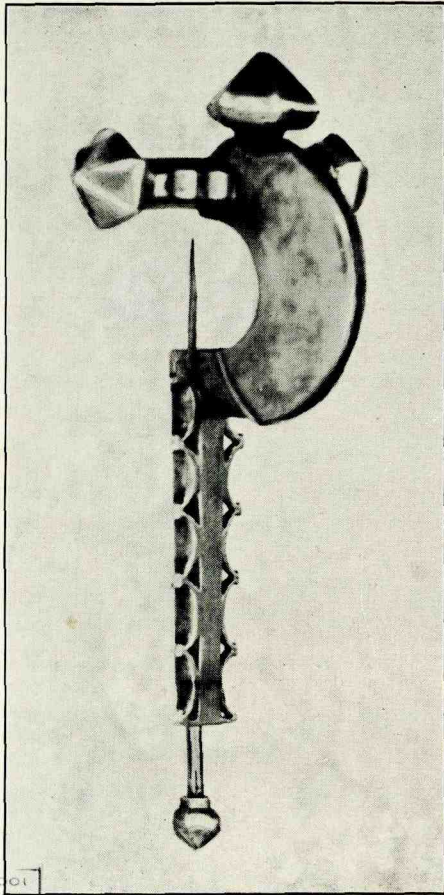


TRANSACTIONS OF THE HISTORIC
SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE
AND CHESHIRE
VOL. XCIV



LIVERPOOL
PUBLIC
LIBRARIES

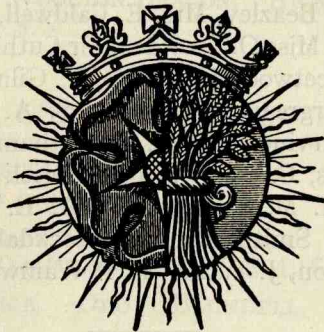
A LATE ROMAN FIBULA.

[Frontispiece

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
HISTORIC SOCIETY
OF
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE

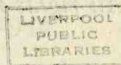
FOR THE YEAR 1942

VOLUME 94



LIVERPOOL
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

1943



TRANSACTIONS

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Vol. 92, p. 134, n.1. The date 1561 appears to be a printers' error in Dr. Cox's *Churchwardens' Accounts*. The Wigan accounts begin in 1651.

Vol. 93, p. 54, l. 2. For *Alexander* read *Abraham*.

p. 68, l. 6. For *knighted* read *made baronet*.

The authors of papers alone are responsible for the statements and opinions in their several communications.

The Society is indebted to the following members for donations towards the costs of the present volume :
J. E. Allison, W. J. Arlett, Miss H. E. Bailey, Mrs. J. H. M. Bankes, E. B. Beazley, Mrs. E. Caldwell, D. B. Cochrane, W. E. Corlett, Miss O. Crowden, Sir Cuthbert de Hoghton, Bart., R. Fleetwood-Hesketh, J. Gilmartin, Rev. W. Grace, R. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, S. A. Harris, Miss A. Holt, W. F. Irvine, Miss B. E. Latham, Dr. P. Nelson, W. A. Phillips, C. Poole, Sir Frederick Radcliffe, E. B. Royden, J. H. M. Savage, Ald. A. E. Shennan, H. O. Silcock, J. F. Smith, Mrs. R. Stockdale, P. P. Storey, H. E. Tomlinson, J. Turner, F. T. Wainwright, R. Walker.

The present volume has been prepared for the press by F. A. BAILEY, M.A., Honorary Editor.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

All rights reserved.

96412064

CONTENTS

	PAGE
COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1942	vii
OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM THE COMMENCEMENT ..	viii
HONORARY MEMBERS	x
LIST OF MEMBERS	xi
SOCIETIES WITH WHOM PUBLICATIONS ARE RECEIVED ..	xx

TRANSACTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

A LATE ROMAN FIBULA. <i>By Philip Nelson, Ph.D., F.R.S.E.</i>	I
NORTH-WEST MERCIA, A.D. 871-924. <i>By F. T. Wainwright</i>	3
JAMES BANKES AND THE MANOR OF WINSTANLEY, 1595-1607. <i>By Joyce H. M. Bankes</i>	56
FRECKLETON WATER MILL. <i>By Robert Walker</i> ..	94
THE OLD WOOLTON SUMMER HOUSE, AND THE QUESTION OF WOOLTON BEACON. <i>By Stanley A. Harris, A.C.I.S.</i>	III

COMMUNICATIONS

THE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE IN 1942	121
<i>By R. Sharpe France, F.R.Hist.S.</i>	
A GRANT OF ARMS TO URMSTON, LANCS. ..	129
<i>By H. Ellis Tomlinson, M.A., F.S.A.(Scot.)</i>	
REV. FREDERICK ODO BLUNDELL, O.S.B., F.S.A.(Scot.).	131
JAMES HOULT, F.R.Hist.S., F.S.A.(Scot.), F.R.S.A. (Ireland)	132

ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL, 1942	134
TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS, 1942	136
INDEX	137

ILLUSTRATIONS

A LATE ROMAN FIBULA	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	PAGE
CHESHIRE: MAP BASED ON THE PROPORTION OF DOMESDAY MANORS HELD BY MEN BEARING SCANDINAVIAN NAMES, 1066	37
SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT IN NORTH-WEST MERCIA	42
	<i>Facing Page</i>
THE MEMORANDA BOOK OF JAMES BANKES (1)	68
THE MEMORANDA BOOK OF JAMES BANKES (2)	69
	PAGE
A MAP OF THE LAND BELONGING TO WILLIAM BANKES, ESQ., 1770	92
FRECKLETON MARSH, 1300, 1805 AND 1942	96
	<i>Facing Page</i>
THE DEPOSITIONS OF 1427 RELATING TO FRECKLETON WATER MILL	98
THE OLD WOOLTON SUMMER HOUSE	116
THE FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, LANCASTER	117
ARMS GRANTED TO URMSTON, LANCS.	129

Council and Officers for the Year 1943.

Hon. President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY, K.G., G.C.V.O., P.C.

President.

WM. FERGUSSON IRVINE, M.A., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

P. CULVERWELL BROWN, M.A., F.S.A.

PHILIP NELSON, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.

G. W. MATHEWS. FREDERIC CROOKS, J.P., F.S.A.

S. SAXON BARTON, O.B.E., F.R.F.P.S., M.C.O.G., F.S.A.Scot.

REV. W. W. LONGFORD, M.A., D.D., F.S.A. J. A. TWEMLOW, M.A.

B. B. B. BENAS, B.A., LL.B., J.P. FRANCIS WELD, J.P.

Members of Council.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1943.

G. W. COOPLAND, M.A., Litt.D. F. T. WAINWRIGHT, B.A.

D. L. EVANS. R. SHARPE FRANCE, F.R.Hist.S.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1944.

R. W. HUNT, M.A. J. H. M. SAVAGE.

ROLAND J. A. SHELLEY, F.R.Hist.S. S. A. HARRIS, A.C.I.S.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1945.

J. H. E. BENNETT, F.S.A. WALTER MAY.

REV. C. F. RUSSELL, B.D. FREDERICK G. BLAIR.

Officers.

Hon. Treasurer.

W. A. PHILLIPS, F.L.A., 73 ALLANGATE ROAD, LIVERPOOL, 19.

Hon. Editor.

F. A. BAILEY, M.A.,
7 STANLEY CRESCENT, PRESCOT, LANCS.

Hon. Librarian.

JOHN F. SMITH, F.R.S.A., F.S.A.Scot.,
Chief Librarian, Liverpool Public Library.

Hon. Assistant Librarian.

W. RIMMER TEARE.

Hon. Secretary.

ARTHUR C. WARDLE, M.I.Ex.,
CAMELOT, HUNT'S CROSS,
LIVERPOOL.

Hon. Assistant Secretary.

RICHARD T. LEWIS.

Hon. Auditors :

KENNETH COOK, F.C.A. S. A. HARRIS, A.C.I.S.

Officers of the Society from Commencement.

Presidents.

1.	Right Hon. Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire	1848
2.	Right Hon. Charles William, 3rd Earl of Sefton, Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire	1854
3.	General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L.	1855
4.	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.	1863
5.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c.	1866
6.	Rev. Canon Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.	1869
7.	The Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester	1875
8.	Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., &c.	1879
9.	Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Chester (Dr. Stubbs)	1885
10.	Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jayne)	1889
11.	Right Hon. Frederick, 16th Earl of Derby, K.G., G.C.B., Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire	1903
12.	Right Hon. Edward, 17th Earl of Derby, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.	1906
13.	William Fergusson Irvine, M.A., F.S.A.	1938

Secretaries.

1848.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and H. C. Pidgeon.
1851.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.
1854.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.

Assistant Secretaries.

1855.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	Thomas G. Wedgwood.
1856.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	W. W. Rundell.
1857.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	J. H. Genn.
1864.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	J. H. Genn.
1867.	David Buxton.	Charles Dyall.
1875.	David Buxton.	Arthur Wakefield.
1876.	David Buxton.	Eugenio Londini.
1877.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	Eugenio Londini.
1882.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1884.	{ E. M. Hance, LL.B.	{ T. N. Morton.
	{ R. D. Radcliffe, M.A.	
1888.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1892.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton, W. F. Irvine.
1898.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	W. F. Irvine, Jas. A. Waite.
1903.	W. F. Irvine, M.A., F.S.A.	Jas. A. Waite.
1910.	F. C. Beazley, F.S.A.	Jas. A. Waite.
1914.	Philip Nelson, M.D., F.S.A.	Jas. A. Waite.
1924.	Philip Nelson, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.E., F.S.A., F.R.A.I.	Dr. S. Saxon Barton, O.B.E., F.S.A.(Scot.).
1928.	Dr. S. Saxon Barton, O.B.E., F.S.A.(Scot.).	E. C. Woods, L.D.S., R.C.S. (Eng.). Frederic Crooks, F.S.A. F. A. Bailey, M.A.
1939.	Frederick G. Blair.	W. A. Phillips, F.L.A.
1943.	A. C. WARDLE, M.I.Ex.	A. C. Wardle, M.I.Ex. R. T. LEWIS.

Editors.

1911.*	John Brownbill, M.A.
1928.	Eric H. Rideout, M.A., B.Sc.
1935.	Rev. W. W. Longford, M.A., D.D., F.S.A.
1938.	F. A. BAILEY, M.A.

* Before this date the Secretary was also Editor

Treasurers.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1848. Thomas Avison, F.A.S. | 1905. F. C. Beazley, F.S.A. |
| 1860. William Burke. | 1911. S. W. Phipps. |
| 1867. John G. Jacob. | 1922. P. C. Brown. |
| 1886. H. D. Eshelby, F.S.A. | 1926. H. K. Hardwick Cox. |
| 1898. W. E. Gregson. | 1928. W. J. Holgate, A.C.A. |
| 1939. W. A. PHILLIPS, F.L.A. | |

Librarians.

1848. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
 1851. Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.
 1859. David Buxton.
 1867. Nicholas Waterhouse.
 1869. Nicholas Waterhouse.
 1871. John R. Hughes.
 1875. John R. Hughes.
 1876. C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.
 1877. E. M. Hance, LL.B.
 1880. (*Offices in abeyance.*)
 1885. W. Thompson Watkin.
 1886. W. Thompson Watkin.
 1889. George T. Shaw.
 1889. George T. Shaw.
 1899. George T. Shaw.
 1911. George T. Shaw.
 1915. R. T. Bailey, M.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.
 1934. JOHN F. SMITH, F.S.A.Scot.

Curators.

- Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
 Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
 A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
 A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
 H. Ecroyd Smith.
 H. Ecroyd Smith.
 J. Harris Gibson.
 J. Harris Gibson.
 J. Harris Gibson.
 J. Harris Gibson.
 W. Forshaw Wilson.
 W. C. Ashby Pritt.
 Charles Potter.
 W. F. Price.

Assistant Librarians.

1911. James A. Waite.
 1922. E. H. Rideout, B.Sc., A.I.C.
 1932. J. F. Smith.
 1934. W. RIMMER TEARE.

HONORARY MEMBERS

DATE OF ELECTION.

- 1920. Mar. 26. Biver, Count Paul, Jouy-en-Josas, Seine-et-Oise, France.
- 1936. Jan. 30. Peers, Sir Charles, C.B.E., F.B.A., F.R.I.B.A., M.A., F.S.A., Chiselstathampton House, Oxford.
- " " Maclagan, Sir Eric Robert, C.B.E., F.S.A., 15 Queen's Gate Place, London, S.W.7.
- " " Evans, Miss Joan, D.Litt., c/o Society of Antiquaries, London.
- 1942. Oct. 7. Stenton, Professor F. M., M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A. Reading University.

N.B. It is requested that immediate notice be given to the Secretary of any errors, change of address, or death.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names of Life Members are printed in Clarendon.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1941. Feb. 15. ALEXANDER, H. B. 23, Grassendale Road, Liverpool, 19.
1943. ALLEN, Rev. Hugh J., M.A. The Vicarage, Guilden Sutton, Cheshire.
1940. April 4. ALLISON, John, M.A. 14, Cambridge Road, Prenton, Birkenhead.
1930. Jan. 1. ALSOP, Mrs. J. W. Ulverscroft, 25, Bidston Road, Birkenhead.
1942. Jan. 31. ANDERSON, Mrs. Anne. Sunnyside, The Rake, Bromborough, Cheshire.
1941. Mar. 15. **Arlett, W. J.** 17, Beech Grove, Norwood Avenue, Southport.
1943. Jan. 30. ARLETT, Miss H. J. 2E, Cathedral Mansions, Huskisson Street, Liverpool, 8.
1942. Oct. 24. ASHCROFT, Philip, Jun. Holly Villa, Rufford, Lancs.
1899. Jan. 19. ATKINSON, W. J. A. Hillside, Gateacre, Liverpool.
1932. Mar. 3. BAILEY, F. A., M.A. 7, Stanley Crescent, Prescott, Lancs. *Hon. Editor.*
1937. Jan. 14. BAILEY, Mrs. F. A., B.A. 7, Stanley Crescent, Prescott, Lancs.
1923. Feb. 10. BAILEY, Miss H. E. Roselands, 177, Menlove Avenue, Calderstones, Liverpool, 18.
1936. Jan. 30. BANKES, Mrs. J. H. M. Winstanley Hall, Wigan, Lancs.
1914. Jan. 29. BARTON, S. Saxon, O.B.E., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.F.P.S., L.R.C.P.Edin. 61, Parkfield Road, Liverpool, 17. *Vice-President.*
1914. Jan. 1. BEAZLEY, Eric B. Bracken Hill, Bidston, Birkenhead.
1915. Jan. 28. BENAS, Bertram B. B., J.P., B.A., LL.B. 10, Ullet Road, Liverpool, 8. *Vice-President.*

DATE OF ELECTION.

1913. Oct. 30. BENNETT, J. H. E., F.S.A. Hillside, Circular Drive, Heswall, Cheshire.
1918. Oct. 31. BICKERTON, H. R., M.A., M.B. (Cantab.), M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. 88, Rodney Street, Liverpool, 1.
1934. Jan. 11. BLAIR, F. G. 69, Myers Road East, Crosby, Liverpool, 23.
1914. Jan. 1. BROWN, P. Culverwell, M.A., F.S.A. Gorphwysfa, Llandegfan, Menai Bridge, Anglesey. *Vice-President.*
1931. Oct. 22. CALDWELL, Mrs. E. Oldfield House, Oldfield Drive, Heswall, Cheshire.
1937. Dec. 9. CAMENISCH, R. A. 36, Ullet Road, Liverpool, 17.
1942. May 30. CAREFULL, A. V. 28, Greenhill Avenue, Liverpool, 18.
1934. Jan. 25. CHANT, H., B.A. Bemerton, Old Lane, Prescott, Lancs.
1942. Oct. 24. COCHRANE, Douglas B., A.S.A.A. 35, Newton Road, Ashton, Preston.
1927. Nov. 17. COOK, Kenneth, J.P., F.C.A. 11, Kingsmead Road, Oxtou, Birkenhead.
1925. Feb. 1. COPLAND, Prof. G. W., M.A., Litt.D. Henllys, Caerwys, Flint.
1940. Feb. 29. CORLETT, J. F. The University, Liverpool, 3.
1942. Oct. 24. CORLETT, W. E. Alderley, Vyner Road, Bidston, Birkenhead.
1924. Oct. 30. CROOKS, Frederic, J.P., F.S.A. Sherwood, Huyton, Lancs. *Vice-President.*
1941. Oct. 24. CROOKS, Capt. Richard Rumbold, R.E. Sherwood, Huyton, Lancs.
1942. Nov. 21. CROSS, W. A. Woodleigh, West Street, Prescott, Lancs.
1921. Dec. 8. CROWDEN, G. W. The Gables, Brimstage Road, Heswall Hills, Cheshire.
1937. Feb. 18. CROWDEN, Miss Olive. 25, Huntley Road, Fairfield, Liverpool, 6.
1928. Mar. 29. DANSON, Lieut.-Col., J. R., M.C., M.A., T.D. Dry Close, Grasmere, Westmorland.
1939. Mar. 23. DE HOGHTON, Sir Cuthbert, Bt. Hoghton Tower, Lancs.

List of Members.

xiii

DATE OF ELECTION.

1895. Nov. 7. DERBY, Rt. Hon. The Earl of, P.C., K.G.,
G.C.V.O., C.B. Knowsley, Prescott. *Hon.*
President.
1942. Mar. 28. DICKINSON, R., Ph.D., F.I.C. The Lawns,
Lawton Road, Rainhill, Lancs.
1943. DICKINSON, Miss M. A. 25, North Road,
St. Helens.
1926. Jan. 1. DOORSON, T. R. Parkfield, Leigh, Lancs.
1938. Dec. 8. EDEN, W. A., M.A., B.Arch., A.R.I.B.A.
Moorholm, Moorside, Neston, Cheshire.
1927. Jan. 1. EVANS, D. L. Penelve, Druidville Road,
Calderstones, Liverpool, 18.
1940. April 4. EVANS, Mrs. W. H. Penelve, Druidville Road,
Calderstones, Liverpool, 18.
1942. Jan. 31. FINCH, R. A. 135, Greenhill Road, Liverpool,
18.
1925. Feb. 1. FLEETWOOD-HESKETH, R. Meols Hall,
Southport.
1943. FORSHAW, Thomas. Burtonwood House,
Burtonwood, Warrington.
1943. Jan. 30. FORWOOD, W. Miles M. Lindeth Fell, Bowness-
on-Windermere.
1938. Jan. 13. FRANCE, R. Sharpe, F.R.Hist.S. 104, Preston
New Road, Blackpool.
1939. Feb. 23. GILMARTIN, John. 29, Westbourne Avenue,
Harrogate, Yorks.
1938. Nov. 24. GOODACRE, E. B., B.A. Beech House, Orrell
Mount, nr. Wigan.
1932. Feb. 11. GRACE, Rev. W. All Saints, Oakfield,
Liverpool, 4.
1941. Jan. 25. HALSALL, Miss A. M. 16, Belfield Crescent,
Huyton, Lancs.
1908. Jan. 13. HARGREAVES, John. 20, Rock Park, Rock
Ferry, Cheshire.
1925. Mar. 14. HARGREAVES-MAWDSLEY, R. Sandy Knowe,
Allandale Road, Burnham-on-Sea, Somerset.
1939. Jan. 12. HARRIS, Mrs. Phyllis. 74, Booker Avenue,
Mossley Hill, Liverpool, 18.
1935. Nov. 14. HARRIS, S. A., A.C.I.S. 74, Booker Avenue,
Mossley Hill, Liverpool, 18.
1943. HILL, T. H. 5, Dudlow Lane, Mossley Hill,
Liverpool, 18.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1923. Oct. 25. HODGE, E. W. The Priory, Birkdale, Southport.
 1933. Feb. 23. HODGSON, R. Le F. 11, Belmont Drive,
 Liverpool, 6.
1935. Feb. 14. HOLT, Miss Anne D., M.A., F.R.Hist.S.
 54, Ullet Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool, 17.
1942. Feb. 14. HOUGHTON, Major A. T. R., M.C., M.A.
 The Stone House, Broughton, Preston.
1934. Oct. 11. HUNT, Richard W., M.A. Moorcroft, Little
 Neston, Wirral, Cheshire.
1890. Nov. 6. IRVINE, Wm. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A. Bryn
 Llwyn, Corwen, North Wales. *President.*
1924. Oct. 30. JACKSON, Frederick. 148, Chatham Street,
 Liverpool, 7.
1943. Jan. 30. JONES, A. R. 1270, New Chester Road, East-
 ham, Cheshire.
1942. Oct. 24. JONES, William G. H. 11, Wroxham Drive,
 Upton, Birkenhead.
1941. Jan. 25. LAMB, James. Willow Hey, Maghull, Lancs.
 1933. Dec. 7. LATHAM, Miss B. E. 16, Grosvenor Road,
 Kirby Park, West Kirby, Cheshire.
1943. Jan. 30. LEECH, E. Bosdin, M.A., M.D. Chadlington
 House, Daisy Bank Road, Victoria Park,
 Manchester, 14.
1942. Mar. 28. LEWIS, Richard T. 33, Yewtree Road, Hale-
 wood, Lancs. *Hon. Assistant Secretary.*
1933. Jan. 12. LONGFORD, Rev. W. W., M.A., D.D., F.S.A.
 Sefton Rectory, Liverpool, 23. *Vice-
 President.*
1943. Mar. 27. McNAUGHTAN, Mrs. C. M. M. Craig Mount,
 Windermere.
1936. April 2. McNULTY, Rev. J., B.A., F.R.Hist.S. All
 Saints Presbytery, High Street, Golborne,
 Warrington.
1920. Feb. 26. MATHEWS, Godfrey W. 13A, Hargreaves Road,
 Liverpool, 17. *Vice-President.*
1923. Nov. 8. MATHEWS, Mrs. G. D., M.A. 13A, Hargreaves
 Road, Liverpool, 17.
1914. Jan. 1. MAY, Walter T., F.I.A. Mellenser, Mill Lane,
 Willaston, Cheshire.
1942. Oct. 24. MILLNER, G. H. The Blue School, Newton-
 with-Scales, near Kirkham, Lancs.
1939. Feb. 23. NEALE, Miss F. E. 35, Holland Road, Wallasey.

List of Members.

xv

DATE OF ELECTION.

1941. Jan. 25. NELSON, Bertram, F.S.A.A. Derby Square,
James Street, Liverpool, 2.
1908. Dec. 10. NELSON, Philip, M.A., Ph.D., M.D., F.R.S.E.,
F.S.A., F.R.A.I. Beechwood, Calderstones,
Liverpool, 18. *Vice-President.*
1943. Mar. 27. PATTINSON, Major E. Harold. Quarry How,
Bowness-on-Windermere.
1943. PATTINSON, Mrs. E. H. Quarry How, Bowness-
on-Windermere.
1926. Jan. 1. PEDDER, T. Millfield Road, Widnes, Lancs.
1921. Oct. 27. PELLING, Douglas L. 4, Curzon Road, Prenton,
Birkenhead.
1937. Jan. 14. PHILLIPS, W. A., F.L.A. 73, Allangate Road,
Liverpool, 19. *Hon. Treasurer.*
1926. Jan. 1. POOLE, Charles. Lacey Street, Widnes, Lancs.
1937. Dec. 9. PORTER, Eric B., F.S.A. (Scot.). 228, Clifton
Drive South, St. Annes, Lytham St. Annes,
Lancs.
1888. Feb. 23. PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS, Ltd. *Lancashire
Daily Post* Office, Preston, Lancs.
1931. April 9. PURGOLD, N. T. 30-32, The Albany, Liver-
pool, 3.
1888. Feb. 9. RADCLIFFE, Sir Frederick M., K.C.V.O.
Tuesley Court, Godalming, Surrey.
1935. Mar. 28. REED, G. E. 11, Mentmore Road, Mossley
Hill, Liverpool, 18.
1941. Jan. 25. ROBINSON, G., B.A. 27, Primrose Drive,
Huyton, Lancs.
1903. Dec. 3. **Royden, E. B.** Hillbark, Frankby, Cheshire.
1936. Dec. 10. RUSSELL, Rev. C. F., B.D., F.S.A. Crosby
Lodge, Merrilocks Road, Blundellsands,
Liverpool, 23.
1929. Nov. 29. RUTHERFORD, Miss E. L. The Hatton, Pipers
Lane, Heswall, Cheshire.
1928. Oct. 4. SAVAGE, J. H. M. Norlands, Cavendish Drive,
Rock Ferry, Cheshire.
1931. Oct. 8. SAXTON, Miss E. B., M.A., A.L.A. 72,
Alexandra Road, Crosby, Liverpool, 23.
1939. Feb. 9. SAXTON, Miss E. V. 72, Alexandra Road,
Crosby, Liverpool, 23.
1923. Oct. 25. SCARISBRICK, Sir Everard, Bt. Scarisbrick
Hall, Ormskirk, Lancs.
1935. Jan. 24. SHELLEY, Roland J. A., F.R.Hist.S. 27,
Pilkington Road, Southport.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1928. Mar. 1. SHENNAN, Ald. A. E., J.P., F.R.I.B.A., Grey-
stoke, Sandfield Park, Liverpool, 12.
1938. Oct. 27. SILCOCK, H. O. The Cross, Huyton, Lancs.
1942. Mar. 28. SKELLAND, Miss I. 32, Sinclair Avenue,
Prescot, Lancs.
1943. Jan. 30. SKELLAND, H. 32, Sinclair Avenue, Prescot,
Lancs.
1928. Feb. 16. SMITH, John Fredk., F.R.S.A., F.S.A. (Scot.).
Tutnal, Gwydrin Road, Calderstones, Liver-
pool, 18. *Hon. Librarian.*
1939. Jan. 12. SMITH, John Russell, M.A. 32, Old Lane,
Prescot, Lancs.
1934. Feb. 22. SPEAKMAN, H. W. 2, Hendon Road, Fairfield,
Liverpool, 6.
1899. April 13. STARKIE, Colonel Edmund A. Le Gendre.
Huntroyde, Burnley, Lancs.
1918. Feb. 14. STEELE, E. W. Topham. 78, Shrewsbury Road,
Oxton, Birkenhead.
1936. April 2. STOCKDALE, Mrs. R. The Riffel, Woolton
Park, Liverpool.
1936. Oct. 15. STOREY, P. P. 196, Birchfield Road, Widnes,
Lancs.
1943. TAIT, Andrew Carlyle Fraser. Lady Lever Art
Gallery, Port Sunlight, Cheshire.
1920. Oct. 28. TEARE, W. Rimmer. 7, Halkyn Terrace,
Rossett, near Wrexham.
1930. Feb. 6. THOMSON, Miss E. 65, Brownmoor Park,
Crosby, Liverpool, 23.
1942. April 16. TOMLINSON, H. Ellis, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.).
119, Fleetwood Road, Thornton-le-Fylde,
Lancs.
1940. April 4. TURNER, J., LL.M. The Law Library, Dale
Street, Liverpool, 2.
1943. Jan. 30. TURNER, Harold A., M.A. 7, Kinward Avenue,
Leigh, Lancs.
1920. Jan. 1. TWEMLOW, Prof. J. A., M.A. 9, Ashfield Road,
Aigburth, Liverpool, 17. *Vice-President.*
1941. Mar. 15. WAINWRIGHT, F. T., B.A. 76, Birchley Road,
Billinge, near Wigan.
1942. Feb. 14. WAINWRIGHT, Mrs. F. T., B.A. 76, Birchley
Road, Billinge, near Wigan.
1942. Feb. 14. WALKER, Robert. Werden, Newton with
Scales, near Kirkham, Lancs.
1937. Feb. 4. WARDLE, Arthur C. Camelot, Mackett's Lane,
Woolton, Liverpool. *Hon. Secretary.*

DATE OF ELECTION.

1918. Jan. 31. WELD, Francis, J.P. 32, Weld Road, Birkdale, Southport. *Vice-President.*
1924. Oct. 30. WILSON, Miss A. J., M.A. 6, Canning Street, Liverpool, 8.
1915. Jan. 1. WINSTANLEY, H. 276, Allerton Road, Mossley Hill, Liverpool, 18.
1904. Jan. 28. WOLSTENHOLME, Chas. M. Parkbury, Talbot Road, Oxtton, Birkenhead.
1909. Feb. 12. WOODS, E. C., L.D.S., R.C.S.Eng., F.R.Hist.S. Green Gables, Bowness-on-Windermere.

LIBRARIES

DATE OF ELECTION.

