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CONTINUATION
OF THE
COURT LEET RECORDS
OF THE
MANOR OF MANCHESTER

A.D. 1586 - 1602.

COMPILED AND EDITED
BY JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

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

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INTRODUCTION.

IN "A Volume of Court Leet Records of the Manor of Manchester in the Sixteenth Century" (vol. lxiii. of the CHETHAM SOCIETY's publications), the circumstances under which these Records came into the possession of the Corporation of Manchester were described, and that book consisted of extracts from the first and oldest MS. volume of such Records. It has been thought desirable, further to illustrate the local government of Manchester in that period, to make a series of extracts from the second MS. volume of the old Court Leet books, for the last sixteen years of the long and glorious reign of queen Elizabeth; and the present volume is the result of such determination. Commencing with the Michaelmas leet of 1586, it closes with that of October 1602, the last held during her reign; for the Easter court of 1603 was held in April, king James I. succeeding to the English crown on the 24th of March in that year.

The old MS. volume from which our extracts are taken, though somewhat tattered in parts, has been carefully and handsomely bound, we believe by the direction of the present Sir OSWALD MOSLEY, and lettered on the back, "Manu-

script History of Manchester. Vol. I." It is of much larger size (the page being about seventeen by eleven inches) and also much thicker than the older volume; and for many years it occupied a place on the shelves of the library at Rolleston Hall; whence it was transferred to the library of the Manchester Corporation on their purchase of the manor and its rights from Sir Oswald Mosley. Its contents embrace a much longer period than that included in the present volume. Commencing with the 6th October (28 Elizabeth) 1586, it extends throughout the remainder of her reign, during the entire reign of James I., and down to and including the Court Leet of 19th October 1647 (23 Charles I.). There are some *lacunæ* however to be deducted. There is no notice of any court in October 1605; probably because of the so-called plague then raging, which is stated to have swept away upwards of a thousand of the inhabitants of Manchester in that year. There is no entry from those of the Court Leet of May 5th 1641 (17 Charles I.) to the court of October 19th 1647 (23 Charles I.). As the entries of the former court end, and those of the latter commence, on the same page [203½] the *hiatus* cannot be explained on the supposition that some leaves are missing. This gap of six years and a half occurs during the eventful period of the Civil War, when, it would seem, the ordinary municipal government of Manchester was suspended, being probably superseded by the military rule of officers holding temporary command in the town. The volume, therefore, apparently extends over a period of sixty-one years, of which these six years and a half are wholly blank. Besides

the proper court entries, this volume was made the depository of copies of many deeds, wills and documents relating to the public affairs and interests of the town. Amongst others may be named the agreement between Rowland Mosley Esq., lord of the Manor, and the burgesses, as to the waste of Collyhurst, a common of forty acres, on which the inhabitants claimed right of common. By this agreement Mr. Mosley undertakes to secure a sum of 10*l.* yearly to the poor of Manchester for ever; which is accepted by the burgesses and freeholders in full recompense of the right of common thereon. The lord of the manor further agrees that it shall be lawful in time of infection of the plague, to erect and build cabins for the infected, on six acres of this waste, nearest to the town; and to allow the inhabitants to bury their dead there, dying of plague, if need so require. It being subsequently found that the perpetual 10*l.* yearly to the poor, instead of being secured as an annuity, was only made a rent-charge on these waste lands of Collyhurst, which had greatly deteriorated in value; the case was taken to the Duchy Court of Lancaster, and eight principal inhabitants (each styled "gentleman") having there exhibited a bill of complaint against Rowland Mosley Esq., on this ground, a decree was made under the seal of the duchy, dated 21st November (15 James I.) 1617. The fact is recorded in this volume, page 102½; and a verbatim copy of the exemplification or "inspeximus" (being an official copy of the decree), which was delivered to the then boroughreeve, is given on leaves 103 *et seqq.* filling three closely written folio pages. The decree of the

chancellor and council of the duchy court confirms generally the agreement, and decrees that the lord shall convey and assure to the seven principal burgesses named in the agreement, for the use of the poor for ever, the yearly rent of 10*l.*, "to be issuing and going out of all and every the said parcel of Collyhurst, inclosed since the said agreement, or hereafter to be inclosed," &c, with clause of distress for non-payment, &c. It may be added that the 10*l.* has been regularly paid, and is still paid by the present Sir Oswald Mosley, yearly, to the churchwardens and overseers for the time being, and by them is added to the proceeds of the collection of the poor rate, and disbursed in the relief of the poor as part of that rate. It may be a question worth consideration hereafter, whether the six acres of Collyhurst nearest Manchester, whereon the inhabitants have the right for ever, under the decree of the duchy court, to build cabins for plague patients, and to bury their dead, may not be applicable or usable (so far as it may remain unbuilt upon), as a burial-ground for the poor in times of epidemic cholera, &c. Other documents to be found here and there throughout the MS. volume are those relating to the gifts and bequests of land, buildings, money, or other things, for the purposes of public local charities. Amongst these may be named George Marshall's, Walter and Margaret Nugent's, George Clarke's, and the Rev. Hugh Atwill's, charities. Another class of documents interspersed with the Court Leet entries throughout this MS. volume, are those relating to poor strangers coming to the town, and becoming chargeable to it. These were usually termed "inmates;" what we

should now call lodgers in low lodging-houses. There are orders of judges of assize, requiring all who received poor strangers into their houses to give security to the boroughreeve and constables that such inmates should not become chargeable to the town; on pain of answering their neglect and contempt at the Lancaster assizes. The "obligations" or bonds of sureties to this effect were all recorded, and the bonds were handed over from each retiring boroughreeve to his successor. Then there were conveyances, fines, recoveries, and other documents relating to charities &c., which were in the official custody of the boroughreeve for the time being, and in like manner transferred by him to his successor. As these documents of all kinds in his keeping began to be both numerous and bulky, it became necessary to enter in the Court Leet book a schedule or list of what were thus yearly transferred from the outgoing to the incoming boroughreeve. It was also found convenient, if not necessary, to have some central place of deposit for these documents, where they might not only be kept safely all together, but be easily referred to, on occasion. Hence arose the establishing of the "boroughreeve's chest," which with its three locks and separate keys (kept by the boroughreeve and the two constables of the town) stood for many years in one of the front rooms on the principal floor of the town hall. At length this chest was found too small to contain the constantly accumulating deeds and documents; and for some years the depository has been a large iron-lined closet, fitted up with safes, drawers, &c., opening from the office of the chief constable of the city, at

the Cheapside end of the town hall. In regard to the local charities it may be stated that any history of these must be imperfect, which ignores the documents in the MS. volume under notice, and in later volumes of the old Court Leet Records. The late Mr. Alderman Alexander Kay's *Account*

In conclusion the Editor has only to thank the President of the CHETHAM SOCIETY for that encouragement which has stimulated the progress of the work, and generally to offer his acknowledgments to those friends who have contributed to it judicious counsel or acceptable help.

J. H.

Swinton, May, 1865.

THE COURT LEET BOOK

CORRIGENDA.

IN the list of Boroughreeves and Constables, vol. i. p. 176, are two errors of fact, which we desire to correct. Though the list was copied directly from the Court Leet Books, and therefore correctly records the names of the officers, as elected at the Michaelmas Court Leet, it happened in two cases that the boroughreeve elect declined to serve, and it became necessary to appoint another in his stead. Thus for the year 1841-2 Mr. Henry Newbery, though elected, refused to serve; and Mr. Richard Birley was subsequently chosen in his stead, and did serve. So for 1842-3, Mr. Thomas Worthington was elected, but refused to serve; and Mr. John Woollam was elected in his stead, and did serve the office two successive years.

Inquisi ^o cap ^t }		Georgij Birch p ⁱ mi Jur.	
p sacrū . . . }			
Roberti Langley	} Jur.	Robti Clough	} Jur.
Georgii Traviſſe		Francisci Wyrall	
Henrici Gee		Roberti Syddall	
Thome Goodyeare		Riçi Shalcrosse	
Roçi Bexwicke		Ranulphi Massye	
Henrici Wyrall		Ranulphi Proudlove	
Wiffm Barlow		et Adam Oldam	

Catchpolle, market lokers for corne (4), ditto for fish and fleshe (2), myselayers (2), mysegatherers (2), sealers of leather (3),

Manorial
officers.

market lokers for Whit-meate in the Market Stid Lane and the Market Stidd (2), market lokers for Whit-meate in Mylnegate (2), ditto in Deanesgate (2), ditto in Huntessbancke (1), ditto in Withingreave (2), offycers for wholesome breade (2), ale-tasters (2), bylawmen for Market Stid Lane (2), ditto for Deanesgate, St. Mary Gate and both Market Stidds (4), ditto for Withingreve, Hanging Ditch and Fenel Street (3), skevingers for (?) gate and lane (2), ditto for Huntessbancke (1), ditto for Market Stid Lane (2), ditto for Deanesgate (2), ditto for St. Mary Gate (2), ditto for Fenel Strete and Withingreave (2), ditto for [? Hanging Ditch and Mealegate] (2), ditto for both Market Stidds (2), ditto from Bootthes to the Smithie Dore (2), ditto for Mylnegate (2), offycers for frutes (2), prayzers (2), offycers to make cleane the Market Stidds (2), afferers of y^e courtes (4), offycers to see that there be no washinge or other misorders at y^e condyte (2), offycer for the kepinge of the key of the condite (1), [67 officers].

Tenant's fealty.
Shalcrosse.

Ad hunc cuñ venit Ričus Shalcrosse et Juñ est dñō huius Mañij de Manchestr fecitque fidelitatem et admis³ est tenens p quibusdam terr³ pquisit³ à Rađo Redford et Margaret Johnson.

Gee's burgage.
Relief.

The jury doth present that Elizabeth Gee younger, the daughter of Richard Gee late of Manchester clothier, hath of the gift and grannt of the late Richard Gee her father, one burgage in the Mylnegate in Manchester, now divided into two small tenements or dwellinghouses with th'appurtenances, holden of the lord of this manor of Manchester, by fealty, and the yearly rent of 6^d. Jurañ est dñi huius manerij et admissa est tenens, ac solvit senescall³ sex denař p relevio in plena cuñ.

Wynnington.

The jury doth present that Ranulph Wynnington late of Offerton gentleman is departed since the last leet court, and that Raphe Wynnington is his son and next heir and of lawful age, and is to come in at the next Court Leet to do his fealty for such lands and tenements as he holdeth of the lord of the manor.

Radcliffe.

John Radclyffe departed since the last court. Alexander Radclyffe is his son and next heir and under age.

Thomas Brownsword hath purchased of George Hollande certain Brownsword. burgages, houses, cottages, shops, taverns, cellars, lofts and gardens in Manchester, late the inheritance of Richard Brownsworde, Thomas Willett deceased, and the said George Hollande, or any of them, and now or late in the several tenures or occupations of Robert Jepson as in the right of Elizabeth his wife or their assigns, and of divers other tenants there, paying to the lord yearly 6^d.

The jury order that no manner of person lay any building timber or other blocks or stocks, or any daub, stones, or other noisome thing, in the streets within this town of Manchester at any time hereafter, and that they shall remove and take away that which is already laid within twenty days next ensuing; saving that it shall be lawful for necessity of building and repairing of houses, to make daub in the summer time betwixt Candlemas and St. Michael, so that they do make the streets clean within ten days, and this to be done upon pain of every one offending herein 10^s. Timber, &c., in the streets.

The jury order that no butter or suet be put in any cakes or wheat bread from this day, upon pain to every one so offending 10^s. Butter and suet in cakes. And the said jury do appoint Richard Hanson, Richard Thorpe, Richard Morrisse, officers to be sworn to present the defaults touching this last order. Qui quidem officarij jurati sūt ad p̄sent default.¹

Whereas there is an order made at the Leet Court holden the 7th October, anno r. r. Elizabeth nūc &c. 26th [1584], that the miselayers taking unto them assistance of four burgesses of the town, shall assess the sum of 5*l*. to buy weights and measures according to the standard, to appertain to the town, which sum is not gathered according to the same order. Therefore the jury doth further order that forsomuch as the then miselayers did assess the said sum, and the misegatherers have not yet gathered the same, that the misegatherers which are now appointed shall gather the said sum of 5*l*. betwixt this and Christmas next, who shall repay [*i.e.* pay over] so much as they shall gather unto the Boroughreeve, presently upon receipt thereof. Mise for weights and measures.

¹ See vol. i. p. 92, note 96.

The Booths
gutter.

The jury order that Richard Hunt and William Radcliffe gen. shall cause the gutter betwene y^e Boothes and the lands of the said Mr. Wm. Radclyffe to be cleansed so as the water may have course and to be kept clean from time to time, sub pena to either of them 10^s.

Market-street.

One Thomas Baylie hath encroached into the Market Stid Lane near to the way that leadeth to Labrey's house.

Bark-house-hill.
Cucking-pool.

William Radclyffe gent. hath encroached the Barke-house-hill and the Cucking-stool-pool. To lay the same forth before the feast-day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary next (March 25th) 5^s.²

² See a long notice on the Cucking-stool in *Mamecestre*, pp. 456-58. This is the first time this "*Cathedra Stercoris*" is mentioned in the extant Court Leet Records. It seems probable that the pond or pool most anciently provided with its cucking or ducking-stool, for scolds and disorderly women, was the pool or moat of the old fortified residence of the Radcliffes of Manchester, near the site of the Presbyterian chapel, Cross-street; to which chapel, from the old use of its vicinity, it is said was derisively applied the *sobriquet* of *St. Plungeon's* or *Plunge'ems*. Hence too the old name of the street from this chapel to Market-street — Pool Fold — which was only changed to Cross-street when the street was greatly widened some years ago. Hol-linworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, referring to some statement of Campian the jesuit, as to the sufferings of Roman Catholics in Manchester about this period, and probably translating the Jesuit's Latin, has the following passage: "Also that one James Bell, priest, was prisoner in Manchester, sometimes in an obscure and horrid lake — [he means, for ought I can learn, a gentleman's house, in or near to the Market-stid-lane, called 'Mr. Radcliffe's of the Pool'] — sometimes in another place called the New Fleet, of which one Worsley, of the Booths, was governor, or keeper." The late Mr. John Palmer, architect, in his *History of the Siege of Manchester* (p. 25), thus describes the hall: "Radcliffe Hall was situated in the Pool Fold in Manchester: it was formerly moated round, and a draw-bridge gave admittance to the principal entrance, which faced towards Chapel Walks, and was latterly flanked on two sides by a large garden. The mansion was constructed of timber and plaster, with huge projecting stone chimneys and gable ends, similar to old Garratt Hall, and bore the appearance of the residence of an English gentleman of subordinate rank. Upwards of half a century ago [say about 1760-70] it was occupied by Mrs. Patten; and about forty years since [1780], Mr. James Smith obtained a license to convert a part of it into an inn, known by the denomination of the Sun Tavern, for the convenience of the new market then erected [opened 28th July 1781, discontinued in 1803]; the remaining part of it was also at the same time licensed by the name of the King's Arms. About a dozen years ago [about 1810] this house and the adjoining ground were purchased

The Nether Acres and Over Acres have lain open to the street, ^{Nether and Over Acres.} from such time as corn hath been gotten till the feast-day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Feb. 2nd), in the time of the memory of divers of this jury until of late years.³

The wife of Ellis Slater hath kept an unlawful peck [measure], ^{Peck measure.} amerced in 12^d.

The jury order that all good orders theretofore made for the ^{Orders confirmed.} good government of the town shall stand in effect, and desire Mr. Steward to see them executed.

Test: Carolo Leighe, chico cuñ ibm, 1586.

on a chief rent from Sir Oswald Mosley by Mr. Thomas Robinson, who took down the old building, and on its site erected the present respectable cotton warehouses in New Market Buildings, immediately facing the opening of Pool Fold, leading into Market Street." Some of the rooms of Radcliffe Hall were, at the period referred to in the text, applied to the keeping Catholic recusants in safe custody. As to the encroachments by William Radclyffe gentleman, then resident at the hall, one seems to have been on a hill used by a tanner for his bark-house, and the other on the moat or pond used for ducking women. Possibly he did not like this punitive exhibition before his windows; possibly he found the moat one cause of a damp house or of flooded cellars: but, whatever the cause, we shall see that the moat became so shallow, if not dry, that for a time the ducking-stool was necessarily removed to another pond—either the Horse Pool at the top of the then Market Stid Lane, or the Daub Holes or pits from which clay had been taken, and which in rainy seasons became filled with water, on the site of the Infirmary pond, Piccadilly, now covered by the esplanade with its statues and fountains.

³ The Nether (or lower) and Over (or higher) Ackers or Acres were two fields, so called, which were probably but one field originally, of about six and a half statute acres, called "The Acres" or "Four Acres," which extent, in the large Lancashire measure would be about equivalent to six and a half statute acres. The site is believed to be the present St. Ann's Square and the adjacent streets; Cross-street being supposed to have been so named from an ancient Market Cross placed there. For the name and site see *Mamecestre*, p. 550, and the *Foundations of Manchester*, vol. iv. pp. 38-41. The Rev. J. Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*, states that within the memory of persons then living [1775], the lord of the manor was obliged to carry away his own corn growing on these fields on the day before the yearly Acres or St. Matthew's fair (October 1st), or the people were at liberty to enter the field and trample it under their feet. It would seem by the text, that for four months (October 1st to February 2nd) the two fields were left lying open to the adjacent street.

*Court &c. of JOHN LACY &c. held 21st April,
29th Elizabeth (1587).*

- Wynnington. Rauffe Wynnington, son and heir of Randall Wynnington, deceased, hath not come into the court and done his suit and service since the death of his father. Ordered that he do come and do fealty at the next court, 6^s 8^d.
- Ravalde. William Ravalde of Kersall is deceased since the last court, and William Ravalde is his son and heir and is under age, and payeth for his burgage land in Manchester yearly 22^d.
- Galley. Richard Galley is departed since &c. — Galley is his son and heir, being of full age and payeth to the lord yearly 14^d. [He did his fealty and was admitted tenant.]
- Typpinge. Richard Typpinge hath bought of James Tracy one burgage lying near the Smithie Door. Richard Typpinge hath bought in like manner of Thomas Brounsword part of a burgage in the Hanging Diche, late the land of G. Holland of Salford.
- The Knolls,
Walkers' Croft. Mr. Thomas Strangwaies hath stopped a footway going over the Knowles into the Walkers' Croft, which by report hath been a usual way these forty years past or more, until within this two or three years, and wherewith Mr. Robert Langley gent., and he in the name of divers of his neighbours, find themselves aggrieved. And now whether it be a way of sufferance or not, we know not.
- Barlow Cross
or Croft. An encroachment hath been made at Barlow Crosse [or Crofte] by William Bolton's house, whereby the water-course of the ditch cannot pass, but greatly hurtful to the highway: to be laid abroad before Midsummer, 20^s.
- Collyhurst. James Barlowe hath enclosed upon the common of Collyhurst to the value of eight acres, by estimate, be it more or less.
- Watercourse. Whereas an order was made 24th year of her majesty's reign [1582], that George Byrche should amend the encroachment of the water-course for avoiding the hurt of the highway to the common of Collyhurst, for leading stone and other necessities for the town-dwellers, and the same not done, &c., we do now crave the

same may be amended before the next court, or else he to be fined at the discretion of the next jury.

Whereas at the last court a presentment was made that the The Acres.
Over Acres and Nether Acres had been usually kept open for the getting-in of the corn till Candlemas, to the great easement of divers poor inhabitants; the jury crave the same may be used as it hath been accustomed, till now of late years, as it is well known to divers of this jury and other inhabitants of this town.

Whereas divers encroachments have been made, to the great Wrongful enclosures.
Colyhurst.
hindrance of many, upon Colyhurst and other places within this liberty of Manchester, as heretofore doth appear in this present court. We order that no person shall hereafter enclose or make any encroachment in any place, be it much or little, without a special consent of the lord or his officers, and the whole jury jointly together to give consent at the taking in of any such enclosure; and if any such offence be committed, it shall be lawful for certain of the jury to put it down again and lay it abroad, and the party to be fined at the next court after, at the discretion of the jury then to be chosen.

Ordered that all such as have any timber or firewood lying The Church-yard wall.
under the Church-yard wall toward the College, shall cause it to be taken away, and the rubbish and earth also, betwixt this and Midsummer next, s.p. 2^s.

That the skevengers of that circuit [*i. e.* the Church-yard, Col- Scavengers.
lege, &c.] shall from time to time see the same place kept clean, or present the offenders that object to make it clean.

All good orders re-enacted.

Richard Foxe is deceased since &c. Richard Foxe his son and Foxe.
heir is of lawful age.

Thomas Radclyffe, mercer, is to come &c. for his land in the Radclyffe.
right of his wife, and to do his fealty and pay his rent.

Witness: Charles Leigh, clerk, 1587.

Court held 4th October, 29th Elizabeth (1587), by RICHARD SWINGELHURSTE, Steward of the same.

Manorial
officers.

Market lookers for corn (4), ditto for fish and flesh (3), myse layers (2), myse gatherers (2), scalers of leather (3), market lookers for White meat in Market Stid Lane and Old Market Stid (2), ditto for Mylnegate (2), ditto for y^e Deansgate (2), ditto for Huntess Banck (1), ditto for Withingreave (2), officers for wholesome bread (2), ale tasters (2), bylawmen for Market Stid Lane (2), ditto for Deansgate, St. Mary's Gate, and both Market Stids (4), ditto for Withingreave, Hanging Ditch, and Fenel Street (3), ditto for Milnegate and Tode Lane (3), ditto for Hunts Banck (1), skevingers for the Market Stid Lane (2), ditto for Deansgate (2), ditto for St. Mary's Gate (2), ditto for Tode Lane, Fenel Street, and Withingreave (2), ditto for Hanging Ditch and Meale Gate (2), ditto for both Market Stids (2), ditto from Boothes to the Smithy Door (2), ditto for the Mylnegate (2), officers for fruits (2), prayzers (2), officers to make clean the Market Stids (2), ditto for oversight of the order for conduit (3), ditto for keeping key of conduit (1), affeerers of the court (4), officers that no butter be put in cakes (4). [In all thirty-three sets of officers, numbering seventy-four individuals; exclusive of the jury, the boroughreeve and constables, and the catchpoll.]

Robynson. Laurence Robynson deceased since &c. Robert Robynson his son and heir, under age, doth desire respite till the next court to bring his evidence.

Wirrall. Henry Wirrall departed since &c. Robert Wyrrall is his son and heir and under age.

Radclyffe. Thomas Radclyffe is to do his suit &c. in the right of Elizabeth his wife, one of the daughters of Richard Gee, and payeth to the lord by the year 6^d. Jurañ &c.

Syddall. Robert Syddall departed since &c. Robert Syddall is his son and heir and under age.

Wood. William Wood hath purchased one burgage of John Sympton.

Robert Hilton hath purchased certain lands of Mr. Robert Hilton.
Langley.

Steven Pendilton hath purchased certain lands in the Mylnegate Pendelton.
of George Proudlove.

Whereas divers neighbours do find themselves aggrieved that House-swine.
the wife of Edward Burroes doth keep swine within her house,
having no back side [*i. e.* back ground or yard], to the great an-
noyance not only of the neighbours but also of the passengers by
her house, and to the great danger of infection to the whole town,
which God defend : — ordered not to keep any within any part of
her house after Christmas next, 10^s.

No inhabitant within this town shall keep any mastys [Mastiffs. mastiffs]
to go abroad in the town unmuzzled, 2^s.

Almost through every street in the town the causeway and Causeways.
Channels.
channel is greatly decayed, not only to the great defacing of the
same, but also to the danger of travellers through the same : —
ordered that every man anendst his own lands, or he that hath his
house by lease to the middle of the street, or to the channel, where
any default is, shall cause the same to be paved and amended
before the next court, 3^s 4^d.⁴

Whereas we find the pavement or causeway to be so impaired, Shod wheels.
and hereafter will be more decayed, if by some good order it be
not prevented, which would be to the great charges of the inhabit-
ants of the town yearly, and that the cause of the same is by
means of the number of *shodde* wheels coming into the town ; — for
reforming of the same we order that no shod wheels shall come
within the town for the carriage of any muck, dung, daub, clay, or
any corn to any milnes, after the 20th November next, sub pena
to the offender with his carriage, as also the owner of the muck

⁴ Notwithstanding the term causeway was formerly used both as to the cartway
and the footpath, both being raised and paved ways, the probability is that in the
text it meant the highway or cartroad. It would seem that both the cartway and
the channels or gutters in almost every street in the town were in need of repair ; and
that leaseholders had a heavier paving liability than tenants-at-will.

&c., either, for every day, 2^s. [5 officers appointed to enforce the order.]⁵

Old footpath.

As to the footway stopped by Thomas Strangways Esq. [near Walkers' croft], we order the said footpath to be suffered according to the ancient custom and so to continue, 10^s.

Illegal toll.

Mr. Richard Hunte hath taken and demanded toll of the inhabitants of the town, contrary to the ancient custom and liberty of our town; for which we desire reformation.⁶

The ley for weights &c.

Whereas there is a laye made for the buying of weights and measures, ordered that every one, both inhabitants and shopkeepers, shall pay that is assessed upon them according to the order before made, 3^s 4^d.⁷

Court &c. 11th April, 30 Elizabeth (1588).

Syddall.

Edward Syddall departed &c. George Syddall, his son and heir, is of lawful age. What rent is due to the lord we know not.

Hunte.

Richard Hunte departed &c. John Hunte, son and heir, under age, and what rent we know not.

⁵ The decay of the cartroad or causeway is attributed to the number of carts and wains with *shod wheels* coming into the town. These were probably wheels covered or shod with iron, having heavy loads to draw, chiefly of manure, clay, or corn. These are, by this order, excluded from the streets, and five officers (probably one for each main road) appointed to enforce the order.

⁶ To take toll of an inhabitant is here declared to be contrary not only to the ancient custom, but also to the ancient liberty of the town. This exemption from toll is given by the 24th clause of Thomas Grelle's charter of 1301: "A burgess, of whomsoever he shall buy or sell within the fee of the aforesaid lord, shall be free from toll." (See *Mamecestre*, p. 230.)

⁷ Formerly the lord of the manor provided standard weights and measures for the use of the burgesses and other tenants. But there are proofs in these records that these were not always supplied when asked for; and at length the leet jury, as representing the town, began to provide them at the public cost. The first order is at the leet of October 1585 for the mise gatherers to collect 5*l.*, not only of the inhabitants, but also from country dealers having shops &c. in the town on market-days, to provide a series of weights and measures, to belong to the town.

Thomas Becke departed &c. Randall Becke, son and heir, and Becke.
under age, and what rent he payeth we know not.

Thomas Brounsword departed &c. Thomas Brounsword, son Brownsword.
and heir, under age, and what rent he payeth we know not.

Richard Proudlove departed &c. Who is his heir we know Proudlove.
not.

William Reade, who was one of the prayzers of the court, is Appraiser.
departed &c., and there is one wanting to supply the place in his
room. Therefore we appoint Robert Wharmbye, butcher, to be
prayzer in his place.

Francis Houghe was by the last jury appointed one of the Office refused.
market lookers for this year, and hath contemptuously refused to
be sworn for the due execution of the same.

James Marler shall take away and remove a hen-pen and all Hen-pen.
other lumber or other moveable goods that now be standing under
the several of Henry Gee, before the next court, 5^s.

Robert Verey hath set a privy at the end of his orchard adjoin- Orchard in
ing to the Sudehill or Mylners' Lane, which is very noisome to Shudehill or
passengers. Ordered that he remove it before May Day, 10^s.⁸ Millers' Lane.

Ordered that the constables shall avoid all strangers that be Beggars.
beggars, and lately come to this town contrary to an order made Inmates.
24th [Elizabeth, i.e. 1582], and that no landlord or householder
shall suffer any inmake [inmate or lodger] contrary to the afore-
said order to abide in their house. The same to be done before
Midsummer, 20^s.

No single woman, unmarried, shall be at her own hand, to keep Single women.
house or chamber within the town of Manchester, but shall reform
themselves betwixt this and Whitsunday next, upon pain of punish-
ment according to the discretion of Mr. Steward and the consta-
bles.

Whereas an order was made 28th [Elizabeth, 1586], for washing Washing at
at the conduit and in the streets of this town, for every time of so Conduit.

⁸ The situation of this orchard will be comprehended by a glance at the plan facing
the titlepage of vol. i. It would be in the angle at the junction of the two roads
between the blocks of houses in each, as shown in the plan.

offending to pay 12^d, and that two officers were appointed for the due execution of the same; we appoint that from henceforth the skevengers in every street shall present all such as do offend in the breach of that order.

Tippinge.
Afferor.

Samuel Tippinge filius Ric'i Tippinge juratus fuit in plena curia ad assissam d'ne Regine. Et etiam Ric'us Tippinge jur. fuit unus ex afferatoris cur.

Inspecting
nuisances.

George Byrche, Humfrey Haughton, Richard Typpinge, Raphe Haughton, George Travisse, Thomas Radclyffe, Richard Mooreton, Thomas Byrom and William Wood, nine of the last jury, the 24th September 1588, 30th Elizabeth, did assemble themselves together and took a view of a certain pale, a swine-cote and a gutter, where-with Mr. Steward [? Mr. Richard Swingelhurst] found him grieved against William Cunclyffe that he would not reform the same. The said jurors order that he shall not only set straight the pale and amend the same, but also shall remove and take away his swine-cote, that it be not noisome to Mr. Steward, and moreover shall cause the gutter to be cleansed so as the water may have course from the back side of Mr. Steward's house on the ride, and before the feast day of St. Martin the Bishop in winter (November 11th), 3^s 4^d.

Court held 3rd October, 30 Elizabeth (1588), RICHARD SWINGLEHIRST, Gentleman, Steward.

Swineherd.

To the long list of officers enumerated as appointed at a former Michaelmas Leet may now be added the swineherd.

Asheton.
Glover. Lease.

John Asheton hath purchased of John Devyas of Sale, one barn of three bays, one barn-stid of two bays, one cottage, two gardens and a parcel of ground in Manchester in the Deansgate, and he is to pay yearly to the lord for the same 12^d. Elizabeth Glover of Manchester, deceased, had by indenture of lease of the said John Devyas, all &c. the premises for twenty-one years after the expiration of a former lease, whereof divers years are yet to

expire. All which premises the said Elizabeth hath surrendered and assigned unto her son John Glover, which lease &c. is shewed before us by the said John Glover. And John Asheton hath not only acknowledged the same indenture of lease, but also ratified, confirmed and made good the same to the said John Glover, in the presence and witness of the jurors aforesaid.

George Syddall to come in &c., 10^s.

Syddall.

William Byrche not having taken down his encroachment in the Mylners' Lane, hath forfeited 30^s to the lord. Ordered to take it down before the next court, or the jury shall of themselves pull down the same. Millers' Lane.

Whereas there hath been divers orders heretofore made touching the overseeing of the conduit, as also the keeping of the key of the same, and yet hitherto the key could not be had, but detained. Therefore the jury order that the inhabitants thereabouts shall contribute, at the discretion of the overseers of the conduit, towards the buying and making of a new key, and the same to be delivered to Edmund Mossley, whom the jury hath appointed for this year to have the keeping of the key, and the opening and locking of the conduit at convenient and usual times, and he to be reasonably recompensed for the same. And that any inhabitant whatsoever shall not open the conduit at any time, nor draw water there, but when the said Mossley shall open the same at times heretofore limited. And that the overseers shall see the same executed, 20^s. Key of the conduit.

Ordered that no manner of persons shall buy any apples, pears, or such like fruit, being brought to the market to be sold, before nine o'clock in the forenoon. And if any happen to buy any, that they shall not sell the same upon the same day that they buy upon, 2^s. Regrating fruit.

Ordered that Otiwell Thorpe and the widow of Philip Bexwicke shall make clean the Market-place where the coopers use to set their wares, at the west end of the conduit, and that the coopers shall pay them for the same quarterly, and that Richard Adlington and Oliver Bowrehouse shall see that this order be performed Coopers' ware.
Market-place.

and present the offenders, 3^s 4^d. The order touching this matter made in 27th (Elizabeth, 1585) by the jurates then, shall be read at this Leet, and stand in effect, and [be] looked unto by the said Richard Adlington and Oliver Bowrehouse.

Muck.

The widow of Francis Pendleton shall remove the muck from the place betwixt George Owen and her, half a yard distant, within one month, and set the pale upright and straight, and so to keep the same that it be not noisome to the said George, 3^s 4^d.

Collectors.

William Vaughanne and Christopher Downes shall deliver the money which they have gathered for weights and measures, together with a perfect note thereof and the names of such as have paid and them that rest unpaid, unto the boroughreeve now appointed, within eight days, to the intent that he may see that the misgatherers may collect and gather forth the rest, and he to be answerable for that received, 20^s.

The Waitts.
Their wages.

The jury doth give their consents that James Burton shall have the *wayte-shipp* wholly to himself, keeping such number for the service of the town as he hath at this instant. And forasmuch as they, being four in number, cannot be maintained sufficiently without reasonable allowance of every inhabitant of Manchester. And whereas at weddings strauge pipers or other minstrels come and sometimes play before weddings to the church, sometimes at the wedding dinner, by reason whereof they draw to themselves some gains, which ought to redound to the waytes of this town. Therefore in consideration it is a credit to the town to see them well maintained, the jury order that no piper or minstrel shall be allowed to play at any wedding dinner or before any wedding within the town, to the prejudice of the waytes; earnestly desiring Mr. Steward, as also other the inhabitants within this town, to agree unto this our order, and rather augment their wages than otherwise, so long as they use and behave themselves dutifully and painfully as appertaineth.⁹

⁹ The first notice of waitts in these records occurs in September 1562; but they must have existed long previously. (See vol. i., *note* 1, page 98.) The prevailing custom in Manchester seems to have been to appoint a master or leader, and to leave

Edwarde Bente departed, and John Bente his son and heir is of Bente.
full age. But what rent he is to pay to the lord we know not.

Alexander Sharples alias Warde departed, and Richard Sharples ^{Sharples.}
alias Warde, next heir, is his son. What rent is due &c. we ^{Warde.}
know not.

Edward Rilstone, son and heir of James Rilstone, is at law- Rilstone.
ful age.

Margaret wife of Robert Clough is departed since &c., and Clough.
Robert hath requested respite till the next court to show his title
and interest in the lands of the said Margaret.

Ordered that no manner of persons shall hereafter make any ^{Making daub}
doabe in any cartway or footway within the precincts of Manches-
ter, whereby any passenger may be letted or avoided, 12^d. And
forasmuch as Robert Lawranson hath made daub both in the cart-
ways and horseways to the great let and trouble of passengers, we
amerce him in 2^s 6^d.

Court held 3rd April, 31 Elizabeth (1589).

Ad hanc curiam venit Georgius Syddall genosus, ꝛ juraꝛ est Syddall.
dño hujus mañij fecitq, fidelitate ꝛ admissus est tenens ꝑ semi-
burg apud le Boothes door.

