipend never amounted "to thirty pounds a year, and consequently the family must feel the "iron teeth of penury with a witness. These indeed were some times "blunted by the charitable disposition of the good rector[14] the Rev. "Mr. Haddon of Warrington." Hollinfare was in his parish; he was rector from 1723 to 1767. "So this Tim Bobbin lived as "some other boys did, content with water porridge, buttermilk and "jannock till he was between thirteen and fourteen years of age,

[12a] Register Book at Stretford.

[12b] "Probably the sight of one eye only was affected, and this seems to be perpetu- "ated in a portrait of him in the possession of Mr. James Clegg of Milnrow, in a blue "coat and scratch wig, sitting in a large chair, and reading a book, which he holds "at a distance with both hands. He has an acute expression, and apparently aged "about 50."—R.

[13] *Birthplace of Tim Bobbin*, by Mr. Waugh, 1858.

[14] "From a memorial in his own handwriting."— *Tim Bobbin*, Westall's ed. 1819. For Haddon, see *Byrom's Remains*, vol. i. p. 45.

"when Providence began to smile upon him in his advancement to "a pair of Dutch looms, when he met with treacle to his pottage, "and sometimes a little for his buttermilk. However, the recollec- "tion of his father's former circumstances (which now and then "start up and still edge his teeth), make him believe that pluralities "are no good," &c. — (Dedication of the *Book of Heads.*)

The father estimating highly his son John's talents endeavoured to bring him up to the Church, but when afflicted with blindness the elder Collier, being about forty years old, sent the boy to a trade. "Went prentice in May 1722 to one Johnson a Dutch loom weaver "on Newton Moor in the parish of Mottram, but hating slavery "in all shapes, I by divine Providence, vailing my skull cap to the "mitres in November 1727, commenced schoolmaster at Milnrow."[15] He styled himself for many years after he had abandoned the loom, his apprenticeship to which only lasted twelve months, "Tim Bobbin, "Fellow of the Sisyphian Society of Dutch Loom Weavers."[16]

Having thus emancipated himself from everything but the necessity of obtaining food, clothing and lodging, John Collier entered upon his wild career. "Though then very young (fifteen years old) "he soon commenced itinerant schoolmaster, going about the coun- "try from one small town to another to teach reading, writing and "accounts." (*T.*[17]) Being at Oldham he heard that Mr. Pearson, curate and schoolmaster at Milnrow, wanted an assistant in the school, and after a short examination he was admitted as sub-master, and equally divided the salary of twenty pounds with the other.

[15] *Tim Bobbin*, 1819.

[16] The allusion to Sisyphus justifies the silence as to this loom in the common Histories of the Cotton Manufacture. "The Dutch loom was brought to England by "some Flemish artizans in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and their principal "settlement was at Bolton-le-Moors." Those who adopted them had an advantage over the old English loom. "The shuttle was thrown, and caught by the hands of "the weaver, and the Dutch looms continued to be popular until the invention of "Kay's fly-shuttle, for which there was a patent 1733."—(*R.*)

[17] T., for Colonel Townley of Belfield, son of Richard Townley, mercer, of Rochdale, and steward for Mr. Alexander Butterworth of Belfield. This last gentleman died, aged eighty-eight, in 1728, and left his property, having no relations, to his steward, who was succeeded by Richard Townley his son and Tim Bobbin's friend.

As this school, with the exception of an interval of some months was served or professedly served by Collier from 1729 to 1786, some knowledge of it is essential to his biography.

"The free school at Milnrow was built by Richard Townley of "Rochdale, mercer, in 1724, and endowed by deed 18th August "1726 by Alexander Butterworth of Belfield Esq. with £20 per "annum, the nomination of a master being reserved to the owner "of Belfield Hall for the time being. The first master appointed "was the Rev. Robert Pearson B.A. incumbent of Milnrow, who "was a not very reputable agent of Townley, and who probably "never taught the scholars, but divided the salary between himself "and one Richard Hill and others," (John Collier in his turn), "who passed as ushers to Pearson though put in by Townley." (*Chancery Proc.* 22 Jan. 1735; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xiii. p. 288, *R.*) Pearson the incumbent was an intelligent person, brother to the Rev. John Pearson rector of Eccleston. He was a frequenter of taverns, a bachelor, and lived in lodgings in Rochdale with Townley's brother-in-law. Why the family of Townley instituted a school to be thus supported we cannot now ascertain; it looks like

The wife of Townley the draper was a daughter of William Greaves of Gartside Hall near Rochdale, a superior yeoman. He had a son William Greaves, whose rise in life was not less remarkable than that of his relatives the Townleys. He was born in 1699 and died 10th March, 1787.—(*Gent. Mag.* vol. lvii. p. 277.) He was steward for Trinity College, Cambridge, and commissary of the University and fellow of Clare Hall. He purchased Fulbourne (Cambridge) in 1742 (Lyson's *Cambr.*), and through his wife became possessed of considerable Norfolk property, finally adding "Beaupré Bell" to his name on that account. He educated Colonel Townley carefully, having no children of his own, but the nephew turning out an extravagant person he left his property to his great-nephew, the colonel's son, the father of the late member for Cambridgeshire. For William Greaves, see *Byrom's Remains*, vol. i. p. 339. He figures in the Bentley period. Colonel Townley was a learned and intelligent person, and his friendship for Collier, like that of Haddon for the curate at Hollinfare, affords a different testimony to the qualities of father and son than we otherwise obtain. Townley liked Collier and his predecessor at the school, Pearson, probably because they, like himself, sought the punch and tobacco of the neighbouring taverns; both were clever and entertaining men, and neither had that education which enabled him to assume a superiority over his patron. Townley died in 1802.

a stratagem for procuring influence over Butterworth. The teaching did not go beyond reading, writing, and the elementary parts of arithmetic. The real duty seems to have been to be agreeable to the patron at Belfield Hall. Collier twice tells us that he began his Milnrow career in 1729, but he did not until 1742 "vail his scull cap to the mitres," that is, procure his licence from the Bishop. Pearson died in 1739, and the twenty pounds a year then passed to the usher. We have no account of Collier's life from 1723 to 1739. Some amatory effusions of this date are printed; in one, April 1736, the signature "Tim" occurs, and "Tim Bobbin" is appended to the dedication of "The Blackbird," 1739, a satire on Justice Edward Chetham of Castleton, a barrister and wealthy neighbour. Through life Collier overlooked the facility with which his own proceedings might be attacked. Political justices and self-indulgent pluralists may be social nuisances, but careless pedagogues are still greater. Teaching and roaming filled up the measure of Collier's bachelor days. Corry calls these the happiest years of his life, and in them he betrayed great qualities; for with no ostensible advantages, and indeed surrounded with difficulties, he acquired a knowledge of drawing, music, painting, modelling, and etching, which however imperfect is truly wonderful when we remember the circumstances under which they were attained. If Hogarth's discipline in art, gained in London from a cutter of heraldic devices, is matter of surprise, what must be thought of a person who endeavoured to become an artist in the wildest parts of Lancashire in the eighteenth century? Townley says of Collier: "He drew landscapes in good taste, understanding "the rules of perspective, and attempted some heads in profile with "very decent success." These he abandoned for caricature. Like Teniers and Jan Steen, Collier attempted sacred subjects. "At Shaw "chapel on each side of the east window are still large figures of "Moses and Aaron painted in oils on board by him, and at Milnrow a figure of an angel with a trumpet in his mouth, and holding "a scroll in one hand on which the psalm was announced from the "singing loft" (*R.*) He was also a carriage and sign painter, and the drinking rooms and stairs of public houses, even to Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, were adorned by his works. His sons, in default of higher employment, were house painters occasionally, and so probably was the father. "He was ingenious as a sculptor, and I have "seen one or two figures cut by him in ivory" (*R.*). Like Hogarth, whom he imitated, Collier finally adopted etching, and finding it the most profitable art, surrendered to it his other pursuits. Notwithstanding the humour which he could not fail to throw into every thing he produced, and though South Lancashire (before it had Art Treasures exhibitions) diligently patronised its native painter, yet Collier's pictorial works are really below criticism. His object is buffoonery, and even this he had never sufficient knowledge of drawing and painting to set forth. He strained after expression and became barbarous and grotesque. There is not a ray of taste in any thing we ever saw of his doing. He both took and copied portraits one an autograph effigy of himself, swung over the Milnrow inn after 1770, and is engraved as the frontispiece of *The Human Passions Delineated.* In 1774 amongst other pictures Collier wishes to send to London "the head of the chamelion, Dr. Shebbeare,[18] the best "head I ever painted."

It is evident that from an early period our dialect had become the study of Collier. He collected the materials of *Tim Bobbin* in the "pot houses" in which so much of his life was passed, and where (as with Hogarth) a broken head or a drunken fight furnished welcome additions to his note book and portfolio. Not that Collier philosophically observed the gradual elimination of character under intoxication; he rather acted the part of Goldsmith's squire at "The Three Jolly Pigeons," and hence the truthfulness of the descriptions in *Tim Bobbin.* An oral language cannot be collected by the means by which Jacob Grimm and Dr. Trench propose to replenish our Dictionaries. The books in which dialects exist are living men, and there never will again be found so inveterate a rambler, so great a lover of mixing with his species, or one so capable of turning all he

[18] For Shebbeare, see Lord Stanhope's *History of England*, 1763, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1758–9 and 1777.

saw and heard to profit, as Collier; and he further prepared himself by reading for his task. Dr. Whitaker somewhere says he was a good Saxon scholar. It was not possible for one of Collier's temperament and habits to deserve such an eulogium, but he evidently read for his work on the dialect. We find him possessed of "several Saxon collections with English versions," "Somner's Vocabulary," "Chaucer,"[19] "The Scotch Glossary," "Gawain Douglas' Virgil," &c. The Glossary to *Tim Bobbin* is even in this day a very creditable work, witness the use made of it by Jamieson, Carr, and others.

In 1739 Collier succeeded to the school at Milnrow. Twelve pupils were taught gratis, the rest were paid for. He did much of his work by deputy; the assistant, Thomas Belfield, "a man of humble powers," he designated his curate; and thus ensuring to himself money and leisure, he felt at liberty to advance his fortunes by those methods most congenial to his instincts. He was the lively

[19] Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* he acquired in 1769. It was a Caxton, and is noticed in a letter to Henry Whitaker of Manchester November 26th, 1770: "The "two Whitakers were brothers from Rossendale; one of whom, Henry, was a school-"master at Manchester, and the other, Robert, a land surveyor and steward to Colonel "Townley." — (*R.*) Collier occasionally assisted the latter, and both were his constant friends. "I have found out the true worth of a book I purchased the last year. "I knew it to be a valuable curiosity, but now I find it much more so; it is Chaucer's "*Canterbury Tales*; and I take it to be the fourth or fifth book that ever was printed "in England." — (Westall's ed. of *Tim Bobbin*, 1819, p. 366.) He adds: "There are "but two copies besides mine known to be in England, and these imperfect, and so is "this of mine, for I think it wants two leaves at the beginning." He supplied these in his own perfect method, being admirably skilled in copying types. The book passed into the hands of his descendant, Charles Collier, who lent it to various persons, and amongst others to one who sold it for a large sum to Earl Spencer. The family of Collier hearing rumours of this sale applied to the borrower for the book, who thus wrote 14th July, 1815: "It is reported that I have sold that imperfect book I bought "of Charles Collier for a deal of money. I deny the report. I have neither sold it "nor yet given it to anybody; but I will confess this, that I have lent the book to a "gentleman for a few months. It contains 276 leaves or 552 pages, and very imper-"fect for all that. One was sold at Mr. Evan's sale in London, 12th May, by auction, "for the large sum of £48, or guineas, but in good preservation." On application being made to Lord Spencer, and stating that the book had been borrowed and sold without the knowledge of the owner, and requesting to know the sum given for it, Lord Spencer sent £5, adding that he kept no account of the sums given for books. — (*R.*)

suitor in verse and prose of the neighbouring damsels. He presided over the symposia in the Roebuck at Rochdale, the Falcon at Littleborough, and the alehouse at Milnrow. He wrote satirical verses, but when he made the fruits of his brain first profitable for money we are not informed.

On the 1st of April 1744, John Collier married at Helmsley, Mary Clay of Flockton near Wakefield, he being thirty-six she twenty-one years old. She was possessed of some property, and her father bought and gave the young couple the house in which they resided at Milnrow. A more ill-assorted match could apparently hardly have been made; yet we believe, owing to Mrs. Collier's good sense, it was less unhappy than might have been expected. The husband was neither unkind nor absolutely careless of the obligations imposed upon him, provided he might discharge them after his own fashion. His duties and affections were squared to his habits, and he certainly kept clear of the disgraceful family jars which darken the career of his idol and contemporary, the profligate Churchill.

Mr. Townley describes Mrs. Collier as a "virtuous, discreet, sen-"sible and prudent woman, a good wife and an excellent mother." We suspect her greatest praise is here omitted, and that she was a sincere Christian, and married to a person who represented Whitfield and the Devil singing psalms in one of his pictures. Mary Clay had been brought up at Ledstone by the pious Lady Elizabeth Hastings, and after the death of that memorable person she passed some time in London with her aunt, Mrs. Pitt, who was married to an officer of the Tower, and being on a visit to another aunt, Mrs. Butterworth at Milnrow, there encountered her future husband. Corry says (*T. B.* edit. 1819) that "Collier devoted so much of his "wife's fortune to large potations that it was soon dissipated." We trust this is not true, and no authority is given. "He then became "sober and led a more regular life, which made Mrs. Collier aver "she was glad when the money was all gone." We find this excellent person offering her gentle protest against her husband's excesses, yet maintaining his respect and affection. We gather this inci-

dentally: "And thinking I had enough went home almost as sober as you could wish me;" "I got to bed pretty soon, but not drunk, Madam, as I fancy I hear you think;" "I went, or if you please, Madam, staggered to bed;" are passages in a letter addressed to Mrs. Collier when the writer was seventy-three years old. The habit of drinking was held much less revolting then than now. When the wife in Collier's *Quack Doctor* complains that her helpmate "from morning till night is eternally in the alehouse," he replies: "Its genteel, the Squire does the same." Amongst Mrs. Collier's friends was the wealthy widow Mrs. Hardman of Allerton near Liverpool, who died in 1795, aged ninety-three. The influence exercised by Mrs. Collier, amidst so much that would give it the intensity surrounding darkness gives to light, must have been felt in her domestic circle. One of her children, Mrs. Chadwick, who died at an extreme age in 1843, maintained to the last the character of a sensible and pious person; and perhaps if others of her daughters had been known to the present time, we might here record the happiness they derived from their mother's principles.

On the 12th of June 1751 Collier went as bookkeeper to Mr. Hill of Kebroyd near Halifax, removing with his family, and here he remained seven months, and thus speaks (5th Jan. 1752) of his escape from the regular service and high pay of that place: "I'm upon the "eve of being John Duke of Milnrow again, for my rib with my bag "and baggage are gone over the hills into merry Lancashire, and "twelve teams of devils shall not bring them hither again." He regarded this Yorkshire service as a transformation "from being a little monarch into a kind of slave." His constant friend Mr. Townley reinstated him in the school, and perhaps a more unfit person for such a duty could hardly have been chosen.

Collier thus rejecting affluence, applied himself vigorously to his own methods of supporting himself. In April 1758 we find him at Chester. "I paint sometimes at Mr. Brown's a coachmaker here" (*W.*[20] p. 292). In November 1755 he was a candidate with two

[20] *W.* for Westall's edition of *Tim Bobbin*, with many original letters. Rochdale, 1819.

others for the place of organist in Rochdale church. "That as I am "undoubtedly the worst player of the three, for which reason I stand "the best chance, I desire all justices to give me their votes and in-"terest in procuring the snug convenience of twenty pounds a year." He was we suppose utterly unqualified to play the organ, for he proposed doing the work by deputy (*W.* p. 294).

His friend Henry Whitaker writes to him (1st April 1758): "I "don't like your being so often on the wing, for should the lamp of "life be wafted out in some unguarded hour or some unpremeditated "adventure, in vain may Tim's family and friends puff and blow at "the dying spark." They had evidently been in a carouse together and parted drunk. Collier replies: "You say you got well home; "so did I, only 'twas the day after. So pray, sir, banish all care on "this account, and remember 'drunken fok ar' sed'n hurt,' and that "'nowt's neer eh dawnger.' Perhaps you'll say, These are but poor "bandages to wrap a broken leg or arm, too weak to pull in a dislo-"cated neck, and too airy to maintain a widow and seven children. "True, sir; but they'll do at present, and in future I don't intend to "want 'em. You talk something of the lamp of life being wafted "out; but what the pox, must not I trim my lamp now and then "for fear of snuffing it out? . . . Indeed I start at the loss my friends "will have should I break my neck — hold, no, most of 'em will "bear up under such a dismal misfortune; and I think all of them "together (by clubbing) will take care (should I neglect it) to see "my epitaph cut on the stone I have by me, and then let the rest I "leave behind me piddle for shives" (trifle for chips). He concludes: "Tell me whether Chetham of Castleton, or John Grime at Collyhurst "who works on twelve or fourteen pence a day, is the happier man? "For my part I know what it is to want breakfast, dinner and sup-"per all of one day, and perhaps but one meal the next, and I know "how to live as well as any gent. in the north, and yet hang Tim if "he does not think the scale with poverty in it draws." (*R.*) This was a piece of self-deception:

Me silva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis, tenui solabitur ervo — *Hor.*

was no sentiment of Collier's; rather he would have said, if he knew himself:

> Aspernarer ego mundum,
> Nisi mundus me jucundum
> Bonis sociis, radiis vitae
> Sociali tinctis siti
> Celebraret. — *Barnabae Itin.*

He had followed a rambling dissipated life until the impulse to secure its existence grew as irresistible as we are told the cravings of hunger are to the mole. Thus overpowered we must not be surprised to find the spendthrift and the sordid person united.[21] The accounts Collier kept are very intelligible and minute. His handwriting was extremely good when he chose to make it so. He had great flexibility both with pen and pencil, and also with the diamond in drawing on glass. Had he been allowed the advantages of proper training and a familiarity with good models, his head was capable and his hand dexterous, and he might have been an artist. Amidst his reckonings he could not resist jotting down an occasional thought like the following:

> What greater plagues or what can happen worse,
> Than being cramp'd in body, mind, and purse.

There are also memoranda for the Lancashire dialect fenced in with figures:

> Het is not explained in the Lancashire dialect,
> Raise a reek like a bracken burner.

His profusion he justified as being calculated. In 1773 he thus replies to a covert attack on his extravagance made by his son Charles: "I observe what you say on an extravagant way of living, which I "hope you will not practise so much as I have done, tho' all my "acquaintance agree that I had never gained one half of the friends "and money I have done if I had been of a penurious disposition."

[21] Alieni appetens sui profusus — *Sal.*

(*R.*) There is no question that he regarded taverns and convivial meetings as opportunities for the sale of his books, pictures and prints, which he was always pressing.

The account book of 1773 gives us an insight into the resources and manner of living of our Lancashire humorist. He seems in constant movement. Some of his works were disposed of in the way of barter. "Delivered a book" (of prints) "to coz. John Hulm, to have a hat for it." "Exchanged a book of *Human Passions* for 3 lb. of thread at 3/ ℔ lb.; blue tape ½d. ℔ y^{d}; tape 1d. a knot; a gross of laces." "Left at coz. John Ogden's 3 books, one half-bound, 2 stitched, the half-bound one to have a hat for it or nothing." "Paid Jas. Kenyon a book for a wig." The greater part of his wares were packed in his wallet, and borne by himself or forwarded by carrier to meet him in the towns. Sometimes he is repulsed, thus at Eccleston Hall he enters: "Called, bad come to call again — mum." "Sold Mr. Hanson a book for 16/ (bad guinea.)"

In 1773 Collier's *Human Passions Delineated* are stated in the proposals to be "designed in the Hogarthian taste, very useful for young practitioners in drawing"(!) Hogarth's unfortunate expedients for selling his pictures were also imitated. "Roebuck, Roch-"dale, September 4, 1777. Proposals of raffling by subscription for "the most capital picture of Tim Bobbin's painting. The hopes "of the family. Conditions: That there be fourteen subscribers "at five shillings each. The dice two, and at the most at three "throws win the picture. The winner to spend four shillings, and "the painter other four amongst the subscribers present. If any "dispute arise, to be determined by a majority. He who cannot "attend may substitute another to throw for him, which will be as "soon as the number is complete, and the money to be paid before "the dice are thrown." Three subscribers' names follow, Colonel Townley, Collier's constant friend, Captain Dawson and James Holland attorney. (*R.*) Hogarth's failure in defending his copyrights in the action against Jeffereys might be supposed to have induced Collier to protect himself under a like wrong rather than try Acts of Parliament and Courts. He early was curious about

"one Bunbury," and copied his works, although the publics for which these two artists laboured were widely separated.

The sums of money Collier raised by his various expedients were large. There are 323 subscribers at fifteen shillings each to the *Delineation of the Human Passions.* Amongst these are Mr. Egerton of Oulton, who gave a guinea. Mr. Parker of Cuerden took five copies, and Mr. Hulton of Hulton three. Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir Harbord Harbord, with Messrs. Ashton Lever, Dorning Rasbotham, Gilbert (Worsley), Pickford (Royton), Radclyffe (Foxdenton), Gregge (Chamber Hall), Holland Ackers, Henry (apothecary), Gore Booth, Nathaniel Milne, Richard Fox, and Mrs. Aytoun (Manchester) are patrons. At Halifax he had many friends. Collier was full of confidence as to the prospective success of his etchings. "If anything happen me," he writes to his son Charles, in August 1773: "I hope my Book of Heads will bring "your mother forty pounds or fifty pounds per annum, and expect "they will be little fortunes for your sisters when your mother and "me are no more." The prints of "the Pluralist" for some years previously to 1773 were very popular, and sold at ninepence each. Here Collier's most intense feelings were engaged, for he, no doubt, was satisfied his father would have had a better chance had one living been apportioned to each clergyman.

In 1762 (*W.* p. 321) Collier's paintings were required for the West Indies, and he also exchanged them for wine. But his great attention to money matters is nowhere more decidedly evinced than in the two negotiations for the marriages of his sons, John in 1768, Charles in 1773. Of the first he writes (*W.* p. 357): "The lad's "smitten with no beauty and with no great fortune, I believe it will "be £400." There appears to be nothing on the son's side, and he received the money unconditionally. "Here I have shewn, I "think for the first time, my worldly-mindedness, and made, in a "love affair, an arrant bargain." (*W.* p. 361.) The second had been chosen by a Roman Catholic, the widow of a contractor for horses for government, aged forty-eight, he being twenty-two and a Protestant. He writes at Kendal, August 11th 1773: "Will ma-

"trimony admit of a strict examination with my mother and you, "with regard to one that is twice the age of me? 'tis without doubt "she likes me, and I admire her money; she has £100 per annum "and a well furnished house, and she is endued with judiciousness, "but one would not imagine she was by fixing on me. . . . . I have "meditated long upon this affair, and I really think now that her "good sense and fortune is an adequate recompense for the deficiency "of youth and beauty; pray consider of it. I am in no hurry, but if "it is to be I wish it over." The father states the communication is very welcome to him, that he has known youth and beauty add much misery to married life, and has "heard several wish they had "married meer dowdies." "If the object you point at be but about "forty-eight, a good-natured and sensible woman, I give my hearty "consent." He then urges his son as soon as he is able to lend him one hundred pounds. "But hark you, dear Charles, you do not say "where or in what her estate consists. Have you seen the title-"deeds? or what debts are owing? whether married before? if so, "what children she has? whether the estate goes not from her on "marrying again? whether in any business? whether the estate goes "from you on her decease?"

There is an interesting letter of Collier's to Monsieur Delacour, a painter at Edinburgh, January 13th 1760 (*W.* p. 305). They had met four year before at Chester. Vaudermijn, Pickering, Bowcock, Jones and Gallino were then the portrait painters in this part of the country, and were friends of Collier's. Astley the painter had arrived at Chester, and his appearance created a profound sensation. His large portrait of himself once at Dukinfield exhibits him as a handsome person, and an artist of a class almost beyond the comprehension of Collier and his friends. "Mr. Astley from London "has been some time at Chester and the adjacent towns. Report "says he is a very handsome and polite gentleman, of about £200 a "year; he dresses gay, keeps a chariot and livery man, and will not "touch the canvas under eight guineas a head." Astley was a good artist, and the pay here designated by no means extravagant. He is best known in Cheshire from having at this visit, and Collier chroni-

cles the affair, obtained the hand of Lady Daniel Dukenfield (Penelope Vernon of Hilton, Staffordshire), who had been since 1758 the widow of Sir William Daniel Duckinfield, in whom two large and ancient families were centred, the Daniels of Tabley and the Duckinfields of Duckinfield. There was a daughter who soon after this marriage died, and the mother following, Astley married again and conveyed these large estates to strangers. In this letter Collier speaks thus disparagingly of his own art: "I follow my old trade "of boggart painting, and find fools enough to buy them as fast as I "can paint them; and often thank God he did not create man-"kind without a large number of fools in the species, and that so very "few of them understand painting. I live very well; I keep a horse "of my own, and neither borrow saddle nor bridle, and in summer "ride three or four times a week to the bowling green at Rochdale. "I have a cow, also a pig, two ducks and a cat. In the name of "St. Luke what would a painter have more?" (*W.* p. 308).

In March 1765 Collier entertained the idea of getting into the Church and filling the curacy of Unsworth (*W.* p. 234). It was a monstrous intention in one who in so many places has shown that he lightly held the principles of Christianity, and especially in the letter to Mrs. Collier, September 10th 1780 (*W.* p. 386). In December 1766 he rode to York with his son John (*W.* p. 338). In December 1767 (the time chosen for these long rides was not the best) he set off to Newcastle-upon-Tyne where his sons John and Charles were. "I got into York in good time. The person I would first "speak to was my friend Mr. Atkinson, who (excuse vanity) jumped "for joy on seeing me. He conducted me to a good inn, sent billets "or cards immediately to such as would be agreeable company to us, "and ordered supper at my inn. There were present His Grace the "Duke of Milnrow, my friend Atkinson carver and projector, Mons. "Boutalts a good history and portrait painter a Fleming, Mr. Rus-"sell writing master, Mr. Hindley a noted mechanic and clock "maker, and a merry captain. These were a set of the best natured "mortals I ever passed an hour with since my name was Tim. I "need not tell you how we spent the evening; but happening to

"show them my *Battle of the Flying Dragon* they made me read it "twice that night and once the next morning. We parted about "twelve, all merry but sober; (tell this to my crooked rib as a won- "der)." It was not frequently that Collier's festivities had so justifiable a character.

Thus jesting, drinking, painting, and etching, the inevitable hour approached. There was directing the fate of his sons and especially the eldest, a Nemesis engendered in the father's irregular life. These sons on being emancipated from paternal supervision, as Collier tells us, sold all their Milnrow garments: "Charles has got a pink bloom "suit dyed in grain of twenty shillings a yard. John has several "suits of fine black cloth of the same price, and both laugh at my "church going suit of three and sixpence a yard" (*W.* p. 395). The appearance, dress, and manner of these young men were above their station in life. The origin of John's (the eldest) misfortunes was politics, and warring with government and the corporation of Newcastle. He wrote prose and verse, exciting himself to the utmost; lost his wife and sought retirement in Lancashire; made a second and unfortunate marriage there; treated his wife brutally; joined in politics again, carried pistols and fired at the editor of a newspaper. He was deemed insane, and closed his life in a lunatic asylum in 1815.

Thomas the second son was at first apprentice with John at Newcastle, but quarrelled and left him. In 1768 he was in London, and was employed by George Alexander Stevens, whose *Lectures on Heads* are well known. Thomas had a natural son, an auctioneer in Rochdale, who published an edition of Tim Bobbin's *Human Passions Delineated*, 1809.

Of Charles's marriage we have already spoken. He too was apprentice with John at Newcastle, but settled as a portrait painter at Kendal in 1772. He was a fine looking man, but eccentric and extravagant.

The last letter we have seen of John Collier (*T. B.*) is written in a tremulous hand, and is addressed 2nd November 1783 to his son:

"Things remain as you left 'em. Bet is gone to house in part of

"ours. They are all well but your poor mother; she is something "better, but not much. Rich. and Sal. drive on, but my old peepers "cannot pierce far into futurity. I have painted a good deal of "things since you left us, sold some, and drink punch betimes still "as customers come in. Make sure to keep sober, which is more "than he cou'd do who is, dear Charles, your loving Father."

In his religion Collier was altogether unsound, and in his politics a hater of kings. The two absurd couplets here given were found in one of his pocket books, to be, we suppose, enjoyed in secret.

> I hate all k — s and the rogues who wait on 'em,
> Knaves swarm so at court, and flattery's so common.

To these misfortunes of royalty, if it really is so afflicted, Collier could only give a testimony gathered at Milnrow.

> I hate all the kings and those who attend them,
> And wish that stocks, gibbets and ropes may amend them.

It is recorded on the gravestone in Rochdale church yard that "John Collier died 14th July 1786, aged 75 [78], 'Tim Bobbin,' "also Mary his wife died 4th June 1786, aged 63." "The fool- "ish doggerel cut on the gravestone, said to be written by himself "twenty minutes before he expired, was written by his grandson "Thomas Collier in 1818, when it was inscribed on the stone, "much to the annoyance of Dr. Drake the vicar, who was not con- "sulted, and said he should give orders for its removal, which he "seems to have omitted doing." (*R.*)

The written works of Collier, with the exception of *Tim Bobbin* (the dialogue in the Lancashire dialect), are multifarious, and occupy their places in his printed works in the wake of this his best essay, as heavy barges behind a steam tug are kept moving by a force they are incapable of finding for themselves. There are two tracts (1771, 1781) impugning Whittaker's *History of Manchester* (1771, 1775); the learning for these Colonel Townley found, and the jocularity, which is out of place, was Collier's share. Together they

were not capable of measuring themselves with Whittaker, whose book will always remain a valuable contribution towards our knowledge of the doings of the Romans in Britain. Satire was the bent of Collier's mind, and his observation being limited he borrowed his dislike of justices from Hudibras, and from his father's sufferings gathered an enmity to clerical pluralists; to these as objects for castigation he added quack doctors, conjurors, and an old lady, a busy body, who dressed as a young person. The satires on justices, *The Blackbird* and *The Goose*, are puerile, and of the rest of the same class, including *The Adventures of the French Wig*, we have nothing to remark. *The Shude Hill Fight*, an imitation of Scriptural phraseology applied to the first of the Manchester corn riots (7th June 1757), is exceedingly dull.

The great source of profit to Collier was his etchings. The print of "The Pluralist" appears to have been the most popular. *The Human Passions Delineated* were first published in 1773, and again by Robert Collier in folio in 1809. Mr. Heywood of Deansgate, Manchester, having bought the original copperplates, had them retouched, and issued a new edition in 1858. A quarto edition with coloured plates appeared in 1810. "The more gross caricatures are "omitted, and the plates are well executed. There is much refine- "ment and softness imparted to the quaint and unnatural figures of "Tim Bobbin. The London publisher states that being a Lanca- "shire man he always felt interested in the Lancashire Hogarth." (*R.*)

But Collier's best title to be remembered is in his work on the Lancashire Dialect. It is the spontaneous production of a person singularly gifted with humour, and the absence of any straining after effect makes the book what it is. It was produced when his youthful and exhuberant spirits were in their strongest flow. He imagined he was introducing a new tongue to the public, and to illustrate it framed a dialogue, which was valued far more for its easy and natural wit than for its language. An estimation such as Psalmanazar for awhile obtained from the public Collier never enjoyed; but his *Tummus and Meary* are proceeding through a third

generation with unabated popularity. His efforts were all directed to qualify himself to be a faithful expositor of the South Lancashire dialect; for this he studied Saxon, and affected to speak only in his mother tongue — "opp'n speyker o'th' dialect." When at Newcastle he writes (*W.* p. 357): "I am obliged to be mum, for I cannot "understand one half of what they say, I having forgot that my "dialect may be as unintelligible to them." The importance in Collier's eyes of the words in *Tim Bobbin* in comparison with the dialogue is shown in a letter of May 1757 to his printer, Harrop of Manchester: "I have been busy all this week in writing out the "whole of the Glossary, which I judged absolutely necessary, because "I had six hundred and fifty new words (if I may so call 'em) that "were to be inserted, which I thought it was impossible for you "to fix in their proper places, so that I look upon this Glossary "printed by itself worth more than the whole of any other edition. "Query: Can you go on with printing this part whilst I am pre-"paring the other? If so let me know, and I'll send it in a few "days, for I think it will prove nearly half of the worth."

As regards the dialogue the Glossary is perhaps both redundant and defective, having some words not used and wanting several therein contained.[22] We regret Collier never afterwards applied himself to completing this portion of the work, and in this neglect he falsified the expectation held out in the last paragraph of the preface of 1757: "If any of the author's countrymen will send any Lanca-"shire words, phrases, or sentences, directed to J. Collier, Milnrow, "Rochdale (post paid), they will be thankfully received; but hopes "they will take care to distinguish between pure Lancashire and "words corrupted from the English;" a whimsical and impossible

[22] *Grewnt* (see pt. i. p. 24; *Prompt. Par.*), "groyne of a swine," and Mr. Way's note, "groon" (*Cr.*). *Groin* (*Brockett*); *gruntill*, *gruntle*, "the snout." Graun, *Isl.*, is used with great latitude for the chin, the beard, the nose, and even for the whole face (*Jn.*). *Groin de porçeau*, the snout of a hog (*Cotgr.*). *Breeod*, *flote*, *crack*, *glums* and *gowries*, dark and fond shapes, *pash* to strike, *bo*, *boah* a ball, a dumpling, *pot baws*, bag puddings, associated with Lancashire in Sir William Stanley's recollections. *Deashon* a kneading tub. "Things in the brewhouse, 2 decions viii^{d}." (Thurstan Tyldesley's Inventory, *Lanc. Wills*, p. 113, 1 Mary).

distinction. A nice examination of the definitions would have led to useful emendations;[23] and as regard the South Lancashire dialect a larger vocabulary might readily have been collected, and that without doing any violence to the true limits of the speech. Notwithstanding this the Glossary as it is left us is done by one who knew what he was about, and of the great majority of words the true signification and hence the right origin is shown. The Glossary of 1746 contains six hundred and seventy-eight words; before 1750 five hundred words had been added; and in 1757 these were increased to two thousand and seventeen, a number hardly exceeded in the later editions, though a considerable addition to the dialogue was made, but room was found for the new words by weeding the old ones, and after all the changes since 1757 are not extensive.

The title-page of the first-edition is as follows: "A view of the "Lancashire Dialect, by way of dialogue, between Tummus o Wil- "liams o Margits o Roaphs, and Meary o Dicks o Tummus o Peggys. "To which is added a Glossary of all the Lancashire words and "phrases therein used. By T. Bobbin, opp'n speyker o'th dialect.

Heaw arse wood wur I, eh this wark!
Glooar at monny a buk.

"Manchester: sold by R. Whitworth, Bookseller; and sold also by "Mr. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, London; Mr. Higginson, "Warrington; Mr. Scolfield, Rochdale; Mr. Milner, Halifax; "—— Wakefield; —— Leeds; Mr. Wilkinson, Printer, Rip- "ponden; and Mr. William Taylor, Oldham." The date of 1746

[23] *Agog*, *areawt*, *bang* (iddn go bank?) *bate* and *beawt*, *cank* and *camp*, bracketted together; *cank* (*Nor. Fr.* cancan), loud talking, noise (*Davies*) — this word means to persevere, to overcome (Wilts.), and is an adjective, dumb in Yorkshire, gossiping in Derbyshire; *cangle*, to be in a state of altercation; kiaenka (arridere) (*Isl.*); caingnean (*Gael.*) to argue, to plead (*Jn. Suppt.*); *gean-cyr*, a meeting; *gean*, opposite, against; *can*, *canne*, an averment; *cancet tende*, laughing, giggling (*A.S.*, *Bos.*); *breed*, frightened: *bandyhewit*, "a little bandy-legged dog, a turnspit" (*Wil.*) — this seems more correct than Collier's explanation; bander (*Fr.*), bandare (*low Lat.*), to make crooked; *hewit*, a corruption of *keout*, probably derived from *scout*; *keout*, a little barking cur dog (vid. *Wil.* in v. keout). *Hiw*, *hiwan*, a family, race, species, the persons of a family (*A.S.*), is the obvious derivation of *hewit*.

is commonly assigned to this edition, because in that year the book is noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xvi. pp. 527-8, and in the *British Magazine*, pp. 268-272, 437-439.

The Dialogue and the Glossary occupy the work, the former extending to thirty-two duodecimo pages. There are seven incidents in this first appearance of *Tim Bobbin:* 1. The calf killed by the horse. 2. The attempt to sell the dog. 3. The fall into the water. 4. The adventures at the Littleborough tavern. 5. The second offering the dog for sale. 6. The interview with the master. 7. The concealment in the barn and hay mow.

In the first the introduction and conclusion of the story were subsequently elongated; in the second the narrative is as it now stands, with the rumour that "hoo justices awlus did th' moast o'th' wark." It is remarkable that the excessive civility with which the offer of the dog for sale is met by those who have no intention of buying it, even to the assenting to the clown's lie that his cur was of a valuable and rare breed, should be found here. For it must be taken from Collier's own experience in the book- picture- and print-hawking life which he followed, but which in 1746 we should have imagined to be anticipated. "The Blackbird" and his Pictures were it seems already objects of traffic. That the humour of these civil refusals qualified in his mind the disappointment they conveyed is evident, and thus making them otherwise turn to gold was ingenious. He afterwards terms his copies of *Tim Bobbin* "Bandyhewits;" the name was first transferred to the pirated editions as not being of the true breed; the extension of the denomination to those which the author issued is not so intelligible. We may suppose the imaginagination of the double falsehood of the vendor, and of those he wished to be purchasers, in the case of the dog, greatly diverted Collier; he has it twice in the dialogue, and long bore it in mind in his letters.

The ducking in the brook and the wandering afterwards are told differently in the first edition to that of 1757. But the most entire variation is in the adventures at Littleborough. The Falcon Inn at this place, which is adjacent to Milnrow and situated at the foot of Blackstone Edge, was in Collier's later days kept by a boon com-

panion of his named Hill. This house was the constant resort of our chapman of his own wares, who here with hardly less authority than in his own village, assumed to direct the conviviality of horse and foot passengers, pack-horse men, and latterly of travellers by stage coaches, and amidst a boisterous merriment which he promoted, sold his works.

In 1746 the frightened lad has no place, and instead of at once bursting upon the rude frequenters of the tavern we have a description of two landladies, and the whole scene of violence between the "feaw seawr lookt felley" and "mezzil fease" is wanting. This last has the appearance of something that occurred in the presence of Collier. The remaining three parts of *Tim Bobbin*, although varying somewhat in the details, are in 1746 not essentially different from the dialogue as it at present stands. We have had no opportunity of seeing an edition between the first, 1746, and the sixth, 1757, and can only gather the history of the book during that period incidentally. Mr. Townley says: "The rapid sale of that second "edition soon brought forth two or three pirated editions, which "made the honest unsuspecting owner exclaim with great vehemence, "that he did not believe there was one honest printer in Lanca-"shire, and afterwards to lash some of the most culpable of those "insidious offenders with his keen and sarcastic pen." The numbering of the editions we suspect confounded the authorized and the pirated publications, thus the fourth edition which the *Monthly Review* got hold of is one in which Collier is defrauded. The title, as set forth in the *Review*, vol. iv. p. 156, 1750 (and this article is referred to in a note in the authorized copies of *Tim Bobbin*), is curtailed, and we give it from Mr. Rondeau's manuscript. There is no date, but it must have been printed about 1750. "A View of the "Lancashire Dialect, &c., to which is prefixed a Dialogue between "the author and his pamphlet. By Tim Bobbin, Fellow of the "Sisyphian Society of Dutch Loom weavers. The fourth edition, "corrected and improved, with an addition of above five hundred "Lancashire words not in the first impression. 18mo, pp. 32 (ex-"clusive of glossary). Printed for J. Robinson, London, and W.