1908. Mar. 5. ACCRINGTON Public Library. Accrington, Lancs.
1888. Mar. 22. ATHENÆUM Library. Liverpool.
1907. Feb. 21. BARROW-IN-FURNESS Public Library. Barrow-in-Furness.
1904. Mar. 25. BEBINGTON (Mayer) Free Library. Bebington, Birkenhead.
1896. Jan. 16. BIRKENHEAD Public Library. Birkenhead.
1899. Oct. 31. BIRMINGHAM Central Public Library. Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1870. April 7. BLACKBURN Public Library. Blackburn, Lancs.
1888. Mar. 22. BODLEIAN Library. Oxford.
1907. Jan. 5. BOLTON-LE-MOORS Public Library. Bolton, Lancs.
1890. Nov. 6. BOOTLE Free Library. Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancs.
1888. Mar. 22. BOSTON Athenæum. Boston, Mass., U.S.A. (C/o Messrs. E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 12-14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C.2.)
1889. Jan. 10. BOSTON Public Library. Boston, U.S.A. (C/o B. Quaritch, Ltd., 11, Grafton Street, London, W.1.)
1891. Nov. 5. BRITISH Museum Library. (C/o Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown, New Ruskin House, 28-30, Little Russell Street, London, W.C.1.)
1940. April 4. CAMBRIDGE. The University Library.
1939. May 27. CHESHIRE County Library. Lower Bridge Street, Chester.
1879. Jan. 9. CHETHAM'S Library. Manchester.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1922. April 4. CHICAGO University. (C/o Messrs. B. F. Stevens & Brown, *sup.*)
1900. Mar. 29. CHORLEY Free Public Library. Chorley, Lancs.
1938. Oct. 13. CLEVELAND Public Library. Ohio, U.S.A.
(C/o Henry Sotheran, Ltd., 43, Piccadilly, London, W.I.)
1905. April 11. CONGRESS, Library of. Washington, U.S.A.
(C/o E. G. Allen & Son, *sup.*)
1907. July 15. DARWEN Free Library. Darwen, Lancs.
1940. April 4. DUBLIN. Library of Trinity College.
1940. April 4. EDINBURGH. The Library of the Faculty of Advocates.
1912. Nov. 21. HARVARD College Library. U.S.A. (C/o E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., *sup.*)
1941. Jan. 28. HENRY E. HUNTINGTON Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
1941. Aug. 12. ILLINOIS University Library. Urbana, Illinois, U.S.A.
1891. Nov. 5. IRELAND, National Library of. Dublin. (C/o the Director.)
1910. Nov. 10. JOHN RYLANDS Library. Deansgate, Manchester.
1897. Nov. 4. LANCASTER Public Library. Lancaster.
1889. Mar. 7. LEEDS Public Library. Leeds.
1911. Oct. 25. LEIGH Public Library. Leigh, Lancs.
1942. April 16. LIVERPOOL COLLEGE. Liverpool. (C/o the Librarian.)
1931. Jan. 1. LIVERPOOL INSTITUTE. Mount Street, Liverpool.
1904. Jan. 28. LIVERPOOL Public Library. Liverpool.
1933. Jan. 12. LIVERPOOL University (The Tate Library). Liverpool.
1888. Mar. 22. MANCHESTER Public Libraries. Albert Square, Manchester.
1888. Mar. 22. MANCHESTER University Library. Manchester.
1931. Oct. 8. MICHIGAN University Library. Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A. (C/o Henry Sotheran, Ltd., *sup.*)
1897. Mar. 25. NEW YORK, Public Library of. U.S.A. (C/o Messrs. Stevens & Brown, *sup.*)
1893. Feb. 9. NEWBERRY Library. Chicago, U.S.A. (C/o Messrs. Stevens & Brown, *sup.*)

- DATE OF ELECTION.
1907. July 15. OLDHAM Free Library. Oldham, Lancs.
 1913. Oct. 30. PEABODY Institute, The. Baltimore, U.S.A.
 (C/o Messrs. Allen & Sons, *sup.*)
1929. July 7. PRESTON Education (Library) Dept. County
 Offices, Preston.
1929. July 7. PRESTON (Harris) Public Library. Fishergate
~~Lib.~~, Preston.
1931. Oct. 8. PRINCETON University Library. (C/o E. G.
 Allen & Son, Ltd., *sup.*)
1911. Jan. 19. PUBLIC Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
 (C/o the Librarian.)
1901. April 13. ROCHDALE Public Library. Rochdale, Lancs.
 1924. Jan. 31. ROYAL Library. Copenhagen. (C/o Francis
 Edwards, 83A, High Street, Marylebone,
 London, W.1.)
1888. Mar. 22. ST. HELENS Public Library. St. Helens,
 Lancs.
1907. July 15. SALFORD Royal Museum and Library. Peel
 Park, Salford, Lancs.
1897. Jan. 28. SOUTHPORT (Atkinson) Public Library. South-
 port, Lancs.
1911. Jan. 19. STOCKPORT Public Library. Stockport,
 Cheshire.
1891. Nov. 5. STONYHURST College; Rev. the Rector of, S.J.
 Blackburn, Lancs.
1908. Aug. 22. TORONTO Public Reference Library. Toronto,
 Canada.
1936. June 8. VICTORIA, Public Library of. Melbourne,
 Australia. (C/o Henry Sotheran, Ltd., *sup.*)
1903. Mar. 12. VICTORIA AND ALBERT Museum Library,
 South Kensington, London, S.W. (C/o
 Board of Education, Storekeeper's Dept.,
 South Kensington.)
1913. Nov. 27. WALES, National Library of. Aberystwyth.
 1918. Jan. 1. WALLASEY Public Library. Wallasey, Cheshire.
 1892. Nov. 3. WARRINGTON Museum and Library. War-
 rington, Lancs.
1889. Jan. 10. WIGAN Public Library. Wigan, Lancs.
 1913. Oct. 30. WISCONSIN State Historical Society. Madison,
 Wisconsin, U.S.A.
1936. Jan. 30. YALE University Library. (C/o E. G. Allen &
 Son, Ltd., *sup.*)

SOCIETIES WHICH EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS WITH
THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE
AND CHESHIRE.

- Society of Antiquaries*, Burlington House, London.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin.
New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton
Place, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, c/o Roland
Austin, Public Library, Gloucester.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Librarian, Museum of Archæology
and Ethnology, Downing Street, Cambridge.
Chester Archæological Society, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, Tullie House,
Carlisle.
Essex Archæological Society, Holly Trees, Colchester.
Kent Archæological Society, The Museum, Maidstone.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, c/o H. Wardale,
22, Hawthorn Avenue, Timperley, Cheshire.
Leicestershire Archæological Society, The Guildhall, Leicester.
Lincolnshire Architectural and Archæological Society, Jews' Court,
Steep Hill, Lincoln.
London and Middlesex Archæological Society, Bishopsgate
Institute, Bishopsgate, London.
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, C. H. Hunter Blair,
F.S.A., The Library, Blackgate, Newcastle.
Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society, The
Librarian, Free Public Library and Museum, Shrewsbury.
Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society, H. St.
George Gray, Taunton Castle.
Staffordshire Record Society, c/o the Librarian, William Salt
Library, Stafford.
Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History, Athenæum,
Bury St. Edmunds.
Sussex Archæological Society, The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
Thoresby Society, The Hon. Librarians, 16 Queen's Square, Leeds.
Yorkshire Archæological Society, The Librarian, 10 Park Place,
Leeds.
-

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY SUBSCRIBES TO THE FOLLOWING :—

- Congress of Archæological Societies.
 Chetham Society.
 English Place-Name Society.
 Lancashire Parish Register Society.
 Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society.

A LATE ROMAN FIBULA.

By Philip Nelson, Ph.D., F.R.S.E.

Read 24 October, 1942.

IT is somewhat surprising that it should still be possible to find a hitherto unnoted variety of the *cross-bow* fibula, so popular throughout the Roman Empire, during its closing years.

The peculiarity of the brooch under review, is that in place, as is usual, of the *acus* being hinged on the cross-bar, this jewel has a detachable pin inserted through a hole in the free end of the shank, its point being held in place in a hole drilled in the centre of the cross-bar. This fibula, which measures 4 inches in length, is of silver-gilt and consists of an hexagonal cross-bar enriched with three hexagonal knobs, one, the central, larger than the others, a tall narrow bow and a long shank, quadrangular in section, adorned along the sides of its upper surface with applied scrolls, treated *à jour*. On the top of the cross-bow is a cresting *à jour*, a frequent enrichment of *cross-bow* brooches of the later empire. The pin, which is $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, has on its end a small hexagonal knob.

In general design this fibula is very similar to a brooch of normal type from Syria, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, which example also has the shank treated *à jour* and its cross-bar crested with openwork.

Though no other example is known to the writer, in which the pin passes through the length of the shank, Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A., has very kindly directed my attention to two brooches, in which the detachable pin is employed from the reverse direction. These brooches are: 1. That illustrated in Daremberg & Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, II, 2009, fig. 3016, which is analagous in outline to the fibula under discussion. 2. A brooch from the tomb of Childeric, ob. A.D. 481, which has a wide flat oblong shank. In both these cases the *acus*, removable by unscrewing a lateral knob, is thrust through the ends of the toga, the point passing into the shank, whilst the other end,

which is provided with a loop, is then pressed into a slot cut in the cross-bar, being firmly fixed in position by screwing in the lateral knob. In reference to the fibula under consideration, it is interesting to mention that a very similar *cross-bow* fibula appears on the right shoulder of the armed warrior, presumed to be Stilicho,¹ on a leaf of an ivory diptych, preserved at Monza.²

It would thus appear that this type of fibula may be regarded as previously unrecorded and as probably of provincial Roman workmanship of c. A.D. 410.

¹ Stilicho, the father-in-law of the Emperor Honorius, was murdered at his instigation, A.D. 408.

² Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I p. 60. Pl. 16.

NORTH-WEST MERCIA

A.D. 871-924

By F. T. Wainwright

Read 21 November, 1942¹

DURING the half-century which is covered by the reigns of Alfred the Great (871-899) and Edward the Elder (899-924) there occurred a terrible calamity, the Scandinavian invasions, which exercised a profound and permanent influence upon the history and racial composition of Britain. The outline of events is reasonably clear, for we possess a contemporary account in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Unfortunately, the *Chronicle* scribes, interested primarily in the West Saxon angle of the story, were unwilling or unable to describe conditions or events remote from their central theme. Amongst those regions of which a fuller knowledge would be especially welcome we must include North-west Mercia, that is to say modern Cheshire and parts of adjoining counties. The present paper attempts a popular survey of this area. It should be remembered that the story of Cheshire can be understood only when, in its proper setting, it is co-ordinated with the story of England. This, no less than the paucity and inferential nature of the evidence, demands that Cheshire be regarded as part of the kingdom of Mercia which was, in its turn, faced with a menace common to all the English states.

In all probability the main Scandinavian settlements in Cheshire occurred during the reigns of Alfred and his son. It is extremely unlikely that any Scandinavians had settled in Cheshire before Alfred's accession, and we have no reason to suppose that such settlers were numerous after Edward's death. Indeed, it is a fairly safe assumption that most of the Scandinavian settlements in Cheshire were made between 871 and 924. Thus these fifty years are years of tremendous importance. Moreover, there is evidence which suggests that this area, North-west Mercia, played

¹ This article was read as a paper under the title of "The Scandinavians in Cheshire." A change in title was considered desirable in order to permit the inclusion of additional matter.



a vital part in the campaigns which led to Edward's destruction of the immediate Scandinavian menace.

We have no direct evidence of conditions in Cheshire in A.D. 871. It formed part of Mercia, but the Mercian kingdom was clearly on the eve of dissolution. Since the death of Offa the glories of Mercian supremacy had vanished. Between 820 and 830 it would appear that Egbert's spectacular victories had transferred the ascendancy to Wessex together with the overlordship of all Southern England.¹ Even Northumbria felt compelled to admit some kind of nominal West Saxon sovereignty.² Yet it is easy to over-estimate the reality and permanence of Egbert's power and it is easy to exaggerate the decadence of Mercia. It may be noted that London remained a Mercian city in spite of Egbert's ascendancy, and there is no doubt that Cheshire remained part of Mercia after the disasters of 825 and 829. But the vitality had gone from the Mercian central government and the control exercised by the Mercian kings can have been little more than a fiction. The last rulers of Mercia are shrouded in obscurity, notable only for their impotence and for their insecurity. After Coenwulf (796-821) died, his brother Ceolwulf was deprived of the kingdom in 823.³ Henceforward the Mercian throne seems to have become the prize of the most powerful claimant, irrespective of his connexion with the royal house. Each in turn was slain or expelled, a fact which, in Mercia as in Northumbria, illustrates the instability of the central power.

The Danish raids provide a demonstration rather than a cause of Mercian weakness. It is interesting to contrast the puny and ineffective resistance of Mercia with the determined and strenuous resistance of Wessex. In 842⁴ there was "great slaughter" at London, a Mercian city, as well as at Rochester and Quentavic. Some ten years later⁵ a more terrible blow befell Mercia: the *Chronicle* records that Canterbury and London were stormed and that the Danes "put to flight" Beorhtwulf, King of the Mercians, and his fyrd. It is significant that, on advancing into Surrey,

¹ Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex and East Anglia submitted to Egbert. For a short time he apparently ruled Mercia directly, as Oswald of Northumbria had done before him, but Wiglaf, on his restoration to the Mercian throne, seems to have been quite independent of West Saxon overlordship.

² There is no evidence that the Northumbrian submission at Dore was more than a gesture.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ASC) s.a. 821.

⁴ ASC. s.a. 839.

⁵ ASC. s.a. 851.

the Danes were defeated by Ethelwulf, Ethelbald and the West Saxons at *Aclea*, a battle which inflicted far greater loss on the Danes than any they had yet suffered on English soil.¹ Burgred, Beorhtwulf's successor, realized his weakness and at once appealed for West Saxon assistance in the subjugation of the Welsh (*Norþ Walas*). Asser believed that this was no raid of conquest but a defensive action to restore Mercian control over rebels.² This seems to be the correct interpretation. In her weakness Mercia could not, unaided, maintain order within her own borders: it was not the time for territorial expansion. It is not known if Cheshire played any part in this Welsh revolt or its suppression for the trouble may have arisen in Central or South Wales.³ At any rate, it shows the lack of security along the Welsh border and it shows that Mercia could not alone provide protection against raiders. The Angles in Cheshire would have to rely mainly upon their own resources. On this occasion Ethelwulf and the West Saxons crushed the rebels and restored Burgred's authority, but the whole incident is a remarkable confession of Mercia's weakness. It is clear, too, that Wessex no longer regarded Mercia as a rival to be feared but as a tottering ally to be strengthened in the face of the common Danish menace.

In the marriages which follow we see a West Saxon attempt to bolster up a crumbling Mercia. After Easter 853, "King Ethelwulf gave his daughter to King Burgred," a marriage which followed closely upon the Welsh campaign.⁴ Asser records that in 868 Alfred was married to a Mercian lady of royal descent.⁵ Their children, Edward and Æthelflæd, and Æthelflæd's Mercian husband, Ethelred, were destined to recover Mercia from Danish control, but the immediate effect of these marriages was slight, for Mercia was still unable to offer any effective resistance to the Danes.

At this point the "Great Army" of heathen Danes arrived to emphasize Mercia's weakness. The piratical raids which had

¹ Ibid.

² Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Alfredi*. cap. 7.

³ It has been suggested to the author that the desolation of Chester, discussed below (p. 12), was perhaps due to a devastation at the hands of the Welsh during this revolt. It is an attractive theory and it is quite feasible, but no evidence can be quoted either for or against it.

⁴ Both campaign and marriage are recorded under the annal for 853 in the *Chronicle*, but, since this probably covers the period September 852—September 853, it is possible that the Welsh revolt should be referred to the previous year.

⁵ Asser, *op. cit.* cap. 29.

begun late in the eighth century now developed into a determined and dangerous attempt at conquest. In the autumn of 865 the Great Army landed in East Anglia, and for fifteen years it wandered almost at will in England. Of the English kingdoms only Wessex made any effective resistance: East Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia collapsed in turn before the onslaught. It is not necessary here to trace the progress of the Danish Army except in so far as it affected Mercia. Late in 867 the Danes moved from York and took up winter quarters in Nottingham. This was the first direct attack upon Mercia proper. Burgred appealed to Ethelred and Alfred for help, and the West Saxon fyrd marched to relieve Nottingham, but, runs the contemptuous entry in the West Saxon *Chronicle*, "there no serious battle took place, and the Mercians made peace with the Army." It was an ill-starred beginning. Henceforth the Danes traversed Mercia as they pleased, and submission availed little to avert devastation.¹ In 871, after the remarkable campaign in Wessex during which Alfred became king,² the Army moved to London for the winter of 871-872. The *Chronicle* records no resistance and contents itself with the usual contemptuous comment that the Mercians made peace with the heathen army: *þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here*. The evidence of a charter, however, throws light upon the nature of the Mercian peace; it shows that the Danes received money which was partly raised in Mercian lands remote from London.³ It is possible that the men of Cheshire were called upon to make their contribution. In spite of such payments London remained firmly under Danish control and Halfdan struck coins there.⁴

Late in 872 the Army rode into Northumbria and then returned south to spend the winter at Torksey in Lindsey, and again *þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here*. The next winter, 873-874, was passed at Repton, the real centre of Mercian power and deep in the heart of the kingdom. There was enacted the final scene

¹ It is recorded that in the autumn of 869 (ASC. s.a. 870) "the [Danish] Army rode across Mercia into East Anglia." The Peterborough version (Laud or E. MS.) of the *Chronicle* adds: "And they destroyed all the churches which they came to. And at the same time, when they came to Medeshamsted (Peterborough), they burnt it and battered it, and they slew the abbot and the monks and all that they found there. . . ."

² Probably towards the end of April, 871.

³ Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*. 533. Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, is seen granting land in Nuthurst, co. Warwick, in order to raise money *pro immenso tributo barbarorum eodem anno quo pagani sedebant in Lundonia*. cf. R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II, p. 552.

⁴ See, for example, G. C. Brooke, *English Coins*, Plate IX.

in the degradation of Mercia when the Danes "drove King Burgred over the sea about twenty-two years after he acquired the kingdom, and subdued the whole land. And he [Burgred] went to Rome, and remained there, and his body lies in St. Mary's church in the English quarter. And in that same year they gave the kingdom of the Mercians into the keeping of an unwise king's thegn." This was Ceolwulf II, a puppet king set up by the Danes, and the terms of his contract with the enemy reveal how complete was the humiliation of Mercia: by oaths and hostages he was bound to hold himself, his followers and the whole kingdom at the disposal of the Army.

Having secured full control of Mercia, the Danes now divided their forces. Halfdan, with one part, went northwards to ravage Northumbria, to raid among the Picts and Strathclyde Welsh and, finally, in 876 to attempt the permanent settlement of Northumbria, the first recorded Scandinavian settlement in England. Guthrum, with the other part of the Army, spent the winter of 874-875, and presumably the winter of 875-876, at Cambridge, and then made a second attempt to subdue Wessex. The story centres around Wareham and Exeter, where the Danes apparently remained until the summer of 877, when Alfred forced them to make peace and to surrender hostages. In August¹ 877 they departed into Mercia,² "and some of it they divided, and some of it they gave to Ceolwulf."³ Thus the *Chronicle* records the second great Scandinavian settlement in England, that of Eastern Mercia. That Ceolwulf was allowed to continue as the ruler of Western Mercia proves his loyalty to his Danish masters and his adherence to the terms of 874. It may be that he helped to facilitate the Danish settlement, for the whole operation did not require much more than four months: the Danes left Exeter during the harvest of 877 and by the early days of January 878 they had returned to deliver a surprise attack on Wessex which compelled Alfred to seek a temporary refuge in the Somerset marshes and which almost culminated in final disaster. The settlement of Eastern Mercia, therefore, took place in the last months of 877. After Alfred's recovery at *Epyandun* (Eddington, Wilts.) the Danes were forced to make peace, and they spent

¹ On *hærfæste*. ASC. s.a. 877.

² Ethelweard states that the Danes went to Gloucester which is thus clearly within Mercia. *Ethelwerdi Chroniconum*, Lib. IV, Cap. III.

³ ASC. s.a. 877.

the winter of 878-879 at Cirencester, presumably in Ceolwulf's Mercia, before moving to East Anglia which was then divided and settled. With this third recorded Scandinavian settlement in England the history of the Great Army of 865 comes to an end.

Since 874 Cheshire had been part of Ceolwulf's kingdom and was, no doubt, under indirect Danish control. This, however, can hardly have been effective, and, as will be seen, there is some evidence that life in this area continued without much disturbance. When the division of Mercia took place in 877, the Danish settlement apparently reached westwards to include the counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. Ceolwulf was probably allowed to retain the area covered by the counties of Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Worcester-shire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. It is not known whether he died, abdicated or was deposed: he vanishes from the pages of history, and we find Ealdorman Ethelred acting as the representative of the Mercian kings and as Alfred's subordinate partner. The problems of Ethelred's position and of his relation to King Alfred need not trouble us here. It was to Ethelred that Alfred gave London on its recapture from the Danes in 886 (or late 885).

At this point, the half-way mark of Alfred's reign, it is convenient to inquire what had been the effects of the Danish ravages. The Great Army of 865 had overwhelmed all the English kingdoms except Wessex, and had made settlements in three areas and on such a scale that half of England became permanently Scandinavianized. How far had Cheshire or North-west Mercia been affected by this date? There is no evidence that the Danes had yet penetrated into the extreme north-west of Mercia, and Cheshire had probably suffered less than might be imagined. It is clear that nothing could have prevented a Danish raid into Cheshire had the Army considered the attempt worth the effort. It is clear also that under Ceolwulf North-west Mercia fell into the Danish sphere of influence, but it is unlikely that this control was more than nominal. In fact, until the last years of Alfred's reign it is probable that North-west Mercia remained undisturbed by the Danish invasions except, possibly, for the levy of some such contribution to the Army as that mentioned by the Bishop of Worcester.

This conclusion is supported by the little that is known of conditions in Mercia under Ceolwulf II. The only available account of Ceolwulf's elevation to power is that found in the West Saxon *Chronicle*, and the West Saxons were obviously disgusted at such shameless treachery. It may be, however, that we do not know the full story, for it is a remarkable fact that during his short reign Ceolwulf seems to have been supported by the chief men in Mercia. Charters show that he was recognized by the Mercian bishops, Werfrith of Worcester, Eadbert of Lichfield and Deorlaf of Hereford. Men who had attended Burgred's court are found in attendance on Ceolwulf. One feels that the West Saxon version may require modification.

This impression is strengthened by the evidence of scholarship in Mercia. Asser tells us that Alfred summoned Werfrith, Plegmund and two learned priests, Athelstan and Werwulf, from Mercia to assist him in the revival of learning.¹ That Mercia could produce such men at a time when, according to Alfred, scholarship had almost vanished from the rest of England² is a very strong argument against any Danish devastation. It is almost certain that these scholars belong to Western Mercia: Werfrith was Bishop of Worcester, Plegmund is traditionally connected with Cheshire, and Lichfield seems to have been a cultural centre the importance of which is not sufficiently recognized. In short, we may well believe that Western Mercia under Ceolwulf had escaped the misery and disorganization consequent elsewhere upon the Danish invasions. It is noteworthy that there had yet been no serious raid into Western Mercia and that the Danes had never taken up winter quarters there.³ It seems

¹ Asser, op. cit. cap. 77. "At tunc Deus quaedam solatia regiae benevolentiae, tam benevolam et iustissimam querelam illius diutius non ferens, veluti quaedam luminaria, transmisit Werfrithum, scilicet Wigernensis ecclesiae episcopum, in divina scilicet scriptura bene eruditum, qui, imperio regis, libros Dialogorum Gregorii papae et Petri sui discipuli de Latinitate primus in Saxonica lingua, aliquando sensum ex sensu ponens, elucubravit et elegantissime interpretatus est; deinde Plegmundum, Mercium genere, Dorobernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopum, venerabilem scilicet virum, sapientia praeditum; Æthelstan quoque et Werwulfum, sacerdotes et capellanos, Mercios genere, eruditos."

² In the preface to his translation of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Alfred, in a frequently quoted passage, declares that he cannot think of a single Latin scholar south of the Thames at the time of his accession and that there were very few south of the Humber.

³ Apart from the 878-879 winter which the Danes spent at Cirencester on the borders of Wessex and Mercia. On this occasion, however, Guthrum and his Army must have been temporarily exhausted by the severe defeat inflicted on them by Alfred. This wintering of a chastened Army on the fringes of Mercia cannot be compared with the triumphant occupation of York, Nottingham and Repton a few years earlier.

safe to say that in 886 Cheshire was still unscathed by the troubles which had come upon England.

This immunity from serious raids came to a sudden end, and during the last seven years of Alfred's reign the men of Cheshire were destined to experience directly the full force of the Danish attacks. North-western Mercia became for two or three years the scene of important operations. Briefly, the danger arose from two Danish armies which arrived in Kent late in 892. One, a force with 250 ships, built a fort at Appledore; the other, Hæsten with eighty ships, built a fort at Milton. Alfred's hasty attempts to ward off disaster by negotiation failed. Hæsten, whose sons were baptized, apparently assented to some arrangement but, nevertheless, in the spring of 893¹ he slipped away to Benfleet, Essex, which became the base for his raiding expeditions. Equally futile were Alfred's efforts to ensure that the Danes already settled in England remained quiet and to prevent them from joining forces with the invaders. The sequence of events is not clear but it seems that in November 892² Alfred demanded and received hostages from the Danes of East Anglia as well as pledges from them and from the Northumbrian Danes. This manœuvre was of no avail, for, whenever the Appledore and Milton Armies went raiding, the East Angles and the Northumbrians "went out either with them or on their own account."³ Later, after Hæsten had gone to Benfleet, the Danes of East Anglia and Northumbria made dangerous naval attacks upon the north and south coasts of Devon which necessitated Alfred's presence and seriously hampered English operations in south-eastern England. To understand the campaigns of the last years of the ninth century it is essential to emphasize the part played by the remnants of the 865 Great Army. In 892 the Danes could rely upon powerful support from their kindred who were settled in England. For Cheshire the outlook was especially gloomy. A glance at a map will show the insecurity of North-west Mercia if the Danes decided to attack in that area. East of Watling Street was friendly territory,

¹ Probably before Easter (April 8th). Hæsten's move preceded that of the Appledore Army which, according to Ethelweard (op. cit.), occurred about Easter.

² i.e. as soon as the arrival of the Danes created a crisis.

³ ASC. s.a. 894. *swa oft swa pa opre hergas mid ealle herige ut foron þonne foron hie oppe mid oppe on heora healfe.* For a slightly different interpretation of this passage see R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, II, p. 659.

a refuge from punitive expeditions and a reservoir of reinforcements. It is obvious that the West Saxons could not effectively defend North-west Mercia while the older generation of Danish settlers remained unsubdued and hostile.

Meanwhile the Appledore Danes, after suffering a severe defeat at Farnham, straggled into Hæsten's base at Benfleet. Edward captured and destroyed this fortress during Hæsten's absence, and the Danes moved to Shoebury. From Shoebury and, later, from Mersea Island, there were launched three spectacular raids into Western Mercia, the vulnerability of which was probably no less obvious to the Danes than it is to us. It has been suggested that these three raids were a deliberate attempt to annex Western Mercia to Danish Mercia.¹ In any case, Cheshire now comes into the centre of the picture. In the summer of 893² the two Danish Armies, supported by considerable reinforcements from the East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes, moved from Shoebury "up along the Thames until they came to the Severn [and] then up along the Severn."³ This created a crisis, especially as the East Anglian and Northumbrian Danes had actively joined the expedition in great numbers. For the first time Alfred had to face a coalition of all the Danes in England, and the struggle was to be waged in remote North-west Mercia, far from his own bases and reserves. Against this formidable host was mustered a force composed of West Saxons, Mercians and even Welshmen. It is noteworthy that, under the able leadership of Ealdorman

¹ R. H. Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, II, p. 666.

² By taking into account the other events of this crowded year it is possible to place this first raid on Western Mercia in the summer, probably the early summer, of 893. It was, according to Ethelweard (*op. cit.* Lib. IV, cap. III), about Easter (i.e. early April) that the Appledore Army attempted to reach East Anglia. There followed the Battle of Farnham, the escape via Thorney to Benfleet, Edward's recruiting of additional help from London, the successful English attack on Benfleet, and the Danes' move into new quarters at Shoebury. It would be some time before the Danes, having obtained help from the East Angles and Northumbrians, were able to undertake a full scale raid into Western Mercia. It can hardly have been possible before the end of May. On their arrival at Buttington they were, says the *Chronicle*, besieged for "many weeks." It is unlikely that they returned to Shoebury much before the early days of August. Perhaps a month was spent in preparations for a second raid: they gathered a great army from among the East Angles and the Northumbrians, and they made safe their wives, their ships and their goods. Then they made a quick dash to Chester which they reached well before the end of the year—"about twelve months after they previously came hither over the sea." It may be remarked that the language of the *Chronicle* suggests that the Danish movements were hurried by the approach of winter. They had collected their army "*onforan winter*," and then, on the journey to Chester, "they went continuously by day and night," perhaps to avoid the English fyrd but perhaps also because the campaigning season was at an end and because it was desirable to find winter quarters at once.

³ ASC. *s.a.* 894.

Ethelred, the Mercians now make their full contribution to the English resistance. There is complete accord between Wessex and Mercia, and the latter, although clearly the subordinate partner, is far more effective under Ethelred and Alfred than under Burgred and the last Mercian kings.

The mixed horde of Danes followed the Severn until they were overtaken by the English forces *æt Buttingtune* (Buttington, near Welshpool, Montgomery).¹ Here they were besieged for many weeks until, having been driven to kill some of their horses for food, they decided to make a dash for their base in Essex. They were severely mauled by the waiting English but finally escaped and reached Shoebury. Thus ended the first great raid on Western Mercia. It seems to have been more serious than is implied by the *Chronicle*; perhaps the scribe minimized the danger because Wessex was not directly threatened. At once preparations were made for a second raid, and late in 893² the Danes moved rapidly to "a desolate town in Wirral which is called Chester."³ Here they were pursued by the English who adopted a "scorched earth" policy which compelled the Danes to depart into Wales. The *Chronicle* and most modern scholars dismiss this Welsh campaign very briefly and very inadequately.⁴ The Welsh chronicles record an important

¹ This identification is disputed; Buttington near Chepstow has also been suggested (cf. E. Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-names*, p. 75). Philologically the form may belong to either place-name, and, archaeologically, no decisive evidence has come to light. On general grounds, however, Buttington near Welshpool seems to be the more likely site of the Danish camp because its position is very suitable and because the *Chronicle* states that the Danes went "up along the Severn." An expedition towards South Wales would be difficult to explain, but an expedition towards the North-west falls into line with the two later expeditions, to Chester and to Bridgnorth.

² See p. 11, note 2.

³ Notice that Chester at this date was in a desolate or wasted condition. How long had this been so? Speculation upon this point is interesting but not very fruitful. It has been suggested that the desolation dates from the Battle of Chester. This would mean that for 280 years, the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, the town of Chester has no history worth the name. It may be, however, that the desolation was more recent: it may have been due to some raid of the Norsemen who had been plundering along the Irish and Welsh coasts for years. Chester, if it had recovered from Æthelfrith's campaign, was not likely to have escaped the attention of these ubiquitous sea-rovers. See below, p. 16, note 8. For another possibility see above, p. 5, note 3.

⁴ e.g. R. H. Hodgkin, *op. cit.* II, p. 665, writes: "The Danes then broke out of Chester, for a time ravaged in North Wales, and returned to Essex through Northumbria and East Anglia." This limitation of the campaign to North Wales is not justifiable for, although the *Chronicle* speaks of the "North Welsh" (*Norð Wealas*), the name North Wales was then applied to the whole of modern Wales as distinct from West Wales (Devon and Cornwall). Yet the brief mention of the campaign in the *Chronicle* is equally unsatisfactory. It reads (*s.a.* 895): "And then soon after that in this year the Army went from Wirral among the Welsh (*Norð Wealas*) . . ." This annal for 895 is very short: it leaves one with the impression that it is an outline and that much has been left unsaid. This would perhaps be natural, for a raid into Wales would not be of great interest to an English chronicler.

raid which reached into South Wales as far as Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire.¹ It is probable that this is the raid of the Danes who were forced to leave Chester; it seems to have filled most of the year 894. We cannot be certain that the Danes wintered in Chester before attempting the Welsh campaign, but such a reconstruction of the Army's movements is most reasonable. To argue that the Danes left Chester almost immediately after their arrival late in 893 seems to be unduly hastening the sequence of events: the probability is that the winter of 893-894 was spent in Chester. After their raid into Wales the Danes may well have returned to Chester again, for they reached their new base at Mersea by travelling "over the land of the Northumbrians and East Angles so that the [English] fyrd could not overtake them." They were obviously unwilling to cross hostile country when the friendly territory east of Watling Street offered a safe passage. The third and last great raid began in the autumn of 895 when the Danes, after Alfred had so blocked the River Lea that they could not remove their ships, rode to the neighbourhood of Bridgnorth on the Severn where they passed the winter. While the Londoners dealt effectively with the abandoned ships, the fyrd followed the Danes to Bridgnorth. In the summer of 896, after almost four years in England, this second Great Army of Danes dispersed, "some to East Anglia and some to Northumbria, and those who were without property obtained ships there and went southwards over the sea to the Seine." The *Chronicle* breathes the general relief: "By the mercy of God, the Army had not utterly crushed the English people."