Robert Shacklocke departed since &c. Edward Schacklocke is Shacklocke.
his son and heir and of lawful age. What rent is due &c. we know
not.

to him the engagement of the requisite musicians, sometimes called his servants.
Though wages are spoken of, the waitts do not seem to have had any regular payment
from the authorities of the town; but to have performed their nightly patrol and
musical watch, and then asked for the contributions of the inhabitants from house to
house. Their greatest emoluments would seem to be derived from acting as minstrels
at weddings, in which however they met with great competition from foreign (that is
non-Manchester) minstrels and pipers. The leet juries did their best to discourage
the strange musicians and to promote the town waitts; but still the rivalry continued.
There also sprang up a feeling among the Puritans, in the reign of Elizabeth, which
proved still more deadly to the waitts, and at length ended in their being wholly
abolished, at least for the time.

- Gee.** John Gee is departed since &c., and John Gee is his son and heir and of lawful age.
- Bamford.** Jerome Bamford hath purchased certain lands of Robert Harrison lying in the Mealegate, and is to pay to the lord of the manor yearly 12^d. Admitted tenant and paid for relief to William Reade to the use of the lord 12^d.
- Strete.** George Strete of Moston departed since &c., and who is his heir we know not.
- Bowker.** Geoffrey Bowker of Moston is of full age. What rent he oweth we know not.
- Willotte.** Edward Willotte of Manchester is of full age. What rent he payeth we know not.
- Butterworth.** Alexander Butterworth of Bellfield gent, is of full age.
- Obstructing the footpath.** James Marler hath not removed away a hen-pen, timber and other moveable goods, that now be standing under the several [or particular tenement] of Henry Gee. To remove them before St. Bartholomew next [August 25], 20^s.
- New keys for conduit.** The order made at the last court for the keeping of the key of the conduit shall stand &c. And the jury further order that Mr. Steward and the constables of this year shall take off the locks and make new keys, and deliver the keys according to that order, 5^s.
- Pilkinton.** Adam Pilkinton shall pave the street in the Milnegate anendst his lands before St. John Baptist next (June 24), 6^s 8^d.

Court held Thursday 2nd October, 31 Elizabeth (1589).

- Manorial officers.** In the list of officers appointed, instead of the more modern term "ale-tasters," the old title of "ale-founders" is again used. There are also "officers for weddings," in connexion with the following order.
- Wedding dinners.** Whereas there hath been by the jurors heretofore divers good and laudable orders made for and concerning the making of weddings, dinners, and other feasts, as also what every person within

this town of Manchester and the precinct shall pay at the said wedding dinners. And the said orders have been confirmed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, and thought to be laws both good and profitable for the common wealth. In consideration whereof the jury doth now order that one order made 7th Elizabeth (1565) shall stand &c., save that where they are by the said order to pay for every poo'le [poll or head] 4^d, and not above, they shall now and from henceforth after the feast of All Saints pay for every person 6^d, and not above, either secretly or partly [? openly], under forfeit of 6^s 8^d. And further that no person being requested [? invited] to any wedding-dinner forth of the town, shall pay at the same above 6^d, s.p. 6^s 8^d.¹⁰

Whereas there is great disorder and unquietness committed by *mastives* and *bane-doges* that go abroad in the town, not only to the great disquietness of all the inhabitants, but also to the great danger of all the Queen's people, their goods and chattels. In consideration whereof the jury order that from and after the feast of St. Luke [Oct. 18] no mastive or bane doge or mastive bitch above the age of six months shall go abroad loose within this town &c., 2^s for every such dog &c. going about unmuzzled. Every man to be a presenter that shall see this order broken.

If any person that shall make or take any wedding dinner within the town or the liberties thereof, shall take above 6^d for every pole [head], he shall forfeit for every time 20^s.

Whereas an order was made 24th Elizabeth (1582) touching inmates and for avoiding of beggars and women gotten with child and coming unto us forth of other places, wherewith the town is very sore pestered and burdened, — the jury now order that that order shall be in full force, and that the persons appointed to see the execution thereof shall see that same order executed.

Whereas great inconvenience is in this town, in that single

¹⁰ For various preceding orders of juries, and the letters of the Earl of Derby, as steward of the manor of Manchester, relative to these wedding feasts, see the Index to vol. i. in *vocs*. The above order seems to fix the price per head at 4^d. in the town and 6^d. outside the town.

women being unmarried be at their own hands, and do bake bread and exercise other trades, to the great hurt of the poor inhabitants having wife and children; as also in abusing themselves with young men and others, having not any in control of them, to the great dishonour of God and evil examples of others; — the jury order that no single woman unmarried shall be at their own hands, or keep any house or chamber within this town, after the feast of the Nativity of our Lord [Christmas] next, 6^s 8^d and imprisonment at the discretion of Mr. Steward, Mr. Boroughreeve and the constables. And further, every single woman that shall sell any ale or bread or any other commodities, by any device or conclusion, to the hurt of the poor inhabitants of this town after the feast aforesaid, to forfeit the said bread, ale &c. so sold or set to be sold, and further to be punished at the discretion of Mr. Steward, the boroughreeve and constables.¹¹

The money for
weights.

Whereas some money hath been gathered by the myse gatherers for the buying of weights and measures, the jury order that the myse gatherers shall make their accounts and deliver the same money and the books to the boroughreeve now being, and that he shall deliver the books to the myse gatherers now appointed, who shall see that the money unrelieved be gathered, and deliver such money to the boroughreeve as they shall receive, with the names of all such as shall refuse to pay the same, and the boroughreeve to see the money bestowed according to the order.

Market-stid.
Mealgate.

Raphe Winnington shall set straight his house in the Market Stid adjoining to the lands of Mrs. Croughton's, so as the said house may not be hurtful to the house of the said Mrs. Croughton in the Mealgate, before the next court, 10^l.

A wall.

William Cunclyffe shall make up the wall in his house now fallen down between Mr. Stewart and himself, presently, 5^s.

¹¹ These repeated orders against single women baking bread for sale, or carrying on any honest trade, or even keeping a house or a chamber (see April 1588), have a harsh appearance; but probably there was sufficient reason for this apparent severity towards "single women at their own hands."

*Court Baron and Court with View of Frank-pledge, held
Thursday 23rd April, 32 Elizabeth (1590).*

To this court came Edmund Willotte and paid his relief to John Willott. Gee, in the time of the Lord la Warre, immediately after the death of his father, and is sworn, and did fealty to the lord and is admitted tenant.

Roger Kenyon of Kirkmanshulme, since &c. Thomas, his son Kenyon and heir, aged 65 years, to do his suit and service for the lands he holds in Mylnegate of the rent of 6^d by the year. Sworn &c. and paid 6^d for relief, and for heriot 12^d.

Edmund Trafford knt. since &c. Edmund Trafford Esq., son Trafford and heir, at lawful age.

John Radclyffe knt. since &c. Alexander Radclyffe, son and Radclyffe. heir, is under age.

Thomas Haughton of Lea Esq. since &c. Thomas Haughton, Haughton. son and heir, under age.

Thomas Leigh of High Lee Esq. since &c. George Leigh is his Leigh. cousin and heir, and at lawful age.

Thomas Strangwaies of Strangwaies Esq. since &c. John Strangwaies. Strangwaies, son and heir, under age.

William Holland of Clifton Esq. since &c., but who is his heir Holland. they know not.

Michael Dikonson since &c. Michael Dikonson under age. Dikonson.
Nevertheless the said Michael delivered a young hen ["*pugione*"] Hen for heriot.
for heriot, valued at 6^d, and paid for relief 6^d.

William Chollerton, tanner, hath purchased of Richard Chol- Chollerton.
lerton his uncle and Alice his wife, certain lands at fee-farm, but
by what rent to the chief lord we know not.

John Whitworthe hath purchased one burgage of Hugh Travys. Whitworthe.

Whereas a usual way hath been out of the Knolles in the Walker Stile in Walkers'-
Croft for all passengers for a footway, upon necessity of water or croft.
otherways, and it hath been heretofore found by the jury to be a
usual way. It is therefore ordered that the heirs of Thomas

Strangwaies shall henceforth set a steele [stile] into the Walker Croft to the end that passengers may have recourse as before, to be done before the feast of the Ascension [May 31], 2^d.

Nugent. Richard Nugent hath purchased one tenement of Robert Rodley, lying in Moston.

Savage dog. Edward Dyson hath kept a bandog that hath hurt men's cattalls, contrary to an order heretofore made.

Orders renewed. The jury desireth that all good orders made heretofore may be put into execution from time to time, and especially for the avoiding inmates [lodgers] and single women and other misordered persons whatsoever, according to divers good orders that hath been heretofore, and nothing at all or very slackly looked unto. [A similar order seems to have been made at the close of the proceedings of nearly every successive Court Leet.]

Court held Thursday 1st October, 32 Elizabeth (1590).

Officers. Amongst the officers appointed for the ensuing year are "officers for *fenytes*" [? fents] and "officers for weddings and ales."

Tavern. Peter Barlow shall so rail about his soler or tavern that it be not hereafter hurtful to the passengers, &c., before the feast of All Saints, 6^s 8^d.¹²

The Booths. The Booths have not been repaired this year according as they ought to have been by the laws of this realm. Refertur ordinis cur.

The cage.
The cuckstool. The cage is forth of repair, as also the coukstole [cuck-stool] is in great decay, and the water-ditch of the same is taken away and enclosed.¹³

¹² The "soler" here written cannot be the old "soler" or "sollar," which was an upper loft or chamber, a garret. It may be mis-spelled for "cellar;" for a cellar might be a tavern, and might also be railed about; an upper chamber could neither be one nor the other.

¹³ It does not appear where the cage or lock-up was situated. The water-ditch for the cuck-stool was either the moat of Radcliffe Hall or some ditch or sluice to feed it.

William Radclyffe, in cleansing the ditch in the Market Stid Lane, hath laid the same earth in the causeway, so that the carts thereby have been constrained to go over the new-mended causeway, and by that means have spoiled the same, to the griefs and great charges of the neighbours and all other honest passengers. Ordered that the earth be removed before 12th October inst., 5^s. Obstructing the causeway.

The bylawmen for the Mylnegate have not done their duty this year, in presenting of these swine that have been unyoked. Unyoked swine.

The jury present that the lord of this manor ought to have for the lands late Peter Cowpe's the sum of 9^s 2^d, whereof George Byrche payeth the one half, viz: 4^s 7^d, and we find by record that William Radclyffe hath heretofore paid the other half; whereof now Roger Bexwicke payeth 9^d, per agreement betwixt William and him.¹⁴ Cowpe's lands.

Edmund Willote, gent., departed since &c. Isabel and Mary Willote, his sisters, be his next heirs. Willote.

John Glover departed since &c. Robert Glover, his younger brother, and by covenants, is his next heir for one burgage in the Deans Gate, now in the occupation of Gilbert Tomson. Glover.

Whereas William Holland of Clifton, Esq., departed before the last court, and not then known where was his next heir, we now present that Ellinor his sister, the wife of Raphe Slade, is to come &c. Holland.

Whereas there was a very good order made for bandogs and mastiffs in 31st Elizabeth (1589), for the going abroad of mastiffs loose in the streets and unmuzzled &c., which we require may be read openly in the court, and for that the same is most needful and necessary to be observed; for that very lately in the Deans Gate a cow had very likely been spoiled by a mastiff, as also that one Edward Blomeley in parting of a brawl or fray in the same street hardly escaped unspoiled, and for that this present 1st October the foreman of the jury had likely to have been overthrown by Savage dogs.

¹⁴ The Peter Cowpe named in this order is probably the same individual as the Peter Cowopp named in vol. i. p. 76.

a great mastiff dog, supposed to be one John Cowpe's, smith, being unmuzzled and going loose in the street, and for that there be many dogs and bitches going abroad and loose in the street, to the great danger of men's children and their cattle: we the jury have in a several note presented the names of such offenders, and order that no person shall keep any mastiff, either dog or bitch, to go loose in the streets and unmuzzled, 3^s 4^d; and every man upon his oath to be a presenter.

airs to the
cr.

The jury present that to the great hindrance of the whole town, the *greses* or stairs descending to the water of Erwill is in great decay, and most necessary to be looked unto, and therefore order that the mise-layers for the time being, calling unto them the constables, with six other honest neighbours, shall assess the inhabitants of this town for the repairing of the stairs, and have appointed Richard Typpinge, Raphe Sorocoulde and Roger Bexwicke to receive the same moneys so gathered, and so to bestow the same and to give an account of the remainder to the next jury.

el stack.

Richard Moryse of the Deansgate, alehousekeeper, doth keep his fuel, to the great danger of himself and all his neighbours; ordered that he shall remove it further from his house by ten yards before the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist [Oct. 18], 10^s.

Ides and
ve.

Whereas there is in this town divers bakehouses that do keep their kiddes [brushwood, from *cid*, Anglo-Saxon, a young shoot] and gorse very dangerously, to the great danger both of themselves and also of the whole town; and for that they have been in gentle manner often requested to amend the same and yet not amended, the jury order that the gorse and kiddes shall be removed by the space of ten yards from any of their dwelling-houses, barns, stables, or any other manner of houses &c. before the feast of St. Martin [Nov. 11].

w locks.
e conduit.

Ordered that the officers or overseers of the conduit shall repair the conduit by their good discretion, and take off the locks of the conduit and make new, and shall collect or gather such money as by their discretion shall seem convenient.

Court held Thursday 8th April, 33 Elizabeth (1591).

The jury present that the appearance of all the inhabitants at this court is very small, and desire there may be a reformation had therefore. Small attendance.

A stile to be set out of the Walkers' Croft before Whitsunday, Walkers'-croft.
16^s.

The boothes, the cage and the couckstoole be in great decay, The Booths &c. in decay.
and the water-course of the same cookestoole is taken away and enclosed.

Before Whitsunday next William Radclyffe shall remove the yearthe now cast forth of the ditch by the cooke-stoole, after the causeway side, that it be not hurtful to the highway, 10^s. The cuckstool ditch.

Whereas of late one of the prayzers for this town is since the Appraiser.
last court deceased, we do make our choice that Steven Browne shall be in his place.

Court held Wednesday 6th October, 33 Elizabeth (1591).

Catchpoll, Robert Blomeley.

Whereas divers good orders hath been made concerning the conduit, and the good government of the same, the jury order the same orders to stand in effect. And further that the boroughreeve for this year shall keep in his custody the keys of both the heads of the conduit, and shall be ready at all times when occasion shall require to deliver the said keys to the overseers appointed for the good government of the same, and upon the repair thereof they to deliver the keys to the boroughreeve again. Keys of the conduit head.

Whereas there is two appointed for the making clean of the market place, they shall make clean weekly, not only about the conduit, but also the Fish Market to the Smithy Door, and all other places heretofore accustomed. And they to have for their pains, not only of the coopers and fishmongers, but of all others, Tax for cleaning Market-places.

of every one 1^d a quarter; and if they make default then two in their place and stead to be chosen by the jury.

New collectors. Mr. Langley, gent., Humphrey Haughton, Henry Gee, Roger Bexwicke, Richard Foxe and Christopher Downes shall gather the rest of the money for the weights, and to buy the same, and to deliver them to the market-lookers according to good orders set down aforetime.

Corn in the Market. No person shall hereafter buy any corn or grain within the liberties of this town, but within the open market. Nor shall they sell the same corn or grain so bought, in the town at any time hereafter, 20^s.

Fruit in Market. No person shall buy any fruit but upon the market-day and in the open market. And the inhabitants of the town not to buy any before nine o'clock, and strangers to be at liberty to buy at ten o'clock, and not before; sub pena one half of the fruit to be forfeited to the benefit of the lord, and the other half to the officers of the said fruit.

Hulton. Allan Hulton of Farnworth esq. departed; George Hulton his second son and heir.

Massey. Thomas Massey of Whickleswicke departed; — Massye is his daughter and heiress and under age.

Crompton. Adam Crompton departed; James Crompton is his son and heir.

Becke. Thomas Becke, the son of Nicholas Becke, is to do, &c.

Pendelton. Alis Pendleton is departed since, &c.; John Croxton is in the right of his wife Ciscelye to do, &c.

Court held Thursday 30th March, 34 Elizabeth (1592).

Langley, &c. George Hilton esq., James Crompton, Thomas Becke, Laurence Langley gent. are to come, &c.; the last for the land he holdeth in the right of Cysley his wife, each 10^s.

Haughton. Richard Haughton gent. is to come, &c. for the lands he holdeth in the right of Alys his wife, 10^s.

The myse gatherers for this year shall make their account of all Mise accounts. such money as they have received into their hands for the town's use, and all such money as they receive before 10th April, and shall pay it to the constables as heretofore accustomed, 40^s.

John Pyecrofte shall so make his chimney that it be not noi- Noisome chimney. some to the house of Ralph Orcharde before next leet, 5^s.

Ordered that all those who have stalls or standings in the mar- Stalls and standings. ket place, shall make clean and sweep the said street weekly where their stalls stand, 12^d.

Robert Janye hath 'croached upon the high street in putting up A slated pendis. a hovel or slated *pendis* [*pentis* or pent-house], to the great annoyance of passengers with loads.

Ordered that the constables shall make a pair of butts before Pair of butts. the feast of Pentecost [or Whitsuntide], 20^s.

Court held Thursday 5th October, 34 Elizabeth

(1592).

Catchpoll, Richard Dronefield.

To the usual list of officers is added an "officer for the mea- ? Aulneger. suring of cloth," perhaps the same as was styled the "Aulneger."¹⁵

¹⁵ Alneger or aulneger (Fr. *alner*, Lat. *alniger*) is properly a measurer by the *ell* (in French *aulne*). An aulneger with us is a public sworn officer of the king's, whose place it is to examine into the assize of [woollen] cloths made throughout the land, and to fix seals upon them. Another branch of his office is to collect a subsidy or aulnage duty granted to the king. He hath his power by a statute of 25 Edward III., stat. 4, cap. 1 (1351—the statute of cloths), and several other ancient statutes which appoint his fees and inflict a punishment for putting his seal to deceitful cloth. (27 Edward III., stat. 1, cap. 4, 1353, and 3 Richard II., cap. 2, 1379.) But there are now three officers belonging to the regulation of clothing, who bear the distinct names of *Searcher*, *Measurer* and *Aulneger*; all which were formerly comprised in one person. (4 *Inst.* 31.) The aulneger's fee was 1*d.* for sealing a whole cloth, or piece of cloth; a halfpenny for a half cloth. By the 8 Elizabeth, cap. 12 (1566), no person shall sell in Lancashire, or carry out of that county, any kind of cloths, cottons, frizes, or rugs, made within that county, to be sold, before the owner or maker shall put to the same a seal of lead bearing his mark engraved on one side, and the true length of every such cloth, &c., as it is found wet, engraved on the other

Patrick stone. The pavement betwixt Patrick stone and Salford-bridge is in decay and broken. Ordered that George Travis, Ralph Houlden, Robert Hardye, Ralph Sorocolde, Thomas Marcrosse, Ralph Seddon, every one shall repair anendst their own houses sufficiently before Christmas next, every one 5^s.

Hilton. George Hilton of Farneworthe Esq. is to come &c., 20s.

Anderton. Christopher Anderton Esq. departed. James Anderton Esq. is his son and heir, and at lawful age.

Ales and weddings. The officers sworn last year for ales and weddings have not done their duties, and therefore deserve to be deeply fined.

Flesh on fast days. Upon great information and sundry complaints of divers good and godly people given at this court to the jury, touching the breach of her Majesty's laws concerning the eating of flesh on Fridays and Saturdays; for better reformation thereof the jury order, that none shall be dressed on those days or eaten within the town or liberties of Manchester, under pain of 10^s for every householder so offending; and every person so taken and presented to forfeit for every time 12^d, to be paid to the lord of this manor. And the jury appoint for officers to present the same, James Radclyffe, Richard Hallywell, Robert Bridgehowse, Ralph Hawes, Robert Jannye, Adam Bowker, Robert Dykonson and George Halghe.¹⁶

side of the seal. And the queen's aulneger of the said county palatine, upon trial of the weight of every such cotton &c., shall fix thereto the queen's seal of lead, having the portoullis crowned engraved on one side, and the true weight &c. on the other, upon pain of forfeiture of such cloths &c. The queen's aulneger to have his lawful deputy within each of the towns of Manchester, Rochdale, Bolton, Blackburn and Bury, there to be ready upon lawful request to weigh every cotton (of woollen), frize and rug that shall be brought to him, sealed with the owner's or maker's seal, and to set to such the queen's seal on forfeiture of 20s. for every pack of cottons &c. sealed by the aulneger before it be weighed. The aulneger to take for the weighing and sealing of every pack 3^d., and for every piece of such coarse cloths &c. not amounting to a whole pack, a halfpenny, to be paid at the weighing and sealing. All these provisions appear to have been called for by "the practice of divers clothiers in Lancashire (says the preamble) to send clandestinely thereout its cottons, frizes and rugs, without being previously sealed by the queen's aulneger, and sometimes counterfeiting and setting to such cloths seals of their own."

¹⁶ The laws relating to fast-days, holy-days, and abstinence from eating flesh-meat,

To this court came Lawrence Langley gent., and swore fealty ^{Langley.} &c., and was admitted tenant for lands which he holds in right of

are amongst the most curious matters buried in that vast vault of things old and strange,—the statutes at large. Here is an act of parliament passed in 2 and 3 Edward VI. (1548), cap. 19, intituled “An act touching abstinence from flesh in Lent, and other usual times”:

“Albeit the king’s subjects, now having a more perfect and clear light of the Gospel and true Word of God, through the infinite mercy and clemency of Almighty God, by the hands of the king’s majesty and his most noble father of famous memory [Henry VIII.], promulgate, showed, declared and opened, and thereby perceiving that one day, or one kind of meat, of itself is not more holy, more pure, or more clean, than another; for that all days and all meats be of their nature of one equal purity, cleanness, and holiness, and that all men should by them live to the glory of God, and at all times, and for all meats, give thanks unto Him; of which meats none can defile Christian men, or make them unclean at any time, to whom all meats be lawful and pure, so that they be not used in disobedience or vice. Yet forasmuch as divers of the king’s subjects, turning their knowledge therein to satisfy their sensuality, where they should thereby increase in virtue, have of late time, more than in times past, broken and contemned such abstinence, which hath been used in this realm upon the Fridays and Saturdays, the Embring days, and other days commonly called Vigils, and in the time commonly called Lent, and other accustomed times. The king’s majesty, considering that due and godly abstinence is a mean to virtue, and to subdue men’s bodies to their soul and spirit; and considering also specially that fishers and men using the trade of living by fishing in the sea, may thereby the rather be set on work, and that by eating of fish much flesh shall be saved and increased, and also for divers other considerations and commodities of this realm,”—Doth ordain and enact, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, &c., that all manner of statutes, laws, constitutions and usages, concerning any manner of fasting or abstinence, from any kinds of meat heretofore in this realm made or used, shall from the first day of May next ensuing, lose their force and strength, and be void and of none effect,” &c. This statute then enacts that no person shall eat any flesh upon any Friday or Saturday, Embring day, in the Lent, nor in any day heretofore used commonly as a fish-day within this realm, upon pain of forfeiture of 10s. But this act shall not extend to St. Lawrence Even, St. Mark’s day, or other day or even, being abrogate.

Again, the preamble of the next statute passed on this subject (5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 3, 1552) and its first enacting clause, are sufficiently curious to be appended here:

“Forasmuch as at all times men be not so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort and hear God’s holy Word, and to come to the holy Communion, and other laudable rites, which are to be observed in every Christian congregation, as their bounden duty doth require, Therefore to call men to the remembrance of their

his wife Cicilie, one of the co-heiresses of Robert Cleyden gent. deceased.

duty, and so help their infirmity, it hath been wholesomely provided, that there should be some certain times and days appointed, wherein the Christian should cease from all other kind of labours, and should apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works, properly pertaining unto true religion; that is, to hear, to learn, and to remember Almighty God's great benefits, his manifold mercies, his inestimable gracious goodness, so plenteously poured upon all his creatures, and that of his infinite and unspeakable goodness, without any man's desert; and in remembrance hereof to render unto him most high and hearty thanks, with prayers and supplications for the relief of all our daily necessities. And because these be the chief and principal works wherein man is commanded to worship God, and do properly pertain unto the first table; therefore as these works are most commonly, and also may well be called, God's service, so the times appointed specially for the same, are called holy-days; not for the matter and nature either of the time or day, nor for any of the Saints' sake whose memories are had on those days (for so all days and times considered are God's creatures, and all of like holiness), but for the nature and condition of those godly and holy works, wherewith only God is to be honoured, and the congregation to be edified, whereunto such times and days are sanctified and hallowed; that is to say, separated from all profane uses, and dedicated and appointed, not unto any saint or creature, but only unto God and his true worship. Neither is it to be thought that there is any certain time or definite number of days prescribed in holy Scripture, but that the appointments both of the time and also of the number of days is left by the authority of God's Word to the liberty of Christ's church, to be determined and assigned orderly in every country, by the discretion of the rulers and ministers thereof, as they shall judge most expedient to the true setting forth of God's glory and the edification of their people." Be it therefore enacted &c., "that all the days hereafter mentioned shall be kept and commanded to be kept holy-days, and none other; that is to say, all the Sundays in the year, the days of the feast of the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ (January 1st), of the Epiphany (January 6th), of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (February 2nd), of St. Matthe [Matthias] the Apostle (February 24th), of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (March 25th), of St. Mark the Evangelist (April 25th), of Sts. Philip and Jacob. [James] the Apostles (May 1st), of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ (Holy Thursday, the Thursday in Rogation week), of the Nativity of St. John Baptist (June 24th), of St. Peter the Apostle (June 29th), of St. James the Apostle (July 25th), of St. Bartholomew the Apostle (August 24th), of St. Matthew the Apostle (September 21st), of St. Michael the Archangel (September 29th), of St. Luke the Evangelist (October 18th), of Sts. Simon and Jude the Apostles (October 28th), of All Saints (November 1st), of St. Andrew the Apostle (November 30th), of St. Thomas the Apostle (December 21st), of the Nativity of our Lord (December 25th), of St. Stephen the Martyr (December 26th),

*Court held Thursday 19th April, 35 Elizabeth (1593),
before WILLIAM STANYNAUGHE, Deputy Steward.*

Thurstan Heskynne departed since &c. Nicholas Heskynne is ^{Heskynne.} his son and heir, but of what age or what rent he payeth the jury

of St. John the Evangelist (December 27th), of the Holy Innocents (December 28th); Monday and Tuesday in Easter week, and Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week. [On the lowest computation, there were even in a Protestant country and time, no fewer than seventy-nine days in the year, more than *one-fifth* of the whole 365, during which it was made unlawful to do any work, or to pursue any worldly business. If the eves or vigils of feasts be added, the number of holidays in the year, in which daily labour was to be suspended, would be swelled to 104, or more than every fourth day throughout the year.] And that none other day shall be kept and commanded to be kept holy-day, or to abstain from lawful bodily labour." The second section enacts that every even or day next before any of the aforesaid feasts (except St. John the Evangelist and Sts. Philip and James) shall be fasted, and commanded to be kept and observed &c. The third authorises the punishment of offenders by the ecclesiastical law; and the fourth provides that nothing in this act shall abrogate or take away the abstinence from flesh in Lent, or on Fridays and Saturdays, or any other fast-days appointed by the former statute of the same king already quoted. Then, the statute of 5 Elizabeth, cap. 5 (1562), intituled "An act touching politic constitutions for the maintenance of the navy," in its fourteenth section enacts that, "For increase of provision of fish by the more usual and common eating thereof, be it further enacted &c. that from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the year of our Lord God 1564, every *Wednesday* in every week throughout the whole year, which heretofore hath not by laws or customs of this realm been used and observed as a fish-day, and which shall not happen to fall in Christmas week or Easter week shall be hereafter observed and kept, as the Saturdays in every week be or ought to be; and that no manner of person shall eat any flesh on the same day, otherwise than ought to be upon the common Saturday." This enactment was repealed by the statute of 27 Elizabeth (1585), cap. 11, which enacted that victuallers should utter no flesh in Lent, nor upon Fridays or Saturdays. Then by a subsequent statute, 35 Elizabeth (1593), cap. 7, sec. 22, the penalties for eating flesh on fish-days were considerably diminished. These latter statutes are, doubtless, her majesty's laws referred to in the above order of the Court Leet. The penalties for eating flesh on fish-days, by the act of 1593, were 20s. for each time, or one month's imprisonment; for every person in whose house such offence should be committed, being privy to it and not disclosing it to some public officer, 13s. 4d. Of the forfeitures, one-third went to the queen, one-third to the informer, and one-third to the common use of the parish. But there were special licenses to eat flesh, upon certain conditions, viz.: Any person of the degree

know not. He paid for arrears 2^d, by the statement of the receiver.

Walker. John Walker of Didisburys departed since &c. Thomas Walker is his son and heir and at full age, but what rent is due to the landlord the jury know not. [In margin.] He paid for arrears 12^d for a messuage in Market Stid Lane, in the occupation of Thomas Haughton, by the statement of the receiver.

Hyde.
Marler. Jane Hyde departed since &c. John Marler is her son and heir and at full age, and doth pay to the lord 16^s 5^d by the year. Sworn &c. [In margin.] He pays for arrears at the feasts of Michaelmas and the Annunciation 16^s 5^d by equal portions.

Byrom. Adam Byrom is departed since &c. Richard Byrom is his cousin and heir and of full age, and for the rent we know not. Sworn &c.

Typpinge. Richard Typpinge is departed since &c. Richard Typpinge,

of a lord of the parliament and his wife, were to pay to the poor's box of the parish wherein they were at the feast of the Purification of our Lady [February 2nd], 26^s. 8^d.: if not paid within a month, the license to be forfeited. A knight and his wife yearly, 13^s. 4^d.; and every person under the said degree, 6^s. 8^d. [These sums were then called two marks, one mark, and a noble or half a mark.] All persons enforced by notorious sickness to eat flesh for the time of their sickness, must have license thereto of the bishop, parson, vicar or curate of the parish, to endure no longer than the time of sickness, and if that continued longer than eight days, then it was to be registered in the church book with the knowledge of one of the churchwardens; the party licensed to give to the curate 4^d. for every entry. If such license were granted to any other than to such as evidently appeared to have need thereof, the license was forfeit and the cleric granting it forfeited five marks (3^l. 6^s. 8^d.) But no license extended to the eating of beef at any time of the year, nor to the eating of veal from Michaelmas (September 29th) to the 1st May. Again, licensed persons were bound to have for every one dish of flesh served to be eaten at their table, one usual dish of sea-fish, fresh or salt, to be served at the same table, and to be eaten or spent without fraud or covin, as the like kind is or shall be usually eaten or spent on Saturdays. Sick and aged persons licensed were exempt from this requirement. As to Lent, by a later statute (1 Jac. 29, 1603), butchers &c. were forbidden at any time in Lent to kill or dress, to the intent to put to sale, any ox or oxen, beeves, beevets [young oxen], hogs, calves, rams, ewes or wethers, except oxen or beeves for the victualling of ships into foreign parts, and except all flesh to be killed three days before Easter yearly, on forfeiture of such animals killed, or their value.

son of John Typpinge, is one of his heirs and under age, and Samuel Typpinge, his own son, is another heir, being of full age.

Ralphe Byrche alias Orcharde is departed since &c. Thomas Byrche alias Orcharde is his son and heir and at full age. Byrch.
Orchard.

Richard Hanson departed since &c. Edward Hanson is his son and heir and under age. Hanson.

Ralph Barton Esq. is departed since &c. Randulph Barton is his son and heir and at full age, but what he payeth the jury knoweth not. [Written in margin.] He pays for arrears for free lands in 8^l 16^s 8^d, and for a moiety of Flixton for arrears 20^d, and for lands in Lostocke 7^d. Barton.

Edward Marler hath recovered, and is in possession of, certain lands in the Mealegate, late Robert Marler's, his uncle, and is at full age. [In margin.] He pays for arrears, 12^d. Marler.

George Wyrrell departed since &c. Henry Worrall [*sic*] is his son and heir and under age, but what rent is due to the lord the jury know not. Wyrrell.

Hugh Gilliam departed since &c., but who is his next heir the jury know not. Gilliam.

Whereas there is an ancient way lying in the Deansgate betwixt the lands of Randall Becke and Michael Dicconson, lately deceased, which way is to be occupied indifferently betwixt them, as appeareth by an award made of ancient time. It is ordered that either party shall maintain with pale or hedge, their own ride, so as the lane may be kept several for their own uses, and also that either of them keep the yates according to the foresaid award from time to time, before Pentecost, each 10^s. Ancient way.
Deansgate.

Ordered that John Shacklocke nor any other person within this town shall hereafter set any swine troughs or other vessels to feed their swine in the open streets, to the annoyance of neighbours and other passengers, but shall remove the same before the 1st November, 5^s. Swine troughs.

A note of the brass weights, bought of the town charges, according to the standard, and brought into the court by Mr. Humfrey Haughton this 19 April 1593:—One brass weight of 28^{lb}, ano- Town weights
and scales.

ther of 14^{lb}, another of 4^{lb}, another of 2^{lb}, another of 1^{lb}, another of $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{lb}, another of one quarton of a lb, another of 2^{oz}, another of 1^{oz}, one $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{oz}, one $\frac{1}{4}$ ^{oz}, and two half-quarters of the oz; amounting in all to 50^{lb} weight, also one iron beam and scales of board with cords, all which cost 53^s 9^d. And was delivered to Robert Cloughe, Christopher Downes, Robert Diconson and Edward Ryecroft, market lookers, together with one old lb weight, one $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{lb} weight, and 2^{oz}, being the lord's weights.

Court held Thursday 4th October, 35 Elizabeth
(1593).

- Earl of Derby. The Right Hon. Henry Earl of Derby hath departed since &c., and the Right Hon. Ferdinando, now Earl of Derby, is his son and heir and at full age, and is to do his suit and service.¹⁷
- Culcheth. John Culcheth late of Culchethe Esq. departed since &c. John Culcheth Esq. is his son and heir and at full age.
- Platt. Richard Platt gent. departed since &c. Edmund Platt, son of John Platt, is his next heir and under age.
- Byrche. Ralph Byrche *alias* Orcharde departed since &c. Thomas Byrche *alias* Orcharde is his son and heir and at full age.
- Proudlove. George Proudlove departed since &c.; and to know his heir we crave respite until next Court Leet.
- Typpinge. Richard Typpinge departed since &c., and Samuel Typpinge is his next heir for one certain burgage.
- Ellor. Edward Ellor hath purchased a burgage of Thomas Galley and is at full age.
- Walker. John Walker departed since &c. Thomas Walker is his son and heir and at full age.

¹⁷ Henry, fourth earl of Derby, died in 1593, and was succeeded by his eldest son Ferdinando, fifth earl. It is one of the many anomalies of feudalism, that one of the greatest and most powerful nobles in the kingdom owed "suit and service" to "John Lacye, citizen and cloth-worker of London" as lord of the manor of Manchester.

James Chouretton hath given over all his title and interest in Chouretton. one burgage to George Chouretton his son, who is at full age.

Hugh Gylliam departed since &c. John Gylliam *alias* Whitle, ^{Gylliam. Whitle.} and James Gylliam *alias* Knotte, are his heirs and at full age.

John Strangwayes Esq. is son and heir to Thomas Strangwayes ^{Strangwayes.} Esq. and is at age, as appeareth by an office bearing date 20th March, 35 Elizabeth.

Adam Pilkinton gent. shall make a sufficient fence upon his ^{Pilkinton.} land in the Mylnegate, so as that it be sufficient to keep children and cattle from danger, before the feast of St. Martin, 6^s 8^d.