"Stuart, Wigan." (The London edition, the fourth, is 12mo: printed for J. Robinson, price 6d.) Here we gather two things — that the *Cank* between the author and his book was printed in 1750, and that the piratical booksellers reprinted this record of their own knavishness. The prologue has two parts, firstly an attack on the booksellers mentioned, and secondly a bantering with the reviewers.

The attempt by satire and remonstrance to appropriate to himself the profit of his work on the dialect was maintained by Collier through a great part of his life. He inserts at the end of the edition of 1757 a notice that "the edition of this pamphlet printed "for Stuart of Preston [and Wigan?] and Robinson of the "Golden Lyon, London, and that of Schofield of Middlewich, the "two last lately published, are all spurious, rob the author, and im-"pose on the public." He speaks in the earlier editions of "Stuart "and Finch, those Bell wethers, and Hitch, Haws on Williamson "o Lerpoo, ther sheepish followers." These names are varied, and more than once the same bookseller occurs in two towns. Those who advertised the spurious copies are also denounced, as his first publisher Whitworth, so long known in the history of the Manchester press, and whom Tim Bobbin exchanged for Harrop, a still more enduring name in the printing annals of the same town. Adams of Chester, Williamson of Liverpool, then Eyre of Warrington, the greatest of our old South Lancashire printers, and others, are either privately or publicly reprobated for interfering with his copyrights.[24] Notwithstanding he appears to the last to have clung to his desultory method of guiding the sale of the book. A London publisher thus writes to him:

[24] Through long years this war with the piratical booksellers was waged, and in various ways: "I did berm up some rimes o top on sign pow, before Stuart's shop e Wiggin." We have also the etching and lines on the "fratres in malo" in the *Human Passions Delineated.* These attacks by Collier were dreaded by some of his antagonists. There is a deprecatory letter (Manchester, 1st August, 1757) from Whitworth, whose offence only appears to be admitting an advertisement of the pirated books into his newspaper: "Indeed if I had known of either Finch or Schofield printing your "pamphlet, I should have dissuaded them from doing it. But I really believe Harrop "or any other printer, unless concerned in point of interest, would have done what I "did."

"Mr. Collier: I write to you because I know 'tis not in your "power to prevent the Dirty Dogs of your Neighbourhood from sell- "ing the pamphlet, but I think I could push and make some advan- "tage of it if it was mine. Now I take it for granted that you have "not one hundred left; if so, I will give you twenty pounds for the "copyright, plates, &c., and will send you hereafter any number you "may want at 9d. each. And am your obedt. servt.,

"Thos Lowndes.

"Fleet-street, London, October 2, 1773.

"I dont think that you would find a Manchester bookseller that "would take 500, if at price of paper and print."

The commencement of the *Cank* will have made the reader familiar with Tim Bobbin's wrongs. They are set forth in the "pleagy rimes," affixed on the book's own suggestion, "oth neb o me cap, eh "plene print hond, ot oytch body mey see um, chez where he cum." Then there is Tim Bobbin's surprise to find his own book by his side: "Whooas tat tee owd friend? I thowt teawd bin jaunting it "like hey go mad, weh those foster feathers o' thine, Stuart," &c.

The second part of the *Cank* is occupied with the Reviewers. The reference by Tim Bobbin to the *Monthly Review* of December, 1750,[25] does not altogether explain the allusion he has made to their opinions, and though he gives no other authority we think his labours were elsewhere noticed. The dialogue is thus lauded. "This is a "masterpiece of the kind. The stories in it are truly humorous, and "exhibit the character of a clown in pure nature, such as a simple "country fellow really is who is quite unacquainted with the world, "of which he has seen no more than a very few miles round the "cottage or farm he was bred in, and perhaps had never conversed "familiarly with more than six persons, and those not a bit more "intelligent than himself." This is not a very discriminating criticism, for the contracted range of Tummus's visible horizon did not prevent him from being both an unscrupulous and cunning fellow.

[25] There is another favourable mention of *Tim Bobbin* in the *Monthly Review*, 1776, vol. lv. p. 231.

On this Tim Bobbin remarks: "For the glooar'nt sooar at me, "turn't me reawnt like a tealier when e measers fok, chuckt me "under th'chin, ga me a honey butter cake." So far the laudatory commentators are duly recognized, but what follows must have some other origin than the passage quoted, "On sed op'nly, they near saigh "an awkert look, a queer chap, an a peckl't jump" (the marble paper binding), "gee better eh ther live." The *Cank* had evidently its composition at two periods. Tim Bobbin assigns the *Review* of 1750 as the cause of the second part; but that *Review* proves the pre-existence of a dialogue between the author and his pamphlet, which was probably occupied in defending the copyright.[26]

The edition of 1757 was forced upon Collier from the thorough occupation of the ground by the pirated copies of his work.

Strawngers to aw reet,
They rob poor Timmy, een i'th oppen leet.

We have before us several letters on this subject, and especially from Harrop bearing on his fellow Manchester printer, and Collier's quondam publisher, Whitworth. This edition is important in the history of the book. The title is as follows: "A view of the Lan- "cashire Dialect, by way of dialogue. Between Tummus" (&c. as in the first edition,) "shewing in that speech the comical adventure "and misfortunes of a Lancashire clown. To which is prefix'd (by "way of preface) a Dialogue between the author and his pamphlet, "with a few observations for the better pronunciation of the dialect. "With a Glossary of all the Lancashire Words and Phrases therein "used. By Tim Bobbin, Fellow of the Sisyphian Society of Dutch "Loom weavers, and an old adept of the dialect." (The motto of the first edition follows.) "The sixth edition, in which will be several "alterations and new adventures, and above eight hundred Lanca- "shire words that never were in any of the five first impressions. "Manchester: printed and sold by Joseph Harrop; and by all the "Booksellers throughout England and Wales. 1757."[27] This is a

[26] In 1751 Collier sent fifty copies of his "Bandyhewits" (*Tim Bobbin*) to Worcester for sale, and this was during his service at Kebroyd (*W.* p. 267).

[27] This book is in Mr. Rondeau's collection.

duodecimo in "a pecklt jump." There is a rude etching of the speakers, with "Tim Bob. inv. et sculp.;" and yet we prefer it to the later print by the artist on the same subject. The "Observations" are more brief and unimportant than those prefixed by Watson to his Halifax Glossary, printed in Mr. Hunter's *Hallamshire Vocabulary*. They have the same object, but Collier could hardly have seen Watson's preface, which was printed in 1775. The connection of Collier with Halifax, and his repeated visits to the place, and the share its inhabitants occupy in his subscription lists, cannot be laid out of our consideration in weighing the purity of his exposition of the South Lancashire dialect. In 1767 with his works, we observe, he sends two *Histories of Halifax* at tenpence each, to be disposed of by Mr. Wilson, Lancaster. Did he write this *History?* The belief is he had received the copies of this book in exchange for his own works, and so sold them to pay himself. The anticipation of the deterioration of the dialect, and the invitation to supply the author with words, which in subsequent editions are omitted, close the "Observations." The *Cank* or prologue follows; it is complete in its two parts, as in the latest copies. The additions to the dialogue are numerous, the two most salient insertions being "the teying th' eawl" between 1 and 2, and the recasting the incidents at Littleborough, with the introduction of the tavern fracas. The assigning a third sweetheart to the clown in "Seroh," the master's daughter, is retained from the first edition. It may be wise to exaggerate the importance of the hero of a tale, but there is an improbability in the infatuation of a young person in this woman's position being so desperately in love with her father's servant as to assist in hiding him; then stealing food for his support, and lastly, "while I'r cadging my wem hoo towd me hoo lipp'nt "hur feather wur turn'd strackling." The little episode of the impeachment of the chastity of "Seroh o Rutchot's," his real love, for there are too distinct "Serohs," might have lighted up the narrative by its pathos; but Collier used no art in this book, and we must console ourselves by remembering that in his pictorial efforts, where he did attempt art, he proved he had not the *ars celare artem*, and sank into the burlesque.

The next important edition of *Tim Bobbin* is in 1763; it is published by Harrop of Manchester in 12mo and 18mo, and is denominated "Tim Bobbin's Toy Shop opened, or his whimsical "amusements, containing," (and the title mentions the Lancashire dialect without alluding to additions of any kind,) "the Blackbird, "the Goose, the Prickshaw Witch, the Queen of the Booth, with an "explanatory Letter, together with several other humorous Epistles, "Epitaphs, &c. in prose and rhyme. Also some original Lancashire, "Scotch, and other Letters never before published. Embellished with "copperplates, designed by the author and engraved by Mr. Barlow "of Bolton." The horse-stealing adventure we believe to be first inserted in this edition between 5 and 6, and thus the nine incidents of the dialogue were completed.

Collier felt towards justices as Bunyan did to juries, and could not deny himself the gratification of attacking them. In this case, however, the magistrate, Mr. Robert Entwisle sen. barrister, of Foxholes near Rochdale (ob. 1778 æt. 86), who could speak the dialect, does his duty; not so the clerk, Mr. Simon Dearden of the Orchard, who is misrepresented, he having been really an honest person. (The *Rochdale Pilot*, June 18 and September 10, 1857.)

The "Toy Shop" long figures in Collier's accounts as an edition of his works which he offered for sale. "1764. 7 Toy Shops, Mr. "Townson, curate of Mosley." "1767. Mr. Edwards, Halifax" (a name not unknown in the bibliographical world), "10 Toy Shops, 7 "plates, 15d., 12/6; 3 Lanc. dialects, single, 5d., 1/3; 6 plans of "the Calder, 4½d., 2/3, &c." [Is this one of Collier's books?] "Mr. "Wilson, Lancaster, 24 Toy Shops and 2 Histories of Halifax, 10d." In 1776, "Mr. Aspinall, Burnley, 12 Lord's Prayers at 2/ each, "very small." Here caligraphy is made to assist in the work of money getting. In the midst of these memoranda and accounts we find: "1770, Aug. 22. I weighed 167 lb., my wife weighed 201 lb." Throughout these editions we may observe that to 1757 Collier seems to have leant on the dialect as giving the value to his book. Between 1746 and 1757 he extended the dialogue, dealing carefully with the words used. "Just neaw" is changed to "meet neaw;"

"before" to "ofore;" "One can boh doo whot te can do," with a nicer appreciation of the true force of can is rendered, "One can boh whot tey can doo;" "On went as greadly as could be i'th ward," is replaced by "On went ogreath," thus showing *graithly* to be the source of both words. He speaks of rain falling in "collock[28] fulls," and of putting his clean shirt on "o slifter i'th' barn (after i'd "slanst[29] on pood o'th ettercrops eawt on't) under the yeasing."[30] These are omitted in 1757, and *collock* and *slanst* never found their way into the Glossary. "For it chopt so dark aw ot wonst" is not repeated. "I'd nother bitt'n nor sup't" is corrected into "I'd noather bit nor sope." "He threw the Battril with such a ber" is left out, but the last word is transferred to express the gush of a bad smell; "that hodge podge coom eh meh fease weh sitch a ber."[31] The distinction is perhaps maintainable; *byre* tempestas (*Icel*); *boer* (*Swe.*) the wind; also *byria*, *boeria*, surgere. "Choynge" in 1746 is "swop;"[32] in 1757 a punch, a purr; thin, than, in, with one exception which is still in the book. Words are violently intro-

[28] *Collock*, a large piggin. (*Ray; Cr.*)

[29] *Slanst*, slain; slahan, schlagen (*Goth.*); slá, to slay; slán, sleán, to strike (*A.S.*); slaeen (*Swe.*); schlau (*O.S.*) The word is common in Lazamon's *Brut*, slaen, slae, slan, to slay; aslaen, aslan, of slaen, and slaew, slew, to strike. We remember no later authority for its use, though its form betrays that it was not resuscitated by Collier, but really taken from the South Lancashire speech.

[30] *Yeasing* for *eaves* follows an ordinary change in our language in omitting the *v* or *f*, as in *lady*, laefdige; *head*, heafod, heafde; ava (*Sanscrit*) ab, hinweg, herab, seems the most probable source of eaves (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 729.) Yeasing is we believe proper to South Lancashire.

[31] *Ber*, force (*beran*, to bear, to carry, to excel; so *bar*, a boar; *bera*, a bear; *bora*, a ruler; all having the attribute of force). *Beir*, *bere*, *bir*, *bire*, (1) noise, cry, roar; (2) force, impetuosity, often as denoting the violence of the wind. *Beir*, *birr* (*Jn.*; also *Dief.* vol. i. pp. 258, 260). "And lo, in a great byre al the drove went heedlyng in to the see." Matt. viii. (*Wic.*) "With all my beere" (*Chesh. Prov.; Ray;* also *Bam.*) "Run a berr," run to get an impetus.

[32] *Swop* is derived by Tooke from the sweeping off by exchange, and this is adopted in Todd's Johnson and by Richardson. Dryden is the first person who gave it a brief literary existence in the sense of exchange, although probably an old colloquial word. The striking of hands in a bargain seems nearer the meaning (*swap* a blow) than Tooke's conjecture.

duced in order to be shown; "a fine fattish gentleman" is made "a "fine fattish throddy[33] gentleman," and "a fattish felley" is "a fattish "dowing[34] felley." There is a passage in the fracas with the master (1746) which we regret is afterwards left out. "I seet owey when "eh heard th' foyar pote rick, on went on hud[35] meh i'th barn." The tup mutton tough as "whit leather thunk" (thong) only occurs in 1746. Between the first and sixth editions there is a considerable emendation of vowel sounds. Ate (out) is converted into eawt, awer (our) to eawer, dame to deme, seet to saight, why to whaw, great to greyt, neer to newer, ha to heaw, sconce to scoance, oney to onny. These are merely a few examples of Collier's care of the dialect in the earlier editions.[36] In 1763 he trusted to etchings, and to the greater ponderosity of his book by the addition of his other writings.

[33] *Throddy*; (see *T. J., Cr.*)

[34] *Dowing*, doing, healthful. Wil. derives dosome from dugan (*A. S.*) valere.

[35] The change of *i* into *u* is common, the verb hide is hud in Wilts. (*Akerman.*)

[36] Mr. Rondeau has collected the titles of twenty editions of *Tim Bobbin*, with dates, since 1786, and of seven, of which the publishers' names justify the conjecture that they belong to the same period. The work takes so many shapes, and finds its way into our cottages and markets so incessantly, that this list by no means exhausts the catalogue of the quantity printed. There are here five editions since 1850. We observe the Rochdale edition of 1819 advertised for by an anxious purchaser, and a copy of this, valuable for the original letters it contains, sold for five pounds. The imitations have been few and unsuccessful. A political tract by Mr. Thomas Walker, calling himself Tim Bobbin the second, was printed in 1801, under the title of *Plebeian Politics*, and borne up by the interest of its subject matter, it reached two editions. The orthoepy is that of South Lancashire, but otherwise the archaic words are few, and the phraseology little differing from common English. In 1819, an author in Ashton-under-Lyne attempted to add second and third parts to *Tim Bobbin* (Manchester, Wilson). He apologises for varying in his spelling from *Tim Bobbin*, and eludes giving a glossary by referring to Collier's. The book is extraordinarily coarse, the dialogue void of pleasantry, and the incidents improbable and disgusting. But there are peculiar to the work a number of words which are not common, and which lead us to regret the want of a glossary. We will enumerate a few: Bucth, dekeink un diltink, hooant, frustling, peyling (in the sense of running), rebooant felley, o grete noger now un o felley, un th' cloggins he had on wurn o burn, pomer, I clivver yammer to yeer, (I mount from grief to rage?) then clivver (completely), neckling, axt sum bits o' querks, nubbley cosey, frabbeth, pawted, &c. &c. The vowel sounds, as the author admits, are not those of South Lancashire, and hardly of Hal-

The later copies of *Tim Bobbin* are taken from that of 1775, and the ten etchings it contained were by retouching long preserved. That the staple of the publication, the dialogue, was not subjected to the author's senile corrections is matter of congratulation; for even in his best days Collier has shown in his paintings how capable he was of deforming his own conceptions, and the recasting the natural expression of genius has never been successful. The *Family Shakespere*, the *New Robinson Crusoe*, and the revised edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* are sorry trash.

From 1786 to the present day *Tim Bobbin* has maintained itself in the public estimation, and if the inferior works of its author are to be found side by side with it, the curiosity as to the writer is the best explanation of their vitality. We are far from thinking that our brief notice has exhausted either what ought to be known or may be gathered as to Collier and his essays, but we have made a first attempt to recover the history of both, and in so doing are especially following out the design for which the Chetham Society was instituted. For, truly, to leave unnoticed the most popular of our native writers would be an unjustifiable negligence, even though our researches dispel the illusion that wisdom and cleverness are necessarily allied, and that a well regulated mind is essential to the production of a good book.

It is only now left us to acknowledge the obligations which have accumulated upon us in writing the latter part of this essay. We are indebted to Mr. Canon Raines for the larger share of the materials enabling us to treat of Collier's life. Some of these we have marked by the letter *R*, but the greater portion are not so to be recognized. The original letters and information with which we

lamshire; *eaw* is almost dispensed with, *nah* stands for neaw, *kah* for keaw, *ewt* for eawt, *hopen* for oppen, *clam* for clomb, &c.; and we demur to the meanings assigned to common words, as farrantly, blee, ber, boyurnt, &c.

Tim Bobbin's Ghost, by Mr. George Richardson (Heywood, Manchester, 1850), contains poems to Tim Bobbin's memory by Bamford and Shaw, and a long poem of fifty-two stanzas — "The Ghost of Tim Bobbin" — with some verses by Riddings and Rogerson. The whole are in the South Lancashire tongue.

have thus been supplied induced us to undertake writing this biography, and we have throughout felt it would have been better had it been left in the hands of one so much more capable of doing it justice, and so intimately acquainted with the subject as Mr. Canon Raines.

Mr. Rondeau, of Salford, having made a collection of the editions of *Tim Bobbin*, with a catalogue of those he has seen, as well as those he possesses, and which though perhaps the fullest is by no means a perfect list, has kindly placed them at the service of the Chetham Society. They have been of the greatest use, and especially the transcript of the first edition (from the *Adlington Tracts*, Portico Library, Manchester). We have further to acknowledge the valuable assistance of our excellent President, James Crossley, Esq.; and of our Secretary, William Langton, Esq.; and to thank John Harland, Esq., for the loan of the *Tim Bobbin* of 1819, which goes under the name of Corry's or Westall's edition, and contains letters and other original information not otherwise procurable, and has become a book rare and much sought after.

ON THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

ADDENDA TO PART I.

The termination in *n* of the plurals of the indicative is regarded as a peculiarity of the South Lancashire dialect. "The shibboleth of "it," the West Mercian, "as a distinct dialect from the Northum- "brian and North Anglian on the one hand, and the Southern "and South Western on the other, is the indicative plural in *n*; "*we, ye, they loven;* still current in South Lancashire." (Garnett's *Essays,* pp. 63, 141.)

This peculiarity is essentially Teutonic, excepting that in modern German the second person of the present indicative plural is made in et — *lieben liebet lieben.* The Gothic first person indicative present plural ended in *am, um, eima,* from an earlier *ams, ums, eimas.* The oldest Old High German retrenched "the *es, as,* "and ended as in Gothic with the simple *m.* This ceased in the "tenth century." The terminal *m* had often in the previous century gone over into *n,* and this was the case with other tenses and persons. "*N* settled every where" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 856) as an ending to the plural flexions of German verbs. In the Old North "the final *m* stands fast and never goes over to *n*" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 305); even in Anglo-Saxon "the auslaut *m* weakens "itself nowhere into *n.*" (*Ib.* p. 243.) The change of *m* into *n* "was by a universal law of sound." (Bopp's *Comparative Grammar,* pp. 437 *et seq.; D. G.* vol. i. pp. 119, 156, 159, 856, 932,

1045.) Grimm regards the adoption of *n* as a rendering coarse (vergroberung) the letter *m*.

The second person plural present indicative adopted *t* (or its substitutes *th, dh, d*) for a termination. We cannot here enter into the origin of the letters *m* and *t* being thus essential to particular persons of verbs. The pronominal endings by which conjugating was first achieved are set forth in Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*. In Old High German *t* is first preceded by *n*. "There "are traces in the translation of ***Tatian***" A.D. 840, "in *Otfried*" A.D. 876, "and more decidedly in Notker's *Psalms*" A.D. 1022, "of "the formation of the second person plural present, as well as the "third in *nt*." (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 857). In Mediæval German this practice became more general, especially in Switzerland and Suabia Proper the abrasion of the *t* succeeded in various dialects, and particularly in those near the Rhine. (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 932-1045; also Garnett's *Essays*, p. 141).

The third person correctly formed in *nt* lopped off the final letter and ended in ***n***, as in modern German. We have but faint traces in our island of *n* being the ending of the present indicative plural before the fourteenth century. Mr. Garnett found instances of its occurrence in semi-Saxon MSS. of the thirteenth century; and Sir F. Madden, from the Layamon MSS. A.D. 1200-1250, has a few examples. (*Gr. Analysis*, p. xlix.) But in Longland, Chaucer, Mandeville and Wycliffe the presents plural indicative very commonly terminate in *n*, and afterwards the flexion disappears and is not found we believe even in the ***Paston Letters***, where according to Mr. Garnett's theory of its having been common to East Anglia and South Lancashire it should have been used.

Dr. Richardson in his excellent Dictionary says, "screak and "scream are made into reak and ream in Lancashire." "*Reak, reaw*, to squall, to make a shrieking noise; *rick*, to jingle, to scold; *shrikeing*, to squall or cry out; skryke o day." (*T. B.*) "*Skryem*, to scream." (*Bam.*) "*To reem*, to cry, (Lanc.) ab. *A.S.*; hraeman, *plorare, clamare, ejulare*, to weep, with crying

and bewailing; hream, *ejulatus.*" (Ray: *North Country Words*). This term is now obsolete in South Lancashire, but Ray's authority for its once being used there is sufficient; besides it appears in the *Chester Plays,* (vol. ii. pp. 53, 74, Camd. Soc.) *Reaw,* to make a row, inserted in Collier's glossary as equivalent to *reeak* is inadmissible; it has a different meaning and is of easy derivation. Screak, shriek, reak is of Scandinavian origin; shrik, skrack (*Isl.*); scraek (*Swe.*); skrack (*Dan.*) a shriek. In the German tongues Mr. Bell gives skrike (*A. S.; Glossary to Chaucer*); schriek (*Holl.*); and Mr. Davies has kriechen (*Dut.*); but as this language only dates from the thirteenth century, and as we have the word at the same period —

> Heo biginneth to shryke and scremeth anon:
> *Pol. Songs,* E. I., p. 158, Camd. Soc. —

we cannot accept such a derivation.

How *screak* became *shriek* and *reak,* involve so many lingual principles of mutation that we can only briefly enumerate them, referring to those who have treated the subject more elaborately, and with greater authority.

S is an aspirate, *k* the tenuis of the gutturals; *sk* in passing from Scandinavian to German immediately, and almost universally, was described as *sch.* (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 174). In ancient languages *k* changed into *h;* thus the Greek χ is frequently *h* in Latin. χειμων, hiems; χορτος, hortus; χυμαι, humi, &c. We have in South Lancashire examples of this softening of *k, mey, tey,* (*ma', ta',* North Staffordshire, *Adam Bede,*[1]) make, take; *ash, mischen,* ask, mixen. "Throughout the language the different pronuncia-"tion of *ch* and *ck* is not to be regarded. Thus what we pronounce "rich and riches (*tch*), the French pronounce riche and riches (*sh*), "and the Italians ricco and ricchezza (*k.*)" (Tooke in v. *rich.*)

[1] Our dialect in a milder form is admirably set forth in this work so far as words and phrases are concerned, but the authoress has a less nice perception of the vocalic sounds, which are far from being lost between Uttoxeter and Leek, and flourish in the Potteries.

Although the softening of *sk* was early and extensively effected in German, the Northern tongues were not previously without some tendency in the same direction. Thus our *chin, kinn* (Old North) was pronounced *kjinn*, or, according to some authorities, *tshin* (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 320, 321, 555). *Sch*, as an anlaut (commencement of words), in German, was equivalent to the French *ch* (*ib.* p. 71). Again, *ch* stood for a more powerful aspiration of *h*, and especially in the old Franconian and Frisian dialects so closely allied to Anglo-Saxon (Latham's *Gram.* vol. i. pp. 57 *et seq.* 95; *D. G.* vol. i. pp. 177, 179, 184, 188, 198); *Childebert* Hildebert, *Chramnus* Rhamnus. The gutturals interchanged, and *k* was represented both by *g* and *h*; thus we find skrike translated:

> The greking of the day.
>
> *Doug. Verg.* 202, p. 10.
>
> In the gryking af the day.
>
> *Thomas and the Fairy Queen, Fairy Myth.*, p. 58, Camd. Soc.

Scrie is the thrush (shreight), and *hroc* the rook, (graculus, raucus), the same word to describe two very different notes, to *hreak* for screak. About the ninth century, *hr* gave place in Anglo-Saxon to *r* (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 195). We have in South Lancashire several words formerly made in *hr*, the favourite Anglo-Saxon guttural and hirrient. *Rack*, hraca; *rack o'th'ee*, hræcan; *reawp*, hræcan, or hrepan, hreop; *rhute* (passion *Bam.*) hruth; *reeaw*, hreoh; *rook a heap*, hreac; besides *roose*, to praise, from the Old North *hros*, encomium, laus. Although the changing *sk* into *sch* and *ch* had long been common in Germany, Grimm, probably depending on written authority (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 262), assigns this mutation in England to the Norman period. With us, therefore, shriek may have taken its anlaut from the French, answering to *ch* in chapitre, changer, &c.

Scream never submitted itself to this softening. This word may have proceeded by metonymy, from *skrame* (*Goth.*) a dart; *skrama*, leviter vulnerare, plaga, cicatrix, (*Swed.*); skramme (*Dan.*) The Anglo-Saxon verb *hreman*, to shout, to cry, to weep out, is however generally given as the derivative of scream:

Hream weard on heorate. *Beow.* 2604.

and in the latest Anglo-Saxon,

Scottan huuen up muchelne raem.
and thisne wunderliche raem.
Layamon, vol. ii. pp. 46, 75.

In these examples *ream* is simply a cry, a shout, and one of the names of the raven (*ravine*, Old English *hraefn*; Anglo-Saxon *reaf*, a robber,) being hrem, hremn, from its croak, we perceive the variety of sound the word was adapted to convey. This applies both to shriek and scream, which are synonymous in some of our dictionaries, and with unsatisfactory definitions in all. They appear to have been applicable to every kind of noise. *Chirp* (*Chirk*, *Chau.*, see *Rich.*) by a most common metathesis, is shrick, and is usually derived from *cearcian* (Anglo-Saxon) to chatter, creak, quash, crash. (*Bos.*)

The Germans thus translate these words: "*To scream,* laut und "plotzlich aufschreyen, kreischen, drohnen; *to screak,* quicken, auf- "schreyen, kreischen, pfeifen, schwirren, knarren." Kreischen vor Freude, vor Jammer, vor Schrecken, *to give utterance to joy, grief, or fear.* In South Lancashire the meanings of *reak* are extensive. "I seede summot, on seete up a grayt reeak" of surprise or fear; then in the same book *rick* is made to signify the jingle of handcuffs: "Put up thoose things ot ricke so." (*T. B.*) Formerly, *rick* stood for the watchman's rattle, conveying its use by a verb, to rick. In one sense we have found this word used out of South Lancashire. A pig, in Herefordshire, is said to *reek* for its food; and here Mr. Davies's Welch origin may be accepted *hroch,* a grunt.

The phrase "skryke of day" is common to South Lancashire, Scotland, Craven, Hallamshire, and is the same with the Old English "at day pype," peep of day. "There is a profound intimacy be- "tween our ideas of light and sound, of colour and music; and hence "we are able to comprehend that rustling, and that noise, which is "ascribed to the rising and setting sun. Thomas Kingo, a Danish "poet of the seventeenth century, and probably others of his

"countrymen, make the rising sun to pipe (pfeifen), that is, to utter "a piercing sound." (*Deut. Mythol.* p. 428). Tacitus had long before recorded the Swedish superstition, that the rising sun made an audible noise (*De Mor. Ger.* s. xlv.) The form in which our skryke of day has come down to us is Scandinavian.

Grimm further says (*Deut. Mythol.* p. 430): "Still more express "are the passages which connect the break of day, and blush of the "morning, with ideas of commotion and rustling." He confirms this by quotations from old French and Spanish writers; but we think it is not clear that the myth was ever German. The only reference on this point is to *Albrechts Titurel*, a book by one of the Minnesingers, A.D. 1312, which is a translation from the French. (*Jordensdichter Lexicon*, art. Minnesinger). Goethe has indeed, in the Prolog im Himmel to *Faust*, borrowed from the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of the harmony of the spheres, and illustrated Grimm's proposition of the union of our ideas of light and sound, by describing the course of the sun in its effulgence as a march of thunder. Jonson, with a like dependence on the ancients, regarded noise as an essential quality of the heavenly bodies.

> Come with our voices let us war
> And challenge all the spheres,
> Till each of us be made a star
> And all the world turned ears. — *Underwoods.*

Crepusculum is allied to crepitare, and anbruch des tages, *day-break*, gathered from the fracture of metal, and applied to the severance of darkness and light, may well have sound attributed to it.

The old meaning of "peep (or pipe) of day" was the joyous cry incident to the birth of light. *Peep* as *sound* is most ancient. There is πιππιζειν, to cry like a young bird, from πιππος, a young bird; so *pipio*, verb and noun in Latin, "a nest of peepers" (of young birds), now obsolete English, and yet closely allied to the speech of Athens and of Rome.[1]

[1] Richardson gives the superior antiquity to *peep* to utter a sound; *peep*, to

If, sharing Dr. Jamieson's doubts, it is held that "skryke of day" may not be the awakening morning, but *Aurora rutilans*, there is no verbal hindrance to its derivation from *regna rauk* (Old North), the twilight of the Gods, fumus immanis (Kemble's *Beowulf*); *rok*, *rokr*, caligo, crepusculum, *rokva*, dammern, (Old North). *Regna rockr*, die Gotter dammerung, (*Dief.* vol. ii. pp. 155, 173; *D. G.* vol. ii. p. 270). But we think the more obvious derivation is the correct one.

To the note (p. 16) on "fere cheeotin" (*T. B.*) we would add a reference to *Fairra* (Goth.); *procul*, *πορρω*, far (far advanced in?); *fer* (O. H. G.); *feor* (A. S.); also to Grimm's notice of prepositions having French for their root; *faura* (Goth.), *vor* (Ger.); *fair* (Goth.), *ver* (Ger.); *fairra*, *ἀπό*, *ab*, from, by, or on account of, (*D. G.* vol. iii. pp. 100, 119, 256).

In p. 8 it is stated that the glossary to *Tim Bobbin* was not Collier's writing. We were led into this error by the want of concordance

look closely, or curiously, he deems transferred "from the sound chickens make upon "breaking the shell to the look accompanying it." Minsheu suggests *espie*; and in South Lancashire we have "*to pee*, to squint queerly" (*T. B.*), "to look with one "eye" (*T. J.*, *Ray*, *W. & C.*, *Wt.*, *Halli.*). *Pypynge*, pypyn (*Prompt. Par.*), where "peep" to look is not. Mr. Way in his note gives "at day pype" à la pipe du jour. (*John Palsgrave*, A.D. 1530). Richardson has, however, an example of *peep* in the other sense from Bishop Gardiner, 1536. "Pépier, to cheep or pule as a young bird "in the neast" (*Cotgrave*). Mr. Wright in his Dictionary has one of the latest examples of its use:

I say cut his weazand, spoil his peeping.
Villiers: *The Chances*, 1692.

Robert Lowth quoted *peep* somewhat later, but only to point out its signification as ventriloquism. (*Isaiah* viii. 19). The Platonic theory of the harmony of the spheres is discussed in the commentaries on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*; on Dante *Paradiso*, canto i. line 76; on Chaucer's *Assembly of Foules*; and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, book v. line 260. The setting sun making a noise from its heated chariot axles being quenched in the Atlantic is dealt with by the critics on *Juvenal*, sat. xiv. line 280; also on *Comus*. The moon pfeift sein licht auf. (*Deut. Mythol.* p. 428). Then there is the burst of the son of Aurora. Jamieson is very suggestive in treating of "screak of day," which he hesitates in admitting to relate to sounds. Once at creation the morning stars sang for joy (*Job* xxxviii. 7); but afterwards moved in expressive silence (*Psalm* xix.).

between the use of the words in the dialogue, and their subsequent definitions. The documents we have since examined prove Collier wrote the two works separately. This accounts for the glossary being both redundant and defective as regards *Tim Bobbin*. With all its shortcomings, this glossary remains a valuable exposition of the South Lancashire dialect.

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Rentale de Cokersand:

BEING

THE BURSAR'S RENT ROLL OF THE ABBEY OF COKERSAND,
IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER,
FOR THE YEAR 1501.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL.

EDITED BY
THE REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

"Has ædes sacras pietas construxit avorum
Quas successores vastabunt more luporum."

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXI.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

COKERSAND Abbey in the parish of Lancaster was situated about five miles south of the town, on a lingula of stagnant marsh land between the estuaries of the rivers Lune and Coker, and near the place where these united waters fall into the Irish Sea, from whose roaring billows the monks stated in 1379 (2 Ric. II.) in their petition to the Crown for a confirmation of their charters, that they were daily exposed to the perils of drowning,[1] although, unlike the monks of Stanlow, they scorned the thought of abandoning their inconvenient and joyless solitude.[2] There was some ground for this touching appeal to the clemency of the King, as in the present day, in tempestuous weather, the mouldering bones of the dead, and the few scattered ruins of the sacred pile, are sometimes washed by the sea, and at other times a vast and desolate expanse of sands stretches before it; these sands of the estuary of the Coker giving the Abbey its name. Upon this not very attractive

[1] *Rot. Parl.* vol. iii. p. 52, Baines. On the 7th April, 7 and 8 Ric. II. the king on an inspeximus confirmed to the abbot and convent and their successors the lands which had been given by Theobald Walter, William de Lancaster, John de Lacy Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, Geoffrey his son, Henry de Seston clerk, and others, tested by W. Archbishop of Canterbury, R. London, W. Winton, &c.—Dugdale, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 907, ed. 1830.

[2] Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 61, 3rd ed.

scene Leland, Henry the Eighth's Chaplain and Librarian, had gazed with no loving eyes on the eve of the dissolution of the house; but he accurately described it as "standing veri blekely and object to all wynddes;"[1] and he might have darkened his gloomy and ungenial picture by adding, and to all waves, as it was surrounded by water on the north, south and west. If the site of their house had not been selected with a nice perception of the beauties of nature, the monks would not find their abode altogether devoid of natural attractions, whilst "distance lent enchantment to the view." Their eastern elevation would present a wide and charming region of hill and vale, and when the darkening fogs and dreary exhalations permitted, they would look out to the north upon the elevated site of Lancaster, with its stately Castle and fine Church, rising majestically above the town, whilst Cockerham nestled in the fertile vale, gently sloping beneath their Abbey, and its old grey Church, belonging to the house of St. Mary of Leicester, would always be visible, but always an object of jealousy.[2] To the south-east their manors of Garstang and Woodacre, and in later times Greenhalgh Castle, were stretched out in distant perspective, whilst in the front of the Monastery was the noble Vale of Wyre, rich in wood and meadows, pastures and corn fields.[3] In the background, still fronting the eastern aspect of the house, was a bold and lofty amphitheatre of mountains, separating the counties of Lancaster and York, and known as the Fells of Wyersdale and Littledale, skirted at their bases by the old Royal Forest of Bleasdale, with its dark but luxuriant foliage, whilst the towering crest of Parlock Pike rising

[1] *Itin.* vol. v. fo. 84, p. 82, 12mo, 1711.
[2] Whitaker's *Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 330.
[3] Leland's *Itin.* vol. 5, fol. 84, p. 82.

abruptly in the south-west angle, terminated the romantic and picturesque features of their landscape prospect.[1] There were times and seasons, when the winds and waves were still, that far out in the north-west beyond "the Silver Lune," their own joint salmon fishery, might be descried St. Patrick's Chapel at Lower Heysham, and Piel Castle on an islet in Morecambe Bay; whilst their little Manor, Chapel and Grange of Pilling to the south, if intercepted from their view by the sands of Coker, were easily accessible by water; and at a short distance was the opulent domain of Rawcliffe, where the canons had not only possessions,[2] but always zealous supporters in the Butlers, a family closely connected with their earliest founders and latest benefactors.[3]

[1] I am sorry to differ in my estimate of the natural scenery in the foreground of the Abbey from so competent though fastidious a judge as Dr. Whitaker, who "non captus dulcedine loci," regarded the noble prospect as neither picturesque nor Arcadian: — "Nor does the situation of the Abbey offer more ample or interesting matter for description than the ruins. . . . . In calmer moments it looks only on a long range of flat and dreary moss, and on the sands, whence its name is derived. Whatever, therefore, be the distant beauties of the scene (and it has not wanted its admirers), the precincts of the Abbey can only be described as dull and cheerless; suited, perhaps, to the habits and inclinations of a solitary hermit, but hardly consistent with the ordinary comforts even of monastic seclusion." — Whitaker's *Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 335.

[2] *See Roll*, p. 14.

[3] At a sale at Rawcliffe Hall in July 1861, there was considerable competition for a fine old oak chest, exquisitely carved, apparently of about the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which was once the muniment or plate chest of St. Mary's Abbey, Cokersand. It was knocked down for 52*l.* to Mr. Sawyer, broker, of Blackburn, who was commissioned to purchase it for Captain Whitle of Whalley Abbey. This chest was removed to Mr. Butler's, of Rawcliffe, at the time when the house was in trouble in the reign of Henry VIII., and was said to be filled with plate; and many traditions respecting it have long been current in the neighbourhood. See *Preston Chronicle*, July 1861. The chest is now at Thurnham Hall, having been lately purchased for 75*l.* by Sir James G. Fitzgerald Bart.

The monks, however, surrounded by inclement elements, and close upon a stormy coast, considered their quiet abode dreary and sterile, although for nearly four hundred years here they served God, and probably according to their means, intelligently promoted the welfare of man, neither arid sands nor keen winds, neither boisterous waves nor the sea fowl's wild and discordant cry restraining them in the duties of their mission, although at no time reluctant to grasp the endowments of the parochial clergy, and always eager to obtain exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and inspection, which prevented the correction of abuses, and the absence of which proved, in the end, fatal to the entire system.[1]

In the time of Henry II. this house,[2] then in its infancy, was a solitary hermitage or cell, the abode of Hugh Garthe, "an eremyte of great perfecc̃on,"[3] and in all its leading features similar to that of St. Guthlac, the first English Anchorite, at Croyland.[4] Afterwards it became an hospital for infirm persons and lepers, governed

[1] Blunt's *Sketch of the Reformation*, p. 62.