Alfred died three years later, on 26 October, 899, and it may be convenient to summarize conditions at the end of his reign. With the dispersal of the Danish armies in the summer of 896 the immediate menace to England in general and to North-west Mercia in particular had been removed; yet it would be a mistake to imagine Alfred's last years as quiet and untroubled, an impression conveyed by the *Chronicle*. The dangerous settlers in East Anglia and Mercia were unsubdued: they sent

¹ *Annales Cambriae*. (s.a. 895): Nordmani venerunt et vastaverunt Loyer et Briceniaue et Guent et Guinnligiauc. *Brut y Tywysogion*. (s.a. 894): And then the Northmen devastated England, Brecheiniog, Morganwy, Gwent, Buallt and Gwenllwg. (translation.)

ships to harass the south coast of Wessex, and it was probably in Poole Harbour that the complicated action, recorded in the *Chronicle*, was fought. Ethelweard gives other details of serious disturbances in Northumbria.¹ In fact, it is clear that Alfred's last years were full of trouble. The immediate menace from over the sea had been removed, but there remained a far greater menace, the Danes in England. Alfred had not been able to gain control over East Anglia, Northumbria and East Mercia, and, as cannot be too much emphasized, the Danish settlers of these regions constituted a grave threat to the English, and especially to North-west Mercia, the least defensible of the areas under West Saxon control. The removal of this most serious of threats was to be the work of Alfred's son, Edward, who had already perhaps played a more conspicuous part than his father in the operations of 892-896. In his efforts to drive back the Danes he had able assistants in his sister, Æthelflæd, and her husband, Ealdorman Ethelred. Without detracting from the achievements of Alfred, it is well to remember that it was Edward who reconquered the Danish Midlands and gave England nearly a century of respite from serious Danish attacks.

Before describing the English recovery under Edward it is necessary to examine a movement of far greater importance to Cheshire than the isolated Danish raids discussed above. Place-names (see below) have long made it obvious that there occurred at some date a considerable influx of Scandinavians into Wirral. They were Norsemen from Ireland and they settled in such numbers that Wirral became a densely populated Norse colony. The Danish influence on Cheshire is, by comparison, almost insignificant. Unfortunately this movement escaped the notice of English chroniclers, probably because it did not take the form of an organized army intent upon an attack on Wessex or upon the conquest of the whole country. It seems to have been a steady flow of men who were settlers by instinct and desire, warriors only by necessity. Irish traditions preserve a most interesting account of the arrival of one group of settlers and of their subsequent behaviour. Occasionally reference has been made to this account, especially by Scandinavian scholars, but it has never been quoted in any

¹ *op. cit.*, Lib. IV, cap. III.

detail and it has never been given the attention which it merits. The only printed edition¹ in which it occurs is now very rare, and for this reason it has been thought desirable to print in full the translation of such parts as concern the present survey.

First, however, it is necessary to add a few notes regarding the reliability of this Irish account. The MS. which was edited over eighty years ago by O'Donovan is a copy of a copy made in 1643 by the famous Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh from a certain vellum MS. This latter was then in the possession of Nehemias Mac Egan but has since been lost. Thus it is not possible to trace the descent of the MS. beyond the seventeenth century! Also the orthography is frequently modernized. Therefore modern specialists are unable to pronounce the tradition ancient. In fact, the best modern opinion, so far available, tends to regard the *Three Fragments* as untrustworthy. I am very incompetent to deal with the Irish sources but, at present, I am inclined to believe that the account of the Norse invasion of Wirral represents a genuine tradition of great antiquity. While it is impossible to prove the existence of an ancient MS. behind the copy of Mac Firbisigh, it seems equally impossible to disprove it; the insertion or removal of archaisms by later scribes is a common occurrence. There is much which seems to be of a legendary and romantic character, but, on the other hand, one feels that the general structure and tone of the story are ancient. Moreover, the same leader, Ingimund, appears at this time in the Welsh Chronicles,² a fact which may be considered as some kind of corroboration since it has not yet been possible to trace any connexion between the *Three Fragments* and the English and Welsh annalists. It has been pointed out that place-names prove a Norse settlement in Wirral, and, on the whole, the story preserved in the Irish source is very probable. Since communication was no doubt maintained with the Norsemen of Ireland from the moment of settlement, it is not surprising that the story should find its way into Irish annals. One is unable to say more at the present stage, but it is vital that this question of reliability should be settled, for important material

¹ *Annals of Ireland. Three Fragments*, edited by John O'Donovan, *Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society*. Dublin 1860.

² *Annales Cambriae*. s.a. 902. Igmunt. *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a. 900. Igmund.

lies buried in the *Three Fragments*. For example, there is evidence of a hitherto unnoticed alliance of Æthelflæd and the Celts against the Scandinavians, which is, if reliable, a momentous addition to our knowledge of the reign of Edward the Elder.

To postpone further comment, there follows the story as quaintly printed in O'Donovan's text :

We have related before now, i.e. in the fourth year before us,¹ how the Lochlann hordes were expelled from Erin through the merits of the fasting and prayers of the holy man, Cele-Dabhaill, for he was a holy and pious man . . . The Lochlanns went away from Erin, as we have said, under the conduct of Hingamund,² their chieftain, and where they went to was to the island of Britain. The King of Britain at this time was the son³ of Cadell, son of Roderick. The Britains (sic) assembled against them, and a hard and spirited battle was given them, and they were forcibly driven from the territories of the Britons.

After this Hingamund and his forces came to Ethelfrida,⁴ Queen⁵ of the Saxons, for her husband was at that time in a disease, i.e. Ethelfrid.⁶ (Let no one criticise me, because I have mentioned the death of Ethelfrid before, for this [fact, which I now relate,] was before the death of Ethelfrid, and it was of this disease he died, but I did not like to leave unwritten all that the Lochlanns did after leaving Erin.) Hingamund was asking lands of the queen, in which he would settle, and on which he would erect stalls and houses, for he was at this time wearied of war. Ethelfrida afterwards gave him lands near Chester,⁷ and he remained there for some time. What resulted from this was: as he saw the city was very wealthy,⁸ and the land around it was choice, he coveted to appropriate them. After this, Hingamund came to meet the chieftains of the Lochlanns and Danes ; he made great complaints before them, and said that they were not well

¹ Parts of this "Fragment" are obviously missing for no account of the expulsion of the Norsemen appears. In 902 [*Annals of Ulster and Chronicon Scotorum*] the Scandinavians were driven out of Dublin. Although it is fairly safe to assume that this is the event to which reference is made, yet it does not help to solve the chronology of the passage. The scribe has apparently reached a point beyond 905-906 (he has just mentioned the death of Cadell for which see below note 3) and is telling a retrospective story.

² Hingamund is a good form of ON. *Ingimundr* [ODan. *Ingimund*, OSw. *Ingemund*].

³ This genealogy is correct. One of the six sons of Rhodri Mawr was Cadell whose sons were Hywel and Clydog. The chronology is, however, awkward, for Cadell apparently was alive until about 909 (cf. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, I, p. 332).

⁴ i.e. Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians.

⁵ The titles, King and Queen, given to Ethelred and Æthelflæd may not be used as evidence of their position and power. Such titles were applied loosely in Ireland. Also one does not expect a distinction to be made between Mercians (Angles) and Saxons. Such details suggest that these fragments of annals are quite independent of any English source.

⁶ Ethelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians.

⁷ *Castra*.

⁸ Compare this with the statement that Chester was desolate in 893 (See above p. 12 and note). If one can believe that Ingimund found the city wealthy and desirable, the suggestion offered above, that the desolation was temporary and due to recent Norse raids, gains a little weight.

off without having good lands, and that they all ought to come to take Chester, and to possess themselves of its wealth and lands. From this many and great battles and wars arose. What he said was: Let us ask and implore themselves at first, and if we do not obtain this by their will, let us contend for them by force. All the chiefs of the Lochlanns and Danes approved of this. Hingamund afterwards returned to his house, a host having followed after him. Though they held this consultation secretly, the queen received intelligence of it. The queen collected great hosts about her from every direction, and the city of Chester was filled with her hosts.

The hosts of the Danes and the Lochlanns collected to Chester, and when they did not get themselves complied with by entreaty or supplication, they proclaimed battle on a certain day. On that day they came to attack the city, and there was a large host, with many nobles, in the city to meet them. When the hosts, who were within the city, saw, from the wall of the city, the many hosts of the Danes and Lochlanns [coming] to attack them, they sent messengers to the King of the Saxons, who was in a disease, and on the point of death at that time, to ask his advice, and the advice of his queen. The advice which he gave was, to give battle near the city outside, and to keep the gate of the city wide open, and to select a body of knights, and have them hidden on the inside; and if the people of the city should not be triumphant in the battle, to fly back into the city, as if in defeat, and when the greater number of the forces of the Lochlanns should come inside the gate of the city, that the hosts who were in ambuscade should close the gate of the city after this party, and not to pretend to anymore, but to attack the party who should come into the city, and kill them all. This was all done accordingly, and a red slaughter was accordingly made of the Danes and Lochlanns. Great, however, as was that slaughter, the Lochlanns did not abandon the city, for they were hardy and fierce, but they all said that they should make many hurdles, and that posts should be placed under them, and that they should perforate the wall under [the shelter of] them. This project was not deferred; the hurdles were made, and hosts were [placed] under them to pierce the wall, for they were covetous to take the city, and to avenge their people.

Then the king, who was on the point of death, and the queen sent ambassadors to the Gaedhil¹ who were among the Pagans (for the

¹ Normally the term *Gaedhil* is reserved for natives as distinct from *Gaill*, strangers or foreigners, but in this case we are clearly dealing with a group of Irishmen (or Irish-Norsemen) who had given up their Christianity and had taken to plundering with the heathen. They may have been Scandinavians who had accepted Christianity and later relapsed into heathenism, but it is more likely that they were Irishmen turned pagan for profit. As might be expected, they were especially hated. In this chronicle they are kept distinct from the true Norsemen and are sometimes called *Gaill-Gaedhil*. Earlier in the fragment (p. 138) this term is explained: "they were a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen, for they had the customs of the Northmen, and had been fostered by them, and though the original Northmen were bad to the churches, these were by far worse, in whatever part of Erin they used to be."

Lochlanns, then Pagans, had many a Gadelian foster-son), to say to the Gaeidhil: "Life and health from the King of the Saxons, who is in disease, and from his Queen, who has sway over all the Saxons, to you, and they are certain that you are true and faithful friends to them. It is therefore meet that you should adhere to them, for they gave to every Gadelian soldier and clergyman who had come to them out of Erin, as much honour as they did to any Saxon soldier or clergyman, for this inimical race of Pagans is equally hostile to you both. It then behoves you, as ye are faithful friends, to relieve them on this occasion." This was the same as if it was said to them: We have come from faithful friends of yours to address you, [to request] that ye should ask the Danes, what gifts in lands and chattels they would give to those who would betray the city to them. If they would consent to this, to bring them to swear, to a place where there would be a facility of killing them; and when they shall be swearing on their swords, and on their shields, as is their wont, they will put away all kinds of missile weapons. They all did accordingly, and they put away their arms; and the reason that the Gaeidhil acted so towards the Danes was, because they were less friends to them than to the Lochlanns. Many of them were killed in this manner, for large rocks and large beams were hurled down upon their heads. Great numbers also were killed by darts and javelins, and by every other kind of apparatus for killing men.

The other hosts, however, were under the hurdles, piercing the walls. What the Saxons and the Gaeidhil who were among them did, was to throw down large rocks, by which they broke down the hurdles over their heads. What the others did to check this was, to place large posts under the hurdles. What the Saxons did next, was to put all the beer and water of the town into the cauldrons of the town, to boil them, and spill them down upon those who were under the hurdles, so that their skins were peeled off. The remedy which the Lochlanns applied to this was to place hides outside on the hurdles. What the Saxons did next was, to throw down all the beehives in the town upon the besiegers, which prevented them from moving their hands or legs from the number of bees which stung them. They afterwards desisted and left the city. It was not long, however, until they came to fight again.

Thus is the story told in the third of the *Three Fragments*. Even if one can accept the source as trustworthy, the account, as it stands, still bristles with difficulties. We cannot have much confidence in the accuracy of the details: the measures and countermeasures taken by the opposing sides during the attack on Chester (rocks, posts, boiling liquid, hides and bees) have a distinct legendary flavour. There are many other difficulties, some of which have been already mentioned in the footnotes, but our distrust of these superfluties and questionable data

need not destroy our faith in the whole story. Much of it appears to be sound enough and much of it rings true, as, for example, the last sentence with all its ominous significance: *It was not long, however, until they came to fight again.* Interesting evidence is provided on some obscure points. The almost ridiculous emphasis laid on Ethelred's illness gives support to the view that he was incapacitated for some time before his death, although it is not easy to believe that he was an invalid for so long as is implied, unless he suffered from a recurrent disease, such as that mysterious malady which afflicted his father-in-law, Alfred.

Not the least of the difficulties is that of chronology. The text supplies but a few inaccurate dates, and none at all in the present passage. The scribe moves easily and without order over a period of years, equating in time some events with others, from which they must, in reality, be separated, often by ten years or more. It is hopeless to attempt to evolve a satisfactory chronological structure from the confused evidence of the source itself. Other sources must be used, and, even so, the resulting structure lacks precision. Briefly, it appears, the Scandinavians were expelled from Ireland, failed to gain a foothold in Wales, and then approached Æthelflæd who granted them lands near Chester. After a period of peaceful settlement the colonists became aggressive; Æthelflæd installed a considerable garrison in Chester, and there followed the struggle for the city. The expulsion of the Norsemen from Dublin occurred in 902.¹ *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion* record the attempt on Wales which was frustrated. This probably occurred in or soon after 902.² Then, according to the *Three Fragments*, the Norsemen came to settle near Chester. In 907 Æthelflæd restored Chester.³ It was an admirable base against the Danes of Northumbria and the Midlands. Another reason for its fortification may well be that suggested in the *Three Fragments*, i.e. to control the Norse colonists in Wirral. It is clear that they were becoming numerous and dangerous. Collaboration between Danes and Norsemen on a large scale was not unlikely, and the result would have been disastrous. If the introduction of Æthelflæd's hosts into Chester (*Three Fragments*) can be identified

¹ See above, p. 16, note 1.

² ASC. (*Mercian Register*) s.a. 907.

³ See above p. 15, note 2.

with the restoration of that city in 907 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), a most reasonable assumption, we then have a fixed date. The attack on Chester, described in such detail, followed the fortification and took place in or soon after 907, or at least before Ethelred's death in 911. It is, indeed, highly probable that Chester was endangered by recurrent attacks between 907 and 911, for this area was not free from trouble for many years.¹ These problems of chronology are fascinating and it ought to be possible to establish, for the late ninth and early tenth centuries, a corrected dating of events in the *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion* which seem less complicated than many parts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This need not concern us here; it is sufficient to assume that Ingimund's settlement in Wirral fell in the early years of the tenth century and that by 907, or within five years of his arrival, he was able to lead an attack on the recently fortified Chester.

Perhaps more important is the inference, from the *Three Fragments*, that before 907 the number of Norse settlements in Wirral was formidable. It will have been noticed that when Ingimund coveted Chester he made contact with other leaders and explained their common position. To his plan "all the chiefs of the Lochlanns and Danes" agreed, a statement which suggests a considerable number of settlers. It might be argued that this consultation was held in Ireland and that Ingimund had returned for reinforcements. The wording of the passage makes it very clear that the meeting took place in England: efforts were made to keep the gathering secret, an unnecessary precaution if it had been held in Ireland, but knowledge of it reached Æthelflæd, Ingimund was able to present the lack of Chester and good lands as a grievance common to all the leaders, and he "afterwards returned to his house, a host having followed after him." It is obvious that these leaders and their followers were already settled in England. Indeed, the possibility of any other interpretation need not have been mentioned, if it were not imperative to examine carefully the very important deductions possible from these few sentences. We have here direct evidence that there were many colonies of Scandinavians,

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series. I. p. 144), tells of trouble at Chester immediately before Edward's death in 924. In this affair the Britons played some part. The whole question will be discussed elsewhere.

each under its own leader, settled in this region. Ingimund's invasion was not an isolated one: the movement had already reached serious proportions before the attack on Chester.

It is interesting also to notice the racial composition of the new settlers in Wirral. Undoubtedly the Norsemen [Lochlanns] preponderate, but among them we find Danes and even native Irish, if the *Gaill-Gaedhil* were men of Irish birth and blood. Such a racial mixture in the Norse settlement of North-west England has never been stressed, but that it characterized the movement is *prima facie* a reasonable supposition. We should certainly expect to find Danes and other sea-faring adventurers among the Norsemen, for there must have been many smaller expeditions than those which have been recorded in the chronicles. It is known that Danes had long preyed upon Ireland, for the Irish annalists distinguish between Norwegians [*Finn-gaill*, "Fair Foreigners"] and Danes [*Dubh-gaill*, "Dark Foreigners"].¹ English sources seldom make such a distinction: they are content to describe all raiders as "heathen," or they use the terms "Danes" and "Northmen" of any band of Scandinavians, generally without discrimination. From Irish and Welsh chronicles we know that Danes had previously visited this region. Under the year 855 the *Annals of Ulster* record that a certain Orm, "leader of the Black Gentiles" [*Dubgennti*, i.e. Dark Foreigners or *Dubh-gaill*], was slain by Rhodri Mawr. This episode may be related to the devastation of Anglesey by the "Black Gentiles" [*Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, s.a. 853]. From a charter² of 855, "quando fuerunt pagani in Preocensetun,"³ it has been suggested that Orm's expedition had penetrated into the West Midlands. Whatever may have been the extent of Orm's raid, the Danes continued to afflict the country between Caernarvon and the Dee [*Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion*]. Thus one is not surprised to learn that the Scandinavian settlers in Wirral included Danes among their numbers.⁴

This lengthy discussion of Ingimund's settlement in Cheshire

¹ A distinction which was not, of course, based on physical characteristics.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, 487.

³ Preocensetun. The *Wreocensetan* originally occupied the country around Shrewsbury (i.e. Wroxeter and The Wrekin).

⁴ See below, pp. 46-47 for the place-name evidence.

has been deliberate. For Cheshire the Norse immigration is of such great consequence that a brief reference is insufficient to preserve the balance between the highly important but obscure Norse settlement and the well-documented but relatively insignificant Danish raids from the east. It is now possible to outline the course of the English recovery under Edward before attempting a summary of the Scandinavian settlement in this area.

When Edward became King of the West Saxons the Danish menace was already declining. Indeed, the operations of the 890's, in which Western Mercia had played so spectacular a part, reveal a growing English strength and a diminishing Danish effectiveness. Cheshire had escaped attack while the invader's power was at its height. To contemporaries, no doubt, the outlook in A.D. 900 was as dark and threatening as ever, but we, who are perhaps better qualified to judge, can see clearly that during the last years of Alfred's reign the English had gained greatly in experience and organization and that the Danes had lost their earlier cohesion. Whatever contemporaries believed, it is certain that by A.D. 900 the tide had turned and the fury was dying away. To Edward and his associates, however, must be given the credit for the ultimate English recovery. In A.D. 900 the western limits of effective Danish control were marked by the forts of Derby, Leicester and Bedford. Before Edward died his power was secure everywhere south of the Humber: Danish rule in East Anglia and the Midlands (i.e. Eastern Mercia) was ended. It is the story of North-west Mercia which holds our immediate attention, but the manœuvres in this area formed only part of the general campaign which we cannot doubt was inspired by Edward himself. He found brilliant partners in Ethelred and Æthelflæd for without their energetic co-operation his task might well have proved impossible.

Passing over the early years of the reign we may pick up the threads of the story of recovery in A.D. 910. In that year the Northumbrian Danes, harried and subdued in 909, broke the imposed peace and raided extensively in Mercia, taking advantage of Edward's preoccupation with the fleet in the south-east. A force of West Saxons and Mercians was sent against them,

and they were overtaken on their *homeward* journey at Tettenhall (or Wednesfield) in North-west Mercia. Here the English won a decisive victory, one of the most significant events of the reign. Ethelweard places this battle on 5 August, and, more important, he gives us valuable information concerning the extent of the Danish ravages.¹ Apparently the enemy harried all English Mercia as far south as the Bristol Avon and even penetrated west of the Severn. They were returning home, as the *Chronicle* states, through English Mercia when they were overtaken at Tettenhall. It would be difficult to exaggerate the calamity suffered by the Danish power at Tettenhall: three kings² were slain and "many thousands" of their followers. From this point the progress of the English recovery is unhindered. After Tettenhall the initiative lies with Edward as may clearly be seen from the *Chronicle* account. Ethelred died during the first half of 911, and the more spectacular stages of the English advance seem to have been the work of Edward and Æthelflæd.

The campaign began before the end of 911. While Edward was building a series of forts in the southern midlands (at Hertford, Witham, Buckingham, etc.), Æthelflæd was developing a parallel programme in Western Mercia. Chester had been restored in 907, and a fort at *Bremesbyrig* was built in 910, probably after the raid which culminated in the Battle of Tettenhall had further emphasized Western Mercia's vulnerability to sudden Danish attacks. There followed fortresses at *Scergeate* (May, 912), Bridgnorth (summer, 912), Tamworth (early summer, 913), Stafford (July, 913), Eddisbury (early summer, 914), Warwick (probably first or second week in September, 914), Chirbury (probably January, 915), *Weardbyrig* (early 915) and Runcorn (late in 915, probably December).

Some of Æthelflæd's forts have not yet been satisfactorily identified although suggestions have been made from time to time. Their general purpose is, however, fairly clear. In the first place, they were convenient bases for either offensive or defensive action. The Danes had often demonstrated the military value of fortified positions, and the English under Alfred had learned the lesson. Fortification, however temporary or rudi-

¹ *Ethelwerdi Chronicorum*, Lib. IV, Cap. IV.

² Ethelweard, *op. cit.*, adds a third to the two kings mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

mentary, held a prominent place in the strategy of the Anglo-Danish wars, and the series of forts formed an important part of the English military organization. Secondly, these forts were the only effective counter-measure to the sudden and devastating Danish raids. Vulnerable areas were thus protected: it would be hazardous for any Danish force to penetrate English territory leaving unreduced fortresses in its rear to cut off retreat. The fort-system provided a permanent defence, and undoubtedly it was more effective than a standing army alone even if the difficulties of maintaining in the field a large permanent and mobile force had not again and again proved insuperable. Stafford, Tamworth and Warwick protected the Mercian border against the line of Danish armies holding Derby, Leicester and Northampton.¹ Chester, Runcorn and Eddisbury guarded the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey, strengthened the northern frontier and probably served to awe the Norsemen in Wirral. Chirbury stood on the Welsh border² and Bridgnorth controlled an important Severn crossing much favoured by the Danes. Thus did Æthelflæd's forts increase the security of North-west Mercia, the vulnerability of which had hitherto been most dangerous. Thirdly, the fort-system of North-west Mercia probably had another object—to erect a barrier between the Danes and the West. It was obviously desirable that an impenetrable wedge should be thrust between the large and restless Scandinavian population in Wirral and the Scandinavians in Eastern England. To increase the menace of the Danish hordes in the Midlands and Northumbria, Norsemen from Ireland were now arriving in the North. In or about 919 Ragnald captured York and set himself up as king, but he had gained possession of parts of Northumbria some five or six years before this date, as is shown by the details preserved by the anonymous writer of the *Historia*

¹ It is perhaps worthy of notice that the forts at Stafford and Tamworth were built within a few months of one of the few Danish expeditions which the *Chronicle* at this date considers important enough to be recorded. It was an expedition, really two expeditions, of the combined armies of Leicester and Northampton and it probably occurred in April, 913. cf. ASC. *MS.A. s.a.* 917. This significant juxtaposition of dates has been overlooked because of the chronological confusion of Edward's reign. The present chronology is, in general, that suggested by W. S. Angus (*English Historical Review*, LIII, p. 194), who has cleared away many problems which have long delayed a close study of the reign of Edward the Elder.

² It would seem that relations between Mercia and the Welsh were not good, at least during the period under review. Chirbury was built apparently in anticipation of trouble from Wales.

de Sancto Cuthberto.¹ It was highly likely that the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey would become the main lines of communication between Ireland and the Norsemen in Northern England, and the building of forts at Eddisbury in the early summer of 914 and at Runcorn in the winter of 915 no doubt closely followed the arrival of Ragnald and the Norsemen in Northumbria. These two new forts, aided by Chester, helped not only to safeguard the northern frontiers of North-west Mercia but also to bar the route from Ireland via the two western rivers. They were later, in 919, reinforced by another fort at Thelwall and by the restoration of the defences at Manchester, probably after Ragnald's position had become more secure and, consequently, more dangerous to the English. Indeed, one cannot doubt that this series of forts in North-west Mercia was primarily intended to interrupt the Scandinavian lines of communication through Cheshire. Without these strongholds the Dee and the Mersey might have become mere channels for Scandinavian reinforcements, and Wirral might have become an alien recruiting ground and a "second front" against Mercia.

Having made these elaborate preparations, Edward and his sister were strong enough to make the grand attack. It followed a co-ordinated plan, directed no doubt by Edward. While he advanced in the south—the complicated campaign which began before Easter, 917, and centred around Towcester, *Wigingamere* and Tempsford—Æthelflæd also moved against the Danes. She captured Derby in July, 917. Her action seems to have coincided with Edward's storming of Tempsford in July or early August, and was probably planned to divide the Danish forces. The manœuvre was highly successful and the result was a major disaster for the Danes at Tempsford. The English were able to gain possession of Colchester and to resist a Danish attempt to recover Maldon.² Edward moved to Passenham, Northamptonshire, where the Army of Northampton submitted to him. Before 10 November the Army of East Anglia and the Army of Cambridge had also submitted.

What appears to be a similarly co-ordinated operation seems

¹ *Symeon of Durham*, I, pp. 196-214 (Rolls Series). cf. F. M. Stenton, *The Danes in England*, pp. 4-5.

² Edward had advanced to Maldon and built a fort there in the summer, probably mid-June, of 916.

to have been planned for 918. Æthelflæd obtained Leicester, and the greater part of the Army of Leicester submitted to her. The men of the York district also agreed to accept her rule, an undertaking emphasized by pledges and oaths.¹ In May and early June, 918, and probably at the same time as Æthelflæd's advance to Leicester, Edward began the campaign against the three remaining Danish boroughs, Stamford, Nottingham and Lincoln. He moved to Stamford and there, on the south side of the river, he built a fortress which so awed the neighbourhood that all the people controlled by the Danish fortress changed their allegiance and sought Edward as their lord. Only Nottingham and Lincoln remained and, with the occupation of Stamford, the way was now open for a final advance. The death of Æthelflæd at Tamworth on 12 June, however, intervened and precipitated a political crisis. Edward interrupted his Stamford campaign and at once rode to Tamworth to ensure his control of Mercia.

The position in Mercia was doubtful. Wessex had been able to exert a vague superiority or overlordship mainly because Ethelred had chosen a policy of close collaboration with Alfred and Edward. This policy was continued by Æthelflæd, but with her death the personal bonds, upon which so much depended, were broken. Moreover, the waning of the Danish menace and the contemporaneous rejuvenation of Mercia had made West Saxon protection less urgent. It was uncertain what course the Mercian leaders would adopt, and we can well understand that Edward should consider it necessary to break off his midland campaign in order to establish his personal control of Mercia. We do not know whether any action, beyond his presence, was necessary, but he was able to secure recognition of himself as ruler. As the *Chronicle* states,² all the people of Mercia, previously subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to Edward. The immediate crisis was over. Perhaps as a conciliatory compromise, he left his niece, Ælfwyn, in some official position, but in December she was snatched away to Wessex. That section of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which is known as the *Mercian Register* records the removal of Ælfwyn in a way which may suggest that Edward's

¹ These men of York (*Eoforwicingas*) were not Ragnald's Norsemen. They were probably driven to seek Æthelflæd's protection against Ragnald's increasing power.

² *s.a.* 922.

action aroused considerable feeling in Mercia.¹ Whatever the Mercians thought about it, the inevitable had happened. Mercia and Wessex were united, and Mercia no longer exists as a separate state.

In the middle of June 918, when Edward replaced Æthelflæd as the effective ruler of Mercia, certain Welsh princes also offered their allegiance: the *Chronicle* records that "the kings of the North Welsh, *Howel*, *Cledauc* and *Ieopwel*, and all the North Welsh people sought him for their lord." "North Wales," of course, means the whole of modern Wales as distinct from "West Wales," and indeed Clydog and his brother, Hywel, seem to have ruled in South Wales.² It is not unlikely that, as the *Chronicle* states, the whole of Wales submitted, the lesser chieftains as well as the three named princes. In any case, Cheshire and the other border counties probably felt some relief, for relations between the Mercians and the Welsh had not been easy. Welsh raids no doubt continued, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that for a time they were less frequent and less vicious.

Cheshire and all Western Mercia now formed part of Edward's kingdom. The task of destroying the Danish power in Eastern Mercia, much weakened by the English system of fortresses, was almost complete. Edward was able to return to the campaign interrupted by Æthelflæd's death. Late in 918 he advanced to Nottingham and ordered the "burh" to be repaired and occupied by Englishmen and Danes. There followed a general submission: "and all the people who were settled in Mercia, both Danish and English, submitted to him."³ This no doubt included the submission of Lincoln, the occupation of which is not specifically mentioned. Probably it also included the removal of Ælfwyn from her position of nominal authority.⁴ At any rate, the decision is final: Mercia is freed from the Danish menace and Edward becomes the direct ruler of all England south of the Humber.

Late in the harvest, probably in September, of 919 Edward

¹ ASC. *MSS. B.C. and D. s.a. 919*. "In this year also the daughter of Ethelred, Lord of the Mercians, was deprived of all authority among the Mercians and was borne away into Wessex three weeks before midwinter. She was called Ælfwyn."

² cf. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, I, p. 333.

³ ASC. *MS. A. s.a. 922*.

⁴ For the date of Ælfwyn's removal to Wessex see note at end of this article.

went with the fyrd to Thelwall, Cheshire, and built a fort there. Meanwhile he ordered another fyrd, "also of Mercians," to occupy Manchester "in Northumbria." These two forts strengthened the barrier (existing in Chester, Eddisbury and Runcorn) between the Norse in Wirral and Ireland and the Norse kingdom of York. The possibility of co-operation between the Danes and the Wirral Norsemen had been a nightmare to Æthelflæd; the possibility of co-operation between the Wirral Norsemen and the York Norsemen remained a nightmare to Edward. While the Norse were powerful in Northumbria Edward's northern frontier was insecure. Sihtric's raid as far as Davenport in Cheshire¹ emphasized the reality of this danger.

This general threat from Northumbria, and perhaps this particular raid, probably drove Edward to undertake a final campaign. Such a reason is rendered likely not so much by the recorded extent of Edward's action, which appears to have been confined to the Midlands, as by its far-reaching results. These results, which affect the remote north, may be considered surprising if the campaign was in actual fact limited to manœuvres in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. In June² 920 Edward went with the fyrd to Nottingham and built a second fortress there. Then he went into Derbyshire and built a fortress near Bakewell. The *Chronicle* does not record an advance further north, although, as has been suggested above, such an extension of the campaign is perhaps not unlikely. There follows a remarkable list of submissions: "the King of the Scots and all the Scottish people; Ragnald, the sons of Eadulf and all those who dwell in Northumbria, English, Danes, Norsemen and others; the King of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welshmen." Whatever these submissions were worth—little enough in some cases—they mark the climax of the reign. About four years later, *circa* 18 August, 924, Edward died at Farndon, in Cheshire.