Whereas there hath been an ancient footway time out of mind along by the orchard of Randill Becke, into the Deansgate. ^{Deansgate.} That the owners and occupiers of those lands wherein the said heyway lieth shall lay open the said heyway according to the ancient custom before the feast of St. Martin, 6^s 8^d.

William Radclyffe gent. shall cause to be kept clean the way ^{Way to the Ackers midden.} that leadeth to the Ackres mydinge, so that the mire or dirt be not noisome &c., before St. Martin (November 11), 3^s 4^d.

Every person inhabiting within this town that keepeth swine ^{Swine straying.} shall so keep them that the swine come not within the church or church-yard at any time, nor within the Market-place during the two market days in any week, to wit Saturday and Monday, 4^d.

Thomas Goodyeare the younger hath broken an ancient order, — ^{Suing in another court.} that no burgess or townsman should sue any other, dwelling within the liberty, if the action were under 40^s, in any other court saving in the lord's of this manor. The said Thomas Goodyeare, contrary to the said order, hath sued Nicholas Mosley in Salford court, and therefore hath broken the said order.¹⁸

¹⁸ See the order of the Easter Leet of 1562 (vol. i. p. 95). But the origin of this regulation should perhaps be sought in the charter of 1301, the seventh clause in which provides that if any one shall be impleaded in the borough of any plea, he need not make answer, either to burgess or villein, save in his porte-man-mote; nor even to a vavasour, except to a plea that belongeth to the king's crown, and in one for robbery.

Court held Thursday 4th April, 36 Elizabeth
(1594).

- Proudlove. George Proudlove is departed before the last court, and George Proudlove is his son and heir and under age.
- Earl of Derby. The Right Hon. Ferdinando Earl of Derby is to come in at the next court to do &c., 10^s.
- Byre-law men. The jury confirm the order made for swine at the last Court Leet, requesting Mr. Steward to charge the *berlawmen* of every street to be careful for their own circuit, and to charge them all in general to look to the church and church-yard.
- The church-yard wall. No person shall cast any more dung over the church wall hereafter, 2^s 6^d.
- Stiles in Ashley-lane. Mr. Robert Langley hath made up two stiles in a usual highway lying by Ashley Lane, to the hindrance of the passengers: Ordered that he shall make two stiles before the feast of Philip and Jacob. (Philip and James, May 1st), 5^s.
- Hardye. William Hardye departed since &c. Robert Hardye is his eldest son and heir unto one half burgage and two closes of land in Manchester. And Henry Hardye is his heir to one clough or close in the occupation of James Lancashire, yielding to the lord 6^d yearly.
- Aynesworthe. John Aynesworthe is departed, but who is his heir we know not.
- Gerard. Sir Gilbert Gerard Knt. is departed, and Thomas Gerard Knt. is his son and heir and at full age.
- Midden nuisances. The jury finding certain places where middens are laid in this town near to the streets, and doubting the inconvenience might grow thereby, first by some negligent persons casting out *whott* ashes amongst straw, and so fire-kindling in the heat of summer, which a wind might turn to great hurt and trouble of neighbours &c. Also by letting the middens lie longer in the summer season is dangerous to the neighbours and others passing by, for fear of infection of sickness. Therefore ordered, that any keeping such

midden-steads joining to the streets, shall before Midsummer cause them carried clean away to their grounds, or land in lanes out of the town, and also before Michaelmas next carried forth again; and, minding to have a midden-stead in the same place again, shall cause stoops, rails, and pales set up no further into the street than they ought to do, to keep in the muck close, and weekly to cause some one to cast in the rubbish or muck laid without the pale, with muck-fork and shovel, that it neither be noisome summer nor winter time &c., 20^s for every one keeping the midden-steads out of order contrary to this aforesaid, specially in Hanging Ditch, Fenell Street, the north side of the church and church-yard, Market Stid Lane, or elsewhere within this town.

Ralph Sorocolde is departed since &c. Thomas Sorocolde is his ^{Sorocolde.} son, and heir to all his lands saving to one burgage, and is at full age; and John Sorocolde is his second son, and heir to one burgage lying at Smithy Door.

Robert Blomeley hath encroached upon the Queen's highway in ^{A grip-yard.} Deansgate, by making a *gryp-yard*, [^{? a seat of green turf, supported by boughs.}] Ordered that he shall reform the same and set the hedge in his proper place before Pentecost, 10^s.

Such as have any timber or wood or dung lying towards the ^{Timber.} north-east side of the church-yard wall, shall remove it before ^{Church-yard wall.} Philip and Jacob. [May 1], 5^s.

Richard Hunte, departed, hath encroached upon the lord's ^{Hunte.} waste in the Market Stid Lane.

Court &c. of JOHN LACY Esq., Lord of this Manor of Manchester, held at Manchester on Thursday 3rd October, 36 Elizabeth (1594).

Whereas there was an order made 7th Elizabeth [1565] by the ^{Inviters to dinners.} jury at the Leet Court then holden, with the consent of the Right Hon. Edward Earl of Derby, concerning wedding dinners and ales, and also the invitours to either of them; which the jury request

to be read with the penalties therein contained; the which order was by another jury in part confirmed in 31st Elizabeth (1589) and in part amended; the which order the jury wish to be published and read, and do confirm the same to be in full force after 20th October next. And also that no man shall request or invite to any ales, neither any person (being invited) to go to them, 6s 8d. The jury have promised to perform the same, requesting all the inhabitants to join with them in the same promise.

Swineherd.

Whereas there are divers inconveniences by keeping of swine, going abroad in the church and church-yard, also in the Market-place and all other streets &c. Ordered that no persons shall suffer their swine to go abroad &c. but shall keep them in within themselves, or else procure for themselves one *swyneyard* [swineherd] to drive them to the common of Colyhurst as in time past it hath been accustomed, before St. Martin [November 11], for every swine 6d, 4d thereof to the lord and 2d to the swineherd towards his maintenance. And also that every person having any swine-cote in the street or towards the street side, shall remove the same before St. Martin, 10s.

A cart-gate in
Deansgate.

Whereas we the jury are credibly informed that there hath been a cart-gate (the one wheel going in the ditch) betwixt the lands of Robert Hulme gent. and Richard Shalcrosse, lying in the Deansgate, we find that the said way is straitened by ditching and other ways by Robert Blomeley, to the hindrance of the said Richard Shalcrosse.

Suds, &c.

Robert Marshall shall not cast any suds or bloody water on his back side to pass through the water course &c., 3s 4d.

Becke.

Thomas Becke gent. departed, and Robert Becke is his brother and next heir, and under age.

Wetting cloth.

Whereas the widow of Edmund Borowe hath heretofore annoyed the neighbours and passengers by *weeting* [wetting or whiteing] her cloth with noisome or contagious matter, as well by night as by day; ordered that she shall not use the same at any time &c., 3s 4d.

Court held Thursday, April 24th, 37 Elizabeth
(1595).

John Gilliam *alias* Whitle departed since &c. James Gilliam Gilliam. Whitle. is his next heir and at full age, and ought to do &c. for his lands in Market Stid Lane.

Mr. Leonard Ashall of the Shawe is departed since &c., but Ashawe. who is his next heir we know not.

John Ainsworthe is departed heretofore, and one Robert Ains- Ainsworthe. worthe is his cousin and next heir.

Thomas Haryson *alias* Slater of Stretford is departed since &c. Haryson. Slater. is his son and heir and under age.

Alexander Radclyffe is at lawful age and payeth 6^d per annum Radclyffe. and paid 6^d for relief, and is sworn &c.

The Right Hon. Ferdinando Earl of Derby is heretofore de- Earl of Derby. parted, and the Right Hon. William, now Earl of Derby, is his brother and heir, and is to come &c.¹⁹

As to swine [after reciting the order of the last leet] the jury Swine. further order that every offender shall forfeit 20^s. And such as wilfully contemn the order, and suffer their swine to go at large, unringed and unyoked, so that no person can keep any lawful hedge, shall pay for every such swine 12^d for every time. The bylawmen to put this order in execution after the 4th May next.

The jury order that from this day forthwith no person shall use Bowling. any bowls or bowling within this town or the liberties of the same, or throw any bowl about the streets or within the town or churchyard, 6^s 8^d.²⁰

¹⁹ Ferdinando, fifth earl of Derby, did not possess his earldom long. Succeeding in 1593, he died in 1595 of an illness which some declared to be the result of poison, and others of witchcraft. He was succeeded by his younger brother William, sixth earl, known as "the Traveller."

²⁰ The statute of 23 Henry VIII., cap. 9 (1541), declares bowls to be an unlawful game; and imposes penalties on any one keeping for hire in his house or premises a bowling-alley. No private person was permitted to play at bowls in any place beyond

Draff, grains,
bran.

No person inhabiting within this town of Manchester, or the precincts thereof, shall sell any draff, grains or bran by any other measure than only the measure that they buy their corn by, 6^s 8^d.

Stile in Ashley
Lane.

Randall Massye hath made and stopped up a stile in a usual way lying by Ashley-lane, to the hindrance of the passengers both to the church and the market. To be laid open and a stile set before 4th June next, 5^s.

No road.
Parsonage stile.

The tenants of Alexander Radclyffe inhabiting on the land that was late John Davies and George Travis, in the right of Anne his wife, shall not have any usual footway through the fields of Richard Foxe, neither in the right of their landlord nor themselves; notwithstanding the said Richard Foxe is contented at the request of the jury to permit the said tenants to go along the hedge side, keeping the footway, towards the Parsonage-stile, for their fetching of water from the river; the said Alexander Radclyffe paying yearly to Richard Foxe a penny a year, and the same way to continue by his sufferance until they shall wilfully annoy the same Richard Foxe, and then to forego the same.

Attendance at
Leet.

The jury considering the great disorder committed both by the burgesses and burgess-tenants in the manner of their appearance at the lord's leet, for that some of them appear and then depart without license, before that the court be ended, or that they be otherwise discharged by license of Mr. Steward; and others very contemptuously do not appear at all, to the evil ensample of others, and neglecting of their duties, — Do therefore order that every burgess that shall not make his appearance in dutiful manner, unless he shall have lawful occasion to the contrary, and such as shall be allowed by Mr. Steward, shall forfeit to the lord 12^d, and every burgess [burgage] tenant 6^d for every Leet Court that he shall so offend.

Wedding dinners.

Ordered that no person inhabiting within this town shall take

his garden or orchard. The game, however unlawful, became popular, and when bowling-alleys were closed, the people took to playing in the fields and open spaces of the town, and even in the streets and the churchyard. Hence the order in the text.

or make any wedding-dinners contrary to the orders heretofore set down, viz. that they shall not take, nor any lay [out] above 6^d at the same dinners, 20^s; the officers appointed at the last Leet Court to present the offenders.

Court held Thursday 2nd October, 37 Elizabeth
(1595).

[To the list of officers are added: "Officers for the mastiff dogs Officers for dogs. that go in the streets unmuzzled and not sufficiently muzzled," viz. 2 for Mylnegate, 2 for Fenel Street, Hanging Ditch and Withengrave, 2 for the Mealegate and both the Market Stids, 2 for the Market Stid Lane, 2 for the Smithy Door, and 2 for the Deansgate. There were also twelve officers appointed "for the overseeing of them that put butter or suet in cakes." Overseers of cakes."]

No man shall sell any corn in any house upon the market day, Corn &c. but shall bring it into the open market, and neither open any sack nor make any price of the said corn and grain, until the market bell be rung, 20^s.

No man that bringeth corn or grain into this market and shall Regrating. leave any unsold in the same market, shall set any of the said corn or grain in any house, shop or warehouse within the town, but shall carry it forth of the said town, upon pain, every householder or shopkeeper so retaining any corn &c., 20^s.

That the poor inhabitants of the town shall be served before the The poor first. hucksters and bakers, at the discretion of the market-lookers.²¹

That no person shall put any butter or suet in any cakes or Butter and Suet in cakes.

²¹ The whole tenor of Court Leet law, here and elsewhere, was to create a monopoly of privileges for the burgesses and inhabitants of a town, as against country dealers, outside or foreign merchants, and even as against those of their own body who dealt in provisions of any kind. They especially regarded all kinds of middlemen, persons buying to sell again, as unlawful dealers; and we here see that the poor were to be supplied with corn, flour, bread, &c., before the hucksters or the bakers, trading in these necessities.

bread, upon pain of 20^s for every time so offending. No baker or other person whatsoever shall bake or suffer to be baked any such cakes or bread in their houses or elsewhere, upon pain of 20^s for every time. No person shall sell any such cakes or bread, wherein any butter or suet is put, within this town or liberties, 20^s. The jury agree that this order made for cakes and bread shall begin and take place upon Wednesday next, being the 8th day of this present October 1595.²²

Gorse and kids.

All gorse and *kiddes* to be removed before the 1st December, 30^s.

Constables' accounts.

The jury order that the old constables shall make account to the new constables within fifteen days after Michaelmas last; and that from henceforth the old constables shall bring their accounts with their presentment to the jury always in the open Leet Court holden at Michaelmas, 40^s.

Sir Robert Cecil.
Withington.

Nicholas Langford Esq. hath sold to the Hon. Sir Robert Cycell [Cecil] Knt. and to Mr. Hugh Byston Esq. et alias, the lordship of Withington, and that the said Sir Robert Cycell and the said Hugh Byston et alias are to come &c.²³

²² See vol. i. *note* 96, p. 92, on this subject. This order shows that the liking for butter-cakes could not be restrained by leet enactment. Here a penalty of 20s. (a very heavy one at that period) is imposed on every private person who ventures to put any butter or suet into cakes or bread for his own eating! Bakers are prohibited not only from making such themselves, but from baking such bread made by others. Any one selling such is subject to a like penalty.

²³ The statement that Nicholas Langford sold the lordship [or *mesne manor*] of Withington about the year 1595 is at variance with the statement in the Rev. J. Booker's *History of the Ancient Chapel of Didsbury* (p. 112), that the manor of Withington remained in the family of Langford or Longford, "until the close of the sixteenth century, when it passed by purchase to Sir Nicholas Mosley Knt." This Nicholas Langford was the last heir male of the family, and he died without issue in 1610. The Court Leet record in the text shows that he sold the lordship sixteen years before his death. The purchaser, Sir Robert Cecil, was the only son of the great Lord Burghley by his second wife Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke of Gidea Hall in Essex. From the death of Walsingham in 1590, Sir Robert, with the aid and direction of his father, fulfilled the duties of principal secretary of state, to which office he was not formally appointed till 1596. In 1597 Queen Elizabeth conferred

Oswald Moseley hath purchased the Garrett of Sir Thomas ^{Mosley.} Gerrarde Knt., and the said Oswald is to come &c.; but what rent ^{The Garratt.} is due to the lord we know not.²⁴

Nicholas Jepson departed since &c. Robert Jepson is his son Jepson. and heir, and at lawful age.

George Streete of Moston is departed, and who is his heir we ^{Streete.} know not.

The *berlawmen* in the Mylnegate have made no presentment to ^{Byrelawmen.} the jury, therefore the jury doth fine them in 10^s, viz. either 5^s.

The *berlawmen* in the Deansgate have suffered swine to go up and down the street unyoked, therefore the jury refer the same to the amercement of the affeerors.

The jury order that the executors or administrators of James ^{Dauntesey's} Radclyffe deceased, or Nicholas Baguley if he enjoy the lease of ^{land.} the house in Fenel-street said to be of Mr. Daunteseye his land, or ^{Fennel Street.} whosoever hath the right unto that house and enjoyeth the same, shall make up the pale betwixt the same house and middenstead and the backside of the house that Adam Bowker now dwelleth in, before 1st December next, 10^s.

on him the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster; but though high in Elizabeth's favour, and her chief minister after Burghley's death, he possessed no higher title during her reign than that of a knight bachelor. But in the years 1603, 1604 and 1605, James I. created him successively Baron Cecil, Viscount Cranbourne and Earl of Salisbury.

²⁴ Garratt Hall, in the street formerly called "The Old Garratt," was an ancient wood-and-plaster house of considerable size, with numerous gables and tall chimneys, and its remains stood till a few years ago, being occupied by a number of poor families in several ruinous tenements. In the fourteenth century it was the seat of a branch of the Trafford family; and may perhaps have passed by Margaret, daughter of Sir Edmund Trafford, to her third husband Sir Thomas Gerard, of the Bryn family. The last heir male of this branch of the Traffords, Ralph Trafford, died about 1555. In 1596 Oswald Mosley of Manchester, clothier, third son of Edward Mosley of Hough End, purchased Garratt Hall, according to one account, from Thomas Lord Gerard; but, according to the Court Leet record, from Sir Thomas Gerard Knt. It may be that Thomas Gerard of Gerard's Bromley, county of Stafford, bought it, and was afterwards, in July 1603, created Baron Gerard.

Court held Thursday 15th April, 38 Elizabeth
(1596).

- Byrche.** Mr. Thomas Byrche of the Byrche is departed since &c. George Byrche is his son and heir.
- Chetham.** Samuel Chetham hath bought lands of Richard Awyn. [? Owen.]
- Ellor.** Edward Ellor departed since &c. William Ellor is his son and heir and under age.
- Gylliam.** John Gylliam departed since &c. Caleb Taylier hath married his cousin and heir, and is &c.
- Southworth.** Sir John Soothworthe knt. departed &c. Thomas Soothworth Esq. is his son and heir and at lawful age.
- Assheton.** John Assheton departed since &c., and his heir we know not.
- Foreigners to the Old Market.** Whereas divers foreigners have set stalls afore divers shops in the town, to the great hurt of the inhabitants; the jury order that from henceforth the boroughreeve shall place them in the *Old Market* Place by his discretion. 5^s for every one that will not be so placed.
- The Asheleys.** Mr. Robert Langley gent. hath not set two sufficient stiles in the Asheleys adjoining to the highway, therefore he is to set two stiles before 1st May, 40^s.
- Toad Lane.** No manner of person shall make any midden in the Toade Lane, and that that is there now shall be removed by 1st June, 10^s.
- The Within-greave.** There be three middens or dunghills in the Withingreave now in the holding of John Houlte, Robert Ouldham, and William Heape. To be removed before 1st June next, 5^s.
-

urt Leet with view of Frank-pledge and Court Baron of the Right Worshipful, (" Venerabilis Viri,")
 NICHOLAS MOSELEY, Esq., Citizen and Alderman of London, Lord of his Manor of Mamecester alias Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, held at Manchester on the last day of September, 38 Elizabeth (1596).

In the list of officers appointed, eight are "to see the order
 yed for ales and weddings, and eating of flesh upon Fridays
 l Saturdays;" and twelve others "for the overseeing of them
 t put butter, cream, or suet in cakes." Officers for
eating &c.

Adam Pilkinton of Salford gent. is deceased since &c., and Pilkinton.
 am Pilkinton is his son and heir and of lawful years, and is to
 &c. for half a burgage at the Shudehill, and to pay yearly to the
 d for the same 6^d. William Pilkinton, Thomas Pilkinton and
 ward Pilkinton, younger sons of Adam Pilkinton deceased, are
 do &c. for one burgage in the Mynegate, to wit, three cottages,
 : tan-house and one parcel of land, during their three lives, and
 : longest liver of them three, and to pay unto the lord yearly for
 : same lands 12^d. Adam Pilkinton sworn &c. and paid for
 ief 18^d.

John Asheton is deceased since &c. John Asheton and James Asheton.
 heton are his joint heirs and under age and pay yearly 12^d.

George Byrche of Byrche Hall gent. is to come &c. Sworn &c. Byrche.
 l paid for relief 2^s.

Francis Pendelton is at age, but what rent is due to the lord we Pendelton.
 ow not.

The jury find that all the lands within this manor which John Cowpe's lands.
 wpe died seised of, is now come to be the inheritance of William
 dclyffe, Roger Bexwicke and George Byrche, and that all rents
 e unto the lord for the same land is to be paid by them.

The officers appointed concerning ales and weddings shall also Flesh on fast
days.

inquire and make diligent search in inns, alehouses, and all other houses in the town whatsoever, that there be no flesh dressed or eaten upon Fridays and Saturdays, contrary to her majesty's laws in [that] case provided.

Neighbours'
differences.

The jury have agreed that touching encroachments and other difficulties betwixt neighbour and neighbour, that they will meet again together on Tuesday next at Mr. Bexwicke his house, and there they will be ready to hear their complaints and to take order therein by nine o'clock of the same day.

Clough house.

Thomas Goodyear the elder hath encroached on the lord's waste in setting a pale before his midden against a house commonly called Cloughe House. Ordered to be set in the old place before the Purification, 10^s.²⁵

Encroachments
on the Irk.

The jury find that there is divers encroachments upon the river of Erke, betwixt the mill in the occupation of Jervis Travis and a mylne in the occupation of Robert Langley commonly called the *nar* mylne [*i.e.* near or nigher; Chaucer has "*nar*."] To be amended before Easter.²⁶

Grinding-house,
Collyhurst.

Henry Adamson doth pay to the lord 6^d a year for his grinding-house upon Colehyrst.

All to aid the
Constables.

The jury order that every inhabitant within this town shall be ready at the constables' commandment, either day or night, to aid the constables in her majesty's service, as they will avoid the danger that may ensue.

²⁵ In March 1600, in an entry in the Court Leet book, "the Ould Clough House" is described as being "over anendst the church."

²⁶ There is some difficulty in identifying the mill in the occupation of Jervis Travis. In 1592 the feoffees of the Grammar School exhibited a bill in the Duchy Court against one Anthony Travis, for erecting a horse-mill within the town, and the court in May 1593 decreed and ordered that all burgesses and inhabitants should grind their corn and malt at the School Mills. But this horse-mill would not be on the Irk, as it was not worked by water-power. The *nar* or nigher mill would probably be that numbered 3 in the plan in vol. i., the Walke or Fulling mill in the Walkers'-croft.

*Court held Thursday last day of March, 39 Elizabeth
(1597).*

The heir of Randle Haworthe is at age, for his lands in Sharpulls Haworth.
and is &c.

The heir of Richard Streete is at age, for his lands in Moston Streete.
and is &c.

James Crompton is at age and is to do as above said. Crompton.

George Aynesworth is at age and is &c. Aynesworth.

John Hunte is at age, for his lands in Manchester and is &c. Hunte.

Robert Robynson is at age, for his lands in Manchester and is Robynson.
&c.

Robert Sydall, son of Robert Sydall, is at age and is &c. Sydall.

The heir of Thurstan Heskyn of Wayghtington [Wrightington] Heskyn.
is under age.

Lamwell [? Lemuel, or Launcelot] Openshawe is at age, for his Openshawe.
lands in Sharpulls and is &c.

Leonard Ashawe is at age, for his lands in Flixton and is &c. Ashawe.

William Nicolson of Moston is at age and is &c. Nicolson.

Edward Chisnoll is at age and is &c. Chisnoll.

The heirs of Geoffrey Hall are under age. Hall.

Francis Pendilton to come in &c. Pendilton.

Thomas Southworth Esq. to come in &c., 20^s. Southworth.

Ordered that John Baxter of Rachedale, Richard Horton of Stalls removed.
Warrington, and Henry Shakeshafte of Warrington, shall remove
their stalls into the old Market place by the discretion of the
boroughreeve before May Day, 5^s each.

James Baguley and Randle Mylles have encroached upon the Irk river.
river of Irke: to be laid out before St. Bartholomew [August 25],
6^s 8^d each.

We order that the boroughreeve for this year, Oswald Moseley A scale or flesh board.
Esq., shall remove the scale or flesh board now in the occupation
of Robert Barlowe jun. quite away within ten days, and that no
more shall be set there during the time of his office, 20^s. We

desire Mr. Steward to see this order performed, according to a letter subscribed by the lord of this manor, and sent to the said steward, concerning the reformation of the said scale, bearing date the 25th February 1596.

Encroachments
viewed.

5th April, 1597. These are the names of the jury that viewed the encroachments of Roger Smyth, John Chetham, and others: [nine of the jury.]

Smyth's encroachment.

In the orchard: In the north end a yard broad. In the middle anendst the barn, two yards broad. In the south end by the bowking-house,²⁷ three yards broad. In length, directly from the north to the bowking-house, forty-eight yards, or thereabouts. From the foundation of the bridge directly to the south end of the garden, thirty-two yards; and in breadth, three yards.

Chetham's encroachment.

In length, sixteen yards; in breadth, two yards, or thereabouts.

The jury order that George Traves shall cleanse and ditch his ditch from the north end of his barn in Emontont Lane [? Hamond or Beamond, Tanner's Lane], all along to the Mylners Lane, by the Nativity of St. John Baptist [June 24th], 10^s.²⁸

No person shall get any clay in the Withengreave in any part of the lane, till they come to the Shudehill, and not to get any in that lane within ten yards of the causeway, 5^s.

²⁷ In bleaching, the steeping of calico in alkaline leys, as practised in the middle of the last century, was called *bowking* or *bucking*, from *buc*, a wooden bowl or vessel; hence *buck*-basket, *bucket*, &c. Here it may only mean a wash-house or laundry.

²⁸ The lane here called Emontont, is most probably the same with that called variously in the Rental of 1473 Gonum-tonce and Emo'-taner. It seems to be what was afterwards called Tanners'-lane, leading from a tan-yard near the Milners'-lane to the Tanners'-bridge on the site of the present Ducie-bridge. (See plan, vol. i.) The first part of the name has perhaps been the surname of the tanner who carried on his business there, and it may have been some such name as Hamond or Eamond, — whence Hamond Tanner's-lane. But this is only conjecture.

Memorandum: 13th June 1597, 39 Elizabeth. We of the jury ^{A barn.} whose names are subscribed did view the getting-up of a new barn erected by Samuel Goodyer in the Deansgate, upon his lands there adjoining to the lands of John Ashton and James Ashton, sons of John Ashton deceased. And by the consent of the said Thomas Goodyer and widow Ashton, mother of the said John and James Ashton, it is ordered and agreed that it shall be lawful for the said John and James Ashton and their heirs, at any time hereafter to pull down the wall in the end of their barn and to join their barn to the said new barn of Thomas Goodyer, and the walls of Thomas Goodyer's barn to serve as a division and defence for both barns. [Signed by four jurors.]

*Court held Thursday, 6th October, 39 Elizabeth
(1597).*

George Byrche is son and heir to John Byrche deceased, and at Byrche.
full age.

Henry Aynesworth departed since &c. Henry Aynesworth is ^{Aynesworth.}
his son and heir and at full age.

Thomas Lathom of Platte Esq. deceased since &c. Richard ^{Lathom.}
Lathom is his son and heir and at full age.

Thomas Syddall is deceased, and Richard Syddall is his son and ^{Syddall.}
heir, but of what age the jury know not.

Samuel Chetham hath bought one burgage with the appur- ^{Chetam.}
tenances of Caleb Taylier and Cycelye his wife, and 5^d rent is due
to the lord; which burgage is in Mylnegate.

Richard Nugente hath purchased two messuages or tenements, ^{Nugente.}
one barn, two gardens, one orchard, one acre of land, one half-acre
of meadow, and one half-acre of pasture, with the appurtenances,
lying by the Mylne-bridge, of John Bexwicke and Elizabeth his
wife.

The jury order that no *swaller* that is a foreigner, nor any other ^{Swallers.}
stranger, shall sell or measure any corn, upon any other day than

upon the Saturday and Monday, and that to be after the bell ring, 20^s.²⁹

A would-be
Burgess.

The jury request that whereas Richard Story desireth to be found burgess in the right of Joan his wife, and sheweth them no sufficient deed to induce them thereunto, therefore they desire respite till the next leet.

Regrating white
meat.

No person, either inhabitant or foreigner, shall buy any butter or cheese, or other white meat or victual, to sell the same by retail the same day in open market, 6^s 8^d. The officers for white meat now to be sworn to be overseers to present the said defaults.³⁰

Mise gatherers.

Whereas the jury have elected and chosen Reynold Parkinson and Anthony Shepparde to the office of myse-gatherers for this year, and that the said Reynold Parkinson hath been from home, and the said Anthony Shepparde being at home was warned to be here on the 13th October, to which day the Leet Court was first adjourned, at which day he came not, and therefore Mr. Steward hath imposed a fine of 20^s upon his head, which we wish may be estreated and collected. Therefore we make choice again of the said Reynold Parkinson and Anthony Shepparde to be myse-gatherers, and order that the said Reynold shall repair to Mr. Steward or his deputy or to the clerk of the court before Monday next to take his oath, 40^s. Anthony Shepparde in like manner &c. within three days after his return from London, 40^s.

Quarrels settled.

The jury give all the inhabitants to understand, that if there be any special annoyance betwixt neighbour and neighbour, let them repair to the foreman and he will call six more of the jury to him and set down order for the same, as effectually as though the same were done [by the whole jury.]

Tenants
admitted.

Robert Syddall sworn and admitted tenant. Henry Aynesworth

²⁹ The *swaller* or *swaler* was a sort of corn-dealer, or rather one who bought corn and converted it into meal before he sold it again. By the order it would appear that sometimes the swalers sold corn again without grinding it.

³⁰ What are now termed white-meats are the flesh of young animals, as veal or lamb, and also pork. But formerly the term seems to have included poultry, butter, cheese, &c.

the like. John Hunte the like, and paid relief immediately after the death of his father.

Court held 20th April, 40 Elizabeth (1598).

William Woode departed since &c., and by his last will he did Woode. give to Margaret Woode his wife, all his burgage and lands in Manchester during her life, and after her decease to Ralph Woode his nephew during his life, and after his decease the remainder to Ralph Woode son unto the said Ralph, his heirs &c. for ever; which said Ralph the son is about 4½ years of age, and is &c. when he cometh to age.

Richard Moreton departed since &c. Richard Moreton is son Moreton. and heir and is &c.

George Streete is departed, and he conveyed his lands by fine to Streete. — daughter of Richard Ogdeyn of Moston, who now is married to Robert Kenyon.

Thomas Haryson *alias* Salter departed, and his son and heir is Haryson. Salter. under age.

Francis Pendilton is at age and is &c., 10^s Pendilton.

Samuel Chetam departed since &c. Amos Chetam, his son and Chetam. next heir, is under age.

Thomas Brownesword is at age and is &c. Brownesword.

George Byrche is &c., 2^s. Byrche.

Richard Latham of Perbald [Parbold] is at full age and is Lathom. &c., 5^s.

Thomas Syddall is deceased, and Richard Syddall is his son and Syddall. heir, but of what age we know not.

Richard Storye, who married Joan the daughter of Margaret Storye. Hardy, cousin and next heir of Ellis Hall, is &c., 5^s.

The jury find that five trees are cut down in Alport Lane, upon Trees cut down. the lord's waste; but who cut them down we know not.

The skevengers for the Deansgate have not done their duty in Bad scavengers. making their presentment for the amending of the broken pave-

ment anendst the lands of John Hunte gent. in the Deansgate. The jury think the officers in neglect should be fined at the discretion of the affeerors of this court and that the said John Hunte shall repair the broken pavement before St. John Baptist, 5^s.

Stile, Newton-lane.
Rushy field.

Whereas there was a stile of old time leading out of Newton Lane into Rishie Field, of the land late of the inheritance of John Bouth Esq., now in the occupation of George Byrche, which stile is now removed and the hedge ditched up, to the noysance and great trouble of the passengers and ill example of others. Ordered that a good stile shall be set up, for passengers to pass and repass, as they have usually done time out of mind, before 10th May, 10^s.

The Cock Pit.

Thomas Beamond hath made an encroachment at the Cock Pit upon the lord's waste. To be taken away before the last day of May, 10^s.

Robynson.
Common oven.

Robert Robynson sworn &c. for one burgage in the Mylnegate, and pays the lord yearly for the same and a common oven [*furno*] 7^s 8^d.

Setting mere-stakes.

Memorandum: That 18th May, 40 Elizabeth, we of the jury did assemble in the Deansgate to view a new building erected by Robert Dickenson, of the inheritance of John Strangwayes gent. upon the west part of the Deansgate; and find it is not set so far forth into the field at the south end of the same building, as the inheritance of the said John Strangwayes doth extend itself, by 3 feet 10 inches; which 3 feet 10 inches doth directly answer to the hedge and ditch, to prove the said ditch and hedge to be upon the lands of John Strangwayes; and we have set down certain stakes which *meyre* out the said lands justly to our knowledge; not to be removed, 5^s.³¹

³¹ A *mere* (Anglo-Saxon, *gemara*) is a boundary or limit. To mere out is to set boundaries, and these might be by trees, ditches, hedges, pales, stakes or stones. Here the jury, having ascertained the true boundary between the lands of two burgesses, cause stakes to be driven into the ground, to mark the line of such boundary.

Court held 5th October, 40 Elizabeth (1598).

To the officers are added four "to present all those that forstale Forestallers. [forestal] the market in buying butter, cheese, eggs, and other victuals, by the whole and sell it again by retail, at the Smithy Door, or any other place in the open market."

Richard Syddall son of Thomas Syddall late of Bramall defunct, Syddall. sworn &c. for land in Moston, and pays yearly 2^{1d}.

The constable of Horwich presented these persons for tything- Tything-men, men [*decennarii*] whose names are subscribed: [six names.] Horwich.

Robert Pendilbury of Horwich, and Giles Grundy of Ashley, Oath of alle- in the parish of Leigh [*? Astley*], sworn for allegiance to the giance. Queen.

Edmund Prestwich of Hulm Esq. departed since &c. Prestwich. Edmund Prestwich, his son and heir and of lawful years, is &c., 10^s.

Ralph Byrom departed since &c. Ralph Byrom is his son and Byrom. heir and under age.

Humfrey Haughton departed since &c. Humfrey Haughton, Haughton. his son and heir, is at full age and is &c.

Henry Gee is departed since &c. Edward Gee, his son and Gee. heir, is at full age and is &c.

Henry Allyn departed since &c. George Allyn, his son and Allyn. heir, is under age.

Francis Wyrall departed since &c, and Edward Wyrall, his Wyrall. son and heir, is under age.

John Croxton departed since &c., and the [e]state of inheritance Croxton. resteth in his wife to our knowledge.

Richard Chouretton hath purchased of his father James Choure- Chouretton. ton a certain burgage or tenement in the Mylnegate, now in the occupation of John Leese, and is &c.

Henry Hardye hath purchased of Richard Storye and Joane his Hardye. wife a burgage or tenement, late Ellis Hall's, and is &c.

Francis Nuttall is dead, and Asheton Nuttall is his son and heir Nuttall. and of full age and is &c., 10^s.

The jury, in regard of an order beforetime made, have removed Fleshboard removed.

the fleshboard of Robert Barlow the younger, and order that none hereafter shall set any fleshboards there, but the room shall stand void for ever hereafter.

Lymer-hurste. Richard Shalcrosse of Lymer-hurste shall mend the causeway before his lands in the upper end of the Deansgate along the way by Fishhouse and others, before 1st November, 5^s.

Old place for the Cuckstool. The jury order and find that the old accustomed place is most convenient for the cookestoole to stand in, and that Mr. William Radclyffe shall lay open the place again, according as heretofore it hath been used, before Christmas next, 20^s.³²

Bread. Market Cross, Smithy Door. All those that sell bread in the market near unto the Cross shall from henceforth refrain from selling any more bread there, but shall bring their bread unto the Smithy Door to be sold, according to the ancient custom, for every time 12^d.