[2] Whitaker says it was founded by William de Lancaster, second Baron of Kendal, who died before the year 1189. — *Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 328. Leland says the same, *Itin.* vol. v. p. 82. Tanner, without recognizing him as the founder, observes that "it was chiefly endowed by him." — *Notitia Mon.* p. 232. It was one of the sixteen Premonstratensian Monasteries founded in England in the reign of Henry II. — *Ibid.* Introd. p. viii. fol. 1744.

[3] Whitaker identifies Hugh the Hermit with H. Prior of the Hospital. who was also the first Abbot. — *Richm.* vol. ii. p. 331.

[4] St. Guthlac's Cell at Croyland, founded in the eighth century, was situate in the midst of a fenny boggy level, in winter time impassable by the overflowing of the waters coming from the high countries, and not having a passage into the sea, whose coast is raised higher every year by the banks of sand continually cast up. . . . . Guthlac, chaplain to the King, retired to the dismal solitude of these fenny regions. — Stukeley's *Account of Croyland Abbey*, ed. by Gresley, pp. 2, 3, 4to, 1856. The hermits of Croyland and Cokersand appear to have been kindred spirits in taste and sentiment, as well as in religious feeling.

by a master and two brethren. It was then for a short time an Augustinian Priory, in some way connected with the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis of Leicester,[1] and ultimately, by the bounty of Theobald Walter alias Butler, a munificent churchman and brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, it was converted, in the year 1190, into an Abbey of Premonstratensian Canons,[2] dedicated to St. Mary. This change was confirmed by Richard the First, and ratified on the 8th ides of June 1190, by a Bull of Pope Clement III.[3] This house, like all sublunary things, had its vicissitudes and revolutions, and was not destined to be permanent.

In the sixteenth century the storm which had long been threatening burst upon the monasteries. The smaller houses, which were unable to expend 200*l.* a year, chiefly belonged to the Mendicant Friars, who were the Pope's army in England, and hostile to the proceedings of Henry VIII. Their dissolution was determined by parliament, and effected by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 28, on the avowed principle, only recognized by that King's counsellors, that small communities were more depraved than

[1] Tanner states that Cokersand was subordinate to St. Mary de Pratis of Leicester, which Whitaker disputes, as the *Coucher Book of Cokersand* affords not the slightest ground for any such spiritual claim on the part of the monks of Leicester. It is clear that some of their early patrons were the same, and some of their lands in Lancashire contiguous, which led to mutual bickerings, concessions, and exchanges of privileges.

[2] The order of *Pre Montre*, so called because it was said the place was premontrated or foreshown by the B. V. Mary A.D. 1120 to St. Norbert, afterwards Archbishop of Madgeburg, and the founder of this order, at Laon in Picardy, where he was required to build his monastery.

[3] Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.* vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906. The foundation was again confirmed by King John in the year 1215, and to secure the privilege of electing their own Abbot, without "being trobled by the gentilmen of the contrey theyre neybors at the tyme of the elecc'on," the canons bound their house to pay the King and his successors xx^{s} on every election. — *Harl. MS.* 1499, written A.D. 1530, and quoted by Whitaker.

large ones, and that it was more difficult to reform a few than many offenders;[1] a bold statement indeed, but so very fallacious and absurd that it almost seems to have been intended for mild wit or pleasant drollery, or it may be that the legislators concealed their contempt for the obtuse understanding of the ecclesiastics in grave irony.

Cokersand was one of the 376 of the lesser houses[2] which Parliament, by an act now generally considered to be akin to sacrilege, gave to the King, and although to conciliate the mitred Abbots who sat in the Upper House the Sovereign committed the inmates therein to what he was pleased to designate "the great and honourable Monasteries of Religion, where they might be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives,"[3] yet in the following year these houses also were swept away "for their unthrifty, carnal and abominable living." They had, it is true, a few months before been described by the King and his Parliament as "divers and great solemn Monasteries of this Realm wherein, thanks be to God, Religion is right well kept and observed, although destitute of such numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep;"[4] but it is no part of my business to reconcile the casuistry, conduct, and consciences of the rulers of that generation. In point of territorial possessions and general revenues Whalley and Furness took the precedence of the Lancashire Monasteries, and Cokersand came the third. It had many pious and devoted but not very munificent benefactors at various

[1] Act 27 Henry VIII. c. 28.

[2] Dr. Burton says 380 religious houses were dissolved. — *Monast. Ebor.* and *Eccles. Hist. of York* p. 65, 1758. Burn confirms the statement. — *Eccles. Law*, vol. ii. p. 65.

[3] Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* book vi. p. 311; Burn, vol. ii. p. 64.

[4] Stat. 27 Henry VIII. c. 28.

periods, as its revenues at the dissolution, owing to the leases being granted upon small rents and easy fines, amounted, according to Speed to 228*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, and according to Dugdale to no more than 157*l.* 14*s.* per annum.

Not being the auditor of their revenues I am unable to reconcile the statements of Speed and Dugdale with the Rental now printed;[1] but some difference in the extended income might be expected in the course of half a century. The sum total rendered by Skypton[2]

[1] Dugdale gives the clear, and Speed the gross, income of the house.

[2] Of James Skypton the Bursar little has been preserved. He had probably not relinquished his original surname, and might be a relative of Dom. Ralph Skypton, who on the 10th June 1457, was Rector of Middleham and Chaplain to the most noble Richard Earl of Salisbury, in his chapel within the castle of Middleham. — *Reg. Richmond. MS.* p. 33. As a Canon of Cokersand his order was partly monastical and partly canonical, the rule of St. Augustine being chiefly followed. He wore the white cassock and the long white linsey-woolsey cloak of his order, which the Abbots had agreed never to abandon even if raised to the Cardinalate or Popedom (*Hist. Monast. Orders*, p. 131), so little were they charmed by the mysteries of monastic haberdashery or papal ceremonial. He was methodical, and of business habits, if not a very exact accountant. Like similar officials he would have a salary, a servant, and a couple of horses (Raine's *North Durham*, pp. 90–91, fol. 1852), to enable him to visit the Granges, receive the rents, lease the lands, and regulate the temporal affairs of the monastery. His useful services during the abbacy of Mag. Robert Egremond, who had presided over the house for the long period of fifty-seven years, led to his election as Abbot on the 20th December 1502, and, with the other Abbots of his house, he refused to officiate, like the Benedictine Abbots, in pontificalibus, with the mitre, crosier and ring, as being marks of worldly pride. He was probably at this time a man advanced in years, and had been the *locum tenens* under the old and probably superannuated Abbot, as he was succeeded in his high office by Henry Stayning 7th October 1505. Skypton's name occurs amongst the Abbots in the last edition of Dugdale's *Monast.* vol. vi. p. 906, although it is not included in Whitaker's catalogue. The minute and copious Rental here printed is written by him in a bold distinct hand, upon a roll of vellum, about ten feet in length and eight inches in width. It is neatly joined in two or three places, and the writing is contained on both sides of the roll. It is indorsed by Sir William Dugdale "Rentale de Cokersand," and seems to have been obtained from him by his friend

the Bursar in 1501 was 210*l.* 1*s.* 5¾*d.*, being the annual account presented to the chapter of the receipt of land rents and fee farms; but there was no computation of the value of oblations, Easter rolls and heriots; of mortuaries, boons and services; of such lands as were in the occupation of the house; of tithes and fees from their rectories; and of whole flocks of poultry which were due to the Abbey under leases and covenants, and the farms were doubtless quite as beneficial to the tenants as to the landlords.

The inexactness of the Bursar has been already noticed,[1] and here as in all the Monastic Compotuses and Rent Rolls I have seen, errors are found which are inexplicable. The receipts are stated to be 198*l.* 18*s.* 2¾*d.*,[2] which, with the subsequent rents to the end of p. 30, not added together by the Bursar, make the gross total of the Rental 216*l.* 17*s.* 3¾*d.*;[3] but if the first addition of the items amounts to 192*l.* 2*s.* 4¾*d.*, which seems to be the fact, the rents received would be no more than 210*l.* 1*s.* 5¾*d.*[4] Whitaker makes the gross income amount to 222*l.* 12*s.* 0¾*d.*, the tenants in all 487, and their rendering in kind, 204 capons and 442 hens; but he had probably been misled by the Bursar's statement on p. 18, which, instead of being 12*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, ought to be 12*s.* 9½*d.* This

Theophilus Howarth of Howarth in the parish of Rochdale Esq., M.D., and was found amongst the papers of his grandson the Rev. Radclyffe Howarth, LL.D., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford (founder's kin), who died unmarried in 1768. I have added the roll to the MS. treasures in the Chetham Library. Dr. Whitaker had either seen this Rental or a transcript of it in the *Coucher Book* at Thurnham, as he gives a brief analysis of its contents in the *Hist. Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 335.

[1] p. 3, note 2. [2] p. 23. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] In order to ascertain what the actual money rental of the estates belonging to the Abbey would have been at the present time, independent of agricultural improvements, we must triple 210, on account of the diminution of the standard of money, which will amount to 630; and this multiplied according to Whitaker's rule by 8 or thereabouts, the result will be 5,040*l.* of our money.

rental, however, did not include the whole of the possessions of Cokersand, as the Manor of Bayley in Lancashire and the Rectory of Mitton in Yorkshire are not returned.[1]

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who will not be accused of religious partiality, states,[2] with unflattering pen, that divers of the Commissioners who had visited the Monasteries by special authority from the King, who now regarded himself as "the supreme Ordinary," petitioned the Sovereign that some of the houses, both for the virtue of the persons and the benefit of the country (the poor receiving thence great relief, and the richer sort good education), might be spared. Nor was the prayer altogether disregarded. The act of dissolution of this house and of Cartmel was reversed by a singular instance of forbearance on the part of the King,[3] and once again "all the Phœnix spirit burnt within." These two Lancashire Monasteries had, however, been galvanized into a fitful existence, and the time of their revival was brief, as they fell in the general destruction of the larger houses in the year 1540.

The good and evil of Monastic institutions perhaps concerns us remotely, if at all; but it is obvious that the sudden cessation of such an establishment in a recluse neighbourhood, almost dependant upon it for the extension of religion and the promotion of civilization, must have been felt by the little community itself as an unmixed evil, and by many others as a loss to be deplored;

[1] See Whitaker's *Hist. of Craven*, pp. 21–23.

[2] *Hist. of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 4to, 1649.

[3] Whitaker says that Cokersand fell unjustly, being able to expend more than 200*l.* a year; a second valuation of its possessions showing it to have an income amounting to 282*l.* 7*s.* 7½*d.* It was therefore restored unharmed by letters patent dated December 11, 28 Henry VIII., the King appointing Robert Pulton, a Præmonstratensian Monk, the Abbot. — *Hist. Richm.*, vol. ii. p. 334.

and the loss was only tolerated by the nation on the ground that the property was to be held sacred by the King, and to be better appropriated for Church purposes.

The Abbot, by his position and the privileges which belonged to it, had for centuries possessed considerable secular influence, notwithstanding his sequestered mode of life, in all parts of Lancashire, as well as in some of the adjoining counties, and frequently received writs of summons to Parliament. He held his Courts in various Manors, and had the patronage of several Advowsons. Some entire townships belonged to him, and he had free warren over an almost unlimited district.

If we regard him, and we are justified in doing so, not as a celibate of irregular habits, but as a Priest past the meridian of life, one of the best educated men of the times, and professing to observe a severe rule of piety; presiding over and directing a secluded religious fraternity; himself hospitable and decorous, his house avowedly the receptacle of men devoted to letters, the fine arts, and the liberal sciences; educating the youth of the favoured as well as of the humbler classes of the neighbourhood; fostering helpless age, and entertaining wayfaring strangers; cultivating and improving the wide demesne lands of the Abbey by the employment of numerous husbandmen, labourers and shepherds, which may reasonably account for the large number of servants at the dissolution;[1] such a man and such a community could hardly fail to be regarded, by these practical tests of usefulness, notwithstanding their credulity, superstition and fanaticism, as promoting

[1] The *Coucher Book* in 1530, according to Whitaker, gives the names of 350 dependants, who are styled "nativi;" but their servitude would hardly be that of bondmen, or serfs. Such were styled "slaves" in 1568, and were regardant of the manor and bound to the lord. — See *Stanley Papers*, part ii. p. 94, note 4.

not only their own well-being and that of the neighbourhood, but also advancing the general interests of the country, and feeling assured themselves that they possessed and merited those legal protections with which the legislature had thought fit to surround the weaknesses of individuals.

The income of the house was not large, nor were the inmates numerous, the Abbey containing in 1536 only twenty-two religious and fifty-seven servants.[1]

It does not appear that the inexorable visitors discovered laxity of discipline or excesses of any sort, nor had they a single specific charge to allege against the recluses of Cokersand, except their passive resistance to the insidious designs of the King, and perhaps the decay of self-denial indicated by a debt of 108*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*[2] owing by the fraternity, who had clearly not grown weary of their rule, as was said to be the case in some of the Monasteries a little before the Reformation. They probably regarded but did not describe the inmates as Robespierre, a kindred spirit, was wont to describe the Parisian populace, as a "pauvre et vertueux peuple;" but it will not be forgotten that the visitors were courtiers.

It need scarcely be added that the specious pretexts which led to the general subversion of the Monasteries, the secularization of their endowments, and the sudden disruption of old ties and associations, providentially opened the way for the blessing of a Reformed Creed, an improved system of education, a better code of morals, and, it may safely be added, for the universal diffusion of every real advantage which these exclusive houses possessed, although nothing was less thought of by the political vampires of that day.[3]

[1] *Harl. MS.* cod. 694, fol. 91. [2] *Ibid.*; Baines, vol. i. p. 471.

[3] The following records of the Abbey are known to exist: — Collectanea varia ex

Amongst the old gentry of Coat Armour who were free tenants of the Abbey, and allied to it by this and other interlacements, in the HUNDRED OF SALFORD, we find Sir Edmund Trafford of Trafford,[1] Sir John Booth of Barton,[2] and Sir Richard Assheton of Middleton, Knts.,[3] Crompton of Crompton[4] in the parish of Prestwich, Longworth of Longworth[5] in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, and Hulton of Hulton[6] in the parish of Dean; whilst the ten coheiresses of Sir James Harrington[7] of Blackrod, the untimely death of whose only son on his wedding-day, whilst crossing the Irwell

Registro de Cokersand in Bib. Harl. 96, c. 3. Registrum de Cokersand MS. vel penes Rob. Dalton de Thurnham in Com. Lanc. Arm. vel in Bibl. Hatton. Collect. MSS. cl. Rogeri Dodsworth in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.vol. cxviii. fol. 41, vol. cxiv. fol. 41, 96, et vol. cxix. fol. 122. Bibl. Harl. MS. 1499, fol. 69, touching the foundation and erection of this Monastery. MS. 2063, p. 178. Collectanea ex Cartulario ejusdem. MS. 6461 fol. 10. Hundreds and Villages out of which lands were given to it. MS. Cole vol. xviii. p. 215. MS. Peck in Museo Britan. vol. i. Epistolam unam et alteram visitatoris Ordinis Præmonstr. de Abbati ab officio deposito. Pat. viii. E. 2 pro ecclesia de Mitton appropriando. Manor of Bailey 4 Edward III. 3rd part of the Manor of Middleton in Lonsdale 15 Edward III. Ibid. pro marc 40 pro eccles. de Mitton approprianda. Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, ordained a vicarage in the Church of Mitton appropriated to this Monastery A.D. 1301. In the King's Remembrancer Office is a decree Mich. 31 Car. 2. that the Abbey lands of Cokersand are titheable in the hands of the owner. There is a paper survey of Cokersand temp. Henry VIII. in the Augmentation Office, and it is believed that there is a Register Book of this Abbey in the possession of John Gage Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. Dugdale's Mon. vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906, fol. 1830, note. The last-named book is now said to be in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill Bart. Dr. Whitaker has interesting notices of the Abbey from the Coucher Book compiled by Robert de Lacheford, the early historian of the house, dated on the feast of St. Michael A.D. 1268, and all the later accretions of its possessions being added by successive scribes down to the dissolution. This register was formerly at Thurnham Hall, but its destination at present seems to be unknown. Tanner also refers to it. — *Notitia*, p. 232; Dugdale's *Notitia*, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906; Whitaker's *Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 328, &c.; Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestr.* vol. 2, pp. 567–8.

[1] p. 3. [2] p. 4. [3] p. 4. [4] p. 3. [5] p. 4. [6] p. 4. [7] p. 4; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xii.; Vincent's *MSS.* No. 503, fo. 59, in Coll. Arm. London.

at Trafford, had just extinguished one of the oldest of the feudal houses in the Hundred, rendered a quit rent for lands in Bolton-le-Moors; and the great heiress of Sir Geoffrey Mascy[1] acknowledged the superior claim of the Abbey to at least a portion of her inheritance at Worsley.

In the Hundred of West Derby, Thomas the first Earl of Derby K.G.,[2] Sir Alexander Standish of Standish,[3] Sir William Norres of Speke,[4] and Sir Henry Halsall of Halsall, Knts.;[5] Langton of Low,[6] Orell of Orell,[7] Winstanley of Winstanley,[8] Bold of Bold,[9] Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick,[10] and Bradshaigh of Haigh[11] were also amongst the tenants holding of the Abbey.

In the Hundred of Leyland, the ancient territorial owners, the ffaringtons of ffarington,[12] and Banastres of Bank,[13] both descended from early Norman proprietors, and the more modern families of Chorley[14] and Rigby[15] were connected with the house by the payment of small quit rents, indicating a remote antiquity.

In the Hundred of Amounderness the heirs of Sir Edward Bethom of Bethom,[16] and of Sir Robert Haryngton of Hornby,[17] Sir Thomas Lawrence of Ashton,[18] the Urswicks of Urswick,[19] the Kirkbys of Kirkby,[20] the Butlers of Rawcliffe[21] and Kirkland,[22] Gardner[23] the benefactor of Lancaster, Catterall of Catterall,[24] and Stanley of Hornby Castle,[25] the last of whom had just succeeded to the large estates of the Dacres[26] and Harringtons,[27] were all connected with the Abbey by the ties of property; whilst more than one member of the old house of Croft,[28] early benefactors of the Abbey, still retained their connection with it, and long and fondly lingered about their ancestral lands at Claughton.

[1] p. 4. [2] p. 6. [3] p. 5. [4] p. 7. [5] p. 5. [6] p. 4. [7] p. 4.
[8] p. 5. [9] p. 7. [10] p. 7. [11] p. 4. [12] p. 11. [13] p. 11. [14] p. 10.
[15] p. 10. [16] p. 11. [17] p. 22. [18] p. 19. [19] p. 11. [20] p. 14. [21] p. 16.
[22] p. 16. [23] p. 19. [24] p. 16. [25] p. 24. [26] p. 24. [27] p. 22. [28] pp. 22, 23.

In CUMBERLAND, Sir John Pennington of Muncaster[1] and Sir Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh[2] Knts.; in WESTMORELAND the Redmaynes[3] and Manserghs;[4] and in YORKSHIRE the Middletons[5] and Bainbrigges[6] did fealty for some of their lands, and owed suit and service to the house.

Of the religious foundations in Lancashire which held lands of the Abbey, or lands and tenements charged with payments to it, were the Abbey of B. V. Mary of Whalley[7] and the Priories of Burscough[8] and Hornby;[9] also the Hospital of St. John in Chester,[10] the Abbess and Convent of Sion in Middlesex,[11] the Abbot of Croxton Keyrial in Leicestershire,[12] and the Priory of St. Leonard in York;[13] whilst the Rector of Tatham[14] in the deanery of Lonsdale was the only parish priest who paid a pension or probably a quit rent to the Abbey for his benefice, lands, or other immunities.

On the 28th March 1544, 35 Henry VIII. the Crown granted the dissolved Abbey, with the site and certain lands, to John and Robert Gardner of Pilling (who were probably Abbey tenants),[15] at a rent of 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and the same were shortly afterwards conveyed 35 Henry VIII. in fee for 798*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* to John Kitchen Esq. (whose family had probably also been connected with the house),[16] then residing at Hatfield co. Herts., and supervisor of the Augmentation Office, but afterwards of Pilling Hall near Cokersand, and a burgess in parliament. As the Monastic buildings soon fell he had probably been an active iconoclast.[17]

[1] p. 27. [2] p. 27. [3] p. 26. [4] p. 26. [5] p. 28. [6] p. 28. [7] p. 4. [8] p. 7. [9] p. 24. [10] p. 21. [11] p. 21. [12] p. 25. [13] p. 28. [14] p. 22. [15] pp. 17, 18. [16] p. 17.

[17] A crumbling fragment of wall on the edge of the cliff is still called St. John's Chapel, and may have been a chantrey chapel in the Abbey church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the favourite patron saint of the Order.

The Abbey estate within ten years passed away from his name and house in marriage with Ann his eldest daughter and coheiress (by deed dated August 29th, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary) to Robert Dalton of Bispham, who purchased the adjoining manor of Thurnham in 1556, and, dying childless in 1580, was succeeded by his nephew. In the fourth generation it was again conveyed in marriage by an heiress to William Hoghton of Park Hall Esq., who thereupon assumed the surname of Dalton, and whose last male descendant died without issue in 1819, having predeceased his father.

The Abbey, built of red friable stone, was probably at no time remarkable for the extent of its buildings, the enrichment of its architecture, or the exuberance of its ornamentation; nor can the arrangement and disposition of its several parts now be ascertained. The conventual church is named at an early period,[1] and the octagonal chapter house, probably approached from the cloisters,[2] still remains, being thirty feet in diameter, and its walls two feet four inches in thickness. It is surrounded at the base of the interior wall by a low continued seat of stone, said to have been originally appropriated to the stalls belonging to the Abbot and Canons. The oak canopies of the stalls, if formerly at the back of each seat, and this tradition will at least admit of doubt, may be seen

[1] William son of John de Hacaneshaw (Hackensall) lord of Hacaneshaw and Presaw (Presall), confirmed by deed s.d. *to the Church of Cokersand* all the lands granted by his father. This, by computation of dates, would be in the time of King John. Various members of this family occur as attestors in deeds of Hamelton, Stalmine and Staynol; the earlier deeds are without date, but written between the years 1199 and 1303. In the last deed, 2 Edward III., "Richard lord of Hacounshou, and John of the same," occur. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxviii. pp. 377 - 383. The manor passed from them to the Butlers of Hackensall.

[2] Mr. Dallaway says this was always the case, but the chapter house at Wells was surely an exception.

at the present day appropriately preserved in Lancaster Church, as the screen of the Abbatial Church is at Mitton. The roof is supported on an insulated Anglo-Norman shaft in the centre of the house, resting on a broad plinth of masonry, and is conjoined with the pointed arches of its fine groined ceiling. It is considered by Whitaker to be nearly coeval with the original foundation, although the style of the windows would imply a rather more recent date. The sculptured faces remaining on the capitals are rudely carved, without any expression either of dignity or piety, and are characteristic of the same early pointed style. The chapter house "is indeed a gem," and although it appears in 1727 in Buck's *South-East View*[1] as dismantled, and overgrown with ivy, such is not its present condition. A roof of lead was added, and the whole building restored, if not in good taste at least with reverential feeling, by the last Mr. Dalton, whose ancestors had long appropriated it as the family mausoleum. The estate passed in March 1861, on the death of his daughter, Miss Dalton of Thurnham Hall, to her distant relative Sir James George Fitzgerald of Castle Ishen in the co. of Cork, the present owner of Cokersand Abbey.

* * * *

"And there the shatter'd fabric stands,
And crowns the dizzy steep.

* * * *

Fast falling now that holy pile,
Of winds and storms the sport;
A lonely beacon on the brow
To point the sheltering port."

F. R. R.

[1] Vol. ii.

Rentale omi' ffirmar Reddit 't Suic dom' de Cokersand ffactu p Jacobu Skypton celler'[1] de t'mio incipient' ad festu Pent' e Sci Martini i yeme[2] Anno dni Millo D° j°

Salforthschyr' Tent' ad volut'.

Johes laythwayte redd. p annū iii capon Georg laythwayte r p annū ii capon Hankyn laythwayte r p annū i capon	..... v^{li}	
Ric. Parrys ten' vnū tent redd. p annū iiii capon...	xxvj^{s}	viii^{d}
Vx. Robti Holden ten' j ten' redd. p annū ii capon	xii^{s}	
Vx. Johis Holden ten' j tent r. p annū ii capon ...	xii^{s}	
Ead. vx. tz vnā claus' r. p annū ii capon	viii^{s}	
Laurence Rygbe tz j t'. r. p annū iiii capon.....	xxii^{s}	
Vx. Ade Holden tz j t'. r. p annū iiii capon	xx^{s}	
Jacob' Penylber' tz j t'. r. p annū ii capon	x^{s}	
Ead.[3] Jacob tz ptem de Smalemanland[4] r. p annū.	iiii^{s}	
Galfrid' Penylbur' tz j t'. r. p annū j capon..... ...	iiii^{s}	vj^{d}
Nycol. Penylber' tz j t'. p annū iii capon	xiiii^{s}	ix^{d}
Vx. Johis Merscer tz j t'. r. p annū iiii capon	xxi^{s}	viii^{d}

[1] The Cellerer or Butler was an officer in a Monastery, who had the charge of the household stores and provisions.

[2] Winter — 11*th* November.

[3] *Idem.*

[4] The land originally allotted to small tenants.

Will^{q} Hogekynson tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ ...	xxii^{s}	
Will^{q} Hogekynson tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iii capoñ ...	xxi^{s}	viii^{d}
Thomãs Cowꝑ tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xvi^{s}	
Roƀt Hogekynson tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iii capoñ	xix^{s}	
Thomas Rycrofte tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xxii^{s}	
Johẽs H tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iii capoñ	xl^{s}	
Johẽs Rygby senior tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ ...	xl^{s}	
Johẽs Rygby junior tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iii capoñ ..	xl^{s}	
Ric. Harte junior tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	iii^{li} ii^{s}	
Laurence Horrocks tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū vj capoñ ...	xxxv^{s}	vi^{d}
Vx. Oliu̇ Rygby tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xl^{s}	
Johẽs Penyngton tȝ j teñt quonđ ī tenur̃ Elene Lauton r̃. ꝑ annū i capon	vii^{s}	
Rog̊ Dyconson tȝ j teñt r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xx^{s}	
Hugo Nayler tȝ j teñt r̃. ꝑ annū vj capoñ	xxviii^{s}	
Henr̃ Derbyschyre tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ij capoñ	x^{s}	
Ric. Rygby tȝ j t'. redd. ꝑ annū vj capoñ	xx^{s}	
Vx. Galfridi Schakerley tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ij capoñ .	xxiiii^{s}	
Willmũs Smyth tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ij capoñ	xvi^{s}	
Rog̊ Penylbere tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ad voluntat'		xiiii^{d}
Edmund^{q} Andreton tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ ...	xxviii^{s}	vii^{d}
Omfridus Riland tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xxxviii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Will^{q} Wodward tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ	xix^{s}	
Jhoñ Peñyngton tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xxxiiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Vx. Nycol Grene tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ	xiiii^{s}	
Johñ Penyngton ꝛ Willm̃ Mador tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ.....	x^{s}	
Johñ Penyngton ꝛ vx. Nycol Grene tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ.....	vi^{s}	viii^{d}
Willm̃ Mador tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iii capoñ.....	xi^{s}	iiii^{d}
Jacoƀ Palfroutt tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ	xiiii^{s}	
Idm̃ Jacobȝ tȝ ꝑtem le Smalemālands r̃. ꝑ annū ...		iiii^{d}

Ambros Makand tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ.....	xiiii^{s}	
Alex̃ Keyreslay tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ii capoñ	viii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Thurstan^{q} Lee tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū vi capoñ	xx^{s}	
Vx. Willm̃ Makand tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ij capoñ.....	xvi^{s}	
Jacobȝ Dyconson tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū ij capoñ.....	xii^{s}	
Rog̃ Dyconson tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū iiii capoñ	xx^{s}	
Radulfus Chaddoke tȝ iii acr̃ tr̃e ⁊ dī r̃. ꝑ annū	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Vx. Johĩs Mador tȝ molenđ aquaticū r̃. ꝑ annū	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Roƀt^{q} Aspull in Hyndlay tȝ j t'. r̃. ꝑ annū.....	iiii^{s}	

Lib' Tent' Ibidm̄.

Vx. Johĩs Molinux tȝ tr̃a in Haghton lib. r̃. ꝑ annū	vi^{s}	x^{d}
Johñ Lee tȝ ibm̄ lib. r̃. ꝑ annū.....		xxi^{d}
Idm̃ Johẽs ꝑ nouo apr̃omento[1] r̃. ꝑ annū		ii^{d}
Rog̃ Dyconson tȝ t'. ibm̄ lib. r̃. ꝑ annū		xx^{d}
Thom^{a}s Ischerwod tȝ t'. ibm̄ lib. r̃. ꝑ annū	iii^{s}	
Radulfus Chaydok t'. ibm̄ lib. r̃. ꝑ annū		ix^{d}
Sm̃ lj^{li}	vj^{s}	x^{d}
[£52	1	8][2]

Alii Lib' Tent' inf^{a} Salforthschyr'.

Edmund Trafforth mil. tȝ lib. ī Chorletō Bexweke ⁊ Whetȳgton[3] r̃. ꝑ annū	iiii^{s}	
Nycol Peron tȝ lib. in ffaylesworth r̃. ꝑ annū.....		xii^{d}
Johẽs Crompton tȝ in Crompton lib. r̃. ꝑ annū		xii^{d}

[1] New improvement.

[2] The Bursar does not seem to have been expert in his arithmetic, as the Rental was higher than he made it appear to be.

[3] Withington.

Rog̃ Pylkyngton tȝ lib. in Chetam ad pitaciā conuēt⁹[1] r̃	ii^{s}	
Ric. Cowen tȝ in Penylber⁹ iuxta Eccles r̃.		xii^{d}
Johñ Both miles tȝ ad volunt' iuxta Barton sup̱ Irwiłłm r̃.		xvi^{d}
Her̃ Galfrid. Masse tȝ tr̃a in Worsley ad voluntat' r̃.	ii^{s}	
Thomas Longworth tȝ in Longworth lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Idm̃ Thomas tȝ t'. ibm̄ ad voluntat' r̃.		xii^{d}
Roƀt Hylton tȝ t'. in Halywell lib. r̃.	ii^{s}	
Abbas Moñ bē Marie de Whallay tȝ t'. quonđ Johīs Eccles ī Mawntō r̃.		xii^{d}
Adam Hylton tȝ j clas̃ vocat' Hulton Park r̃.	viii^{s}	
Georg̃ Atherton tȝ t'. in Lostoke lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Ric. Eschton miles tȝ in Aynsworth lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Her̃ Jacobi Haryngton milit. p̱ t'. in Langworth voc̄ Kyrklād lib.		vi^{d}

Lib' Ten̄t' in Derbyschyr' iuxt' Wegan.

Her̃ Thome Torton tȝ t'. in Hyndlay lib. r̃. p̱ annū		vi^{d}
Gilƀt Langton tȝ t'. quonđ Ada Halkynson lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
Edmund Langton tȝ t'. quonđ vocat' Medwalland r̃.	ii^{s}	vi^{d}
Rog̃ Bradscha tȝ t'. in Hay lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Ric. Halghton tȝ t'. in Aspull vocat' Scrapps r̃.		ii^{d}
Johñ Heschton tȝ t'. in Abram lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Will^{a}m Culchyth tȝ t'. r̃.		xii^{d}
Ric. Adreton tȝ t'. in Bekyrschawe lib. t'.		vi^{d}
Roƀt Bolton tȝ t'. in Bekyrschawe ibm̄ lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
Roƀt⁹ Oryll tȝ t'. in Orrell r̃.		ii^{d}

[1] *Pittacium conventûs* might be the original roll or schedule of the Abbey tenants, specifying the tenures; but more probably a *pittance*, being a little repast or feast, is here meant.

Heř Roƀti Holand tȝ t'. in Orell lib. ř. ..... x^{d}
Alex Standysch miles tȝ t'. lib. ř. ..... . xii^{d}
Ric. Scott tȝ in Pem̄ton lib. ř..... xii^{d}
Edmũd Wynstanley tȝ in Wynstanle lib. ř. ..... xii^{d}
Id. Edmũd^{q} tȝ t'. ad volunt' ř..... ..... xii^{d}
Roƀt^{q} Andreton tȝ t'. in Ince iuxta Wegan ř. .... . x^{d}
Heř Adam Bukley tȝ t'. in Pemertō iux^{a} Legh kyrk scole lib. ř..... ..... vi^{d}
Karolus Geleb"nd tȝ t'. in Hastlay lib. ř. ... . xii^{d}
Idm̃ Karolus tȝ ad volunt' ib̄m ř. ..... xii^{d}
Petrus Schakerlay tȝ in Tyldyslay lib. ř. .... xii^{d}

Lydyate, Hyrleton 't Barton.[1]

Rycol Langbake tȝ t'. in Lydyate ř. ꝑ annū ij capoñ ..... xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Gylƀt^{q} Brodehede tȝ t'. lib. ř. ꝑ annū..... ..... xii^{d}
Vx. Gilƀti Barton tȝ t'. ř. ꝑ annū ..... v^{s}
Johñ Noresse tȝ t'. in Barton lib. ř. ..... xii^{d}
Henř Halsall miles tȝ piscariā ⁊ t'ram nrãȝ de Formeby ⁊ Aynsdale ř. .... xx^{s}
Thomas Plome tȝ t'. in Allerton ř. .... vi^{s} viii^{d}
Dom^{q} Hospitał Scī Johīs Cestrie ꝑ moss g̃^{a}unge[2] m^{o} in tenuř d'd' hervy[3]..... ..... v^{s}
Ric. Tarleton in Hyrleton lib. ř. ..... xii^{d}

[1] Lydiate in Melling and Barton in Down-Holland are in Halsall parish, whilst Hurleston within Scarisbrick is in Ormskirk.

[2] Moss Grange.

[3] *Sic.*

Conschog̅h.[1]

Radulfus Knollꝭ tȝ t'. in Conschogh redd. iiii capon̄	xlv^{s}	
Henr̃ Tatloke tȝ t'. r̃. iiii capon̄	xx^{s}	
Ric. flecher tȝ t'. r̃. iiii capon̄	xvi^{s}	
John Barkar tȝ t'. r̃. ii capon̄	ix^{s}	vii^{d}
Vx. Symonis Hunt tȝ j t'. r̃. ii capon̄	xiiii^{s}	vj^{d}
Henr̃ Asmull tȝ t'. r̃. iii capon̄	xv^{s}	ii^{d}
Edm̃nd Tyrehar̃ tȝ t'. r̃. iii capon̄	xvi^{s}	
Idm̃ Edmũd tȝ j clas̾ r		xxi^{d}
Radulfus Bekyrstath tȝ j t'. r̃. iiii capon̄	xvi^{s}	iii^{d}
Ric. Cowp̱ tȝ j t'. r̃. ii capon̄	xx^{s}	
Rob̄t Aderton tȝ j t'. r̃. ii capon̄	xx^{s}	
Thomas Hall tȝ qwytschyfyld r̃.	v^{s}	

Lib' Ten̄t' in Derbyschyr'.

Thomas Comes de Derby tȝ t'. in Dalton vocat' Byrkynschaw lib. r̃.	xii^{d}
Idm̃ Thomas p̱ man̾io de Raynforth lib. r̃	iiii^{d}
Rob̄tꝰ Seffeton tȝ ij t'. in Burtonhede r̃	xi^{d}
Matthe^{ꝰ} Male tȝ in Ayntr̃ r̃.	xii^{d}
Thomas Adyrton tȝ t'. in Bylyng vocat' Grukhurst r̃.	xviii^{d}
Johẽs Dugard tȝ t'. in Mellyng m^{o} in tenur̃ Rob̄ti More r̃.	xii^{d}
Rob̄tꝰ Awte tȝ t'. vocat' Rughtwayt r̃.	viii^{d}
Johẽs Pulle tȝ t'. vocat' Rughtwayt r̃.	xiiii^{d}
Ric. ffaldryng tȝ t'. vocat' Scolmast̾ land r̃.	vj^{d}
Rob̄t Tatloke tȝ c̄tā tr̃am cū mossa r̃.	xvi^{d}
Gilb̄tꝰ Walche tȝ t'. in Agheton r̃.	xii^{d}

[1] *Alias* Keniscough, in Halsall parish.

Ric. Gorschawe tȝ ij t'. in Lydyate r̃.	ii^{s}
Johẽs Tokholes tȝ t'. lib. r̃.	ii^{d}
Heř Robti Bradlay tȝ t'. in Male r̃.....	vj^{d}
Heř de Londȝ in Mellyng r̃.....	vj^{d}
Willm Norresse miles tȝ t'. in Allertō voc̄ Pūcher-crofte m^{o} in tenur̃ Tho. Plome r̃.....	vi^{d}
Johẽs Molenesse tȝ t'. in Thorntō lib. r̃.....	xii^{d}
Johẽs Lassell tȝ t'. in Holland lib. r̃.	xii^{d}
Ranulfus Eccleston iux^{a} Eccles r̃..	ii^{s}
Henr̃ Standysch tȝ Scollę iux^{a} Sutton lib. r̃.	viii^{d}
Ric. Cowp tȝ t'. in Wyndyll lib. r̃.	ii^{s}
Johñ Arslynge tȝ t'. in Wyndyll r̃.	xii^{d}
Heř Colley tȝ t'. in Wyndyll r̃.	xii^{d}
Johẽs Eschede iux^{a} Torboke r̃.	xii^{d}
Heř Henrici Buld tȝ t'. vocat' qwykfyld r̃.....	vj^{d}
Heř Thome Buld tȝ t'. vocat' Pesfyld m^{o} in tenura Oliu̯ Sale r̃.	xviii^{d}
Jacob qwytlaw tȝ t'. in Sutton r̃.	viii^{d}
Robt^{q} Ballard tȝ t'. vocat' Kyngsfyld r̃.	xii^{d}
Gilbt Wodfall tȝ t'. lib. r̃.	vi^{d}
Prior de Bursko tȝ t'. in Dalton lib. r̃.	xii^{d}
Gilbt^{q} Skaresbrek tȝ t'. j acr̃ tr̃e ī Skaresbrek r̃. ...	ii^{s}
Henric^{q} Halsall miles tȝ t'. in Halsall lib. r̃.	ii^{s}
Johẽs Jacson tȝ t'. in Natyler lib. r̃.	vi^{s}
Sm̃^{a}	xvi^{li} xvi^{s}

Tarleton 't Holmes.

Willm Sutton tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall^{o}.	xii^{s}
Jacobȝ Dande tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall^{o}	xx^{s}
Willm Jynkynson tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall^{o}	xi^{s}
Vx. Henr̃ Dandy tȝ t'. r̃.	v^{s}

Robt⁹ Walbank t3 t'. r̃. iij gall⁹ ..... iiii^{s}
Henr̃ Wygnall t3 t'. r̃. iii gall⁹ ..... viii^{s}
Johẽs Wygnall t3 t'. r̃. iii gall⁹ ..... vii^{s}
Ric. Wygnall t3 t'. r̃. iii gall⁹ ..... xiiii^{s}
Henr̃ Dande t3 t'. r̃. iii gall⁹ ..... x^{s}
Thomas Gybonson t3 t'. vocat' Holmes r̃. ..... iiii marc̄ iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Lib' Tenṫ' Ibm.