The English recovery had been brilliant. Danish control of Eastern England was ended; Mercia had been regained and joined to Wessex. England was gradually assuming an appearance of unity. During these years Cheshire had suffered some

¹ *Rex Sihtricus infregit Devenport. Historia Regum, Symeon of Durham, II, p. 93. sub anno 920. Rolls Series.*

² *Joran to middum sumera (June 24th) ASC. A. s.a. 924.*

Danish raids and had acquired a considerable Norse population, but was definitely restored to English control. In fact, between 871 and 924 Cheshire ceased to be a remote province of a decadent Mercia and became an integral part of the dawning English state.

Such is the story of North-west Mercia during the reigns of Alfred and Edward. It remains only to estimate the extent and importance of Scandinavian influence upon this region. The documentary evidence is, as we have seen, fragmentary and difficult to interpret. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, on which we may safely rely, tells only of two or three desperate Danish raids, the effects of which seem to have been ephemeral: there is no hint of permanent settlement. Otherwise we are almost reduced to following an Irish tradition of doubtful authority. This Irish account at first glance appears to be very complete but, after cutting away the legendary details such as those which adorn the attack on Chester and which are of little historical value whether true or false, we find ourselves left with the meagre information that a group of Scandinavians from Ireland had settled in the neighbourhood of Chester. The rest, the theories of mass-migrations and thickly populated colonies, is mere inference. It is desirable, therefore, to produce other support for these inferences before insisting on their acceptance. If great numbers of Scandinavians settled in Cheshire—for practical purposes the following survey is limited to Cheshire—we should expect to find traces of them at a later date. They certainly left their mark, but this mark has many facets, each requiring for its interpretation a close and specialized study. At present it is impossible to do more than suggest where traces of Scandinavian influence may be found.

Many archæological remains have survived and are available for study. No attempt is here made to deal adequately with the archæological evidence because, first, most of the material seems to be of a date considerably later than the limit of our chosen period, and, secondly, because the subject requires a more complete and a more specialized treatment than is possible here. It is to be hoped that the whole question of Scandinavian stone monuments in Cheshire will be fully dealt with elsewhere. Here it must suffice to note that the Scandinavian settlement, especially

in Wirral, was so intense that it has coloured the development of sculpture and art-forms in the area and has left abundant evidence for the archæologist.

Native customs and institutions were also modified by Scandinavian innovations in areas where the alien settlers were numerous. This new influence may be seen most clearly in the Danelaw counties but the customs of Cheshire did not remain unaffected. It is probable that the *xii iudices ciuitatis*¹ of Chester were lawmen such as are found in the Danish boroughs. The term "lawman," *lagemannus*, is derived from ON. *logmaðr* which means "skilled in law"; both the office and its name are Scandinavian. Lawmen or doomsmen appear more than a hundred years after Domesday in the *Magna Carta of Chester*² and again near the end of the thirteenth century in a charter of Abbot Simon.³ It is perhaps noteworthy that the *Magna Carta of Chester* refers to the *iudices de Wich*;⁴ this suggests that other towns in the neighbourhood had also adopted the Scandinavian institution of lawmen.⁵ Another official whose name reveals Scandinavian influence is the *sacraber*.⁶ This is the ON. *sakarðberi*, well recorded in Scandinavian law as a prosecutor or formal accuser.⁷ The use of this word and the survival into the thirteenth century of ancient Scandinavian customs, not uncommon in Danelaw proper, show quite definitely that Cheshire did not escape Scandinavianization. In the *Magna Carta of Chester*⁸ there also occurs the term *thwertnic*, "absolutely no," a formal denial of guilt by an accused person. Another form, *thwertutnay*, occurs in the Danish borough of Leicester. It is derived from ON. *þvert út nei*. A considerable number of Scandinavians must have been present to effect the introduction of new customs and terms into the native legal procedure. Scandinavian influence upon mediæval institutions in Cheshire seems to offer an interesting field for future research.

¹ *Domesday Book*, fol. 262b.

² *Chartulary of Chester Abbey*, I, pp. 102-107. ed. J. Tait, *Chetham Society*, Vols. 79 and 82.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 341.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 106. *et petitionem de misericordia iudicum de Wich triginta bullonibus salis.*

⁵ They appear in some manorial rolls.

⁶ *Chartulary of Chester Abbey*, op. cit., I, p. 103.

⁷ cf. F. M. Stenton, *The Danes in England*. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XIII, 1927, p. 35.

⁸ op. cit., I, p. 103.

It is well known, however, that Scandinavian influence in Cheshire was not sufficient to change the bases of land assessment from hides to carucates. Cheshire, unlike the Danelaw counties, remained a hidated area, but one or two faint traces of the Scandinavian system are recognizable in the Domesday Survey. Handbridge, Chester—in the vicinity of which, it may be noted, tradition fixes Ingimund's settlement—is assessed in carucates, three in number. Professor Tait¹ has calculated that these three carucates are equivalent to one hide, an equation not evidenced elsewhere.² No other carucates appear in the Cheshire Domesday, but 15 bovates have been noticed and accepted as "evidence of Scandinavian influence upon the subdivision of the fiscal hide."³ It may now be added that of these 15 bovates 4 (at Overpool) are found in the Norse area of Wirral and the remaining 11 (at Sutton by Middlewich, Over Tabley, Nether Tabley and Lower Peover) are found in the Danish area of East Cheshire as marked on the accompanying map.

It will have been noticed that the lawmen of Chester numbered twelve, that the three Handbridge carucates are said to equal one hide and that in Lancashire south of the Ribble the hide is equivalent to six carucates. This illustrates another Scandinavian characteristic, a preference for the duodecimal system of reckoning. The English counted in fives and tens whereas the Scandinavians preferred sixes, twelves and eighteens. It should be emphasized that this is a gross over-simplification of the question, and that in any case such evidence is often fanciful and coincidental. At the moment one may only suggest that a careful collection of evidence, compared with results from other areas, may perhaps give to this point a definition which it now lacks. The vague preference may often be no more than coincidence, but, at least, examples of duodecimal reckoning are common. H. J. Hewitt has shown⁴ that during the fourteenth century the number of salt-pans or cauldrons in a Cheshire salt-house tended to be standardized. Twelve was the usual number, and smaller salt-houses with six pans were frequently called a "half wick-house" or a "half saltwork." Other examples are readily available

¹ J. Tait, *The Domesday Survey of Cheshire*. Chetham Society, vol. 75, p. 10.

² The "Lancashire" hide apparently contained six carucates.

³ *The Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴ *Medieval Cheshire*, p. 109. Chetham Society, Vol. 88.

but patient research is required before one can use such evidence as a positive indication of Scandinavian influence. It may be remarked, before leaving this point, that the ancient systems of land measurement in Cheshire seem to be a fruitful field for future investigation.

More definite is the system of monetary computation which in the Cheshire Domesday shows distinct traces of Scandinavian influence. The Scandinavians in Cheshire may not have been able to displace the hide in favour of the carucate in land values, but in money values there is ample evidence that the system was largely Scandinavian or Scandinavianized. The Scandinavian system revolved round the *ora* and greatly complicated the English practice.¹ Thus :

- 1 *ora* = 16 silver pennies.
 10 *orae* = 1 mark (13/4).
 120 *orae* = a long hundred of silver (£8).

The *ora* is mentioned by name only twice in the Cheshire Domesday—in the city fire-fine² and in the T.R.E. valuation of *Hurdingberie*³—but it seems to be at the root of many manorial valuations.⁴ Cuddington, for example, is worth 16d. (i.e. 1 *ora*), and the bishop's manor of Wybunbury was worth 5s. 4d. T.R.E. (i.e. 4 *oræ*). It is not necessary to give a complete list of such instances: it is sufficient to notice that sums of money, fines and valuations frequently appear as multiples of the *ora* of 16 silver pennies. We find amounts like 1s. 4d., 5s. 4d., 6s. 8d., 9s. 4d., 10s. 8d., 13s. 4d. and 17s. 4d. which mean respectively 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10 and 13 *oræ*. In the above cases the awkward sums make our conclusion so definite that we may perhaps feel justified in regarding more common amounts as multiples of the *ora*, e.g. 4s., 8s., 12s., 16s., 20s. etc. may well represent 3, 6, 9, 12, 15 etc. *oræ*, while in £8 we may see the long hundred of silver (120 *oræ*).

To turn from money to moneyers we again find evidence of a Scandinavian settlement. Many of the Chester moneyers have Scandinavian names. Glancing through the lists one at once notices such names as Thurstan (*tempore* Æthelstan) which is

¹ cf. *The Danes in England*, op. cit., p. 37.

² *The Domesday Survey of Cheshire* ed. Tait op. cit., p. 82.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

really ON. *Þorsteinn*. In the hundred years before the Norman Conquest we find names like Colben (ON. *Kolbeinn*), Colbrand (ON. *Kolbrandr*), Croc (ON. *Krókr*), Fargrim (ON. *Fargrimr*), Huscarl (ON. *Húskarl*), Sweartcol (ON. *Svartkollr*), Sweartinc (ON. *Svertingr*), Swegen (ON. *Sveinn*), Thorald (ON. *Þóraldr*) and Thurmod (ON. *Þormóðr*). This Scandinavian strain of personal nomenclature survived the Conquest, and among Chester moneyers in the century after 1066 we have Sunoulf (ON. *Sunnúlfr*), Ravenswart (ON. *Hrafnsvartr*), Thurbern (ON. *Þorbiorn*) and Unnulf (ON. *Hundólfr*). Even more interesting perhaps is the surprising number of Irish personal names among the Chester moneyers: Mældomen (*tempore* Æthelstan), Mælsuthan (*t.* Edgar), Macsuthan (*t.* Cnut), Gillicrist (*t.* Harold I and Harthacnut) and Gillemor (*t.* Henry I). There can be no doubt that the Norsemen who introduced these names had lived long in Ireland; perhaps also the Scandinavian hordes which settled in Wirral included many native Irish adventurers, as indeed is suggested by the *Three Fragments*.¹ The above lists are not complete: they are intended only to illustrate the strong Scandinavian element in Cheshire personal names.

The personal names of the pre-Conquest Domesday landholders give the same impression. A complete list² of such personal names in the Cheshire Domesday is given here because no such list is available elsewhere³ and because it may be useful to Cheshire students of Domesday Book. From it we see how very powerful was the Scandinavian element in Cheshire personal nomenclature at the end of the Old English period. It will be noticed, incidentally, that some of the Chester moneyers appear in the list.

ON. Arngrímr, ODan. Arngrim. (DB. Haregrim, Aregrim).

ON. ODan. Arni, OSw. Arne. (DB. Erne, Erni).

ON. Arnkell, ODan. Arnketil. (DB. Archil).

ON. Ásgautr, ODan. OSw. Ásgut, Ásgot. (DB. Ansgot, Osgot).

¹ See above p. 17.

² To the list should be added ON. *Haraldr*, ODan. OSw. *Harald*, and OSw. *Morkar*. Although the king and the earl bear Scandinavian names it would be misleading to include them among the ordinary Cheshire landholders for our present purpose.

³ Professor Tait has marked some, but not all, of the Scandinavian personal names by an asterisk in the index to his *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*. Notable omissions are the common Erne and Erni, Dedol, Hundulf and Bers. Further information should be sought in Olof von Feilitzen's *Pre-Conquest Personal Names in Domesday Book*, on which the present list is to a great extent based.

- ODan. Auti. (DB. Outi).
 OIr. Beollán. (DB. Belam).
 ON. ODan. Bersi. (DB. Bers).
 ON.*Frani. (DB. Fran).
 ON. Gamall, ODan. OSw. Gamal. (DB. Gamel).
 ON. Grímkell, ODan. Grimkel. (DB. Grinchel).
 ON. Grímr, ODan. OSw. Grim. (DB. Grim).
 ON.*Gunningr. (DB. Gunninc).
 ON. Gunnarr, ODan. OSw. Gunnar. (DB. Gunner).
 ON. Gunnvǫr, ODan. Gunwor. (DB. Gunnor).
 ON. Guðleikr, OSw. Gudhlek. (DB. Gotlac).
 ON. Hákun, Hákon, ODan. OSw. Hakun, Hakon. (DB. Hacon, Hacun).
 ON. Hálfðan, ODan. OSw. Halfdan, Haldan. (DB. Halden, Alden).
 ON. Hásteinn, ODan. OSw. Hasten. (DB. Hasten).
 ON. Hrafn, ODan. Rawn. OSw. Rampn. (DB. Rauen(e)).
 ON. Hrafnkell, OSw. Ramkel. (DB. Raue(n)chel, Raucate).
 ON. Hrafnsvart. (DB. Raesuar, Raesue).
 ON. Hundingr. (DB. Hunding, Hundin).
 ON. Hundólfr. (DB. Hundulf).
 ON. ODan. Karl(i), OSw. Karl(e). (DB. Carle).
 ON. Ketill, ODan. Ketil, OSw. Kætil. (DB. Chetel).
 ON. Kolbeinn, ODan. OSw. Kolben. (DB. Colben).
 ON. Loðinn, ODan. Lothæn, OSw. Ludhin, Lodhin. (DB. Loten).
 ON.*Mǫrfari. (DB. Morfar).
 ON. Ormr, ODan. OSw. Orm. (DB. Orme).
 ON. Ragnaldr, ODan. Regnvald, OSw. Ragn(v)ald. (DB. Ragenal).
 ON. Sigríðr, ODan. Sigrith, OSw. Sighridh. (DB. Segrid).
 ON. Steinkell, ODan. OSw. Stenkil. (DB. Steinchetel).
 ON. Steinn, ODan. OSw. Sten. (DB. Stein).
 ON. Steinólfr, OSw. Stenulf. (DB. Stenulf).
 ON. Þiódólfr, ODan. Thiuthulf, OSw. Thiudhulf. (DB. Dedol, Dedou).
 ON. Þórðr, ODan. Thorth, OSw. Thordh. (DB. Toret, Toreth).
 ON. Tóki, ODan. Toki, OSw. Toke. (DB. Tochi).
 ASc.*Uhtbrand. (?) (DB. Ostebrand).
 ON. Úlfkell, ODan. Ulfkil. (DB. Ulchel, Ulchetel).
 ON. Úlfr, ODan. OSw. Ulf. (DB. Ulf).
 ON. Vetrliðr. (DB. Wintrelet).

To these some scholars might add :

- ON. Biǫrnulfr. (DB. Bernulf).
 ON. Brúnn, ODan. OSw. Brun. (DB. Brun).

Bernulf and Brun, however, might have developed from OE. *Beornwulf* and OE. *Brun* respectively. The usual slight indications of origin, such as those for example which make us

prefer ON. *Guðleikr* to OE. *Guðlac* as the origin of the Cheshire Gotlac,¹ are absent. It is perhaps worthy of note that Domesday landholders with the names Bernulf and Brun occur only in Scandinavian areas.² Furthermore, the seven manors held by men called Bernulf and Brun in Cheshire are all, without exception, in "Hamestan Hundred," the most eastern and the most Danish part of the county. More troublesome is Dot, the name of a man who held some seventeen Cheshire manors. Feilitzen³ favours a Scandinavian origin, but perhaps it is safer to leave this name out of our present calculations.

The Scandinavian personal names listed above represent a considerable proportion of the total number of pre-Conquest personal names in the Cheshire Domesday. Of the total of 96,⁴ 45 are English and 41 are Scandinavian. To the latter may be added two, perhaps three, doubtful names. That is to say, we find roughly as many Scandinavian as English names among the TRE. landholders. This proportion is unexpectedly high for Cheshire, and it is, of course, a staggering proof of Scandinavian influence.

Beyond this point, however, it would be hazardous to draw any historical conclusions. For example, it would be unjustifiable to argue that equal numbers of Scandinavian and English names imply equal numbers of Scandinavians and Englishmen in the population. Apart from the fact that by 1066 A.D. 150 years of racial intermingling had occurred, we know that Scandinavian names showed a greater variety and a greater vitality than did native English names. Our above equal proportions, therefore, probably represent a preponderance of English blood. We are hampered by not knowing if a recurrent name belongs to the same individual. The likelihood that the same name covers more than one individual is greatly increased when we are dealing with the English element,⁵ and any guesses

¹ Feilitzen, op. cit., p. 278, states that OE. *Guðlac* is not found after 824.

² i.e. Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk and Yorkshire. Feilitzen, op. cit., pp. 200, 209.

³ Op. cit., p. 226.

⁴ Omitting Harold, Morcar, etc. Also 7 of the 96 names are Old Welsh or Old German. We are dealing only with the 89 English and Scandinavian names of smaller landholders.

⁵ Not more than half-a-dozen of the Scandinavian names occur more than three times even if we include the common *Arni* (7) and *Toki* (6) and the doubtful *Brun* (5). By comparison the English names recur frequently, e.g. *Leofnoð* (15), *Godric* (13), *Godwine* (12), *Wulfgeat* (11), *Eadwine* (10), *Eadweard* (8), etc. It is rarely possible to decide

as to relative populations on a mere "name-for-name" basis would certainly exaggerate the Scandinavian element at the expense of the English element. Moreover, it would be quite impossible to transfer our data to a map.

If some kind of a map is desired its basis must be the manor. If we mark each manor held by a man with a Scandinavian name and, by a different symbol, each manor held by a man with an English name, we shall have a distribution map of Scandinavian and English personal names. These results, still notoriously unreliable, will at least be less prejudicial to the English element of the population than a "name-for-name" argument. We shall learn nothing more about the relative numbers of Scandinavians and Englishmen in Cheshire,¹ and what we may learn of their distribution will be vague and inconclusive in the extreme. If there exists any justification for proceeding further with this design it must be that the results are interesting rather than useful.

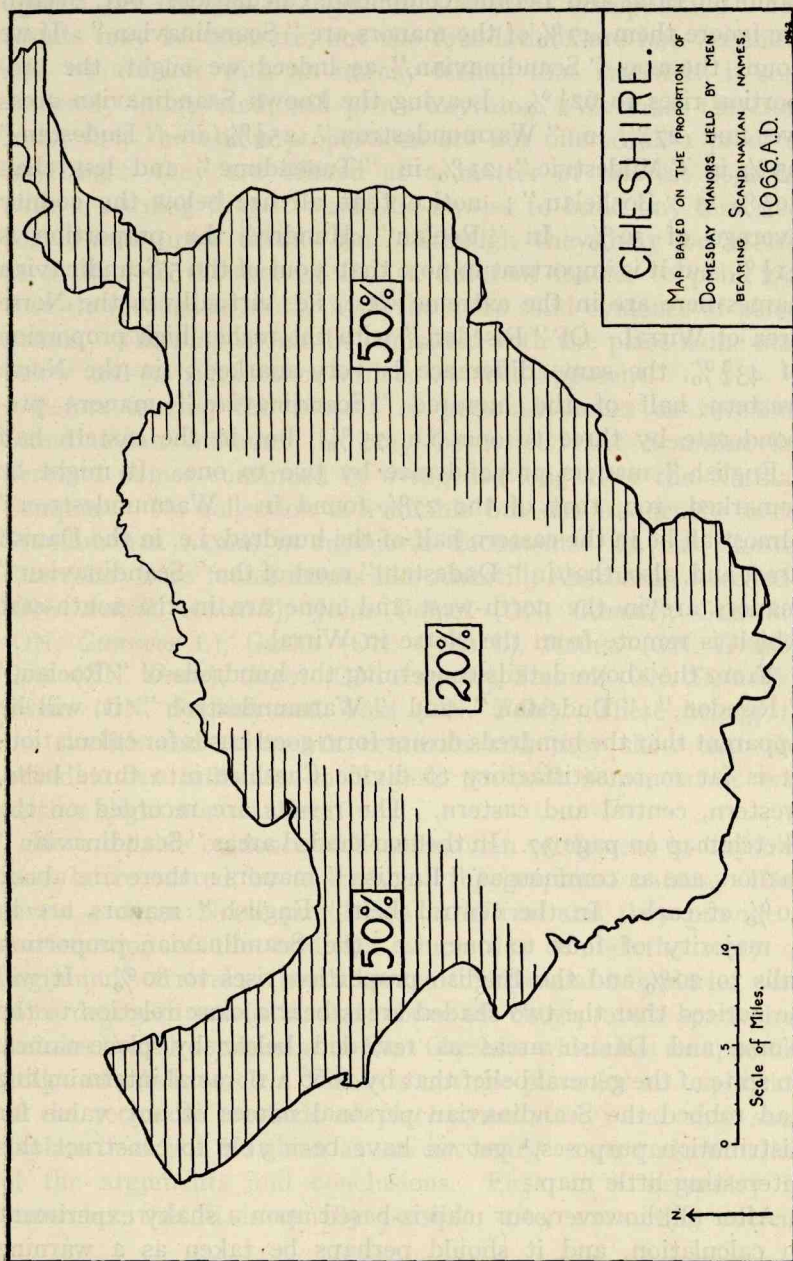
On counting the "English" and "Scandinavian" manors² we find that the proportion is seven to three, i.e. that 30% of them are held by men with Scandinavian names. This is the average for the whole county and it is interesting to see how the percentage of "Scandinavian" manors in each hundred compares with this average. In "Wilaveston" and "Cestre" Hundreds the Scandinavian proportion is somewhat over 45½%. This is to be expected since Wirral was heavily settled by Norsemen. "Hamestan" Hundred lies in the extreme east of Cheshire and in what we know from place-names³ to have been a Danish area. It is therefore not surprising to find the highest proportion of Scandinavian names here. The seven manors of the

how many men shelter under each of these names; the common practice of transferring undivided all the lands of a TRE. holder to a single new tenant is of limited assistance to us. On the other hand OE. *Eadric*, which occurs four times, seems to cover at least two men: this is the impression conveyed by the entry that Broomhall was held by "Edric and Edric" (265b). Even here we should not ignore the possibility of a scribal error for we should expect some distinction to be made between two men of the same name and so closely associated.

¹ It is impossible to say more than that, as pointed out above, the unexpectedly high proportion of Scandinavian pre-Conquest personal names in Domesday Book proves that the Scandinavian influence had been very powerful.

² There were 272 manors TRE. in the hands of non-noble laymen with English or Scandinavian names. Of these the holders of 185 had English names and the holders of 80 had Scandinavian names. The remaining 7 manors were held by Brun and Bernulf which are probably Scandinavian names. Dot's manors are excluded from these figures.

³ See below, p. 49ff.



doubtful Brun and Bernulf complicate calculations, but, even if we ignore them, 47% of the manors are "Scandinavian." If we count them as "Scandinavian," as indeed we ought, the proportion rises to 62½%. Leaving the known Scandinavian areas we find 27% in "Warmundestrou," 25½% in "Dudestan," 25% in "Mildestvic," 21% in "Tunendune" and less than 10½% in "Bochelau"; notice that all are below the county average of 30%. In "Roelau" Hundred the proportion is 31¼%, but it is important to note that 4 out of the 5 Scandinavian names here are in the extreme west, i.e. virtually in the Norse area of Wirral. Of "Risedon," with the rather high proportion of 43¾%, the same difference is very marked: in the Norse western half of the hundred "Scandinavian" manors preponderate by three to one (i.e. 75%), but in the eastern half "English" manors preponderate by two to one. It might be remarked, too, that of the 27% found in "Warmundestrou" almost all lie in the eastern half of the hundred, i.e. in the Danish area, and, also, that in "Dudestan" most of the "Scandinavian" manors are in the north-west and none are in the south-east which is remote from the Norse in Wirral.

From the above details concerning the hundreds of "Roelau," "Risedon," "Dudestan" and "Warmundestrou" it will be apparent that the hundreds do not form good bases for calculation. It is far more satisfactory to divide Cheshire into three belts, western, central and eastern. The results are recorded on the sketch map on page 37. In the two shaded areas "Scandinavian" manors are as common as "English" manors: there are about 50% of each. In the central belt "English" manors are in a majority of four to one, i.e. the Scandinavian proportion falls to 20% and the English proportion rises to 80%. It will be noticed that the two shaded areas bear a close relation to the Norse and Danish areas as revealed below by place-names. In spite of the general belief that by 1066 A.D. racial intermingling had robbed the Scandinavian personal names of any value for distribution purposes,¹ yet we have been able to construct this interesting little map.

After all, however, our map is based upon a shaky experiment in calculation, and it should perhaps be taken as a warning

¹ J. Tait, *Domesday Survey of Cheshire*, op. cit., p. xv.

against the dangers of ingenious statistical manipulation. The results may be accurate, but the foundations are not very firm and we are left with an uneasy feeling that statistics, if conveniently interpreted, will prove anything. We must therefore insist that the above proportions are not offered as a proof of anything: they are offered as a matter of interest together with a warning that it would be unwise to build any historical conclusions upon them. But, although they may be useless as a proof in themselves, it is a different matter to point out that they coincide neatly with the more solid evidence of place-names. The map should be compared with the place-name map below and its significance will be at once apparent.

Before leaving the subject of personal names as revealing Scandinavian influence, it may be noted that Scandinavian personal names continued in living use long after the Norman Conquest. No collection is available but one frequently meets Scandinavian names in mediæval documents. In the Chester Chartulary¹ are found names like Anketill, Anshetill, Ascshetill (ON. *Áskell*, *Asketill*), John Gamel (ON. *Gamall*), Gunwara (ON. *Gunnvör* f.), Gutha (ON. *Gyða* f.), Rauen (ON. *Hrafn*), Orm (ON. *Ormr*), Osgot (ON. *Ásgautr*), Steinolf (ON. *Steinólfr*), Swein (ON. *Sveinn*) and Toki (ON. *Tóki*). These belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and they show that the Scandinavian influence on English personal nomenclature was neither slight nor transient.

More reliable evidence of Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire may be recovered by a study of topographical names. They reveal a dense Norse population in Wirral and they provide a confirmation of the tradition which lies behind the story of Ingimund's arrival; they allow us to fix racial boundaries with some degree of precision, and, above all, they prove a sparse but definite Danish settlement in East Cheshire which has escaped the notice of all chroniclers. This is not the place for an exposition of the technical methods of place-name study, and only such explanations will be given as are necessary to an understanding of the arguments and conclusions. First, it is necessary to remember that it is usually possible, after examining ancient

¹ Op. cit., passim. All the names quoted above may be found in the index, except Gunwara (II. p. 275) which has been omitted.

spellings, to decide whether or not a place-name has been created by Scandinavians. If a place-name has been created by Scandinavians it will contain Scandinavian words or perhaps a Scandinavian personal name, and it may even preserve traces of Scandinavian grammatical inflexions. The detection of these clues need not concern us here. Sometimes it is possible to show that certain English place-names have been pronounced by Scandinavians and have therefore developed along different lines: Scandinavianization of English sounds is a common phenomenon. It will be agreed that such evidence presumes the existence of Scandinavians—many where a place-name has been wholly created by a Scandinavian-speaking people, and at least more than a few where the development of an English place-name has been modified by Scandinavian influence.

Furthermore, from certain language differences it is occasionally possible to decide whether a Scandinavian place-name is Danish or Norse. The whole question of what constitutes a safe Danish "test" is still unsettled, and many suggested criteria are controversial, but the distinction exists and, as will appear later, it is a vital distinction. There are other place-name formations which are half English and half Scandinavian. These "hybrids" have a special significance which will be explained below. The historical interpretation of many place-name types presents difficulties even when a philological explanation has been achieved. It should be emphasized, therefore, that certainty in these matters is seldom attainable.

The first difficulty is that we cannot be sure of the origin of certain place-names, e.g. Shotwick,¹ Ness, Neston² etc. Some names can be explained as either English or Scandinavian and some are not yet satisfactorily explicable at all. A few doubts will be removed when the place-names of Cheshire have been closely investigated and when a full body of forms is available for examination. Cheshire is, from the point of view of its

¹ Shotwick is a difficult name. Professor Ekwall (*Dictionary of English Place-names*, p. 466) suggests OE. *Sceothok wic*, "the wic on the steep ridge," but this is perhaps not likely. The second element may well be ON. *vik*, "a bay or creek," a word which appears in Blowick and in certain minor names of the Southport district (See E. Ekwall's *Place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 124 and 126). The existence at Shotwick of a very clear inlet from the flat ground which used to be the Dee makes this theory very attractive. The first element may be an English word, or perhaps a Scandinavian word which has been Anglicized, but no convincing suggestion has yet been offered.

² Ness and Neston contain an element which may be either OE. *næss* or ON. *nes*.

place-names, virtually unexplored. At present one works in the dark and must continue to do so until ample collections are available. The need for these and for assistance in their accumulation cannot be overstressed for, although our opinions to-day may be correct in outline, they will be modified in detail. Any list of Scandinavian place-names now compiled is certain to undergo at least a few changes.

The number of Scandinavian place-names in Cheshire, while not inconsiderable, is not particularly impressive in itself. At present we cannot point to thirty definite examples, and their total will not be substantially increased by the inclusion of doubtful cases and by the additions of future research. Compared with the Danelaw counties Cheshire does not possess many Scandinavian place-names, but the location and nature of those which exist are of the highest historical value.

A map will immediately reveal a heavy concentration of Scandinavian place-names in Wirral. In fact, this is the only area where they are at all numerous. They are concrete evidence of a densely populated Scandinavian colony which extended across the Mersey into Lancashire¹ and across the Dee into North Wales, and as such they have long been recognized. We find the following fairly safe examples:—

Arrowe, ON. *erg* <Gael. *airidh*, "a shieling."

Caldy, Great and Little, ON. *kald ey*, "cold island."²

Cloughton, ON. *klakkr*, "a lump, a hillock," and OE. *tun*.

Frankby, ODan. "Franki's by."

Helsby, ON. ?*hellir*,³ "cave," and ON. *b r*.

Irby, ON. *Irábyr*, "the by of the Irishmen."

Kirby, West, ON. *kirkja*, "church," and ON. *býr*.

Larton, ON. *leirr*, "clay," and OE. *tun*.

Meols, Great and Little, ON. *meir*, "sandbank, sandhill."

Noctorum, OIr. *cnocc*, "hill," is the first element.