Daub &c. Pinfold and Shudehill. Neither *doobe* [daub] nor clay shall be gotten betwixt the Pinfold and the Shudehill, 3^s 4^d. [An officer sworn 18th October to enforce this order.]

Court held Thursday 12th April, 41 Elizabeth
(1599).

Shaclock. Margaret Shaclock widow hath purchased of George Travys two closes and one barn in the upper end of Market Stid Lane, whereof rent issuing to the lord of the manor is 3^s 8^d.

Hardie. Robert Hardie departed since &c. Samuel Hardie, eldest son and heir and of full age, but what rent is paid to the lord we know not.

Becke. Randall Becke departed since &c. Robert Becke, his brother and next heir, is under age.

³² After the old pool, the moat of Radcliffe Hall, had become too shallow for ducking a woman over-head, the cuck-stool was removed to the Horse-pool at the upper end of the then Market Stid Lane; but the jury, having probably received complaints of the new place, now order Mr. William Radcliffe, of Radcliffe Hall, to lay open the ditch or moat, so as to enable the authorities to duck women at the old accustomed place.

Whereas there is a controversy depending betwixt George Travys and the widow of Michael Dickenson, concerning the use and occupation of a lane in the upper end of the Deansgate leading into the Further Acars, which is far straitened upon the side of the lane belonging to Robert Becke, in the occupation of the said George Travys, contrary to an ancient order made in the reign of Edward VI. to us the jurors shewed. Ordered that the side of the lane belonging to Robert Becke shall be so far laid out as that people may pass in cart and carriage into the said Acres, as hath been accustomed; before Trinity Sunday, 5^a.

*Court held Thursday 4th October, 41 Elizabeth
(1599).*

Nicholas Hartleye hath purchased two several burgages of Henry, Samuel and Robert Hardye, and is admitted tenant, and is &c. Hartleye.

Richard Byrom departed since &c. Richard Shalcrosse hath married his sister and heir, and is his next cousin and heir, and is &c. Byrom.

Sir Alexander Radclyffe Knt. departed since &c. Sir John Radclyffe Knt. is his next brother and heir and is under age. Radcliffe.

Thomas Goodyeare is departed since &c., and Robert Goodyeare, his son, is his next heir and under age. Goodyeare.

William Radcliffe and John Hunte and one Richard Smethurste shall make a sufficient pavement auendst every of their own lands upon both sides of the Bouthes, so as the water may have his due course, before Christmas &c., 20^a. Pavement near the Booths.

Whereas the common weights and measures were bought and provided for the trial of all other weights and measures, from henceforth it shall be lawful for every person to have access to the common weights and measures, as well to try their weights and measures, as also to make new weights and measures by; and that Access to town weights &c.

the market lookers for the time being shall be ready to see the same so tried and made, upon lawful demand.

Court with view of Frank-pledge and Court Leet with Court Baron of the Worshipful [honorabilis viri] NICHOLAS MOSLEY, Lord Mayor of the city of London, and Lord of Manchester, County of Lancaster, his Manor; held at Manchester, Thursday 27th March, 42 Elizabeth (1600).

- Streete. William Streete is at full age and is &c., 10^s.
 Ravalde. William Ravalde is at full age &c., 10^s.
 Radcliffe. William Radclyffe gent. departed since &c. William Radclyffe, son and heir, at full age, is &c.
 Hardye. William Hardye hath purchased one burgage of Samuel Hardye and is at full age, and is &c.
 Bexwicke. Roger Bexwicke is departed since &c. Roger Bexwicke of London, salter, is his next cousin [*i.e.* kinsman] and heir for a burgage lying in the Fenel Street now in the occupation of Edward Mayes. Sworn &c. Hugh Bexwicke is his son and heir by his last will for one burgage in the St. Marygate, now in the occupation of Robert Rodley; and Myles Bexwicke is his son and heir by his last will for another burgage in the Market Stid, now in the occupation of John Wytton, shoemaker, and that every of them be at full age and are to come &c. and to pay to this jury the fee due and accustomed, 10^s.³³

³³ This record supplies a few links in the genealogy of the Bexwickses or Beswickses, an old local family. A Richard Bexwicke the elder had a daughter Elizabeth, living in 1479, who married Ralph, son of Geoffrey Hulme, living 1482. A Roger Bexwick had three sons, Richard, called the younger, who was a chaplain, and is said to have built the North stalls in the cathedral choir, and also Jesus chapel (now the Byrom chapel and parish registry); Edward and Ralph; and a daughter who married John Cowope or Cowpe, who died about 1596; one of his three heirs was a Roger Bex-

The jury find that Adam Smythe should make a ditch along the nearer Alporde Field, so as the water may have free passage, for the amendment of the highway, as also to cleanse them through anendst Alporde stile, so that the water may pass under John Gee his platting and along his hedge, and have his fall betwixt Adam Smythe, his barn end, and the pale belonging to the parke, &c.,
10^a.

"Ould Cloughe House" is described as "over anendst the church."
Clough House.

Court held Thursday 2nd October, 42 Elizabeth
(1600).

Catchpoll, Charles Duckyt.

In the list of officers are four "to present all those that forestall the market, or regrating the market in buying butter, eggs, cheese, or any other victuals or fowle, nuts or any other kind of fruits, by the whole, and sell the same by retail."
Forestalling and regrating.

The principal streets &c. of Manchester at the close of the 16th century appear, from the lists of officers, to have been: The old
Chief Streets.

wicke. Richard the younger's will is dated September 1534. His sole daughter and heir, Isabel, married Richard Becke, by whom she had a daughter Ciceley, who married Francis Pendleton. Isabel was a widow in 1562; she gave Jesus chapel to her daughter and her son-in-law Pendleton. Isabel seems also to have founded the Manchester conduit (see vol. i. p. 126, note 30). Amongst the founders of the Manchester Grammar school, were Hugh Bexwicke chaplain, and Joan Bexwicke, widow of — Bexwicke, and a sister of Bishop Oldham; both Hugh and Joan were living in 1515. Lastly we have the Roger Bexwicke whose death is recorded in this page; who was living in 1569 and 1571, and who died in 1599. His will is dated April 1598, and was proved in November 1599. By Margaret his wife (a sister of John Bradford the martyr) he seems to have left at least two sons, Hugh and Myles, both living in 1600. Roger Bexwicke of London salter, notwithstanding these sons, is described in the record as his "next cousin" or kinsman; which could only be if he were the eldest surviving son. To each of these three Roger left a burgrave in Manchester; one in Fennel Street, another in St. Mary's Gate, and the third in the Market Place.

and the new Market Stids or places, Market Stid Lane, St. Mary Gate, Deans Gate, Alport Lane and Alport Town; Meale Gate, Withingreave, Hanging Ditch, Smithy Door, and so to Salford Bridge, Fennel Street, Toad Lane, Hunt's Bank, Mylne Gate, and the Mylners' Lane.

Waitts at
Weddings.

We order that no manner of person shall hinder our *waytes* in Manchester with any music within the said town at any wedding, but that they shall have the commodity and the benevolence of the whole company there, 2^s. They shall not absent themselves at any time from playing about the town evening and morning without a very reasonable cause, made acquainted to two or three of the jury then being of the lord's leet.

Corn in the
Market.

No manner of person shall bar or stop any man for setting corn in the Market-place upon the market days (his and their severals only excepted) and during the time of the said markets, 20^s.

Daub in the
Market-place.

No manner of person shall make any *doabe* in the compass of the Market-place, but shall make the same place clean after the said doube be taken away, within four days next after, 10^s.

Cleansing the
Market-place.

That the Schensses [Scavengers or Cleaners] of the Market Place shall hereafter weekly make clean the said Market Place once a week and especially about the Cross, Stocks and Cadge, [cage or pillory] 12^d.

Smithe.

Adam Smithe hath purchased half a burgage now in the occupation of James Burton, of Thomas Birche *alias* Orcharde, and is to pay to the lord yearly for the chief, 6^d and is to come &c.

Mise gatherers.

Ralphe Bowker and George Pilkington being myse gatherers shall come in and make their account to the jury, and deliver up such money as we find to be in their hands before Wednesday next, 40^s.

Weighing Yarn,
&c.

No person shall weigh any yarn or other stuff hereafter for any gain or payment, but by the standard of this town of Manchester, 20^s.

Minstreis.

No inhabitant shall suffer any other minstrel to play at his house at wedding dinners, but only the waytes, 3^s 4^d.

Accounts.

Ordered that Richard Bowker shall bring in his books of

account for this last year's lays, (that it may appear to the jury who hath paid and who hath not paid) before Thursday next 23rd October, 40^s.

Certain housing betwixt Nicholas Harteley and Thomas Pilkington and Edmund Pilkington is not sufficiently repaired according to the said Pilkington's father's agreement with the predecessors of the said Nicholas Harteley, at the time of Adam Pilkington his said father his building. To be amended afore Mertilmas [Martiumas, November 11] next, 10^s.

Housing not repaired.

We find that the constables Adam Holland and William Hardye have not repaired the town butts according to the statute in that cause provided, and whether the money through the town be collected for the same or no, we cannot certainly present. We fine either of the constables 2^s.³⁴

The Constables.
The Town Butts.

*Court held Thursday 16th April, 43 Elizabeth
(1601).*

Francis Pendilton gent. came and was sworn &c.

Pendilton.

Robert Goodyear gent. was sworn &c. and paid 7^s 6^d for relief.

Goodyear.

John Strangwayes, late of Strangwayes, Esq. departed since &c.

Strangwayes.

John Strangwayes, his son, is his next heir, and is under age.

Whereas there is a suit-at-law depending in the Duchy Chamber at Westminster betwixt Robert Robinson and Henry Hardye concerning a certain burgage &c. near the church of Manchester, upon the north side &c.

Suit in the
Duchy Court.

We order that the water which cometh from the head of the Market Stid Lane shall be made to pass, without staying and annoying of any person, according to the ancient course of water through every man's land; that is to wit, through the lands of John Hunte gent. and the chantry lands now in the occupation of

Water Course to
Hanging Ditch.

³⁴ The statutory enactment as to the maintenance of butts for archery was 33 Henry VIII. (1541), cap. 9, sec. 4; for the terms of which see vol. i. p. 87, note 90.

Nicholas Harteley, and so into the ditch which is in the field which Thomas Jackson now enjoyeth, and from thence into the Hanging Ditch, before Midsummer next, 10^s.

Weighing with
Town weights.

Thomas Chaderton hath broken the order concerning the standard in making weights by them, weighing with them contrary to the said order; and the jury order that he shall make an account to the rest of the market lookers and give them as much money as the rest of his fellows have yielded accounts for time past, before Pentecost next, 20^s, and that he shall not weigh hereafter contrary to the last order.

Stiles in Ashley
Fields.

Mr. Robert Langley shall lay open two places and set two stiles in the side of Asheley Fields, in the accustomed places, according to ancient order, before Whitsunday, 6^s 8^d.

Disputed way.

Whereas there is a way betwixt the land of Richard Hulme gent. and Richard Nugente, late the land of Mr. Cleyden, now in controversy, we order the said Mr. Hulme and Mr. Nugent shall bring in their best evidences to the next Leet Court, to certify the jury then being, whether hath the better title to the same.

Shooter's Brook.

William Nusam hath encroached upon the lands of Thomas Brounsword gent. and hath stopped the watercourse betwixt the lands of George Leigh Esq. and the said Thomas Brounsword with blocks and stocks. Ordered that he shall remove the said blocks and stocks out of Suter's Brooke [Shooter's Brook] and also set his hedge right where it ought to stand, before Pentecost, 20^s.

Ackers Ditch.

Gilbert Tomson, aged 63 years, sworn and examined, saith, that the water coming from the Great Ditch by the Ackers stile, had his course from ditch to ditch to the end of William Glover's ditch, to the end of the little house sometime standing there; whereupon the jury order that the water of the Ackers Ditch shall have his free course as it had in former times, according to this examine his oath, and every one that shall hereafter stop the said water to pass, shall forfeit to the lord, 20^s. [To which Mr. William Glover, one of the jury, doth not agree.]

Nugente.

Richard Nugente hath purchased one burgage of the heirs of Robert Cleyden and is &c., 20^s.

An Inventory of certain goods *wayned* ["put back"] being the goods of one Henry the cutler, taken at the house of Richard Travys, shoemaker, in Manchester, the 6th May 1600, by us Charles Leighe [who was clerk of the Court] and Stephen Browne, is followeth :—

Imprimis 16 knives and sheaths.

Item, a new pair of shoes and an old pair of boots.

Item, 5 knyve sheaths.

Item, a little box and 2 shirt bands.

Item, one hammer and a leather bag.

Item, a large square box, that these things were carried in, with a lock upon it.

The jury find that Richard Travys hath all these things, by his own confession.³⁵

We amerce all manner of persons having no reasonable excuse that have not appeared and done their suit and service at the leet, in manner and form following, viz: every esquire in 3^s 4^d, every gentleman in 2^s, every burgess in 12^d, and every inhabitant in 4^d, and such officers as have not taken their oaths shall come in and take their oaths at the next three-weeks court, in pain of 20^s.³⁶

Fines for absence
from the leet.

³⁵ This seems to have been the result of a distraint on the goods of a travelling cutler, in the house where he lodged. His box contained his small stock-in-trade, tools and clothes. At that time every one carried a large-bladed knife in a sheath, for table and other purposes; and a "Manchester whittle" was once in high repute, like those of Sheffield in later days. In the extent of 1322 one of the yearly renders by a grantee of land &c., was of "two sheathless knives, worth 2d., at Michaelmas." *Manchester*, p. 407.)

³⁶ The growing reluctance of all classes to render "suit and service" at the Court leet, by their attendance, was in vain sought to be overcome by heavy penalties. There were too many transgressors, to make a general levy of the penalties a safe experiment. Even the officers elect of the leet and manor were reluctant to attend and take the oath of office.

*Court held Thursday 8th October, 43 Elizabeth (1601),
by THOMAS HEATON, gent., Steward of the same
Court [who succeeded RICHARD SWINGLEHURST, gent.,
in that office.]*

Catchpoll, Hughe Barlowe.

Jepson. Robert Jepson of Moston departed since &c. — Jepson is his son and heir, and of the age of — years or thereabouts, and is &c.

Foxe. Laurence Foxe and Robert Lever have purchased lands in Dar-
Lever. cye Lever of Mr. Chisnall, for which they are &c., each 20^s.

Smythe. Adam Smythe hath purchased a parcel of land of Thomas Soro-
coulde at the Smithy Door, for which he is &c., but the rent we
know not.

Harteley. Nicholas Harteley hath purchased of Samuel Hardye four closes
near Colehurst, paying 10^d yearly to the lord, &c., and is &c.

Coal-ruck. [There is an order to remove a *colerooke*, i. e. a stack or pile of
coals.]

Stocks and Every person that hath any timber, stocks or blocks, lying under
blocks. their several, that do pester and annoy the passage in the high
street, to remove them before Andrew Day [Nov. 30th], 3^s 4^d.

Gate near Edmund Prestwiche Esq. shall take down a yate between the
Hulme's mill. town of Manchester and the water of Medlo, near unto Hulme's
Mill, before Martilmas next, 3^s 4^d.³⁷

Court held 8th April, 44 Elizabeth (1602).

Becke. Robert Becke came &c. and was admitted tenant.

Edge. Thomas Edge hath purchased certain lands of Henry Aynes-

³⁷ By the reference to the Medlock, "Hulme's mill" would seem to have been a water mill. In the rental of 1473 are references to a Geoffrey Hulme, who seems to have held seven acres of land, and to have had a grange, &c. There was also a bridge or burgage (it is not clear which) called "Hulme's bridge" or "burgage."

worth and John Sorocoulde of London, but for what term or by what rent he holdeth the same we know not, which land is in the occupation at this instant of Alis Walcheman widow.

Whereas heretofore there have been divers good orders made ^{Inmates.} concerning the avoiding of unlawful inmates, and not put in execution according to the meaning of the same; we now order that no inhabitant or burgess of Manchester shall hereafter take any single woman or other to dwell generally or as inmate in any their house, parlour, chamber, or other rooms, suspected to be of lewd behaviour, on pain of 6^s 8^d. If any keep such person after warning given by the constable or other head officers of this town to avoid the same, he shall forfeit for every month 20^s.

No burgess or inhabitant shall receive into their house, or set ^{Strangers lodging.} any rooms unto, any strangers suspected to be poor and not able to maintain themselves and their families, without the consent of the steward, boroughreeve, constables and foreman of the jury, or of some three of them, 20^s.

We desire that our chief lord will provide a *cookestoole*, to be ^{Cuck-stool.} set up in some convenient place according as hath been oftentimes promised, for punishment of lewd women and scolds.³⁸

George Byrche of Byrche gent. deceased since &c., and he held ^{Byrche.} at the time of his death two burgeses in Manchester of the lord, one in Fenel Street, the other in Market Stid Lane, both holden in socage tenure, viz: by rent, fealty, and a weapon for relief after the death of every tenant dying seised thereof, viz: the house in the Fenel Street by 12^d rent yearly, and fealty and a weapon for relief, and the house in Market Stid Lane by fealty and a weapon for relief when relief groweth due, and by what rent which we know not what it is. But Mr. Ralph Winnington payeth or

³⁸ Here is another of the ancient institutions of the town lapsing into decay. The cuck-stool does not appear to have had a sufficient supply of water after its return to "Radcliffe's of the Pool;" and the lord of the manor, or his officers, had often promised, but as often failed, to re-establish it in some convenient place. It was probably after this that it was set over the daub-holes or clay-pits in front of Piccadilly, which afterwards became the infirmary pond.

ought to pay the said rent to the lord of the manor. George Birche, son of the said George Birche deceased, is his heir, and of the age of nineteen years or thereabouts, and that the lord of this manor owe to have his relief as aforesaid.³⁹

Encroachments
on Collyhurst.

Divers encroachments have been lately made since the last leet upon the common of Colehurst, where the burgesses of Manchester have free common of pasture, without stint of number; by means of which enclosures the Queen's tenants, burgesses and inhabitants of Manchester be greatly damnified; ordered that all those that have so enclosed, shall lay all such open before 10th May next, 40^s. And that no person shall hereafter make any enclosure or encroachment upon the waste ground, be it much or little, without the special consent of the lord or his officers, and the whole jury and burgesses all jointly together. If such offence be committed, it shall be lawful for certain of the jury to put it down again and lay it abroad, and the parties to be fined at the discretion of the jury then to be chosen.⁴⁰

A house on
another's land.

John Asheton of Manchester, draper, hath builded a house on the land of Robert Chadwicke, and hath set the house above ten inches upon the lands of Mr. George Birche of Manchester, mercer.

Court held Thursday 14th October, 44 Elizabeth
(1602.)

Catchpoll, Edmund Chetam.

Marler.
Hulme.

John Marler gent. departed since &c. Ralph Hulme and Thomasine his wife, as in the right of the said Thomasine, are his next heirs, and are at full age.

Leighe.

Richard Leighe of Highfield departed since &c., but who is his heir we know not.

³⁹ For socage-tenure, relief, heriot, &c., see vol. i. p. 96, and notes on that page.

⁴⁰ For an account of the common of Collyhurst, its extent and enclosure, see vol. i. pp. 75, 137-8, and 160.

Robert Radclyffe of Radclyffe departed, and it appeareth to us Radcliffe. that James Radclyffe, his younger son, is his heir by conveyance made unto him, and showed unto the jury, for his land in Manchester.

Richard Shalcrosse younger deceased since &c. John Shal- Shalcrosse. crosse is his son and next heir and under age.

Richard Lathom of Perbalte Esq. deceased since &c., but who Lathom. is his heir we know not.

The high street before the house of George Travys is very noi- Raising and pa- some &c. Ordered that it shall be raised higher and new paved ving a street. according as the streets adjoining, before the feast of the Purification [Feb. 2nd], 3^s 4^d.

The jury order that John Fletcher, Richard Greenhalgh, Thomas The pump in Morrisse, and all other inhabitants within the circuit of the Hanging-ditch. Hanging Ditch, do forthwith amend, cover and sufficiently repair the pump in the Queen's highway there standing, so as it be not hurtful or dangerous, not only to horses and other cattle, but also to every passenger, and especially to children; as divers of them have promised to do, before St. Martin &c., 10^s.

The pavement both of the hinder end and the higher end of the Pavement in Deansgate be greatly broken; ordered that it be repaired, 3^s 4^d Deansgate. each.

Whereas there is in the hands of the mysegatherers for this last Mise surplus. year a rest of 7^s 11^d, as appeareth by their accounts; they are to show good cause to the jury why it should not be paid to the constables before Christmas day, each 6^s 8^d.

Queen Elizabeth died on Monday, 24th March 1603, and the Easter Court Leet of that year was held on Thursday, the 28th April; consequently in the first year of the reign of James I. This, therefore, seems a convenient date at which to close the present volume, with the reign and life of the great Tudor Queen, the last monarch of her dynasty on the English throne. If any

further extracts from these old Court Leet Records should be printed hereafter, they will fitly commence with the reign of James I. the first king of the Stuart race, in whose reign England and Scotland were brought under one rule.

APPENDIX.

AS one great object of the present volume is to exhibit, as fully as the lapse of time and the nature of the records will permit, the character of the local and other government of Manchester during the latter part of the sixteenth century, and the social condition of the people under that government,—it has been thought fitting to bring together in an Appendix notices of the chief features of the period, both as to state government and local rule, civil and ecclesiastical; as well as of the legislation, institutions, events and men of the time,—so as to enable the reader to get such glimpses as are yet possible of the life of a manufacturing town in the North of England, before England's greatest manufacture had its birth.

Strictly chronological limits would exclude the many influences of the men, acts and events of a time just preceding that under consideration, and it will therefore be necessary to include in a brief survey the greater part of the sixteenth century, namely, the whole of the reigns of Henry VIII. and of his children, Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth,—in other words, from 1509 to 1603. Let us briefly glance at the various governments and other authorities acting upon the town during this time of political, religious and commercial transition.

The royal or state government of Manchester, especially in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, was active, powerful and vigorous. Kingly power and prerogative were all-potent, and as all authority throughout the realm was then more directly and immediately derived from the sovereign, that authority was chiefly of the kind now termed "centralization." The direct acts of the monarch, either alone, or in the form of orders of the privy council, reached every county, and were as searching and pervasive as they were rigorous and irresistible. Whenever a more local authority was needed, a royal commission was appointed, sometimes military, as "commissions of array;" sometimes

of a mixed character, civil and ecclesiastical, as in the commission for Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of Elizabeth,¹ of which the two chiefs in the neighbourhood of Manchester were the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester. Sometimes a higher power and larger jurisdiction were given, as to "the Council of the North," in the reign of Edward VI., with a nobleman of military ability as its president; a power extending over six counties, and embracing with its authority all matters, civil, military and ecclesiastical. For the ordinary rule of a shire, there were the lord-lieutenant, his vice and deputy-lieutenants, the high-sheriff² and under-sheriff, justices of the peace and quorum,

¹ Soon after her accession, Elizabeth appointed (in June 1559) an ecclesiastical tribunal or court of forty-four commissioners, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom. They were to visit each diocese, to abolish foreign interference, to enforce uniformity of worship, to impose on the clergy articles of submission and faith, to punish all heretics and schismatics, and to inquire into the state of all churches in the kingdom and into the conduct of the clergy under their several charges. They had power to imprison and even to torture, and to punish delinquents at their own pleasure. The ecclesiastical commissioners for the North of England consisted of Francis earl of Shrewsbury (president of the Council of the North); Edward earl of Derby (lord warden of the East and Middle Marches); Thomas earl of Northumberland; Edwin Sandys D.D., archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chester (Dr. Scott, afterwards Dr. Downham); Thomas lord Evers; Sirs Henry Percy, Thomas Gargrave, James Crofts, Henry Gates, knights; Henry Harvey LL.D.; Richard Bower, George Brown, Christopher Escott, and Richard Kingsmill, esquires.

² The following were the high sheriffs of Lancashire during the sixteenth century:

UNDER HENRY VII.

1501 } Sir Edward Stanley, Knt.
1508 }

HENRY VIII.

1512 Sir Edward Stanley, Knt.	1528 Sir Alexander Osbaldeston, Knt.
1514 The same (who became Lord Mon- teagle).	1532 Sir John Townley, Knt.
1520 } Edward Stanley.	1542 Sir Thomas Southworth, Knt.
1527 }	1546 Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Knt.

EDWARD VI.

1547 Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Knt. [The <i>Kenyon MS.</i> has Richard Rad- cliffe.]	1550 Sir Peter Legh, Knt.
1548 Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knt.	1551 Sir John Atherton, Knt.
1549 Sir Thomas Worsley, Knt.	1552 Sir Thomas Talbot, Knt.
	1553 Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knt.

and various lower grades of executive officers. Then, holding office direct from the king, were the escheator, the receiver, the coroner, &c.

Of manorial or local feudal government it is enough to say that the lord of the manor, though the chief authority within his lordship, was by no means the arbitrary autocrat of an older time. By the ancient

MARY.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1554 Sir Marmaduke Tunstal, Knt. | 1557 Sir Edmund Trafford, Knt. |
| 1555 Sir John Atherton, Knt. | 1558 Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knt. |
| 1556 Sir Thomas Langton, Knt. | |

ELIZABETH.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1559 John Talbot, Esq. | 1585 Thomas Preston, Esq. |
| 1560 Sir Robert Worsley, Knt. | 1586 Richard Ashton, Esq. [Richard Bold, Esq.] |
| 1561 Sir John Atherton, Knt. | 1587 John Fleetwood, Esq., of Penwortham. |
| 1562 Sir John Southworth, Knt. | 1588 Thomas Talbot, Esq., of Bashall. |
| 1563 Sir Thomas Hesketh, Knt. | 1589 Sir Richard Molyneux, Knt. |
| 1564 Thomas Hoghton, Esq. | 1590 Richard Bold, Esq. |
| 1565 <i>Edmund Trafford, Esq.</i> | 1591 James Ashton, Esq., of Chaderton. |
| 1566 Sir Richard Molyneux, Knt. | 1592 Edward Fitton, Esq. |
| 1567 Sir Thomas Langton, Knt. | 1593 Richard Ashton, Esq., Middleton. |
| 1568 <i>Edward Holland, Esq.</i> | 1594 Ralph Ashton, Esq., of Lever. |
| 1569 John Preston, Esq. | 1595 Thomas Talbot, Esq., of Bashall. |
| 1570 Thomas Butler, Esq. | 1596 Richard Holland, Esq. |
| 1571 <i>Edmund Trafford, Esq.</i> | 1597 Sir Richard Molyneux, Knt. |
| 1572 <i>John Byron, Esq.</i> | 1598 Richard Ashton, Esq., of Middleton. |
| 1573 <i>Richard Holland, Esq.</i> | 1599 Sir Richard Hoghton, Knt. [? Robert Hesketh, Esq.] |
| 1574 William Booth, Esq. | 1600 Robert Hesketh, Esq. [? Sir Richard Hoghton.] |
| 1575 Francis Holt, Esq. | 1601 Cuthbert Halsall, Esq. [? Sir Cuthbert Hoghton.] |
| 1576 Richard Bold, Esq. | 1602 <i>Sir Edmund Trafford, Knt.</i> [? Edmund Trafford, Esq.] |
| 1577 Robert Dalton, Esq. | |
| 1578 John Fleetwood, Esq., of Rossall. | |
| 1579 Ralph Ashton, Esq., of Middleton. | |
| 1580 <i>Sir Edmund Trafford, Knt.</i> | |
| 1581 <i>Sir John Byron, Knt.</i> | |
| 1582 <i>Richard Holland, Esq.</i> | |
| 1583 John Atherton, Esq. | |
| 1584 <i>Edmund Trafford.</i> | |

Hollinworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, says that during the reign of Elizabeth there were not fewer than six sheriffs of the county "picked out of this parish by the Queen." He enumerates them: Edmund Trafford (three times), Edward Holland, Richard Holland and John Byron. We have put the names of ten gentlemen in *italics*, all of whom seem to have been of the parish of Manchester, and to have filled the shrievalty in the reign of Elizabeth.

charter to the burgesses; by the institution of Courts Leet, in which even the power of the steward was more or less checked and counter-balanced by that of a jury of the burgesses; and by the bye-laws or orders made by them from time to time, having nearly the force of law, being enforced by money penalties, — much of the ancient power of a lord of the manor was delegated to the steward, the boroughreeve and constables, the Court Leet juries, and the executive manorial officers under their direction and control. For an autocracy, was in fact substituted a sort of representative government, however imperfectly modelled or constituted. Of the Court Baron, the only judges (exercising the functions of both judge and jury) were all vavasours or superior tenants of the lord, having interests often different from, if not diametrically opposed to, those of their suzerain or feudal superior.

In ecclesiastical government, from the time of the Reformation, the King or Queen was recognised as supreme head of the Church. The hierarchy having sway over Manchester would be the Archbishop of York, as primate of the province; but more immediately the Bishop of Chester as diocesan, and as visitor of the Collegiate church. Its more local ecclesiastical authorities were the warden and fellows of Manchester; a body in those times not so often self-elected as appointed and deposed at the sovereign's will and pleasure.

Of parochial rule, while in spiritual things the Collegiate clergy were regarded as chiefs, in things temporal and especially in the maintenance of the parish church and of the parochial poor, the three churchwardens of the parish, and somewhat later, the overseers of the poor, were the acting authorities.

One of the most powerful influences, whether for good or for evil, over the social condition of the people throughout the realm, is to be traced to the waste of lives and wealth, and the neglect of industrial occupations, caused by the wars of the Roses. Short as was their duration, they greatly weakened, nay almost wholly destroyed, the power and influence of the old nobility, and thus removed one important check to the kingly prerogative; which, it has been well observed, attained its greatest height in England in the reign of Henry VIII. In various other ways, these devastating wars grievously affected every rural district. The troops of the rival houses consisted chiefly of the tenants, retainers and bondmen of the barons, knights and other large

landowners in feudal tenure. So many workers being drafted off from their peaceful occupations, not only were the necessary processes of husbandry for the time neglected; but, when peace was restored, tillage and the growth of vegetable food for man, could not be fully resumed. Many of the husbandmen had perished in the field, and of the bondmen and retainers, many had been emancipated and otherwise rewarded for their services.³ Hence but few were left in rural districts to occupy the land and plough the soil; tillage fell into decay; and the holders of the land, having no longer sufficient labourers, were driven to convert their arable land into pasturage; and indeed cattle and sheep were found in every way better suited than cereal crops to the unsettled times and the lack of population. Inclosures increased, notwithstanding restraining acts of parliament in 1514, 1515, 1521, 1535 and other years;⁴ demesne lands extended; the farms of the yeomen and husband-

³ It is not generally known, or at least fully realised, that a species of serfdom or bondage existed to some extent even to Tudor times. In 1514 Henry VIII. granted manumission to two of his slaves and their families; for which he assigned in the preamble of the grant the following reasons: "That God had at first created all men equally free by nature; but that many had been reduced to slavery by the laws of men. We believe it therefore, to be a pious act, and meritorious in the sight of God, to set certain of our slaves at liberty from bondage." This liberty-giving act of a tyrannical and oppressive King — (preceding by three centuries and a half the abolition of serfdom in Russia by its Czar) — would have been more genuine and satisfactory, if the conclusion had agreed more fully with the premisses; if bluff King Hal, for "certain" had substituted "all" our slaves. But in this act, Henry seems to have been in advance of the times; for in 1526 a bill was brought into the House of Lords for the general manumission of bondmen in England: it was thrice read, on the same day, and then — *rejected*. Slavery in England ultimately died out, without any enactment of the legislature.

⁴ The act of 7 Henry VIII. cap. 1 (1515) recites that by the desolation and pulling down of houses and towns, and laying to pasture land which customably hath been manured and occupied with tillage, idleness (the ground and beginning of all mischiefs) doth increase; men, women and children that were daily occupied, and lived by sowing of corn, breeding of cattle and other increase, and their progenies, be diminished; husbandry (the greatest commodity of this realm for the sustenance of man) is decayed; churches be destroyed; the service of God is withdrawn; Christian people there buried are not prayed for; the patrons and curates be wronged; cities and market towns be brought to great ruin and decay; necessities for man's sustenance be made scarce and dear; the people of the realm be sore minished; the power and defence thereof is feebled and decayed; to the high displeasure of God and against his laws, and to the subversion of the common wealth and desolation of the same.

men became pastures and especially sheep-farms; their houses fell to decay, for a few herdsmen sufficed for the largest enclosed estates; the export of grain was restricted by enactment, while the increase in the consumption of British wool, both at home and abroad, tended directly both to discourage agriculture and to promote sheep-farming. Thus the peasantry and smaller yeomanry were reduced to want; their numbers continued to diminish; many of them sought employment in the towns; hamlets, villages and rural townships decayed; and this great change in the uses of the land, though beneficial to the landowners, proved ruinous to the peasantry. The rage for sheep-farming, which commenced in the reign of Henry VII., increased during that of his successors. The preamble to an act (25 Henry VIII., 1533, cap. 13), sets forth the miseries inflicted on the poor by the vast increase in the number of sheep, and the extension of pasture land. Many flocks of sheep numbered ten to twenty thousand, some even more; and this statute restricted the number of sheep of one individual kept on a farm to 2000; but as hereditary landowners were excepted from the operation of this act, the remedy was too partial to be effective; and even in the reign of Elizabeth the arable lands in culture in England were estimated at only one-fourth part of the area of the kingdom. In a pamphlet entitled, *A Compendium or brief Examination of certain ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen in these our Days, &c.*, by W. S. [William Stafford] gent., 1581; in which the speakers are a knight, a doctor, a capper, a merchant and a husbandman; — the dialogue is opened by the husbandman, who says: "These enclosures do undo us all; for they make us pay dearer for our land that we occupy, and cause that we can have no land in manner for our money, to put to tillage; all is taken up in pasture. I have known of late a dozen ploughs, within less compass than six miles about me, laid down within these seven years; and where threescore persons or upwards had their livings, now one man with his cattle has all, which is not the least cause of former uproars [riots and risings in Norfolk and other counties in 1549]; for by these enclosures many do lack livings and be idle: moreover, all things are so dear, that by their day wages they are not able to live." The capper complains that though he pays his journeymen 2d. a day more than formerly, they say they cannot sufficiently live thereof. The merchant refers to the decay of almost all the towns

of England (London excepted); to the general dearth of home and foreign merchandise; that all kinds of victuals are as dear again or dearer than they were; though he had never seen more plenty of corn, grass and cattle. The knight retorts that it cannot be owing to inclosures, for corn is cheap and inclosures increase cattle; but he admits "the wonderful dearth of all things;" and adds that prices are so risen on all hands, that his order [as landowners] are forced either to diminish their household by a third, or raise their revenues by a third; and thus they are enforced to keep land in their own hands (or purchase it) and store it with sheep. The husbandman exclaims that the sheep are the cause of all these mischiefs. The doctor points out that higher prices are the consequence of an alteration in the value of coin; and John Smith, LL.B., in his *Memoirs of Wool*, draws the conclusion, that it is evident that the advanced price of all commodities was only a consequence of the increase of trade, and a greater plenty of money than heretofore. Writing of the year 1549, he says that a shilling then contained but forty grains of silver, so was not equal to one of our present sixpences. This debasing of the coin (then of five years' standing) undoubtedly gave a nominal advance in price to all things vendible, and perhaps to wages too. But as the money in which they were paid, not containing half the silver it did some little time before, would not purchase half the necessaries of life it would formerly do, it must have borne hard on the lower sort of people, who had everything to buy and nothing to sell but their labour.