Henr̃ Banestr̃ lib. in Tarleton .... i^{d} ob.
Hugo Croston in Tarleton lib. ..... iiii^{d}
Rog⁹ Wygnall t3 in Tarleton lib. .... i^{d} ob.
Rog⁹ Call lib. ibm̄ r̃. ..... i^{d}
Ric. fforcha t3 lib. ibm̄ .... iii^{d}
Willm Tarleton t3 t'. vocat' Grevyslands ..... xii^{d}

Hotton.

Carul⁹ ffaryngton[1] t3 manr̃ de Hotton 7⁹ p annū .... xii^{li}
Vx. Robti Henreson t3 t'. r̃. .... xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Henr̃ Tomlynson t3 t'. r̃. .... x^{s}
Vx. Henry Wyldyng t3 t'. r̃. ..... xxvi^{s} iiii^{d}
Will'm Martyn t3 t'. r̃. .... xxii^{s}
Radulf⁹ Mayr̃ t3 t'. r̃. .... xx^{s}
Ric. Mayre t3 t'. r̃..... .... xiii^{s} viii^{d}

[1] Charles ffarington, third son of Sir William ffarington of Worden, was the first of his name who held Hutton Grange from the Abbey, which was purchased at the Dissolution by his grandson, Richard ffarington Esq., who married the daughter of Thomas Brotherton of Ulswalton, co. Lancaster. The purchaser's grandson, Francis ffarington Esq., had by his wife Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford Knt., no issue male, but a sole daughter and heiress, who conveyed the estate in marriage to Sir Edward Osbaldiston of Osbaldiston Knt. *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xii.; Dugdale's *Visit. Lanc.*; Holland Watson's *MS. Ped.* Sir Henry Spelman would not have regarded this as an unimportant fact.

Vx. Johẽs Wyldyng tꝫ t'. r̃.	xviii^{s}	
Jacob^{q} Mayr̃ tꝫ t'. r̃.	xxii^{s}	
Jynkyn Wylkyson tꝫ t'. r̃.....	xvii^{s}	
Thomas Hudson tꝫ t'. r̃.	xx^{s}	
Vx. Thome Evys tꝫ t'. r̃.	xv^{s}	
Henr̃ Thomlynson tꝫ j clas̄ vocat' Byrch r̃..... .	ii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Thome Mayr̃ tꝫ t'. r̃.	xvi^{s}	
Willm fforeste tꝫ t'. r̃.	xvii^{s}	
Ric. Mylñ tꝫ t'. cū Bradforthgrevys r̃.	xxxii^{s}	
Thomas Taylyo^{r} tꝫ molend aquatic̄ de Bradforth ꝯ molē vent̄ r̃.	xxii^{s}	
Vx. Ric. Scherdley tꝫ i toftū vocat' Hancrofte m^{o} in tenur̃ Lewes Logton r̃.		x^{d}
Thomas Garsten tꝫ t'. r̃.	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Vx. Rog̃i Tuson tꝫ t'. r̃.		viii^{s}
Oñes teñt de Hotton dant dño ꝑ lee leys[1] iuxt^{a} Rybyll xlviii gall^{s}		
Ibm̃ teñt ꝑ delł carre[2] iux^{a} Bradforthgrevys r̃. xii gall^{s}		
Sm̃a	xxx^{li} xiiii^{s}	v^{d}

Lib' Tenṫ' Ibm̄.

Heñr̃ Laurenc̃ Starky tꝫ ibm̄	ii^{s}	vj^{d}
Thomas Waryng tꝫ j t'. lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Idm̃ Thom^{m}s tꝫ t'. quond Ade Aynolsdale[3] r̃.		xiii^{d}
Willm Wylson tꝫ t'. m^{o} in manibꝫ Nichoł Hyton r̃		iii^{d}
Thomas Bradton tꝫ lib.....	iii^{s}	
Idm̃ Thomas ꝑ diu̇ pcell lib. r̃.....		iii^{d}
Idm̃ Thom. tꝫ j acr̃ et j rod tr̃e r̃.		j^{d} quart̄

[1] The low pasture land sloping to the Ribble. [2] Part of the peat land covered with wood. [3] Aynsdale.

Will"m Dobson t3 lib. r.		jd
Edward Mayr t3 j messuag quond Johis Gedpeny r		xiiiid
Xpofm Bayne t3 lib. r.		ijd ob.
Will"m Strykland t3 lib. r.		xd
Lewes Langton t3 lib. r.		xd
Henr Scherdley t3 lib. r.		xd
Johes Hogeson t3 lib. r.	iis	vid
John Robynson t3 t'. vocat' Selbylands r.		viid ob.
Henr Ward t3 iure vx. sue lib. r.		xiid ob.
Idm Henr t3 Cardolls r.		jd quadr
Will"m Mygcholl t3 lib. r.		iiiid
John Banke t3 t'. duos pcell lib. r.		viid
Johes Tuson t3 t'. quond Woddslands lib. r.		viiid
Idm John Tuson p nouo puumeto[1] r.		jd quadr

Alii Lib' Tent' inf[a] Laylandschyr'.

Heer de Carrehowse lib. r.		xd
Ric. Gyrdley t3 t'. vsus Carrehowse r.		viid
Nicol. Rygby t3 t'. lib. r. de Harrok-hyll[2]		vid
Will"m fynch t3 t'. lib.		vid
Robtus Stopfurth t3 t'. lib.		vid
Gylbtus Banyst de fayrehyrste t3 t'. in Whytyngto t pbald r.		xxid
Johes Aschyrste t3 t'. lib.		xiid
Will"m Chorley t3 t'. lib. r.		xiid
Hug Crostone in Bradton lib. r.		jd ob.
Radulf Wodward t3 t'. in Schevyngto lib. r.		vid
Her de Tunlay in Whytyngton r.		xiid

[1] See *ante* p. 3 note.

[2] Harrock Hall in Eccleston parish, in the deanery of Leyland, was at an early period the seat of the Rigby family. — See Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. pp. 373–4.

Thomas ffaryngton in Clayton lib. r̃. .... xii^{d}
Ric. Wyrdyn t3 t'. in Kerden r̃. ..... xii^{d}
Edward^{q} Croston t3 in Croston r̃. ..... j^{d}
Ric. Banys^{t} t3 ibm̄ r̃. ..... vi^{d}
Hug̃ Banes^{t} t3 in Bred$^{}$ton r̃. ..... ii^{d}
Ric. Longtre t3 t'. vocat' Brokfyld r̃. ..... xii^{d}

Amūdernesse.

Laurence Page t3 totā tr̃am nr̃am in P$^{}$ston r̃. p annū .... xl^{s}

Warton, Newton & Skalys.

Jamys Browne t3 t'. in Skalys lib. r̃..... xii^{d}
Idm̃ Jamys t3 tr̃a quond Elyenor̃ Mylne lib. . viii^{d}
Her̃ Ric. Smyth t3 ibm̄ lib. ... . vi^{d}
Will$^{}$m flecher t3 t'. in Warton r̃ ..... xx^{s}
Robt Clystone de Kydsnape t3 t'. ī Wartō lib. r̃. ... vi^{s}
Her̃ Ric. flecher in Warton m^{o} in tenur̃ Johīs Syngletō lib. r̃..... .... xviii^{d}
Her̃ Thome Vrswyke t3 lib. r̃. . . .. iiii^{d}
Her̃ Edwardi Bethū milit' t3 lib. r̃. in Weton..... vi^{d}
John̄ Taylyo^{r} t3 t'. vocat' Pulhowse sup Rybyll lib. r̃. iii^{d}
Cuthbt^{q} Clyfton t3 ibm̄ lib. r̃. .... iii^{d}
Thomas Bekerstaffe in Skalys lib. r̃. ..... viii^{d}

Plūton, Grenehalgh, Corneraw[1] & Thystylton.

John P$^{}$mett t3 in Plumtōn tent' r̃. iiii gall^{o} ... vi^{s} viii^{d}
Hugo Haghton t3 in Thystylton lib. r̃... ..... ii^{s}

[1] Henry Cornrue of Cornrue gent. occurs amongst the *Liberi Tenentes* of Amounderness in 1621. The name, now spelt Corna, lingers about St. Michael's, but this place seems to be Corney-row in Kirkham.

Idm̃ Hug̃ in Corneraw lib. r̃.		j^{d}
Vx. Thome Duñerdale t3 in Grenehalgh lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Ric. Greneholl t3 in Greneholl ꝯ Whytacr̃ lib. r̃. ...	vi^{s}	vi^{d}
Jamys Butler t3 Esbrek lib. r̃.....		vi^{d}
Robt Coward t3 t'. in Thystylton ij gall^{9} r̃.....	xii^{s}	

Mydlargh.[1]

Willm Hall t3 t'. ad volūt r̃. vi gall^{9}.....	xxvi^{s}	viii^{d}
Willm Horneby[2] t3 t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}	xxvi^{s}	viii^{d}
Jamys Horneby t3 t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}	xxvi^{s}	viii^{d}
Henr̃ Nycson t3 t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}	xxvi^{s}	viii^{d}

Syngleton.

Johẽs Hogerd t3 t'. r̃. vi capon̄...	xl^{s}	
Thom^{s} ffell t3 t'. r̃. vi capon̄.....	xl^{s}	
Johñ Haw t3 t'. r̃. vi capon̄	xl^{s}	
Idm̃ tenṫ tenem. feremā place r̃.	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Willm Dobson	ij^{s}	

Magna Carleton 't p̄ba.

Thomas Hull t3 t'. in Carleton r̃. p̱ annū.....	xxvi^{s}	
Willm Bameburgh t3 tr̃a nrã3 ibm̄ r̃.	xv^{s}	
Ric. Schorred t3 tr̃am nrām ibm̄ r̃.....	iii^{s}	
Georg̃ Carleton t3 tr̃am nrām in p̱ua Carleton r̃.....	vi^{s}	viii^{d}
Willm Hull ꝯ Thomas Hull tenēt molēd vent' quond̄ r̃.	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}

[1] It would scarcely appear from this rental that the whole of the township of Medlar in the parish of Kirkham belonged to the Abbey of Cockersand. — See Baines's *Hist. Lanc.* vol. iv. p 400.

[2] There is still an old yeoman-family of this name in Medlar.

Merton, Pulhowse, Laton, Hayholme, Pulton & Thornton.[1]

Dñs de Laton r̃. de Cam̃a sua annuatĩ.....	xl^{s}	
Idm̃ Dñs t3 t'. vocat'. Threfylds lib. r̃..... ...		vi^{d}
Vx. Willim Sawnd̃son t3 in M'ton r̃.....	xviii^{s}	viii^{d}
Will"m Galt' t3 t'. r̃.....	ix^{s}	iiii^{d}
Rob̃t Whytsyde t3 t'. vocat' Pulhowse r̃.....		x^{d}
Johñ Anyon t3 t'. in Hayholme r̃.	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Will"m Hull t3 ibm̄ r̃.	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Henr̃ Taylyo^{r} t3 in Pulton vocat' Abbots Acr̃ r̃.		xii^{d}
Will"m Dauy t3 in Thornton t'. r̃.	iiii^{s}	

Esbrek, Elyswyk & Eccleston.[2]

Vx. Rob̃ti Kyrkby t3 in Eccleston r̃..... ...	iii^{s}	
Rob̃t Thomasson t3 gardiñ in Elswyk r̃.		xii^{d}
Her̃ Johĩs Sothworth t3 t'. in Elyswyk r̃.		xii^{d}
Johĩs ffylde t3 t'. in Eccleston r̃.....		x^{d}

Presalv.[3]

Vx. Rob̃ti Bradschay[4] t3 t'. ibm̄ r̃. vi gall^{9}...	xxvi^{s}	ii mess.
Thomas Bell t3 clas̃ vocat' fyschercrofte r̃. ij gall^{9}	x^{s}	ii mess.
Rob̃t Dughty f. Ric. Kyln t3 t'. r̃. vj gall^{9}	xx^{s}	ij mess.
Thomas Benett r̃. vj gall^{9}	xx^{s}	ij mess.
Edward ffyscher r̃. iiii gall^{9}	xii^{s}	iii mess.

[1] Marton and Thornton are townships in the parish of Poulton. Pulhouse was probably a farm, now unknown, whilst Hayholme is the township of Holmes. Laton is in the parish of Bispham.

[2] Esbrick is in Kirkham parish, whilst Elswick and Eccleston are in St. Michael's.

[3] Presall is in Lancaster parish.

[4] So pronounced to this day. A family of the same name resides here as yeomen.

Vx. Thome Chatburne r̃. ijjj gall^{9}	iiii^{s}	ii mess.
Vx. Nicol. Hey r̃. vii gall^{9}	xiiii^{s} x^{d}	iii mess.
Ric. Dughty r̃. v gall^{9}	xii^{s}	ii mess.

Staynoll, Stalmyn & Hamylton.[1]

Petur Dyconson in Staynoll r̃. vj gall^{9}	xvi^{s}	ij mess.
Idm̃ Petur t3 ibm̄ r̃. iij gall^{9}	xii^{s}	i mess.
Jamys Alenson t3 t'. r̃. iiij gall^{9}	x^{s}	iiii mess.
Jamys Dughty t3 t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}	xiiii^{s}	ii mess.
Vx. Robti Dyconson t3 t'. r̃. v gall^{9}	xiii^{s}	ii mess.
Ric. Dyconson t3 t'. in Stalmyn r̃. vi gall^{9}	xv^{s}	ii mess.
Her̃ Ade Syngleton t3 in Hamylton m^{o} in tenur̃ Johis Cart^{2} r̃.		xviii^{d}

Rawclyff & Trenacr̄.[3]

Willm Kyrkby[4] t3 j acr̃ tr̃e & dī in Trenacr̃ r̃....		xviii^{d}
Idm̃ Willm̃ t3 tr̃am nrām in Rawclyf r̃.	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Willm Hogekynson t3 t'. in Pva Eccleston lib. r̃....	ii^{s}	
Willm Greneholl t3 t'. r̃...	ii^{s}	
Henr̃ Raby t3 t'. r̃.....	xi^{s}	vi^{d}

Gosenargh.

Johēs Henreson t3 t'. in Gosenargh r̃. p annū...	ix^{s}	
Henr̃ Waryng t3 t'. lib. r̃.		xii^{d}

[1] Stainall and Stalmine are townships in Lancaster parish. Hambleton is in Kirkham parish.

[2] A yeoman's family of this name still here.

[3] The church of St. Michael is in Upper Rawcliffe, and gives name to the parish. Tarnicar is a township in St. Michael's, claimed by the Abbot of Cockersand, 20 Edward I.

[4] The Kirbys of White Hall, in Upper Rawcliffe, held under the Abbey at a very early period.

Robt Besele[1] tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
Alan^{q} Catterall tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
Thom^{a}s Helme tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		vi^{d}
Will^{a}m Mygehall tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		xii^{d}
Will^{a}m Ambrose tȝ ij t'. vocat' Horchard place r̃....		xviii^{d}
Johñ fydgrevys tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		vi^{d}

Garstang cū p'tinēt'

Nicoll Gervas tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}.....	xvi^{s}	
Ric. Stowt tȝ t'. r̃. vj gall^{9}..	xx^{s}	
Robt Port^{9} tȝ t'. r̃. ix gall^{9}.....	xxiiii^{s}	viii^{d}
Vx. Will^{a}m Gervase tȝ t'. r̃.....		xx^{d}
Thomas Chatburne tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}		xx^{d}
Vx. Nicolai Sylkok tȝ t'. r̃. vii gall^{9}...	xx^{s}	
Idm̃ vx. tȝ t'. vocat' Clerke fyld r̃. iiii gall^{9}.....	vi^{s}	
Vx. Robti Milton tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}.....	xii^{s}	viii^{d}
Johñ Dorem tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}.....	ix^{s}	
Rog^{9} Smyth tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}	xiiii^{s}	
Rog^{9} Tomlynson tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall^{9}	vii^{s}	
Vx. Thome Strekett tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}..	viii^{s}	viii^{d}
Rog^{9} Rawthmell tȝ t'. r̃. iiii gall^{9}	xvi^{s}	
Thomas Bradlay tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall^{9}	iiii^{s}	
Robt Dorem tȝ t'. r̃. iiii gall^{9}	viii^{s}	
Vx. Robt Wylkynson tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall^{9}	v^{s}	
Henr̃ Dorem tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}.....	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Vx. Johĩs Gerves tȝ t'. r̃. iiii gall^{9}	xi^{s}	iiii^{d}
Jamys Gerves tȝ t'. r̃. viii gall^{9}.....	xxviii^{s}	viii^{d}
Will^{a}m Hedsforth ꝯ fili^{q} eiu^{q} Will^{q} tent t'. vocat' Perthyng Hall alit' dict. Abbots Skale r̃.	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}

[1] Now spelt Beesley. George Beseley of Hill in Goosnargh gent. occurs amongst the *Liberi Tenentes* of Lancashire in 1585, and again in 1621.

Jamys Clerkson t3 in Wymñlegh ñ. vi gall^{o}	ix^{s}	
Johñ Rygmaydyn t3 Gyllysholme ^{7}t Tyllysholme[1] ñ.	viii^{s}	viii^{d}
Jacob3 Butler t3 in Rohall[2] ñ.	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Will"m Adamson t3 t'. iux^{a} Tendberne[3] ad volut' ñ.		vi^{d}
Radulfus Ca^{o}all t3 in Ca^{o}all[4] lib. ñ.....		xii^{d}
Will"m Butler t3 ī Kyrklands vocat' Uñcrofte ^{7} Bolandwra ñ.		xii^{d}
Heñ Laurenẽ Steyrsacñ[5] t3 t'. voc' Brademede lib. m^{o} ī tenuñ Thome, Ric. ^{7} hered. Johīs Walkar de lancast^{r} ñ.....		xii^{d}
Edm̃nd^{9} Caton t3 t'. in Wyresdale vocat' Styhyrste ñ.....		vi^{d}
Johñ ffox t3 ii t'. in Wymnerlegh lib. ñ..... . .	ii^{s}	vi^{d}
. . . . fili^{9} Ro^{o}i Brokholls t3 Carlands ī byreweth[6] lib.	iii^{s}	vi^{d}
Henñ ffaryngton t3 lyngard[7] lib. ñ.....	vi^{s}	viii^{d}

[1] John Rigmayden of Wedacre Hall Esq. was living in 1585. His daughter and heiress conveyed the estate by marriage to the Butlers of Kirkland. — Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. part iii. p. 410. Gyllysholme and Tyllysholme are names now unknown.

[2] Now spelt Roe and pronounced Rooa. It is in the township of Catterall, situate between Claughton and Churchtown.

[3] Tithe Barn.

[4] Catterall Hall, near St. Michael's but in the parish of Garstang, the seat of the Catteralls, does not occur in Bishop Gastrell's account of the old mansions of Lancashire. Dr. Whitaker however assigns a very high origin to the family, tracing their descent through the Ellands, Pontchardons, Blackburnes, and other feudal houses, from about the eleventh century. — *Whalley*, p. 253, 3rd ed. Thomas Catterall Esq. dying in January 1578, this estate passed with his daughter and coheir to R. Sherburne Esq. of Stonyhurst. It is now the property of Lady Shelley, the heiress of the Winckleys of Brockholes.

[5] Now spelt Stirzaker and pronounced Stezzeker.

[6] Now called Bȳreth. It is on the river Wyre.

[7] Lingard is a farm on the Wyre about a mile from Garstang. In 1585 Henry ffarington gent. of Lingart occurs amongst the *Liberi Tenentes* of Lancashire.

fforton.[1]

Vx. Ric. Gardn̄ ꝛ Johẽs filius eiuꝰ ten̄t t' vocat' Horegard place r̃. viii gallꝰ...	xlii^{s}		iiii mess.
Johñ ffyscher tȝ r̃. viii gallꝰ	xiii^{s}	iiii^{d}	iii mess.
Will"m M'geryson tȝ t'. r̃. viii gallꝰ	xii^{s}	viii^{d}	iii mess.
Xp̃ofur Styholme tȝ t'. r̃. ii gallꝰ	v^{s}		i mess.
Ric. Brade tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ	xii^{s}		ii mess.
Vx. Johĩs Bonde[2] tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ.....	ix^{s}	vi^{d}	ii mess.
Thomas Bonde tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ	ix^{s}	vi^{d}	ii mess.
Will"m Bonde tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ	xv^{s}		ii mess.
Ric. Bonde tȝ t'. vocat' Baghyrste r̃. vi gallꝰ.	xv^{s}	x^{d}	ii mess.
Idm̃ Ric. tȝ i clas̄ vocat' Dawson fall r̃. vi gallꝰ	v^{s}		i mess.
Jacobꝰ Curwen tȝ t'. r̃. ii gallꝰ.....	x^{s}	viii^{d}	ii mess.
Johñ Gyll tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ	xv^{s}	viii^{d}	iii mess.
Ric. Gardn^{r} tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ	xix^{s}		ii mess.
Ric. Henresson tȝ t'. r̃. x gallꝰ.....	xxvi^{s}	x^{d}	iiii mess.
Rob̄t ffyscher senior tȝ t'. r̃. v gallꝰ.....	xx^{s}		ij mess.
Will"m Kechen tȝ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ	xxii^{s}	vj^{d}	iii mess.
Edm̃nd Rayner tȝ t'. r̃. iiii gallꝰ	xi^{s}		ii mess.
Jamys Dawson tȝ t'. r̃.	xvii^{s}	iv^{d}	
John Cutfox tȝ t'. r̃. iiii gallꝰ	x^{s}		ii mess.
Jamys Charnok tȝ t'. r̃. iiii gallꝰ	x^{s}	vi^{d}	ii mess.
Johñ Smyth tȝ p"tur̄ ad volūt' r̃.....		xvi^{d}	
Will"m Henreson tȝ p̄ta ad volūt' r̃		xvi^{d}	
Vx. Rob̄ti Corlose[3] tȝ tr̃am nrãm r̃.....		vi^{d}	

[1] This is a township partly in Garstang and partly in Cockerham, in which latter parish the Abbey of Cockersand is situated. The whole of Forton belonged to the Monks.

[2] Yeomen of this name still here.

[3] Corless is still a common name here.

Lib' Tent' Ibm.

Johñ Brekawnse tȝ t'. lib. r̃. ꝑ annū.		xiii^{d}
Idm̃ Johẽs tȝ ad volūt' j acr̃ terre arabłm r̃..		xii^{d}
Her̃ Johĩs Caton tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		xiiii^{d}
Thome Corlose tȝ t'. lib. r̃, ...		xii^{d}
Henr̃ Corlose tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		ii^{d}
Thomas Bakhowse tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		xiiii^{d}
Johñ Marschall tȝ t'. lib. r̃.	ii^{s}	vj^{d}
Thom̃ Gardner tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		vi^{d} ob.
Johñ fyscher tȝ t'. vocat' Horchard place lib. r̃.....		v^{d}
Johñ Charnoke tȝ t'. lib. r̃.	ii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Her̃ Johĩs Wyresdale tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		iii^{d}
Radulfus Corney tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		xii^{d}
Nicol. Jacson tȝ t'. lib. mo^{o} in tenur̃ Johĩs Rygmaydyn r̃.		ii^{d}
Sm̃^{a}	xii^{li} xi^{s}	vi^{d}

Ellell 't Eschton.[1]

Vx. Ric. Egremūds tȝ dī Grange de Ellell r̃. iii capoñ	iii^{li}	
Nicol. P̃ston[2] tȝ aliū dī Grange r̃. iii capoñ ...	iii^{li}	
Robt Kempe tȝ t'. r̃. iii gall⁹		xiiii^{s} ii mess.
Henr̃ Apelaw tȝ t'. vocat' flashowse r̃. vi gall⁹..		xxiiii^{s} ii mess.
Vx. Witti Harpar tȝ t'. j clas⁹ vocat' Perysfyld r̃.		v^{s}

[1] Ellel, four miles south from Lancaster, is a township in Cockerham, and Ashton a township in Lancaster parish, not more than three miles from the town. Ashton passed in marriage with the heiress of the De Courcys to John de Coupland, the hero of the Battle of Neville's Cross, October 17*th*, 1346. It was held by the great family of Laurence in 1454 and, as appears from the text, Sir Thomas Laurence had lands here in 1500.

[2] The Prestons continued to reside at Ellel Grange until the middle of the last century.

Thomas Laurenc̃ miles t3 tr̃a vocat' Cokschot3 r̃..	xvi^{s}	viii^{d}
Idm̃ Thomas t3 Grangiā nr̃ā3 de Eschton ꝑ Scotforth r̃.....	xxx^{s}	
Idm̃ Thomas t3 t'. vocat' Lykhede lib. r̃.....		xii^{d}
Her̃ Willi Robynson t3 t'. in Ellell r̃.....	iiii^{s}	
Idm̃ her̃ ꝑ Castellward r̃..... .		i^{d} ob.

Baylryg, Burgh[1] 't Scotforth.

Mathe^{9} Whynwra t3 in Burgh r̃. iiii gall^{9}	xv^{s}	ii mess.
Johēs Gardner[2] t3 t'. ī Baylryg m^{o} in tenur̃ Hospitali^{9} Lancast^{9} r̃.		xii^{d}
Johēs Chaffer t3 t'. lib. m^{o} in tenura Henrici Ducket r̃.		vj^{d}

Mydleton.[3]

Robti Morecrofte t3 Grangiā nr̃ām r̃. vj capon̄	iii^{li}	vi^{s}	viii^{d}

Lancaster 't Bolron.

Henr̃ Ducket[4] t3 tr̃a nr̃ām ī Lancast^{9} Bolron 7 Scotforth.....	xxxvi^{s}	vi^{d}	

[1] Burgh and Leck constitute a township in the parish of Tunstall, co. Lancaster.

[2] This is the founder of the almshouses in Lancaster still bearing his name, and Baylrig the estate with which in 1485 he endowed them and also a chantry in Lancaster Church. — *MS. Report Chantry Commiss.* temp. Hen. VIII.

[3] Middleton in Lunesdale, a township in Lancaster parish, four miles south-west from the town, originally a member of the Saxon manor of Haltune. The third part of the manor of Middleton was held by Sir Edward Nevile of Liversage, second son of Sir John Nevile of Hornby Castle, who however in 1347 had bestowed a portion of it on Cockersand Abbey and at that time only held the sixth part.—*Lanc. MSS. Ped.* vol. xii.; Baines, iv. p. 539.

[4] Richard Duket ob. 11 Hen. VIII. holding lands of the Abbey of Cockersand in

Idm̃ Henr̃ tȝ tr̃a nrãm quond̄ ī tenur̃ Xp̃ofi Lucasr̃.		xviii^{d}
Idm̃ Henr̃ tȝ tr̃a nrãm quond̄ ī tenur̃ Thome Bolron de le grevys r̃.		xvi^{d}
et hab' due claus̾ ꝑdict' iacent' inf^{a} vias de Bolron ꝯ Boromāgalus[1]		
Thomas Corbet tȝ j burgagiū r̃.....	x^{s}	x^{d}
Idm̃ Thomas tȝ v rods tr̃e r̃.		xxx^{d}
Gylb̄t Whyte tȝ j burgag̃ r̃. ꝑ annū	xviii^{s}	
Will"m Drynkale tȝ j burgagiū r̃.	x^{s}	
Rob̄t James tȝ j claus̾ quond̄ in tenur̃ Johĩs Tasker r̃.		xvi^{d}
Rog̾ Sothworth tȝ tr̃am nrãm vocat' Blakacr̃ r̃.....	iii^{s}	
Nycol. Chatburne tȝ iii rods suꝑ monte Haverbrek r̃.		xviii^{d}
Will"m Pund^{r} tȝ j acr̃ suꝑ Haverbrek r̃.	ii^{s}	
Math. Sothworth tȝ j gardin iux^{a} Thenelone r̃.....		xii^{d}
Xp̃ofur Kyln̾ tȝ j gardinū iux^{a} Thenelone r̃.....		iiii^{d}
Nycol. Perysson tȝ iiii acr̃ tr̃e ⁊ dī suꝑ Haverbrek ⁊ Hole r̃.	ix^{s}	
Will"m Banton tȝ j rodā tr̃e iacent' iux^{a} uiā regiā r̃.		vi^{d}
Vx. Laurenc̃ Stodday tȝ dī acr̃ tr̃e suꝑ Haverbrek r̃.		xii^{d}
Will"m Walker tȝ j rod tr̃e r̃.		vi^{d}
Ric. Henreson[2] ꝯ Will"m Coltmā ten̄t j clauſ jux^{a} viā regiā int̾ Autclyf ⁊ Lancastr̃ ⁊ buttat' int̾ Blakacr̃ ꝯ Hesyll hede r̃.....	x^{s}	
Her̃ Johĩs ffrer lib. r̃.....		xii^{d}

Lancaster, Bolron and Scotforth, and in the 17 Hen. VIII. Richard Dokett died holding the same lands. — *Inquis. Post Mort.* In 29 Eliz. Walter Rigmayden of Wedacre died *a lunatic* seized of these secularized Abbey possessions. — *Ibid.* See p. 8, note 1 *ante.*

[1] No such place now known.

[2] Probably grandfather of Thomas Harrison of Aldcliffe (the Audecliua of Domesday), who by his wife Jane Heysham of Highfield had a son Richard, the father of Sir John Harrison, born here in 1589, collector of the customs in London and one of the minor authors of the seventeenth century.

Bolton.[1]

Abbatissa de Syon tꝫ t'. vocat' Cadmā well r̃.... iis
Her̃ Xp̃ofi Bolton tꝫ t'. ibm̄ lib. r̃. ..... xiid

Byrklandbergh,[2] Hyldrstonꝰ[3] 't Yeland.[4]

Robt Lucas tꝫ t'. vocat' Byrklandbergh r̃..... . xxiiiis
Vx. Robti Cum̃ya tꝫ dī Hyldyrston r̃. ..... xs
Edm̃ndꝰ Cum̃ya tꝫ altū dī de Hyldrston r̃..... xs
Ric. Durslett tꝫ j clauſ vocat' Studfold r̃. ..... iiiis
Thome Mydleton tꝫ in Yeland redmayden lib. r̃. .... xiid

Caton.[5]

Alanꝰ Wynder tꝫ t'. in Caton r̃. iii gallꝰ ..... viis
Robt Gybson et Thome filius eiꝰ ten̄t j clauſ vocat' Grymys r̃. iiii gallꝰ .... xvid
Idm̃ t̃en̄t quond tenemēt Johīs Curwyn r̃. ..... xvs
Johēs Edm̃ndson tꝫ t'. r̃. vi gallꝰ..... xxiiiis
Thom̃s Dobson tꝫ t'. r̃. iii gallꝰ .... iiiis
Vx. Willi Blakburne tꝫ t'. r̃. ii gallꝰ ..... iiis iiiid
Robt Waryng ꝛ John Lee ten̄t ꝛ r̃. iiii gallꝰ..... viiis iiiid

[1] Bolton-le-Sands near Lancaster. The local family long continued here.

[2] This place appears to have been called Baggerburgh in 1430, and was within the parish of Lancaster. — See Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 429.

[3] George Middleton of Leighton Esq. ob. 42 Eliz. seized *inter alia* of "Hilderston Moss" (*Inq. Post Mort.*), and John Bradley of Bradley Hall Esq. held Abbey lands "in Hilderston" as per *Inq. Post Mort.* anno 1600, which had become, by marriage, the property of Thomas Osbaldiston Esq. *an outlaw* 9 Jac. 1. — *Ibid.* See p. 8, note 1 *ante.*

[4] Yeland Redmayne in the parish of Warton was obtained in the fifteenth century by the marriage of Alison, daughter and coheir of James Croft Esq., with Geoffrey Middleton afterwards of Leighton. — See Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 563.

[5] A hamlet in Lancaster parish, south of the Sands and five miles east-north-east from Lancaster.

Idm̃ ten̄t ii acr̃ tr̃e r̃.....		xvi^{d}
Edm̃nd Tomlynson tȝ j clauſ vocat' Abbots crofte r̃.	ii^{s}	
Will^{a}m Grene tȝ j clauſ vocat' Kyrkbank r̃.	ii^{s}	vi^{d}

Lib' Ten̄t' Ibm̄.

Rector eccl̄ie de Tatam tȝ t'. ibm̄ lib. r̃.....		vi^{d}
Her̃ Roƀti Haryngton milit' tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....	ii^{s}	vi^{d}
Her̃ Johĩs Curwen tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....	ii^{s}	vi^{d}
Gylb^{q} Tomlynson tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Johñ Hudysbank tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
John Smyth tȝ t'. lib. r̃.	ii^{s}	
Her̃ Will̄i Oaturton tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		xxiii^{d}
Roƀt^{q} Whashyngton tȝ t'. m^{o} in tenur̃ Johĩs Bill lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
Edm̃nd Tomlynson tȝ t'. lib. r		xii^{d}
Idm̃ tȝ tres rodas tr̃e r̃.....		iiii^{d}
Her̃ Johĩs Wylkynson tȝ j clauſ r̃.		vi^{d}

Claghton.[1]

Will^{a}m Wulfoo tȝ t'. vocat' Westhend r̃. vi gall^{9}	xx^{s}	
Nycol. Crofte tȝ t'. r̃. vi gall^{9}	xv^{s}	
Henr̃ Tomlynson tȝ j clauſ r̃.		xviii^{d}

[1] This parish, the smallest in the county, is seven miles north-east from Lancaster, and is to be distinguished from Claughton, a township in Garstang parish.

In February, 1272, the Abbey of Cockersand obtained the whole advowson of the rectory of Claughton from the Crofts, having already a moiety of the same. The Abbey had however lost or ceded their right before 1428 when Nicholas Croft Esq. of Dalton presented to the living.

On the *1st* October, 1445, the Archdeacon of Richmond issued a commission to Nicholas Kene his official to inquire as to the vacancy of the Church of Claghton and the legal right of admittance of Sir John Prymett, presbyter, presented by Nicholas Croft Esq. — *Reg. Kemp Archd. Richm.*

On the *20th* January, 1456–7, Dom. Oliver Bland pb^{r} was presented to the

Lib' Tenᵗ' Ebm.

Heꝛ Thome Twyssylton mᵒ in tenuꝛ Edwardi Crofte lib. ꝛ.	xiid
Edouardᵍ Pston tꝫ t'. lib. ꝛ.....	vid
Heꝛ Johꝫs Tylson tꝫ t'. lib. ꝛ.	iid
Smᵃ totalis ix^{xx}li xviiili xviiis iid ob. q$_{\text{ꝑ}}$	

rectory of Claghton by Sir Thomas Haryngton Knt. and Edmund Suthworth capell. on the death of Sir John Prymett, and a mandate issued to Mr. Giles Redman bachelor of decrees, rector of Bentham, to induct him. — *Reg. Lau. Bothe, licentiate in laws, Archd. Richm.*

On the *5th* May, 1450, the Abbot of Cokersand issued his commission to Archdeacon William Gray, professor of theology, to receive the vow of chastity of Ellen, relict of Nicholas Croft Esq. — *Reg. Gray Archd. Richm.*

31st January, 1473–4, a certificate for a commission of inquiry *de jure Patronatûs* of Claghton was issued to Mr. G. Redmayne; and on the *11th* February the commissioners met in the Church of Claghton, being Robert Hartyngton vicar of Dalton in Fornes, Richard Garth vicar of Bolton, Fr. John Coventre vicar of Melling; Dom. John de Gyrsyngham, William Croft and Thomas Bland, chaplains; Henry Crofft, William Ambros, Edmund Crofft, Thomas Crofft, Wm. Pymond and Geo. Waller, laymen. It appeared that the rectory had been vacant by the death of Oliver Bland from the feast of St. Anthony last past, and that Sir James Haryngton Knt. ought to present, and that his father Sir Thomas Haryngton Knt. and Edmund Southworth vicar of Bolton were the last patrons. The living was taxed at four marks, and worth xviii marks a year.

On the *16th* February, 1473, another inquisition was made on behalf of Robert Alanson pbʳ and depositions taken in the Church of Whyttyngton before John Gibson rector of Thornton, Roger Lucas vicar of Kendal, Richard Redeman and Thomas Strykland Kts.; Tho. Myddilton, Thos. Preston, Rich. Redemayne and Reginald Ward Esqrs.; Oliver Middilton, Wm. Gibson, Rd. Newton, Alex. Marcer, Tho. Ward, James Croft, Wm. Lambard, Wm. Middilton and Nicholas Lambard Gentn.

It appeared that Mabella, late relict of Peter Legh Esq. and Robert Middilton of Dalton Esq. were the true patrons as heirs of Nicholas Croft Esq., and that Sir Thomas Haryngton Knt. and Sir Edm. Southworth priest presented the last rector, by purchase from William Croft Esq. lord of the manor, *pro hâc vice* only. Alanson was accordingly instituted. — *Reg. Shirwood S.T.P. Archd. Richmond.* — From the "Richmond Registers" in the possession of Rev. James Raine M.A.

Tatam.[1]

Heꝛ Johīs Dacꝛ mo in tenuꝛ Edwardi Stanley milit' lib. ꝛ..... ... . vid

Wenyngton.[2]

Prior de Horneby tꝫ c̄tam tr̄am ī Wenyngton ꝛ. iiiis
Heꝛ Johīs Warton tꝫ ix acꝛ tr̄e ibm̄ ꝛ..... iiiis

Bentam.[3]

Johñ Mydleton tꝫ t'. vocat' Ketylryddyng ꝛ. ... vid
Vx. Roƀti Ynglysch tꝫ t'. in Stayngate ꝛ..... iiiid
Roƀtq Dowebyggynn tꝫ j acꝛ tr̄e ī Bygbergh vocat' P'st acꝛ ꝛ. ..... iid
Vx. Georg̃ Thorneton tꝫ t'. vocat' Langhaw ꝛ. ..... vis viiid

Burton,[4] Lek 't Berbrne.

Vx. Xp̄ofi Lawpage tꝫ j burgag̃ in Burton quond ꝛ. xiid mo .... vid

[1] The Dacres were the feudal proprietors of Tatham, ten miles north-east from Lancaster, and Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Thomas Dacre, married Sir Thomas Harington of Hornby Castle and died 1484–5, since which time this manor has passed with the castle.

[2] Wennington is a township in Melling parish, twelve miles north-east from Lancaster. Hornby was a præmonstratensian cell there, belonging to Croxton Keyrial in Leicestershire, and dedicated to St. Wilfrid. It fell with the lesser houses.

[3] Bentham, the Benetain of Domesday, is in the deanery of Lonsdale and county of York.—Bawdwen's *Domesday Book*, p. 42. See Whitaker's *Richm.* vol. ii p. 342.

[4] Burton is in the deanery of Lonsdale and archdeaconry of Richmond. — See Whitaker's *Richm.* vol. ii. p. 353. Leck is in the parish of Tunstall, seventeen miles north-east from Lancaster, and at its extremity is the county stone marking Lancashire, Yorkshire and Westmoreland. Barbon, as it is now spelt, is in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, and occurs in the Domesday Survey as Bercbrune. — Nicolson and Burn, vol. i. p. 251.