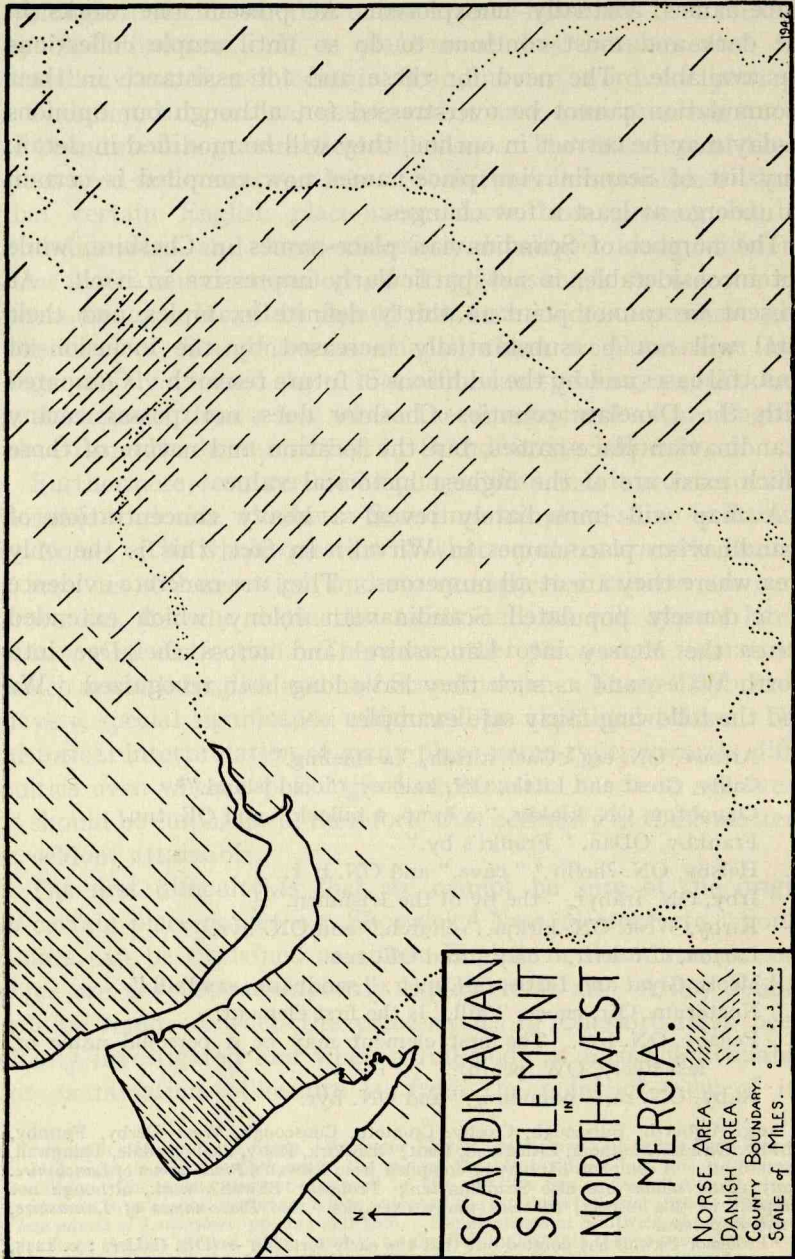
Pensby, ON. *býr*. The first element may be a personal name or, less likely, OŪ. *pen(n)*.

Raby, ON. *rá*, "boundary," and ON. *býr*.

¹ e.g. Aigburth, Burscough, Crosby, Croxteth, Cunsough, West Derby, Formby, Kirkby, Kirkdale, Lathom, Litherland, Lunt, Ormskirk, Roby, Skelmersdale, Thingwall, Toxteth etc. A complete list may be compiled from Ekwall's *Place-names of Lancashire*. Many minor names are also Scandinavian; Professor Ekwall's work, although not complete in this respect, contains many examples. See *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 250, et passim.

² Professor Ekwall has pointed out that the early forms in *-r* (DB. *Calders*; c. 1245, Chester Chartulary, *Caldera*) represent the plural *Kald eyiar*, "the (two) Caldys".

³ The first element is doubtful. This is Professor Ekwall's suggestion, *Dictionary of English Place-names*, p. 222.



Storeton, ON. stórr, "big," and OE. tun.

Thingwall, ON. þing vøllr, "place of assembly."¹

Thurstaston, ON. þórsteinn, and OE. tun.

Tranmere, ON. trani, "crane," and ON. melr,² "sandbank."

Whitby, ON. Hvítabyr, "Hviti's by."

To these may be added certain English names which reveal Scandinavian influence. Greasby is a Scandinavianized form of an OE. place-name which appears in Domesday Book as *Gravesberie* (OE. *burh*). Gayton may be a hybrid (ON. *geit*, "goat," and OE. *tun*) but more probably it contains OE. *gat*, "goat," later influenced by ON. *geit*. It is not impossible that West Kirby arose as a Scandinavian translation of an earlier OE. *cirice*, "church," and *tun* or *burh*. Other possible examples might be found, e.g. Birkenhead,³ but without complete series of forms it would be difficult to adduce adequate evidence in support of our assumptions.

There remain a few Wirral place-names of which the origins are doubtful. These may contain Scandinavian elements but, on the other hand, they may not. There is no need, however, to ignore them completely until a detailed analysis of yet uncollected material allows safer conclusions, for, taken together, they strengthen the impression of an intense Scandinavian settlement. Brimstage may preserve the ON. personal name *Brúnn*, and Crabwall may possibly represent ON. *krapp-vøllr*, "narrow field," as was suggested by W. G. Collingwood.⁴ ON. *nes* is in many ways more probable than OE. *næs* as the element which is found in Ness and Neston. It has also been declared that the first element of Oxton is Scandinavian.⁵ Finally, a derivation of Shotwick from ON. *vik*, "a bay," is very strongly supported by a definite creek cutting inland from the old level of the Dee.

The above is the place-name evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Wirral,⁶ and, as will have been seen, it varies greatly in reliability and in significance. The immediate task is to

¹ Probably marking, as has often been stated, the centre of the Wirral Norse settlement.

² Some of the early spellings of Tranmere contain *-mor* instead of the more usual *-mel*, *-mol* etc. The *-mor* forms have evidently developed into the modern *-mere*.

³ The first element is OE. *bircen*, "birchen," but it has perhaps been influenced by ON. *birki*.

⁴ *The Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. II, part II, p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ The area described as Wirral in this article extends beyond the boundaries of Wirral Hundred to include the Frodsham-Helsby district.

translate this evidence into history. First, it may be pointed out that many place-names are strict Scandinavian creations, e.g. Arrowe, Caldby, Frankby, Helsby, Irby, West Kirby, Meols, ?Pensby, Raby, Thingwall, Tranmere and Whitby. These, being completely Scandinavian, were obviously formed by a Scandinavian-speaking people. They are incontrovertible proof that Scandinavians settled in great numbers in Wirral, an assertion which becomes more comprehensible when it is realized that a place-name usually originates in the speech of surrounding settlers rather than among the inhabitants of the place, and when it is realized that therefore a single strict Scandinavian place-name may imply that the whole of the neighbouring district was thickly peopled by Scandinavians. Including Greasby one may count 8 Cheshire place-names containing the popular and distinctive Scandinavian element *by*. This number may seem small when it is known that there are some 250 *-by* place-names in each of the counties of York and Lincoln and that Leicestershire can boast 66 examples.¹ It is very significant that all the Cheshire *-by* place-names are found in the comparatively small district of Wirral—there are only twice as many in the whole of Lancashire. It is very probable that the majority of *-by* place-names arose within a generation or two of 900 A.D., but whatever their date² it is certain that they are always found thick upon the ground in areas most thoroughly occupied by the Scandinavians, e.g. the Wreak valley in Leicestershire, and the land intersected by the tributaries of the Ouse in Yorkshire. Thus the location in Wirral of all the Cheshire *-by* place-names takes on a new significance.

Among the place-names listed above there will have been noticed a number of Anglo-Scandinavian hybrids: Cloughton, Larton, Storeton, Thurstaston, Neston and perhaps others. The precise historical significance of these hybrids is not yet clear, but it seems certain that they point to racial intermingling

¹ Derbyshire, a Danelaw county, has like Cheshire only 8 *-by* place-names; Durham has 9.

² The word *-by* continued as a living place-name element in some areas for a very considerable time. For example, in Cumberland *-by* is often found in combination with French personal names, e.g. Aglionby (*Agyllun*), Allonby (*Aleyn*), Johnby (*John*), Moresby (*Maurice*) and Rickerby (*Richard*). This survival, however, does not appear to have been usual. We may believe that the majority of *-by* place-names arose in the first phase of Scandinavian settlement. An attempt to throw light upon the date of Scandinavian place-names is proceeding. This involves an investigation into the chronology of Scandinavian personal names found in place-names. Results are not yet complete, but general conclusions are becoming increasingly plain.

as well as to Scandinavian influence. Strictly, the final element *tun* reveals that the above examples are English place-names, possibly attached in the first place to pre-Scandinavian villages. One might argue that the English population was so Scandinavianized that it adopted Scandinavian words like *klakkr*, *leirr*, *stórr* and *nes*. On the other hand, it is perhaps more likely that the Scandinavians early accepted OE. place-name elements like *tun*.¹ From either argument, however, it follows that racial fusion occurred. Englishmen and Scandinavians were so closely related by race as well as by language that we may believe intermarriage and intermixture to have begun almost with the first alien settlements. An Anglo-Scandinavian language and an Anglo-Scandinavian personal nomenclature developed along with an Anglo-Scandinavian race. More must be written of hybrid place-names below,² after which their historical interpretation will still be far from complete. In the meantime we may safely use them to indicate Scandinavian influence and Anglo-Scandinavian fusion.

More interesting, perhaps, is the attempt to decide the racial composition of the Scandinavian settlers themselves. In this delicate problem our most reliable information is derived from place-names. Normally it is impossible to distinguish between Norse and Danish place-names, for the dialects were so closely related that the great bulk of words and personal names found in Scandinavian place-names may be either Danish or Norwegian. Occasionally it is possible to point to words or side-forms which are characteristic of only one branch of the Scandinavian language, and occasionally it is possible to point to personal names which appear, for example, in Old Danish but not in Old Norse.³ Furthermore, the Norsemen arrived in England from Ireland where they had stayed long enough to adopt certain Irish words, Irish personal names and Irish methods of place-nomenclature.⁴

¹ *Tun* was used in Iceland.

² p. 52.

³ If a personal name is found in Danish sources but not in Norse sources it is fairly safe to regard the name as specifically Danish. The reverse, that a name appearing in Norse but not Danish sources is specifically Norse, is by no means a reliable assumption because the Danish material is comparatively scanty.

⁴ Irish words like *airge* in Grimsargh and Goosnargh (Lancs.) etc.; Irish personal names like *Dubgall* in Duggleby (Yorks), *Dubán* in Dovenby (Cumberland), *Gusán* in Goosnargh etc. Irish methods of place-nomenclature were also adopted, in particular the Irish habit, later found among the Welsh, of inverting the usual order of elements in compound place-names, e.g. Kirkoswald, Kirkandrews, Kirkbride etc. in Cumberland. In English the defining element is placed first.

Such Irish influence may be taken legitimately to prove the existence of Norsemen. The whole work of building up reliable "tests" of this nature is highly technical and far from complete. Much remains controversial but here we can only avoid technicalities and interpret as well as we are able the material at our disposal.

As is to be expected, very few of the Scandinavian place-names of Wirral may be ascribed individually to a specifically Norse or Danish origin. They are just Scandinavian. One or two names are definitely of Norse origin and it must be emphasized that, in the absence of Danish equivalents, these are sufficient to persuade us that most of the other Scandinavian place-names in Wirral are Norse. Arrowe contains the element *erg* which was borrowed by the Norsemen from the Irish. Another adopted Irish word is *cnocc* which appears as the first element of Noctorum. Irby, "the *by* of the Irishmen," also points to an invasion from Ireland. Minor names offer some additional evidence.¹ Since there are no definite Danish place-names we are safe in stating that the Scandinavians in Wirral were mainly Norsemen who had spent a considerable time in Ireland. One need not emphasize that this evidence strongly supports the Ingimund tradition discussed above. Moreover, there may well have been native Irishmen among the alien settlers, as is suggested by the *Three Fragments*. Their presence would help to explain the easy adoption of Irish place-name characteristics by the Scandinavians.

It has been stated above that there are no certain examples of Danish "tests" or Danish place-names in Wirral. That is true, at the present stage of research, but there are one or two possible indications that Danes settled among the Norsemen, as was suggested, it will be remembered, by the *Three Fragments*. Thus Irby is a strict Scandinavian place-name meaning "the *by* of the Irishmen," and it might be reasonable to argue that such a name could have arisen only in the speech of non-Irish Scandinavians, that is to say, of Danes. Other explanations, however, are possible,² and it would be hazardous to build any

¹ See below, p. 49, and reference.

² Irby may contain the genitive singular, *íri* perhaps used as an ordinary personal name for a man who had been to Ireland, or it may contain the genitive plural, *Ira*, as assumed above. Although it would seem natural that such a place-name was created

elaborate historical structure upon this name alone. It might be held that Thurstaston and Frankby also point to Danish influence. Thurstaston is an Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid containing the Old Norse personal name *Þórsteinn* but apparently in the Old Danish form *Thursten*. It should be compared with the identical place-name Thrussington which is found in the essentially Danish area of Leicestershire.¹ Likewise, Frankby possibly contains the Old Danish personal name *Franki*, as distinct from the Old Norse form of the same name which is *Frakki*.² Here, however, we are on dangerous ground, for Scandinavian personal names are still a field for investigation. The above indications of Danish influence may be very interesting but they are not yet definite enough to carry much conviction.

It is *a priori* very likely that some Danes settled in Wirral but it is not easy to produce concrete proof that this was the case. On the other hand, we are fairly safe in denying the existence of any considerable Danish element among the Wirral Scandinavians. It is very significant that the common Danish *thorp* does not occur.³ In short, Danes must have been rare in Wirral or we should find clearer traces of them. In view of the tradition preserved in the *Three Fragments* one of the most useful tasks of future research will be to investigate the question of Danish settlements among the Wirral Norse—for there can be no doubt that Norsemen predominated.

J. H. Round, usually so meticulously accurate, blundered when he dismissed J. R. Green's suggestion of a "little group

by men who had not been to Ireland, this becomes less obvious if the first element is a personal name. Moreover, this particular place-name may have been created at a later date, perhaps by the second generation of Norse settlers, and applied to newcomers from Ireland. There are numerous other possibilities but it is not safe to demand an acceptance of any of them. It is only clear that it was created by a Scandinavian-speaking people and that, if it contains *Ira*, the "by of the Irishmen" was a name sufficiently distinctive in a Scandinavian area.

¹ The development of Thrussington may be seen from the following selected forms: 1086 *Turstanestone*; 12th c. 13th c. *Tursteineston*, *Thurstaneston*, *T(h)urstanton*, *Thurstainton*; 1299 *Thurstinton*; 1325 *Thurstington*; 1486 *Thursyngton*; 1498 *Thrusyngton*; 1502 *Thrussyngton*, *Thrussington*. Of identical origin also are *Thurston* (Suffolk) and *Thrislington* (Durham).

² The assimilation of *nk* to *kk* is considered to be a West Scandinavian development, cf. ON. *slakki*, Dan. *slank*; ON. *bakki*, Dan. *banke*; but *nk* forms cannot always be regarded as indicative of Danish origin because the assimilation occurred so late that early ON. words and names may well have the original *nk*.

³ *Thorp* was rarely used by the Norwegians and it may be regarded as a Danish "test." A fairly common OE. *thorp* (*porp*, *prop*) exists to complicate the problem, but a Scandinavian *thorp* in England is almost certainly of Danish origin.

of northern villages" in Wirral with a curt "I cannot find them myself."¹ He added, "Raby is the one place I can there find in the peninsula with the 'bye' termination." It is clear that Round was thinking only of Domesday Book from which Frankby, Irby, West Kirby, Pensby and Whitby are absent and in which Greasby appears in its English form, *Gravesberie*. Since inclusion in Domesday Book is a fair test of importance, the absence of these Scandinavian place-names may mean that many Scandinavian villages remained small and insignificant. They probably represent new Scandinavian settlements which did not rival in importance the earlier English villages. It is probable that the Scandinavians arrived peaceably and were content to create new settlements of their own, often in comparatively undesirable areas. The existing English villages often retained their English names, e.g. Eastham, Hooton, Ledsham, Leighton, Mollington, Prenton, Puddington, Sutton, Upton etc., and it may be that they were not molested.² Skirmishes, such as the traditional attack on Chester, may well have occurred, but in general it would appear that the Scandinavians quietly settled in uninhabited districts. They would easily find sufficient unclaimed land for their needs since the pre-Scandinavian settlers in Wirral cannot have been numerous. According to figures in Domesday Book about a quarter of the population of Domesday Cheshire was concentrated in Wirral, but this was a century and a half after the Scandinavian settlement, and there is no reason to believe that even the most favoured parts of Cheshire could support any very dense population. It has been said that Cheshire was "comparatively unproductive and comparatively thinly populated,"³ and there can be no doubt that Wirral possessed its full share of forest and marsh. It seems likely that, before the Scandinavian settlement, this remote corner of England was but scantily peopled. Thus the Scandinavians would certainly find many areas unclaimed by the earlier English settlers. If they were generally content with uncultivated and unwanted lands they were a potential, but not an effective, obstacle to the schemes

¹ *Feudal England*, p. 86.

² Names like Thurstaston and Greasby may suggest sites adopted by the invaders.

³ H. J. Hewitt, *Medieval Cheshire*, op. cit., p. 6.

of Edward the Elder. Although the presence in Wirral of alien colonists may well have constituted a grave threat to the English of Mercia, we cannot readily believe that any such danger arose from the deliberate and intentional policy of the immigrants.

A close study of the minor names of this area will do much to confirm the impression of a very dense Scandinavian settlement. Although many of these names which were given to fields, woods, hills, streams etc. do not date from the tenth century, it will be obvious that the ultimate adoption of Scandinavian terms for insignificant fields and woods presumes a strong Scandinavian element in the local population and a mixed language which persisted for centuries. The collection of Cheshire field-names has hardly yet begun, but interesting results are already appearing. Among the minor names of Wirral we find such Scandinavian words as *holmr*, *kiarr*, *flot*, *pveit* etc. Further examples and details may be obtained elsewhere.¹ Even at the outset of a survey of Cheshire field-names it is abundantly clear that in Wirral "we are dealing with an alien population of mass-migration proportions and not with a few military conquerors who usurped the choicest sites." In passing it may be added that Wirral field-names contain some confirmatory evidence that the Scandinavian settlers were Norsemen from Ireland.²

To turn from the thorough Norse occupation of Wirral we find, by contrast, evidence of a less intensive but distinctly Danish penetration of East Cheshire. In this area, by a fortunate chance, the few place-names which alone preserve a record of Scandinavian settlement reveal clear evidence of Danish influence. The difficulties surrounding the recognition and application of "tests" have been discussed briefly above. In East Cheshire there are perhaps a dozen "Scandinavian"³ place-names and of these the majority contain Danish "tests" or words which, under the circumstances, may be legitimately interpreted as Danish. One of the safest tests of Danish influence is a persistent *u* in the forms of *-hulme* place-names. The word *holm*

¹ F. T. Wainwright, *Field-names*. Antiquity, XVII. June 1943. The Cheshire material will be found mainly on pp. 59-60.

² *Ibid.*

³ As will be seen, many of these are, strictly, English place-names which contain Scandinavian elements.

(ON. *holmr*) may be either Norwegian or Danish, but the side-form *hulm* is definitely Danish. It occurs in Cheadle Hulme, Church Hulme, Hulme Walfield, Hulme Hall and Kettlehulme. The frequent appearance of this distinctive side-form in East Cheshire is a happy coincidence, for it proves to us that the Scandinavians in this area were Danes. Likewise, Knutsford probably contains ON. *Knútr*, ODan. *Knut*, a personal name which is Danish rather than Norwegian.¹ The word *toft* or *toft* which appears in Toft, near Knutsford, may also be regarded as Danish.²

There remain one or two more place-names which reveal Scandinavian influence, e.g. Croxton (perhaps "the *tun* of Croc," i.e. ON. *Krókr*, ODan. *Krok*), Rostherne (ON. *Rauðr*) and perhaps Congleton³ and Swanscoe.⁴ When the minor names of East Cheshire have been collected and studied they will no doubt add some weight to the evidence of Scandinavian influence. On a modern map of this area may be seen such names as Drakecar (ON. *kiarr* > ME. *car*, "marsh"), Bowstonegate (ON. *gata*, "a road"), Chadkirk and Kirkleyditch (ON. *kirkja*, "a church," or a Scandinavianized form of OE. *cirice*, "a church"). It may be, also, that Scandinavian influence explains the modern form of Handforth with its final *d* replaced by a Scandinavian *th*.⁵ In these examples we cannot discover any evidence of specifically Danish influence but the surprisingly

¹ *Knut* is fairly common in Danish areas. It occurs in Old Norse but then it is borrowed from Old Danish. (O.v. Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 305. Uppsala, 1937)

² Toft place-names are very common in Scandinavian England, except in Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Northumberland and Durham where they are very rare. They are especially numerous in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and Norfolk. [See Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-names of Scandinavian Origin*, p. 208 ff]. This distribution suggests Danish origin, but the fact that the word passed into Middle English prevents its use as a Danish "test" or even as a certain Scandinavian "test."

³ Cf. E. Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-names*.

⁴ No early forms are yet available.

⁵ The Scandinavians regularly changed OE. *d* to *th*, presumably because the original sound was unfamiliar to them, e.g. Loud in Lancashire is the equivalent of the Scandinavianized Louth in Lincolnshire. Similar changes of *ch* to *k*, *sh* to *sk* etc. are well-known indications of Scandinavian influence.

When a final *d* is replaced by *th*, however, it is not always certain that the change is due to Scandinavian influence. The final *d* in *-ford* names is usually pronounced *th* in dialect speech even when the original *d* has officially survived. For example, Rainford (Lancashire) shows frequent late spellings in *th* (omitted by Ekwall in *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 110), and the common dialect pronunciation is still "Rainforth" or "Rainfuth." The fact that such spellings are all late may argue against Scandinavian influence, and it has been said that they are "due to a regular phonetic development of final *rd* in an unstressed syllable" (*English Place-name Society Publications*, 1, 2, p. 27). It might be added that ON. *vað*, "a ford," is not unlike the dialect pronunciation of *ford* in Lancashire.

high proportion of Danish "tests," quoted above, leaves no doubt that the Scandinavians in East Cheshire were Danes and not Norsemen.

There is, however, one single example of a Norse test-word, ON. *skáli*, "a hut", which may appear in Scholar Green.¹ It is just possible that we have here a small Norse-speaking colony in East Cheshire, but it is far more likely that the name is a late formation, for early spellings have not yet been found. It is probable, indeed, that the name did not arise until after the Norman Conquest for ON. *skáli* passed into Middle English as *scale*. Thus, in this case, it is perhaps not very reliable as an indication of Norwegian settlement. There is no doubt that East Cheshire is a Danish area, and the distinction between a Norse colonization of Wirral and a Danish colonization of East Cheshire is a significant fact.

It has been noticed that the Danish settlements in Cheshire extended northwards into Lancashire and southwards into Staffordshire.² In Lancashire, across the Mersey from Cheadle Hulme, there existed a populous Danish colony marked by such Danish place-names as Flixton, Urmston, Davyhulme, Hulme in Manchester, Levenshulme and Oldham in Withington (c. 1200 *Aldehulm*).³ From the Mersey the Danes stretched thinly over East Cheshire, as explained above, and into Staffordshire where they are evidenced in the following place-names: Hulme End, Upper Hulme, Swinscoe, Croxall and Drointon in the east of the county, Hulme, Knutton and Normacot in the neighbourhood of Stoke-on-Trent, and perhaps further south in Croxton and Gunston both of which seem to contain Scandinavian personal names.⁴ It is very reasonable to believe that this belt of

¹ *Dictionary of English Place-names*, p. 388.

² E. Ekwall, *The Scandinavian Settlement*, p. 150. *An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, ed. H. C. Darby, 1936.

³ E. Ekwall, *Place-names of Lancashire*, p. 245 et passim.

⁴ It should be emphasized that Staffordshire is, like Cheshire, an area of which the place-names have hardly yet been investigated. There are some forms in the admirable pioneer work, W. H. Duignan's *Notes on Staffordshire Place Names*, 1902, but interpretations are necessarily tentative. For example, the suggestion that Knutton perhaps means "Knut's tun" (*Dictionary of English Place-names*) is temporarily accepted although the absence of any trace of genitival inflexion among listed forms is a disturbing factor. The personal name *Knut* is combined with OE. *tun* in Knuston (Northants), with OE. *stan* in Knowstone (Devon) and with OE. *ford* in Knutsford (Cheshire), and in the forms of all these place-names genitival inflexions are prominent. If Knutton contains the personal name *Knut*, the development may have been: *Knuttun* > *Knuston* > *Knutton*, but probably a quite different origin ought to be sought.

superficial Danish settlement, stretching southwards from the Manchester region, marks the limit of Danish westward expansion from the land of the Five Boroughs.

On the other hand, it should be made quite clear that this Danish overlap was not heavily settled. No comparison should be made with the thickly populated Norse colonies in Wirral. There is a conspicuous lack of strict or true Scandinavian place-names which normally appear in areas of intensive Scandinavian settlement. It will have been noticed that not a single *-by*, commonest of Scandinavian elements, has been quoted. This is as true of Staffordshire and the Danish colony of Lancashire as of East Cheshire. Place-names in *-by* are characteristic of areas of heavy Danish settlement, and their absence here is noteworthy. Moreover, all types of strict Scandinavian place-names, which if numerous would imply an overwhelming Scandinavian population, are rare. In East Cheshire the only compound place-name which is certainly of Scandinavian creation is Kettleshulme (ON. *Ketill*, ODan. *Ketil*, and ODan. *hulm*), and this may be a late formation.¹ Rosterne (ON. *Rauðr* and ON. *pyrnir* or OE. *pyrne*) is the only other possible example. The other compound place-names are hybrids, while the Hulmes may be late creations for none appear in Domesday Book.

The problem of Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid place-names is by no means solved: we cannot yet be certain of the conditions under which they arose. The most interesting type is that which contains as first element a Scandinavian personal name and as second element OE. *tun*. In our area we have Flixton (ODan. *Flik*) and Urmston (ODan. *Urm*, *Orm*, ON. *Ormr*) in Lancashire, Croxton (ON. *Krókr*, ODan. *Krok*) in Cheshire, and Croxton (ON. *Krókr*), Drointon (ON. *Drengr* or *drengr*) and Gunston (ON. *Gunni* or some compound name) in Staffordshire. Knutsford (ON. *Knútr*, OE. *ford*) and the Staffordshire Croxall (ON. *Krókr*) fall into this class. From a study of the distribution of this hybrid type in other areas (Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire) it seems that such names are most conspicuous on the fringes of the main Scandinavian settlements. They may have arisen because

¹ Both the personal name and the second element continued in living use long after the Norman Conquest. The earliest form so far known is from 1285 (*Keteleshulm*, *Dictionary of English Place-names*).

their creators lived among a predominantly English population and they may be comparatively late formations, having become possible by racial intermingling. Whatever the conditions which governed their appearance, the fact that they normally occur outside the edges of the thickest Scandinavian settlements is significant. The Danish overlap which embraces East Cheshire was certainly on the remote fringe of the Danish half of England. Scandinavian settlement here may well have been late and it was quite definitely scanty.

Thus the evidence of these hybrids confirms the impression created by the paucity of strict Scandinavian place-names, and we now have good reason to believe that the line of sparse Danish settlements running southwards from the Manchester district through East Cheshire and Staffordshire forms the boundary of Scandinavian expansion towards the west. The stream of Danish settlers, powerful in Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, weaker in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and faint in Warwickshire, trickled indistinctly into East Cheshire and then faded away completely. It is important for the history of this period to know roughly the extent of Danish penetration, which is not, of course, necessarily the same as the extent of effective Danish control.

In conclusion, therefore, place-names reveal an intensive Norse settlement in Wirral and a weak Danish penetration of East Cheshire, the former an invasion on the scale of a mass-migration and the latter a faint overlap from the Danish midlands. These facts are important and they must figure prominently in any attempt to estimate conditions in pre-Conquest Cheshire.

NOTE.

THE DATE OF ÆLFWYN'S DEPOSITION.

The date of Ælfwyn's removal to Wessex (see p. 27, n. 1.) is not so clear as might be desired. This event is recorded in the Mercian Register in MSS. B and C of ASC. The chronology of the Mercian Register is generally considered to be above reproach, and the Ælfwyn episode occurs under the year 919. This is the usually accepted date of Ælfwyn's removal.

It is possible, however, to argue that 918 is the correct date although, it should be noted, this involves the assumption that the year-number is

wrong, a fault from which the Mercian Register is otherwise free. In this note I have attempted to state the case for 918, but the question remains open.

The annal 919 begins with the words, "Her eac wearð Æþeres dohtar Myrcna hlaforðes ælces onwealdes on Myrcum benumen ond on Westsexe alæded." This may be translated either as "In this year *also* the daughter of Ethelred . . . was deprived of all power . . ." or as "In this year the daughter of Ethelred . . . was *also* deprived of all power. . . ." Which is the more likely is a matter of opinion. If the former is correct, it follows that the year-number 919 has been wrongly inserted and that the event rightly belongs to the previous annal, i.e. to 918. Incidentally, Ælfwyn's deposition, which occurred in early December, is the first and only event recorded under 919 and it could easily have formed the last part of annal 918 which, in its present state, does not record any event after midsummer 918. All really depends on the reliance one may place upon *eac* and upon what seems to be its obvious meaning.

It is most unlikely that *eac* is merely a scribal slip, for an examination of the Mercian Register suggests that the scribe was not altogether bound in his chronological arrangements by year-numbers. Comparison may be made with the annals for 910, 911, 912 and 913 where the Mercian Register commonly uses *Her*, *On þysum geare*, *þæs ilcan geare*, *þa oðres geares* and *þa þæs oþre geare* to express chronological sequence. Such examples forbid the assumption that *Her eac* in 919 is a meaningless slip.

If, indeed, this *eac* is strong enough to carry the annal back to 918, an explanation of the mistake would not be difficult. A later scribe might have inserted the year-number 919 on seeing *Her*, the usual indication of a new annal. This mistake would be possible because the two following annals (919 and 920) were blank in B and C. A similar error would be impossible in the previous cases where *Her* appeared half-way through an annal (quoted above) because no blanks followed those particular annals.

A further argument in favour of putting Ælfwyn's deposition in 918 is that the event then falls into line with the main chronicle, \bar{A} . In 918 (\bar{A} . s.a. 922) it is recorded that after Æthelflæd's death in mid-June the people, previously subject to her, submitted to Edward and so did certain Welsh chieftains. Later still Edward went to Nottingham, captured the fort and placed there a garrison of Englishmen and Danes. By this time the year 918 must have been well-advanced. The annal ends with the statement, "and all the people who were settled in Mercia, both Danish and English, submitted to him." This general statement embraces the submission of both Danish and English Mercia. The submission of English Mercia on the death of Æthelflæd has already been recorded and this final statement may well imply that in late 918, on the collapse of Danish Mercia, Edward assumed a stricter control over English Mercia than had been possible at Æthelflæd's death. In fact, this may be a vague West Saxon reference to Ælfwyn's removal which is not otherwise recorded in \bar{A} . In short, Ælfwyn's deposition, specifically recorded in the Mercian Register, may have been casually included in the general

submission by the West Saxon \bar{A} . This argument gives powerful support to the view that Ælfwyn's deposition actually occurred in 918. If so, its value is clear: it brings the events of the two chronicles into agreement and thus enables us to date more closely events in \bar{A} . We may say that the general submission of Mercia occurred in, say, late November or early December 918, instead of leaving it vaguely in the second half of the year as hitherto. This argument would also provide an additional proof that the chronicle annals for Edward's reign begin the year at Christmas and not on September 24th, as under Alfred and earlier. (This is clearly suggested by the arrangement of other annals, cf. \bar{A} .s.a. 921, 918 and 919). Most important for our present purpose, however, is the fact that the events of the two chronicles fall into line; this is a strong argument for believing that the Mercian Register annal 919 is misplaced by a year from 918.