To the reign of Henry VIII. (1509-1547) belong, as amongst the chief events affecting Manchester and its people, the Reformation of 1534, causing insurrections in the North, especially that of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, (with the execution of the abbots of Whalley and Salley), and the dissolution or suppression of the monasteries, &c., in 1536 and 1538, (including Manchester college and Kersal cell); the severe laws against Papists and Lutherans; the battle of Flodden in 1513, won mainly by the valour of Lancashire and Cheshire men; the erection of the see of Chester in 1540-41; the making Manchester a place of sanctuary in 1545, and the removal of that undesirable privilege to Chester in 1546; the great increase of poor unemployed men, resulting on the one hand from the decay of tillage husbandry and the extension of sheep farming, and on the other from the suppression of

monastic houses, with their systematic relief of wandering and other poor; driving great numbers of "masterless men" into robbery in gangs, or to seek employment in towns and there to become chargeable.⁵ To these causes may be attributed what was called the decay of most towns. Buildings fell into ruin, their owners being unable to repair or rebuild them; and between 1535 and 1544 no fewer than four statutes were passed, setting forth lists of decayed cities and towns in almost all parts of the kingdom, and declaring "that there hath been in times past many beautiful houses in those places, which are now falling into ruin." Amongst the towns mentioned in the act of 1544, are "Lancaster, Preston, Lyrepool and Wygan, in Lancashire." That we do not find Manchester in this list, was probably owing to its flourishing manufacture of linens and woollens, and to its trade in these and other commodities, to which we shall refer hereafter.

The six and a half years' reign of Edward VI., or of his "Protectors" (1547-1553), was productive of but few events largely affecting Manchester. They were chiefly such as arose from the progress made in establishing the reformed religion. Such were the orders for keeping a Bible in every church; the first publication in English of Tindal's translation of the Bible, revised by Coverdale; a general visitation of churches; the repeal of the act of 1539 establishing the (so-called "bloody") six articles of faith; the suppression of the chantries, free chapels and religious guilds, which included sixty chantries in Lancashire, of which eight or nine chantries in Manchester were suppressed in 1548; the removal of images from churches; the requirement for the Book of Common Prayer to be used in churches, under severe penalties (which led to minor insurrections in various parts of England), &c. Acts were passed imposing penalties on forestallers, regraters and ingrossers of corn. Alehouse-keepers were required to take

⁵ One result of the vast number of men thrown out of employment by the causes named, was the great increase of thieves, rogues and vagabonds, sturdy beggars, &c. throughout the kingdom. The prisoners confined for debts and crimes throughout the kingdom in this reign have been estimated at 60,000; an immense number in proportion to the whole population. Harrison states that during this reign 72,000 criminals were executed for theft or robbery, an average of nearly 2,000 a year. Towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign (the same writer states) the average of capital punishments was about 400 yearly.

licenses, and to enter into recognizances to keep good order in their houses.

The five years' reign of Mary and her consort Philip (1553-1558), was chiefly remarkable for the check it gave to the "new religion" of the Reformation, and for the at least partial restoration of Roman Catholicism. The breaking of images was prohibited; all laws to the prejudice of the Pope's authority were repealed; the reformed liturgy was abolished; the Mass, auricular confession, &c., were revived, and, as far as could be in the short period, the Romish faith was restored. In 1554 seven married bishops were deprived, and the greater part of sixteen thousand of the inferior clergy were turned out, for having wives. The laws against Lollards and heretics (*i.e.* Protestants) were revived and harshly administered; about 300 protestants having perished at the stake within four years (1555-1558). Three martyrs were of and from Lancashire; the first martyr executed in this reign being John Rogers, a Lancashire man (who was one of the translators of the Bible in the reign of Henry VIII. under the name of Thomas Mathew), who was burned at Smithfield in February 1555-6; John Bradford, born at Manchester, and burned at Smithfield in 1556; and George Marsh, a native of the parish of Dean, who perished at the stake at Chester in April 1556. The preaching in Lancashire of Bradford and Marsh, who so nobly sealed their faith with their blood, is said to have greatly promoted the growth of the reformed faith, especially throughout South Lancashire.

The great events of the long and prosperous reign of Elizabeth include the restoration of the Protestant or Reformed religion; the imprisonment and execution of Mary queen of Scots; resistance to the power of Philip of Spain and the defeat of his Armada; the continual repression of Roman Catholic "recusants;" the rise of the Puritans and their persecution by law; the long wars with Ireland, and the rise of maritime discovery, commercial adventure, and trade. The power of the sovereign was still great, and to some extent irresponsible. Law was arbitrary and severe; punishments brutal, cruel and sanguinary; the queen's proclamations were held equivalent to law; and her will, as manifested in embargoes and prohibitions on the one hand, in patents, monopolies, benevolences and forced loans on the other, was too often paramount. In short constitutional liberty had no existence. With

all this despotic power, there was no police worthy of the name. The country was overrun with thieves and vagabonds; there being, it is said, 300 or 400 wretches in every county who lived by theft and plunder, who by their banded numbers intimidated the magistrates; and it was not till the memorable poor law act of 1601, that this great evil was checked. It was an age of political plots, conspiracies and executions. It was also an era of religious excitement, fanaticism and persecution. Amongst the sectaries, besides the Puritans, were the Brownists or Family of Love from Holland, the Anabaptists, &c. There were at one time, it is said, 50,000 Roman Catholic recusants in the kingdom; 600 were presented at one assizes at Lancaster; and the executions during the reign include sixty-two priests, forty-seven laymen and two lay gentlemen. In matters of religion, the greater part of England seemed to be the scene of a constant struggle between two or three rival faiths; the Protestants doing their best to repress and keep down the Catholics, while these, remembering the days of Mary and hoping for another turn of fortune to replace the supremacy of the ancient faith, opposed a passive resistance not easy to overcome. The Puritans, on the other hand, waged war with Episcopacy; and when the Star Chamber restricted printing to London and the two universities, an ambulatory secret press was set up for the printing of the "Martin Marprelate" tracts, which was at length seized by the earl of Derby in Manchester, and Penry (who is said to have been a Brownist) and three others were executed for publishing libels.

As a proof of the prevalence of superstition amongst the people, two acts of parliament passed in the same year (1562) may be named. One (5 Elizabeth cap. 15) was directed against "fond and fantastical prophecies," and the other (cap. 16) against "conjuraton, or invocation of wicked spirits and witchcraft, enchantment, charm or sorcery;" and severe penalties were imposed on those convicted of practising these branches of the black art.

Such were the chief characteristics and events of the four Tudor reigns in the 16th century, and it must be obvious that their influence would be great on the rapidly growing community of Manchester. But our sketch of the times would be very imperfect, if we did not briefly glance at some of the acts of the more local rulers of the town, and especially of those exercising ecclesiastical authority over the in-

habitants. We mean the bishops of the see of Chester and the wardens and fellows of the college of Christ in Manchester.

From the erection of the see of Chester 1540 to the death of Elizabeth, seven bishops successively ruled the diocese, — the first being John Bird, who was deprived for his marriage by queen Mary; second George Cotes (who sent George Marsh the martyr to the stake) in 1554; third Cuthbert Scott (another zealous Catholic, who imprisoned several Protestants in the college) in 1556, deprived; fourth William Downham, from 1561 till his death in 1577, when the see remained vacant almost two years; fifth William Chaderton, warden of Manchester, held the see from 1579 till he was translated to that of Lincoln in 1595; sixth Hugh Bellot held the see for about two years; and seventh Richard Vaughan, succeeding in 1597, held it till translated to London in 1604. Of these prelates the only two who seem to have exercised a very great influence on Manchester, were Dr. Downham and Dr. Chaderton. The queen and the privy council stimulated the zeal of both prelates, by letters, orders, &c., as to strict surveillance and handling of the Roman Catholic “recusants” in the diocese, and especially in Lancashire; and Dr. Downham reported to the council the names of a number of recusants. He was one of the royal ecclesiastical commissioners, and in 1579, being with Henry earl of Derby, Henry earl of Huntingdon and other commissioners at Manchester, they issued “orders and injunctions against pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting alehouses, bear- or bull-baiting on the Sabbath days, or any other days in time of divine service or sermons; also against superfluous and superstitious ringing, wakes and common feasts, continuing in alehouses, drunkenness, &c.” — (Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*.) If we correctly understand the same writer, it was also Dr. Downham who, about the same time, “erected, and his successors encouraged, a *Public Exercise* in Manchester, on the second Thursday in every month, and nominated some grave, godly, and learned ministers to preach in their courses in the afternoon, and commanded all parsons, vicars, curates, readers, schoolmasters within the deanery of Manchester, to be present at the said exercise, and to be ready in the afternoon to be more privately conferred with, examined and directed by the [five] nominated moderators; and to observe and obey their orders and directions, upon pain of censure.” After the see had

been left two years without a bishop, Dr. William Chaderton, through the patronage of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, whose chaplain he had been, was consecrated bishop of Chester in 1579, and immediately afterwards accepted the wardenship of Manchester college *in commendam*. Dr. Chaderton had strong puritanic tendencies, and zealously persecuted the Roman Catholic recusants. He was on terms of close friendship with Henry earl of Derby, then living in Manchester, at Aldport lodge; both of them belonging to the ecclesiastical commission for the north of England, whose duty it was to watch over and preserve the churches from the attempts of Roman Catholics. In 1580, on representations that the papists were gaining ground in Lancashire, the queen and council appointed the earl and the bishop members of another ecclesiastical commission; urged them to proceed more strictly; and, Manchester being appointed for the place of its sittings, the bishop pursued the Roman Catholic recusants with so much zeal, as to receive the special thanks of the queen. In 1581 Dr. Chaderton went to live at Manchester, and the Roman Catholic recusants at that time confined in Chester castle, were removed to Manchester, to suit the convenience of the bishop and the earl, and were imprisoned in the dungeon on Salford bridge (which had been a chapel before the Reformation), in parts of Radcliffe hall (Poolfold), and in the new house of correction in Hunt's Bank, called the New Fleet; which became so crowded that the poorer were discharged, and the others' diet was paid for out of the monthly forfeitures and fines of recusants throughout the diocese. Still the queen and the privy council were not satisfied; and it was directed that all justices of the peace throughout the diocese should be included in the ecclesiastical commission. The remonstrances of the bishop of Chester, lord Strange, and others, against this swamping of the commission by men, many of whose wives, families and servants were themselves recusants, not receiving much attention,—the earl of Derby, the bishop, and other leading personages in the commission, gradually retired from it, leaving the inquisition to the entire management of the justices of the peace in their respective districts. In 1593 a law, passed to enforce attendance at church, bore with equal severity on Roman Catholics and Puritans. In that year Henry earl of Derby died, and in May 1595, Dr. Chaderton being translated to the see of Lincoln, resigned the wardenship of Manchester which he had held with his

bishopric, and in which he was succeeded by Dr. Dee. It is stated that it was mainly due to the efforts of Dr. Chaderton as bishop and warden, and of one of the fellows named Bourne, that the people of Manchester first inclined to Puritan forms and doctrines.

From the bishops we must glance at the wardens of Manchester college. Including the second James Stanley, fifth warden, who held the wardenship at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the period within our limits saw no fewer than eleven successive wardens, whose names and duration of office we append in a note.⁶

The only local fact in the wardenship of the second James Stanley, grandson of the first Thomas lord Stanley, is the repair, enlargement and decoration of the collegiate and parish church, to which not only he and his family, but the Wests, lords la Warre and lords of the manor, the Radcliffes of Radcliffe, Ordsall and Manchester, the Byrons of Rochdale, the Bexwickes, Becks and other local families contributed largely in money or in work. During Cliff's wardenship the Free grammar school was founded by Dr. Oldham, bishop of Exeter,⁷ and

⁶ No. and Name of Warden.	Duration of Wardenship.	Termination of Wardenship.
5 James Stanley (second)	1485 - 1509	Resigned, bishop of Ely.
6 Robert Cliff.....	1509-?1518	Resigned.
7 Master Alday	15... - 15...	Little known of him.
8 George West	1518 - 1535	Resigned.
9 George Collier.....	1535 - 1557	Deprived 1547, returned 1553.
10 Lawrence Vaux	1557 - 1558	Resigned on Elizabeth's accession.
11 William Birch	1558 - 1570	Resigned at request of Elizabeth.
12 Thomas Herle.....	1570 - 1578	Deprived, and college dissolved.
13 John Wolton	1578 - 1579	Resigned, bishop of Exeter.
14 William Chaderton.....	1579 - 1595	Resigned, bishop of Lincoln.
15 John Dee.....	1595 - 1608	Died poor in 1608.

⁷ Let us turn to the bishop who founded the school :

Who determin'd, his heart with benevolence fraught,
That Lancashire lads should the classics be taught.
He founded a school, into boys' heads to hammer
The eight parts of speech and a knowledge of grammar.
And for those who a *plenum* of knowledge might seek,
He farther left order to teach the boys Greek.
To support the *Magistri* he left by his will
A toll, by the town to be paid at the Mill,

the battle of Flodden fought, in which many Lancashire men, under the Stanleys, took a prominent part. West, the next warden, a zealous Roman Catholic, resigned on seeing the progress of the Reformation. The next warden, Dr. Collier, was also an earnest supporter of the "old religion." At this time most of the great families in the neighbourhood were of the Roman faith, and to this circumstance it is probably owing that when, some years later, the religious houses were pulled down, the integrity of the Collegiate church and college of Manchester was preserved. The following are some of the events affecting Manchester during this wardenship: In 1536 an act was passed against the keeping of the vigils and wakes, or festivals of the church, inside the building; which it seems included the celebration or performance of the pageant of Robin Hood, within the Collegiate church. After the passing of this statute the pageant was enacted in the church-yard. In 1540 the bishopric of Chester was founded, and the following year both North and South Lancashire were included in the see, which was again placed under the province of York. In 1547 (1 Edward VI.), the Manchester college was dissolved and the college house demised by the crown to the earl of Derby; on which warden Collier retired into Staffordshire. The people of Manchester were still chiefly Roman Catholics; though the preaching of John Bradford the martyr, a native of Manchester, converted many to the Protestant faith. It is said that he told the people of Manchester that because they did not readily embrace the Word of God, the mass should be said again in the Collegiate church and the play of Robin Hood acted within its walls,—a prediction said to have been fulfilled in Mary's reign. On the accession of queen Mary, she restored the college and recalled Collier the warden. In 1555, Dr. Pendleton, originally a Roman Catholic, who recanted in Manchester and was maintained in Edward the sixth's reign out of the revenues of the dissolved college, having gone back to his old creed, and being learned and a great disputer, was sent or came

Where famed Sir John Barleycorn, turn'd into malt,
Is crush'd without mercy and bruised without fault.
Though he gave toll of malt,—yet so lib'ral his hand,
He left, in support of the school, some good land;
Increas'd so in value, it is now very clear
The income's at least fifteen hundred a year.

to Manchester (says Fox), "to recant his recantation and to sh up popery." At that time Bradford was preaching in Manchester, and there was a public disputation between them. Shortly afterwards Bradford was imprisoned in London, whence he wrote letters to Protestants in Manchester and the neighbourhood encouraging them to constancy in the faith. In the summer of this year he was executed at Smithfield (an apprentice boy named John Leaf, suffered with him); being attended to the place of execution by Bradford's brother-in-law, Roger Bexwicke of Manchester. The next year, Lawrence Vaux, was also a strenuous Catholic, and very popular in the town and neighbourhood. It was in his wardenship Cotes bishop of Chester brought George Marsh to the stake; and his successor in the see held a visitation towards the close of Mary's reign, and caused several Protestants (Ridleston, Wharmby &c.) to be imprisoned in the college. On the death of queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, they were liberated. Vaux was deprived of the wardenship; and Birch, a staunch Protestant, succeeded; and the college is said to have become under its new constitution a college for Lancashire and the adjoining counties; as Strype says, "a noble and useful foundation for learning and propagation of religion in those northern parts." The next warden, Herle, seems to have been a disservice to the office, for he did his utmost to alienate the property of the church of which he was the guardian; and that chiefly in collusion with some of Elizabeth's courtiers, of whom the only one whose name is recorded was a gentleman of her chamber named Killigrew; but it is probable that even the queen herself was guilty of complicity in the plunder of the church of Manchester. In 1572 the earl of Derby chased Over Aldport and some burgages in Manchester, "being free lands." In 1573 Grindal, then archbishop of York, repeatedly visited residence on the warden and fellows, and diligent and constant preaching on the Sunday in the Collegiate church, or in one of the nine churches around the town. In this year the parish registers were commenced. There was also this year great rumour of a Spanish invasion, at the general muster Manchester furnished, as its quota, six corslets, six pikes, two curiets and two morians. Probably a majority of the people of Manchester were still Roman Catholics, and these, encouraged by rumours of the Spanish invasion, attacked and insulted the

Protestant clergy of the town,⁸ who it is stated were frequently beaten by the populace, and in Lent one of the preachers, a B.D., riding on his way to preach at one of the chapels in the parish, was assailed by a William Smith, who with a dagger gave him three wounds. Some of the college obit lands were also seized by Thomas Staunton, the attorney of the duchy; others carried away all the church evidences and letters patent; also ornaments and plate, said to belong to the queen, to the value of 500 marks (or 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) Herle and his fellows continued making long leases of tithes, &c., and otherwise prejudiced and injured the church revenues and the clergy. One mode was to make over lands, &c., to Killigrew, who transferred his purchases to the queen, who reconveyed the property to such persons as she chose. In this way the tithes of Stretford, Trafford and half those of Chorlton-cum-Hardy are said to have been conveyed under a lease to Sir Edward Trafford, which, apparently for twenty-one years, proved to be a lease for ninety-nine years after the twenty-one years. Several houses and tenements in Deansgate were also alienated, and lands were given or sold to the earl of Derby. In October 1576, dean Nowell of St. Paul's reported this state of things to the lord treasurer Burghley and secretary Walsingham, and an inquiry was instituted; but even whilst it was pending, a lease of some of the church rents was conveyed to Killigrew under the great seal. This fact dean Nowell also brought to Burghley's notice, and as the queen's complicity became known, she found it necessary to dismiss Herle on a small pension, and to place the college on a new foundation, which was effected in 1578. Wolton was the first warden under the new foundation. Amongst the property thereby granted to the warden and fellows for ever, were messuages, lands, &c., in Manchester (in Deansgate and elsewhere), in Newton

⁸ About this time, and indeed long previously, two evils greatly retarded the progress of the Reformation in Lancashire—the miserably small stipends attached to cures, and the want of an educated Protestant clergy. Archbishop Lee (archbishop of York 1531-44) writing to Thomas Cromwell, then chancellor of the exchequer, of the inferior clergy in Lancashire, says: “Their benefices were so *exile* [thin] of 4*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* per annum, that no learned man would take them. Therefore, they were fain to take such as were presented, so that they were of honest conversation, and could completely understand what they read, and minister sacraments. In all his diocese [? province] he did not know twelve that could preach.”

and Kirkmanshulme, the Parsonage croft (two acres) in Manchester, then in the occupation of Henry earl of Derby; the Scotland croft and other parcels in Newton; a messuage called the Guildhouses; two messuages in Salford, near the White Horse, and two closes called the Great and Little Brier Ridings. Also the tithe corn yearly in forty-five townships and chapelries, in the parish; all tithes of lambs, hay, hemp, wool and flax; two messuages in Dunham Massey, Cheshire; with reservation of all tithes and corn, under an indenture of the 12th December 18 Elizabeth (1575) held by the Queen &c. from Herle. In 1578 there was a difference between the lord of the manor and the burgesses as to the choice of a boroughreeve, and the following year Sir W. West sold the manor and all its rights to John Lacye of London, citizen and cloth worker, for 3,000*l*. In 1579, too, Dr. Wolton resigned the wardenship on being elevated to the see of Exeter; and it is stated that during his wardenship puritanism greatly increased in Manchester. Of Dr. Chaderton, who was at once a chief member of the ecclesiastical commission, the bishop of Chester, and the warden of Manchester, we have already treated, as bishop. He was a great persecutor of Roman catholics, as recusants, and a great promoter of puritanical doctrines. As another proof of the increase of these doctrines, it may be noted that Richard Holland, a devoted adherent of the queen and high sheriff of the county in 1582, was an avowed Puritan. Chaderton's wardenship saw the chief persecutions of the Catholics, the exposure of Elizabeth Orton the fanatic, the execution at Tyburn of Campian the jesuit, and the imprisonment and fines of many leading Catholics of Lancashire. In April 1584 various Catholic priests were tried at Lancaster assizes; of these James Bell and John Finch were executed at Lancaster, and James Leybourne (a wealthy layman) at Manchester [?]; the heads of all three being exposed upon the steeple of the Collegiate church. In 1588 the rumours of a Spanish invasion became more rife; one unfounded report that a powerful army was then upon Swinton moor, about five miles off, and advancing upon the town, caused a panic; Dr. Chaderton and the chief inhabitants armed themselves, and caused the flesh-shambles to be removed to Salford bridge, &c. It was in the February of this year, too, that the itinerating press of Penry, the Brownist, was seized by the earl of Derby in Newton lane, while printing one of the Martin Marprelate tracts, — "Ha'e ye any more work

for the Cooper?" Penry was executed. In May 1595, Dr. Chaderton resigned his bishopric and wardenship, on being translated to the see of Lincoln; and he was succeeded by the celebrated Dr. Dee, who came to Manchester with his family, and was installed in February 1596. In that year the manor was resold by Lacye to Sir Nicholas Mosley for 3,500*l*. In 1598 Aldport lodge and park were sold by the earl of Derby, and came by a subsequent purchase to the Mosleys. In February 1601, dean Nowell, one of the fellows of the Manchester college (from 1578) died at the advanced age of ninety. Little remains to be said of local events in Dee's wardenship. He lived on bad terms with the fellows. He is said to have been haughty, and a bad manager. He was no Puritan, and that form of faith was then spreading rapidly in Manchester, chiefly owing to the great exertions of the Rev. William Bourne, one of the fellows, and a very popular preacher. Dee was also held in a sort of superstitious awe and fear, because of his supposed knowledge of magic. Finding his position disagreeable, and himself unpopular, he quitted Manchester in November 1604, and died in great poverty at Mortlake in 1608, at the advanced age of eighty-one.

The population of Manchester at any time within the sixteenth century cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. In 1545 the royal commissioners reported to Henry VIII. that Manchester was a great parish, and of great circuit, and that the number of houseling people [communicants] in the same was estimated to be six thousand. The Rev. canon Raines observes that six thousand communicants at the Collegiate church in 1545 would include a large majority of the adult population of the whole parish. In 1578 the gentlemen and inhabitants of Manchester petitioned queen Elizabeth to re-found the college, and in this petition stated that the number of inhabitants [of the parish] was ten thousand. In a petition with a similar object to Charles I. in 1635, the number of inhabitants of Manchester is stated at twenty thousand or upwards; so that, if both statements are to be accepted, the population would appear to have doubled itself in fifty-seven years. But this great increase seems very doubtful, especially as Manchester in 1644 had only ten streets. As to the parish registers, which commenced in 1573, any estimates deduced from them must include the whole parish, — a large one of thirty townships or more. The late Rev. canon Parkinson, D.D., compiled from the registers of

the parish of Manchester some returns of baptisms, marriages and burials, and those for the period embraced in this volume are the following:—

Both years inclusive.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.
1573 to 1580	1439	367	1117
1581 to 1600	3992	808	4670

From these figures Dr. Parkinson drew the deduction that the population of Manchester and Salford retrograded between 1570 and 1600. Indeed in the twenty-eight years the burials exceeded the baptisms by 356, which seems to point to fatal epidemics. But we do not know whether the Roman catholics baptised their children at the parish church after the Reformation. Neither Leland in 1538, nor Camden, who visited Manchester more than forty years later, makes even a guess at the population. All accounts, however, agree that it was a populous town till the pestilential epidemics, towards the close of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, destroyed so many of its people and so much of its prosperity, that in 1645 parliament voted 1,000*l.* to its relief, as to that of a poor and decayed town.

Amongst the scourges of Manchester and the neighbourhood, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, were dearth, and plague or pestilence.⁹ In 1565, writes Hollinworth, "there was a sore sickness, in and about the town, of which very many died." In 1574 there was a grievous dearth over great part of England, wheat being sold for six shillings the bushel. Stow gives the price at 56*s.* the quarter, which is 7*s.* the bushel, and says that after the harvest it was 24*s.* (3*s.* the bushel),

⁹ The epidemic called "the sweating sickness" raged in 1517, proving mortal in three hours. In most of the chief towns of England half the people were swept away; Oxford was depopulated; and the law terms were adjourned from London for a year or more. In 1528, while the plague was raging greatly in France and Germany, the sweating sickness was again epidemic and extensively fatal in England. In 1532 an epidemic broke out, of what nature is not distinctly stated. In 1540 Liverpool was nearly depopulated by a plague. In 1548 a "great plague" raged in London, and the court was removed to Hatfield. In 1551 the sweating sickness again raged throughout England, carrying off numbers of all ranks and classes, including the then duke of Suffolk, his brother, and many others of the nobility. Towards the close of 1557 a malignant fever raged in London and other places, which is said to have carried off cardinal Pole, twelve bishops and seven of the aldermen of London.

and so continued about a year; but in 1587 it rose to 64s. the quarter in London (8s. the bushel), and in other places even to 10s. 12s. and 13s. the bushel. He imputes these high prices to excessive exportation. In 1594 it was 7s., in 1595 a little lower, in 1596 (by reason of great rains) 10s., in 1597 13s. 4d. Eden (*State of the Poor*, vol. i. p. 134) thinks that the dearth of corn and other articles of subsistence towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, greatly accelerated the passing of the act in 1601, for providing a compulsory maintenance for the poor. In 1586, according to Hollinworth, "there was a great dearth in this country [*i. e.* around Manchester] insomuch that in Manchester a penny white loaf weighed but six or eight ounces; one penny boulded bread, ten or eleven ounces; rye bread, ten ounces; brown bread, about fourteen ounces; and the bishop of Chester and others, pitying the condition of the poor, did order that the penny white bread should weigh nine ounces of troy weight; boulded bread ten; brown bread fifteen; jannock [oat bread in loaves] thirteen; oatcake fifteen ounces. That every baker have his mark, according to the statute; that their bread be wholesome and well baked; that they sell but only twelve loaves to the dozen; that no loaves be made but either of a penny, twopence, or fourpence at the farthest; and that these orders be duly observed, both by inhabitants and foreigners" [*i. e.* non-residents]. This dearth was general; for Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Chaderton, then bishop of Lincoln, in May 1595, urges him "in this time of scarcity and dearth of corn and victuals," to admonish preachers in his diocese, to exhort the wealthy to contribute more liberally to the relief of the poor. The primate also declares the hoarding of corn at such time to be a great offence in the sight of God. The dearth continued in the following year, for in August 1596, the primate again writes to the same prelate, as to the dearth in all parts of the realm of all manner of grain, the prices of which have excessively risen; refers to the queen's proclamation against farmers and ingrossers of corn, hoarding it up and making more scarcity than there is, "of all lucre the most ungodly," being "gotten by pinching and starving of the poor." The primate enjoins wealthy housekeepers to avoid excess in diet, to use fewer dishes of meat, to forbear suppers on Wednesdays, Fridays and fast days; those that keep kennels of hounds to forbear keeping dogs, but convert such superfluous expenditure to the relief of

the poor. His grace condemns the "intolerable excess of eating and drinking commonly used in alehouses," &c. The bishop is to direct his clergy to urge these things from their pulpits, and themselves to reside on their benefices, and to give good example in hospitality, alms and relieving the poor.

Hollinworth notices another epidemic in the spring of 1588, and states that "there died of the parishioners [which may include some thirty townships outside of that of Manchester] in one month of April, near seventy persons." In 1593, above 28,000 persons died of the plague in London. Again, in 1594, "the sickness was in Failsworth, at Clough house." In 1597 a "great plague" in London and its suburbs swept off 17,890 persons. In 1603 the plague in London, &c., destroyed 30,244 persons; and James I. (postponing his coronation) retired to Wilton, a seat of the earl of Pembroke's, near Salisbury, in order to escape the risk of infection. Just beyond the limits of this volume, another and still more fatal disease ravaged the town. In 1604, the number of deaths in the bills of mortality for the parish of Manchester was 188; in 1605 the deaths were 1078; and in 1606, only 103. In 1605 (says Hollinworth), "the Lord visited the town, as forty years before [1565] and forty years after [1645] with a sore pestilence. There died [? in the parish] about one thousand persons, amongst whom were Mr. Kirke, chaplain of the college, and his wife and four children. All the time of the sickness, Mr. Bourne [one of the fellows] preached—in the town so long as he durst, by reason of the unruliness of infected persons, and want of government; and then he went and preached in a field near to Shooters' brook [near the London Road railway station], the townspeople being on one side of him and the country people on another." It was in this year (1605) that Rowland Mosley esq., then lord of the manor, gave six acres of Collyhurst common, nearest the town, as a burial place for those who died of the plague, and for erecting cabins thereon for those infected on any future visitation of pestilence.

The first glimpse of Manchester that we obtain during the reign of Henry VIII. (apart from proceedings in the Court Leet) is the description given by Leland the antiquary, (in his *Itinerary*), of the town, which he visited in 1538:

I rode over Merey water by a great bridge of timber called Crossford bridge [near

Stretford]. The water of the Mersey, to the very main sea, parteth Cheshire and Lancashire. So about three miles to Manchester, in the which way first I left Sir Alexander Radcliffe's Park-house [Ordsall hall] on the right hand. But ere I saw that I passed over Cornbrook, and after I touched within a good mile of Manchester, by Mr. Trafford's park and place. And after, on the left hand, I saw Mr. Prestwich's place [Hulme hall] on the left hand over Irwell, whereby the lord of Derby hath a place [Alport lodge] and a park called Aldport park. Hereabout I passed over Medlock river, and so within less than a mile to Manchester. Manchester, on the south side of the Irwell river, standeth in Salford shire [or hundred] and is the fairest, best builded, quickest [or most full of life] and most populous town of all Lancashire; yet is in it but one parish church, but [it] is a college, and almost throughout double aisled, *ex quadrato lapide durissimo* [of the hardest square stone; an error, for the red sandstone of which the old church was built was anything but hard], whereof a goodly quarry is hard by the town [at Collyhurst]. There be divers stone bridges in the town; but the best, of three arches, is over Irwell. This bridge divideth Manchester from Salford, the which is as a large suburb to Manchester. On this bridge is a pretty little chapel [repaired in 1505, but afterwards converted into a dungeon]. The next is the bridge that is over the Irk [at Hunt's bank], on the which a fair builded college standeth, as in the very point of the mouth of it; for hard thereby it runneth into Irwell. On Irk river are divers [three] mills, that serve the town. In the town be two fair market-places. And almost two flight-shots without the town, beneath, on the same side of Irwell, yet be seen the dikes and foundations of old Man-castle in a ground now enclosed [Castle field near Kuott mill]. The stones of the ruins of this castle were translated toward making of bridges for the town. It is not long season since the church of Manchester was collegiated [in 1421, more than a century before Leland saw it]. The town of Manchester standeth on a hard rock of stone; else Irwell, as well appeareth in the west *ripe* [or bank], had been noiful [or hurtful] to the town. Irwell is not navigable but in some places, for [or because of] *vades* [shallows, shoals] and rocks. (Leland, vol. v. pp. 82, 83.)

Indirect evidence of the prosperity of Manchester and its people about this time, as testified by Leland, is given by the statutes (of which four were passed between 1535 and 1544) for repairing the many decayed houses and buildings in various towns. In the act of 1544, four Lancashire towns are enumerated as having "beautiful houses falling into ruin," namely, "Lancaster, Preston, Lyrepoole and Wigan." Manchester is not included in this list; and Leland and the sanctuary act of 1541, tell us why.

About the year 1585, William Camden the antiquary, in the pursuit of his topographical inquiries (the results of which he published in his great work, the *Britannia*), visited Manchester, of which he gives the following brief and meagre description:

At the confluence of the Irwell and the Irk, on the left bank, which is of reddish stone, scarce three miles from the Mersey, stands that ancient town, called by Antoninus, according to the various readings, *Mancunium* and *Manucium*, and by us at present, with some traces of the old name, Manchester. It surpasses the neighbouring towns in elegance and populousness. There is a woollen manufacture, market, church and college, founded by Thomas lord de la Warre, who took orders, and was the last heir male of his family, in the time of Henry V. He was descended from [connected by marriage with] the Gresleys, who are said to have been the ancient lords of the town. In the last age [or generation] it was much more famous for its manufacture of stuffs called Manchester cottons, and the privilege of sanctuary, which the parliament under Henry VIII. transferred to Chester. In a park of the earl of Derby in this neighbourhood called Alpark [Aldport] I saw foundations of an old square tower, called Mancastle, where the river Medlock falls into the Irwell. I do not affirm this to have been the ancient Mancunium, as it encloses but a small space, but rather some station of the Romans. [He then describes two inscribed stones, one of which he saw, and the other he says was "copied for me by that eminent mathematician J. Dee, warden of Manchester college, who saw it."] Below the town, which stands on a stony hill, at Collyhurst, are noble and famous quarries. The Mersey, now increased by the Irwell, proceeds towards the ocean by Trafford, which gives name and residence to the noble family of the Traffords," &c. (Gough's *Camden*, edit. 1806, vol. iii. pp. 383, 384.)¹⁰

¹⁰ In the years 1596 and 1597 there would appear to have been made two surveys of the town of Manchester, no traces of which now remain. Notices of both are recorded in the *Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, (printed in 1842 for the Camden Society), which are sufficiently interesting to copy here. Under the year 1596, the doctor writes: "June 14th, Mr. Harry Savill, the antiquary, came to me. June 15th, I wrote by Mr. Harry Savill of the book dwelling at Halifax[?] to Christopher Saxton at Denningley." This is no other than the celebrated Sir Henry Savile, knight, author of *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, &c. (London 1596, folio). Denningley we do not find. Dr. Dee's letter to Saxton seems to have been an invitation to Manchester. "June 21st, Mr. Christopher Saxton came to me. . . . July 5th, Mr. Savill came. July 6th, I, Mr. Saxton [and others] to Hough hall. . . . July 10th, Manchester town described and measured by Mr. Christopher Saxton. . . . July 14th, Mr. Saxton rode away." Under the year 1597: "May 4th, I, with Sir Robert Barber, curate, and Robert Talsley, clerk of Manchester parish church, with diverse of the town of divers ages, went in perambulation to the bounds of Manchester parish; began at the Leeless bench against Prestwich parish, and so had a view of the three corn stacks, and then down till [to] Mr. Standysh new enclosure on the Low, where we stayed and viewed the stack yet standing on the bank of the ditch, being from the corn a eleven measures of Mr. Standley's stak [? staff] then in his hand, and two foot more, which still I did measure afterward, and it did contain in Kentish feet six inches and three quarters. [Sic.] The survey geometrical of the very circuits of Manchester parish was

In any attempt to depict the state of society in Manchester in the Tudor reigns it would be unpardonable to omit the curious subject of sanctuary for criminals. Sanctuary is defined to be a place privileged for the safe-guard of offenders' lives, being founded upon the law of mercy, and the great reverence and devotion which the prince bears to the place whereunto he grants such privilege. Among all nations our ancient kings of England seem to have attributed most to those sanctuaries, permitting them to shelter such as had committed both felonies and treasons; so as within forty days they acknowledged their fault, and submitted themselves to banishment, during which space, if any layman expelled them, he was excommunicated; and if a clerk he was made irregular. St. John's of Beverley, Yorkshire, had an eminent sanctuary belonging to it in the time of the Saxons. That of Westminster was granted by king Edward the Confessor. Sanctuaries were not fully such till they had the pope's bull; though they had the full privilege of exemption from temporal courts by the king's grant only. But no sanctuary granted by general words extended to high treason; though it extended to all felonies except sacrilege, and to all inferior crimes not committed by a sanctuary man; and it never was a protection against any action civil, any further than to save the defendant from execution of his body &c. (2 *Hawk. P. C.* 335, 336.) Though statutes as to sanctuary were passed in the reigns of Edward II. and Richard II. the greatest number of enactments on this subject were made during the reign of Henry VIII. By one of these (26 Henry VIII. cap. 13) sanctuary was taken away from offenders in high treason.

ended in this, being the sixth day of my work. May 11th, the way to Stopford [Stockport] surveyed by John Cholmeley and John Crocker." Christopher Saxton's great work was his Maps of England and Wales (London 1579, folio), of which there is a splendid copy, once Sir Christopher Hatton's, in Chetham's Library, Manchester. It is stated that these maps were published separately between 1573 and 1579, when the title and index were added. It was seventeen years after this publication, therefore, when Saxton visited and surveyed the town of Manchester, having stayed there twenty-three days. There is no vestige of any survey among the MSS. public or private, in Chetham's Library. But for its concluding terms of "survey geometrical" we should have supposed Dr. Dee's personal survey of the parish in six days to have been merely a perambulation of the boundaries; especially as he notes with some particularity one boundary between the parishes of Manchester and Prestwich. But of this survey or perambulation nothing further is known.