Abbas de Croxton[1] tȝ t'. in Lek r̃. .... iiii^{s}
Oliu̅ fayrethwayte tȝ t'. lib. r̃. .... vi^{d}
Johñ Owtway tȝ j toftū ꝛ iii acr̃ tr̃e ī Berbrunne r̃. . iii^{s}

Whetyngton.[2]

Johñ Banys tȝ iiii acr̃ tr̃e r̃. ..... xii^{d}
Idm̃ Johñ tȝ ij ten̄ lib. r̃. ..... ii^{s}
Vx. Milonis Bell tȝ c̄tas ꝑcell tr̃e de Seloth r̃.. ..... xii^{d}
Vx. Thome Banys tȝ iii acr̃ sub Burtōtrebrek m^{o} ī tenura ibid. r̃..... xii^{d}
Math̄ Newton tȝ tr̃a ꝛ ꝑtn̄ vocat' Rughtwayt r̃..... vi^{d}

Byggyn̄g[3] 't Tenylshede.

Leonard P̄ston tȝ v acr̃ tr̃e et dī vocat' lamyscrofte r̃. .... xii^{d}
Idm̃ Leonard tȝ j toftū ī Newbyggyngs j acr̃ ꝛ j rod tr̃e r̃. .... xii^{d}
Idm̃ Leonard tȝ iii acr̃ tr̃e ꝛ dī in Tenylshede r̃..... ii^{s}

ffarleton.[4]

Rog̃ Bakhowse tȝ t'. r̃..... ..... iiii^{s}
Ten̄t de ffarleton tenēt xiiii acr̃ tr̃e vocat' Anū r̃..... .... ii^{s}

[1] Co. Leicester. See p. 24, note 2 *ante*.

[2] Whittington is a parish in the hundred of Lonsdale, co. Lancaster, two miles from Kirkby Lonsdale. A long race of gentlemen of the name of Baynes resided at Sellet Hall in Whittington (*Lucas' MS.*, quoted by Baines) several of whose wills, proved at York, are amongst the *Lanc. MSS.* They were mean (*moyen*) gentry.

[3] Newbiggin, a hamlet in the parish of Aldingham, north of the Sands, six miles from Ulverstone.

[4] Farleton, a township and manor in the parish of Melling, eight miles north-east from Lancaster, formerly having its castle and park, was parcel of the possessions of

Manshargh.[1]

Ric. Redmayne tȝ tr̃am nr̃ām in Manshargh r̃...	ii^{s}	
Her̃ Will̃i Nycolson tȝ t'. apud Holdtown m^{o} in tenur̃ Edwardi Mor̃ r̃.		xii^{d}
Her̃ Will̃i Hardy tȝ t'. m^{o} in tenur̃ Hugonis Bank lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Her̃ Johīs Redmayne tȝ iii acr̃ tr̃e r̃.		iii^{d}
Ric. Manshargh tȝ lib. r̃.		iiii^{d}
Idm̃ Ric. tȝ t'. ibm̄ lib. r̃.		vi^{d}
Idm̃ Ric. tȝ t'. lib. r̃.....		iiii^{d}
Idm̃ Ric. tȝ t'. lib. r.....		ii^{d}
Her̃ Rob̃t Burton tȝ t'. lib. m^{o} in tenur̃ Raulyn Holme r̃.....		xii^{d}
Thomas Mydleton tȝ t'. vocat' Hesylryg r̃.....	iiii^{s}	ii^{d}

Bethū[2] et Clerkthrope.

Gylb̃t Dyconson tȝ t'. in Bethū r̃.	iiii^{s}	
Vx. Thome Ricson tȝ j t'. vocat' Wodhowse r̃.	iii^{s}	

Preston.[3]

Will̃m Bakhowse tȝ t'. in P̄ston r̃.	viii^{s}	
Vx. Will̃i Batemā tȝ iiii acr̃ tr̃e ⁊ dī p̄̃ti r̃. ...	xii^{s}	

the Haringtons of Hornby, and shared the fate of that house after the Battle of Bosworth; and by a singular coincidence Farleton, a township and manor in the parish of Beetham in Westmoreland, also belonged to the Haringtons, and being forfeited, were granted by Henry VII. to Sir Edward Stanley, afterwards Lord Monteagle K.G.

[1] Mansergh is a manor in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, long held by the Manserghs and afterwards by the Rigmadens and Wards. -- Nicolson and Burn, vol. i. p. 252.

[2] Beetham, a parish and manor in Westmoreland of the Richmond fee.

[3] Preston Patrick in the parish and manor of Burton, in the deanery of Kendal,

Johñ Penyngtō [et] thom"s lamplaw milit' teñt molenđ aquatic̄ de p̊stō m° in tenur̃ Ric. p̊ston r̃... xiii^{s} iiii^{d}

Colparthwayte 't Whynfell.[1]

Ric. Bek
Will"m Dyconson } teñt totā Colparthwayte r̃.... iiii^{li}
Vx. Ric. Robynson

Vx. Henric̄ Helme tȝ t'. vocat' Newhowse cū ꝑtinēt r̃. ..... vi^{s} viii^{d}

Idm̃ vx. tȝ t'. vocat' Herthstede de Symcrofte r̃... v^{s}

Vx. Ric. Helme tȝ t'. in Whynfell r̃. ꝑ Roland filius ei^{q} post surrenđ meis ..... v^{s}

Vx. Edm̃ndi Waryn tȝ t'. ibm̄ r̃. ..... v^{s}

Wynnandyrmer[2] et Lynteth.[3]

Robt Suard tȝ t'. ibm̄ r̃. ..... vi^{s}
Johẽs Suard tȝ t'. ibm̄ r̃. ..... iiii^{s}
Georg̃ Suard tȝ t'. ibm̄ r̃. ..... iiii^{s}
Will"m Galyghtly ꝯt Thomas Berwyke teñt t'. r̃.. ... iiii^{s}
Will"m Byrkhede tȝ t'. r̃..... .... iii^{s}
Nicol. Brokbanke tȝ t'. r̃..... .. . . iiii^{s}
Galfridus Grene tȝ t'. r̃..... ... . vi^{s}
Will"m frier de M. Lyndeth[4] tȝ teñt r̃. .... ij^{s}

co. Westmoreland, bounded on the south by Warton in Lancashire, and on the west by Beetham.

[1] Whinfell, a manor in the parish of Kendal, co. Westmoreland, and to be distinguished from a similar place in Cumberland.

[2] Windermere, celebrated for its lake and exquisite scenery, is now a distinct parish, having Bowness for its capital, although at an early period it was parcel of the parish of Kendal.

[3] Lindeth, named Lyndhede in a charter of Walter de Lyndesay circa 31 Hen. III., is a hamlet united to Warton in Lancashire as a township, although the two places are disjoined by Quicksand Pool. — Baines, vol. iv. p. 580.

[4] *Qu.* William, a friar of the Monastery of Cokersand, living at Lyndeth.

Sygyswyk.[1]

Edm̃nd Chambur r̃.	vii^{s}	
Vx. Egidii Syll tȝ t'. lib. r̃.		xvi^{d}

Seddergh[2] et Blande.

Alex̃ ffedyrstanhaw tȝ t'. vocat' Stonhall r̃.	iii^{s}	
Thomas Haryson Hatkynson tȝ t'. lib.		vi^{d}
John Ricson Hatkynson tȝ t'. lib. r̃.	ij^{s}	
Edward Mydleton tȝ t'. vocat' Hynyng lib. r̃.		xii^{d}
Her̃ Jacobi Baynebryg tȝ t'. in Bland lib. r̃.....		xviii^{d}

Ebor.

Dom^{q} Sc̃i Leonardi tȝ t'. in Stayngate r̃.....	ix^{s}	vi^{d}

Bankhowses cū aliis que remanēt in manu dn̄i.

Om̃ia tenemēt inf^{a} Bankhowses r̃.	xvi^{s}	x^{d}
Emmota Burton inf^{a} Bankhowses r̃.[3].....		
Vx. Wiłłi Makand tȝ molenđ vent' de Haghton[4] r̃...	xx^{s}	
Laurenc̃ Page tȝ tr̃am quōda Rog̊i Edylston r̃.....	iii^{s}	iiii^{d}
Vx. Hug̃ Wylkynson tȝ molenđ vent' de Hayholme r̃.	ii^{s}	
Henr̃ Raby tȝ Teneacr̃ in Catēall[5] r̃.	ii^{s}	

[1] Sedgwick, a small township three-and-a-half miles south of Kendal, but in the parish of Heversham.

[2] Sedbergh, co. York, in the deanery of Lonsdale and Archdeaconry of Richmond.

[3] This line scored through.

[4] Probably Haighton, a township in the parish of Preston in Amounderness, and four miles north-north-east from the town.

[5] Probably Titheacre in Catterall, in the parish of Garstang, where the Monks, who were the manerial lords, left a chapel, but in the present day —

Ric. Jenkynson tȝ molend vent' de Mydleton[1] r̃..... xxvi^{s} viii^{d}
Petrus Dyconson tȝ molend vent' sup Cūlaw hyll r̃... xxvi^{s} viii^{d}
Rog̃ Dugdale tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū.. ... . iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Bankhowsps.

Vx. Ric. gudale tȝ t'. in Bankhowse r̃. p̱ annū ...
Vx. Henric̃ Lee tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū . .....
Laurenc̃ Clerkson tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū .....
Johẽs Caryngton tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū .... ii^{s} vi^{d}
Ric. Lordson tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū ....
Vx. Johīs Xp̃ofurson tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū.....
Emmota Burton tȝ t'. r̃. p̱ annū..... ..... ii^{s}
Thome Jackett t'. t'. r̃. p̱ annū .... ii^{s} vi^{d}
M^{d} yat Annes Schepte hasse payn to James ye Abbott of Cokersand for her lyuing — ii^{s} ii^{d} to me ꝑ vi^{s} viii^{d} to ye Cōvent.[2]

"Ask you what lands our Parson tithes? Alas!
But few our acres and but short our grass.
* * * *
And these, our hilly heath and common wide,
Yield a slight portion for the parish guide.
* * * *
Much is is the duty — small the legal due."
* * * *

Crabbe's *Borough.*

[1] Middleton is a small manor and township in the parish of Lancaster, and the windmill would not be more than half a mile from the Abbey.

[2] There can be little doubt that the following licence from Smith, bishop of Lichfield, "ad includendam Anachoritem," in a cell near the little chapel of Pilling in the parish of Garstang, refers to this devout nun. Why she abandoned Norton Priory for Pilling Chapel will perhaps never be known; but it may be conjectured that it was with the hope of attaining higher degrees of sanctity than she found to be within her reach amongst the sisterhood of Norton. The Canons of Cokersand had large possessions in Garstang, and apparently some small religious body not altogether dependent upon them for support; and this anchoret there

"In woeful accents, wan despair,
Low sullen sounds her grief beguil'd;
A solemn strain and mingled air —
'Twas sad by fits, by starts 'twas wild."
Collins.

Willelmus, permissione divina Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis Episcopus, dilectis in Christo confratribus domino Abbati B. M. V. de Cockersand et ejusdem loci Conventui salutem fraternam, in Domino charitatem. Cum religiosa mulier, dompna Agneta Bothe alias Schepard, monialis domus sive prioratus Beatæ Mariæ de Norton, piæ devotionis zelo accensa, magnopere desiderat ab hominum conversacione, specialiterque labentis sæculi oblectationibus separari, ac vitam solitariam apud capellam de Pyllyng in parochia de Garestang, nostræ diocesios, ducere, ibidemque includi, ut Altissimo sedulum ac devotum impendere valeat famulatum; in quo quidem tam felici suo proposito firmâ mentis integritate immutabilis diu perseveravit, quemadmodum in presenti perseverat. Nos vero, laudabile ipsius propositum monialis commendantes, speramus quod mora prænominata dompnæ Agnetæ ibidem non solum Summo Deo placuerit nostro, verum etiam animæ ipsius non parum meriti allocaverit. Igitur ad includendum eandem dompnam Agnetam Bothe alias Schepard in domibus ad hoc ibidem assignatis, cæteraque omnia et singula faciendum, examinandum, et expediendum, quæ in talibus fieri de jure seu consuetudine laudabile consueverunt vestræ fraternitati injungimus, et reddat certiores, authenticatio sub sigillo hujusmodi literis nostris annexa. Datum in manerio nostro de Beaudesert, nostro sub sigillo, vigesimo die mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo quadragentesimo nonagesimo tertio, nostræ vero consecrationis anno secundo.

Dugdale, on the authority of a charter printed by him from the original in the possession of Robert Dalton of Thurnham Esq. (who ob. 1704), says that "there appears to have been an Abbey of the Præmonstratensian Order, which, some years after the foundation of Cokersand, Theobald, brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, built or *designed to build* at Pyling." — *Monast. Ang.* vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906. It may be safely stated that no such Abbey was ever built at Pilling. No references to it are known to exist, neither are there any remains of buildings, nor any traditions connected with it. It was a rule with these canons, for misogyny was no part of their system, that wherever they founded a Monastery for monks they should raise another for nuns of the same order, which may have had some connection with the anchoret's "huts" at Pilling. The female houses of *Pre Montre*, owing to abuses, were suppressed in France in the thirteenth century, but not in England. The French monks, not with their usual gallantry, declared in 1273 "that the women were worse than the most venomous Aspicks and Dragons, and that there was no malice comparable to theirs; and the monks thenceforward resolved not to look upon them but as upon so many mischievous beasts." — *Hist. of the Monastic Orders* by Gabriel D'Emillianne, p. 132, 12mo. 1693. I am informed by the Rev. J. D. Banister, incumbent of Pilling, that the tradition of the place is that there was at an early period a cell there belonging

to Cokersand, and that at a later date a small chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was built adjoining the Grange for the use of their nativi and labourers, and supplied periodically by a monk from the Abbey. If the original chapel was, as it is supposed to have been, part of the old Grange, it was probably in existence in the early part of the thirteenth century, as in the year 1217 Pope Honorius granted the canons of Cokersand a remarkable privilege for the quiet and seclusion of their Granges. These buildings were declared to be equal to churches for sanctity, and in which, for the convenience of the residents, Oratories were allowed to be erected. — *Hist. Richm.* vol. ii. p. 335. As this fabric was dilapidated, and a petition presented for its reparation in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII. it had been an early foundation, and is described by Bishop Gastrell as being "very ancient." It was situated near the Manor House, being about three miles east from the Abbey, and was taken down in the year 1720–1, when the present chapel was built beyond "the Parson's Pool," a mile distant from the former site. — See Gastrell's *Notitia Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 413.

The *Memorandum* at the foot of the Roll has been made in another hand.

Appendix.

I. — *Warinus de Lancastr don. di. fforton Aldred fil. Hugonis. r. p. an. iiis.*[1]

SCIANT tā ꝑsentes qm futui qd ego Warinus de loncastr dedi ⁊ concessi ꝑ homagio suo Aldredo filio hamonis ⁊ hẽdibꝫ suis in feodo ⁊ hẽditate dimidiū ffortun tenendū de me ⁊ heredibꝫ meis, liƀe ⁊ quiete in bosco ⁊ in plano ⁊ in õibꝫ liƀtatibꝫ q̃ ꝑtinẽt ad illā tenurā. reddendo. iii sol. annuatī ꝑ õi seruicio excepto forinseco ad paschā xviii đ ad festū Sc̃i Michaeł xviii đ. Salua liƀtate đni Warini de spervariis suis.....inventi fuerīt in bosco suo, ⁊ ꝑ hac 9cessiõe dedit ꝑnõiatꝰ Aldredꝰ ꝑdicto đno suo Warino ij marc̄ ⁊ dim. Hiis testibꝫ Adā đcano d' Loncastr. Henrico d' Loncastr.

[1] These deeds have been placed in my hands by Mr. Whitehead of Forton Hall, and possess sufficient interest to merit printing. They refer to the manor and ancient grants within the manor of Forton, of which some account will be found on page 17; but in note 1, line 1, for "in which" read "near which," as the site of the Abbey is in the parish of Lancaster, although generally reputed to be extra-parochial and subjected to no parish rates except the constable tax. The first deed may be referred to the early part of the reign of Henry II., and the grant was made before the foundation of the Abbey of Cokersand, which afterwards gradually absorbed the whole manor of Forton. Warin de Lancaster was a cadet of the first dynasty of Lancasters Barons of Kendal, and a lineal descendant of Ivo Talbois Earl of Anjou and Baron of Kendal at the Norman Conquest. Henry the son of Warin (the grantor in the next abstracted deed) had a grant 1 John, and a confirmation 7 John, of lands in North Lancashire. In the *Testa de Nevill* it is found that Warinus pater ejus (Henr. de Lea) dedit inde Abbati de Cockersand quartam partam unius bouate in elemosyna.—*Whalley Coucher Book*, vol. ii. p. 497, note.

Robto clico d' Tideswelle. Ric clico de Pultun. Philippo capellano. Ric filio Augustini. Tõma de Le. Jordano filio Ranulfi. Rog̃o de Loncastr. Vctredo d' Le ⁊ multis aliis.

II.—*fforton. Henr. de Lancastr*[1] *j ac. et j p'cat' dot.*

SCIANT oms tā p̃sentes qm futui qd ego Henric de Loncastria dedi ⁊ 9cessi ⁊ p̃senti carta 9firmaui deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cokesand ⁊ frib3 ibidē deo seruiētib3 unā acrā ⁊ unā ꝑcatā t̃re mee ī fortū. s. ī boscho3 theyt, ī australi parte cū comunione ⁊ aisyamētis ꝑdicte uille ꝑtinētib3 ad qůtitatē tātē t̃re cū pastura duodecī aīmalib3 ⁊ t̃b3 eq̃b3 ⁊ uiginti capris ⁊ decē ⁊ sex porcis ī pañagio q̇etis[2] ī bosco de fortū ī purā ⁊ ꝑpetuā ⁊ lib̃am elemosinā. libē ⁊ q̇ete ab õi seculari seruicio ⁊ exaccione. Pro salute aīe mee pa̅s ⁊ ma̅s mee ⁊ spõse mee ⁊ antecesso3 ⁊ successo3 meo3. Hanc donacione ego H'ric ⁊ hẽdes mei Warantizabim̃ ꝑdictis frib3 9a oms hoies ⁊ feminas ī ꝑpet̃m. His testib3 Wiłło pĩcerna. Waltō filio osb̃ti. Waltō filio Svani. Waltō de Wineq̇c. Ricardo filio Huctredi. Rob̃to filio osb̃ti. Rog̃o cementario ⁊ aliis.

III.—*fforton*a. *Ad. de lee*[3] *relax' don*o *Aldred de fforton diu'sar' t're.*

SCIANT oms tam p̃sentes qm futui ego Adam de lee concessi ⁊ p̃senti carta confirmaui deo ⁊ bē Marie de Cok̃sand ⁊ frib̃us

[1] Henry, son of Warin de Lancaster, vix. 1199. See his grant to William Blundel in *Whalley Coucher Book* (vol. ii. p. 497). Warin de Lancaster gave the manor of Garstang and the advowson of the church of St. Helen to the Abbey of Cokersand.—*Dugdale.*

[2] quietis, free.

[3] Adam de Lea was a member of the great house of Lancaster, Warin de Lancaster being expressly called the father of Henry de Lea, who had two sons, John and Richard. — See *Testa de Nevill*; *Whalley Coucher Book*, vol. ii. p. 491.

ibidem d'o seruientibꝫ oms donaciones qs aldredus de fortona eis dedit in elemosina infra diuisis de fortona. Silicet. qtuor acras re in Slathehouet cum mesuagio. ⁊ unā acm in Gafsuinescinkel, ⁊ quadam porcionē re qm Radulfus fit Alani de eis tenet cum comunione ⁊ omibꝫ aesiamentis ⁊ libtatibꝫ sicuti carte Aldredi testant. In puram ⁊ ppetuam ⁊ libam elemosinam libe ⁊ qete ab omn̄ sclari seruicio ⁊ exaccione. Pro salute anime mee ⁊ patris mei ⁊ matris mee ⁊ omium antecessorum ⁊ successorum meorum. Hiis testibꝫ henrico de Rodeman. Rogo de burtun. patcio de berewic. Rogo g'net. Robto persona de gairstāg. Wilo fit eius.[1] paulino de gairstang. Robto de lancastia ⁊ aliis.

IV. —*fforton. Ric. fil. huani de fforton' dot di. acre.*

SCIANT psentes ⁊ futuri. Quod ego Ricardus fit Huani de fforton̄ dedi concessi ⁊ hac psenti carta mea confirmaui ⁊ quietclamaui deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cokersand ⁊ Abbi ⁊ Canonicis ibidē deo suientibꝫ vnā dimidiā acram terre mee quam de eis tenui in uilla de fforton̄. Scilicꝫ ppinquior terre eordem. Tenend ⁊ habendam sibi ⁊ successoribꝫ suis inppetuū cū omibꝫ libtatibꝫ ⁊ ptinenciis suis sine aliqo retenemento. Ita qd ego aut heredes mei nichil iuris u'l clamui in pdca ra deceto exige u'l uendicare potim. P. hac autē mea donacione ⁊ quietaclamancia dederñt mi in mea necessitate unā dimidiā marcā argenti. Et ego ⁊ heredes mei memoratā ram cum omibꝫ suis ptinenciis pdcis Canonicis ⁊ eoꝝ successoribꝫ inppm conta oms gentes Warantizabimꝫ defen-

[1] The Canons of Cokersand were not so entirely reclused as to be bound to a life of solitude and perpetual confinement. They held benefices and migrated from time to time as they obtained parochial cures, and at this time were married men, as Robert, Parson of Gairstang, and William his son, are here found as attesting witnesses. Garstang and Mitton were held by Canons of the house century after century. — See *MS. Notes* from Archdeaconry of Richmond, *Lanc. MSS.*; also Whitaker's *Craven*, p. 21 (Mitton), and Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iv. (Garstang).

dem⁹ ⁊ adquietabim⁹. Testantibꝫ Galfrido de Hacunshou. Joħe de Winm̃lege. Rađ de Natebi. Joħe fił Laurenc̄. Joħe fił Thome. Alex̃ de ffortoñ ⁊ aliis.

Device on the seal, a fleur-de-lis. Legend, "S' Ric. fil. Hvwan."

V. — *Ranulph. de fforton do^a di. acre.*

SCIANT p̄sentes et futuri quod ego Ranulphus de fforton filius Roƀti dedi concessi remisi et p̄sentes sc̄pti testimonio quiet̃clamaui Deo et beate Marie de Cokersand et Aƀƀi et Canonicis ibidem Đo s̄uientibꝫ unam dimidiam acram t̄re arabilis in uilla de ffortoñ q̄m de eis tenui cū om̃ibꝫ ꝑtinẽciis suis sine aliquo retenemento. Illam videlic̃ꝫ qua iacet in aquilonali ꝑte t̄re đcoꝝ Aƀƀis et Conuent⁹ q̄m hũnt de Wiłło de Lowebert continue iux^a t̄ram meam. Ita videlicet q̄d nec ego n^c aliquis heredum meoꝝ aliquid juris u'l clamū in ꝑdc̄a t̄ra decet̃o uendicare u'l habē pot̄im⁹. Ꝑ hac autem mea quietaclamancia et remissione dederñt m^i ꝑdc̄i Abbas et Conuent⁹ dimidiā marci argenti. Et ego et heredes mei memoratā t̄ram cū suis ꝑtinenciis dc̄is Aƀƀi et Conuentui et eoꝝ successoribꝫ contr^a om̃es gentes warantizabimꝫ et defendem⁹. In cui⁹ rei testimoniū p̄senti sc̄pto sigillū meū ꝑ me et heđbꝫ meis apposui. Testantibꝫ Joħe de Winm̃lege. Rađ de Nateby. Wiłło de Nateby. Joħe fił Laurent̃ de fforton. Alex̃ de eadem. Joħe fił Thome de inf'mitorio. Gilƀo forestario s̄uiente et aliis.

VI. — *fforton. Quiet'clam' Thome de Infirmitorio.*

SCIANT p̄sentes ⁊ futuri quod ego Thomas de Infirmitorio concessi remisi ⁊ õia testimonio p̄sentis sc̄pti quiet̃clamaui Deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cokersand ⁊ Aƀƀi et Canonicis ibidē đo s̄uientibꝫ totam t̄ram in villa de fforton q̄m de iis tenui ꝑ annuū

sc̃uiciū quatuor denarioꝫ cum oñibꝫ ꝑtinenciis suis sine aliquo retenemento de me ꝛ heredibꝫ meis imppetūm. Ita ꝙd nec ego nᵉ aliqⁱs hc̃dum meoꝫ seu assignatoꝫ aliquid juř u'l clamū in ꝑdc̃a ꝟra cum suis ꝑtinenciis exigꝰe habere uel vendicare deceꝰto poꝰimꝰ. Et quia uolo ꝙd hec mea quietaclamancia rata ꝛ stabił inꝑpetuū ꝰsenti sc̄pto sigillum meū ꝑ me ꝛ heredibꝫ meis apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Dno Aď de Holand. Dno Roꝰgo de Cokersand ꝑsona de Clacton. Joh̃e fił Thome de fforton. Alex̃ de fforton. Joh̃e fił Laurenť. Joh̃e fił Loucasii. Roƀo fił Thom̄. Ric̃o fił Huani. Henř fił Jurď. Roꝰgo Redalbot ꝛ aliis.

✠ Sigill. Thome.

VII. —*fforton. Will. de Nateby do. j acre.*

SCIANT ꝰsentes ꝛ futᵘi ꝙd ego Wiłł de Nateby fił Alani de Vado dedi concessi ꝛ hoc ꝰsenti sc̄pto quieťclamaui ꝑ me ꝛ hc̃dibꝫ meis đo ꝛ beate Marī de Cokersand ꝛ Aƀƀi ꝛ Canonicis ibidem đo ꝰuientibꝫ vnā acram ꝟre in fforton iacentē in Goscopethuart inť ꝟra Prioris ꝛ Canonicoꝫ de Cokerham[1] ꝛ ꝟra Quenilde

[1] This deed, which refers to the land of "the Prior and Canons of Cockerham," confirms Tanner's evidence of a religious community having existed at a very early period in that place. Dugdale is silent on the subject. Cockerham so nearly adjoins Cokersand Abbey, it is almost incredible that there should have been a contemporaneous separate monastic foundation there, another at Cokersand, and a third at Lancaster; and yet Tanner names "the Abbot of Cokersand and the Prior of Cockerham" as occurring together in a deed of the year 1275; and "Henry, Prior of Cockerham," occurs as an attestor to the charter of Henry de Wytington (see this *Rental*, p. 25 *ante*) "de Cantaria in Capella sua de Carlton," along with the Abbot of Cokersand. In the Lincoln Taxatio (20 Edward I.) occurs, in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, "custos domûs Cokyrham" xiii.—(Tanner, p. 235.) Nothing more than these references seems to be known of the foundation of a Priory at Cockerham, which could only have had a brief existence. The manor and advowson belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary of Leicester. In favour of a religious house at Cockerham, it may be stated that Cokersand Abbey at an early period of its existence, bounded on the east by a spongy morass, would be found difficult of access from Cockerham. At

vidue. Hñđ ⁊ tenendā dc̃is Canonicis ⁊ eoꝝ successoribꝫ imp̱petuū cū om̃ibꝫ lib̄tatibꝫ ⁊ aliis ꝑtinenciis suis. In lib̄am purā ⁊ ꝑpetuā elemosinam. Ita q̧d nᶜ ego nᶜ aliq̃s hẽdum meorū aliquid de ꝑdc̃a t̊ra nisi orationes exig̊e uel uendicare noleam⁹. Et ego Will ⁊ hẽdes mei ꝑdc̃am t̊ram cū om̃ibꝫ suis ꝑtinent̃ dc̃is Ab̄b̄i ⁊ Conuentui ⁊ eoꝝ successoribꝫ cont̃ om̃s gentes inꝑꝑm Warantizabim⁹ defendem⁹ ⁊ adquietabim⁹. In hui⁹ rei testimoniū p̊senti sc̃pto sigillū meū ꝑ me ⁊ hẽdibꝫ meis apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Henr̃ de Haidoc, Joħe de Winm̃lege, Rađ de Nateby, Joħe cissore, Joħe de fforton, Rob̄to fil Thom̄ de eađ ⁊ aliis.

Seal; Device, a Catharine wheel. ✠ "Sigill.....Fil. Alani de Pvre."

VIII.—*fforton. Donat. Joh'is de Slathwaiteued.*

SCIANT omnes tam presentes q̃m futuri quod ego Joħes de Slathwaiteued dedi et concessi et hac p̊senti carta mea confirmavi deo et beate Marie de Cokersand et Ab̄b̄i et Canonicis ibidem deo s̊uientibus ꝑ salute anime mee et ꝑ salute animaꝝ antecessoꝝ et succ̃oꝝ meoꝝ totam t̊ram q̃m Tomasius filius Joħis de Erthouit tenuit de me in Slathwaitheued sine aliquo retenemento. Cum com̃una et om̃ibꝫ aliis lib̄tatibꝫ et aisiamentis ville de fforton tante t̊re ꝑtinentibꝫ. In lib̄am puram et ꝑpetuam elemosinam. Ita quod nec ego nec aliquis hẽdum meoꝝ de iam dc̃a t̊ra cum suis ꝑtinenciis aliquid decetero exig̊e pot̊imus p̊t' elemosinas et orationum suffragia. Hanc autē t̊ram cū suis ꝑtinenciis ego iam dc̃us Joħes et hẽdes mei ꝑdc̃is Ab̄b̄i et Canonicis et eoꝝ successoribꝫ contra ões homines et feminas Warantizabim⁹ adquietabim⁹

some seasons the roads, such as they were, would be choked up by the falling in of their soft and oozy sides, and be impassable. At such times provisions and necessaries for the inmates of the Abbey would be conveyed by boats directly from Lancaster.

et defendem⁹ inppetuū. In cui⁹ rei testimoniū presenti scripto sigillū meū p me et hẽdib⁹ meis apposui. Hiis testib⁹ Hugõe de Mittoñ. Roƀto de Wedakr. Rog⁹o Brisclance. Wiłło de Ecclistoñ. Adā de Bikrstad. Thoma de fforton. Alano de eadem. Henr̃ fił Wiłłi de fforton. Henr̃ fił Jordani de fforton. Stephano de Stamheued et aliis.

IX. — *A Grante of Pannage in Forton[a] Woodd by the Lords.*

SCIANT omnes tam p̄sentes quam futuri q̄d ego Herwardus dei grā Abbas de Kokersand ⁊ eiusdem loci 9uentus dedimus ⁊ concessimus ⁊ hac p̄senta carta nostra confirmauim⁹ Ricardo filio Alexandri de forton u'l atornatis suis viginti porcos singulis annis quietos de pannagio in bosco de fortoñ exceptis et saluis noƀ dm̃cis boscis nost̃s videlicet Snithelesheued ⁊ Eschoueleyehurst ⁊ Scamwachliche ⁊ Scamwachliche-torches tenendū ⁊ habendū de noƀ ⁊ successorib⁹ nostr̃ sibi ⁊ atornatis suis hereditarie inperpetuum. Predict̃ vero Ricard̃ ⁊ atornatis sui de forton nō plures q̄m predictos viginti porcos in dc̃o bosco de forton racione t̄re sue q̄m tenet in eadem villa de cetero habē u'l uendicare debebñt. Hos v⁰ ⁊ successores nr̃i p̄dicto Ric̃o ⁊ suis atornatis p̄dc̃am donacionē 9t⁸ om̃es hoīes warantizabim⁹ īppetuū. In hui⁹ rei testimoniū p̄senti sc̃pto sigillū nr̃m apposuim⁹. Hiis testib⁹ helya pinc̃na Thoma ⁊ Gregorio de Wim̃leye. Roƀto de fforton. Ric̃ clico de ead̃ villa ⁊ aliis.

The impression of the Convent seal, of green wax, is unfortunately broken off from the top. The device is a hand grasping a pastoral staff. On the field is, apparently, *a lily* branching from the base; or it may be the *typha latifolia*, or broad-leafed reed mace, which is plentiful in the neighbourhood of the Abbey. ✠ "……Abbis et Cōvent de Co… ….." There is a drawing of the same seal affixed to a grant from "Fr. Henr. dei gratia

Dom. Abbat. de Cok'sand et humilis eidem loci Conventus," of lands in Vrwilham, near Eccles, to Galfrid de Hurwilham; s.d. in *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxv. p. 192.

X. —*fforton. Thom's de licbret do^{a} vj^{a} de jurdano fil. henr. fil. x̄piane.*

SCIANT oms tam ꝑsentes quam futuri quod ego Thomas de Lickebert dedi ꝛ 9cessi ꝛ hac ꝑsenti carta mea 9firmaui Deo ꝛ beate Marie de Cok'sand ꝛ Abbi ꝛ 9uentui ibidē deo ꝛuientibꝫ redditū sex denariorū in villa de ffortō annuatim ad duos ꝯis ꝓcipiend videlt ad Pasche iii denarios ꝛ ad festū Sci Michael tres denarios. Quem quid redditū ꝓcipe solebam de firma cuiusd hoïs mei in ꝑdca uilla de ffortō videlt de Jurdano fil Henr̄ fil Xp̄iane ꝛ de eius heredibꝫ. P. salute anime mee ꝛ antecessorū ꝛ successorū meorū in liberam puram ꝛ ꝑpetuam elemosinā. Ita ut n^{c} ego n^{c} aliquis heredū meorū de pdco redditu de ceto aliquid exige potmus ꝑter elemosinas ꝛ oronū suffragia. Et qd volo ut hec mea donacio ꝛ carte mee 9firmacio in posterū robur obtineat firmitatis huic scꝑpto sigillū meū ꝑ me ꝛ heredibꝫ meis apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Henr̄ de Haydoc. Teruagio clico de Excliue. Johe de Excliue. Alano de Kathertō. Joh de Griseheued. Rico de Slene ꝛ aliis.

XI. —*fforton. Ada fil. Swain de Kayballes donat. vii acr. in Bagehurst.*

SCIANT ões tam ꝑsentes q̄m futuri quod ego Ada fil Suani de Kayballes dedi et cōcessi et h^{c} ꝑsenti carta mea cōfirmaui deo et beate Marie de Kok'sand et Canonicis ibidem deo seruientibꝫ qūdam porcionem ꝛre mee in villa de ffortona, scil. septem acr̄ in Bagehurst quas tenui de Aldreth de fortona et hēdibꝫ suis, cum

cõmuni pastura et oñib3 aliis esiamentis et libertatib3 et liberis consuetudinib3 ꝑdcte ville de fortona adiacentib3. Et cū adquietancia pannagii porcis illoꝝ hominū qui eandem terram tenuerint. In liberam puram et ꝑpetuam elemosinam. P. salute anime mee antecessoꝝ et successoꝝ meoꝝ. Ita sane quod ego u'l aliquis heredum meoꝝ nichil in posterum de pdc̃a terra exig̃e possumus preter elemosinas et oracionum suffragia. Has aū vim in Bagehurst cū ꝑtinenciis ego idem dictus Ada filius Suani et hẽdes mei ꝑfatis Canonicis de Kok'sand et successorib3 suis 9tra oñes homines et fœminas warantizabim3 inꝑpm. Et quia volo vt h' mea donacio futuris tempib3 firmiť teneať ꝑsens sc̃ptū sigilli mei appone roboraui. Hiis tesťb3 Wiłło de Karltona. Joħe de Hacuneshou. Wiłło de ť'nak. Ric̃o frē ej᷒. Symone de fortona et aliis.

XII. — *ffortonn. Jordanus Gosnar don. iiii acr. terr. et unu' mes.*

SCIANT ᷒sentes et futuri ꝙd ego Jordanus de Gosenargh ꝑ salute aĩe meæ dedi cõcessi et hac ᷒senti carta mea confirmavi Aƀƀi et conuentui de Cokyrsand et eorum successorib3 vnū mesuagiū et q̃tuor acras terre cū ꝑtinenciis in fforton tenend̄ et ħend ꝑdc̃is Aƀƀi et Conuentui et eorū successorib3 inꝑpetuū in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam s̄b hac forma videlicet ꝙd quilibet sac̃sta Monasterii de Cokyrsand qui ꝑ tempe fuerit accipiat et possideat totū ꝑfic̃um et firmam ꝑdictorū tenementorū ad inveniend̄ et sustinendū sc̃dm posse suū necessaria ad capellam beate Marie de Cokyrsand Monasterii ꝑdc̃i ꝑtinencia et in luminarib3 et ceteris hujusmodi necessariis inꝑpeťm. Sciant eciam oñes ꝙd hec est mea mera voluntas ꝙd nᶜ ꝑfic̃u tenementi ꝑdc̃i nᶜ firma ꝑd̄cta nullo modo ad manū d̄ni Aƀƀis u'l alicuius cellerarii Monasterii ꝑdc̃i seu aliquoꝝ aliorū canonicoꝝ ꝑueniant sc̃ totū tenementū cū ꝑficuo et firma ꝑdicť penes sacristam sicut ꝑdc̃m est ad opus capellæ ꝑdci

Monasterii penitus comorentur et ego vero dco Jordanus et heres mei pdca tenementa cū ptinenciis pdcis Abbi et Conuentui et eoz successoribz cont^{a} oes hoies Warantizabimus et defendemus inppm. In cuius rei testimoniū huic psenti carta sigillū meū apposui. Dat apd fforton die dominica px post festū Sci Mathie apli anno dni m^{o} $\overline{ccc}$ tricesimo tercio.

Seal—the shield charged with a lion rampant, the field diapered; rudely cut. Legend ✠ "S' Ricardi.....et Consortis."

XIII.—*fforton. Robt. Corleas feoffm. to Henr. Corleas.*

SCIANT psentes t futuri qd ego Robtus Corlews de fforton dedi concessi t hac psenti carta mea confirmaui Henrico fil meo heredibz t assignatis suis oīa mesuag tras et ten cum ptin suis in fforton infra villam de Gayrestang que hūi ex dono Willi Adamson de Cokirh'm. Hend t tenend oīa pdca mesuag tras t ten cum oībz suis ptnz libtatibz t aisiamentis tantæ terræ in fforton ubiq; ptinentibz pdcto Henrico fil meo hedbz t assignatis suis de capitalibz dnis feodi illius p suicia inde debita t de iure consueta imppm. Et ego vero pdcus Robtus Corlews t heredes mei oia pdcta mesuag tras t ten cum oībz suis ptn t libtatibz pdco Henrico filio meo hered et assign suis contra oes gentes Warantizabimz t defendem^{9} imppm. In cuius rei testim huic psenti carte mee sigill meū apposui. Hiis testbz Ric le Botiller de Kirkland. Thomas Rigmayden. Rog^{9}o Travers de Nateby t aliis. Dat apd fforton die dmca px post fm Sci Martini in yeme anno regni Regis Henrici fil Regis Henr quinto.

Device on the seal, a bird. Qu. a curlew.