Thirdly, it might be argued that political conditions seem to suggest late 918 rather than late 919 as the obvious time for Ælfwyn's removal. It will be remembered that in June 918 she was allowed to retain some nominal authority only because, as seems likely, the Mercians were loath to fall completely under West Saxon domination. From Edward's point of view it was clearly, as his future action shows, a temporary arrangement, a compromise to be ended at the first opportunity. What better opportunity for Edward than the moment when the last Danish resistance in Mercia had failed, and when, no doubt, his power and reputation were high? Why should he postpone the step, clearly intended, for another whole year until late 919? Rhetorical questions are not arguments but they may sometimes stress a point. Conditions undoubtedly suggest late 918 as the most convenient time for Ælfwyn's removal. In the latter part of 919, on the other hand, Edward seems to have been occupied further north ["after harvest" he was with the *Mercian fyrd* fortifying Thelwall and Manchester].

In short, political conditions, so far as we can reconstruct them, favour the 918 date for Ælfwyn's removal. Secondly, the episode, if it occurred in late 918, falls into line with events in MS. \bar{A} in a very satisfactory manner. Finally, there is *eac* which, although of doubtful significance, cannot be ignored.

Against this view the case may be stated briefly. First, one cannot feel safe in emphasizing the apparent meaning of *eac*; alone it could hardly justify a re-dating of the 919 annal. More important is the fact that the new dating demands the assumption that the year-number 919 is a mistake. This in itself would not be surprising, for most of the year-numbers in the *Chronicle* account of this reign are wrong, but those in the Mercian Register are correct where they can be tested and consequently they must be treated with respect. It is not easy, therefore, to believe that the Mercian Register, apparently so accurate, has gone astray in this particular case. However, there is some reason to believe that this has happened, and the question must remain open. Unfortunately it is not at present possible to examine the manuscript, which may afford some clue.

JAMES BANKES AND THE MANOR OF WINSTANLEY,
1595-1617.

By *Joyce H. M. Bankes.*

Read 20 December, 1941.

ALTHOUGH the majority of facts contained in this paper were collected some years ago it is recognized that there is considerable field for further research under more normal conditions than the present, when public records become available once more for consultation.

We are concerned with the life history of James Bankes,¹ citizen and goldsmith of London, who by the "industrie and carefullness" of his "yong yeares", or as his critics might say by his sharp business practice, succeeded in establishing himself and his family on a firm social and financial basis for upwards of 300 years.

After a successful career in the capital the goldsmith returned to his native Lancashire, bought the manor of Winstanley in the Hundred of West Derby, in the year 1595-6, and promptly set about the ordering of his manorial acres.

The main portion of these notes consists of extracts from his "Memoranda Book"² which records in the writer's own hand transactions in land, advice to his children and surveys of his estate.

To some people the "unctuous piety" with which he gives thanks for his successes compares ill with contemporary opinion. The Rector of Wigan describes him as "of great wealth and riches, and by means thereof grown to be a very proud and insolent man,"³ and his numerous opponents in various other lawsuits use still more uncomplimentary language. On the other hand, James

¹ The name was spelt Banck, Banc, Bancke, Banckes, Bancks, Bank, Bankes. The latter did not become the standard form used by the Bankes of Winstanley until the end of the 17th century, although James Bankes always spells his name thus in his "Memoranda Book".

² The Memoranda Book of James Bankes, 1586-1617; transcribed from the original by J.H.M.B. and privately printed in 1935.

³ Star Chamber proceedings, 9 May, 40 Eliz. Edward Fleetwood v. James Bankes. (See Appendix v.)

tells his children "yor father was a man unlerned, and God knoweth he dyd his best, but alak, he haid small skill in the world".

His passion for the acquisition of land and his gradual transformation from merchant to squire afford a small instance of the great turnover of land which took place during the sixteenth century.

The desire for land on the part of the rising middle classes, and incidentally the success they made of it, aided by the infusion of new blood and more business-like methods, roused the scorn of contemporary writers, who inveighed against "the citizens and vulgar men"¹ who purchased land from the established gentry, although it has been said that only 330 families can trace their titles to land beyond the dissolution of the monasteries.² He is typical of two salient features of the age, land hunger and litigation, acquiring his possessions either "by the purchase of derelict estates by lending to thriftless landowners on the security of their estates, and selling them up when they failed to redeem their bonds, or by buying reversions and mortgages".³ Litigation over land pursued him throughout his lifetime, and continued in one case four years after his death. It will be seen directly that with a few exceptions James' purchases were all from the impoverished "old order", and two of the transactions were indirectly the outcome of the dispersal of Church lands. There is a somewhat painful similarity between James' activities and the lines of Robert Crowley's "Marchauntes Lesson" (1550):—

" To purchase landes is al theyr care
And al the study of theyr brayne.
Ther can be none unthrifty heyre,
Whome they will not smel out anon.
And handle him with wordes ful fayre;
Tel al his landes is from him gone".

But perhaps this is rather unkind!⁴

The name of Bankes is mentioned in various deeds connected with the history of Wigan families, notably "Mr. Thomas Scott's Charters" preserved among the Kuerden MSS., at the College of

¹ Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1894 ed.), Vol. iv, p. 170.

² Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 85.

³ J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 219.

⁴ Robert Crowley, Works, p. 87. Early English Text Society.

Arms.¹ Adam Bankes was an alderman in 1477,² and the election of another Adam as Mayor in 1539 was the occasion of a dispute between the Rector and Burgesses.³ His will, dated 19 January, 1557-8, is the first Bankes will on record. Adam was a brasier,⁴ and bequeathed "to my sonne Humphrey Banke all my pewter moades, with this condition and provision, that he shall permit and suffer my sonnes William and Thomas Banks to cast in them at ther pleasure and libertie at all tymes". Thomas was to "be set to learning in his childhood to the schole, and then to his occupation of pewterers craft wherebie he may be able to get his lyvinge whithall".

It will be seen from the above that the pewterer's craft was already a family occupation, and it continued as such far into the seventeenth century (see Appendix I).

Unfortunately all efforts so far have failed to discover the parentage and birth-place of James Bankes. From a deposition taken at Wigan in 1609-10 it is learned that he was born in 1542,⁵ and from the evidence available it is reasonable to suppose that he came of a Wigan family.

About 1569 he was in partnership with another London goldsmith, John Ballett,⁶ whose sister Elizabeth he married at St. Vedast's on 6 June, 1575.⁷ The partnership with Ballett was dissolved a year later and nothing more is heard of Elizabeth Bankes or any possible children; although an abstract made from a deposition taken in 1592 mentions "a rent charge made to the wife of James Banckes of London, goldsmith, and one of their children during their lives, but the said wife and child died long since."⁸ We know James to have had two brothers: William the elder remained in Lancashire, and was Mayor of Wigan in 1579; Humphrey, James' "naturel" brother, flourished as a goldsmith in London.

Although the Tudor goldsmiths had not yet risen to that prominence as bankers which they attained during the succeeding

¹ *Victoria County History, Lancs.*, Vol. iv, p. 82, n. 48.

² *Rec. Soc. Lancs. & Ches.*, xxxv, p. 66.

³ D.L.P., 31. Hen. VIII, Vol. 36, W. 2.

⁴ In the subsidy of 36 Hen. VIII, he was assessed at £33 (a really large sum, as these returns were notoriously inadequate.)

⁵ D. L. Depositions 55. 25. 2 Jan., 1609-10.

⁶ Chan. Proc. C 2. Eliz., S. 24-57.

⁷ Harl Soc. Parish Reg. St. Anthony and St. Vedast. Also *Visitation of Suffolk*, published Metcalf, Exeter, 1882, p. 3.

⁸ Star Chamber proc. Eliz. Bdle 55.B.11.

century, they were, in company with other wealthy merchants, responsible for very considerable financial transactions.¹ The money-lending side of James' activities brought him in contact with the law on more than one occasion: and it cannot be claimed that his business methods were above reproach. How far he erred on the side of "certaine extreme usury practice" whereof he was accused at one time it is difficult to say; or in what degree he differed from the custom of his day, which has to be taken into account when seeking a true perspective.²

It may be that it is James whose name is perpetuated by Ben Jonson in his "Epigrams":

"ON CHUFFE BANKS THE USURER'S KINSMAN.

Chuff, lately rich in name, chattels, goods,
And rich in issue to inherit all,
Ere blacks were bought for his own funeral,
Saw all his race approach the blacker flood:
He meant they thither should make swift repair,
When he made his executer, might be heir."³

Gentlemen with the names of Manasses Stockden, Didimus Buckland and Scippio Billitt pursue James Bankes through Chancery and Star Chamber Proceedings and Repertories of the Court of Aldermen.⁴ The matters in dispute all concern loans, bonds and similar transactions. One of these complaints is worth quoting as it throws light on the collaboration of his brother William away in Lancashire.

In December 1587 Edward Griffine of Dingley, county Northampton, Esq., complained "that about eight years ago he unfortunately became acquainted with James Banckes of London, goldsmith, and about four years ago having occasion to borrow money Banckes offered to lend him £800, but afterwards said the money was his brother's, William Banckes". William insisted that the words "citizen of London" should be put in, and James with Griffin and one John Flower became bound to

¹ Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse upon Usury*. Introduction by R. H. Tawney.

² Harrison writing in 1577 says of usury "a trade . . . now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie that he is accounted for a foole that dooth lend his money for nothing". (*Description of England*, Bk. 11, p. 242.)

³ Book IV.

⁴ Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, Vol. 19, fo. 206 and 217 b. Acts of the Privy Council, 1589. Sometimes the sums borrowed were surprisingly small. Edward Gorges, gent., was found to owe £5 to James Bankes, in 1580, although this sum would have to be multiplied by twelve or more to reach the modern equivalent.

William Banckes in £1,600, for a loan of £800. After James had received the bond he said the money was in Lancashire, in his brother's custody, and Griffin could send there for it, "a shift commonly used by money-lenders". Griffin sent his servants with James Banckes into Lancashire, but when they came there could get no more than £500, James promising the residue on his return, which promise was never kept, and Griffin put to straits in his payment to others".¹ James is accused of having put the bond for £1,600 in force, but the outcome of the struggle is not recorded. It has been said that usury "after the land question was the most burning social problem of the day", and many a "needy gentleman and thriftless squire" were entangled in tortuous contracts.²

In 1588, when funds were being raised to defeat the Armada, James was one of the ten London goldsmiths selected as "meet to lend money" to the Queen. The sum contributed was £100.³

The first record we have of any purchase of land by James Bankes occurs during an inquisition into concealed lands in Lancashire held at Leigh in 1598. Apparently "a messuage and four acres of land in Hindley" had been bought by the goldsmith on 3 September, 18 Eliz. (1576) and had been conveyed to his brother William in 1590. These lands the jurors found to "be parcel of the possessions of the late dissolved monastery of Cockersand and of the annual rent of 6d."⁴ The finding of the court does not seem to have had an immediate effect, as it was not until 1614 that the Crown granted the land to Edmund Duffield and John Babbington, by letters patent dated 14 January, 12 Jas. 1 (1614-5). It seems, however, to have remained in the Bankes family, as it was bequeathed by Christopher Bankes to his grandchildren in 1657.

The first page in the Memoranda Book records the sale of the manor of Greet on the outskirts of Birmingham by Alexander Avenon.⁵

¹ Chan. Proc. C. 2. Eliz. —. 3-31. Mr. Edward Griffin of Dingley is mentioned in *Helena, Marchioness of Northampton*, C. A. Bradford, pp. 146-7.

² Thomas Wilson, *A Discourse upon Usury*. Introduction R. H. Tawney, pp. 2, 39.

³ Lansdowne MSS., 56. Burghley papers, 1588.

⁴ Spec. Comm. and Returns in the Exchequer. Exc. 178. no. 1215. D. of L. P. 1, 1616, No. 226. Patent Roll 12 Jas. 1, pt. 15-1, C. 66, No. 2031.

⁵ The quotations from the original Memoranda Book have been modernized in regard to punctuation and use of capitals.

" The eyght daye of October in the xxviij yeare of Quene Elezabeth I James Bankes dyd bye of Alexonder Avenone of Londone, marchant, the maner of Grett, lying in Woster shere wyth in parrish of Yardley, as apereth by the said evedences maid from the said Alexonder unto the same James Bankes, for ever, wyth all such other assurances as ther unto belongeth, the which landes was purchased by Sir Alixonder Avenon, father of the said Alixonder the sone and are to Sir Alixander whom was Lord Mare of the sete of London, whom porched the said manor from King Henre the Eyght upon the sobprese of the Abbes, and so by which mene the landes are houlden in kapete of the Quene and her suckcessor, wheare of theare is yearely to be payd out the tent of the ould rent which is about xxijs. as I take it, which tent is payd by the tenant that hath the leais maid by Sir Alexonder Avenone whom porched the same of the Kyng in a bok, and so possessed it from the Kyng in a bok of on Mr. Throgmorten, whom maid an asinement thereof out of his said boke to Sir Alixonder Avernon and his ares for ever, as the comen youes is in such lyke porchesing of the Kyng or the Quene maid upon such grett sales. The leas was mayd for fyfte yeares by Sir Alixonder Avenon, and at such tymes as I porched the same ther was to com un spent in the leas abowt xxij yers, and the rent there of is to be payd at the fest of Sint Mychell Earkangell and on ladie daye in lent, or wyth in forte dayes after, ten pond at a pament, the sam is to be payd at the fount stone in Powles Chowch, and for non pament ther of to forfet at evere tym fyfe pondes, and so to destraine for the rent and the forfetoure, for so it is mayd in the les, and forther mor, ther is to be payd by the lord into Mr. Osbornes offis in the Checker for a respytt of omgy evere fyft terme vjs. iiijd. And upon evere such pament you shall resaive aquntances for the sam. But in ane wyes soe that you paye this vjs iijd evere fyfe tearme, or other wyse ther wyl be sent fourth of the Exchekker prisis for the same, and so fined evre term thell the sam be payd, for so I have bene sarvid my selfe in this be halfe, you shall fynd all the evedences of this land in a whitt wodden boix, in closed in a whitt lether baig seled up rond abowt the sell, and all so upon the baig you shall find wrytt wyth myne one hand these wordes, that is to saye, in closed is the evedences of the maner of Gritt, in Woster shere, which cost me in rede money seven hondreth and thre skoure pondes, for the which all prayse, honer and glore be geven to God, amene.

I have sould this said maner to on Henre Gresould, who was tenant to the sam, and I have him and an other bond wyth him in reconosos to paye six hondreth pondes by a hondreth pond a yere in grees, in hole on the second daye of November all wayes".

The *Victoria County History* states that "Grett still belonged to Studley Priory at the time of the Dissolution, and was sold in 1574 to Clement Throgmorton and Sir Alexander Avernon, iron-monger, afterwards Lord Mayor of London. The latter in 1570

settled it on his son and Marjorie his wife. Sir Alexander died in 1580, and in 1586 his son pledged his so-called manor to cover a debt which he owed to a certain Thomas Starkey, and in the same year sold the reversion to James Bankes".¹

With the expansion of industry and the dawn of the era of "farming for gain" as against the old "subsistence farming" of the Middle Ages, land became the best possible investment.² In his native Lancashire James found a fruitful field of operations. Although agriculturally backward, the mineral resources held promise of manifold returns for capital invested, and James sought land where there was "good stor of coles, praies God for the sam".³

Here it is necessary to take notice of James' second marriage, to Susan, daughter of William Sherington of London, haberdasher.⁴ The actual date eludes us, but there is an entry in the Wigan Parish Register of the burial on 13 August, 1592, of "John the son of James Banckes of Pemberton, gent.", although this may have been a child by his first marriage.

Three of the Sherington brothers, William, Gilbert and Francis, had acquired a considerable amount of land in Lancashire, and like the Bankes were of a Wigan family. In 1568 William had bought lands in Worsley and Wardley Hall;⁵ these descended to Susan Bankes, as the heiress of her father, uncles and sisters. She sold the Eccles property in 1601 and "all other inherited lands of Gilbert Sherington elsewhere in Lancashire, together with messuages in Southwark in Surrey" to Katherine, the widow of Francis Sherington⁶ and "cousin Roger Downes".⁷ Francis Sherington is known as the founder-benefactor of the Wigan

¹ *V. C. H. Worcestershire*.

² Harrison, Bk. 1. Chap. xviii. p. 131. J. B. Black. *The Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 212.

³ "Mining in Winstanley and Orrell". *Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, Vol. liv. Coal had been worked in the estate by the Winstanleys. The will of Thomas Winstanley mentions "the revenue from my Cole mynes" (1562).

⁴ Baptised St. Dionys, 8 Feb., 1564-5.

⁵ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. iv, p. 384.

⁶ Francis Sherington married Katherine, "base daughter" of Ralph Worsley of Chester. According to a pedigree constructed by the late Henry Ince Anderton, which is in the possession of the Wigan Public Library, this Ralph Worsley was "lion keeper in the Tower of London by Patent of 24 Dec., 1531, in succession to Sir James Worsley. He purchased lands in Pemberton, Wigan and Winstanley by Fine in Aug. 1546. He died in Nov. 1572, leaving all his lands in Lancashire to his daughter Katherine."

⁷ Winstanley Deeds. P.L. 17-64. Fines. 44 Eliz. Downes bought out his cousin for £153 6s. 8d. Roger Downes, son of Roger Downes of co. Chester and Elizabeth Worsley, sister of Ralph Worsley of Pemberton. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Miles Gerard of Ince, 1601. She died in childbirth, 1602. Her marriage settlement is amongst the Winstanley deeds.

Grammar School¹ (1597). He was Mayor of Wigan in 1594, and died in June, 1600. The actual land, the rent charge from which formed the basis of the original grant, had been sold him by his nephew by marriage, James Bankes; the sum paid by Sherington being £220 and not £40 as stated in the official Fine.²

It is worth while to note in passing that Thomas Bankes of London, goldsmith, son of William and grandson of Adam the Mayor of 1539, was also interested in the foundation of a school in Wigan. In his will dated 13 August, 1594, he leaves "to the Free School at Wigan (where I was born) £30, if it shall go forward in three years, if not, then to Lancashire scholars at Brazenese College, Oxford." He may be regarded as the first benefactor of the Grammar School. He also left "to ten old poor Pewterers in Wigan" £5 10s. each, and "to my master Ballett³ whome under God I do acknowledge mine only founder, £3 6s. 8d. for a ring".

There had been a school in existence prior to this date, by an agreement dated 1 August, 1576. Six Wigan gentlemen, of whom Alderman William Bankes was one, engaged Peter Carter as Schoolmaster at 20 marks per annum. Peter Carter remained until his salary was not paid owing to the death of two of the subscribers. He took the mastership of Preston Free Grammar School and claimed £17 16s. 2d. for arrears of work at Wigan. He accepted a bond in 1589 and this was enforced by his son in 1592.⁴

Another purchase of land by James Bankes within the parish of Wigan was Sankey House and 24 acres of land in Pemberton, which he bought from Thomas Molyneux of Hawkley in 1581, for the sum of £450.⁵ This property, alternatively called Sankey House, the Stone House or the Old Fields, had been the patrimony of the Sankey family of Little Sankey near Warrington until about 1574, when it passed into the hands of relations, the Molyneux's of Hawkley, an adjoining estate. In 1584 a settlement was made between James Bankes and Peter Orrell of High

¹ Rev. G. C. Chambers, *History of the Free Grammar School of Wigan*.

² Winstanley deeds.

³ Probably this was James Bankes' partner, although the *Records of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths of the City of London* give the following:—

1581. Thomas Bankes, son of William Banckes of Wigan, Lancs., apprenticed to Humphrey Banckes of London, goldsmith for 8 years. Among the bequests in the will of Thomas Bankes is "40s. to Mr. Humphrey Banckes for a ring".

⁴ *History of the Wigan Free Grammar School*, p. 10.

⁵ Winstanley Deeds.

Holborn on the occasion of the marriage of the latter's daughter Ellen with Humphrey Bankes, James' brother. This gave rise to a complicated transaction, which is described in James' book:—

“The nint daye of Aprell in the eight and thiert yeare of Quene Elezabeath, I maid a leas to Peter Orrell of a houes in Pemarton, wher opon the said Peter Orrell payd for the sam in biing a tenement in Orrell of him wyth 2 coteiges belongeng ther un to, abowt the som of on hondreth and fite pondes, and of fines. The sam leise maid I paissed a fine to Raufefe Worley of Pemarton to the uces of Francys Sherington dowering the conteneuanes of the said leais, for the said thre lyfes ther in contened, and you shall fynd the said conterpane of the said fine so passed wyth in the boix wher the evedences of the said land is oll together, and ther for my child if it shall please God ever to send the said houes to ane of you, depart no more wyth the sam, for I bought a tenement of the said Peter Orrell and he desavid me ther in at the lest iiij hondreth markes by a cosning devises, alegeng ther was grett store of coles there in, and so I passed my houes in Pemarton for nothing.”

A few years later Peter Orrell assigned his interest in the Stone House to Francis Sherington. There is a note in the latter's account book in the Wigan Public Library which reads, “Payde Mr. Banckes for his Christmas rent of the Stone House, xiijs. iiijd.” After the death of Francis Sherington, his widow assigned her interest in the lease to the two younger sons of James Bankes, who in his turn made a lease to John, son of Alexander Sherington, and nephew of the departed Francis.¹

“Mystris Sherington (is now ded, and the sam is les to Jhon Sherington) hath a les of my houes in Pemarton the which she paid for a les for thre liefes the som of tow hondreth thre skowere and ten pondes, the which is better then the rent be twente pondes a yeare, a les for won and twente yeares is worth tow hondreth ponds, and I think it is no mor worth tho she paid so mych.

Unto Peter Orrell whom I sould it un to this les my aunt Sherington hat geven it tow my tew boies Tomas and Raufe, paing forth of the sam tene pondes a yeare durring the lyf of on Domford (Dampont) a cosin of heres”.²

It would seem reasonable to put the date of James' retirement from active participation in the goldsmith's trade between 1590 and 1592. In a grant dated 21 July, 1590, he is described as “citizen and goldsmith of London” (this grant was of some land

¹ Winstanley Deeds.

² D. L. Depositions, 55, 25, 1609-10. Further particulars concerning the Orrell family are given in Appendix II.

in Hindley "lately had by grant of James Browne late of Brinsoppe" to Alderman William). But by 1592 he is "James Bankes of Pemberton in the county of Lancaster, gentleman." In the subsidy of 19 Sep., 1594, he is assessed under Pemberton "in goods £5, paying 13s. 4d."¹

All these purchases of land led up to James' principal acquisition, namely the manor of Winstanley, from Edmund Winstanley in January, 1595-6. The entry in the Memoranda Book reads:—

"The one and twente daye of Januare in the eygt and thritee yeare of ower soferant lade Quene Elezabeth, I, James Bankes, dyd bye of Edmond Wynstanneley of Prestene in Radnorsher in Wales the manor of Wynstanley, lying in the parrich of Wegan wythin the Conte of Lankester, for the which said maner there was payd in rede money wyth in the spaces of tow yeares, the som of thre thousand and won hondreth pondes, as aperth by the evedences of the said porchas, the which by good helpe you shall fynd in my conteng houes, in a chist wyth a number of owld rityng and evedences toching the said maner, and ollso you shall fynd a fine and a recovere wyth the said evedences from Mr. Edmond Winstaneley, oll of them together in a blak boix covered wyth lethe and seled up to gether, for the which I most homly praies my God for the sam, and for oll His manefowld blessing bestoid opon me, amen."

All that is known at present of the early history of the manor is printed in the *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, vol. 4, under the accounts of Billinge and Winstanley.² It would appear that these were once one manor, and a subordinate unit of the Barony of Newton-in-Makerfield, both before and after the Conquest.³ By 1212 the manor had been divided into three equal portions, the Winstanley area being held by Roger de Winstanley and rated as an oxgang and a third. By 1252 Adam de Winstanley "appears to have secured a practical enfranchisement of his manor."⁴

Thomas Winstanley died in 1562. By 1564 his widow was married to John Bradshaw of Bradshaw Hall, Presteigne. In his will dated 10 December, 1562, Thomas Winstanley granted his estate to feoffees for the use of his wife Elizabeth, until his son and heir Edmund "shall come to the full age of thirty years".

¹ Lay Subs. bdlc 131, No. 258.

² *Victoria County History*, Vol. v., pp. 83, 88.

³ *V.C.H.*, Vol. 1, 286.

⁴ *V.C.H.*, Vol. 1, p. 87.

In default of male issue the manor was to go to the testator's brothers James and Edmund respectively. Edmund Winstanley on coming into his inheritance seems to have been an "absentee landlord". He resided "in either Radnorshire or Pembrokeshire, and took little heed to his affairs at Winstanley".¹ James Bankes wrote in his book, "for if Mr. Edmund Winstanley had servd God I had never bowght his land", which seems to have been left in the hands of his cousin (or uncle) Edmund Winstanley, and his bailiff Robert Atherton.² In 1584 the manor was leased to John Crosse of Liverpool for 100 years, but when Edmund married a second wife the lease to Crosse was cancelled.

The extent of the manor at the time of the sale is given in the Fine as:—

50 Messuages	200 acres of land,
16 Tofts and Cottages ³	100 ,, of meadow,
50 Barns	300 ,, of pasture,
5 Water Corn Mills	20 ,, of wood,
2 Dovecotes	300 ,, of furze and heath,
50 Gardens	100 ,, of moor,
50 Orchards	100 ,, of turbury. ⁴

James Bankes made two surveys of his estate before his death in 1617; the first in 1600 and the second in 1610. A list of the tenants is given, with the acreage of their holdings, with recommendations for a suitable increase above "the owld anchant rent." The amounts of this rent are given in only a few cases. Robert Atherton leased the Cross field at 12d. a year and an increase to £3 was advised. Other differences were from 1 mark (13s. 4d.) to 30s., 3s. to £1, 4s. to 15s. One of the contributory causes of the impoverishment of some of the older established landlords was the inability in many cases to assess rents and fines to meet the rising tide of prices.⁵

¹ Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, 73, 1, 5. Pedigrees of the families of Winstanley of Winstanley and Bradshaw of Presteigne are recorded in Lewis Dwnn's Visitation, 1597 (pub. Welsh MSS. Soc., Vol. III). It would appear that both Elizabeth and her son Edmund intermarried with the latter family.

² D. of L. P., 73, 1, 5, also Winstanley deeds. The name of Mr. William Cross appears among the ameracements of the manor court in the years 1615 and 1618. He had been a tenant under Edmund Winstanley.

³ "Originally a homestead, the site of a house and its out-buildings, often used in the expression Toft and Croft, denoting the whole holding consisting of the homestead and the attached piece of arable land." C. S. Orwin, *The Open Fields*.

⁴ These would be Statute Acres, although in the local leases the large or Cheshire measure of 10,240 sq. yds. was used. Winstanley Deeds.

⁵ R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the 16th Century*, p. 119.

When the lease fell in, cottages within the demesne and "ring-yard"¹ were to be pulled down when possible and their occupiers "pleased in som other place". This destruction was modified on second thoughts and the cottages were to "be preserved for a colliers house". A different and later hand indicated this policy to be contemporaneous with the expansion within the demesne of the coal works. Great stress was laid on the necessity for consolidating or reconstructing the demesne, which was obviously in process of disintegration, small portions having been leased out to tenants and cottages built. A half share in the proceeds arising from the principal mill had been let to the miller.

Before embarking on the administrative side of his affairs, James Bankes followed the fashion of his day and bade his children:—

"harkene and gyve eire my deare cheldre to youre most carffull fathers advices, the which by Godes help is the vere rode waye to eternall lyfe, for ower savoir Christ saith, first seke the Kyndom of Heven and oll thing shall be geven unto you, and ther for my deare cheldrene, in Godes most holye and reverent nam, folow this my derecone, fyrst, evere night whene you go to bed, cowle to gether youer famelye, and sarve God acordyng to the bok of comen praier, for the daye that past is, most homly upon youer knies, desiring the Lord to bles you that night, and for ever more, amen; and so my deare children, in Godes most holye name, evere morning whene you ries sarvefe God privilye in your clossett or chamber, befor you have any conferencies wyth any man whatt so ever, youre self alone, and geive the only Lord of Hevene all praies and thanks, for oll his blessing bestoid upon you, amen; and so desiring God to gid you that daye folowing wyth His most Holy Speritt, wyth wysdom and wytt to gid and governe youer selves in such order and sort, as it may ples God and the world, and in thus doing my deare children ther is now dout but the Lord God of Hevene wyll bowth bles yoe and youres, amen, I praye God."

He goes on to say:—

"And further more my deare children, in all plusus where you shall com in compene be vere silent and youes few wordes, so shall you ples God and the world best, and so lest ofend ane man, and ther for in Gods most holye name never asent tow alter or chang this my derecone, that I have her set you done, and lett my advices be axsetabyll unto you, my deare children in Gods most holyre name so be it, I most hombye bege the same at the hands of God, amen. 1598".

¹ G. H. Tupling, *Economic History of Rossendale* (1927), p. 117.

Advice on land tenure follows. It would seem that James Bankes had it in his mind to alter the established custom of the lease for three lives, with an easy rent and large Fine, to that of a twenty-one year term. In this latter view he anticipates John Holt by 197 years, except that he retains the principle of the Fine.¹

“ My deare children, unto whom it shall pleas God to in joye this power houes of Wynstanley, I would advices you, in Gods most holye nam, that you wold not in any wayes, deale harlye wyth ane tenant other wyes then in this order and sort, that is to saye, I would have evere man to in joye his tenement dowring his les, and his wyfes lyfe, so after to his son if he have ane, and the les being ended I would have you, be caues your rentes is small, and not sofesaint to mantene yor home and fammele, to lett his son that is next unto it, to make him a les of the said farme in this order and sort as her after foloith, that is to saie, if the farme be worth twente ponds a yeare, as there is som, I wold have you to take but sixtene ponds a yeare rent, and so to mak him a les, ether son or dowter that was borne upon the sam farme, paying sixtene pondes a yeare for rent for the sam which is worth twente pondes a yeare, and lyk wyes if a farm shall fawle to you worth sixtene pondes a yeare I wold have you to tak twente markes a yeare, and to mak him lyk wyes a les of the sam farm as above said, ether son or dowter, and so if a farm shall fall that is worth twente marks a yeare, then I wold have you to tak tenen pondes a yeare, and so if a farm shall fawle that is worth tene pondes a yeare, I wuld have you to tak viij li. a yeare rent, and so to full forte sheleng or thirte or twente or tene under the walow or worth ther of of the said farmes, in the nam of God, and to be ver kynd and loving unto your tenantes, and so the wyll love you in good and godly sort . . . and in obsarving this order and rulle bowth you and youer houes shall lyvefe in worshipec and creditt to the glore of God and the joy and comford of yor wyfes and cheldren from aige to aige.”