By the statute of 21 Jac. I. cap. 28, sec. 7, sanctuaries were wholly abolished. (*Jac. Law Dict.*) By 27 Henry VIII. cap. 19 (1535) sanctuary persons were required to wear badges but no weapons; they were not to go abroad before sunrising nor after sunseting; and they were not to resist their governors, who had power to determine contracts of debt, trespass and covenant between persons in sanctuary under 40s. The Collegiate church at Manchester, as a hallowed place, is said to have procured for this town the privileges of sanctuary asylum. The act granting this immunity to Manchester was the 32 Henry VIII. cap. 12 (1540), and was to some extent prohibitory of sanctuaries previously existing, for it enacts that —

All sanctuaries and places privileged, which have been used for sanctuary, shall be utterly extinguished, except parish churches and their church-yards, cathedral churches, hospitals, and churches collegiate, and all chapels dedicated, used as parish churches, and the sanctuaries to every of them belonging; and Wells, co. Somerset, Westminster, Manchester, Northampton, Norwich, York, Derby and Launceston. None of these places shall give immunity or defence to any person, which shall commit wilful murder, rape, burglary, robbery in the highway, or in any house, or in any church or chapel, or which shall burn wilfully any house or barn with corn. He that taketh sanctuary in any church, &c., may remain there forty days, as hath been used, unless the coroner repair to him to take his abjuration. In which case he shall abjure to any of the aforesaid privileged places, not being full of the number appointed to them, viz: above twenty persons, there to remain during his life.

A sanctuary man committing felony, lost the benefit of sanctuary. A privileged person abjuring to any of the above places, was passed from constable to constable, till he reached the governor of the place; and if that were full, then he was passed to the next sanctuary, and so on. Sanctuary men bore a cross in their hand, as a sign that they were pardoned for the sake of the holy place wherein they sought protection. Baines states that according to tradition the site of the sanctuary at Manchester was the vicinity of Hyde's Cross; but we know of no evidence in support of that locality. It would most probably be some confined district, capable of affording shelter to twenty persons, in the immediate vicinity of the Collegiate church. One year of sanctuary in Manchester was enough for the peaceable inhabitants. Doubtless strong remonstrances were made on their behalf; for an act was passed (33 Henry VIII. cap. 15, 1541) intituled "An act touching the translation of sanctuary from Manchester to West-Chester" (Chester).

Apart from its statement as to the results of sanctuary, this statute furnishes so curious and interesting a picture of the state of Manchester about the period of the Reformation, as to its social condition, trade and manufacture, and police regulations, that we need offer no apology for transcribing its principal provisions, merely modernising its spelling:—

Whereas the said town of Manchester is, and hath of long time been, a town well inhabited, and the king's subjects inhabitants of the same town, are well set a-work in making of cloths, as well of linen as of woollen, whereby the inhabitants of the town have obtained, gotten, and come unto riches and wealthy livings, and have kept and set many artificers and poor folks to work within the town, and by reason of the great occupying, good order, strait [strict] and true dealing of the inhabitants of the town, many strangers, as well of Ireland as of other places within this realm, have resorted to the town with linen yarn, woole, and other necessary wares for making of cloths, to be sold there, and have used to credit and trust the poor inhabitants of the town, which were not able, and had not ready money to pay in hand for the said yarns, woole and wares, unto such time the said persons credited, with their industry, labour and pains, might make cloths of the wool, yarns and other necessary wares, and sold the same, to content and pay their creditors; wherein hath consisted much of the common wealth of the town, and many poor folks had living, and children and servants there, virtuously brought up in honest and true labour, out of all idleness. And forasmuch as of necessity the said linen yarn must lie without [or outside houses] as well in the night as in the day continually for the space of one half year, to be whited [or bleached] before it can be made cloth; and the woollen-cloths there made must hang upon the tenter [-hooks] to be dried before it can be dressed up; and for the safeguard thereof it is and shall be expedient and necessary that substantial, honest, just, true and credible [? creditable] persons be and shall dwell in the town, and no manner of light persons there to be inhabitants. And whereas also many strangers, inhabiting in other townships and places, have used customably to resort to the town of Manchester, with a great number of *cottons* [woollen goods so named] to be uttered and sold to the inhabitants of the town, to the great profit of all the inhabitants of the same, and thereby many poor people have been well set a-work, as well with dressing and friesing of the said cottons, as with putting to sale the same. And forasmuch as divers light and evil-disposed persons, since the making of the said statute [giving sanctuary to Manchester] for certain offences by them committed and done, have now of late resorted and made their abode within the town of Manchester, and lived in idleness: not only giving evil occasion to honest and true labourers and servants within the town to live in such sort of idleness, but also have allured and enticed divers servants and labourers within the town to practise and use unlawful games, whereby they have consumed and mis-spent their masters' goods being in hand; over that, since the resort of the said persons to the town, there have been committed and done divers thefts and felonies, as in felonious breaking of walke-

[or fulling-] mills, and stealing cloths thither brought to be fulled, and also in stealing of yarn laid out to be whited, and in stealing and cutting down great pieces of cloth from the tenters, as well by night as by day, to the great impoverishment of the owners thereof, so that they be not able to keep their credit with their said creditors: by reason whereof the said Irishmen and other, which heretofore have used to bring and sell their wools, yarn, and other necessary wares for making of cloths, to the inhabitants of the town, and to credit them for the payment thereof, as before is expressed, do now withdraw themselves with their said wares, and will not bring nor sell the said wares in the town, nor to the inhabitants thereof, without ready payment in hand; and the said persons, which used to bring thither the said cottons, do also withdraw themselves; which shall be to the utter decay and desolation of the town within short time, if the said offenders and sanctuary men and such other, shall be suffered to make their abode within the town. And also, forasmuch as the town of Manchester is not walled, whereby the sanctuary men may or can safely be kept in the night season, but that they may and do continually escape out of the town by night, and commit sundry great robberies and felonies upon the king's loving and obedient subjects repairing to the town, and after their said felonies and robberies so committed, may without any let of wall or fortress, enter into any part and quarters of the same town. And also, forasmuch as there is neither mayor, sheriff, bailiff, nor other head officer or officers within the town, other than a steward, being officer immediately under the chief lord of the town, by reason whereof or by whom the said sanctuary men might be the more in dread, or better punished, after their robberies or evil doings; nor yet any prison-house or gaol safely to keep them in, after their offences and evil doings. Wherefore be it ordered and enacted &c. that the said former act of parliament, concerning the privilege, sanctuary and tuition for the said offenders only within the town of Manchester, shall and may from the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming [June 24, 1541-2] be repealed, annihilated and made frustrate. And the town of Manchester from the said feast shall be of like condition, estate and quality discharged of the said sanctuary and privilege, as the same town was before the making of the said former act." The statute further enacts that Chester, which was well inhabited, having no such trade of merchandize, and having a strong gaol within the city for punishing of malefactors, and also within the city a mayor, bailiff, and other head officers, amongst other towns and places, should from thenceforth be admitted, allowed and taken to be sanctuary and a place of privilege and tuition. And that the constables of Manchester, taking with them twenty of the inhabitants [one for each sanctuary man] should take and bring from Manchester to Chester the said sanctuary men, there to be delivered to the mayor and sheriffs of the city, and there to remain.

The chief trade or manufacture of Manchester in the sixteenth century is sufficiently indicated by the sanctuary act of 1541 just cited; which shows that the Manchester manufacturers of that day bought linen yarns from Irish dealers, and woollen yarns from all who brought

them to the town, and from these made linen and woollen cloths. They also bought a sort of woollen cloths called "*cottons*," which were made in Wales, especially in "the shires of Carmarthen, Cardigan and Pembroke," and brought to Manchester for sale; where they were further dressed and frised or friezed¹¹ [not *greezed*, as in *History of Foundations*, vol. i. p. 67]; and thus finished, they fetched a higher price than in the rough state in which they came to Manchester.

The early history of any ancient manufacture is necessarily involved in obscurity; and that of woollen cloths is no exception, and can indeed be only dimly read through the musty details of obsolete statutes. In the short reign of Richard III. an act was passed for making cloths (1 Richard III., cap. 8, 1483), remarkable for its long enumeration of the deceits practised in every process of weaving, finishing and dyeing woollen cloths; but which is noticed here chiefly because it expressly declares that its operation is not to extend to "*Kendals*, nor any cloth called *frise* ware." The statute of the 11 Henry VII., cap. 27 (1494), intituled "A remedy to avoid deceitful sleights used upon fustians," is curious, as showing that woollen fustians were then brought hither from over sea, unshorn; that instead of the good old shearing with broad shears, deceit was practised by using secretly, in garrets, certain irons, drawn over the unshorn fustians so as to pluck off both nap and *cotton* [or long wool]. Others, instead of shearing, singe away the cotton by a lighted candle, down to the hard threads, concealing their bareness by false dressing; so that fustians, then greatly used among the common people as the most profitable cloth for doublets and other wearing apparel, and which had longest endured of any foreign cloth, instead of

¹¹ A *frieze*, or *frise*, was a coarse narrow cloth, formerly much in use, being a material for the garments of the humbler classes. The name was probably derived from Friesland, where it was made; and "cloth of Friesland" in time became abbreviated in common parlance to "*Frise*." In old poems Friesland was called *Frise*. As to "Welsh cottons" being frised in Manchester, a cloth was said to be frised that had the outer surface of long wool; so that frising was perhaps a raising of the pile, like fustian-cutting. An act of 6 Henry VIII., cap. 9 (1514), intituled "An act for avoiding deceits in making woollen cloths," is not to extend to Cornwall, or to *frise* made in Wales, Lancashire and Cheshire. This statute is believed to be the earliest enactment on the statute book in which the two counties palatine are mentioned in connexion with the woollen manufacture; though fulling-mills existed at Colne and elsewhere in Lancashire from a much earlier period.

lasting for two years or more, would not endure scarcely for four months, to the great hurt of the poor commons and serving-men. But there is no ground for supposing that these woollen fustians formed any part of the Manchester manufacture of that period. In the 6 Henry VIII., cap. 9 (1514), an "Act to avoid deceits in making of woollen cloths," are regulations for the honest working of the breaker, kember [comber] carder and spinner of the wool; and the weaver of the yarn into cloth, who is not to put any more oil, *breen* [brine] moisture, dust, sand, or any other thing deceivably into the web, on penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* The walker and fuller are to full it thickly and not to work the cloth on any cards on either side. The clothier is not to offer it for sale, if shrunk unduly in length or breadth by stretching over tenters. The buyer is not afterwards to stretch it by tenter &c. No flocks are to be worked into woollen cloth. But this act is not to extend to any "cottons, or plain lining, or frieze, made in Wales, Lancashire or Cheshire." There were deceits practised in winding wool; for the statute of 23 Henry VIII., cap. 17 (1531), prohibits winding till after washing, and forbids the winding in any fleece of clay, lead, stones, sand, tails, deceitful locks, cot, cals, comber, [cot is refuse wool; ? coals or cauls; cumber or comb-refuse;] lambs' wool, &c., to make the fleece unduly heavy. Then another act "for the true making of woollen cloths" (3 and 4 Edward VI., cap. 2, 1549) sets forth the slight and subtle making of cloths and colours [dyes], by which "not only great infamies and slanders have grown to the realm, but also the king's faithful and true subjects have sustained great loss in the use and wearing" thereof. This act prohibits over-stretching, and the use of iron cards, pickards, or the pressing of any cloth. As to dyeing, it prohibits dyeing any browns, blues, pewks [puce], tawnies or violets, except the cloth be perfectly boiled, grained, or maddered upon the woad, and shot with good and sufficient cork or orchal. Nor shall any one dye any wool into cloths called russets, musters, marbles, grays, roys, &c., or to be made into hats and caps, unless such wool be perfectly woaded, boiled and maddered, according to the true and ancient usage. Brasil as a dye is prohibited. No one shall put any flocks, chalk, flour or starch, or any other deceivable thing, upon set cloth or other cloth, coloured or uncoloured. Cloth overseers are to search every clothier's, draper's, cloth-worker's, dyer's and presser's houses

and shops, to view all cloth, and condemn the faulty to forfeiture, &c. To distinguish new and good from old and bad cloth, all the former is to be marked with a letter E (the king's initial) crowned, wrought in the cloth. Then the 5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 6 (1552), is another act "for the true making of woollen cloth." Its preamble complains that notwithstanding many godly statutes made for the same purpose, clothiers, some from lack of knowledge and experience, and some of extreme covetousness, do daily more and more study to make money than to make good cloths; and daily, instead of truth practise falsehood, and instead of substantial making of cloth do practise slight and slender making; some by mingling yarn of divers spinnings in one cloth; some by mingling fell wool and lamb's wool with fleece wool; some by putting too little stuff; some by taking them out of the mill before they be full thicked; some by over-stretching them upon the tenter, and then stopping with flocks such *bracks* [cracks, flaws] as shall be made by means thereof; finally, by using so many sleights and untruths, as, when the cloths be put in water to try them; they rise out of the same neither in length nor breadth as they ought to do: besides such cockeling, bandoning, and divers other great and notable faults as almost cannot be thought to be true. They even counterfeit the E and crown. This act in great detail (numbering fifty-three sections) regulates the length, breadth and weight &c. of almost every description of cloth then made. It shows the vast extent of the woollen manufacture of England in that period, naming thirteen or fourteen English counties besides Wales, as places where it was carried on. We cite those sections only which relate to Manchester manufactures:

21. All and every cotton or cottons, called Manchester, Lancashire or Cheshire cottons, which shall be full wrought to the sale, shall be in length twenty-two goades [*i.e.* ells or yards] and contain in breadth three quarters of a yard in the water, and shall weigh 30lb. the piece at the least. 22. All cloths called *Manchester Rugs* or *Manchester Frizes*, which shall be made and fully wrought for sale, shall contain in length thirty-six yards, and in breadth three quarters of a yard in coming out of the water, and shall not be stretched on the tenter or otherwise, above a nail of a yard in breadth; and being so fully wrought and well dried, shall weigh every piece 48lb. at the least. 26. No person shall put any hair, flocks, or any yarn made of lamb's wool into any cloth, kersey, frize or cotton; forfeiture the cloth or its value. 27. If any cloth through the default or negligence of the carders, spinners or weavers, prove either pursy, bandy, squally by warp or woof, or else be evil burled or wasted in the mill; or else through default or negligence of the millman or otherwise, be full of

holes, mill-bracks &c., then the aulneger's seal shall not be set &c. 30. No draper, merchant tailor, cloth-worker &c., shall retail any of the cloths or kerseys, frizes, rugs or cottons, till he have made trial, as well by water as by the weight and measure, whether they are made true or not. 38. Two searchers to view all cloths dressed, dyed or pressed with the cold press, to see whether it be well dressed, without putting thereto flocks, sollace, chalk, flour or any other deceitful thing, and also whether well dyed. 39. Every mayor or head officer of a city or town to have a seal of lead, with the arms and name of such town; for sealing every cloth 2d. 40. If they find cloth faulty to stamp it with another lead seal, bearing the letter F. 46. No coloured cloth shall be put to sale of any other colour than these: scarlet, red, crimson, murrey [mulberry], violet, puke, brown-blue, blacks, greens, yellows, blues, orange-tawny, russet, marble-gray, sad [dark] new colour (?), azure, watchet [pale blue] sheep's-colour, lion-colour, motley [variegated, sometimes spotted or striped], or iron-gray; on forfeiture of the value of the cloth. 47. No cloth to be pressed with the hot press, but only with the cold press. 53. No person shall boil any kind of wools, to be converted into any kind of broad cloth or kersey, with any kind of galls, rinds, barks of trees, or sawdust, on forfeiture of the wool or its value.

From the 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 11 (1555), we learn that the weavers had their grounds of complaint. Its preamble states that the weavers of this realm have now and aforetime complained that the rich and wealthy clothiers do many ways oppress them; some by setting up and keeping in their houses divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and persons unskilful, to the decay of a great number of artificers brought up to the said science of weaving, their families and household; some by ingrossing of looms into their hands and possessions, and letting them out at such unreasonable rates as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themselves, much less their wives, families and children; some also by giving much less wages and hire for the weaving and workmanship of cloths, than in times past they did; whereby the weavers are enforced utterly to forsake their art and occupation wherein they have been brought up. It enacts therefore—

That no clothier out of a borough, market or corporate town, shall have above one loom; none out of a city &c. above two looms. [This would be the limit for Manchester.] No weaver shall be either tucker, fuller or dyer. No fuller or tucker shall keep a loom. No weaver dwelling out of a city &c. shall have above two apprentices at one time. None shall set up weaving unless he have been apprenticed to, or have exercised, the same seven years. The act not to extend to Yorkshire, Cumberland and Northumberland. Lancashire was therefore within its purview. But this act being found to press hard upon the clothiers in some respects, "An act touching the making of woollen cloth" was passed in 1557 (4 and 5 Philip and Mary, cap. 5),

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which reciting the act of 5 and 6 Edward VI. (1552) and adding "it being impossible to observe the same in all points," — 13. That all and every cotton, called Manchester, Lancashire and Cheshire cottons, and all cloths called Manchester rugs and Manchester frizes may be divided into two half-pieces, to be of length, breadth and weight in proportion to the full pieces, and to be marked with an M crowned. 30. Amongst the colours permitted for dyed woollen cloths are the following additional to those already given: friar's-gray, crane-colour, purple, and old medley colour. 32. That no person shall make woollen cloth but only in a market town where cloth hath commonly been used to be made, by the space of ten years last past, or in a city, borough or town corporate. 36. That it shall be lawful to all persons which shall dwell in any of the shires of North or South Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire (&c.) where cloths have been really made (for twenty years past) and having been prentice to the occupation of cloth-making or exercised it for seven years, to use the feat or mystery &c. out of a city, borough or market town.

There are some curious enactments which seem to imply that a particular process was carried on by persons called indifferently shearmen, cottoners, or frizers; or that shearing, cottoning and frizing were kindred processes, if not identical. Any buyer or seller of Welsh cloth and linings in Shrewsbury delivering the same to be "cottoned, frized, dressed or wrought to any shearman, cottoner, or frizer," and not paying such workman in ready money, was to lose his liberties and freedoms of the fraternity of drapers &c. (8 Elizabeth, cap. 7; and 14 Elizabeth, cap. 12; 1566 and 1572.) Again, no dealer in Welsh linings was to dress or work them in his house &c., but put them to some person "of the science of shermen, cottoners, or frizers, to be by them wrought and dressed," under penalty of 6s. 8d. per piece. (4 and 5 Philip and Mary, cap. 5, 1557.)

The statute of 8 Elizabeth, cap. 12 (1565) "for the aulneger's fees in Lancashire" &c., sets forth "that divers clothiers inhabiting Lancashire, seeking inordinately their own singular gains, have of late practised privily to convey and carry away out of that county divers cottons, frizes and rugs there made to be sold, before the queen's aulneger hath fixed to every such cloth the queen's seal, and sometimes counterfeiting and setting to such cloths seals of their own; minding thereby not only to defraud the aulneger of his accustomed fees, to be paid for the queen's use, for the sealing of every such cloth, cotton, &c., but also to cover and hide the untrue and deceitful making of many of the said cloths &c. to the no little damage and prejudice of the aulneger, who standeth charged with the payment of a great annual farm to the

queen for the said aulnege, in deceit of her subjects and discredit of the commodity of the said cloths." The enactments of this act are stated in a note on the aulneger (p. 25, *note 15 ante*). But there is a sort of preamble to the sixth section, which sets forth the annoyance to which cloth-sellers were subject from informers and searchers, which is a necessary part of the picture of the trade of the period :

"Such persons as commonly utter and sell the several kinds of cottons, frizes and rugs, have been and are daily molested, vexed and troubled, to their great loss and hindrance, by means of the cruelty of informers and searchers, seeking continually their own private gain, by finding of the said cottons &c. at no time made according to such form of weights, lengths and breadths as by former statutes is limited and appointed; and for that the same persons do allege that the makers of the said cottons &c. can by no means be reduced to observe the said weights, lengths and breadths in the making of the said cottons &c. according to the form of the former statutes without the utter undoing of great numbers of poor people that are commonly the makers of such kinds of cloths; and that by means hereof the said cottons &c. since the making of the said statutes have been and are more scarce and dearer than they were before &c., and in nothing at all amended in substance or form of making." The 23 Elizabeth, cap. 9 (1581) is "for abolishing certain deceitful stuff used in dyeing cloth" &c. Its preamble states that there is brought from beyond seas a certain stuff called logwood or blockwood, wherewith dyers, clothiers, hat-makers and others, dye daily divers cloths, kerseys, wools, bays, cottons, hose-yarn, hats, caps, flannels &c.; forasmuch as the colours from logwood are false and deceitful, and the cloth sold both in England and abroad brings great discredit and slander on both English merchants and dyers &c., it enacts that no cloth &c. shall be dyed with logwood, which shall be forfeited and openly burned. No cloth shall be maddered for black unless first grounded with woad. It is lawful to dye all manner of galled black, shumac black, *alias* plain black, wherein no madder shall be used. A dyer shall fix a seal of lead to his cloth with the letter M, for "maddered," on forfeiture of 3s. 4d. a yard. The 39 Elizabeth, cap. 14 (1597), enacts that no foreign cards for wool shall be brought into this realm to be sold. The statute 39 Elizabeth, cap. 20 (1597), "against the deceitful stretching and tentering of northern cloth," sets forth that the clothiers and chapmen of the counties of York, Lancaster, and others north of Trent, notwithstanding many good laws, which however have not only not restrained the great abuse in making of cloths and kerseys but rather have increased the same, inasmuch that northern cloths and kerseys do yearly and daily grow worse and worse, and are made more light, and are much more stretched and strained than heretofore, to the great deceit of all nations where they are sold, and to the great shame and slander of the country where they are made, and within short time are like utterly to overthrow the trade of cloth-making in those counties, whereupon so many thousands of the queen's subjects do now live and are maintained; which great enormities are chiefly imputed to the great number of tenters and other engines daily used in these

counties for stretching and straining the said cloths &c. No person shall stretch or strain any rugs, frizes, or any other cloths, made within Yorkshire, Lancashire &c., under a penalty of 5*l.* the cloth; nor use any tenter, wrinch, rope, ring-head or other engine to stretch &c. (10*l.*) A lead seal to mark the length &c., and forfeiture for every yard wanting in length 4*s.*, and every pound wanting in weight 2*s.* In every parish town and village where such cloths are made the justices of the peace or head officers may appoint two, four, six, eight or more overseers for a year or six months sworn or bound in 40*l.* each to see this statute observed; which overseers are once a month at least to visit all houses, shops &c. of clothiers, drapers, cloth workers &c., to seize and present to the justices all faulty cloths, and all others to stamp with a lead seal bearing the word "searched." Counterfeiting the seal &c. for the first offence 10*l.*, second the pillory and 20*l.* Constables and others may search for ropes, rings, heads, wrinches, wrings and other engines for stretching, and deface them; and if afterwards used may sell them and apply the money to the relief of the poor. Northern cloths brought to London to be sold, to be brought into the common cloth market place, called Blackwell Hall, to be there searched dry, without wetting, and out of market times, by the city searchers. For every cloth not brought there, forfeit 40*s.*; every searcher in market times, forfeit 5*s.*

The 43 Elizabeth, cap. 10 (1601), is another act for the true making of woollen cloths, and the last now to be noticed. It declares the good and godly purposes of former acts of this kind to be frustrated, by straining, stretching, want of weights, flocks, sollace, chalk, flour and other deceitful things, subtle sleights and untruths; by which the cloths, when put in water, shrink and be rewy, pury, squally, cockling, bandy, light, and notably faulty; to the great dislike of foreign princes, and to the hindrance and loss of the buyer and wearer. It prohibits putting any hair, flocks, thrums, or yarn made of lamb's wool &c. into any woollen cloth, frize, cotton, &c., made to be sold, on forfeiture of the cloth; and a like penalty on all who buy or gather such things for such use. Penalties are imposed on stretching cloths beyond certain lengths &c., viz. cottons, frizes and rugs, not to stretch more than half a yard in length and one nail in breadth, on forfeiture of the cloth. If any cotton &c. lack above one pound of the statutory weight, forfeit for every pound wanting 10*s.*, for every three pounds wanting 40*s.*, and so double forfeiture for every pound wanting, or else forfeiture of the cloth itself. Any cotton &c. transported beyond seas, and found to have been tented, strained or stretched &c., may be brought back by the merchant or buyer at his own cost, who on delivery to the maker or seller shall recover the value by action of debt &c.

It should be noted that during the persecution attending the ravages of the Spaniards under the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, many skilled Flemish woollen weavers sought an asylum in England, and numbers of these, settling in and around Manchester, greatly improved the woollen manufacture during the reign of Elizabeth.

Such being the features of the woollen manufacture in Manchester, let us glance at the exports of woollen goods. The Manchester clothier, like those of other parts of the kingdom, sent his cloths in packs, to Blackwell Hall, London; and it is stated in

Smith's *Memoirs of Wool, &c.*, (vol. i. p. 105), that a great share of the cloth brought to that hall was destined for foreign countries. According to Camden, the commerce between England and the Netherlands rose in 1654 to above twelve million florins (of 3s. each), and the cloth to above five million florins. In other words, the annual exports of woollen goods from England to Antwerp at that time amounted to 750,000*l.*; an immense sum for those early days of trade. There were also considerable exports of English woollen cloth at that period to Amsterdam, Hamburgh, some parts of France, to Sweden and Russia, not to name Scotland and Ireland; so that Smith estimates the ordinary yearly export of English woollen goods at this period at one million, two or three hundred thousand pounds. There is no means of estimating what share of these exports was contributed by Manchester and its immediate neighbourhood. It was found that the corporation of German merchants, called Hanse merchants or Easterlings, whose London establishment was at the Steel-yard, had engrossed nearly the whole of the foreign trade in woollens; and this led to their suppression about 1552; and their trade was thenceforward transferred to the English merchants.

As to the linen manufacture of Manchester in the sixteenth century, the information we have concerning it is very scanty and meagre, and is rather inferential than positive. Linen yarn was spun and linen cloth woven, from foreign hemp and flax, before these were much grown in England; hence cloth is supposed to have been first manufactured in England by Flemish weavers under the protection of Henry III. in 1253; and a company of linen weavers established themselves in London in 1368. A strenuous attempt to enforce a compulsory cultivation of hemp or flax was made in the reign of Henry VIII. A statute of his twenty-fourth year (1532), cap. 4, shows by its preamble that one chief object was to find employment for the poor in spinning linen yarn and weaving linen cloth. Noticing "the great numbers of idle people daily increasing throughout this realm," which is attributed to large imports of foreign manufactures, particularly "linen cloth of divers sorts" made in foreign countries, which are enriched thereby; while our people, for lack of making it themselves, being compelled to buy all or most of the linen cloth consumed in England, that money is carried out of the country. And "the people of this realm, as well men as women, who should and might be set on work, by exercising of like policy and crafts, of spinning, weaving and making of linen cloth, live now in idleness and ociositie (unprofitableness), to the high displeasure of Almighty God, great diminution of the king's people, and extreme ruin, decay and impoverishment of this realm." It enacts that every person having in his occupation sixty acres of arable land or pasture apt for tillage, shall yearly till and sow in seasonable time one rood thereof with lin-seed, otherwise called flax-seed, or hemp-seed, or with both. And so one rood for every forty acres in his occupation, on forfeiture of 3*s.* 4*d.* for every forty acres &c. An acre to be accounted one hundred and sixty perches, and every perch sixteen and a half feet. This statute was revived by 5 Elizabeth, cap. 5 (1562), which required that one acre in sixty should be sown with hemp or flax seed. These statutes were, however, repealed by 35 Elizabeth, cap. 7 (1593). Though the attempt to grow

flax in England was for the most part unsuccessful; yet there is evidence that in 1583 and following years hemp was grown on the light, sandy soil of Hoole, six or seven miles S.W. of Preston (*Shuttleworth Accounts*, p. 687); and Elizabeth's charter of foundation to Manchester college in 1587 grants to the warden and fellows, *inter alia*, all tithes of *hemp*, wool and *flax* in the parish. According to Markham, the growing of hemp was at one time an ordinary farm operation; whilst the washing, swingling and preparation of it, and even the spinning of it, on the ordinary wheel, into linen yarn, were among the home occupations of the farmer's wife, who only sent it to the weaver in the shape of yarn ready to be woven into cloth. As to linen, the statute of 28 Henry VIII., cap. 4 (1586). imposes on any person putting to sale any whole or half-piece of linen cloth called *dowlas* or *lockram*,¹² unless there be mentioned expressly upon it the whole number of yards or ells contained therein, forfeiture of the piece or half-piece. By the 1 Elizabeth, cap. 12 (1559), if any person do wittingly cast any piece of linen cloth over a beam or piece of timber, and doth by any device rack, stretch and draw the same, of length and breadth, and then doth with battledores, pieces of timber and wood beat the same, and cast thereupon any deceitful liquors mingled with chalk or other like things, or doth wittingly use any other act or mean, whereby the said linen cloth shall be deceitful, or worse to or for the good use thereof, he shall forfeit the cloth, and suffer one month's imprisonment at the least and pay such fines as shall be assessed by the justices &c. Amongst the earlier products of the linen loom in Manchester were tapes, especially the "Manchester inkle," a coarse, whited brown, linen tape; tickings, sacking, girth-web, &c. Later, after the introduction of raw cotton, the warps for all kinds of fustians and other cotton goods were made of linen. Hollinworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, refers to the Irish merchants trading with Manchester in the year 1592, and adds that the town then and long after (till the rebellion broke out), did with these merchants "drive a great and a gainful trade."

We have seen what were the staple manufactures of Manchester in the sixteenth century. But, in addition to these, a populous, busy and growing town demands, for the supply of food, clothing, habitation, comfort and luxury to its inhabitants, a large number of handicrafts and trades. It is remarkable how the legislation of those times cared

¹² *Dowlas* was a coarse kind of linen, originally imported from Brittany, but afterwards made in England. It was made of various widths, and the difference between what is called *dowlas* and what is called "housewife" or "home-bleached" linen, is said to be that its thread is more round, that it is more bleached, and on the whole, though whiter, is less dressed than the home-bleached. *Lockram* was a cheap, coarse linen, worn chiefly by the lower classes. A book in 1595 has the phrase, "a *lockram* smock, worth threepence." There was also a linen *buckram*, of which the piece was twenty-five yards long and four-fourths wide; its peculiar stiffness being imparted by the use of strong gum, and also (later) by calendering.

for all these trades and crafts, arts and mysteries. The most minute regulations were prescribed for every manipulation and process, during the conversion of any raw material into a manufactured article. When the latter came to be offered for sale, the same spirit of law fixed the due length, breadth and weight of everything, from a piece of woollen cloth to a faggot of sticks for fuel. Leather, woollen and linen cloths were stamped with lead seals. The trades and crafts more particularly within the cognizance and under the jurisdiction of the Court Leet have been noticed in the previous volume, or in the notes to the present one. But as to the working classes, journeymen and apprentices, general enactments were passed to restrain artificers from working in towns not their own birth-places or dwelling-places, and to fix the rate of their wages, both exclusive and inclusive of food, one rate for the summer months and another for the winter months.