XIV. — *ffortonn. Henr. Corleas gyfft unto ye Abbat of Cokersand.*

OMIB3 xp̃i fidelib3 ad quos p̃sens scriptum ꝑuenit Henricus Corlews filius et heres Roƀti Corlews de fforton salt̃m in domino sempit̃nam. Nou̇itis me remisisse relaxasse et omnino ꝑ me et heredb3 meis imꝑꝑm quietum clamasse Aƀƀi et Conuentui de Cokersand et eoꝝ successorib3 totum ius et clameū que huī hẽo vel aliquo modo in futur̃ hēre pot̃o de vel in om̃ib3 illis mesuag̃ t̃ris et ten̄ cū ꝑtñ3 in fforton infra villam de Gairestang que dudum fuerunt Wiłłi Adamson de Kokirh^a m. Ita uero q̧d nec ego dc̃us Henricus Corlews nec heredes mei nec aliquis alius ꝑ nos aut nomine nr̃o aliquid juris vel clamei de vel in ꝑdc̃is mesuag̃ t̃ras et ten̄ cū ꝑtñ3 nec in aliqua ꝑte eoꝝdem decet̃o exig̃e valeam⁹ seu quouis modo vendicare sat ab om̃i acc̃oe iuris et clamei de vel in eisdem cum ꝑtñ3 ꝑ p̃sens scriptum sumus exclusi imꝑꝑm. In cuius rei testimon̄ huic p̃senti scripto quiete clamac̃ois sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testib3 Roberto laurence Roberto de Vrswik militib3. Thoma de Rigmaiden. Thoma de Vrswik. Ricardo Botiller de Kirkland armig̃is et aliis. Dat̃ apud fforton primo die mensis Aprilis anno regni Regis Henrici fił Regis Henrici sexto.

XV. — *fforton. Joh'es Calfson don.*

SCIANT p̃sentes ⁊ futuri q̧d ego Joħes Calfeson senior dedi concessi ⁊ hac p̃senti carta mea confirmaui ꝑ salute aĩe mee ⁊ parentū meoꝝ Aƀƀi Monasterii bē Marie de Cokersand ⁊ eiusdem loci Conuentui ⁊ eoꝝ successorib3 medietatem vnius acre terræ mee cū ꝑtñ3 iacent̃ in quodam clauso vocat̃ Slathuaytehed in fforton infra villam de Gayrstang. Hẽnđ ⁊ tenenđ p̃fat^o Aƀƀ^i ⁊ Cõuent̃ ⁊ successorib3 suis ꝑđctam medietatem acr̃ t̃re cū ꝑtñ3 in puram ⁊ ꝑpetuam elemosinam. Et ego vero ꝑdc̃us Joħes ⁊

heredes mei pdict⁹ medietatem acr̃ ꝛre cū ptiñ ꝑfatis Abbi ꝛ Conuentui ꝛ successoribꝫ suis cont[a] oẽs gentes Warantizabimꝫ ꝛ defendem⁹ imppm. In cui⁹ rei testimoniū huic ꝑsenti carte mee sigillū meū apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Jacobo haryngton milite. Robto haryngton Joñe Rigmayden armiġis ꝛ aliis. Dat̃ sc̃do die januarij anno regni Regis Edwardi Quarti post conq̃m septimo.

XVI. — *fforton. John Brekedannt firm lands calde ye ffalls.*

SCIANT ꝑsentes et futuri qd ego Joñes Brekedannte dedi concessi et hac ꝑsenti carta mea confirmaui ac sursum reddidi Dno Abbi bte Marie de Cokersond đno meo et eiusdem loci Conuentui totam illam ꝑcellā et clausurā terre mee in villa de fforton in com̃ lanc̃ vocat̃ le ffall modo in tenura Jacobo dauson Hẽnđ et tenđ totā pdictā ꝑcell et clausurā terre cū om̃ibꝫ et sinḡlis suis ptiñ ꝑfat̃ Abbi et Conuentui et successoribꝫ suis in purā et ꝑpetuā elemosinā libē quiete sicut aliqua elemosinā liber⁹ et quieti⁹ dari potest se capit̃ đnis fœdi illius ꝑ ꝟiciis inde debit̃ et de iure consuet̃ imppm. Et ego vero pdc̃us Joñes et heređ mei totam pdc̃am ꝑcell et clausur̃ terre cū om̃ibꝫ et sinḡlis suis ptiñ ꝑfat̃ Abbi et Conuentui et successoribꝫ suis vt pdc̃m est contr[a] om̃es gentes warantizabimꝫ et imppm defend⁹. Sciat̃ insuꝑ me pdc̃m Joñem ordinasse et constituisse et in loco meo posuisse dilc̃m meū in xp̃o Ric̃m Jankynson meū verū ac fidelem Attorn̄ ad delib'anđ ꝑ me et in noïe meo ꝑfato Abbi et Conuent̃ plenā et pacificā possession̄ et seisin de et in totā pdc̃am ꝑcellā et clausur̃ terre cū ptñꝫ suis Hẽnđ &c. In cujus rei testim̃ hanc ꝑsent̃ carte mee sigillū meū apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Roġo Botñe armiġo. Joñe Caluard. Wiłło Migeall et multis aliis. Dat̃ apud fforton pdict̃ vicesimo sc̃do die ffebruarii anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi post conq̃ Angł decimo nono.

XVII. — *A leas to Nycholas Skotson made by ye Abbot of Kokyrsond.*

THIS indentur made the xv^th^ day of May the xix^th^ yer of our soũande lorde Kynge Henrie the VIIth Wytnesyth y^t^ James Skypton thabbot of the monasterii of our lady of Cokersande[1] and hys conuente hayv be on assente granted vnd^r^ theyr common seall delyuered vnto Nicholaus Skotson of lancast^r^ on place in forton callede Henrie Hoghson lande hys lyue durynge And after his disses the said Abbot ꝙ Conuent hayv grauntede to on of the seide Nycholaus chyldr at hys own eleccion And that Childe to occupy the seid place peasable duryng it lyve And aftr ye dethe of that chylde thabbot ꝙ Convente then to be at ther libertie to set ꝙ to let the seide place to whome it please y^e^m no clause of yis indentur withstanding. Moroũ the seide Nicholaus to enter in to the seide place after the decesse of Thomas Bakhouse now hauing entẽsse yin And so peasabl entẽsse had theyrin he yerly to pay for the seid place ꝙ lands ther to belongyng to the seid Abbot ꝙ Conuent xij^s^ iiij^d^ oũ and besydes xviij^d^ free ferme vn to the seide Abbot ꝙ Conuent yerely And also ye seid chylde to pay vn to the seide Abbot ꝙ Convent the forseide yerely rente ꝙ free ferme duryng the lyves of the seide chylde and the seide Nicholaus his childe nor nawther of y^m^ to make no waste of the seide place nor woddys there to belongynge bot to take be delyũance sufficiently to repayr thayr place3 w^h^ ꝙ so suffycyently repayret so to kepe y^e^m ꝙ to leve ỹm so at thende of there terme And all the me̅sses aboue rehersyd trule to be ꝑformyd ꝙ kypyt Als wyll opon the ꝑte of the seide Abbot ꝙ Convente as of the ꝑte of the seide Nicholaus Wther ꝑtie by thes indenturs byndys them to toder in xx^li^

[1] One of his successors — *et ultimus domûs* — "venerabilis vir, Robertus Powlton, Abbas de Cokkersand," became a brother of the Corpus Christi Guild at York in 1534. — Reg. of the Guild in British Museum; *MS. Lansd.* 403, fol. 144. 6.

sterlyng. In wytnes her of We the seid Abbot ꝑ Conuent hayv set to our com̄on seall thes Wytnese Rychard Cleuelonde deane of Amounđnesse Rychard Nelson John Duket and James Dugdell wt other moo Yevyn the day ꝑ yer̃ aboueseid.

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THE NAMES

OF ALL THE

GENTLEMEN OF THE BEST CALLINGE

Wthin the Countye of Lancaster,

WHEREOF CHOYSE YS TO BE MADE OF A C'TEN NUMBER
TO LEND VNTO HER MA^{TYE} MONEYE VPON
PRIVIE SEALS IN JANVARYE

1588.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE
REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Privy Seals were always exceedingly unpopular, as the recognizance was not invariably discharged nor repudiated, but considered as dormant, and the men of "great worship" who advanced the voluntary loans, as they were termed, were ranked in each county chiefly according to the amount of their contributions, and not as they were regarded by the Heralds. We have here a list of the principal old and wealthy families of Lancashire in the time of Queen Elizabeth, many of whom did not bear Coat Armour, and were not ranked amongst "Gentlemen" by the courtly but inexorable officers of the Earl Marshall. The "fountain of all honour," however, deemed it politic, at this critical juncture, to address individuals of various degrees of local honour and dignity as "Gentlemen of the beste callinge," and it will be readily admitted that the names now presented indicate men in whom there was a concurrence of "birth, education, and continual affectation of good manners," which, Selden says, completed the character and obtained the title of a gentleman.—(Preface to *Titles of Honour*.) The higher Clergy are omitted here, as they taxed themselves and granted Royal Aids in Convocation. Of the two hundred and twenty-six individuals named, not thirty have left descendants in the male line living on their ancestral property, and the estates of the great majority have passed, from time to time, into other families either by marriage,

purchase, or settlement. The money raised at this time by the Crown was to defray expenses connected with the resistance of the Spanish Armada.

Writs of Privy Seal and the old Exchequer were abolished by *Stat.* 14 *and* 15 *Vict. c.* 82. Some of the books are in the Rolls Chapel, and others were transferred to the Treasury, in the year 1834. — Sims's *Manual of Public Records,* pp. 137, 462; *Harl. MS.* 2219, p. 19 b; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxiii. p. 598.

F. R. R.

THE NAMES, &c.

Derbye Hvndreth.

Sr Rychard Mollineux
Sr Thomas Gerrard
Sr John Holcroft
Mr Edward Stanley
Edward Halsall
Rychard Bovlde
Mris Halsall de Halsall
George Ireland de Hutt
Mris Halsall
Roger Bradshawe
Edward Scaresbrecke
Myles Gerrard
Edward Norreys
Richard Massye
Peter Stanley
Henry Eccleston
John Byrome
John More
Henry Stanley
Rychard Blundell
John Culcheth
Robt Langton
Adam Haurden
Rychard Vrmeston
Edmund Holme
George Ireland de Lydiate
Barnabie Kitchin
John Woold
Bartholomewe Hesketh
Mr Ashton of Penket
Mr Mollineuxe of Mellinge
Gefferey Holt
Mr Blundell of Ince
Thomas Lancaster
John Rishley
Hamlet Dychfield
Homfray Winstanley
John Bretherton
Thomas Mollineux
Iohn Ashton
Thomas Ince
Thomas Abraham
Rychard Eltonheade
Vxor ffrancis Bolde
Robt Phazakerley
Willm̃ Ashurst

Lambert Tildesley
John Crosse
Thomas Holme of Deffe Holme
Lawrence Ireland
Rychard Holme of Male
Edward Tarbucke
Persivall Harington
Willm̃ Anderton
Thomas Holcroft

Leyland Hvndreth.

Mr Robt Hesketh
Edward Standishe
Thomas Standishe
John Fleetwood
Willm̃ ffarington
Thomas Lathome
Robt Charnocke
Thomas Ashton
Henry Banaster
James Anderton
John Cuerden
John Wrightington
James Stopforth
Gilbt Langtrye
John Adlington
Edward Worthington
Thomas Clayton
John Forshawe
Thomas Chisnall
Rychard Nelson
Robt Mawdisley
Willm̃ Banastre
Nycholas Worthington
Rychard Porter
Thomas Hoghton
Thomas Clayton

Lonsdall Hvndreth.

George Midleton
Willm̃ Fleeming
Robt Byndelowes
Willm̃ Thorneborowe
Thomas Preston
Christopher P'ston
Roger Dalton
Francs Tunstall of Thurland
Roger Kirbye
Thomas Carus
Thomas Curwen
Mr Croft
Mr Sotheworth of Hyefeild
Willm̃ Redman
James Ambrose
Thomas Cansfield
Richard Curwen
Francs Tunstall of Awclyffe

Edward Borth
John Tompson
John Culvard
Newton of Wittingam
Thom̃s P'ker
John Haworth
Browne
Jervais Kitson
Christopher Carus
Thomas Morley

Salforth Hvndreth.

Sr Edmund Trafford
Sr John Radcliffe
Sr John Birron
Mr Ashton of Midleton
Rauphe Barton
M^{r} S'geant Shutleworth
Rychard Holland
Fraunc̃s Holt
Edmund Trafford
Edmund Prestwich
X'topher Anderton
Robt Moosley
Edward Rawstorne
Charles Holt
Edmund Ashton
Willm̃ Hilton
James Browne
Raphe Ashton
John Grynehaghe
Alexander Barlowe
Willm̃ Orrell
Mr Dansye
Mr Reddishe
Edmund Hopwood
Gilb^{t} Sherington
Mr Radclyffe of Foxdenton
John Mollineux
George Haughe
John Bradshawe
Adam Hilton
Edmund Heywood
Roger Browneley
Rychard Leyver
George Longworthe
Willm̃ Holland
Alexander Ward
Thomas Massye
Robert Holt
Charles Radclyffe
Edward Butterworth
James Hallywell
Cuthbert Scowfield
Arthur Ashton
Ellis Ainsworth
James Ashton
Thomas Crompton
George Pilkington
James Holme
Rychard Radclyffe
Thomas Chaderton
Rychard Hyndley
George Lathome

Thomas Valentyne
Starkye
Thomas Ainsworth
Willm̃ Bamforth
John Radclyffe
George Birche
George Proudlowe
Hvmfrey Hoghton
George Holland
Lawrence Robinson
Nycholas Mossley

Blackbvrne Hvndreth.

Sr Rychard Sherburne
Sr John Sothworth
John Towneley
Edward Osbaldeston
Roger Nowell
John Bradshawe
Nycholas Banastre
John Rishworth
Mr S'geant Walmysley
Thomas Langton
Edward Braddell
Bryan P'ker
Rychard Ashton
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Mr Shutleworth of Gawthroppe
Mr Habergham
Gilbt Rishton
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Henry Towneley of Barneshyde
John P'ker
John Dewhurst
Thomas Ainsworth
Thomas Astley
John Clayton
Willm̃ Barcrofte
Mr Duckworth of Duckworth
Alexander Rishton
My Ladye Hesketh
Hancocke
Mr Towneley of Royle

Amounderness Hvndreth.

Thomas Houghton
Thomas Barton
Willm̃ Skillicorne
John Westbye
Thomas Eccleston
Edmund Fleetewood
Thurstan Tildesley
Rychard Braddell
Thomas Singleton
Mr Traves

John Massye
Mris Rogerley
Laurence Veale
Willm̃ Hesketh
Robert Plesington
Thomas Whittingham
Mr Haydocke
Mr Hothersall
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Willm̃ Kirkbye
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SOME

INSTRUCTIONS

Given by WILLIAM BOOTH Esquire to his Stewards JOHN CARINGTON and WILLIAM ROWCROFTE,

UPON THE

PURCHASE OF WARRINGTON

By Sir GEORGE BOOTH Baronet and WILLIAM BOOTH his Son,

A.D. MDCXXVIII.

COMMUNICATED BY

WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

[William Booth of Dunham Massey, by whose means his family acquired the possession of Warrington, was the son of Sir George Booth the first baronet of the family, and the father of the celebrated Sir George Booth who after the Restoration was created Baron Delamere. William Booth married Vere, second daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Egerton, eldest son of the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and died on the 26th April 1636, in the lifetime of his father. — (See the pedigree in Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 112, and *Harleian Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 517, where there is an account of his funeral.) Several reasons seem to have conspired to excite him to the acquisition of Warrington. He was lineally descended from the Butlers, its ancient lords, through the marriage, in the reign of Henry VIII., of his ancestor Sir George Booth with Elizabeth, a daughter of the first Sir Thomas Butler; and his grandfather, Sir William Booth, in the year 1575 had actually acquired from Edward Butler during the lifetime of the last Sir Thomas Butler a limitation of the property to himself in fee in the event of Edward Butler dying without issue: but this benefit he afterwards, at the instance of Sir Thomas Butler, and for an adequate consideration, reconveyed to the latter in 1579. The actual contract which led to the following instructions is dated 1st February 1628, and is made between Thomas Ireland of Bewsey Esq. of the one part and William Booth Esq. son and heir apparent of Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey of the other part. The negotiation which ended in the contract seems to have

been some time in progress, as appears by these, amongst other minutes, with the papers:

Concerning the rents called old rents beinge 129*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

	£	s.	d.
It appears by the booke that the best p'te of these are in lease for 1, 2 and 3 lives and for 21 and 51 years in reverc'on thereof and that to the valewe of..... or thereabouts.	40	3	0
That there is in towne cottages shopps cellars and such like rents to the valewe of ..... or thereabouts.	29	9	6
That the remainder of the said ould rents conceived to be in lease for 1, 2 and 3 lives and some of them rented at 5*s.* and 6*s.* 8*d.* acre the littell measure are ..... or thereabouts.	60	0	0

	£	s.	d.		
For these beinge...	69	12	6		
for rack rents..	34	4	0		
cheefe rents ...	4	5	9		
the seigniory and perquisites in commenda'					
tithe hempe and flax.....	3	0	0		
the horse mill..	65	0	0		
toule corne.....	24	0	0		
faires	50	0	0		
tythes and p's'nage	50	0	0		
	300	0	0 ob.		
	13 y'rs p'chse.			3900	0 0
at 50 y'rs purchase				3000	0 0
				6900	0 0

This offer was delivered at Warrington the xxiiij December 1627 by me William Rowcrofte.

And again:

For the sale of Warrington meetinge at Dunham uppon Thursdaie the xxvij November 1628. At this tyme the parties could not agree. Mr. Ireland increassed his demaund.

And afterwards:

At Thelwalle uppon Thursdai the xviij December 1628. At this tyme the p'ties agreed on the somme of 7300*l.* for the prise of the whole manor of Warrington and all Mr. Ireland's right in the same, as well for the tythe corne thereof and Littl Sankey, and that barne and buildings thereunto belonginge and the stable, onelie there was excepted to Mr. Ireland the right of patronage of the parish churche, Littell Sankey, and the demaine of Bewsey, and no more in that revenue. And the daies of paiement are to be agreed on at Dunham uppon Mondaie at night beinge the xxixth of December 1628, where Mr. Irelande will be God willing.

Will'm Rowcrofte,
1628.

In a subsequent page of the rental of 1627, from which the foregoing memoranda are taken there is a calculation, in the handwriting of William Booth, of the manner in which the different payments of the purchase money are to be raised. The money was to be paid by three instalments; and towards each of the first two instalments he sets down 500*l.* to be paid by the tenants alluded to in the instructions, and of the third payment no less a sum than 1500*l.* is set down to be raised by compositions "not yet made, and by other means contained in a particular remaining in the hands of John Carington and William Rowcrofte." A little later in the book we have the names of those tenants who contributed, with the amount of their contributions, which vary from 30*s.* to 30*l.*; and then there is added this note, evidently written after the death of William Booth the purchaser:

Manie more fynes of tenants were received and paied for this purchase of Warrington, both in the life tyme of William Booth Esquier and also after his decease for the repaiement of the ladee Egerton her money and use for it, as appeareth in other bookes, made in my yonge M^{r} his minoritie.

The notices occurring in the rental sufficiently shew the difference between these times and our own. Nearly the whole of the property, it appears, was let out on life leases. The tenants were all bound to grind at the lord's mill, and every plow land was obliged to render him two days' work with a team and two days' work with a laborer yearly, while every ancient cottage which had been Butler's was bound to render a day's work with a harrow and a day's work with a laborer; and from a summary of these services, in which their value is put down, we learn their number, and that a struggle, arising out of mutual inconvenience, was going on in order to have them commuted for a money payment. The summary is as follows:

36 plows at 4*s.* 8*d.*
40 harrows at 7*d.*
66 shearers and fillers of dung 4*d.*

But none of these differences will strike the reader more than the

recurrence in the particular of instructions to the old principle of the feudal benevolence which enabled the lord on many family occasions to call upon his tenants to help him with pecuniary aid. Instances of an appeal to this principle were frequent in the earlier ages of our constitution. The pedigree before referred to informs us that Sir John Booth, a direct ancestor of William Booth the purchaser, was a contributor to the reasonable aid "before the battle of Flodden," but probably no later instance of a landlord making a similar appeal to his tenantry than that mentioned in these instructions is on record.]

SOME INSTRUCTIONS, &c.

Copied from an original paper in the hand writing of William Booth Esquire, and supposed to be instructions from him to John Carington and William Rowcrofte, Sir George Booth's stewards.

I WOULD wish you to call the tenantes first all together, and to signifie unto them that my father and I have gone thorow with Mr. Ireland for Warrington, and the summe wee are to give is above 7000^{li}: that this was done makeing noe doubt but that towardes it every one of them being tenantes would by their assistaunce enable us to finish it:

That it is such an opportunity for them to shew their loves unto us and to gaine our respectes unto them, as the like is never in probability to bee againe:

That the whole countrey observes to see by this what respectfull tenantes they are to their Maister, who ever hath bene more favoureable to them, than most other landlordes have bene to others:

That the desire now made unto them is for three yeares rent; which if they will give, my father and I would have you to assure them from us both that during our two lives noe more rentes nor guiftes shall be required:

On the other side if they faile us in this, they may provoke us to sharpe courses, especially mee, who have had a purpose to take the third part of every liveing as it falles, letting the tenant enjoye two partes onely without fine, which course I will not follow, but deale as my father hath, if at this tyme they aide mee.

Other landlordes in Cheshyre, and Lancashyre have lately demaunded three yeares rent of their tenantes onely for spending money, and it was readyly and without delaye graunted if not for love yet for feare; these yeares rentes are desired not for spending, but purchasing such a thing as the like is not in these countryes, and are desyred to bee done by them from love, not feare; besides if others for spending could have three yeares rent given them, and they for a purchase of that good, and reputation to the house to which themselves belong, should denye, or faile, every man would wonder at them, and saye either their maister hath bene a very ill landlord, and his tenantes love him not, or else they will saye they are very unrespectfull tenantes:

Lastly if wee should faile in this, it lying soe nere unto us now that the countrey hath taken notice wee are concluded for it, and that because the tenantes at an extremity forsake us, they will cause much disgrace to us, for every one will saye my father and I had bought Warrington but were not able, and our tenantes refused to assist us: to this purpose I would wish you to speake unto them all together, to the end their affections may be wroghte uppon if it may bee: after, I thinke it fitt, those who have bene with my father, and have promised, bee called publikely before all the rest to know what they will doe, and after they have graunted in the face of all the rest for example, then all to bee sent forth, and dealt with by Poole in particular for feare a refractory spirit by publike deniall should bee like the Bell-weather to draw all the flocke his waye: such as peevishly denye deale with them in their

kyndes and commaund them at a certaine daye to attend my father and give their answere to my father themselves; this I would not have done till you have finished all others, because roughnes being used to any before you have all their answeres may incense some crabbed spirits, who by a fellow feeling will be offended at the check of another though it nothing concerne them. It is likely many will be absent, what course to take with them I leave unto yee two, what course to take; concerning Soundiforth for my uncle Johns and his owne liveing as alsoe the commons in Yorkshyre, I will be up earely in the mourning to conferre with you, as alsoe about some other thinges.

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LETTER

FROM

SIR JOHN SETON,

Manchester ye 25 M'ch, 1643.

EDITED BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.S.A.

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M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE following letter, written by Sir John Seton or Seaton, for the spelling of the name varies, may be inserted between numbers 28 and 29 of the *Civil War Tracts*, forming the second volume of the Society's publications. Such a letter as the one now before us, by its natural and truthful expression, is most refreshing in the midst of tracts and intelligences conveying almost a delirious outpouring of party feeling, and written either to conceal or distort facts.

We are at the epoch in which Seton visited Lancashire, and during the war there, made acquainted with several names of European reputation borne by soldiers of fortune. The most important of these, Seton, Rosworm and Morgan,[1] were of houses hereditarily accustomed to make a market of their swords. An old

[1] Rosworm took part in Seton's Lancashire campaign. He was the German engineer provided for Manchester, and was there ill used. In Von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* (9 b. 1 s), there is an account of the Rosswurms, who it seems were content to bear their strange name (horse-worm) without any corresponding charge in their arms. This family had for three centuries been seated at Hellungen in Coburg, were Protestants, and never abandoned "das uralte Recht eines deutschen Edelmannes dem Auslande sein Schwert zu weihen."

Morgan was one of the earliest Low Country adventurers in Queen Elizabeth's days. Our Lancashire officer of that name first appears as colonel of dragoons (Memorials of Lord Fairfax, *Somers' Tracts*, vol. v. p. 387). He was detached to conduct the siege of Lathom House, and is described as "a little man, short and peremptory" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 166). His last service as major-general (1657-8) in Flanders, under Turenne, was most brilliant (*Somers' Tracts*, vol. vii. p. 36).

Sir John Seton in 1642 had been nearly forty years in the French-Scottish Guard, but we cannot suspect him of joining the Manchester Parliamentarians. Neither can we seek the writer of this letter in the family of Lord Seton, who were loyalists. The service of Gustavus Adolphus was that most congenial to the taste of the Puritans, and in the list of his officers annexed to Hepburn's *Memoirs*, we find two colonels, "James Seaton of Gargannock, and John his brother." Sir John Seton is denominated colonel by the Parliament, and Monteth designates him as such without the knightly addition (p. 143).

That the writer of this letter had Teutonic recollections admits of no doubt. "Postees" for posts is the dissyllable *pfoste*. Garstang is made *Gerstein*;[2] for as *als* is used, and *sch* for sh is echtes Deutsch, as is also *beil* for bill. Then his Scotch origin is not lost sight of. The past tense and participle of seek is *socht*. "The Lord knows

[2] Although Seton's abrupt transformation of Garstang into Gerstein, and the fraternization thus achieved between the Amounderness Garstang and its West Derby congener Garston, might invite criticism, yet the amount of puzzled etymology resting upon *gar*, *ger*, *car*, *carr*, *carse*, *cur*, *ker*, &c., forbids all curiosity. If Jacob Grimm could find no satisfactory derivation for the *ger* of his own beloved and native Germany (*Gesch. der Deut. Spr.* p. 545), although Camden in his *Remains* had freely bequeathed him one; and if Kemble held *garsecg*, *oceanus*, a "difficult word" (*Glossary to Beowulf*), it would ill become us to express an opinion. *Carstang* Jamieson says, means cart shafts in Roxburghshire. *Cherestanc* is the name of Garstang in Domboc. Baines (vol. iv. p. 454) calls it *Church-pool*, and Dr. Whitaker *Gar's-* or *Garre's-pool*. If the prefix here be a proper name, by a reference to an Index Villaris it will be seen that *Gar* was a large proprietor. Those who doubt this solution will find more on the subject in Trench's *English Past and Present*, p. 80, note; Richardson, *gar* and *gerfalcon*; Grimm's *Deutsche Sprache*, p. 36; Diefenbach, vol. i. p. 123, vol. ii. pp. 393, 396; Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. ii. pp. 57, 455, 494, vol. iii. p. 442; Halliwell, *gore*; also Minsheu the same word. *Gaarce*, (*Prompt. Par.*); *Estang*, Cotgrave, &c. For different ways of spelling Garstang, see Baines ut supra. It is *Garstrang* in Speed's Map; vide Jamieson, *gar*, *ger*, *gore*, &c.

what shall become of me" is a pure Scotticism. "Shall," says Sir Edmund Head, "is the proper auxiliary for prophecy when predicting events predetermined and foreknown" (p. 19).

Whitlock says of Alexander Leslie (*Mem.* p. 64): "He was not so good a clerk as a souldier;" if there is an imputation lurking in this criticism, we hesitate in admitting its extension to Leslie's subaltern, the writer of the letter before us. To be sure the scout who "ryds bake" (rides back) supplies a strong illustration of the phonetic mode of writing, but the entente cordiale and the strange conventionalism between orthoepy and orthography were then but imperfectly established, and for the period the letter is respectably written and spelt. "Lake" for leak we regard as a souvenir of old comrades, the Swedish word being *laeck*. The vigour imparted to the English style by changing in narration from the past to the present tense is often resorted to. "The Sergent Major takes three companies and marched;" "Lord Darbie aproches the schip and puts fire in her and burnt all, and so retired." This is foreign to the German idiom. In "threw" the northern guttural is abandoned. The enemy are said to have taken Preston "malureuslie" (malheurislie), Seton thus expressing his sense of the disaster by a composite word which gives us a glimpse of the variety of tongues in the Swedish camp, almost as complete as that which Schiller has at greater length afforded of the Babel in Wallenstein's Lager. "Worser"[3] might be classed as

[3] *Wirser* in modern German is, as Grimm says, disused (*Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. iii. pp. 589, 606); and *worser* is not open to his objection against worse, that it wants all the marks of comparison (*ibid.* vol. v. p. 90). The positive of this comparative perplexes Grimm. Bosworth gives *yfel*, *evil*, for it. *Wer* is a man, and *wyrse* the devil in Saxon; and our South Lancashire *wurr* and the comparison strengthened by the reduplication *wurr and wurr*, as in Scotch, is worthy of notice, as indicating that worse had once perhaps a congenial positive. *Worser* is in the *Craven Glossary*. Johnson and Shakespeare (the *Taming of a Shrew*, act. i. sc. 2, and *Othello*, act. iv.

a Germanism (Old High German *wirsira* and Middle High German *wirser*, Grimm's *Deuts. Gram.* vol. iii. p. 606); or it may have been gathered between the Ribble and the Lune, where the Craven dialect obtains, or, as Shakespere and Dryden used the word, it was then no vulgarism, and passed current at any rate in Paul's Walk, which we may suppose Seton frequented as a reformado colonel.

This letter of Seton's was formerly in the possession of Mr. B. H. Bright, who, during a residence in Lancashire, accumulated his extensive collection of books and MSS.; and at his death this letter passed into the Chetham Library, where it now remains. It was printed in May 1821 in the Liverpool *Kaleidoscope*. The envelope and the address are lost, nor is there any thing that enables us to supply their place. Seton is evidently writing to one under whom he had served, and who had provoked a letter by previously addressing him. Mr. Bright conjectured Fairfax to be the correspondent. This could not be, for Ferdinando, then Lord Fairfax, so far from having had men under his command when Seton in September began to raise his force, was at that time reproved by Parliament for endeavouring to establish a neutrality for Yorkshire; his commission as General of the North was given him December 1642 (Rushworth, vol. ii. pp. 3, 91), and Seton had then been nearly three months in Lancashire.

Essex had Scotch officers of Gustavus under him, as Ramsey, Balfour, &c., and from his army Seton's soldiers were originally in-

sc. 1) are quoted for its use, also Tusser; but the Rev. Mr. Carr calls it "a barbarous word." Halliwell states it to be common. *Worser* is not found in the three dialects which supply the *Hallamshire Glossary*, and that of Halifax has strong affinities to our South Lancashire tongue. It is neither in *Tim Bobbin* nor in the Cheshire and the Westmorland dialects. In truth, "worser" has very narrowly missed being received into our language (Pegge's *Anecdotes*, p. 76; *King Lear*, act iv. sc. 6; *Henry VI.*, part i. act v. sc. 4). *Lesser* stands much on the same footing.

tended to have been taken, but Edgehill loomed in the distance, and he was sent to recruit elsewhere (*Civil War Tracts,* pp. 57, 70). Still he came from Essex's district and command. We must imagine the intimacy with and reliance upon the person addressed, which the letter expresses, bestowed on Essex and decide whether such was probable.

Now there was a third person under whom Seton had certainly served, and who was in the field against Charles. Alexander Leslie had returned in 1637 from the German wars, and by his rebellion in 1641 had wrung from his sovereign the earldom of Leven, and was again gratifying his instincts in waging a fresh war on that monarch. Seton's joining his old general was most natural. In returning to his native country we lose sight of Seton, which could hardly have been the case had he joined either Fairfax or Essex.

The circumstances under which Sir John Seton came into Lancashire are so minutely given in the *Civil War Tracts* that we shall merely refer the reader to them for information. Perhaps, looking to dates, Lord Derby's attack on Manchester, September 24th 1642, rather than the allowance of the Roman Catholics to arm, September 27th (as conjectured by Mr. Ormerod), was the origin of the resolution of Parliament, September 29th, to employ Seton and raise his regiment.

The criticisms on Seton by his own party were severe, and required the correction which this letter bestows upon them. John Tilsley insinuates that Seton's stern deportment caused mischief and omits the provocations under which he acted: "Truly, Sir, we owe, (subordinate to God), a great deal to Sir John Seaton: things are artificially and methodically done, past what they were before; he is a man of wonderfull care and unwearied industry, onely rather too harsh for our northern knotty riggid dispositions; had he the meek

spirit and smooth tongue of S. M. Sparrow he were peerlesse" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 73). The quitting Lancaster Castle, (the effect of which was not then known but is speculated on in this letter), subjected Seton and those who followed him to the remark, "they thought the safest way for themselves was to march towards Manchester and quit the Castle" (*ibid.* pp. 90, 132). John Angier, (for the Puritan divines, believing that the "blast of the silver trumpet" as blown by themselves inspired "the souldiering spirit," *ibid.* p. 120, are severe military commentators,) thus deals with Seton, borne down as he was by a rabble soldiery: "2000 of our forces marched out for the timely relief of Lancaster, but how they were divided and diverted, walked and breathed to and fro, whilst the Earle fires Lancaster, recovered Preston, and rifled Blackburne, I have no minde to inquire, but doe sadly remember; and cannot easily forget how these tydings affrighted our Commanders out of Lancaster Castle, and exposed the Castle so well appointed to the will of the enemy, had not the mighty God, by the assistance of a minister, doubled the spirit of the heartie, (though headlesse), souldiers to maintaine with utmost hazard so great a trust" (*ibid.* p. 132). The main incident of the campaign, the arrival of the Dunkirk ship, is held to be accidental (*ibid.* pp. 89, 130), and that by those who, had it been otherwise, would have denounced such assistance for their enemies; in this instance they also wanted the excuse to justify their plundering the ship, which they accomplished without any misgivings, thanking God for having placed such a booty within their reach.

Seton left the county, as he proposed, shortly after the date of this letter, but not before he had secured it almost entirely to the energetic but turbulent party who so strangely accepted his services. If left to itself Lancashire would have been for the cause of Charles;

but Lord Derby, straining every nerve to assist the King, sent men and arms procured in his Lieutenancies to the Royal head quarters, and thus left his own district at the mercy of opponents (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* vol. ii. p. 433). We read, May 4th 1643: "Since Sir John Seaton's coming out of the county there hath been little action on either side" (*Civil War Tracts,* p. 100). We are not aware he ever revisited us, and certainly he had little encouragement to do so.

Of the names mentioned in this letter the reader will find an account in Mr. Ormerod's admirable contribution to the CHETHAM SOCIETY'S volumes, the *Civil War Tracts.* Dukinfield was now beginning his stormy life, and could not have been more than nineteen years of age. The silver-tongued Sergeant-major Sparrow evades our inquiries. "Mr. Toulnson" was either Thomas or George Toulson of Lancaster, who were lay members of the Classical Presbytery of 1646. The rest of the principal actors with Seton were Presbyterians, and gradually waned in importance after 1647; and at no period of their lives do they appear adequately to have estimated the value of discipline and obedience in achieving great ends. In confusion and riot the rebellion in Lancashire began, and so, as Seton experienced, it proceeded; and its success is referable altogether to extraneous causes, which diminished the power of the Loyalists and acted less disastrously on their opponents. The readiness of the peasantry to adopt either party was repeatedly shown, and Lord Derby perhaps could most easily gather together the billmen, of which Seton's letter contains a proof. The soldiery on the Presbyterian side, looking to Seton's testimony and to that Martindale gives of Moore's followers, were very licentious. This under Cromwell was restrained, but by means which, interfering with the enjoyments of the people, ultimately produced the Restoration.

The arming of the combatants for this war appears to have been

a work of much difficulty, as might be expected after a cessation of all general bellicose excitement, (with the brief exception of the Armada,) since Bosworth and Stoke. We thus read of a peasantry armed with bills and a soldiery opposed to them with poleaxes.[4] Germany poured her discarded weapons on to our shores. The leathern cannon which Gustavus adopted for their extreme lightness, (90 lbs. weight), in his Polish wars, and subsequently disused, found their way here, and a sort of caltrops at the end of long poles, which, reproduced in rude wooden engravings by the *Intelligencers* of the day, were supposed to typify the abounding malignancy of the party using them. Even such cannon as the Dunkirk ship brought were little regarded by one who had experienced their worth. "All these disasters only to get these cannon," writes Seton.

The dates necessary to the right understanding of Seton's letter are these: September 29th 1642, the Commons order "1000 dragoniers to be raised under the command of Sir John Seaton," and 16,000*l.* is directed to be raised to pay for the same, with "some troopes of horse for the suppressing of the malignant party in Lancashire." October 3rd, the House resolves that none of Essex's army should be sent to Lancashire, but "agreed that 1000 dragoniers should be designed for the service under Sir Edward Ceton" (*Civil War*

[4] *Poll axe*, Todd's *Johnson*; as two substantives apparently rejected by Richardson. *Polax, bipennis* (*Prompt. Par.*), furnished with a double axe? It is in Wright and Halliwell "(Anglo-Saxon) a heavy halberd." Minsheu is imaginative in deriving pole axe "fortè à *pull*, trahere, detrahere. Genus est armorum quo hostem ab equo detrahere possumus vel potius Polonica ascia a Polonian axe." *Bill* an axe is not in Cotgrave as French; it is given as English, and translated "hallebarde." *Bill* is old Saxon for securis, and is in Beowulf. As to its derivation from a bird's bill, see Diefenbach, pp. 81, 82. We are told (1642) that "the naylers of Chowbent instead of making nayles have busied themselves in making bills and battle axes" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 651).

Tracts, pp. 40, 57). October 28th, the 1000 dragoniers are on their march to Manchester under Sir John Seaton "a brave and valiant Scottish commander; these dragoniers are part of those men that came out of Holland in the ship that was forced by a leake to put into Yarmouth" (*ibid.* p. 60). February 9th 1642-3, Seton took Preston; before February 14th he had won Lancaster. March 13th, Lord Derby issued from Wigan, having heard of the arrival of the Spanish ship; between the 15th and the 18th he burnt the vessel and retired; on the 18th he summoned Lancaster and took the town. About March 17th Ashton was sent from Preston to relieve Lancaster, Seton being in bed from a fall from his horse, but the expedition failed; and hearing of this about March 20th, Seton set forth with fresh troops, and Lord Derby passing him took Preston. About March 22nd the desertion of Lancaster Castle by Seton, as stated in the letter, occurred (*ibid.* pp. 71, 84, 85, 130). There is much difficulty in giving precise dates from the carelessness of the news-writers, but Seton's letter, written March 25th, places the events he describes earlier than the printed accounts fix them.

LETTER, &c.