The twenty year term with a Fine is advocated in 1600, and his book contains a list of the holdings with their Fines noted in the margin. “ Robart Wynstanley of the sande Forth his tenement conteneth abowt thrit and fife acres and is worth above the anchant rent twenty markes a yeare, so that a leaies is worth to be sould to the tenant 80 ponds, for so I dowe esteme them to be well worth, the which is abowt three ponds an acar fine.”²

¹ John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of Lancashire*, p. 25. “ A certain method to excite improvement would be to let farms to men of industry, ingenuity and property, upon reasonable terms, and give leases of 21 years, free from arbitrary covenants; without this nothing can excite a general and effectual improvement.” John Holt goes on to condemn the custom of the lease for three lives (pp. 26, 27).

² Half a century later this same holding was leased for the term of three lives with a fine of £110, and an annual rent of £1 13s. 4d.

my some of the best to whom it shall
 be referred to be in your best view and good
 of my judgment & of several benefits
 to be had from it. I am sure that you
 will find it to be of great service to
 you in your present situation. I am
 sure that you will find it to be of
 great service to you in your present
 situation. I am sure that you will
 find it to be of great service to you
 in your present situation. I am sure
 that you will find it to be of great
 service to you in your present situation.

I have been thinking of you much lately
 and wondering how you get on. I hope
 you are well and happy. I am sure
 that you will find it to be of great
 service to you in your present situation.
 I am sure that you will find it to be
 of great service to you in your present
 situation. I am sure that you will find
 it to be of great service to you in your
 present situation. I am sure that you
 will find it to be of great service to
 you in your present situation. I am sure
 that you will find it to be of great
 service to you in your present situation.

Nov 20

17
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

Jan 31

16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

One game road one 7 rounds -
I want you to make as many killing
as possible you all rounded same
and to get some for you in it
I'm not happy if you are
in business of a small 10 rounds
and you will be glad to go and get
it done and you are so good
you'll be happy to see it done
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your

Dear Mr. [unclear]
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your
I want you to make as many
as possible and to all your

" My deare and loving cheldrene loke vere carfullye un tow this my advartement, in Gods most holye name, that what so ever landes it shall pleaies God tow send you by me youre carfull father, I straittlye charge you in Gods most holye name that you never make ane leis tow ane of youere tenant for ane longger tyme then for twente and on yeare, for so shall you find theare in greatt profitt and gane tord the advancement of yor estaitt. And for that to shall the more mane feast apeare un to you that my counsell is just and trowe, wheare the rent of the maner of Wynstanley is abowt forte markes a yeare, in takyng this my consell you shall mak yearely at the leaist fore skower pondes a yeare in fines, above the anchant rent, and so you shall take nothing but that which shall be resonabyll bowth in the sight of God and the world, and so you shall pleaes yor tenantes and be well spoken of."

This policy was abandoned by 1610, when he is convinced that only by yearly tenancies can his heirs avoid " decayeing yor estaitt."

" My son wheare I have advizaide thie to mak lessus when ane tenement shall fall, I have found it by comon eporrins grettly to the contrare, there for folow this my consell in the name of God for so shalt thou be abyll to livefe if thou feare God in all thi doings, that is tow saie, when ane leaies shall fale to thie, lett the same to the tenant a gane for a yearly rent and in Gods name tak not to mych rent nor yett tow lettell, for a mene is the best, so shalt thow be best abyll to life".

Apparently local custom or prevailing economic conditions prevented these views from being adopted for many generations. Contemporary evidence proves that James Bankes granted leases for three lives. " I have maid a les of this tenement for iii lives, ther for tell the sam be determened you can dow nothing." In actual fact the lease for three lives remained the custom on the manor until the nineteenth century, the tenants holding their land on the principle of mixed tenure. Commutation took place much later in the north than elsewhere in England, and boon services remained the rule on the manor until late in the eighteenth century.¹

Among the revenues accruing to the lord of the manor were the fines imposed on the granting of a new lease or the renewal of an

¹ Dr. W. Hasbach, *A History of the English Agricultural Labourer*, p. 30. " In the north-west, conditions very much like those of the southern counties in the 10th century endured right up to the end of the 18th ". A summary of the tenants' holdings dated 1669 shows that 67 tenants paid £36 4s. 11d. in rent, in kind they were responsible for delivery to the lord of the manor of a total of sixty rent hens, fifty-two capons, and two fat geese. Their service amounted to about 10 days' ploughing, 5 days' harrowing, 78 days' shearing, and 44 days' carting, filling and spreading manure.

existing one ; this subject had long been a source of bitter controversy and the basis on which these were computed was not settled finally until 1781.¹ In the lord's defence it may be said that fines were a method of adjusting rents to meet the rising price of agricultural produce, though in some cases the amount was unjust and extortionate, and in the hands of a bad and avaricious landlord the fine was a powerful and vindictive weapon.

It is important to realise the extreme agricultural poverty of the land under review at this date. Heath and waste lands stretched from Derbyshire to the Border ; even as late as 1794 there were 108,500 acres of waste land in Lancashire.² In the assessment for Ship Money levied in 1644-6 Lancashire and Cumberland come last on the list respectively as the poorest counties (the assessment was at the rate of 1,219 acres to the pound), and this state of affairs continued until late into the century. The enclosure and laying down to pasture of arable land, though favourable to the woollen industry, had been disturbing to rural economy. After 1598, when the price of corn had risen alarmingly, it became a statutory obligation to restore to tillage all land that had been under the plough for twelve consecutive years, "and had been converted to pasture since the first year of the reign".³ Thus the Government hoped to check the continuation of the enclosure policy with its attendant evils of depopulation and pauperism, and to ensure adequate supplies of grain. But farming was beginning to pay, for the rising price of wheat and all agricultural produce during the latter years of Elizabeth was incentive to increase the yield per acre.⁴

The soil of the manor of Winstanley is described as "sandy, mixed with clay in places, with sandstone rock not far from the surface."⁵

James Bankes was a great advocate of marl as a fertiliser for the land ; in fact, he seems obsessed by the idea of its miraculous properties, and loses no opportunity of urging his heir to make full use of the clay. In 1598 he directs him as follows :—

¹ E. Lipson, *Economic History of England*, Chap. IV. John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of Lancashire*. In 1795 Holt says : "These leases are generally estimated at about 14 years' purchase".

² Report of John Holt, Vol. IV, p. 87.

³ 39 Eliz. c. 2. J. B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 215. R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Revolution in the Sixteenth Century*.

⁴ Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, p. 81.

⁵ V.C.H., Vol. IV, p. 87.

" My deare child . . . I would advices you that wheare there is moreich grond, that when ane shall fawele unto you, that you would marle the said morich grond . . . and after the sam so marled you maye let the sam for a marke an aker at the lest, and the charg of the marling of an acare wyll stand you in fyfe markes ; so that ther by you shall in cres yor rentes in good sort wyth Gods help, and so prospare your tenantes, if you desire not the sam yor selves, the which I think is not best."

Fitzherbert in 1523 comments on the decay of the marling habit, and advises its revival;¹ how far its use had lapsed in Lancashire, if it had lapsed at all, is a matter of conjecture. Continuity of use is certain from 1600 onwards, until in 1795 John Holt declared : " Marl is the foundation of all improvements in this County ; and here the husbandman of Lancashire and Cheshire may afford a useful lesson to the rest of the Kingdom ; so well are they convinced of the necessity of attending to this primary object that neither labour nor expense deter them from the least vigorous application of it."²

Possibly James was inspired by the example of John Wood, one of his tenants :—" his tenement conteneth twente acares, and is worth above the rent twente markes a year ; he hath maid of the sam farme a hondreth pondes a yeare by reson he marled the sam of aleven acares of barlye ". The Memoranda Book contains many individual directions regarding the marling of certain fields, in one case the estimated increase in the yearly value being from four to ten pounds. The advice to " marle that which was never afor marled, and no more medil not wythall in ane wyes, the charg is grett ther in " was sound, marling being a laborious and expensive performance.

It is worth while to note in passing the comparatively small acreage of woodland recorded in the Fine of 1595. Inclosures, the woollen trade and the growth of industry produced an alarming shortage of timber towards the end of the sixteenth century, salvation being found ultimately by the substitution of coal for timber as a fuel.³

The price of grain had risen steadily during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, 1596 and 1597 being famine years ;⁴

¹ John Fitzherbert, *The Boke of Husbondrye*, 1523 ; *The Boke of Suruyeng and Improwements*, cap. 32, 1523.

² John Holt, *General View of the Agriculture of Lancashire*, p. 120.

³ In the majority of eighteenth century leases at Winstanley one of the tenant's obligations was " the planting of one oak or ash plant upon every acre."

⁴ T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, p. 338.

this rise in corn prices continued during the opening years of the next century. Accordingly James would have his children :—

“ make as mych tillaig as possibyll you all wayes cane, and to gett corne, for ther in is the most proffitt of hosbandre, for in bredyng of catell is grett los, and mak tyllaig of yor best land that is good, and ther in yor gane wylbe grettist, for corne is rede mone and cometh ones a yeare, and be allwas as you can marlyng yor grond, lett not anie man parswaid you to the contrare, in Gods most hole name, amen, and in oll yor acones fere God, and he wyll de recke yor a faire, both tord God and the world,
yor carfull father,

JAMES BANKES.”

He ends his exhortations on husbandry by urging his heir :—

“ in God’s most holye name, be a contenewall marler of yor demane, so shall you ries to good abelete and be abyll to perchas to the in cresing of yor houes, you wyfe and children, fale me not her in, yor carfull and loving father ”.

There is a proverbial verse which runs :—

He who marls sand
May buy the land ;
He that marls moss suffers no loss ;
He that marls clay
Throws all away.¹

James Bankes made two more purchases before his death, first, the manor of Houghton in the parish of Winwick :—

“ The first daie of october in the second yeare of King James did I bye of Thomas Southworth and John Southworth, his son and aire, a small towene or hamlett coled by the nam of Howton, lying neare un to the town of Wynwyke, of the anchant rent of fiftene pondes and od money, for which I paid for the sam the som of seve hondreth and xx li., besides all other chag that the said Mr. Sotthworth dyd powt me un tow after that I haid boug the sam land, most wrong fully, at the lest forte pondes, so the sam standeth me in 700. This land cost me at the fyrst and last vij hondreth and xx li. oll in rede money, besides all my chargs the which I was putt untow by Mr. Tomas Sothworth ”.

There were divers legal difficulties in connection with this purchase, Thomas Southworth as the heir of a convicted recusant being one of His Majesty’s wards. James, and subsequently his son and heir, was to pay his livery from the Court of Wards, which transaction was not completed until 1621.²

¹ Lord Ernle, p. 174.

² D. of L.P., 1/227-53.

Secondly, James Winstanley of Blackleyhurst sold some land to his neighbour :—

“ The fortene daie of June 1611 James Banks of Winstanley did bye of Mr. James Winstanley of Blakle horst fyfe tenementes, as apereth by the in denture of bargan and saele from the said James Wynstanley, and for the which said fyfe tenes, the said James Bankes paid for the sam the som of fyfe hondreth and xviii li., six shelengs and viijd. be sides the charg of the fine, which cost vij li., besides my charges to London which cost ten pondes ”.

The Memoranda Book also gives particulars of “ lands in Wystane coled Rod gatt, parsell of the deman, wyth the tenantes as here after foloith ; thes landes I have sold ”. This land may have been part of the property of John Travers who was executed in 1586 for his share in the Babington plot, and his lands forfeited.¹ After enumerating the eight tenants James writes :—

“ Be sides the tenantes of Wystane is to send evore on of them tow dayes shereing from evre houes tow Wynstanley during ther leaissus, but be caues it is fearre for them tow come, I would have you my son tow tak money of them, that is saie tow grott apices, which som is in money fyfe shelengs iiij, so the som of the rent is of the tenantes in rents and sarvis wyth the mylne and the demane land, which is lett for viij li. a yere, and the mylne fyf nobyles a year, be sides the cole pitt, is in rent twelwe pondes a leaven shelents viijd.

Chiffe rentes in Rod gatt as foloith her after :

George Rachdall his chife rent is 1s. 10d.

Elizabeth Cokerom her chife rent is

Mr. John Ogells, 4d.

Mr. Peter Wetherbe, 2d.

George Tomlynson, 4d.

Possibly these were those who were not included in the attornment of 24 January, 1595-6 (see Appendix III).

There are no evidences at Winstanley relating to the purchase or sale of this land, and further research among the public records is not possible at the moment, but it would appear from his book that James sold it again before 1610. It is curious that James should have seen fit to part with mineral rights in so important a region as the Prescott colliery district.

James and Susan had five children, four boys and a daughter. The two eldest, William (1593-1666) and Thomas (1595-1651)

¹ The estate of Ridgate in Whiston belonged to Travers (*V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 3, p. 350).

were baptised at Wigan, as was James (1603). Margaret and Ralph may have been born in London. Their father's advice on marriage is addressed to them in 1598 and 1600.

" My vere deare and loving children, in Gods most holye nam, I would advices you to take this my consell, that whene it shall pleaies God to in abyll you wyth sofecant yeares of decrecone and strainke of bodye, and also sofeseant of abelete to manetene your estaitt, that then I would advices you in the most holye feare of God to make your choies of such wyefes that fereth God, and are obedeant to the princes laies, and of good parantiage borne, for so shall you ther by be strenkened wyth frendes, and seke to mach your selves wyth dowters and ares as neare as you can, for so by the helpe of God is the sonist waye to in creais your howsus, as mane wyes men have done her to fore, the which I cowlde laye yow done by partecolarete, and ther for my deare and most loving childrene, folow this my advices and consell, in what so ever I shall advices you her un to, lett not ane fine wytt parsaid you to the contare, for mane parswageres shall be to advies you som on way and som a nother, but in Gods most holye nam folo non but myne only, lett all sa what the wyll ane waye the can

And for ther more my dear and eldest sone Wylliam, I would have, if it shall pleais God tow send you issu of yor bodie, that in ane wyes if God send yo a sone to name him James, and so the eldest sone of this houes all wayes to name his eldest son James, and my reson is this, that wher it plesed God tow bles me yor father and that by Gods good wyll and plesuer dyd advances my name in the obtening of this maner of Wynstanley."

The two eldest boys appear in the lists of Admissions to Gray's Inn under the date 26 April, 1613. In the same year William married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Ireland of Bewsey, lawyer and Chamberlain to Lord Derby, who had amassed a considerable fortune, acquiring the manor of Bewsey in 1597.¹ He also held lands in Southworth, Middleton and the surrounding district.² He was knighted by King James I at Bewsey in 1617.³

Thomas married Elizabeth, daughter of William Bispham of Billinge, and widow of Edward Cotton of Cotton Hall., Co. Chester. Her eldest brother, Samuel, was one of the physicians in ordinary to King Charles. Margaret became the bride of George Hyde of Urmston in the parish of Flixton near Manchester.⁴

According to his father's wishes Thomas Bankes continued in

¹ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 3, pp. 319, 326.

² *V.C.H., Lancs.*, Vol. 4, p. 169, n. 18.

³ Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, p. 171.

⁴ *V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. 5, p. 52.

the law and lived in "Scroopes Court, over against St. Andrew's in Holborne."¹ His father had made provision for him during his lifetime, as will be seen from the following :—

"The 8the daye of Julye 1598 I bowght of Denies Hartrig of Essix all his interest that he haid in sevene howsus standyng in Long Lane turning to Smyth Fild at London, the which he haid by the marrig of Sara Shereington dowter of Wyllam Sherrington by a les for a thousand yeares mayd to the said Wyllam Sherrington by on Castell oner of the said lands, and the said les so bowight of Denes Hartrig I only bowght the sam to my second child Thomas Bankes and for his only proferment to manten him to larning, and ther for in the name of God lett no man hender him of the sam after my deses, for my trust is in God that he wybbe an aid to the rest of his bothers if God bles him wyth lyfe, and after the deses of Mr. Denies Hartrig then my son is bot to in joye the on half and during the said les for a thousand yeares which grand les remaineth in the handes of Mr. Denies Hartrig by reson there is eyght housus leing in the sam lane, mor of the said landes, as I tak it, of the rent of 37-6-8, and you shall find the conveances in my evedences maid from Den Hartrig to my son to Masr Bankes, the yearly rent is 24-13-4, and after the deses of Den Hartrig then my son is to have but the on half and his cossins Mr. Jhon Andrus sones the other half, for so was it given by ther ant Sara Sherrington, wyf to Den Hartrig."

By 1610 a certain discouragement appears in James' notes; the burden of his 70 years and the exertions of his busy life seem to be weighing on him at last, and though he is no longer embroiled in lawsuits with quarrelsome and malicious neighbours he complains :—

"Sines my sone that I did sett downe her in this boock my openine for the good of thie and thi posterrete, I have forther maid consetheracone for the bene fitt of the and thoues that shall com after the, and have found the sam moust for yor good by comon experiench and most sound prouef, to my grett hindrennes and loies, as aperith by my bok of acownt planly to be sine from yeare to yeare as foloith, the greaitt charges that I have bene at in keping sarvantes to dow my hosbanre to my loies and hendernes, there for my son in the name of God folow my consell her in, mak no more tilliaig to gett corne then to sarf your houes, for I have bene hendered by keping of sarvantes in getting of corne that I have rather desired to deye then to lyf, for the car not whether end goeth forward so that the have mett drink and wagues; small feare of God is in sarvantes, and thow shall find my consell just and most trew.

JAMES BANKES.

This ad vertes ment was sett downe in the yeare of ower laird God 1610."

¹ Winstanley Deeds.

The last page of his book shows he has handed over the control of his affairs to his wife :—

“ Delevered to my wyf to kepe, laist of november, 1610, the sum of tene pondes in a bleder [a bladder].

Ther is more under my bed, thre skower pondes in a hoies of kesre [kersey].

Ther is more in my chist in the contenge houes, a leveve pondes. Resavid all this money again tow the bing of land.”

James Bankes died on 4 August, 1617, and was buried the next day in his burial place “ between the second and third pillars on the North side of the Middle Isle in Wigan Church ”.¹ His will, proved at Chester on 29 October of the same year, and the inventory of his goods, are printed in Appendixes VI and VII.

A pedigree of the Bankes family of Winstanley was recorded by Dugdale in 1664-5. This was signed not by William Bankes of Winstanley but by his cousin Thomas Bankes of Staple Inn. It is here stated that James' elder brother William was in fact his father and the brother of John Bankes of Bank Newton in Craven, Yorks., and that he had settled in Wigan in the reign of Henry VIII. This pedigree is so incorrect in many other details that little value can be attached to it. Nothing has been discovered to support the Bank Newton theory and all available evidence points to a Wigan, possibly Pemberton origin.²

In this respect it is of interest to note that Adam Bankes in his will of 1557 bequeaths “ xxs. towards the mendinge of the lane betwene the Stonne crosse and ye Laudmaryhead green ”. It has been suggested that this stone cross originally stood at the junction of the road from Laudmaryhead Green (now Lamberhead Green) in Pemberton with the Roman road from Wigan to Warrington. The remains of a stone cross consisting of the pedestal and upright shaft were removed during the eighteenth century to their present site in the Goose Green schoolyard.

The coat of arms recorded by Dugdale are “ sable, a cross or between four fleurs-de-lys argent, a canton of the second ”. This differs slightly from that used by James, in which the cross is plain but bears a crescent gules. The writer knows of only two examples of this coat, one carved upon a stone slab built into the west wall

¹ C. P. L., Chancery Interrogatories, Bdle. 88, 23 Chas. 1, Pt. 2.

² *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 169, No. 15 (Oct., 1935), p. 264.

at Winstanley which bears the date 1584 and the initials J.B., and the other portrayed in the top right-hand corner of the portrait of Susan Bankes dated 1622. A possible explanation of the 1584 stone is that it had been brought from the Stone House.

The information available regarding James Bankes' career, helped by extracts from the old Memoranda Book, presents a characteristic picture of the conditions and outlook of his age. The goldsmith-moneylender who ended his days as squire and magistrate¹ exemplifies the rise and foundation of so many families about that date. The reconstruction of the estate on more business-like lines, however, does not seem to have been carried out with a ruthless disregard for the rights of the customary tenants, though this was a not uncommon feature in many parts of the country. If this had been so, surely their grievances would have been turned to account by Roger Rigby in his attempt to unseat his rival.² Instances of injustice and hard dealing on the part of a new landlord would have been a very popular cry to raise, and tenants were not always dumb and defenceless in this respect.

The number of holdings increased during the period 1595-1617, both in the 1 to 12 acre and 12 to 50 acre class. James' policy seems to have been to clear the demesne from recent encroachments, and for the re-establishment of those tenants he directs his heir to divide a holding of fifty acres "into foure or fyfe partes, and lett by a yearly rent, and mak there leses for three lyfes, and so shall you find it most to yor profit". That the common waste was nibbled away and converted into arable is evident from a variety of leases citing small areas "inclosed or intended to be inclosed out of moss or heath ground in Winstanley".

Hard dealing was condemned in two instances in his book:—

"At such tymes as I bowg this land coled the maner of Wynstanley ther was a les maid by Edmond Wynstanley of a tenement tow Roger Adlington. . . . This said Roger Adlington tornd the said tenant owtt of the houes and hir sone, the which browgt the power wedow in tow a meserabyll astaitt and want, to her utter and grett loues and ollmost undoing, ther for my deaire son, at suche tymes as the said tenement shall fawll to yor handes tak the sam into yor owne handes, for the said Roger is a most baid man sondre waies, and so aparranly knowe of oll his nebores, and, as it is thowght, well not mend."

¹ The Lancashire Sessions Rolls record him as a Justice in Oct. 1616 and Jan. 1616/17.

² See Appendix IV.

And again :—

“ And lyk wyes ther is a nother tenement wher in won Wyllam Crunes dyd tak over a pore man hed, to his ondoing of him and his wyfe and childrene, wher opou the pore man wyfe dyed for vere grefe. The which Crunes pout them owt by the Shrefe, and so the pore man Barton, whomes name was, was constrained to mak a pore cabin wyth owt the houes, and in forsed to lye opo the grownd a howle wynster, stell in hope of som relife at the said Crunes his hand, but no pete would he geve him in ane sort, and in the be halfe of the power man his nebores in the end releved him wyth begeng. . . . If you can by in this leaies and lett the powere man have the said houes agane . . . so shall you pleaies both God and them. ”

In spite of the legal invective employed against him by his contemporaries James does not seem to have been without consideration for his tenants and a realisation of the obligations of property, while his affection towards his children is sincere. His son William piloted his estate through the perils of the Civil War, during which he adopted a neutral policy, and died at the ripe age of 73, a worthy successor to his “ carfull father ”.

APPENDIX I.

WIGAN PEWTERERS OF THE BANKES FAMILY.

The metal industry had long been predominant in Wigan and attained priority of place during the seventeenth century, when Wigan pewter acquired national fame. (R. J. A. Shelley, “ Brief notes on the Wigan Pewterers ”, read before the Society of Pewter Collectors, 13 Jan., 1936). In 1555-6 there is a “ Bond from Gilbert Scott of Pemberton, gent, Thomas Gerard of Ince and Ralph Markland of Wigan to Ralph Banc of Wigan, pewterer, in 200 marks that Gilbert shall keep covenant ”. The Treasury calendar for the year 1696 records :—

“ Treasury warrant to Thomas Neale, Master and worker of the Mint, to pay £100 to Gerrard Banks senior and junior of Wigan, Co. Lancaster, for the value of two presses and the charge of bringing them from County Lancs., to Mint at the Tower for the use of the coinage, which presses the said persons have had for many years in their possession for the stamping of pewter ”.

On the occasion of the Coronation of their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth a piece of Wigan pewter plate was presented to the Corporation bearing the “ touch mark ” of Adam Bancks, and said to be

dated about 1687. Adam Bancks was Warden of the Wigan Pewterers Company in 1687 and 1700, also Mayor of the town in that year. A relation of his, Christopher Bancks, migrated to Bewdley in Worcestershire in 1697, and founded the pewter and brass industry in that town,¹ taking with him the following letter from James Harvye, Mayor of Wigan :—

Nov. 12th, 1697,

These may certify to all whom it may concern, that Mr. Christopher Bancks of Wigan is a real worker and maker of all sorts of pewter, and that he has served a lawful apprenticeship to the art, mystery and calling of a pewterer, and that he is well affected towards the Church of England as by law established. Given under our hands and seals at Wigan Nov. 12th, in the 9th year of King William III over England, etc., and in the year of our Lord God 1697,

JAMES HARVYE,

Mayor of Wigan ”.

There is preserved in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (the Library of the Earl of Crawford, at Haigh Hall, Wigan) what appears to be a draft of a proposed Petition to the Privy Council seeking to erect the Company of Pewterers in Wigan into a chartered corporation. It is headed “ The wants and defects in the Pewterers trade at Wigan ”, and the first paragraph deals with the “ Want of power to search and try mettle and to punish abuses ” in Wigan and the northern parts of England. It is stated that “ by reason of the remoteness of the northern parts from London, the officers of the London Company rarely come north to exercise their authority in trying metal and punishing abuses ”. These latter have grown up to the detriment of the Wigan trade and the country generally. The Company of Pewterers in Wigan seek power to “ search and try mettle, and punish abuses therein, on the North side of the Trent, as the London Pewterers have all England over ”. Various other clauses follow, and there are appended to the petition the signatures of 78 Wigan Pewterers, which include eight members of the Banckes family, namely, Mr. Thomas Banckes, alderman (Mayor 1680); Robert Banckes baylife peer, Adam Banckes, junr., Warden of the Wigan Company, and Adam Banckes, sen. Burgesses; and William Banckes, Gilbert Banckes, Gerard Banckes and William Banckes, freemen.

APPENDIX II.

THE ORRELL-BANKES RELATIONSHIP.

The Orrells of Orrell and Turton had owned land in the Winstanley district from early times; William de Orrell is witness to a release of land in Winstanley in 1402 (Winstanley Deeds). Henry Orrell is mentioned in a suit connected with land in Upholland in 1516 (Ducatus 1, 127).

¹ John P. Burton, *History of Bewdley*, 1883.

William Orrell of Orrell and Thomas his son, Lewis Orrell and Ellen his wife appear respectively in 1561, and 1566. (P. of L.F. of F. 23 M. 193, 24 M. 256, 28 M. 102).

John Orrell of Turton owned land in Winstanley in 1556-7 (D. of L.P., Vol. 73, o.5). "Thomas Orrell of the coal pits" is mentioned in the will of Edmund Winstanley, 1591.

In 1595-6 the Earl of Derby sold the manor of Orrell to Lewis, father of William, Richard, Peter and Ellen Orrell. Lewis appears to have been already a copyholder in Orrell, Dalton and Newburgh. His eldest son William, being "very evilly disposed and of a disorderly life and conversation", was disinherited by his father (D. of L. P. 151, o.3).

Richard Orrell was subsequently induced to part with his patrimony to his brother William on 6 March, 43 Eliz. In the same year both the brothers claim the manor in a suit against the Sheringtons.

Ellen Banckes' brother George Orrell sold houses in Gray's Inn Lane to Humphrey Banckes in 1598, including the house of Peter Orrell and another "lately newe built by the said Humphrey" (Close Rolls. c. 54).

There is a reference to George Orrell, son of Peter, in the Hatfield MSS, to the effect that he was involved in Essex's conspiracy, and charged at the head of his followers in the London rising and was arrested and imprisoned. He is elsewhere referred to as "Captain or Lieutenant Orrell, a follower of the Lord Monteagle, a most desperate rakehell as lives, he dwells in the end of Gray's Inn Lane, a freeholder of £40 the year as some say."

Humphrey and Ellen had two sons, Thomas and William, also goldsmiths. Thomas acquired the manor of Formby from Sir Cuthbert Halsall of Halsall in 1623 "in security for great sums of money lend." (For Sir C. H., see *V.C.H. Lancs.*, Vol. III, p. 195). On his death in 1626 he left money arising from this transaction and "the rent of the Swan Tavern in Holborn" to his second wife Frances, dau. of Geffery Woods of Leigh. The widow subsequently married Edward Croft of Claughton, near Lancaster, and was accused by her late husband's relations of entering into a conspiracy with Robert Blundell of Gray's Inn regarding the Formby property.

APPENDIX III.

ATTORNMENT ROLL OF THE TENANTS OF WINSTANLEY, 1595-6.

"The names of all suche tenantes as came in this presente daye, beinge the xxiiijth of January, and did attorn to hym accordinge to thassurance to hym made to Mr. James Bankes by Edmonde Winstandly esqre, havinge theire estate.

Alexander Orrell did paye by way of attornment jd

The following tenants similarly : Richarde Orell, Richarde Winstandley, Lawrence Fayreclough, Wm. Barton of Higherende of the towne, Rauffe

Barton, Tymothy Adlington, Roberte Winstandley the younger, Myles Winstandley, Roberte Winstanley, Willm. Barton de Colepittes, Ux. Jacobi Winstandley, Ux. Henry Gray, Homfrey Atherton glover, James Coales, Roger and Margarett Rayneford, Jhon Hurste, Margery Birchall, James Taylor, John Gaskell, Edmonde Greene, Nicholas Crosorthe, Thomas Chadocke, Homfrey Atherton gent., Homfrey Rylandes, Homfrey Winstandley, Gilbte. Barton, Alice Pemberton, Thomas Orrell, Gilbte. Bibby, Rauffe Bury, Richard Tuyson, John Winstandley jun., Thomas Winstandley, Ellyn Fayreclough, John Winstandley the elder, Edmonde Rylandes, Lowry Fayreclough the late wiffe of Homfrey Fayreclough, John Coales, James Penington, John Fayrehurste, Willm. Penington, Ellyn Clerckeson als. Hyton, Thomas Derbyshyre, Rauffe Hurste.]

All these psons aforewrytten have this present xxiiijth daye of January, 1595 attorned to Mr. James Bankes and becomen his tenantes by the payement of every of them one penny savinge to them and every of them their lawful estate which they have, excepte nyne whoe are not summoned, in the presence of us whose names are here under wrytten.

Raufe Worseley

Francys Sheryngton

Hamlet Grene

Robart Marklond

Williame Byrchall

Thomas Pemberton

Adam Banckes

Md. that Edmond Rylanes maid his retorne the xxvth daye of Januayre, 1595 beefore this mens names underneth written.

The marke of

Wyllyam Bankes

Bryan Molenex

Adam Banckes"

APPENDIX IV.

AN ACCUSATION BY JAMES BANKES, CONCERNING A PLOT TO DISPOSSESS HIM OF THE MANOR OF WINSTANLEY, 1606.

D.L. 1/226. (Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings.)

Easter Term, 4 James I. (1606).