The principal statute relating to free labour and labourers is that of 5 Elizabeth (1562) cap. 4, "An act containing divers orders for artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry and apprentices," which long continued the law of the land, and was not repealed till 54 George III., cap. 96 (1814). The preamble sets forth that there were then in force a great number of statutes on the subject; yet partly from their imperfection, contrariety, variety and number, but chiefly that the wages limited and rated therein were in divers places too small, and not answerable to the time and the advancement and prices of all things, they could not be put in good and due execution. If therefore their substance were digested and reduced into one sole law and statute, and therein a uniform order prescribed as to wages &c., "there is good hope that it will come to pass that this law should banish idleness, advance husbandry, and yield unto the hired person, both in time of scarcity and of plenty, a convenient proportion of wages." After repealing all former statutes, it enacts that no person shall hire or take into service, to work for less than a whole year in any of the sciences, crafts, mysteries or arts of clothiers, woollen cloth weavers, tuckers, fullers, cloth workers, shearmen, dyers, hosiers, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, pewterers, bakers, brewers, glovers, cutlers, smiths, farriers, curriers, saddlers, spurriers, turners, cappers, hat makers or felt makers, bougers, fletchers, arrow-head makers, butchers, cooks or millers. Every unmarried person and others under thirty years, having been brought up to any of these arts &c., shall be compellable to serve any person using the same art &c. on request made, under penalty. No person to put away his servant, or servant depart from his master, before the end of his time; unless for reasonable cause, to be determined by a justice of peace, mayor, or chief officer of a city &c. The notice or "warning" on either side to be one quarter before the end of the term. As to husbandry service, every one between the ages of twelve and sixty (with numerous exceptions) shall be compelled to be retained to serve in husbandry

by the year with any person that keepeth husbandry and requires such person to serve within the same there. The persons excepted are those otherwise lawfully retained, apprentices to fishermen and mariners, servants of kidders or carriers of corn &c., or husbandmen, or of artificers &c. in any town &c., or retained by year or half-year, for digging, seeking, finding, getting, melting, finishing, working, trying or making of any silver, tin, lead, iron, copper, stone, sea-coal, stone-coal, moor-coal, or chirk-coal; persons making glass; gentlemen born, students or scholars in universities, or scholars; having land &c. of inheritance of the clear yearly value of 40*s.*; persons worth 10*l.* in goods and chattels; heirs-apparent of lands &c. of the clear yearly value of 10*l.* or goods and chattels of 40*l.*; officers &c., farm-holders &c. Forfeiture for putting away a servant before the end of his term, or at the end without a quarter's warning, 40*s.* Servants departing as above, or refusing to serve for the wages limited &c., to be committed to ward till they be bound to serve &c. No retained person in husbandry or the arts &c. may depart from the place where he serves without a testimonial under the seal of the city &c., or of the constable or other head officer, and of two other householders, declaring his lawful departure and the name of the place where he dwelled last, with certificate of testimonial to be delivered to him and registered by the parson, vicar, or curate of the parish, for which registration a fee of 2*d.* to be paid. No servant to be retained without shewing his testimonial, and a master retaining a servant without to forfeit 5*l.* Any person taken with a counterfeit or forged testimonial, to be whipped as a vagabond. All artificers and labourers hired by the day or week, shall betwixt the midst of March and September be at their work at or before five o'clock in the morning, and continue and not depart until betwixt seven and eight o'clock at night (except in time of breakfast, dinner and drinking, which shall not exceed two and a half hours in a day, viz. drinking half an hour, dinner one hour, sleep when allowed from midst of May to midst of August half an hour at the most, and breakfast half an hour.) Between the midst of September and March, from the spring of the day in the morning until the night (except in time appointed for breakfast and dinner.) Forfeiture one penny for every hour's absence, to be deducted from his wages. Every artificer and labourer retained for building or repairing any church, house, ship, mill, or other work, taken in great, in task, or in gross, shall not depart before his work be finished, unless for non-payment of his wages or being lawfully taken or appointed to serve the queen, on pain of one month's imprisonment and forfeiture of 5*l.* to the party from whom he shall so depart. No other artificer or labourer retained to work for the queen or any other person, to depart before the work is finished, if the retaining person so long will have him and pay him his wages, on pain of one month's imprisonment. The wages of servants, labourers and artificers to be assessed by the justices of the peace yearly at Easter quarter sessions, or by the head officers of towns, as they think meet, by the year, day, week, month or otherwise, with meat and drink, or without; what wages by the great, for mowing, reaping, or threshing corn &c., or for mowing or making of hay, or for ditching, paving, railing, or hedging by the rod, perch, lugg,¹² yard, pole, rope,¹⁴ or foot, and for any other kind of reasonable labours or service. The rates to be yearly certified, on parchment,¹⁵

in the court of chancery; to be printed and sent down into every county, city, &c. (ten or twelve proclamations or more) before 1st September; to be entered on record by the clerk of the peace or clerk of the city &c., and proclaimed in the open markets on the market days before Michaelmas, and also the proclamation to be fixed in some convenient place of such city or town. The justices had power to alter or reform the rates yearly at the Easter sessions, or to continue those of the past year. Any person giving more wages than the rates, to be imprisoned ten days and forfeit 5*l.*; any servant taking more than rated wages, imprisonment for twenty-one days. Every retainer, promise, gift, or payment, contrary to this statute, to be void. Any servant, workman, or labourer, wilfully assaulting his master, mistress or dame, a year's imprisonment or less at discretion of the justices or head officer of a town; if the offence require further punishment, to receive it openly at discretion of the authorities, so it extend not to life or limb. In time of hay, corn, or harvest, for the avoiding of the loss of any corn, grain or hay, the authorities shall and may cause all artificers and persons meet to labour, to serve by the day, for the mowing, reaping, shearing, getting, or inning of corn, grain or hay, according to his skill and quality: refusal to be punished by setting in the stocks for two days and one night. Any head officer neglecting to punish, to forfeit 40*s.* Persons accustomed to go into other shires for harvest work, and having not sufficient harvest work in their own town or county, may (with a testimonial to that effect, costing a penny) resort to other counties, for the only mowing, reaping and getting of hay, corn, or grain, and for the only working of harvest works. Justices or head officers of towns may appoint any woman of twelve or under forty years, and unmarried and out of service, whom they think meet to serve, to be retained by the year, week, or day, for such wages and in such manner as they think meet; if she refuse, to be committed to ward till she be bounden to serve. Every householder having and using half a plough-land at the least [as much as one plough could till in a year] in tillage, may take any person above ten and under eighteen years of age as an indentured apprentice in husbandry, till twenty-one at least or twenty-four years of age, as they can agree. Every householder aged twenty-four

¹³ (*Page 102.*) A measure of sixteen and a half feet, anciently of twenty feet. Kennett says a lug is a pole in measure. Forty-nine square yards of coppice-wood make a lug.

¹⁴ (*Ibid.*) A measure of twenty feet.

¹⁵ (*Ibid.*) One of these rates or appointments of the wages for artificers, handicraftsmen, husbandmen, labourers, servants, workmen, and apprentices of husbandry, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, made by the justices at a general session at Drypool, a suburb of Hull, in April, 35 Elizabeth (1593), is printed at some length in the *House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe* (Appendix ii. pp. 350-356), vol. xli. of the Chetham Society's books. To that document the reader is referred; as without such evidence he could scarcely realise how minute were the regulations for the hours of labour, the times of food and of sleep, of working men and labourers in every kind of industrial occupation in the days of "good queen Bess."

years, dwelling in a city &c. and using any art, mystery, or manual occupation there, may take the son of any freeman there not in husbandry or a labourer, as an apprentice for seven years at the least, such term not to expire afore the apprentice be twenty-four years of age at the least. Merchants may take no apprentices, but such whose parents spend 40s. yearly at the least. Householders aged twenty-four years in any market town not corporate, may take for apprentice the children of any artificer, to any art &c. in manner and form as aforesaid. Merchants dwelling in market towns and trafficking or trading into parts beyond the seas, or any mercer, draper, goldsmith, ironmonger, embroiderer, or clothier, that shall put cloth to making and sale, shall not take any person for servant or apprentice except his son, or else that the parents of such apprentice have lands of the clear yearly value of 3*l*. Any person using the art &c. of a smith, wheelwright, ploughwright, millwright, carpenter, rough mason, plasterer, sawyer, lime burner, brickmaker, bricklayer, tiler, slater, helier,¹⁶ tile-maker, linen weaver, turner, cooper, miller, earthen potter, woollen weaver weaving housewives' or household cloth only, fuller, otherwise called tucker or walker, burner of ore and wood ashes, thatcher, or shingler, wheresoever he shall dwell, may have the son of any person as apprentice to be taught in these occupations only, though the parents have no lands &c. None to use any manual occupation except he hath been apprentice to the same; penalty 40s. a month. Provided that no woollen cloth weaver — (other than such as inhabit the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, *Lancaster* and Wales, weaving frizes, cottons, or housewives' cloth only) — making and weaving woollen cloth commonly sold, shall take or have any apprentice in any village, town, or place, unless his son, or else that the parents have in land 3*l*. a year clear at least. Indenture to be registered paying a fee of 4*d*.; penalty 20s. a month. Every one having three apprentices in the crafts &c. of a cloth maker, fuller, shearman, weaver, tailor, or shoemaker, shall keep one journeyman, and for every apprentice above three another journeyman, under a penalty of 10*l*. Persons refusing to be apprenticed, to be committed till bound to serve. If an apprentice be ill-used by his master, or the apprentice do not his duty, the justice or head officer has power to deal with the case, and, if thought meet, to discharge the apprentice of his apprenticeship, under a writing recorded. If the apprentice be in default, to cause such due correction and punishment to be administered as they think meet. No person to be bound to enter into any apprenticeship unless under the age of twenty-one. Apprentices fleeing into other shires may be taken by writ of *capias* and put in prison till they find sufficient surety well and honestly to serve their masters &c. High constables of hundreds may hold, keep and continue the petty or statute sessions, where such have been used to be kept, so as nothing be done contrary to this act.

The condition of the poorer classes of the people, ever an important element of national well-being, was especially so in the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. The wars of the roses, the dissolution of the monastic houses, which were almost the only "poor relief boards" in

¹⁶ A thatcher or tiler.

those days, and other causes already noted, flung a large number of destitute persons upon the country, to seek a maintenance by alms-begging, or by all kinds of roguery. Of the great prevalence of robbery of all kinds in the reign of Henry VIII. we have already cited evidence (*note* 5, p. 72); and when it is borne in mind that during the greater part of the sixteenth century there was no legal provision for the maintenance of either the able-bodied or the aged and helpless poor, we shall cease to wonder that wretchedness and starvation drove so many thousands to lawless courses. The absence of any adequate police virtually encouraged mendicancy and every kind of fraud and of forceful robbery. Though there were repressive laws against vagabondage, the gypsies, &c., only one or two enactments for the relief of the poor can be found in the statute-book before the reign of Elizabeth; during which reign no fewer than eleven statutes were passed with this direct object, gradually improving in principle, and enlarging in scope and administrative excellence, till they culminated in that admirable piece of legislation for the age, the celebrated poor-law of the 43rd Elizabeth, which remained the great legal rule for the government and maintenance of the poor, with comparatively slight modifications, for two hundred and thirty-three years, till it was replaced by the Poor Laws Amendment Act of 4 and 5 William IV. cap. 76 (passed 14th August 1834); which created a central board of commissioners, transferred local control from churchwardens and overseers to boards of guardians elected by the rate-payers, and introduced many improvements in the law, needed by the vast and rapid extension of population, and the growth of pauperism under new and complicated forms of society. We can only very briefly glance at the course of legislation during the reign of Elizabeth. First we may state that an act of 22 Henry VIII. cap. 12 (1530) empowered justices to grant to poor, aged, impotent, and needy persons licenses to beg, within limited districts. Begging without such license was punishable by whipping, or else the stocks for three days and nights with bread and water only; and a vagabond was to be whipped and sworn to return to his place of birth, or of dwelling for the last three years, and there to put himself to labour.

The statute of 27 Henry VIII., cap. 25 (1535), requires all governors of cities, towns, &c., to find and keep every aged, poor and impotent person, born or dwelling

three years within the same limit, by way of voluntary and charitable alms &c., with such convenient alms as shall be thought meet by their discretion, so as none of them shall be compelled to go openly in begging. They shall also compel every sturdy vagabond to be kept in continual labour. Children under fourteen and above five years, that live in idleness and be taken begging, may be put to service in husbandry, or other crafts or labours. "A valiant beggar or sturdy vagabond shall at the first time be whipped, and sent to the place where he was born or last dwelled for three years, there to get his living; if he continue his roguish life, he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off; and if after that he be taken wandering in idleness, or doth not apply to his labour, or is not in service with any master, he shall be adjudged and executed as a felon." No person shall make any common or open dole, nor shall give any money in alms, but to the common boxes and common gatherings in every parish, on forfeiture of tenfold the alms given. The act of 3 and 4 Edward VI., cap. 16 (1549), was chiefly for the punishment of vagabonds and other idle persons. The 5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 2 (1552), confirmed the last-named act as to vagabonds and idle persons, and also enacted that the poor of every parish shall be relieved with that which every parishioner of his charitable devotion will give; but so far as can be gleaned from a meagre abstract in the *Statutes at Large*, it left the giving to the pleasure of the parishioner, and the collecting to the beggars themselves.

The statute of 5 Elizabeth, cap. 3 (1562), partly revived these statutes, but it also initiated the principle of the poor being relieved by their parish, by weekly contributions, and prohibited open mendicancy except where a parish had more impotent persons than it was able to relieve, and then justices might grant licenses to beg in one or more hundreds of the same county; and beggars in unlicensed places were punishable by whipping, stocks, &c., as vagabonds. The great feature of this act is thus worded: "The poor and impotent of every parish shall be relieved, of that which every person will of their charity give weekly. The same relief to be gathered in every parish by collectors assigned, and weekly distributed to the poor; for none of them shall openly go or sit begging." If any person obstinately refused to pay reasonably to the relief of the poor, the justices at quarter sessions might tax him to a reasonable weekly sum; for refusal to pay which they might commit him to prison. The act of 14 Elizabeth, cap. 5 (1572), as do most of the statutes of the period, deals both with the relief of the poor and the punishment of vagabonds. It repeals the statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and enacts that a vagabond, aged above fourteen years, shall be grievously whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch, unless some credible person will take him into service for a year. If he fall again into a roguish life and be of the age of eighteen, he shall suffer death as a felon, unless some one will take him [as a bond-servant] for two years. If he offend a third time, he shall be adjudged a felon [which means that he shall be hung]; and persons relieving vagabonds suffered penalties. The most important enactment of this statute was that assessments shall be made on the parishioners of every parish for the relief of the poor of that parish.

Justices might tax every parish at 6*d.* or 8*d.* weekly, for the relief of prisoners in gaols. This was to be levied by the churchwardens every Sunday, by them paid to the high constables of every town quarterly; and those appointed persons near the gaols to receive and distribute the money weekly to the prisoners. The 17 Elizabeth, cap. 3 (1576), enacts that a rogue shall be conveyed from constable to constable till he reach the gaol; houses of correction to be assigned to every county, and lands in socage might be given during twenty years towards the maintenance of houses of correction and of stocks [not the punishment, but the money and materials for work] for the poor. Such a stock to set the poor on work, shall be provided in every city and town corporate. The rest of this statute relates to bastards. The 35 Elizabeth, cap. 4 (1593), enacts that every parish shall be charged with a sum weekly towards the relief of sick, hurt and maimed soldiers and mariners. Another statute of this year (cap. 7) repeals former enactments as to "the gaoling, boring through the ear, and death, of vagabonds;" and revives the statute of Henry VIII. as to the poor and aged, and the whipping of vagabonds. The 39 Elizabeth, cap. 3 (1597), the precursor of the great law, and its prototype in many respects, marks a great advance in legislation for the relief of the poor. The churchwardens of the parish and four substantial householders (to be nominated by the justices yearly in Easter week) shall be called "overseers of the poor," and shall take order by consent of the justices, for setting to work all children whose parents are not able to keep them; and all such persons (married or unmarried) as, having no means to maintain themselves, use no ordinary or daily trade of life, to get their living by. The overseers of the poor are also to raise weekly or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant and occupier of lands in the parish, in such competent sums as they think fit, a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other necessary ware and stuff, to set the poor on work; and also competent sums of money for the relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and other poor not able to work. The churchwardens and overseers to meet at least once monthly in the parish church, on Sunday afternoon after divine service, there to consider of some good course to be taken, and of some meet orders to be set down in the premises. Four days after the close of their year of office, they are to render to two justices a true and perfect account of all moneys received, or rated and assessed and not received, and of the stock in their hands or in those of the poor to work, and to pay over all moneys in their hands to their successors. If the justices perceive that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy amongst themselves sufficient money for the relief of their poor, the justices may tax, rate and assess any other parish or parishes in the hundred to pay to such parish what the justices think fit; or if the hundred be not able, then any other parishes in the county. The churchwardens and overseers may levy for rates assessed, by distress and sale of the offender's goods, and in default of distress, the offender may be imprisoned till he pay. Such poor as will not work may be sent to the house of correction. The churchwardens and overseers, with consent of the justices, may bind poor children apprentices, males to the age of twenty-four, females to twenty-one, years. The provision of places of habitation for helpless poor is another remarkable feature of this

statute. The churchwardens and overseers, with the leave of the lords of the manor, might erect cottages for such on any waste or common in the parish, and might place inmates, or more families than one, in one cottage. The parents, or the children, sufficiently able, of impotent poor, shall maintain them at their own charges. No person shall wander abroad, or beg in any place, with or without license, on pain of being punished as a rogue. But poor people might (under limitation by churchwardens and overseers) beg for victuals only in their own parish. All penalties and forfeitures in this act to go to the use of the poor of the parish. As all begging is forbidden by this act, the justices at Easter quarter sessions might rate every parish to a weekly sum (not more than sixpence nor under a halfpenny), so that the average rate of the parishes of a county did not exceed 2d. per parish weekly. A competent sum to be sent quarterly out of every county and place corporate for the relief of the poor prisoners of the King's Bench and Marshalsea and also of the hospitals and alms-houses within the county. Every discharged soldier or mariner to have a testimonial, setting forth the place of discharge or landing, and the place of his birth or dwelling to which he was to pass, in which journey during reasonable time, he might ask relief, without incurring the penalty for begging &c. The 39 Elizabeth, cap. 4 (1597), "for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars," provides for the erection of houses of correction, where they may be set to work or punished. A rogue might be banished the realm or sent to the galleys. The statute of the same year, cap. 5, "for erecting hospitals, or abiding and *working-houses* for the poor," introduces another important provision into legislation for the poor. It chiefly relates, however, to the founding of hospitals by benevolent individuals, and the making such corporate bodies. The provisions as to wandering soldiers and seamen having been abused, an act was passed (39 Elizabeth, cap. 17, 1597), which sets forth that "divers lewd and licentious persons, contemning the laws, magistrates and religion, have of late days wandered up and down, and in all parts of the realm, under the name of soldiers and mariners &c., and do constantly assemble in the highways and elsewhere in troops, to the great terror and astonishment of her majesty's true subjects, the impeachment of her laws, and the disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of the realm, many heinous outrages, robberies and horrible murders being daily committed by these dissolute persons" &c. Justices of the peace are empowered to execute every such offender having no testimonial, unless an honest person of substance will take him into his service for a year &c.; if the offender depart within that year, to be adjudged a felon, without benefit of clergy. Wanderers falling sick by the way, or where they cannot work, are exempted. The hundred to be taxed to the relief of soldiers and mariners, till sufficient work can be found for them. Another act (43 Elizabeth, cap. 3, 1601) repeals the two former acts as to soldiers and mariners, declaring it to be more needful now than when they were made, "to provide relief and maintenance to soldiers and mariners, that have lost their limbs and disabled their bodies in defence and service of her majesty and the state; in respect that the number of soldiers is so much the greater by how much her majesty's just and honorable defensive wars are increased." Every parish to pay weekly to the relief of sick,

hurt and maimed soldiers and mariners not more than 10*l.* or less than 2*l.* Relief to any soldier or mariner not to exceed a pension of 10*l.* yearly; nor to any under the degree of a lieutenant more than 20*l.* Relief to be given out of the counties where such soldiers &c. were pressed. The famous 43 of Elizabeth, cap. 2 (1601), entitled "An act for the relief of the poor," re-enacts many sections of its precursor of 1597, with slight modifications. It leaves the number of overseers optional, as to four, three, or two. It copies the former act as to the election and duties of church-wardens and overseers; their setting children to work and binding them apprentices; their compelling to work all unemployed, unable to maintain themselves; their taxing every inhabitant and occupier in the parish, "parson, vicar and other," and tithe owners, and owners of coal pits and underwood, for poor stock and relief of the helpless poor. It authorises in cases of poor parishes, the rating of other parishes in the hundred, or in the county; empowers collection of poor rate by levy, distress and sale of goods &c.; the committal to the house of correction of poor persons refusing to work; authorises placing the helpless poor in cottages &c.; enumerates amongst able relatives who shall maintain their poor kindred, "father and grandfather, mother and grandmother, and children." It gives power to mayors, or other head officers of cities and towns, to exercise the powers elsewhere vested in county justices; assigns all penalties &c. to the relief of the poor; provides that treasurers shall be yearly appointed by the justices, and imposes penalties for their refusal to act; enacts that the former statute of 1597 shall remain in force till the following Easter, when this act is to come in force; and has a clause protecting persons making distress against actions for trespass &c. Its twentieth and last section provides that the act shall endure no longer than to the end of the next session of parliament. Of course it was re-enacted and continued from time to time by later statutes. See 3 Car. I., cap. 4 (1627); 16 Car. I., cap. 4 (1640), &c. Further provisions concerning the poor will be found in many later statutes, as the 13 and 14 Car. II., cap. 12 (1662); 22 and 23 Car. II., cap. 18 (1671); 1 Jac. II., cap. 17 (1685); 3 and 4 William and Mary, cap. 11 (1692); 8 and 9 William III., cap. 30 (1696); 9 and 10 William III., cap. 11 (1697); 12 Anne, stat. 1, cap. 18 (1712).¹⁷

¹⁷ To the reader desirous to trace the course of legislation as respects the poor, down to the present times, we recommend Glen's *Statutes in Force*, relating to the poor &c. (vol. i. 1857, and vol. ii. 1864). It may convey some idea of the number and frequency of these statutes, and consequently of the difficulty found in legislating on this great subject for a rapidly growing population, if we state the number of statutes in each of the succeeding reigns, given in the work just quoted, as relating to the relief of the poor and its various collateral subjects. In the reign of George I. there were three such acts; in that of George II. there were twenty; in that of George III. more than fifty statutes; in that of George IV. upwards of twenty; in the reign of William IV. thirty-five; and in the reign of Victoria, down to the end of 1856, more than one hundred acts, having reference more or less direct, to the poor, their relief and maintenance, government, employment, &c. One act of William III.

Of the dress of the inhabitants of Manchester at the latter end of the sixteenth century we know no description so full as that which may be derived from the inventory of the goods and chattels, furniture and apparel of a woollen manufacturer's widow, named Elizabeth Goldsmith, in Salford, as valued by four appraisers after her death, in September 1588. This curious document is printed *in extenso* in the *House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*, p. 376 *et seq.* We briefly note here, that the deceased and her late husband had been in business as makers of Manchester rugs and frizes, the only colours named being black, white and gray. These goods were not only sold in the town, but sent by pack-horses to Stourbridge and other great fairs, and were also offered for sale at Blackwell Hall, London. In that hall were lying four packs of frizes, left unsold at London fair in 1588, valued at 35*l.* 9*s.* As usual in those days, the manufacture seems to have been a domestic one, carried on in a part of the dwelling-house. Amongst the "household stuff" we find what would now be counted as machinery, materials, &c.: A warping-stock, with rings and yarn in it; two pairs of ring-looms, with their furniture; a cistern of lead, to keep train [oil or grease] in; a pair of shearman's shears; a pan, to put train to grease in; fifteen stone of woollen yarn flocks (at 2*s.* 6*d.* the stone); eleven pounds of fine white yarn (at 17*d.* the pound); half a firkin of soap, &c. Amongst the widow's wearing apparel are enumerated a trained gown lined with camlet, a best cassock, three frize gowns, a worsted kirtle with branched damask body and sleeves, a russet taffeta kirtle, four silk hats, a tammy mantle, a taffeta apron, a golden girdle, three partlets, six smocks, eight cross clothes, and four mufflers. There had been recently bought for her dress two yards of scamett, three of London russet, two caps, three yards of changeable or shot silk grogram, six pairs of gloves, a satin and camlet gown, some felt hats, and a pair of black worsted stockings. Her husband's apparel seems to have included a Milan fustian doublet, oily-poyled sleeves, breeches &c., a frize jerkin, two seal-skin girdles,

required every person receiving relief to wear a badge on the shoulder of the right sleeve of the uppermost garment — such badge being a large P (we presume for poor or pauper) &c. in red or blue cloth, according to the custom of each parish. This enactment remained on the statute-book till the year 1810, when it was repealed by the statute of 50 George III., cap. 52.

two pair of round hose, a cloak, a felt hat and band, and a dagger. Of the other staple manufacture at Manchester, linen — or, as it was then called, “napery” — were one pair of sheets with open work, two pairs of tear hemp and eight pair of canvas, a towel with cut work, two pillow bears [or covers] with black work and two with black and white lace. The furniture and utensils in the house included one hundred and seventy-one pounds of pewter ware, in dishes, plates, tankards, cups, &c.; a few drinking pots and glasses; two glass bottles; nine mug pots, &c.; twelve thrown buffet stools; eleven cushions, served as chairs; there are several standing and truckle beds, &c.; coffers or chests, one for salt; a spinning wheel; a pair of playing (or back-gammon) tables; a large and a small Bible; a picture of Jonah and the whale; a steel glass and two brooches; a pen and ink-horn of white bone, &c. Nor must it be supposed from the paucity of furniture, that the occupants were in humble circumstances. There is an enumeration of silver plate &c., of which four items — goblet, pot, salt and cover, &c. — weighed fifty-three ounces. The value of the unexpired fourteen years of the lease of this house was only estimated at 2*l.* 10*s.*

In any picture of a distant past, the most imperfect part, because necessarily the most fleeting and evanescent in colour, is that which seeks to represent the manners, customs and habits of the people. In this respect many a dim and faded, or apparently lost, tint may be restored, by reference to the last wills and testaments of the persons of both sexes, and of various ranks and conditions of life, of the period and place in question. It fortunately happens that there is a large collection of such documents ready to hand in the *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories*, edited by the Rev. G. J. Piccope, M.A., for the Chetham Society. Of two hundred and twenty-seven wills and inventories in this collection, we find twenty-five relating to Manchester, between the years 1520 and 1598, including two knights, one lady of a knight, two clerks (one of them a fellow of the college), an esquire, various gentlemen, merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers and yeomen, a singing-man in the college, two farmers of royal offices, and five widows of persons of different grades. There are also three inventories of goods of testators. The earlier wills of this selection are of course those of Roman Catholics, the general characteristics of which are, first, the bequeathing of the soul to God, the Virgin and the blessed

company of heaven, and the direction for burial in the chancel or some of the chapels of the Manchester parish or collegiate church; next, the requiems, masses, dirges, &c. to be sung and said at the funeral, and for a subsequent period, for the soul of the testator, his or her parents, and for the souls of all Christian people; third, the doles to the poor, to those attending the funeral, bearers, torch-carriers, &c.; fourth, the sums left for "pious uses," chiefly towards the building or repairing of churches or chapels, offerings at distant shrines &c., to the service of "our Lady" or of some particular saint, and trentals of masses for the soul, with due payment of the officiating priests &c. Another common bequest, both by Catholics and Protestants, was of sums towards the building and repair of churches and bridges, the making and amending of highways, and the paving of streets. One specimen of Roman Catholic bequests must suffice:

In 1540 Robert Ardern bequeathed to a well-disposed priest sound and of virtuous conditions 12*l.*, to sing masses for my soul three years in the church where my bones lie, with 10*s.* to find him bread and wine &c., and he shall say a trental, also a requiem and dirge, and commendation, and also pray for the souls of my father and mother and Sir Piers Legh, knight and priest, and to do divine service in the church on holidays and evens if required. All the bearers to have bread and ale; and a sum of 40 [*?* shillings] to six score of the poorest houses in Stockport and Manchester parishes, and they and their *meany* [followers or dependants] to be required to pray for my soul. A mass and dirge of the quire at my burial, some serges [wax tapers] to be set over me, and other lights. A trental of masses to be said for my soul. To our lady service 10*s.*, St. Peter 8*s.*, St. Anthony 3*s.* 4*d.* To the repairing of Stockport church 40*s.*, of Winwick church 20*s.*, of Denton chapel 6*s.* 8*d.*, to the building or repairing of Cheadle church or steeple, to the chapel of St. Stephen of Alvanley, to Northen, Didsbury and Glossop churches 6*s.* 8*d.* each. To our Lady chapel of Disley 6*s.* 8*d.* "to be set in the book of brotherhood." To the making or upholding of Penkfurth bridge and to the making of Frodsham bridge 6*s.* 8*d.* each. "I will that one be hired to go for me to St. Tryon's in Scotland, and offer for me a bead-plack which is in my purse; and that one go on a pilgrimage for me, with a bead cross-groat and a mett of wax, with five little serges burning at even song over-night, and at matins and mass on the day, to our lady of Walsingham." In 1545 William Trafford gent. leaves 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly for a yearly obit to pray for his soul and all christian souls in the church of Manchester. To the amending of Chetham lane, Market Stid lane, the lane towards Trafford, and Salford lane, each 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly. At the day of my burial, my soul-mass and dirge to be sung by the quire in the church of Manchester and thirty masses said for my soul "in as short space together as they conveniently can," by as many priests, every one to have 8*d.* On that day twelve black gowns to be given to as many poor men. Immediately after my death the great bell shall be rung and a

soul-knell. So soon as I set forward toward the church the great bell shall begin to ring and continue unto evening and no other bell shall ring for me. — In 1556 Sir Robert Bryddock of Manchester clerk, left 20s. to be dealt for my soul on the day of my burial, and to every priest saying mass for my soul that day 8d. — In the same year Thomas Grene of Manchester yeoman, left to the repair of the Manchester church 6s. 8d.; mass and dirge to be sung in the quire, the company there to pray for my soul and all christian souls, according to the laudable custom of the quire. Sir Edward Rydings to say a trental of masses for my soul and to have 10s. — We reach a transition period in 1572, when it began to be questioned whether praying for the souls of deceased was a christian duty. In that year George Trafford gent., desires a number of poor men, sharing his bounty, shall daily pray for his soul, "if God's laws permit it;" and directs that some well-disposed priest shall say masses for his soul for half a year, "if God's laws be consonant," and to have five marks for it or else to be distributed to the poor. Also a tinsel doublet to hang over the sacrament in the church at Wilmslow, "if God's law will permit the same to be made for such purpose," otherwise the price to be dealed to the poor. Enough has been cited to show the customary bequests of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Manchester of all classes above the poor, at the period.

Amongst bequests for public and benevolent purposes are the following:

In 1553 by Edward Janny of Manchester merchant, of 13s. 4d. yearly to be paid to the churchwardens of Manchester to be by them yearly bestowed on the reparation of the conduit there. If there be not way taken that the said conduit may be suffered and maintained there for the common wealth of the town, I will that the churchwardens give the same yearly for ever to the most poor and needy people of Manchester. Also, 5s. every week during a year amongst the poor, and especially amongst the needy sick folks of Manchester. 4l. yearly to be paid to an efficient and honest schoolmaster to keep a free school at Bowdon, to instruct youth in virtue and learning. — In 1556 Robert Becke of Manchester draper, left to the poor 6l. 13s. 4d., and towards the amending of the highways about the town of Manchester, where my executors shall think most needful, 40s.; to the conduit in Market Stid Manchester 40s. In 1558, Henry Byrom of Salford merchant, leaves to poor people twelve pieces of gray rug, to be given by my executors for the wealth of my soul. To six persons who shall carry my corpse to the church each 6s. 8d.; to six poor torch-bearers each a black rug gown. — In 1572 William Kenyon of Manchester gent. left 20s. each towards the repair of the churches of Prestwich and Manchester, and to twelve poor men of Manchester and Salford a rug gown each. To each of the curates of Manchester 3s. 4d., of the vicars 2s., of the deacons 12d. — In the same year George Trafford gent. left 20s. towards the making of highways where most needed; the interest or yearly profit of 40l. invested in land or in milch cows, to be yearly distributed to the most poor and needy men, being householders and charged with children, to the intent that they (if God's laws will permit it) shall daily pray for my soul. After the death of my executors the warden or rector of the church of Man-

chester to distribute the yearly profit to such like poor men of the parishes of Manchester, Eccles and Prestwich. Unto the poor men and women of Manchester the profits of all my purchased lands in co. Lincoln, to be yearly distributed; and conditionally, all my books, apparel, bedding &c. [with slight exceptions]. One provision of the will is that "my funeral be nothing sumptuous nor vain-glorious, but all things to be done most for the wealth and profit of my soul."—In 1588 Alice, widow of George Pendleton of Manchester, draper, bequeathed 40s. towards the repairing of Jesus chapel (which belonged to her husband, who was buried there); to each of six poor men and six poor women of Manchester a frise gown, to twelve poor children in Manchester each a frise coat, and to the poor people of Manchester 30l.

The general division of a testator's goods and chattels, where he leaves a wife and children, seems to have been into three parts: one to the widow (according to law), usually called her "thirds;" one among his children, or younger children, where the eldest has the realty, share and share alike; and the other third to his own disposal, in legacies to relations and friends &c. Where the children are young they are generally left in the charge of their mother till of age or married. Where the mother is dead, then to an elder brother, or other relative, or some trustee or executor. Besides the executors who had to carry the will into effect, there was usually a supervisor or overseer (sometimes two or more) to see that the executors did their duty and to help to carry the testator's intentions into effect. As to the legacies, among the richer class, they include jewels and plate, especially gold rings, with or without stones, and cups of silver gilt, with or without covers. But all include gifts of bedsteads, beds and bedding, and wearing apparel; and in the humbler class of testators, even pots, pans and other domestic articles. To children are bequeathed the best, the second best and other beds &c.; to daughters, the best, second best gown, kirtle, petticoat &c. Priests and lay bachelors leave their vestments, apparel, books, furniture, trinkets &c., to friends. The wills of widows, especially those with married children and grandchildren, are the most full of minute details and small legacies to each and all their kith and kin. It would consume too much space, and weary the reader, to reprint here these *minutiæ*. We can only select a few of the more striking illustrations of habits and customs, which these wills and inventories suggest; taking them in the order of time.