My verie hon^{ble} good Lord

I have received ye hono^{r} of yor kynd letter wch was both seasonable and comfortable. I am now in a worser condition wth these people then ever. For Preston is lost again to us & that by the couardlines of the sogiors & by the malignants wthin the towne who declared themselves enemies so soone as the enemies forces assaulted, & shot upon o^{r} gards wthin the towne from the windowes, wch wes a cheef cause they were beat from there postees. I enjoed Preston & Lancaster a month peaceablie, & so after I had geven order for makeng of some workes for defence of the Towne, I had layd a plott for the takeng of Warinton & came to Manchester for that purpose to make preparation, The next morneng S^{r}gent Major Sparrow sends me a letter by a post sheweng me that there wes a Spanish schip blowne in wth a storme to Weyre waters and had a lake there pylot being dead desired help, The Sergent Major takes three companies wth him & I sent him other 3 & thus marched towards the schip, where the Captens were come a schoare at Rosehale, the next day the Spanyards came a schoare to the nomber of 400. Upon the 3^{d} day my Lord comes over the ford at Hiskebank wth 300 horse, Our foote wold not advance to the schip feareng that my Lord had had foote as well as horse, so they marched over to the oth^{r} syde of the water to preserve the amunition wch they had gotten out of the schip, there were but 12 musquetirs left in the schip & these fled away, so my Lord of Darbie aproches the schip & puts fire in her & burnt all, and so retired home again att the ford of Hiskebank, Then Colonell Doddin & Mr. Toulnson were taken prisoners, for they wold not belive but y^{t} the enemie were our people, they were so drunk wth Joy of the schip, wch tho it wes burned we recovred all the ordinance to the nom-

ber of 22, wherof 8 were of brass, 2 demi cannons, one minion, 5 sacres wherof 3 were broke & made useles, In this interim y^t we got up the Canons to the Castle of Lancaster, Sir John Girlinton & Mr. Teilslie & others had sent for forces from some parts of Yorkscheare & got a quantitie of armes, & so invited my Lord to come again they wold joyn wth his Lo: wch my Lord did, returned presentlie wth 7 Companies of foote, 5 troops of horse, 3 peeces of cannons & beeing in the Fyld Countrey where all are papists, they resorted all to him wth the best armes they had, some musquets many horse & infinit nombers of beilmen, Just about this time the sogiors of Preston rose up in a mutine, about a 100 mad men wth polaxes & they socht to have my heart blood, why forsuth, I had geven a sogior a knok or 2 for shooteng off his peece between 6 & 7 at nicht after the watch was sett, by Gode mercie I had past threw a howse neere to the gard & so went threw barns & stables to see some feeld to make a work upon, presentlie these furious sogiors followed me & socht me in that howse but found me not, watched my lodgeng wth a gard all nicht to catch me if I should go home, Comanded the gards at every avenu not to let me out of Towne, so y^t I wes forced to ly out of my howse that nicht, and the next morneng was faine to leepe ditches & hedges to get to Lancaster for they had beset all passages to kill me, when I came to Lancaster there wes 8 cōpanies of sogiors, ye canons were carieng up to the Castle, Manchester Bolton Preston were stryveng who should have the best peeces, but haveng intelligence y^t Tilslie was to joyne wth my Lord & to assault Lancaster I removed from y^t place and retorned to Preston for then the sogiors were a litle apeased by p̃swasion of Collonell Schutleworth, I sent for all the troopes I could have from Blakborne & Bolton, & had cōmanded Colonell Holland wth his regement from Manchester to set upon Warinton, I got 12 Companies of foote togither, but haveng received a great falle from my horse y^t nicht I came from Lanc^r I could not stur out of my bed & am not well as yet; but I sent Coll. Asshton wth 9 Companies & keept but 3 in Towne, & so I comanded him to march foreward & assalt the enemie in the reare, The 8 comp^s in Lanc^r in the van wold be a means to

relive them of Lancr who were beseeged by these Troopes. The Coll being halfe way at Gerstein had no Corage to go on, sheweng that the enemie wes strong and if they should be beatten the Countie were lost, I wrot to him to stay there yt wold amuse the enemie, he called the councell of warre wch were all of his mynd to returne again the next day, They were not so soone out of yt place but 2 scouts of the enemies ryds bake & advertises them Imediatelie they assault Lancr & were beatten of again, had not a sogior cryed we have no powder, so they made a fresch assault, & came & burnt the Towne for the most pt. our sogiors retired to the Church & the Castle, I heireng of this, knew yt in case I relived them not presentlie they must render men, armes & Canons to the enemie The next day I got upon my horse sore as I wes wth eleven Comp. of foote some few ill monted horse who durst not looke the enemie in the face, & wth these I marched to Lancr haveng left in garison in Preston 4 comps of foote a troope of horse of Capt Dukinfield wth 500 clubmen Coll. Holland beng in towne & Sergent Major Chantrell I marched in a closse way haveng no horse nor Canons yet in vew of the enemie So soon as I was past, they knew I wold relive Lancr. The enemie marched foreward to attempt against Preston wch they carried malureuslie. I wes to march from Lancr wth the troupes about 2 of the clok again but no sogior wold stur in regard they were weried, having marched 20 myls, The next morneng being reddie to march, none wold stay in Lancr. Coll. Stanlies 3 Comps who were into it caused beat there drums in spyt of my teeth, & when I caused schut the gates, they swore they wold fyre the Canons & the castle & be gon, so yt I was faine to cause set open the gates, none of Coll. Schutleworth regemt wold stay, so yt I was in a greater pplexitie then ever, At last 2 of Coll. Hollands regemt sayd, Sir we will stay if yow will stay, but not els I wes forced to stay in the castle, and send the other awy to Preston, but about midway news came to them yt Preston wes taken by my Lord, Sergent Major writs this to me by a post & desires me to retire my selfe by the way of Clethro & by nicht othrwys I could not escape I Mayd this known to the 2 Captens wth me, They seyd this was no place for me to be in, nether wold they stay after

me, so I parted out of the castle & wrot to the liftenents, how things stood, desired them If the sogiors wold not stay to defend the castle to retire the same way to Clethro. It seems the Comp^s has gotte salt beef & porke for a month or 2 & ther is water in the Castle, so y^t If we can relive them against y^t tyme it is well, but I dispare of y^t seeing it is to fare for us above 40 myls. This schip has bin the cause of all o^r sorrow haveng o^r troopes devyded onely to gett these Canons. But it is Gods pleas^r thus to deale wth vaine men, who puts there Confidence in Canons & men more then in God. And now I am att Manchester scarslie dare I come to the streets for feare of killing of me, Wee are presentlie to go to the feelds to seeke the enemie & ether fecht wth them or attempt some Towne, But yet I am in als bad a Case as before the sogiors say they will kill me because I gave them not the plundrage, & Papists goods of Preston wch I never medled with. The Lord knows what shall become of me, I wish I were transported safe to yor Lo: ffor I can not live in securitie hier, nether have I gott a sexpence to mentean my selfe & people, haveng 8 horses & 6 servants wch I brocht from London. I was interteined by the gentilmē of Lanc^r for 3 months onelie, now the last of March my tyme is expired, & then I will stay no longer, But If I can gett away wth my lyfe I intend to come & see yor Lo^p wheresoever yow be, The Lord be wth you & gyd you in all yor hon^ble & Christian deseins as for me I think my selfe much yor servand & at all occasions shalbe reddie to express it as he who shall ever remain

My Lord

Yo^r Lo^ps most hūble & faithfull Servant,

JOHAN SETON.

Manchester ye 25 of M'ch 1642.[5]

If I had bin wth the troops when they went from Lanc^r I had assalted Preston again or died in ye place, but o^r men retired to Ribchester.

[5] The year 1642 O.S. expiring 24th March, this letter, written on old New-Year's Day, should have borne the date of 1643, as confirmed by internal evidence. It has been docketed on the margin of the second page in a contemporary handwriting, "Sr John Seaton, March 25, 1643."

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THE NAMES

OF

EIGHT HUNDRED INHABITANTS

OF MANCHESTER

WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO CHARLES II.

IN APRIL, 1679.

COMMUNICATED BY

JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXII.

NAMES OF EIGHT HUNDRED INHABITANTS OF MANCHESTER, IN APRIL 1679.

Owing to reports of disaffection in the North, though the oath of allegiance to Charles II. had been administered in Manchester in the year 1661,* shortly after his accession or restoration, it was deemed advisable, with a view to ascertain the extent of the disaffection in this town, to require all the burgesses and other inhabitants, resiants of the manor, to appear at the lord's court-leet for the manor, and take the oath of allegiance to the king, nineteen years afterwards.

Accordingly on Tuesday, 29th April, 1679, and following days, the burgesses and other inhabitants attended at the court-leet and took the required oath, to the number of about 800. Their names were recorded in the books of the court-leet with little distinction, except that to some is affixed the word "gent." In this extract they are arranged alphabetically. The spelling has been carefully adhered to, and the only liberties taken with the old record are, that, to avoid a repetition of the surname, persons of different families perhaps, and certainly of various Christian names, are all placed after the same surname; and, to keep the list within as small a compass as possible, most of the Christian names have been more or less abbreviated. As to the three most common, they are represented by their initial letter only — viz., J. for John; T. for Thomas; and W. for William. The other abbreviations will be readily understood.

Addison Rt.
Alcock J., Rd.
Alcocke Nathan, Geffrey
Allen Jas.
Alsmore P.
Ancors J.
Andrew J., T.
Antrobus Rt., J.
Arstall W.
Ashley J.
Ashton J., Fras.
Ashworth Edw.
Asker Rt.
Aynsworth Lawrence

* In Oct. 1661 the number of inhabitants recorded as having taken the oath of allegiance was 584.

Baguley Raphe
Bamber Geo.
Bancroft Jery., Rt., Jos., Jas., Alex.
Barker Jon.
Barlow Henry, J., Jas., Geo., W., Sl.
Barners Rt.
Barnes Jno., Edw.
Barnett Obediah
Barre Rd.
Barrett Micah, Edw., Jas.
Barrowe Walter, Sl.
Barton Geo., W.
Bason Jas.
Bateman Geo.
Baxter Rd., Rt.
Baynton Jas.
Bealey W., Ellis, Hy., Edw., Dl.
Beavan J.
Beck Jas., T., W.
Bennett Randle
Benson Geo.
Bent T., Roger, Geo., Fras.
Bentley Jos.
Berron W., J.
Berrye Nichs.
Beswick Chas, J.
Bewman T.
Beymond Rt. *gent.*
Binns J.
Birch T., Rt.
Blackshaw W.
Blackwell Rph.
Boardman Jas. and Jno., Jerh., J.
Boden Tim.
Bolton Jas., Edw.
Booth Rd., J., Rph., Mw., Rt.
Bottomley, Jerh.
Boulton J.
Bower Myles
Bowers Rt.
Bowker Peter, Jas., Jerh., Ml., Wm.
Boyes Tobias
Braben T.
Bradley Rd.
Bradshawe Isaac, Myles *gent.*, Rd., J., Rph., Hum., W.
Bratt J.
Brideoake T., W.
Briggs Rt.
Broadhead Caleb
Bromiley Geo.
Brooke W. *gent.*, J., Sl.
Brookes Geo., Chas.
Brookeshawe Jos.
Browne Rt. *clk.*, Rt. jun. *clk.*
Buckley J., Rt.,
Buerdsell J., Rd.
Burnell Rt.
Burnett Philip
Burre Rd.
Bury Rd., Jas.
Bushell T.
Butterworth T., Jas.
Buxton Sl.
Byrom W., Edw.

Carr Randle
Carrington J., W.
Cartwright Fras.
Caton J., Oliver
Causey T.
Chadderton J., Rd.
Chadkirke Jno.
Chadwick Rt., T.
Chapman Rt., Sl., Geo.
Chetham Humfrey, Jas.
Chew J.
Chisnall T.
Chorley J.
Chorlton J., Sl.
Clay Wm., J., Lawce., Jos.
Clayton J.
Collier J.
Cooke Jno., Dl., Chas., Joshua
Coppock T., Edw.
Court Willfrey
Cradwell Hy.
Crompton Wareing, Jas., W.
Crooke Rd.
Crosley Rt.
Crosse J.
Curteous J.

Curtis J.

Daniell J.
Darbishire Jas.
Davenport Rd., J.
Dawson J.
Deale Jas.
Deane Hamlet, Nathl.
Deanham Edw., T.
Dennis J. *gent.*, Rt.
Dickanson J., T.
Didsburye —
Dixon Joshua, T.
Dixson Rd.
Doodson Hy.
Drinkwater Arnold, *gent.*, W., Sl.
Duckworth Rd.
Dunster Jas.
Duxburye Hy.

Eaton Sl.
Edge W., Jon.
Edmundson W.
Eld Chas.
Ellom Jon.
Ellor Sl., Edw., J.
Erlam T.
Evans T.
Eyres Geo., Rph.

Farmerey Geo.
Farrand Peter
Farrar Edm.
Faulkner W.
Fell Christr., J.
Fielden Rd.
Fletcher Rd., Alex., Jas.

Gardner Lawce.
Gartside Abm., W., Enoch, Phineas
Gee Geo.
Gerard T.
Gibson Rd., I.
Gilliam J., Rt.
Glover W.
Goddard Edw., T.
Goodier T.
Grantham Humfrey
Graver Joshua
Greaver Rph., Rt.
Greene Edw.
Greenehalghe J.
Gregg J.
Grimshawe T.
Guest W.

Hague Ml.
Hall Geo., Dl., J., W.
Hallowes Jos.
Hamer Hy.
Hamlet W.
Hampson Rd.
Hanley Humphrey
Harcourt J.
Hardman Rd., Wm.
Hardye Rd., J.
Harrison T., Jery.
Harrold Jas., T.
Hartley T., W. *gent.*, Rt., J.
Harwood T.
Hassell Rd.
Haughton J., Rph.
Hawkins T.
Heateley Jas.
Henshawe W., J.
Hepworth W.
Herd J.
Heskye Ezekiel
Hey Geo.
Heyden Jas.
Heyes Jos., P.
Heyrick T. *gent.*
Heywood T., Jas., Edw., J., Edw. *constable of Ardwick*
Hibbert Nathl., W., J.
Higginson W., J.
Higham Jos. *gent.*
Highfield Edmd., J.
Hill Rd., Rt., J.
Hilton Rt., Jas., Fras., Jeffrey
Holbrooke J. *gent.*
Holland Adam, Edw.

Hollins W.
Hollinworthe J.
Hope T.
Hopwood J., Rd.
Hoult Rd., J.
Howorth T.
Hudson J.
Hughes Jas.
Hulme Geo., Wm., Adam, Jas., Stephen, Jaffatt
Hurst Rd., Arthur, Geo.
Hyde Rt., W.
Hynde Jon., Jos.
Hyton J.

Ingham Wm.

Jackson Jas., Geo., J.
Jepson J.
Johnson J. *gent.*, Rt., Rd.,
Johnston W., Rt.
Jones Abm., Ic.
Joynson Nathl.

Kabron W.
Kay Geo.
Kelshaw W.
Kempe Rt.
Kennersley Arthur
Kenyon Adam, Roger, Rph., J.
Kershaw Mw.
Kersley T., Rd.
Kirkdale Rt.
Kirke T.
Kilshaw W.
Knowles Jos., Rd., T.
Knutsford T.

Lancaster J.
Langley Titus
Langton Roger
Lansdale J.
Leach T., Sl., Jas.
Lealand W.
Leaver Rt.
Lee Rt.
Leech Danl.
Lees Barnabas, Sl., Jos., Hy., Rt., Nichs., J.
Leigh J., Nichs.
Lightbowne J. *gent.*
Lillye Edw., W.
Lister J. *gent.*
Livesay Rd.
Lockett J.
Lodge Edw.
Lomax J., Oliver
Longworth T.
Lorriman Rd.
Lowe J., Jos.
Loyd Geo.
Lucas Jas.
Lyon J.

Maddock Pr.
Makin Roger
Manister J.
Mann Edw.
Mannson W.
Mason Rt., T., Roger
Mather Edw., Jos.
Mattison J.
Meaden T.
Meadowcroft Fras. *gent.*
Mercer T., J.
Milnes Jas.
Mollineux Reginald
Moorecroft Alex.
Moores J., Rd., Anthy.
Moorton Rd.
Morres Rt.
Morte Jas., Sl.
Morton Sl.
Mosse Nathl., Hy.
Moxon Mordecai *gent.*, Jas. *gent.*
Munkister Hugh

Nedham Chas., Cornelius *gent.*
Neild T. *gent.*, J., Jas., Rt.
Nesh Sl.
Newbould Jas.
Newbye T.

Newcombe Hy. *clerk.*
Nicholls Jonathan
Nicholson Rd., Theophilus
Niggill J.
Norris J.
Nuttall Geo.

Ogden Anthy., Jacob
Oldfield Humfrey
Orme Jos., J.
Ouldham Rt.
Owen W., J., Sl.

Palein J.
Parke Alex.
Paver Jas.
Paynes Jas.
Peake W.
Peirson J.
Pendlebury Adam, J., Rph.
Pendleton E., Rd., Jerh.
Pennington W.
Pepper Nathl.
Percivall Rt., T., Edmd., Roger, Rd.
Pimblett Ml.
Phillippes Jon.
Phillipson Miles
Platt W.
Plungen W.
Podmore T.
Pollard T.
Potter Edw.
Poynton Jos.
Prestwich Rt.
Prissoe J.
Pyke Rt.

Radcliffe W.
Ravald Edw.
Rawlinson Bryan
Rawson Jas.
Renshaw J., Hy., Jas., T.
Rhoades Abm.
Richardson Edw., Geo., Jas.
Ridge J.
Ridgeway Jas.
Rigley Hy.
Robinson Jas., W.
Rogers Jas.
Rothmell Chas.
Rothwell T.
Royle J.
Runigar Jos., J., Edmd.
Rutleach Geo.
Rydeings Fras., Hy., Rd., Jos., J.
Ryley W., Jas., Edmd.

Sandiford Jas., J.
Saxon Jas.
Scholes Jon., J.
Scholfield Fras.
Scott Edw.
Seddon J., Jon., Rt., Rd.
Sharples Hy.
Shawe W.
Shelmerdyne J.
Sheppard J., Andw., Rt.
Sherwin Jos. *gent.*, Isaac
Shuttleworth Edmd. Esq., W.
Slater Jos., T.
Smethurst Jas., J.
Smith W. *gent.*, Geo., Jas., J.
Somister J., Caleb.
Sorocold W., J.
Spencer Rd., W., J.
Stables Roger
Staynrod T.
Stevenson T., Rt.
Stockdale W.
Stockport J.
Stopord T.
Stott J., Jas.
Strettall Jos.
Sutton Dl., Rt.
Swayne Dl.
Sydebothome Peter, W., T.
Sykes Rd.

Tarr W.
Tasker J., W.
Taylor Jon., Jas.
Tewxbury T.

Thorpe Rt., T.
Tompson Rt., Hy., J., Rph., W.
Tonge J., Sl.
Towneley Rd.
Townson Hy.
Traves J., Mw.
Tue Elijah
Turner Jas.

Upton J.
Urmston Edw.

Valentyne Jno. *gent.*
Vawdrye Edw.

Wagstaffe Jos., J.
Waite J. *gent.*
Wakefield W.
Walker J., Rd., T., P., Edw., Ml., Joshua, W., Chas.
Wallworke Hugh, T., Rd.
Walton Saml.
Warburton T.
Ward Rt., Micah.
Wardleworth Jas.
Wasley J.
Wassby J.
Watson J.
Welsh Matthew, J.
Wesfield Geo.
West Jas.
Whalley T.
Wharmbye Sl., Hy., W., T.
Whitehead J., W.
Whitelock Jas.
Whitticar Jas., J., Jos., Rt.
Whittle W.
Widdowes T.
Wilcockson J., T.
Wilkinson Rd., Joshua
Williamson Geo., Lawce., J., W., Andw., Rd.
Wilmoore Dl. *gent.*
Wilshawe J.
Wilson J.
Winn J.
Winstanley Lawce.
Wither Jos.
Wolfenden Abm., Jon.
Wood Jos., W.
Worden J.
Worsley J., Chas., W., Rt., T., Abm. *gent.*
Worthington T., Sl., J., Rd.
Wright Rd., Rt., Dl.
Wrightson Rowland, Christr.
Wrigley Edw., Fras.
Wroe J.
Wyld Joshua, Rph.

Yates Rt., Jos.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

"You shall swear that from this day forward you will be true and faithful to our sovereign lord the King and his heirs, and faith and truth shall bear of life, member and terrene honour. And that you shall neither know nor hear of any ill or damage intended unto him, that you shall not defend. So help you God."

THE

POLE BOOKE FOR MANCHESTER,

MAY Y^{E} 22^{D} 1690.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXI.

A POLE BOOKE FOR Y^E TOWNE OF MANCHEST^R GRANTED TO Y^ER MAJESTY^S TOWARDS THE REDUCEING OF IRELAND AND CARREYING ON Y^E WARR AGAINST FFRANCE. ASSESSED Y^E 22^D DAY OF MAY, ANNO DMI 1690.

IN Y^E DEANESGATE.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Travis his wife and sonne.....	0	3	0
Elizabeth Clay[ton?] and Anne Wilkinson	0	2	0
Robert Hill and wife and Sarah Shaw	0	3	0
Richard Wilkinson and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Stockton for 100*l.*	0	11	0
for 3 children and Elizabeth Ryder	0	4	0
Mrs. Mary Goolden 300*l.* a Roman Catholick	3	2	0
Mrs. Goolden's maid a Ro: Catholicke	0	2	0
Henry Garnett for 100*l.*.....	0	11	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
Joshua Wroe and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Burch gent. for 100*l.*	1	11	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
Widdow Williamson	0	1	0
Widdow Nuttall	0	1	0
Henry Barlow gent.	1	1	0
his wife and maid and man	0	3	0
Benjamin Bradshaw and wife one child and maid	0	4	0
Humphrey Booth gent.	1	1	0
wife one child and maid	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
William Cookson and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Hallows and man	0	2	0
Thomas Hallows	0	1	0
Thomas Man	0	1	0
Abraham Woolfenden wife and man	0	3	0
John Hardy and wife and two daughters	0	4	0
George Longsden	0	1	0
Two taylors tabled	0	2	0
Peter ffletcher and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Slator for 100*l.*	0	11	0
his wife two children and maid	0	4	0
Mrs. Shuttleworth for 100*l.*	0	11	0
and for a third parte of her husband deceased Esq...	1	13	4
for her maid	0	1	0
Mr. John Lightbowne's wife 4 children and maid	0	6	0
Richard Hardey and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Richard Bostock	0	1	0
Joseph Lyon and wife	0	2	0
Edward Doson and wife	0	2	0
Nicholas Berry and wife	0	2	0
Leonard Egerton gent.	1	1	0
Robert Prestwich and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Davis and wife	0	2	0
John Carrington and daught^{r} Anne	0	2	0
Daniell Hall and wife	0	2	0
Richard Hill and wife	0	2	0
Bryan Booth and wife	0	2	0
Henry Wrenshaw and wife	0	2	0
Nathaniell Whitehead and wife	0	2	0
Nathaniell Edgley and wife	0	2	0
Richard Kersley and wife	0	2	0
Richard Wroe D.D.	5	0	0
for two benefices	5	0	0
two maids and a man servant	0	3	0
Obed Barnett and wife and sonne	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
John Oldfeild gent. and for 300*l.*	2	11	0
his wife and 4 children two maids and a man	0	8	0
Mr. Humphrey Oldfield gent. 100*l.*	1	11	0
Joseph Wood and daughter	0	2	0
Richard Garner and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Mrs. Gartside for 200*l.*	1	1	0
3 children a man and maid	0	5	0
Mrs. Carte for 200*l.*	1	1	0
2 children and 2 maids	0	4	0
Robert Hunter gent.	1	1	0
wife child and maid	0	3	0
Thomas Perren and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Glover and two daughters	0	3	0
Joseph Hooper gent. 200*l.*	2	1	0
his wife one child one man and two maids	0	5	0
Dennis Casse for 200*l.*	1	1	0
his wife 2 daughters and a maid	0	4	0
Mr. James Redich and wife 3 children a man and a maid	0	7	0
Edward Redich gent.	1	1	0
Mr. Ralphe Poole	0	1	0
Mrs. Ellen and Mary Poole	0	2	0
Samuell Poynton and man	0	2	0
Isaac Hall and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Henry Newcombe	1	1	0
his wife and daughters 2 grandchildren and a maid.	0	5	0
Mrs. Bayley	0	1	0
Mrs. Bradshaw	0	1	0
Thomas Mercer and wife	0	2	0
three men and one maid	0	4	0
John Booth and wife	0	2	0
William Siddall and wife	0	2	0
Robert Hyde sen^r and wife	0	2	0
Samuell and Anne Hyde	0	2	0
Joseph Hibbert and wife	0	2	0
Phinias Gartside and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
George Brookes and wife and one man	0	3	0
William Hepworth his sonne Tho: and daughter Anne	0	3	0
Mr. Parke and John Nash	0	2	0
Samuell Cottrell and wife and man	0	3	0
William Guest and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Wood and wife sonne and daughter and apprentice	0	5	0
Daniell Chesworth and wife	0	2	0
John ffawknor and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Mary Hough	0	1	0
Sarah Hill	0	1	0
William Haworth and wife	0	2	0
Robert Worrall and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Probey and sonne	0	2	0
Arthur Smethurst and wife and maid and apprentice	0	4	0
Henry Kirke and maid	0	2	0
John Davie	0	1	0
James Brooks	0	1	0
Ellen Walker	0	1	0
James Bordman and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Bordman and two sonnes and a maid	0	4	0
Robert Hyde jun. and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Eaton schoolemaster	0	1	0
Thomas Knowles and wife	0	2	0
Jonathan Runager and wife and three children	0	5	0
Richard ffletcher and Robert Saint	0	2	0
William Barlow and wife	0	2	0
John Heard and wife 5 children and a man	0	8	0
William Pollett and wife	0	2	0
John Booth and wife	0	2	0
John Glover and wife	0	2	0
Sarah Leland	0	1	0
William Brooks and wife	0	2	0
William Devis and wife	0	2	0
George Oldham and wife 2 daughters and a man	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Richard Spencer	0	1	0
Nathan Bentley	0	1	0
George Thorpe and wife	0	1	0
Thomas Cockhill and wife	0	2	0
Joshua Leeds	0	1	0
his wife 2 children a man and maid	0	5	0
Mary and Hannah Leeds	0	2	0
Widdow Knowles and sonne	0	2	0
Widdow Owen and sonne and daughter	0	3	0
Richard Hampson and wife	0	2	0
George Smith	0	1	0
James Loe	0	1	0
Andrew ffletcher and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
John Jenkinson and wife	0	2	0
Judeth Pendlebury	0	1	0
William Clay and wife sonne and daughter	0	4	0
James Neild	0	1	0
Thomas Rothwell and Charles	0	2	0
Anne Neild widdow and daughter.	0	2	0
Mr. Joseph Sherwin for 100*l.*	0	11	0
two daughters and maid	0	3	0
Alice Thorpe	0	1	0
Mr. John Dennis and wife and maid	0	3	0
Thomas Gartside for 100*l.*	0	11	0
his wife one child and maid	0	3	0
Christopher ffell and wife one sonne and a maid	0	4	0
John Wroe and wife	0	2	0
William Barlow and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Daniell Wolmer for 200*l.*	1	1	0
his wife and 3 children a man and maid	0	6	0
Mr. John Bowker for 100*l.*	0	11	0
3 daughters Tho: and Mary Clowes a maid and two men	0	8	0
Zackery Wilde and wife and maid	0	3	0
Anne Antrobus	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Thomas Udall	0	1	0
Elizabeth Knowles	0	1	0
Lawrance Garner sen. 200*l.*	1	1	0
one apprentice and maid	0	2	0
Lawrance Garner jun. and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Cock and wife	0	2	0
John Berron gent.	1	1	0
and for practice	0	15	0
his wife 2 children and maid	0	4	0
George Ogden gent	1	1	0
his wife and sonne	0	2	0
John Whitley and wife	0	2	0
John Lomax and wife and maid	0	3	0
Elizabeth Barker	0	1	0
Anne Persivall	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Neild for 100*l.*	0	11	0
his wife 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Mrs. Katherine ffox	0	1	0
Mr. Smith and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Moores	0	1	0
Mr. Nathan Leech jun. gent. wife and two children	1	4	0
Edward Goddard and wife and 5 children	0	7	0
Mr. Nathaniell Smith	0	1	0
Mr. ffrancis Meadowcroft 200*l.*	1	1	0
his wife 7 children and maid	0	9	0
Mr. ffinch	1	1	0
his wife 4 children a man and maid	0	7	0
Mr. Richard Persivall gent. 300*l.*	2	11	0
his wife 4 children a man and maid	0	7	0
Edward Vawdrey and wife	0	2	0
James Turner and wife	0	2	0
John Smethurst	0	1	0
Joseph Yates and wife and man	0	3	0
Richard Crooke and wife	0	2	0
Richard Shepley and wife a maid and sister.	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
John Seddon and sister	0	2	0
Anne Barnes her sonne and daughter	0	3	0
Nath: Leech sen. gent. and for practice	1	16	0
wife sonne 2 daughters a grandchild and maid	0	6	0
Ellen Williamson and 2 sisters	0	3	0
Israell Eaton for 100*l*	0	11	0
wife and child a man and maid	0	4	0
Widdow Eaton for 100*l*	0	11	0
John Hopwood for 100*l*	0	11	0
A wife 5 children a man and 2 maids	0	9	0

SMITHEY DOORE.

Thomas Minshall sen. gent. and 400*l*.	3	1	0
Thomas Minshall jun. gent. and 200*l*.	2	1	0
Mrs. Mary Minshall	0	1	0
and two maids	0	2	0
Mr. Samuell Lightbourne gent. for 100*l*	1	11	0
wife and four children	0	5	0
Mrs. Isabell Booth and daughter for 200*l*.	1	2	0
Mrs. Maddock jun. for 200*l*.	1	1	0
2 children and a maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Maddock sen. for 100*l*.	0	11	0
one maid	0	1	0
Mr. Edward Scott for 200*l*	1	1	0
two men and two maids	0	4	0
ffrancis Nicholson	0	1	0
Unis Held	0	1	0
Mr. Holebrooke gent	1	1	0
wife two children and a maide	0	4	0
Mrs. Holebrooke for 200*l*.	1	1	0
one daughter and a maide	0	2	0
Henery Hartly	0	1	0
James Bridge	0	1	0
Abraham Leach	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Joshua Ryland and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Whitley	0	1	0
Jonathan Phillips and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Geo: Cheetham for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife 5 children and two maids	0	8	0
Mr. Mathew ffinlison for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 2 children and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Carre and wife and daughter	0	3	0
Peter Ellam and wife	0	2	0
John Smethurst and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Smith	0	1	0
wife and 3 children	0	4	0
Mrs. Martha Rylands and two daughters for 100*l.*	0	13	0
Henry Wrigley gent.	1	1	0
Elizabeth Vallantine and maid	0	2	0
James Owsey and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mr. Edward Siddall for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife 6 children and maid	0	8	0
Mr. James Mosse for 200*l.*	1	1	0
4 children a man and two maids	0	7	0
Mr. William Swarbreck for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 3 children	0	4	0
Thomas Barrow	0	1	0
Margrett Swarbreck	0	1	0
Mrs. Bradshaw	0	1	0
Mrs. Sarah Wrigley	0	1	0
Mrs. Mary Watts	0	1	0
Mary Birch	0	1	0
Lawrance Sleigh gent	1	1	0
his wife a child a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Sykes and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Myles Bradshaw for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife and 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Mr. Joseph Byrom for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife child a man and maid	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
Henry Gudier and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Thomas Butterworth for 100*l*	0	11	0
wife 3 children a man and two maids	0	7	0
Ralph Ridgway for 200*l*	1	1	0
wife a grandchild a man and maid	0	4	0
Zackery Whitworth	0	1	0
George Gee	0	1	0
William Corles and wife	0	2	0
journey man and apprentice	0	2	0
Thomas Anderson and wife and maid	0	3	0

ST. MARY' GATE.

Jane Rootleach and sonne	0	2	0
John Leeds and wife	0	2	0
John Renshaw and wife	0	2	0
William Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Anne Saint	0	1	0
Joshua Corles and wife and maid	0	3	0
Richard Baxter and wife	0	2	0
Robert Crosley and daughter	0	2	0
Mary Butterworth	0	1	0
Samuell Taylor	0	1	0
John Ashton his man	0	1	0
Robert Chapman	0	1	0
John Clayton and wife 1 child two maids	0	5	0
Mr. Tho: Scrivener and wife	0	2	0
John Wright and wife	0	2	0
John Barrett and wife	0	2	0
Henry Threllford and wife	0	2	0
George Hall and wife	0	2	0
Myles Phillipson and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Brooks and wife and man	0	3	0
James Wrigley and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
James Smith and wife	0	2	0
Shusan Eaton his maid	0	1	0

CONDUITT.

Gilbert Loe and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Hynde for 100*l.*	0	11	0
2 children a man and maid	0	4	0
Mr. John Beaven for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 3 daughters	0	4	0
Mrs. Moxon a man and maid	0	3	0
James Waite	0	1	0
Jeffery Burges and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Davemport	0	1	0
Richard Haworth	0	1	0
James Crompton	0	1	0
Richard Redford	0	1	0
Nicholas Bell	0	1	0
Joseph Withers and wife	0	2	0
Nathaniell Nicholson	0	1	0
John Chorley and wife	0	2	0
John Barlow and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Josiah Walker for 100*l.*	0	11	0
4 children a man and maid	0	6	0
Daniell Hulme and wife	0	2	0
Mary Hardey	0	1	0
Mr. John Johnson his wife and sone	0	3	0
Thomas Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
Henry ffogge and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. New 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Mr. Jonathan Greene for 100*l.*	0	11	0
for his man	0	1	0
John Waite gent. and practice	1	16	0
wife 4 children and maid	0	6	0
Mrs. Margrett and Deborah Waite	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Thomas Braban and maid	0	2	0
John Blumely and wife	0	2	0
Mary Leeds	0	1	0
John Redford and wife	0	2	0
John Mercer and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Janney	0	1	0
John Bennett and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Bootle 2 Mrs. Rogers	0	3	0
John Shelmerdine and his man	0	2	0
John Wagstaffe and wife child and maid	0	4	0
Mr. Jonas Smethurst and wife and maid	0	3	0
William Walker	0	1	0
James Gunney [Gimney] and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Mary Greene	0	1	0
Alice Worrall	0	1	0
Anne Knowles and Mary Shelmerdine	0	2	0
Peter Scholes	0	1	0
Mrs. Walker one sone and foure daughters for 200*l.*	1	6	0
two men and one maid	0	3	0
Mr. Isaac Mosse jun. 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife two children and maid	0	4	0
John Clay and wife	0	2	0
Mr. George Cooper for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife man and maid	0	3	0

MARKET-STREET LANE.

Mr. James Rogers for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife one child a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Birch and wife and man George	0	3	0
Mr. William Clowes and wife two children and maid	0	5	0
Mrs. Holker and daughter	0	2	0
Thomas Siddall and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Hannah Mellison	0	1	0
Mrs. Winstandley	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Deane	0	1	0
John Leeds and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Walkden and wife	0	2	0
Robt. Radcliffe	0	1	0
James Bowker and wife	0	2	0
Anne Unsworth	0	1	0
Mr. Samuell Clowes for 100*l.*	0	11	0
1 child a maid and Margret Clows (*sic*)	0	3	0
an apprentice	0	1	0
John Rydings and wife and 3 children	0	5	0
Mr. Joshua Browne gent. 300*l.*	2	11	0
wife William and Tho: Browne	0	3	0
Joshua Royle and Joseph Leeds	0	2	0
Martha Bordman	0	1	0
Alice Bamford	0	1	0
Mr. Samuell Leese 100*l*	0	11	0
wife and 6 children and 2 maids	0	9	0
Mr. Ralph Hall and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Johnson and 2 sonns	0	3	0
Robert Johnson	0	1	0
Ellen Haslehurst and a maid	0	2	0
Elizabeth Moores	0	1	0
Katherine Chandler	0	1	0
John Leeds gent.	1	1	0
Joseph Orme and wife 3 children	0	5	0
Daniell Newman and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Gudier and wife a man and child	0	4	0
Widdow Orme and one child a man and maid	0	4	0
Myles Bradshaw and wife his sister and a man	0	4	0
John Wynn and wife and man	0	3	0
William Greenwood	0	1	0
Samuell Wharmbey for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and two children	0	3	0
two men servants and two maids	0	4	0
Robert Saxton and wife and man	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
John Jepson and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Bordman Jeremy Bordman Sarah Bordman John Brock	0	4	0
Jonathan Burdsell and wife	0	2	0
Edward Wright and wife	0	2	0
James Cheetham and wife	0	2	0
Charles Cooke and wife	0	2	0
Grace Hallows	0	1	0
William Lilley and wife	0	2	0
Nicholas Townley and wife	0	2	0
Mary Rycroft	0	1	0
Mr. William Plungen for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 2 children and maid	0	4	0
Widdow Plungen for 100*l.*	0	11	0
Mrs. Hollinworth and 3 children and a maid	0	5	0
Samuel Baley and wife	0	2	0
Edmund Mosse and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Allixand^r 100*l.*	0	11	0
ffoure children	0	4	0
Mr. Radcliffe Allixand^r gent. 200*l.* (*sic*)	2	1	0
for his practice.	0	15	0
his wife and one maid	0	2	0
Samuell Worthington and wife and child and maid (*sic*)	0	3	0
John Smith and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Thomas Barlow and wife 3 children a man and maid	0	7	0
Mr. Daniell Smith and wife and two children	0	4	0
Mrs. Martha Jackson	0	1	0
Isaac Hall and wife and child	0	3	0
Jeremy Bancroft and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Edgley	0	1	0
James Newbould and wife	0	2	0
John Aynscoe and wife	0	2	0
John Chue and daught^r Alice	0	2	0
Richard Gibson's two children	0	2	0
Widdow Owen and sone and 2 daut^rs	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
John Walker and wife	0	2	0
John Chadwick	0	1	0
Widdow Kenyon	0	1	0
John Wilcockson and wife	0	2	0
Edward Walker and wife	0	2	0
John Crowther and wife	0	2	0
Richard Hallewell and wife and two children	0	4	0
Jane Hallewell	0	1	0
Joseph Bancroft and wife	0	2	0
Myles Bower and wife	0	2	0
Mary Brayshaw	0	1	0
Edward Parkinson	0	1	0
Mr. Daniell Leech for 100*l.*	0	11	0
daughter and maid	0	2	0
Tho. White gent. and practice	1	16	0
wife and 3 children	0	4	0
Mr. Tho. Ashe and Margret Wilson	0	2	0
Robt. Burton and wife	0	2	0
Peter Bowker and wife	0	2	0
Robt. Brown and wife two sones and a daut^{r} two men and a maid	0	8	0
Abraham Bamford for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and two children	0	3	0
Mr. Tildsley and wife	0	2	0
John Greenwood and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Birch and wife	0	2	0
John Wolstenhulme and wife and maid	0	3	0
James Lilley	0	1	0
Edmund Lilley	0	1	0
Mr. John Gathorne 6 children and maid	0	8	0
Sarah Mather	0	1	0
Mr. Sedgwick and wife 3 children man and maid	0	7	0
Katherine Gathorne and sist^{r}	0	2	0
Mr. Osborne and wife two daut^{rs} and maid	0	5	0
for 30*l.* pention from ye king (*sic*)	1	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Robert Beswick for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife and Joseph Chapman	0	2	0
Thomas Worthington and wife	0	2	0
his sonne and man	0	2	0
Mr. Thomas Radclife and wife	0	2	0
his sonne and maid	0	2	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Holbrooke	0	1	0
Mrs. Wilson for 200*l.*	1	1	0
Sonne and daughter	0	2	0
Two maids	0	2	0
Nathan Richardson Edward Lodge	0	2	0
Edward Houlbrooke and Edward Wilson	0	2	0
Thomas Buerdsell	0	1	0
Mr. Andrew Wyke for 200*l.*	1	1	0
A wife 6 children and maid	0	8	0
Mr. Edward Bootle gent. and 200*l.* (*sic*)	2	1	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
William Yates	0	1	0
Oliver Keaton and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Barrett	0	1	0
Abraham Ogden and wife	0	2	0
William Hulme and wife 4 children and maid	0	7	0
John Moxon gent. for 100*l.* (*sic*)	1	11	0
his wife and two sonnes	0	3	0
two grand children and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Harrison and a maid	0	2	0
Thomas Weaver and wife	0	2	0
John Loe and wife and two children	0	4	0
Ellen Gorton	0	1	0
John Michaell	0	1	0
Abraham Schofeld	0	1	0
Mary Cooper	0	1	0
Edward Jones and Robert Bolde	0	2	0
Mr. Mathew Wilson wife and 3 children	0	5	0
John Whitteker and Margrett Bowers	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Henry Moss and wife	0	2	0
John Birkitt and wife	0	2	0
William Burgess and wife	0	2	0
John Keaton and wife	0	2	0
Jonathan Ryder	0	1	0
John Towler and wife — Benjamin Holland	0	3	0
Mr. Henry Bayly	0	1	0
2 sonns and a maid	0	3	0
William Oakes wife and 6 children	0	8	0
Widdow Becke a man and a maid	0	3	0
Nathaniell Gaskell gent. and 200*l*. (*sic*)	2	1	0
a man and two maids	0	3	0
Mrs. Runegar	0	1	0
Jonathan Becke wife and maid	0	3	0
Sarah Parr	0	1	0
William Walker and wife	0	2	0
Robert Allexander gent. and for 300*l*. (*sic*)	2	11	0
John Allexander	0	1	0
Mrs. Alexand^{r} four children and maid	0	6	0
Joseph Bruckshaw and wife	0	2	0
Richard Kearsley and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Kearsley	0	1	0
Jeremiah Kearsley and wife	0	2	0
Roger Prestwige and wife	0	2	0
John Thompson and wife for 100*l*.	0	12	0
3 children — Tho. Sydebotham	0	4	0
George Jagger	0	1	0
Edward Jackson and wife	0	2	0
Richard Bagaly and wife	0	2	0
Ralph Baggaly and wife	0	2	0
Charles Walker and wife and Mary Walker	0	3	0
Nathaniel Dean and wife and sonn	0	3	0
John Leaver Esq.	5	1	0
ffor 500*l*.	2	10	0
James Page and 2 maids	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
John Whitehead and wife and man	0	3	0
Thomas Newton and wife	0	2	0
Eliz. Grantham	0	1	0
James Hynd	0	1	0
Thomas Tinker wife and man	0	3	0
William Blagshaw and wife	0	2	0
Robert Dickonson	0	1	0
Nathan Sandiforth and wife 3 children 2 apprentices and maid	0	8	0
Ralph Shalcross wife and child	0	3	0
Widdow Sandiforth	0	1	0
Joseph Worrall wife and child	0	3	0

MARKETT PLACE.

William Booker and wife and 5 children	0	7	0
A Brewer Ann (*sic*) apprentice and 2 maids	0	4	0
Jonathan Nicholes for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 2 children sister and maid	0	5	0
George Seddon — Joseph Shaw	0	2	0
Mrs. Antrobus and daughter	0	2	0
Mr. Roger Harper for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 2 children	0	3	0
William Hewett gent. for practice	1	1	0
Mr. John Greene for 100*l.*	0	11	0
a daughter man and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Joans and Mary Wroe	0	2	0
Mr. Thomas Sandiforde for 100*l.*	0	11	0
Samuell Ellor 4 maids Wm. Mercer Samuell Bennett Brewer	0	7	0
Richard Makon and sister	0	2	0
Henry Hurdus and wife two children and maid	0	5	0
Widdow Shelton and daughter	0	2	0
Josiah Deane	0	1	0
Richard Townley	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Margrett Eynsworth	0	1	0
Mr. James Benton and wife 6 children 3 men and maid	0	12	0
Mrs. Holland and 2 children	0	3	0
Mr. Jackson — Mary Collier	0	2	0
two men and 3 maids more	0	5	0
Mr. Robert Chadwick for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife a child and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Mary Banne	0	1	0
Mr. Edward Byrom for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife and 6 children and gen^{t}	1	7	0
Mr. John Byroms sonne	0	1	0
Joseph Bydam (? Ogdam) apprentice.	0	1	0
One man and two maids	0	3	0
Mr. Ralph Shelmerdine and wife sonne and daughter	0	4	0
Margrett Shelmerdine	0	1	0
Tho. Herrick gent.	1	1	0
James Scott and wife one child a man and maid	0	5	0
Mr. Isaac Mosse sen^{r} for 100*l.*	0	11	0
Widdow Benson	0	1	0
James Barlow	0	1	0
Abraham Ledgert	0	1	0
John Poole and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Chorlton and maid	0	2	0
James Saxton and wife 3 children	0	5	0
Ralph Worsley for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 2 children a man and maid	0	5	0
Mrs. Mary Butler one child and maid	0	2	0
Henry Barlow and wife and 3 children	0	5	0
James Beck and wife and 3 children	0	5	0
Ann Leach and Thomas Kell	0	2	0
Widow Graver	0	1	0
Richard Medowcroft	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Ellison	0	1	0
Mr. Samuell Brookes	0	1	0
wife 5 children a man and maid	0	8	0

	£	s.	d.
Peter Tickle and wife and 2 children	0	4	0
two men and 2 maids	0	4	0
Ralph Mellor and wife and two children	0	4	0
Edward Shelton and wife	0	2	0
James Ridgeway and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Holland and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Eyres and wife	0	2	0
Judith Schofeild	0	1	0
Lambert Eaton and wife	0	2	0
3 children	0	3	0
Cornelius Coppock	0	1	0
Mr. Tho. Beamond and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Leese and wife	0	2	0
Richard Dawson	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas ffishor and wife 3 children a man and maid	0	7	0
Benjamin Allred	0	1	0
Mrs. Slator and man	0	2	0
Edward Pendleton and wife and maid	0	3	0
Jeremy Tongue and wife	0	2	0
John Birch and wife and child	0	3	0
Mary Birch	0	1	0
Mr. Taylor watchmaker and wife one child 2 men and a maid	0	6	0

OULD MEALEGATE.

Mr. Michaell Pimlett for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 4 children a maid and apprentice	0	7	0
Mrs. Hilton	0	1	0
Andrew Williamson and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Podmore and 3 children	0	4	0
Mr. Ellis Renshaw and wife	0	2	0
one maid	0	1	0
Joseph Stockdale and sister	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Israell Johnson	0	1	0
Mr. Rich. Booth and apprentice	0	2	0
*Elizabeth Redcliffe and a maid	0	2	0
Mr. Charles Beswick for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 2 children	0	3	0
William Robinson and wife daught[r] Anne Wright and an apprentice	0	5	0
Jarvys Staynrod gent. and practice	1	16	0
wife 2 children and a maid	0	4	0
Joseph Hallows and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Mr. Edward Graves gent. and for 200*l.* (*sic*)	2	1	0
wife and five children	0	6	0
Mr. George Waite and a maid	0	2	0
Widdow Staynrord and maid	0	2	0
William Mather and wife and five children	0	7	0
an apprentice and 4 men	0	5	0
Mrs. Makon for 200*l.* and 2 daughters	1	3	0
Margrett Millington	0	1	0
Richard Knowles and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Widdow Bradshaw and 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Thomas Smethurst and wife	0	2	0

CATEATON STREET.

John Watson and wife 4 children and 2 maids	0	8	0
John Odcroft and wife 4 children and maid one apprentice	0	8	0
Hannah Hoult	0	1	0
John Thorpe	0	1	0
Henry Rawstorne and wife	0	2	0
Katherine Chapman widdow	0	1	0
John Button and wife and maid	0	3	0
Widdow Johnson	0	1	0
Mrs. ffisher	0	1	0

* "Black Boy" written in the margin.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Croston	0	1	0
John Williamson and wife	0	2	0
Michaell Mawd and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Prestwich	0	1	0
John Digles for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 4 children	0	5	0
one maid	0	1	0
Robert Digles and Dorathy Digles	0	2	0
Joshua Oldam	0	1	0
John Antrobus and wife 5 children and two maids	0	9	0

HANGING DITCH.

Mr. Richard Worthington for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 4 children and two maids	0	7	0
James Wilson and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Samuell Nash and wife	0	2	0
Daughter and apprentice	0	2	0
Abraham Holland 2 children and maid	0	4	0
James Birch and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Robert Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
John Grimshaw and wife and two maids	0	4	0
Allixander Ogden and wife	0	2	0
Ellen Jackson and sonne	0	2	0
Edward Cheetham Esq.	5	1	0
and for his practice	1	0	0
wife 2 children and 2 maids	0	5	0
Thomas Brookes	0	1	0
Adam Kenyon and wife	0	2	0
Robert Scholes and wife one child and a maid	0	4	0
Phinias Thorpe and wife	0	2	0
Mr. John Beswick for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and 2 children	0	3	0
Mrs. Tongue and a maid	0	2	0
Jeremy Bottomly and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
John Houghton and wife	0	2	0
John Sutton and wife	0	2	0
James Hilton and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Margret and Anne Hunte and maid	0	3	0
Peter Wilson and wife one child and a man	0	4	0
Ezikell Hesketth and wife and a man	0	3	0
Mr. Laine Gaiger (*sic*)	2	11	0
Mr. ffrancis Browne	0	1	0
Mr. Boomet	0	1	0
Players Mr. Hoult and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Power and wife Mr. Chappill and 2 at Mrs. Staynrods	0	5	0
Mr. Choake and wife Mr. Simpson Mr. Kew and wife and a servant	0	6	0
George Pearson gent.	1	1	0
Mr. Thomas Newbey and wife 2 children 3 apprentices and maid	0	8	0
Mr. Samuell Buttler for 100*l*	0	11	0
John Houlden and wife	0	2	0
2 children a man and maid	0	4	0
Mrs. Gilliam and maid	0	2	0
Ambrose Yates and wife	0	2	0
Robert Oldfeild gent.	1	1	0
and his man	0	1	0
Mrs. Dixon and maid	0	2	0
John Crompton and wife	0	2	0
Joshua Crosley and wife	0	2	0
Henry Hamer and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Davie	0	1	0
Thomas Bent and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Peter Walker and wife and maid	0	3	0
John Usherwood and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Haughton and wife	0	2	0
James Barrett and mother	0	2	0
Edmund Mills	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Edmund Wrigley and wife	0	2	0
John Percivall and wife	0	2	0
Margrett Hughes	0	1	0
John Tong and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Samuell Tipping for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 3 children a man and maid	0	6	0
Edmund Whitehead and wife	0	2	0
James Steevenson	0	1	0
Isaac Hyde and wife and 3 children	0	5	0
Job Owen and wife a maid and man	0	4	0
John Hall	0	1	0
ffrancis Schofeld and daughter	0	2	0
William Barlow and wife	0	2	0
John Antrobus jun. and wife one child mother and maid	0	5	0
Robert Warde and wife	0	2	0

FFENNELL STREETE.

Widdow Harrison and daughter	0	2	0
Thomas Harrison and wife — Mrs. Digles daughter	0	3	0
William Braban and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Leese and 2 daughters	0	3	0
Mrs. Marlor for 100*l*	0	11	0
Mrs. Legod and 2 Mrs. Ashtons	0	3	0
Mrs. Gardner — Mrs. Lucie	0	2	0
Mrs. Houlden — Mrs. Hack	0	2	0
Mr. Walker	0	1	0
John Wilcockson and brother — a man and Widdow Worthington	0	4	0
John Hoyle and wife	0	2	0
John Hynde gent.	1	1	0
wyfe a child and maid	0	3	0
William Edge and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Mercy Hollingworth two sons and a daughter	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
Mary Rylands	0	1	0
Widdow Schofeild ..	0	1	0
Peter Ryland and wife	0	2	0
ffrancis Bent	0	1	0
Mr. John Clarke and wife one child a maid and man...	0	5	0
Thomas Whalley and wife a child and man	0	4	0
Widdow Leigh	0	1	0
Martha Thorpe	0	1	0
John Hill and wife ..	0	2	0
Japhett Hulme and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Whitaker	0	1	0

TOADE LANE.

James Bancroft and wife sonne and daughter	0	4	0
Mr. Richard Hopwood for 100*l*..	0	11	0
Sonne and daughter	0	2	0
Ralph Cooper	0	1	0
Richard Rhodes and wife	0	2	0
Mathew Travis and wife	0	2	0
Robert Mather	0	1	0
William Baguly and wife	0	2	0
Richard Johnson and wife	0	2	0
John Hudson and man	0	2	0
John Evans and wife and maid	0	3	0
Samuell Morton ..	0	1	0
Mrs. Lancashire	0	1	0
Mrs. Bordman and maid	0	2	0

HYDE CROSSE.

John Widdow and wife	0	2	0
2 maids and Margrett Suthworth	0	3	0
John Loton and wife	0	2	0
John Widdows jun	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Peter Wagstaffe and wife and man	0	3	0
Mr. George Lloyd for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 5 children and maid	0	7	0
two apprentices	0	2	0
Mr. Crowther and wife	0	2	0
one maid	0	1	0
Thomas Simest^r and wife	0	2	0
Henry Litherland and wife	0	2	0
Abraham Joanes and wife and maid	0	3	0
Isaac Joanes and wife	0	2	0
Sisley Bentley	0	1	0
Edward Booth and wife	0	2	0
John Clayton and wife	0	2	0
Silvest^r Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Moston Gaiger	2	11	0
wife and daughter	0	2	0
William Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
John Rowbottom and wife	0	2	0
Josiah Jesse and wife	0	2	0
Ashton Marlor and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Greaves and sonne	0	2	0
Henry Brock	0	1	0
Daniell Clayton and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Heyfeild and sonne	0	2	0
William Whitehead and wife	0	2	0
Daniell Whitehead	0	1	0
ffrancis Greenacres	0	1	0
John Worke and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Morris and wife	0	2	0
Richard Morris and wife	0	2	0
Edward Walker and wife	0	2	0
Mr. James Hilton gent.	1	1	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
Joshua Wilde	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Joseph Yates Esq. and practice	6	1	0
his wife and three children	0	4	0
A man and two maids	0	3	0
Joseph Kindor and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Widdow Turner	0	1	0
Richard Williamson and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Richard Lurrimore	0	1	0
Mr. Richard Neild for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife a maid and 3 men	0	5	0
Robert Thomas and Myles Neild	0	3	0
John Smith and wife 2 apprentices and man	0	5	0
William Peake and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Barnes and maid and foure children	0	6	0

ANCOATES LANE.

John Cartwright and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Richard Morte gent.	1	1	0
wife a man and maid	0	3	0
Oswald Mosley Esq	5	1	0
wife and 4 children	0	5	0
4 men and 2 maids	0	6	0
Mrs. Jane Mosley widdow to Nich: Mosley Esq	1	14	0
two daughters 100*l.* each	1	2	0
A maid servant	0	1	0
Thomas Tildsley and wife	0	2	0
Lawrance Holland and wife and daughter	0	3	0
William Baley and wife and daughter	0	3	0
Edward Charnock and wife	0	2	0
John Robinson and wife	0	2	0
John Baxter and wife	0	2	0
Robert Robinson and wife and sonne	0	3	0
John Worthington 2 daughters and man	0	4	0

COLLYHURST.

	£	s.	d.
John Shaw and wife and maid	0	3	0
Robert Bardsley and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Bardsley and wife 3 children and maid	0	6	0
Richard Chaderton and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Bredbury and wife	0	2	0
John Rigbey and wife	0	2	0
John Andrew and wife	0	2	0
John Whitaker and daughter	0	2	0
Margret Dawson and Mary Hallewell	0	2	0

MILLGATE.

Thomas Heys and wife 4 men	0	6	0
Thomas Evans and wife	0	2	0
Bryan Rawson and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Elisse Crompton and wife 3 children and maid	0	6	0
John Worsley and wife	0	2	0
Peter Assmoll and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Herrup and wife	0	2	0
John Hilton and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Peter Maddock and wife	0	2	0
James Hilton and wife	0	2	0
George Westfeild and wife	0	2	0
John Barlow and maid	0	2	0
Robert Collinge	0	1	0
Widdow Crompton for 200*l.*	1	1	0
William Crompton for 100*l.*	0	11	0
2 men and 1 maid	0	3	0
Mr. Kiniston minister	1	1	0
wife and child	0	2	0
Anne Evans and maid	0	2	0
James Sandiforth and wife	0	2	0
William Worsley and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
ffrancis Wrigley jun. and wife	0	2	0
Ralph ffletcher and wife	0	2	0
ffrancis Wrigley sen. and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Bowker and wife 3 sonnes and daughter	0	6	0
James Whitfeild his man	0	1	0
Ellen Taylor	0	1	0
Richard Percivall and wife	0	2	0
William Ingham and wife	0	2	0
Roger Bent and wife	0	2	0
Ralph Thompston and wife	0	2	0
William Dawson and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Waterhouse and wife	0	2	0
William Baguly and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Mrs. Drake Esq[rs] widdow and for 100*l.*	2	4	4
ffoure children one man and maid	0	6	0
Old Mrs. Yates for 100*l.*	0	11	0
Hugh Chad and wife	0	2	0
Richard Thorpe and wife	0	2	0
John Stockport for 100*l.*	0	11	0
for his wife	0	1	0
William Anchors and wife 7 children	0	9	0
Widdow Mason	0	1	0
Bryan Robinson and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Barlow's wife	0	1	0
John Pelton and wife	0	2	0
Myles Shuttleworth and wife	0	2	0
James Williamson and wife	0	2	0
Hugh Cooke and wife	0	2	0
John Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Jeremy Chorlton and wife 2 children a man and a maid	0	6	0
John Mercer and wife	0	2	0
Richard Hill and wife	0	2	0
Richard Allcock and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Thomas Collier and wife	0	2	0
William Hibbert and wife and daughter	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
Humphrey Marlor gent.	1	1	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
Samuell Eaton gent.	1	1	0
wife 4 children and maid	0	6	0
Robert Heaton gent.	1	1	0
Peter Heywood for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife 3 children and maid	0	5	0
John Seddon and wife and maid	0	3	0
Ralph Pyecroft for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and child	0	2	0
Jonathan Barber and wife 4 children and maid	0	7	0
Robert Jackson and wife	0	2	0
John Worthington and wife 4 children and apprentice..	0	7	0
Thomas Blackshaw and wife	0	2	0
John Lyall and sonne and daughter	0	3	0
one man	0	1	0
Widdow Sutton for 300*l.*	1	11	0
A maid and tabler and daughter	0	3	0
James Travis for 100*l.*	0	11	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
John Lomax and Anne Livesley	0	2	0
Ralph Gorse and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Madin and wife	0	2	0
Mr. ffrancis Cartwright for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
George Baiteman and wife	0	2	0
John Baiteman	0	1	0
James Leese and wife 2 children	0	4	0
Widdow Hilton	0	1	0
George Heys and maid	0	2	0
William Bancroft and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Ralph Guest and wife	0	2	0
Edward Richardson and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Richard Wright and wife	0	2	0
Lovedy Walker and daughter	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Shaw for 300*l*.	1	11	0
5 children and maid	0	6	0
Michaell Nicholls	0	1	0
James Strettell and wife apprentice and maid	0	4	0
John Brooks and wife and daughter	0	3	0
John Thorpe	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Warburton for 100*l*.	0	11	0
his wife 2 children a man and maid	0	5	0
Mr. Edmund Johnston wife and doughter	0	3	0
John Whitteker and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Coleburne	0	1	0
Robort Hilton and wife	0	2	0
Edward Ashton and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Gillman and son	0	2	0
Richard Strettell and wife	0	2	0
John Shelmerdyne	0	1	0
Mr. Seth Broxupp	0	1	0
Mr. William Edmundson for 100*l*.	0	11	0
wife a child and maid	0	3	0
William Wakefeild and wife	0	2	0
William Woods and wife	0	2	0
James Kay and wife	0	2	0
John Rattlife and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Werden 1 maid	0	2	0
Robert Delv's and wife 2 children and maid	0	5	0
Robert Oldham and wife	0	2	0
Henry Wharmby and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Symcoke Taylor	0	1	0
Peter Tyer and wife	0	2	0
William Barrough gent.	1	1	0
one child two maids	0	3	0
2 Mr. Cheethams 2 Mr. Pickfords	0	4	0
Mr. John Wardle and wife for 100*l*.	0	12	0
3 maids and cooke man	0	4	0
Mr. Pendleton gent.	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. John Newton and wife	0	2	0
2 children and a maid	0	3	0
Richard Morton gent.	1	1	0
Mr. Robert Booths sonn	0	1	0
Mrs. Isabell Mosley and 2 sisters	0	3	0
John Sandiford gent. and for 200*l.*	2	1	0
his wife a man and maid	0	3	0
John Chorleton gent. wife and maid	1	3	0
James Hilton and wife 4 children a man and a maid	0	8	0
Widdow Hilton	0	1	0
James Smethurst and wife for 100*l.*	0	12	0
3 children and maid	0	4	0
Martha Taylor 100*l.* one child and maid	0	13	0
Mrs. Holland	0	1	0
Margrett Lewis	0	1	0
Daniel Thorpe and wife	0	2	0
Bryan ffell wife and 2 daughters	0	4	0
John Lockett and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Ashton gent. 2 sisters	1	3	0
Samuel Ashton	0	1	0
Roland Briggs and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Wrenshaw and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
a man and a maid	0	2	0
Henry Wood and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Beswicke for 100*l.*	0	11	0
a sonn a daughter and maid	0	3	0
Mr. John Beswicke 100*l.*	0	11	0
Mrs. ffranckland and daughter	0	2	0
Tablers			
Mrs. Latham — Mrs. Bradshaw	0	2	0
Mrs. Gartside — Mrs. Allexand^r	0	2	0
Mrs. Tattlocke — Mrs fferris	0	2	0
Mrs. Wood — Mrs. Hollingworth	0	2	0
Mrs. Vallantyne — Mrs. Schofield	0	2	0
Mrs. Thorpe — Mrs. Empson	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Hall — Mrs. Chetham	0	2	0
Mrs. ffrankland Scofeild — Mrs. Hyde	0	2	0
Mrs. Sarah ffranckland — Mrs. Wright	0	2	0
Mrs. Ann Leach — 2 Mrs. Pricketts	0	3	0
Thomas Ashley and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Pendleton for 100*l.*	0	11	0
his wife a child and maid	0	3	0
Widdow White a man and maid	0	3	0
Richard Barns	0	1	0
James White	0	1	0
Joseph Jerden and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Howerth widdow of An Esq. and for 100*l.*	2	4	4
a grandchild and maid	0	2	0
Edmund Travis for 200*l.*	1	1	0
his wife 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Richard Booth and wife	0	2	0
John Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
George Piggott Esq.	5	1	0
ffor Practice	1	0	0
his wife 2 children 3 maids one man	0	7	0
Edward Walker and wife	0	2	0
George Walker and wife.	0	2	0
Richard Monson and wife	0	2	0

HUNTSBANCKE.

George Corbesley senr: ffor 200*l.*	1	1	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
George Corbesley junr: and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Illingworth and maid	0	2	0
Mrs. Hastead Ann Esqr's widdow.	1	14	4
Richard Percivall gent.	1	1	0
wife one child and 3 maids	0	5	0
Thomas Moors and wife	0	2	0
Richard Hampson and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Robert Hallows and wife	0	2	0
William Holland	0	1	0
Jonathan Shirte and wife	0	2	0
Edward Hamer wife and son	0	3	0
Samuel Knutsford and wife	0	2	0
Izaake Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
James Astle and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Allen his wife and Izaake Harper	0	3	0
James Steevenson and daughter	0	2	0
Thomas Moss and wife	0	2	0
Robert Steevenson and wife 5 children	0	7	0
George Grymshaw and wife and maid	0	3	0
Arnald Lydall and wife 3 children and maid (*sic*)	0	5	0
Phillipp Burnett and wife	0	2	0
John Davenporte.	0	1	0
John Claton and wife and 2 sons	0	4	0
Joshua Wood and wife	0	2	0
Robert Cooke and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Pearson	0	1	0
Raph Egerton gentleman	1	1	0
Mr. Emmett	0	1	0

CHURCH YARD SYDE.

Mr. John Hawood's wife and 6 children	0	7	0
one man one maid	0	2	0
Olliver Lomax wife and 2 men	0	4	0
Robert Wyld and wife	0	2	0
George Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Edward Porter and wife	0	2	0
William Higgenson and wife	0	2	0
Peter Smethurst and wife	0	2	0
Mr. James Vanbobbert for 200*l.*	1	1	0
wife 2 children and 2 maids	0	5	0
Thomas Hall and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Abraham Taylor	0	1	0
James Roson and wife	0	2	0
Richard Seddon and wife	0	2	0
John Chaderton and wife	0	2	0
Adam Hill wife and sister	0	3	0

Assesed p Us

John Lightboun gent. and for 100*l*	1	11	0
Michael fflitcroft gent. and for 100*l*	1	11	0
Samuel Drinkwater	1	1	0
John Heywood	0	11	0
Totall	£337	14	8

Appointed Collectors,
Mr. Benjamin Bradshaw,
Mr. Josiah Walker.

NOTE.

The actual addition is 5*s*. more than stated above, viz. 337*l*. 19*s*. 8*d*.
The enumeration gives four persons more than those rated at 1*s*. for the Poll.

ERRATA.

Page 25, line 23, *for* Legod *read* Legoe.
Page 28, line 21, *for* 1 14 0 *read* 1 14 4.

REMARKS.

The document here printed bears an uncomplimentary endorsement in a contemporary hand writing:

"Generation of Vipers."

It is not a complete census of the population of Manchester in 1696, as the act of parliament (1 William and Mary, cap. 13), by which this taxation "by a poll or otherwise" was decreed, exempts persons receiving alms of the parish, and their children under sixteen, all children of day labourers, and of servants in husbandry under sixteen, and persons who by their poverty are exempt from contributions to church and poor rates; also the children under sixteen of persons having four or more, and who are not worth in lands, goods or chattels 50*l.* By this act gentlemen having estates of 300*l.* or more are required to pay 2*s.* per £; 1*s.* per £ is charged on profits of office; pensions exceeding 20*l.* pay 3*s.* per £; advocates and practitioners of physic 3*s.* per £; servants' wages of 3*l.*, 1*s.* per £; and under 3*l.*, 6*d.* per £; 10*s.* per 100*l.* is charged on all who have any personal estate, whether in debts owing to them or otherwise; while every one except those exempt is required to pay 1*s.* each. Various ranks and degrees are also chargeable upon a graduated scale, and provision is made for doubly charging persons having several mansions.

The assessors in Manchester appear to have levied the poll tax of 1*s.* except in cases of accidental omission. The only double assessments to this tax are those of Mrs. Goolden and

her maid (the former being also doubly assessed on her personalty) on the ground of their being Roman Catholics. The Warden of the Collegiate Church is assessed at 5*l.*, being a Doctor of Divinity, and 5*l.* for his benefice. Mr. Kiniston is the only other person named as a minister of religion; but in "Mr. Henry Newcombe," assessed also at 1*l.*, we recognise the Reverend founder of the Presbyterian congregation in Manchester; and in Mr. Finch, another ejected minister, who settled in Manchester and officiated some time at Birch. Mr. George Ogden, residing in Deansgate and rated as a gentleman, may have been one of the Fellows of the Collegiate Church, as possibly may also have been Thomas Hall living in Churchyard side, rated to the poll only; but no entries on the roll answer to the names of the two other Fellows, Francis Mosley and Richard Warburton. In William Barrough gent., residing in Millgate, we may probably have Mr. Barrow the Head Master of the Grammar School.

Five esquires pay 5*l.* each, in addition to the poll tax, viz., John Leaver, who is rated on a personalty of 500*l.*; Oswald Mosley, who returns no personal property; and Joseph Yates, George Piggott, and Edward Cheetham, each rated at 1*l.* for their practice, being doubtless barristers.

Six other men rated for practice are all styled gentlemen, and pay 15*s.* each, viz., John Berrow, Nathaniel Leech, John Waite, Mr. White, James Staynrod, and Radcliffe Alexander, the latter being also taxed on a personalty of 200*l.* It does not appear what professions these persons followed. If any of them were medical men they cannot have enjoyed the rank of Doctor of Physic, or they would have been liable to the same rate as a Doctor of Divinity. One person has the words "for practice" after his name, while no tax upon it was levied. Two "gaigers" are charged at 50*s.* each, and one pensioner of 30*l.* per annum pays 1*s.* per £, while the act appears to authorise the collection of 3*s.* per £.

One of the assessors, Samuel Drinkwater, is rated at 1*l.* without its being stated whether this was on personal property or in consideration of rank. This is also the case with Mr. Henry Newcombe and Mr. Finch. Wages and other income chargeable by the act appear to have escaped taxation except in the cases above cited.

The act prescribes a tax of 1*l.* on every person above sixteen years of age writing himself gentleman. Of such there are assessed fifty-two; about half of this number also paying on personalty or for practice.

Only one hundred and eighteen persons pay a rate upon their personalty. John Leaver Esq. is the only man rated at 500*l.*; Thomas Minshall the only one at 400*l.*; there are seven assessed at 300*l.*, four of whom claim the title of gentlemen, and three of whom are ladies; thirty-four are rated at 200*l.*; seventy-five at 100*l.*; of these there are three ladies, Mrs. Shuttleworth, Mrs. Drake, and Mrs. Howerth, who are also taxed with 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each as esquires' widows; Mrs. Mosley and Mrs. Halstead, also esquires' widows, paying nothing in additional for personalty, though Mrs. Mosley's two daughters do so.

The domestic economy of the town seems to have been frugal. In 151 cases women servants only are recorded; in 66 cases, both men and women.

Where women servants *only* were employed, there were

133	cases with	1	servant	=	133
16	„	2	servants	=	32
1	„	3	„	=	3
1*	„	4	„	=	4
151					172

* Probably an inn, a brewer being also named.

Where men servants also were kept, there were

50	cases with	1 maid	=	50
11	„	2 maids	=	22
5	„	3 „	=	15
66				87

Total number of women servants, 259

There appear to have been 35 cases keeping ..... . 36 men servants, where no women servants are recorded.

Where women were also employed, there appear to be

52	cases of	1 man	=	52
12	„	2 men	=	24
1	„	3 „	=	3
3	„	4* „	=	12
1	„	1 journeyman†	=	1
2	described as brewers		=	2
106				130

Where apprentices are recorded, there are

18	cases of persons having	1	=	18
1	„ „	2	=	2
1	„ „	3	=	3
20				23

In one house the names of 12 ladies, boarders ("tablers"), are recited.

* One of them being a man cook.

† Some of the other men servants were probably journeymen, but only one case is so described.

There appear to have been 54 widows and 23 widowers having children living with them, viz., with

1 child	...	35	=	35
2 children	...	24	=	48
3 „	...	10	=	30
4 „	...	6	=	24
5 „	...	2	=	10
		77		147

and 174 married couples, having

1 child	..	57	=	57
2 children	...	45	=	90
3 „	...	33	=	99
4 „	...	19	=	76
5 „	...	11	=	55
6 „	...	7	=	42
7 „	...	2	=	14
		174		433

Total number of children living with their parents, 580
Besides grandchildren..... 7

360 married couples appear to have been without children living with them. Total number of married couples, 534.

It is not easy to estimate what was the total population of the town of Manchester at the date of this poll. Judging from the table of births, deaths and marriages, there must have been but little change in the parish during the previous period of a hundred years, in two of which there had been a great waste of life from the plague. The survey of 1650, quoted by Aiken, describes the town as a mile in length, and as containing forty-eight subsidy men, besides a great number of burgesses; but no enumeration of the population is recorded until 1710, when it was stated to be 8,000.

The growth of the town after this time was rapid, the returns of 1773 giving 24,386 as the population of the township; and that of 1788, 42,821.

The registers of the mother church yield very uncertain data for estimating the total population of the township, which is only one of twenty-nine comprised in the parish of Manchester.

The rate-books also afford no assistance in drawing a conclusion on this subject, as the early series of them is imperfect, and as none are preserved in the overseers' office of prior date to the year 1706.

The rate laid in that year was "eleven pence in the pound upon feild land, and tenn pence in the pound upon house land." The following table gives a summary of the assessment. It will be observed that no new streets are named beyond those given in the "Pole Book" of 1690, nor are there any in the rate-book of 1712. In that of 1716 "St. Ann's Square" appears. In 1717 "Cross" is a name substituted for "Market Place." In 1719 "New Street" occurs. In 1721 and 1723 there is no new name. The Roll of 1724 is imperfect, but we there find "High Street," "Knott Mill Lane," and "King Street;" "St. James's Square" being mentioned incidentally. In this last-named quarter, however, no inhabitants are named in the Rolls either of 1725 or 1729.

In the assessment of 1706 one Joseph Dand is described as a quaker, and William Browne as a Scotchman. Trades are not frequently named. Madam Birch of Birch is rated in Smithy Door; Madam Guilliam in Hanging Ditch; Madam Drake in Milngate; and Madam Lightbowne as one of John Kay's tenants. George Pigott Esq. in Churchyard Side, and Robert Lever of Alkerington Hall Esq. for land in Market Street Lane, where Nathan Sandiford lived. Sir Robert Booth's heirs have land in Market Place, and Butterworth of Belfield in Milngate. The only inn named is the Nag's Head, Deansgate.

A TAX

ASSESSED UPON THE BURGESSES AND OTHERS THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWNE OF MANCHESTER &c. &c. 15TH MAY, 1706:

Amount Levied.	Assessments.	Namely: For Personal Estate only.	Namely: For Tenements only.	Namely: For both Tenements and Personal Estate.	Locality.
£93 6 1½	80	5	51	24	Deansgate.
35 16 1	31	2	20	9	Smithy Door.
27 3 3	37	2	29	6	St. Mary's Gate and Conduit.
67 19 5	68	4	54	10	Market Street Lane.
28 7 0	29	1	22	6	Market Place and Shambles Side.
14 2 10	24	1	19	4	Old Mealgate.
5 14 2	7	0	3	4	Cateaton Street.
5 7 7	7	0	5	2	Churchyard Side.
20 6 10	33	6	20	7	Hanging Ditch.
6 9 4½	20	1	15	4	Fennel Street.
26 4 9	27	0	21	6	Hyde's Cross and Toad Lane.
2 6 0	11	0	11	0	Hunt's Bank.
43 5 6	72	4	51	17	Milnegate.
5 16 0	6	0	6	0	Newton Lane and Ancoats.*
5 4 6	5	0	5	0	Collyhurst.†
387 9 5	457	26	332	99	
					Tenants of
	14	...	...	...	Oswald Mosley Esq. and mother.
	6	...	...	...	Remainder of Mr. Hartley's.
	19	...	...	...	Mr. Henry Dickanson.
	2	...	...	...	Mr. John Kay of Salford.
	6	...	...	...	Mr. Joseph Wagstaff.
	2	...	...	...	Mr. Greenfield.
	2	...	...	...	Mr. Joshua Oldham's land.
	9	...	...	...	Mr. Thomas Butterworth.
	13	...	...	...	Lawyer Chetham.
	5	...	...	...	Mr. Raphe Worsley.‡
	10	...	...	...	Mr. Charles Worsley.
	16	...	...	...	Sir John Bland.
	1	...	...	...	Mr. Goodall's land by his own entaile.
	1	...	...	...	Mrs. Goodall's land by her own entaile.
	19	...	...	...	Mr. Stephen Fox.
45 0 3	125§				
432 9 8					

* In the assessments of 1717 and afterwards, we find, under "Newton Lane and Ancoats," a tenement called Langley Hall, belonging to the family of Beswick. The property held by them in that locality appears to have been purchased from the heirs of Joseph Leech after 1706, and there is no mention of Langley Hall before 1717.

† The demesne of Collyhurst was in the tenure of John Lever Esq at this time.

‡ Worsley of Platt.

§ There do not appear to have been separate tenants for every one of these assessments.

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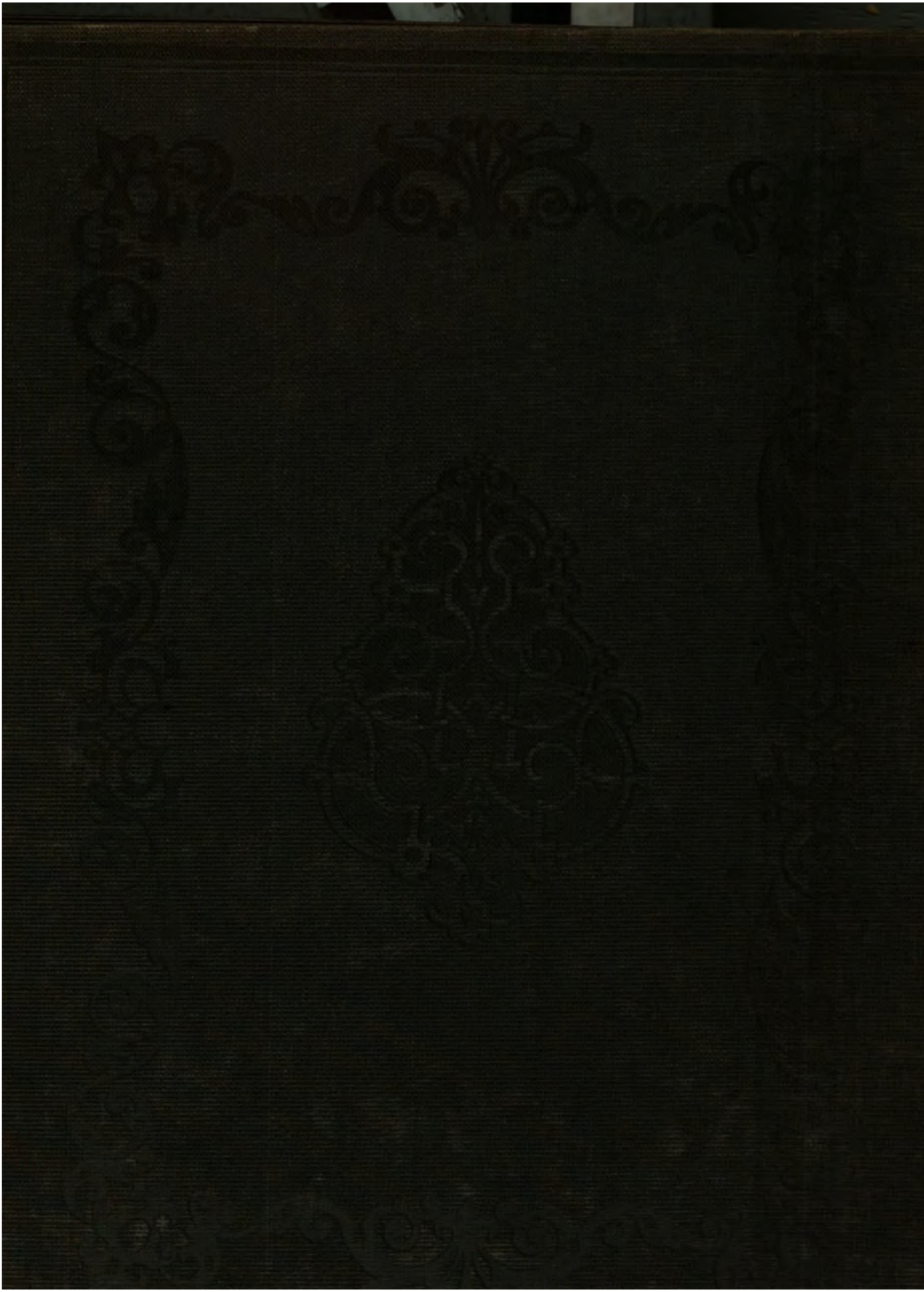
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