In 1545 William Trafford gentleman left to his mother the remainder of the term of his lease of the ulnage [or fees for measuring woollen cloth] and subsidy of Lan-

cashire, till two hundred marks (133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) should thence accrue, which sum to be equally distributed between his two sisters towards their preferment or marriage. To Sir Alexander Radcliffe, a jacket of fine puke velvet and a casting-bottle [for sprinkling perfumes] of silver and double gilt. To one brother a new gown of French puke, lined with satin; to another his new book covered with velvet and clasped with silver. To a male cousin his ring of gold with an amethyst stone, engraved with the initials R. E. To a friend his broad flask ring of gold. His books of statutes to remain to his successor in office. To friends he left his best purse, his gown faced with minks and welted with tawny velvet, his cap with parchment case and the new coat lined with buckram that he did ride to London in, his silk hat and trussing coffer iron-bound and lined. To a sister his best new covering of arras work, wrought with silk. To two men servants each 6*s.* 8*d.* — In 1553 Edward Janny of Manchester, merchant, bequeathed the advowson and lease of Bowdon church (certain years remaining) to his friend Robert Vaudrey, on condition that his brother Thomas Vaudrey should have all the housing and glebe lands of the vicarage during the term rent free. To a friend his bow and arrows. To one godson 6*s.* 8*d.*; to all the others 4*d.* each. To the wife of Edward Simpson a pair of hose of what cloth she will in the shop. To a friend his new coloured gown, furred and faced with budge [lambskin with the wool outwards]. — In 1556 Adam Byrom of Salford, merchant, left to the churchwardens of Manchester for the church works and for his own burial there, 40*s.* His goods &c. to be divided into two parts; one equally amongst his three sons, and the other equally amongst them and his three daughters. To three friends he left four marks each, that they may be aiding and assisting his executors (his two elder sons); and his youngest son and a friend were named supervisors. — In that year, too, Robert Becke of Manchester, draper, amongst other things, left as legacies a cross-bow and two other bows and arrows, a damask coat, a white nag, various rings, an otter-skin coat, and to the chapel of Garstang 16*s.* 8*d.* towards a chalice. — In 1558 Henry Byrom of Salford, merchant, directs the division of his goods into three parts; one to himself (for legacies), another to his poor children, and the third to his wife, according to law. My wife shall have the bringing up and keeping of my children, with their filial portions &c. I strictly charge and command my loving wife to see my children brought up in the fear of God, virtue, good manners and learning. Amongst the debts owing by the testator is one for perching [hanging to dry] twenty-nine pieces of rug, 9*s.* 8*d.* — In 1572 William Kenyon of Manchester, gentleman, having had by grant from the queen (10th February 1571) a lease of all the fines, issues, amercements, or other forfeitures in co. Lancaster, for twenty-nine years, bequeaths to his two brothers this lease and profits, with all other his leases of tithes, chantry lands, and other profits, for their education and bringing up; they to have his interest and right of the clerkship of the peace during the life of Bernard Randolph, of whom he had a deputation of the office for Randolph's life. To his brothers he left all his goods, plate, jewels, debts, &c. To a servant his gray nag or his gray gelding, at his election, with much apparel. To every servant gathering green-wax money for him, on truly accounting, a year's wages and a black coat; otherwise, nothing. To a

girl at her marriage, a cow and a calf. To friends, each an old angel for remembrance; to one, a faulchion with a velvet waist girdle for it. My own master Edward Tyldesley esquire shall have my instrument(?) which I lent him, so that he leave it to his son Thomas after his death. A god-daughter to have his best gemewe [gemel-] ring of gold. To a friend his gilt halberd and his crabstree staff with a horn upon the head. — In 1578 Robert Ravalld of Kersall, yeoman, directed his goods (save husbandry implements) to be divided in four equal parts among his four younger children, three daughters and a son. To his eldest son and heir a meal ark, a malt ark, a coffer that was testator's father's, and all carts, wains, wheels, ploughs, harrows, axes, spades, shovels and all other instruments of husbandry. Among debts due to him was one for fifteen pieces of cottons, 16*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, and another for fourteen pieces of cottons, 14*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* — In 1587 Richard Hunt of Manchester, gentleman, directed all his goods to be divided into two equal parts; one to himself, the other to his younger children (four sons and three daughters), to be equally divided among them, as also his own part after paying funeral charges &c. He had made an estate of all his messuages, lands &c. in Manchester, Salford, and the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne &c. (except only the toll booth, the toll and the stallages of Manchester) to feoffees to his own use for life; afterwards, one-third to his son and heir; the other two-thirds for the virtuous bringing up and better preferment in marriage of his younger children till his heir should be thirty-one. — About 1590 Sir John Radcliffe of Ordsall begins his will by stating: "I have divers little children, both younger sons and daughters, which be unprovided for." He directs his body to be buried in the chancel of the church of Manchester betwixt the quire door and the steps, being the burial [place] of the inheritance of this house, they of the church having the disposition of the cloth of the hearse after it hath continued over the corpse for one year.....I would have them [my sons] well brought up in virtue and learning, and after the age of fourteen I would have them to Oxford or Cambridge, till one of them be able to go to the inns of court &c. I would wish one of my sons to proceed in the civil laws in England, or to go beyond the seas for his better furtherance in learning, and not to dwell in this country, but for a time to come and see their mother, brother and friends, and not to tarry in this country over long. All the residue of lands and tenements to my loving wife, so long as she shall live sole and unmarried, to the intent that she shall with such goods and lands as I leave bestow on each of my three daughters one thousand marks a piece [666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] over and beside their finding yearly for their meat, drink, clothes, learning and other necessities. [He desires] that my eldest son be not married within age, but marry his wife with the advice of his kindred and friends. — In 1590 John Glover of Manchester, one of the singing-men of the Collegiate church, after leaving legacies of lands, houses, burgages, &c. to various persons, leaves to others my gold ring with a blood-stone in, which my father gave me, my stone-bow and moulds for the same, my sittorne [cithern, a sort of guitar], a standing bed whereupon certain letters for the name of my late father and mother be engraved, all my books touching chirurgery and physick, and all my books

of precedents—saving those touching ecclesiastical or civil causes, which I give to Mr. Thomas Richardson [rural] dean of Manchester. To this dignitary he gives also all my books of the civil law and one blood-stone which is in my purse and 10s. in gold to set the same stone in. He bequeaths to a brother my doublet of ash-colour with the silver buttons, and one pair of breeches quilted and stitched with red silk. To a cousin a gold ring with a stone called an amethyst. To a friend my yew bow with the red handle and all my hoyling arrows.¹⁸ Amongst other things in the inventory are a great picture 5s., arrows and quiver 2s., three gold rings 30s., a siteron [cithern] 13s. 4d., a stone-bow 13s. 4d., his wages in the church 33s. 1d., in books 5l. 13s., in leases and tacks of ground 104l.—In 1598 Isabel, widow of George Holland of Salford, devised her moiety of the New Hall (held under Mr. Fowler), with all growing corn and grain, to her two children (John and Anne) for one year; the reversion to her eldest son Othes Holland. To her daughters Isabel and Anne all her wearing apparel and jewels, equally divided. To a god-daughter a cow. To a son one silver pot gilt with cover. To others a spur royal and a gold double-ducat, a stone pot with a silver cover and garnished with silver.—In the same year Edmund Prestwich of Hulme esquire, after directing his body to be buried in his funeral place in the Collegiate church, devises all his manors in Lancashire and Lincolnshire to Edmund Prestwich his son and heir-apparent, with remainders to four younger sons &c. To his wife her third part of all his manors for life. All his goods to be divided in three equal parts; one for his wife, another equally among all his children except his eldest son, and the third to himself for legacies. To his eldest son a chain of gold and all the glass in all the windows in the hall, parlours and chambers of Hulme Hall, and also every wainscot and ceiling there, on condition that he allow the testator to make leases for twenty-one years and annuities for life of 4l. each to his younger sons. His wife to have the tuition, rule and government of all his children and their portions till they come to the age of twenty-one or marriage. A very long inventory (not printed) shows a total of 754l. 5s. 8d.—In that year, too, Isabel Typpinge of Manchester, widow, bequeaths considerable sums to her children and grandchildren, also spur royals, a silver goblet, a dozen silver spoons; and to the poor 20l.—The inventory of goods of Sir Robert Bryddock clerk, in 1556, includes a horse 3l. 6s. 8d., a cow 30s. 4d., a heifer 30s., three swine 24s., feather bed, bolster and pillows 16s., a coverlet 3s. 4d., a steel cap 20d., a soldier's jacque 3s. 4d., napery 8s., a pair of boots and two pair shoes 4s., several gowns 20s., 13s. 4d., 6s. 8d., and a rug gown 5s., a camlet jacket 6s. 8d., a rug jacket 2s., four doublets 23s. 4d., two pair hose and a cloak 6s. 8d., five pounds flax 2s. 6d., eight pieces pewter 5s., a priest's cap 3s., a sarcenet tippet 5s., an ark and a coffer 6s. 8d., tureen vessels 3s. 4d., riding saddle and bridle 3s. 4d., books 10s., money 76l.; total 93l. 5s. 6½d.—The inventory of goods of Lady Byron (wife of Sir John), in 1581, included a feather bed, bolster and pillow 30s., two coverlets and two blankets 16s. 8d., a counterpane of mockado

¹⁸ Drayton says that *hoyles* are a mode of shooting arrows, for trials of skill.

["mock-velvet" stuff] 8*s.*, a gray mantle 1*s.* 8*d.*, two pair flaxen sheets and two pillow bears 13*s.* 4*d.*, a small pestle and mortar, a thin silver spoon and a small pewter piece 3*s.*, two smocks, two partlets [neck-kerchiefs or habit-shirts], two table napkins and two towels 5*s.* 8*d.*, a gown of damask furred through with lamb 26*s.* 8*d.*, a kirtle of velvet 14*s.*, the forepart of a kirtle of purple satin 6*s.* 8*d.*, ditto of a kirtle of worsted and one of mockado 3*s.*, an old petticoat of Bristol red 3*s.* 4*d.*, a gentlewoman's saddle with a cover of velvet and bridle 26*s.* 8*d.*, two coffers 6*s.* 8*d.*, a pair of tongs 1*s.* 8*d.*, a spinning wheel 1*s.* 10*d.*, a pewter pint pot 6*d.*; total 11*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* — The inventory of the goods of Sir Edmund Trafford, in 1590, gives in one amount the value of all the furniture &c. in one room, there being upwards of thirty rooms enumerated; thirty-seven milch kine 60*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, young cattle 13*l.*, seven calves 40*s.*, oxen 25*l.*, seven bullocks 12*l.*, Sir Edmund's apparel 13*l.* 6*d.*, swine young and old 11*l.* 10*s.*, linens and napery 40*s.*, two basins and ewers and other small plate 20*l.*, two butts and hogsheds 40*s.*, sheets, napkins and other linens 10*l.*, nags and mares 20*l.*, ploughs, wains, carts, &c. 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; no total stated. — The inventory of Sir John Radcliffe of Ordsall, in 1590, includes forty-nine drawing oxen 130*l.*; one hundred and twenty kine and bulls 250*l.*; one hundred and ten steers, heifers, twinters and stirks 157*l.*; ninety-three calves 66*l.* 6*d.* 8*d.*; three fat oxen 9*l.* 10*s.*; four hundred and seventy-nine sheep 80*l.*; forty-one horses, geldings, mares and colts 85*l.*; swine, geese and pullen [poultry] 15*l.*; corn, hay and grain in the barns 110*l.*; ditto growing 37*l.*; malt and corn in the garner 5*l.*; coin and silver plate 200*l.*; feather beds and bedding, carpets, hangings, cushions, stools, chairs and cupboards 160*l.*; sheets, board cloths, towels, napkins, napery and linen cloth 46*l.*; pewter, brass candlesticks and frying pans, broaches, &c. 25*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; chests, coffers and arks 9*l.*; boards, forms, stools and chairs 4*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*; stands, brewing vessels, tubs and other treen ware 12*l.*; husbandry stuff &c. 16*l.*; cheeses, tallow, butter and other victuals 12*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; slate, glasses, millstones, yarn, stuff belonging to the mills, troughs, grindles, stone troughs and a still 8*l.*; sacks, window sheets, yarn, ashes and salt 5*s.*; a couch, saddles, bridles and stuff belonging to riding 6*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*; apparel for his body 20*l.*; total 1468*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

These details of personal and domestic belongings give so striking a picture of household interiors on the one hand, and of habits, customs and manners on the other, that we could not wholly omit them. The inventories not only show how scantily houses were furnished in those days, but they also give the prices or value of live stock, of farm produce, and of almost every article of household or personal use. By the aid of these photographs of domestic life, we can see much better how the good folks of Manchester and the neighbourhood lived in those days, from the knight and his lady to the humblest yeoman and his wife. The church and market, the street and homestead, the knightly

hall and the burgher's shop, all become instinct with life ; and we seem to hear the Mancestrians of those Elizabethan days, talking over their bargains, uttering their prayers, settling their wills, and resigning themselves to the inevitable fate of man, in all the varied conditions of love and hate, of pride and fear, of paternal affection, conjugal regard, and filial veneration and respect. If they did sometimes put "deceitful stuff" into their manufactures, or gave "short measure" in cloth, concealing it by over-stretching ; in their more serious moments — and will-making is to all men a matter of solemn import — they seem to have been deeply in earnest. When in sickness or declining years, with the world receding from their eyes, there is an impressive eagerness about all that relates to their own spiritual welfare, and to a future provision for those they leave behind, — a wish so strong in their hearts as to shape itself in words in their wills, that their children may be "brought up in virtue, good manners and learning ;" whilst many show a strong desire to be remembered by the faithful friends of a lifetime, in their bequests and tokens of affectionate remembrance.

With these imperfect efforts to rehabilitate the Manchester of Elizabeth's reign ; or at least to recal to mind its general and local government ; its ecclesiastical rule ; the legislation, state and local, in its whole tendency so repressive of industry ; the elastic, buoyant, and almost irrepressible character of that industry ; the extension of manufactures, and of home and foreign trade ; the increase of population and the growth of prosperity, — checked occasionally it is true by high prices, dearth, and destructive epidemics ; the condition of the higher classes in the community, as shown by the testamentary disposition of their property ; that of the traders, working-classes and labourers, as marked by endless regulations for carrying on manufacture, trade and labour ; and that of the poor, including the able-bodied, infirm, helpless and aged, and also the sturdy beggar, rogue and vagabond, as exhibited in the laws for relief, for compulsory labour, and for the punishment and repression of idleness and roguery ; — with the bringing together, in as small a space as is practicable, these numerous facts, testimonies and evidences of the state of a manufacturing town population in the sixteenth century, — this volume is respectfully submitted to the reader, in the hope that any dulness inseparable from the nature of the sub-

ject, may be counterbalanced by the consideration of the importance of its general aid to the truth of history. Of the imperfection, the incompleteness and numerous defects of the attempt made in this Appendix, none can be more fully sensible than the writer; and he can only deprecate censure by reminding the reader of the comparative paucity of the materials requisite for such essays.

INDEX.

- A**CKERS or Acres, Further, 53;
Nether and Over, 7, description of,
5; -ditch, 58; -midden, 33.
Adamson, Henry, 44.
Adlington, Richard, 13, 14.
Affeerers, 2, 8, 12, 41, 50.
Agriculture, unsettled state of, 69-71.
Ales; *see* Weddings.
Ale-tasters, 2, 8, 16.
Allyn, Henry, 51; George his son, 51.
Alport-field, 55; -lane, 49, 56; -lodge, 76,
82, 86; -park, 82, 86, 87; -stile, 55;
-town, 56.
Ancient way in Deansgate, 31.
Anderton, Christopher, 26; James his
son, 26.
Appraisers, 2, 8, 11, 23.
Apprentices; *see* Working classes.
Ardern, Robert, 112.
Ashawe or Ashall, Leonard, 37, 45.
Asheton, John, 12, 13, 42, 43, 47; his
widow, 47; James and John his sons,
43, 47.
—, John, draper, 62.
Ashley, ? Astley, 51.
Ashley-lane, 34, 38; -fields, 58.
Ashleys, the, 42.
Attendance at court, 23, 38.
Aulneger, duties of described, 25; de-
frauded by traders, 96-7.
Awyn, ? Owen, Richard, 42.
Aynsworth, George, 45.
—, Henry, 47; Henry his son, 47, 48,
60.
—, John, 34, 37; Robert his cousin, 37.
- B**AGULEY, James, 45.
—, Nicholas, 41.
Bakehouses, 22.
Bamford, Jerome, 16.
Barber, sir Robert, curate, 87.
Bark-house-hill, 4.
Barlow, Hugh, 60.
Barlow, James, 6.
—, Peter, 20.
—, Robert, 45, 52.
—, William, 1.
Barlow-cross or -croft, 6.
Barn, memorandum relating to a, 47.
Barton, Ralph, 31; Raudulph his son, 31.
Baxter, John, of Rochdale, 45.
Baylie, Thomas, 4.
Beamond, Thomas, 50.
Becke, Nicholas, 24; Thomas his son, 24.
—, Richard, 55.
—, Robert, draper, 113, 115.
—, Thomas, 11; Randall his son, 11,
31, 33, 52.
—, Thomas, 36; Robert his brother,
36, 52, 53, 60.
Beggars, orders relating to, 17.
Bell, James, 81.
Bellfield, 16.
Bellot, Hugh, bishop of Chester, 75.
Bente, Edward, 15; John his son, 15.
Bexwicke, account of the family of, 54-5.
—, Ciceley, 55.
—, Edward, 54.
—, Elizabeth, 47, 54.
—, Hugh, 54, 55.
—, Isabel, 55.
—, Joan, 55.
—, Margaret, 55.
—, Myles, 54, 55.
—, Philip, widow of, 13.
—, Ralph, 54.
—, Richard, 54.
—, Roger, 1, 21, 22, 24, 43, 44, 54, 79.
—, Roger, of London, salter, 54.
Birch, George, 1, 6, 12, 21, 42, 43, 47, 49,
50, 61, 62.
—, John, 47.
—, *alias* Orcharde, Ralph, 31, 32;
Thomas his son, 31, 32, 42, 56.
—, William, 13.
—, William, warden, 79.

- Birch hall, 42, 43.
 Bird, John, bishop of Chester, 75.
 Blackburn, 26.
 Blomeley, Edward, 21.
 —, Robert, 23, 35, 36.
 Bolton, 26.
 —, William, 6.
 Booker, Rev. J., 40.
 Booths, the, 2, 4, 8, 15, 20, 23, 53.
 Boroughreeve, 3, 14, 18, 23, 42, 45.
 Borowe, Edmund, widow of, 36.
 Bourne, Rev. William, 82, 85.
 Bouth, John, 50.
 Bowdon, free school at, 113; advowson of church, 115.
 Bower, Richard, 66.
 Bowker, Adam, 26, 41.
 —, Geoffrey, of Moston, 16.
 —, Ralph, 56.
 —, Richard, 56.
 Bowking-house, 46.
 Bowling, 37.
 Bowrehouse, Oliver, 13, 14.
 Bradford, John, martyr, 55, 73, 78, 79.
 Bran, sale of, 38.
 Bread, officers for assize of, 2, 8, 43, 52; prohibition of butter, &c. in, 3, 39, 40, 43; cost of, 84.
 Bridgehowse, Robert, 26.
 Brier Ridings, Great and Little, 81.
 Brown, George, 66.
 Browne, Steven, 23, 59.
 Brownaword, Richard, 3.
 —, Thomas, 3, 6, 11; Thomas his son, 11, 49, 58.
 Bryddock, sir Robert, 113, 117.
 Burgess, a would be, 48.
 Burghley, lord, 40, 80.
 Burrocs, Edward, wife of, 9.
 Burton, James, 14, 56.
 Bury, 26.
 Butter, prohibition of in bread; *see* Bread.
 Butterworth, Alexander, of Bellfield, 16.
 Butts, the, 25, 57.
 By-laws and By-law men, 2, 8, 21, 34, 37, 41.
 Byrom, Adam, 30, 115.
 —, Henry, of Salford, 113, 115.
 —, Ralph, 51; Ralph his son, 51.
 —, Richard, 30, 53.
 —, Thomas, 12.
 Byron, lady and sir John, 117.
 Byston, Hugh, 40.
- C**
 AGE, the, 20, 23, 56.
 Cakes; *see* Bread.
 Camden's description of Manchester in 1585, 86-7.
 Campian, jesuit, 81.
 Capital punishments temp. Elizabeth, 72.
 Cart-gate, 36.
 Cartway, 9, 10, 15; *see* Causeways.
 Castle field, 86.
 Catchpoll, 1, 23, 25, 55, 60, 62.
 Causeways, 9-10, 21; *see* Footways and Highways.
 Cecil, sir Robert, account of, 40.
 Chaderton, Thomas, 58.
 —, William, bishop of Chester, 75, 76, 77, 81, 82.
 Chadwicke, Robert, 62.
 Channels; *see* Watercourses.
 Chester, bishop of, 66.
 —, bishopric of, founded, 78.
 — castle, 76.
 Chetham, Edmund, 62.
 —, John, 46.
 —, Samuel, 42, 47, 49; Amos his son, 49.
 Chimney, noisome, 25.
 Chisnoll, Edward, 45.
 —, Mr., 60.
 Chollerton, Richard, and Alice his wife, 19.
 —, William, 19.
 Chorlton-cum-Hardy, 80.
 Chouretton, George, 33.
 —, James, 33, 51.
 —, Richard, 51.
 Churchyard wall, 7, 34, 35.
 Cithern, 116.
 Clay, 46, 52; *see* Daub.
 Cleyden, Mr., 58.
 —, Robert, 28.
 Cliff, Robert, warden, 77.
 Clifton, 19, 21.
 Cloth, linen and woollen, enactments regulating the manufacture of, 92-100.
 Cloth, officer for, 25; *see* Aulneger.
 Clough, Robert, 1, 15, 32; Margaret his wife, 15.
 Cloughe house, 44, 55.
 Coal-ruck, 60.
 Cock-pit, 50.
 Coke, sir A., 40.
 College, the, 7; alienation of property from, 80.
 Collier, Dr. George, warden, 78.
 Collyhurst, 6, 7, 36, 44, 60, 62, 85, 87.

Conduit, the, 11, 13, 16, 23, 55; officers for, 2, 8; repair of, 22, 113.
 Constables, 25; to be assisted, 44; accounts of, 40.
 Cooper's ware, 13.
 Corn, officers for, 1, 8; regulations for sale of, 24, 39, 47, 56.
 Cornbrook, 86.
 Cotes, George, bishop of Chester, 75, 79.
 Cowpe, John, 43, 54.
 —, John, smith, 22.
 —, Peter, 21.
 Cream in cakes, 43; *see* Bread.
 Crofts, sir James, knt., 66.
 Crompton, Adam, 24; James his son, 24, 45.
 Cromwell, Thomas, chancellor of the exchequer, 80.
 Cross, the, 56.
 Crossford bridge, 85.
 Croughton, Mrs., 18.
 Croxton, John, and Ciscelye his wife, 24, 51.
 Cucking-pool, 20, 23; account of, 4.
 —-stool, 4, 20, 23, 52, 61.
 Culcheth, John, of Culcheth, 32; John his son, 32.
 Cunclyffe, William, 12, 18.
DARCYE Lever, 60.
 Daub, 3, 15, 52, 56.
 Daub-holes, 5, 61.
 Dauteseye, Mr., 41.
 Davies, John, 38.
 Deansgate, 2, 8, 12, 21, 22, 31, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 63, 80.
 Dee, Dr. John, warden, 82; extracts from *Private Diary of*, 87-8.
 Derby, Edward third earl of, 17, 35, 66.
 —, Henry fourth earl, 32, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82.
 —, Ferdinando fifth earl, 32.
 —, William sixth earl, 37.
 Devyas, John, of Sale, 12.
 Didsbury, 30.
 Dikonson, Michael, 19, 31; widow of, 53; Michael his son, 19.
 —, Robert, 26, 32, 50.
 Disorderly persons, 20.
 Dogs, 9, 17, 20, 21, 39; officers for, 39.
 Dowlas; *see* Cloth.
 Downes, Christopher, 14, 24, 32.
 Downham, William, bishop of Chester, 75.
 Draff, sale of, 38.

Dress of the people in 16th century, 110-111.
 Dronefield, Richard, 25.
 Duchy court, suit in, 57.
 Dunham Massey, 81.
 Dyson, Edward, 20.

ECCLESIASTICAL commission(1559), juridical power of, 66.
 Edge, Thomas, 60.
 Edward VI., chief events of the reign of, 72-3.
 Elizabeth, chief events of the reign of, 73-4.
 Ellor, Edward, 32, 42; William his son, 42.
 Emontont lane, 46.
 Enclosure; *see* Encroachment.
 Encroachment, 4, 6, 7, 13, 25, 35, 44, 45, 50, 58, 62; viewed, 46.
 Escott, Christopher, 66.
 Evers, Thomas lord, 66.

FAILSWORTH, 85.
 Famine in 16th century, 83, 85.
 Farnworth, 24, 26.
 Fasting *and* fast-days, 26, 43; acts of parliament relating to, 26-30.
 Fences, 33.
 Fennel street, 2, 8, 35, 39, 41, 54, 55, 56, 61.
 Fenytes [? fents], officers for, 20.
 Finch, John, 81.
 Fines for absence from leet, 59.
 Fish and flesh, officers for, 1, 8.
 Fish-house, 52; -market, 23.
 Fleshboard, 52.
 Fletcher, John, 63.
 Flixton, 31, 45.
 Footways, 6, 9, 10, 15, 33, 38; *see* Causeways *and* Highways.
 Foreigners, 42.
 Forestallers, officers for, 50, 55.
 Foxe, Laurence, 60.
 —, Richard, 7, 24, 38; Richard his son, 7.
 Frieze or frise described, 92; *see* Cloth.
 Fruit, and officers for, 2, 8, 13, 24.
 Fuel-stack, 22.

GALLEY, Richard, 6; his son, 6.
 —, Thomas, 32.
 Gargrave, sir Thomas, knt., 66.
 Garratt, the, or Garratt hall, description of, 41.

- Gates, sir Henry, knt., 66.
 Gee, Henry, 1, 11, 16, 24, 51; Edward his son, 51.
 —, John, 16; John his son, 16, 19, 55.
 —, Richard, 2, 8; Elizabeth his daughter, 2, 8.
 Gemewe- (gemel-) ring, 116.
 Gerard, sir Gilbert, 34.
 —, sir Thomas, 34, 41.
 Gilliam, Hugh, 31, 33.
 — *alias* Knotte, James, 33, 37.
 — *alias* Whittle, John, 33, 37, 42.
 Glover, Elizabeth, 12, 13; John her son, 13, 21; Robert his brother, 21.
 —, John, 116.
 —, William, 58.
 Goodyear, Samuel, 47.
 —, Thomas, 1, 33, 44, 47, 53; Robert his son, 53, 57.
 Gorsc, &c., 22, 40.
 Government of Manchester: state, 65-7; manorial, 67; ecclesiastical, 68, 74-82; parochial, 68.
 Grammar school founded, 77.
 Grains, 38.
 Greenhalgh, Richard, 63.
 Grene, Thomas, yeoman, 113.
 Grindal, archbishop of York, 79.
 Grip-yard, 35.
 Grundy, Giles, of Ashley, 51.
 Guild houses, the, 81.
 Gutter; *see* Watercourse.
- H**ALGHE, George, 26.
 Hall, Ellis, 49, 51.
 Hall, Geoffrey, 45.
 Hallywell, Richard, 26.
 Hanging-ditch, 2, 6, 8, 35, 39, 56, 58, 63.
 Hanson, Richard, 3, 31; Edward his son, 31.
 Hardye, Henry, 34, 51, 53, 57.
 —, Margaret, 49; Joan her daughter, 49; *see* Hall, Ellis.
 —, Robert, 26, 34, 52, 53.
 —, Samuel, 52, 53, 54, 60.
 —, William, 34, 54, 57.
 Harrison, Robert, 16.
 Hartley, Nicholas, 53, 57, 58, 60.
 Harvey, Henry, D.D., 66.
 Haryson *alias* Slater, Thomas, 37, 49.
 Haughton, Humphrey, 12, 24, 31, 51;
 —, Humphrey his son, 51.
 —, Raphe, 12.
 —, Richard, and Alys his wife, 24.
- Haughton, Thomas, 19, 30.
 Hawes, Ralph, 26.
 Haworth, Randle, 45.
 Heape, William, 42.
 Heaton, Thomas, gent., 60.
 Hen-pen, 11, 16.
 Henry VIII., chief events of the reign of, 71-2.
 Heriot, hen for, 19.
 Herlo, Thomas, warden, 79, 80, 81.
 Heskynne, Thurstan, 29, 45; Nicholas his son, 29.
 Highfield, 62. *
 Highways, 6, 9, 33, 34, 35; repair of, 113; *see* Causeways and Footways.
 High sheriffs, list of for Lancashire in 16th century, 66-7.
 Hilton, George, 24, 26.
 —, Robert, 9.
 Holland, Adam, 5.
 —, George, 3, 6, 117; Isabel widow of, 117.
 —, Richard, 81.
 —, William, of Clifton, 19, 21; Ellinor his sister, 21.
 Horseway, 15; *see* Causeways.
 Horse-pool, 5, 52.
 Horton, Richard, 45.
 Horwich, 51.
 Houghe, Francis, 11.
 Houlden, Ralph, 26.
 Houlte, John, 42.
 Housing not repaired, 57.
 Hovel; *see* Pendis.
 Hoyling arrows, 117.
 Hulme, 51.
 — hall, 86, 117.
 Hulme, Geoffrey, 54, 60.
 —, Ralph, and Thomasine his wife, 62.
 —, Richard, gent., 58.
 —, Robert, gent., 36.
 Hulme's mill, 60.
 Hulton, Allan, of Farnworth, esq., 24;
 — George his son, 24.
 Hunt, Richard, 4, 10, 35, 116; John his son, 10, 45, 49, 50, 53, 57.
 Huntingdon, Henry earl of, 75.
 Hunt's bank, 2, 8, 56, 76.
 Husbandmen; *see* Working classes.
 Hyde, Jane, 30.
- I**NCLOSURES, increase of, 69; enactments concerning, 69.
 Inmates, 11, 17, 20, 61.

Inventory of a cutler's goods, 59.
— the goods of a manufacturer's widow, 110.
Irk river, 44, 45.
Irwell river, stairs to the, 22.

JACKSON, Thomas, 58.
— Janny, Edward, 113, 115.
Janye, Robert, 25, 26.
Jepson, Nicholas, 41; Robert his son, 41.
—, Robert, and Elizabeth his wife, 3.
—, Robert, of Moston, 60.
Johnson, Margaret, 2.

KENYON, Robert, 49; *see* Ogdeyn.
—, Roger, of Kirkmanshulme, 19; Thomas his son, 19.
—, William, 113, 115.
Kiddes and gorse, 22.
Killigrew, ? Henry, 79, 80.
Kingsmill, Richard, 66.
Kirke, Mr., chaplain, 85.
Kirkmanshulme, 19, 81.
Knolls, the, 6, 19.
Knotte, James; *see* Gilliam, James.

LABREY'S house, 4.
— Lacy, John, 1, 6, 35, 81, 82.
Lancashire, James, 34.
Langford, Nicholas, 40.
Langley, Laurence, gent., and Cysley his wife, 24, 27, 28.
—, Mr., 24.
—, Robert, 1, 6, 9, 34, 42, 44, 58.
Lathom, Richard, of Parbald, 49, 63.
—, Thomas, 47; Richard his son, 47.
Lawranson, Robert, 15.
Lea, 19.
Leaf, John, 79.
Lease ratified, 12.
Leather, sealers of, 1, 8.
Lee, archbishop of York, 80.
Leese, John, 51.
Legh, sir Piers, 112.
Leicester, Robert Dudley earl of, 76.
Leigh, 51.
—, Charles, 5, 7, 59.
—, Thomas, of High Lee, esq., 19;
— George his cousin, 19, 58.
Leighe, Richard, of Highfield, 62.
Leland's description of Manchester in 1538, 85-6.
Lever, Robert, 60.
Leybourne, James, 81.

Linen cloth; *see* Cloth.
Lockram, 100; *see* Cloth.
Lostoeke, 31.
Lymerhurst, 52.

MARCROSSE, Thomas, 26.
— Market cross, 5, 52.
Market days, 33.
— lookers, 1, 2, 8, 11, 23, 24, 32, 39, 54
— place, 13, 33; cleaning of, 23, 25.
— place, old, 42, 45.
— stand, 2, 8, 18, 39, 54, 55, 56.
— — lane, 2, 4, 5, 8, 21, 30, 35, 37, 39, 52, 56, 57, 61.
Marler, James, 11, 16.
—, John, 30, 62.
—, Robert, 31; Edward his nephew, 31.
Marsh, George, martyr, 73, 75, 79.
Marshall, Robert, 36.
Martin Marprelate tracts, 74, 81.
Mary, chief events of the reign of, 73.
Massie, Ranulph, 1, 38.
—, Thomas, of Whickleswicke, 24; his daughter, 24.
Mastiffs; *see* Dogs.
Mathew, Thomas; *see* Rogers, John.
Mayes, Edward, 54.
Meal-gate, 2, 8, 16, 18, 31, 39, 56.
Medlock, water of, 60.
Mere-stakes, 50.
Midden nuisances, 34-5, 42.
Mill-bridge, the, 47.
Miller's-lane, 11, 13, 46, 56.
Mill-gate, 2, 8, 9, 16, 19, 21, 39, 41, 43, 47, 50, 51, 56.
Mills on the Irk, 44, 86.
Mise-gatherers, 1, 3, 8, 14, 18, 24, 25, 48, 56, 63; -layers, 1, 3, 8, 22.
Mooreton, Richard, 12, 49; Richard his son, 49.
Morrisse, Richard, 3.
—, Thomas, 63.
Moryse, Richard, alehousekeeper, 22.
Mosley, Nicholas, 33, 43, 54.
—, sir Nicholas, 40, 82.
—, Oswald, 41, 45.
—, sir Oswald, 5.
—, Rowland, esq., 85.
Mossley, Edmund, 13.
Moston, 16, 20, 41, 45, 51.
Mylles, Randle, 45.

NEIGHBOURS' differences, 44.
— New Fleet, 4, 76.

- New hall, 117.
 — market buildings, 5.
 Newton, 80, 81; -lane, 50.
 Nicolson, William, of Moston, 45.
 Northumberland, Thomas earl of, 66.
 Nowell, dean, 80, 82.
 Nugent, Richard, 20, 47, 58.
 Nuisances, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 20, 22, 23,
 25, 31, 33, 34, 36, 42, 60.
 Nusam, William, 58.
 Nuttall, Francis, 51; Asheton his son, 51.
- O**FFERTON, 2.
 Ogdeyn, Richard, of Moston, daughter of, 49; see Kenyon, Robert.
 Oldam, Adam, 1.
 —, Robert, 42.
 Oldham, bishop, 55, 77.
 Openshawe, Lamwell, 45.
 Orchard in Deansgate, 33.
 — in Shudehill, 11.
 —, the, 46.
 Orcharde, Ralph, 25.
 — alias Birch; see Birch.
 Orton, Elizabeth, 81.
 Oven, 50.
 Over Alport, 79.
 Owen, George, 14.
 —, Richard; see Awyn.
- P**ALE, 2, 12.
 Palmer's (John) *History of the Siege of Manchester*, extract from, 4.
 Park-house (Ordsall hall), 86.
 Parkinson, Reynold, 48.
 Parsonage-croft, the, 81; -stile, 38.
 Patrick stone, 26.
 Patten, Mrs., 4.
 Pavement decayed, 26; to be made, 53.
 Pendilbury, Robert, of Horwich, 51.
 Pendis, 2, 25.
 Pendleton, Alis, 24, 114.
 —, Dr., 78.
 —, Francis, 14, 43, 45, 49, 55, 57; his widow, 14.
 —, George, widow of, 114.
 —, Steven, 9.
 Penry (a Brownist), 74, 81, 82.
 Percy, sir Henry, knt., 66.
 Pilkington, Adam, gent., 16, 33, 43; Adam his son, 43, 57.
 —, Edmund, 57.
 —, Edward, 43.
 —, George, 56.
- Pilkington, Thomas, 43, 57.
 —, William, 43.
 Pinfold, 52.
 Pipers, 14.
 Plague or pestilence in Manchester, 83-5.
 Platt, 47.
 Platt, Edmund, 32.
 —, John, 32.
 —, Richard, gent., 32.
 Pool-fold, 4, 5, 76.
 Poor, the, condition of, 104-5.
 Poor-laws during the 16th century, résumé of, 105-9.
 Population of Manchester in the 16th century, 82-3.
 Prestwiche, Edmund, 51, 60, 86, 117.
 Proudlove, George, 9, 32, 34; George his son, 34.
 —, Ranulph, 1.
 —, Richard, 11.
 Pump in Hanging-ditch, 63.
 Pyecrofte, John, 25.
- Q**UARRELS, settlement of, 48.
- R**ADCLIFFE, 61.
 — hall, 20, 52, 76; description of, 4.
 Radcliffe, sir Alexander, 86, 115.
 Radclyffe, Alexander, 2, 19, 37, 38, 53.
 —, James, 26, 41.
 —, John, 2, 19, 53.
 —, sir John, 116, 118.
 —, Robert, of Radcliffe, 63; James his son, 63.
 —, Thomas, mercer, 7, 8, 12; Elizabeth his wife, 8.
 —, William, gent., 4, 21, 23, 33, 43, 52, 53, 54.
 Randolph, Bernard, 115.
 Ravalde, Robert, of Kersall, 116.
 —, William, of Kersall, 6; William his son, 6, 54.
 Reade, William, 11, 16.
 Redford, Ralph, 2.
 Reformation, the, effects of, 71-2.
 Regraters, 48; officers for, 55.
 Richardson, Thomas, rural dean, 117.
 Rilston, James, 15; Edward his son, 15.
 Rishie field, 50.
 Road forbidden, 38.
 Robinson, Laurence, 8; Robert his son, 8, 45, 50, 57.