No. 28. *JAMES BANCKES v. ROGER RIGBIE.*

21 May, 1606.

Complaint by James Banckes of Winstanley, Co. Lancaster, Esq., that Edmund Winstanley, late of Winstanley Esq., was seized of the manor of Winstanley and lands, etc. there and in Billinge and Orrell, Co. Lancs., and he had divers deeds etc. concerning the same. About eight years ago, for £3,000, he conveyed the same to complainant and his heirs, and the said complainant was seized of the same. But now one Roger Rigby, of Ditton, Co. Lancs., gent, having married the mother of James Winstanley, gent, cousin to the said Edmund, and having a purpose to marry his (Roger's) daughter to the said James Winstanley, and to get the said manor and lands from complainant to James Winstanley, some years ago

went to the capital message of Winstanley, where the deeds were in a chest, making his excuse he came to visit Edmund Winstanley, gent (cousin of the said Edmund) who was then sick there, and who has since died, first making his will and appointing Rigby his executor. Thereupon Rigby again went to the house and wrongfully took away the deeds and evidences and then locked up the empty chest in the said manor house of Winstanley, and still keeps the said deeds so that his son-in-law, James Winstanley, may derive a title to the same after the death of Edmund Winstanley, Esq. He desires the said Roger Rigby may be caused to appear to answer the premises.

Duchy of Lancs. Pleadings 1/227 -52.

16 June, 4 James, 1606.

THE ANSWER OF ROGER RIGBIE, GENT, DEFDT. TO THE
SLANDEROUS AND UNTRUE BILL OF COMPLT.,
JAMES BANCKES ESQ.

That in or about the time mentioned in the Bill of Complt. one Edwarde or Edmund Pemberton sent twyse for this defdt. to com to Winstanley House in the lieftime of the said Edmund Wynstanley, and after his decease was sent for to take Cons. about the goods and chattalls of one Edmund Winstanley, gent, who had lived at the said house of Winstanley, and some time was a dealer for the said Edmund Winstanley, Esq., who had made him this Defdt. and the said Pemberton his executors, at which tyme of this Defdt. thether coming the said Edward or Edmund Pemberton and Thomas Pemberton his son acquainted this Deftd. with the will of the said Edmund Winstanley, deceased. And thereupon opened one "chieste" and ther took out certayne bondes and bills and other writings, belonging to the said Edmund Winstanley, being the proper goods of the said Testator and onlie then belonging to this Defdt. and sd. Pemberton, being Executors . . . as this Defdt. thinkethe was lawfull for them to do. As he this Defdt. now remembreth that one Robert Atherton and others of the Tennants of the said Edmund Winstanley Esq, had the charge and keeping of the chiste wherein the evidence of the said Edmund Winstanley were thought to be contained as this Defdt. was then informed by one Robert Atherton without that that this Defdt. made aine purpose to gett the Manor message landes tenents and hereitants from the Complt. to his sonne in lawe James Winstanley, in such form as is in the said Bill suggested and without that that he this Defdt. came to the said message or house of Winstanley for anie other purpose then for the administration of the goods of the said Edmund Winstanley deceased being his lawful Exor.

And therefore prayeth [etc.] 16 June, 4 James.

The following letter is of interest in connection with the foregoing.

(Addressed) To his very Loving Cosine and soe approved Mr. James Banckes Esquire at his house Winstandley.

For all yor courtosies I reste yor detter & at or last being together I

for gotte to move yo in the be haulffe of Anne Winstandley, whoe by her harde fortune is forced to sicke for housse roume, and amongeste all the tenantes of Blackeleyhurste there is not one that will lett her have housse roume for one yere, and for her rentte, that I canne hereof, for I sent her a mongest them, and some I spokke with my sealuffe, but they denyed my, nowe therefor because of her present want, as shee haithe toulde my wiffe that James Winstandley one of yor tenantes is content to lett her have house roume for a yeare and for her rentt, if she canne procure yor consent, the which I hartely praye yo to grante her, and the rather at this my request, and if there be enything I cane pleasure in yo shall command, thus with my commendations to yor bedfellow as to yor sealuffe, I end in hast this 21th of August.

Yor Cosine to command to my smale poure,

ROGER RIGBYE, 1597.

APPENDIX V.

AN ACCUSATION BY THE RECTOR OF WIGAN CONCERNING THE SEIZURE OF HIS TITHE CORN, 1598.

STAR CHAMBER. Edward Fleetwood *v.* James Bankes *et al.*

Bill of Complaint. Dated 9 May, 40. Eliz.

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty,

In all humbleness complaining sheweth and informeth your most excellent Majesty your loyal and dutiful subject Edward Fleetwood of Wigan, in the co. of Lancaster, clerk and parson of the parish church of Wigan aforesaid.

That, whereas one James Bankes of Winstanley within the said parish of Wigan, gent., did pretend himself to be owner and lord of the manor and lordship of Winstanley in the parish of Wigan, the tithes whereof do belong and appertain to your subject as parson of the said parish Church of Wigan. And your said subject at harvest last past, meaning to gather and inur the tithe corn of Winstanley to his own proper use, and not having any barn or other convenient place to inur or lay the said tithe corn within Winstanley, and the said J.B. there having a convenient barn near to the mansion house of the said J.B. called the Hall of Winstanley, your said subject did, about the first day of August in the 39th year of your highness reign, being about the beginning of the said harvest at Wigan, fully and absolutely agree to and with the said J.B. that your said subject should have and enjoy the said barn to lay the tithe corn of the harvest growing within Winstanley, to hold and enjoy to the proper use of your said subject, so long as the tithe corn or any part thereof should remain unthreshed.

And further also your subject did in like manner agree with J.B. that J.B. should load and carry into the barn the tithe corn to the use of your subject.

In consideration thereof it was likewise agreed that J.B. should have all the straw of the tithe corn for the proper use of him the said J.B. at such time as the corn should be threshed by your subject's appointment.

And accordingly J.B. delivered the key of the barn to your subject and did from time to time load and inur the tithe corn of Winstanley into the barn, for and during the said harvest, according to the bargain and agreement. And your subject so being of the said barn and corn lawfully possessed as aforesaid, the said J.B., being a man of great wealth and riches in that place, and by means thereof grown to be a very proud and insolent man, presuming by his power and greatness to overbear and oppress poor neighbours and to command and dispose whatsoever is theirs at his pleasure to satisfy his proud humour, covetous and greedy disposition, being wholly set upon his gain and lucre, be it by any means whatsoever so unlawful. Whereupon the said J.B. understanding that your said subject's corn being in the said barn was of great value in this last dear year, and that a great sum of money might be made thereof, he, the said J.B. sought by divers subtle and unlawful practices and devices to get the same from your said subject, but in the end, perceiving that the said plots would take no effect according to his wicked desire, thereupon, he, the said J.B. on or about the first day of February last past in the fortieth year of your Majesty's reign, complotted and confederated himself with Susan his wife, and with one Adam Bankes, William Bankes, Ralph Green, Gilbert Barton, Robert Topping, William Dawber, Anne Wood, Jane Scott, Margery Barton, Anthony Blackmore, and Elizabeth Sherington, being persons of very bad and uncivil behaviour and government, and fit to execute any riot or misdemeanour were it never so outrageous, how by force and violence he might get the said corn and possession of the said barn from your subject. According to which plot and combination, in or about the sixth day of the said month of February in the fortieth year of your Highness' reign, the said confederators, understanding that the barn door was open, and only two poorer men, being day labourers hired by your said subject (the one called John Townley and the other Lawrence Nightgall), there threshing of corn in the said barn, thereupon the said confederators, taking the opportunity thereof the said S.B. etc. (as above) and divers other riotous and disordered persons to the number of twenty and upwards unknown to your subject, whose names your subject humbly prayeth that upon further knowledge of them to be had he may have liberty to insert in this present Bill, by the procurement, means, and direction of the said J.B., the 6th day of Feb. at Winstanley aforesaid, assembled themselves together, and being all, or most of them, armed and prepared with swords, daggers, long staves, pitch forks and such other unlawful weapons, as well invasive as defensive, then and there in such riotous and disordered manner did forcibly enter into the said barn upon the possessions of your said subject, and finding the said J.T. and L.N. in God's peace and your Majesty's about their labour threshing of your subject's corn, did then and

there make a most grievous assault and affray with their said weapons, upon the said J.T. and L.N., and did in like manner beat, wound, and evil intreat them to the great effusion of their blood, and extreme peril of their lives, and also with great violence expelled them out of the said barn and took the possession thereof to the use of the said J.B. And the said riotous persons having done their pleasure therein barred up the door of the said barn, to the end that neither your subject nor his servants should enter therein again, and so having effected their wicked purpose therein departed away for that time, whereupon your subject being certified by the said J.T. and L.N. of the said riotous and outrageous dealing committed and done by the said Bankes and the rest of the malefactors, he, your said subject the 9th day of Feb. in the fortieth year of your Majesty's reign sent one Francis Mather, servant unto your said subject, with the key of the said barn, quietly to enter thereinto and to see in what case his corn therein being stood, and to be resolved of the injury and spoil done and committed by the said riotous persons therein, which the said F.M. being come to the barn and entered thereinto in peaceable and quiet manner for the purpose aforesaid, but some of the said riotous persons were, as it seemeth, near, commanded by the said J.B. and Susan his wife, to watch and see whether your said subject or any of his servants would come and enter thereinto, espying the said F.M. your subject's servant in the barn, gave knowledge thereof to the residue of the said confederators, whereupon the said confederators and riotous persons aforesaid did then and there assemble themselves together again, being armed, arrayed, and furnished with like unlawful weapons and did suddenly approach to the said barn, and then and there forcibly break and pull down the door and walls of the same, and finding the said F.M. alone in the said barn (the said F.M. not having there any weapon, save only a walking staff in his hand, being in God's peace and your Majesty's) did then and there most barbarously, violently, and outrageously make an assault and affray upon him, the said F.M., with their weapons, and therewithal did hurt and grievously wound him the said F.M. in divers places of his body, to the effusion of much of his blood and great peril of his life, and also in the most violent and furious manner did thrust the said F.M. out of the said barn by means thereof the said F.M. hardly escaped with his life. And the said J.B. being not satisfied with these abuses and outrages, but continuing still in his wicked and unlawful courses, about two days then following did himself, with divers of the said riotous persons in his company, being armed and prepared as aforesaid, enter into the barn and took possession thereof and likewise also of the said corn, and then caused his said servants to thresh out the same to the use and behoof of him the said J.B. contrary to all right and justice, to the manifest and express wrong of your said subject. [Etc.]

COMMISSION from the Queen. Dated at Westminster 14, July, 40. Eliz. To Roger Rigby, William Stanynought, William Ashurst, of Dalton, and William Lees of Standish, gents., or any three or two of them to examine

the defendants named (except James Bankes) on behalf of Edward Fleetwood.

DEPOSITIONS taken at Wigan, 14 October, 40. Eliz. before the said four Commissioners.

Susan Bankes refers to Adam Bankes as her servant, "what her husband said before Her Majestys Justices of Peace at Leigh touching the same (leasing of the tithe corn of Winstanley) she did not certainly remember."

Elizabeth Sherington was in the bakehouse.

William Bankes deposes that he had discussed with the parson the leasing of the tithe corn of Winstanley to his brother James, which the parson denies; until this controversy he had not heard any talk by his brother, his wife, or his said son Adam, of a bargain with the parson for the inuring and threshing of his tithe corn. He confeseth that he hath been at Standish Leigh and other places with his said brother to accompany him and of purpose to do good in the cause, but with no intent of maintenance.

COMMISSION from the Queen. Dated at Westminster, 12 Feb. 41. Eliz. To Richard Fleetwood, Esq. Roger Bradshaw, William Slynehead and William Stanynought, gents, to examine witnesses on behalf of James Bankes.

DEPOSITIONS taken at Wigan. 20 March, 1598-9, before the said four Commissioners. *John Crosse of Liverpool*, Esq., aged 52 years, deposes that he thinks there was a suit at the common law at Lancaster by Edward Fleetwood against some tenants of Edmund Winstanley, Esq., for carrying away the tithe corn of Winstanley to the use of Edmund Winstanley, and the said suit was appeased by an agreement in writing, subscribed by Edmund Winstanley and by himself and others.

John Fairclough of Winstanley, badger, aged 40 years, remembers the said agreement. The tithe of Winstanley corn was formerly granted by the Complainant to John Crosse, Esq. for the use of Edmind Winstanley for a rent of £3 . 6 . 8 Previously 33s. 4d. had been paid for the tithe by Robert Atherton. Within a few years of the agreement for £3 . 6 . 8 the payment was increased to £5, and after to twenty nobles.

Richard Heaton of Billinge, husbandman, aged 50.

Katherine Barton, wife of *William Barton* of the coal pits, aged 50.

William Leigh, clerk, parson of *Standish*, aged 46, was present in the chancel of Standish Church on St. Mathias Day in 40. Eliz. when the Plaintiff and James Bankes were before Edward Standish and John Wrightington, esquires, two of her Majerty's Justices of the Peace, and heard the said J.B. affirm and say that the tithe corn inured in his barn at Winstanley the harvest next before was his own, and that therefore he would justify the taking of the same, whereupon the Plt. then said to the said J.B., "Why then did your wife upon the day when I sent my threshers to the said barn send Henry Gray to me to buy the said corn of me?"

Whereupon the said J.B. then answered, " I will not answer my wife's doings."

John Wrightington of Wrightington, esq., aged 57.

Thomas Pemberton of Winstanley, yeoman, servant to Defednant, aged 31.

Henry Gray of Winstanley, yeoman, tenant to defendant, aged three score years.

Thomas Dauber of Orrell, husbandman, aged 50.

Alexander Ford of Wigan, pewterer, aged 36.

Lawrence Nightgall of Pemberton, husbandman, aged 53.

John Townley of Wigan, shoemaker, aged 50.

Henry Rymer of Upholland, taylor, aged 58.

Lawrence Molyneux of Billinge, husbandman, aged 50.

Robert Arrowsmith of Pemberton, gent, aged 50.

Robert Pemberton, servant to Plt. aged 40.

Lawrence Prescott, yeoman, aged 50.

John Hearinge, 26.

Francis Mather, yeoman, 28.

Robert Tompson, clerk, minister of the Church of Wigan, aged 28.

" About Candlemas last was twelve month, he, this deponent, heard James Bankes acknowledge and confess before her Majesty's Justices of the Peace at Leigh, and that upon his oath, that he the said J.B. did agree to and with the Plt. that he, the Plt. should have and use a barn in Winstanley belonging to the said J.B. wherein to inur the Plt's tithe corn that year."

Edmund Duxbury of Orrell, yeoman, tenant to Francis Sherington of Wardley, esq. aged 80.

John Worthington of Pemberton, gent, aged 61.

Robert Birchall of Orrell, husbandman, tenant to Francis Sherington, esq. aged 60.

Robert Atherton of Winstanley, yeoman, tenant to Deft. and to William Atherton, aged 60.

DEMURRER and ANSWER OF JAMES BANKES AND WILLIAM BANKES. Dated 17 May, 40. Eliz. They ask for the Bill to be transferred from the Star Chamber to the Duchy Court at Lancaster.

DEMURRER AND ANSWER OF ADAM BANKES AND RALPH GREENE. Dated 18th May, 40. Eliz. Similar to foregoing. They also deny assault.

REPLICATION of EDWARD FLEETWOOD to answer of the several Defts. Dated 28 Nov., 41. Eliz.

I have found no record so far of any judgment in this case. Susan Bankes does not seem to have borne the Rev. Tompson any ill-will. In her will dated Feb. 1627-8 we find: " To Mr. Tomson 10s. to preach my funeral sermon." She was buried at Wigan.

APPENDIX VI.

THE WILL OF JAMES BANKES, 1617.

C.C.C. Abstract of the Will.

Dated the 13 Maye, 1617, of James Bancks of Winstanley, Co. Lancs., Esq.

To be buried in my burial place in the Parish Church of Wigan. Firste, my debts and funeral expenses to be paide. I give to William Bancks my oldeste sone and his heirs for ever all my messuages, landes, tenements and hereditaments with the appurtenances scituate in Co. of Lancs. or elsewhere in the realme of England, the dower belonging to Susanne Bancks my wyffe onley excepted. I give to the said William Bancks my sone all my deeds (etc.) which concern my lands, tenements, and hereditaments which I bought and purchased, also I give him all my carts (etc.) and all other implements of husbandry, together with one greate sesteron of leade standing in the olde oxehouse, and the frame whereon it standes, also I give him four iron chymmes or grates of iron, etc., one greate bed now placed in the greate chamber over the hall, together with the tables and formes now standing in the hall and parlor, also three greate chestes in the house for meale and meate. I give to my cozen Roger Downes, Esq. one piece of gould of 22s. To my cozen Thomas Bancks of Wigan, Gent, one piece of goude of 22s. To my frend Willm Whitfield 40s.

The rest and residue of my goods, etc. whatsoever to be devyded into three equal partes whereof the first parte I geve to my wiffe, Susanne Bancks. The second parte I geve to Thomas, Rauff, James and Margaret Bancks, my younger children, to be equally devyded amongst them. The third parte shall be divided into two equal partes, whereof one parte I geve to my wyff, Susan Bancks and the other parte to my three children, Rauff, James and Margaret Bancks to be devyded equally betwixt them, and if any dye before they attain 21 years their part to go to the survivor, and if all dye then their parts to go to Susan Bancks my wyffe for ever.

I make my wyffe Susan and my sone Rauff Bancks my Executors and desire my Cozen Roger Downes Esq, and my cozen Thomas Bancks of Wigan and my servant William Whitfield supervisors.

Witnesses: William Bancks, Edward Gaiskell, Gilbert Barton.

26 July, 1617.

Whereas I James Bancks Esq. have herein declared my will nevertheless further my mind is and I give unto James Bancks my youngest sone £60 out of all my goods after my debts etc. paid over his part of goodes formerly given him in my will. Then it is my will that the remaynder of all my goods etc. be devyded as in my will is menconed.

Witnesses: William Bancks, Edmund Gaiskell, William Whitfield.

Proved in C.C.C. 29 October, 1617, by Susanne Bancks, widow of relict and one of the executors within named.

Power reserved for the other Executor within named.

APPENDIX VII.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF JAMES BANKES, 1617.

A just and true Inventory of all the goods etc. and debts of James Bancks late of Wynstanley in the County of Lancaster, Esq., deceased, prayesd the 11th daie of Auguste Anno Dni. 1617 by us, Richard Billinge, Christofer Robye, Edmund Winstanley and James Scotte as followeth :—

Imp. twoe yoke of oxen	19	3	4
Item. foure yong bollocks	11	6	8
„ eighte calffes	7	10	0
„ seaventeen cowes	51	10	0
„ foure heffers	11	10	0
„ three mares	12	13	4
„ two nagges	7	0	0
„ one colte	1	13	4
„ in sheepe	11	0	0
„ in swyne	6	15	8
„ in ducks and henns	13	0	
„ in corn growing upon land	90	13	4
„ one lead sesteren	6	13	4
„ in fellies ¹	18	4	
„ in plowes	8	0	
„ in tress carte ropps collar and cart sadle and other implemts	1	0	0
„ grindstonn	2	6	
„ carts waines and wheels	4	10	0
„ in racks	3	4	
„ in turves	1	0	0
„ sledds	3	0	
„ in harrowes, yoks, axes, nogers, ² sawes, hodropps and iron crowe and other imp.	3	0	0
„ in bords	—		
„ one tornell a stand and little piece of wood	6	0	
„ in spokes	5	0	
„ in malte	5	0	0
„ in spades a hack and a howe	3	0	
„ in loft tymber, swyne troughes and hewen stones	6	0	
„ in boles	6	18	0
„ in lytlepeece of timber	1	0	
„ a table and formes in Hall	1	0	0

¹ The outer rim or circle of a cart wheel. The wooden wheels were made in sections which were termed fellies.

² A corruption of the word auger. (These notes are from information supplied by Mr. Philip Ashcroft of Rufford Village Museum.)

Item.	in iron grats	3	11	4
„	in one still		3	4
„	in three tables and a little shelve	1	0	0
„	in one cubbord		6	8
„	in a pare of virginnalls	3	6	8
„	twoe chires		3	4
„	one joynt chire		3	0
„	one other chire		5	0
„	a forme and three pickters		2	4
„	in racketts galborts a crowe a fyre poote a pare of fyre tonges and a shocoe		5	0
„	three greate chests	2	0	0
„	bords formes and a settle		9	8
„	a crab pese and a fiechbord		1	0
„	in oate meale	1	10	0
„	in flower		3	4
„	in grats, barly and dust		3	4
„	in pewter	9	10	6
„	in braches a gridiron and a pestel		5	0
„	two dripping pannes		8	4
„	in pann brasse	1	16	6
„	in potte brasse	3	0	0
„	a ould fryinge panne			4
„	an axe for a hucher two kyns a grater		1	0
„	in laye	12	0	0
„	in tringe vessells	3	11	6
„	a throne and two cheese press		6	0
„	a salting leade and frame to it	2	0	0
„	in earthen potts		2	6
„	in bordes and a tronge		6	6
„	a saffe		2	6
„	a bord a form and shelves		9	2
„	one ould cubbord		2	0
„	frames to laye beare on with a trough		3	0
„	brass cope glass bottles and a basket		3	0
„	one chest		2	6
„	two bolles of woode		2	0
„	one twilshete and sacke	1	0	0
„	one windle and two halfe metts			4
„	one whole swingle stock and a trapp	10	0	
„	cheres and stowles		1	6
„	sefes and ridles			6
„	noggins dyshes and trenches		2	0
„	in salte flesh	1	0	0
„	in chestes		8	0
„	in hopps and sope		16	8

Item. in boxes and table sheelves	3	0
„ in glasses	3	0
„ a case and trenchers		6
„ in woolen yorn and litle implmts.		8
„ in bedstockes	II	6 0
„ one form and an ould chest	I	0
„ one cradle and wiskett a peec of a trunk		8
„ in matts		2 0
„ in beddinge	36	6 8
„ one pillyon		2 0
„ in sadle-cloathes		4 0
„ one chest and a box within it		5 0
„ in boxes, shelves and a chare		3 0
„ one ould muskett barell		I 0
„ two tables		3 4
„ in joynt stowles		9 0
„ in chaires and stowles	I	7 8
„ two ould carpetts		I 8
„ in valance curtains and roods	5	17 8
„ one shelf		8
„ one joynte presse	I	6 8
„ one table and frame		2 0
„ one joynte chaire		6 8
„ in truncks and chests	4	5 0
„ one green carpett	I	10 0
„ green velvet pillows and quishons	5	0 0
„ pillows and quishons imbrothered	7	6 8
„ a cubbord cloath imbrothered	3	6 8
„ evearinge cloath	I	0 0
„ a turkey carpett	I	0 0
„ fyve coverings for quishons	10	0
„ in lynen	27	10 5
„ two tables more		9 0
„ one greene carpett		I 0
„ two cheires		8 0
„ one greene cubbord cloathe		8 0
„ two ould carpetts more		3 4
„ in quishons	I	18 8
„ one ciprus woode cheste	5	0 0
„ one warming panne		2 6
„ one looking glass		2 0
„ one shelve and skrines		I 0
„ in books		18 0
„ in seelinge tymber		10 0
„ in bords and ashes		3 0
„ in a clocke and a bell	I	6 8

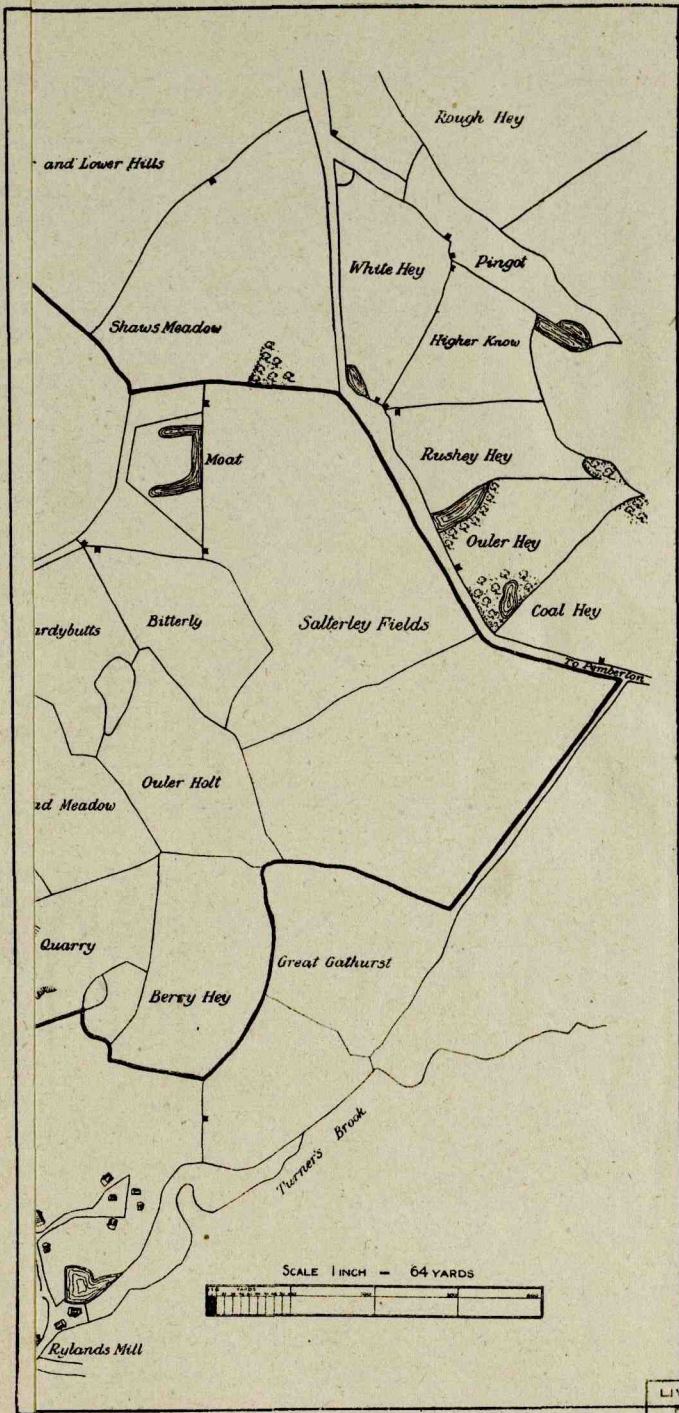
Item. two shelfes and a form	1	6
„ one launther		10
„ more in forms and bords	2	6
„ one long ladder and pitchfork	2	0
„ a pare of weighs for a Gould smith [gold- smith's scales	2	0
„ another pare of weights.	2	0
„ one bruche		6
„ Tymber att more mylne and lower mylne	5	3 0
„ in flaxen cloth		16 0
„ two saddles		3 4
„ one goulde ringe	2	10 0
„ in plate	18	3 4
„ Debt owing unto Testator at the tyme of his death	293	0 0
„ in money in the house	20	9 0
„ the deced. apparell	12	0 0
		<hr/>
	336	12 10

Exhibited in C.C.C. by the exors.

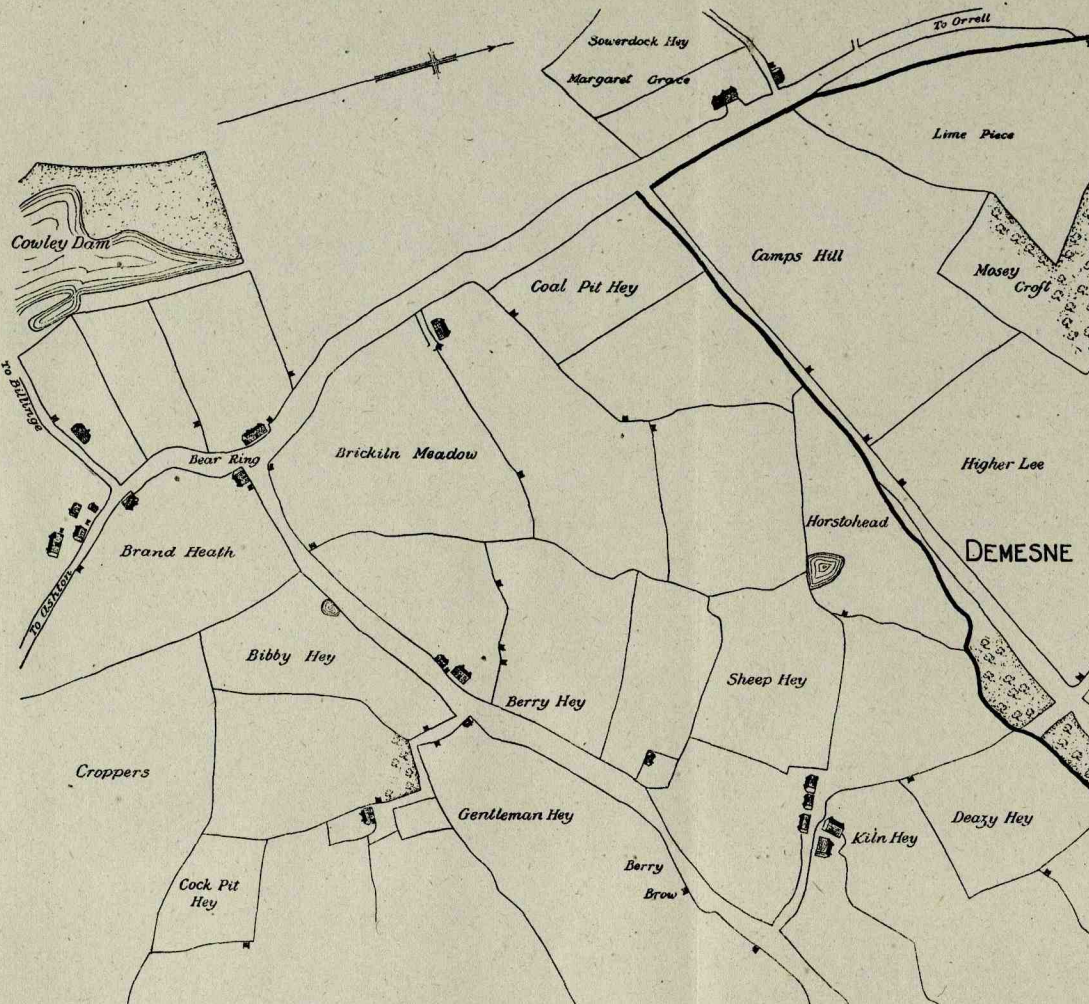
NOTES ON THE PLAN.

The accompanying plan is taken from an estate map of 1770 and gives a general idea of the position of the manor and surrounding lands. These lay on an easterly slope about four miles south-west of Wigan. The demesne is bounded on the west by "the ancient highway leading from Orrell moor through the lordship of Winstanley to Ashton-in-Mackerfield", on the east by the road from Wigan to Billinge, and on the north-east by the stream known as Smithy or Turner's Brook, which divides Winstanley from Pemberton and Orrell.

The boundaries of the demesne are substantially the same as in 1600. Of the field names the following are mentioned during James' lifetime: the Salterley fields, the Rough hey, the Horstohead, and the Morley Meadow. No doubt John Cowley's holding of twenty acres would be near the Cowley dam of the later period. The high ground stretching from Orrell to the Bear Ring seems to have been almost entirely heath and common ground. It is not so easy to identify the area of the "ring yard" and "the harr houes" ground frequently mentioned in James' book, the former probably lay near to the house and farm buildings, but the latter seems to have been "passed away" by Mr. Winstanley and let to various parties. James instructs his heir regarding the holdings within this area: "at such tymes as the les is ended take the sam into yor own hands, or



LIVERPOOL
PUBLIC
LIBRARIES

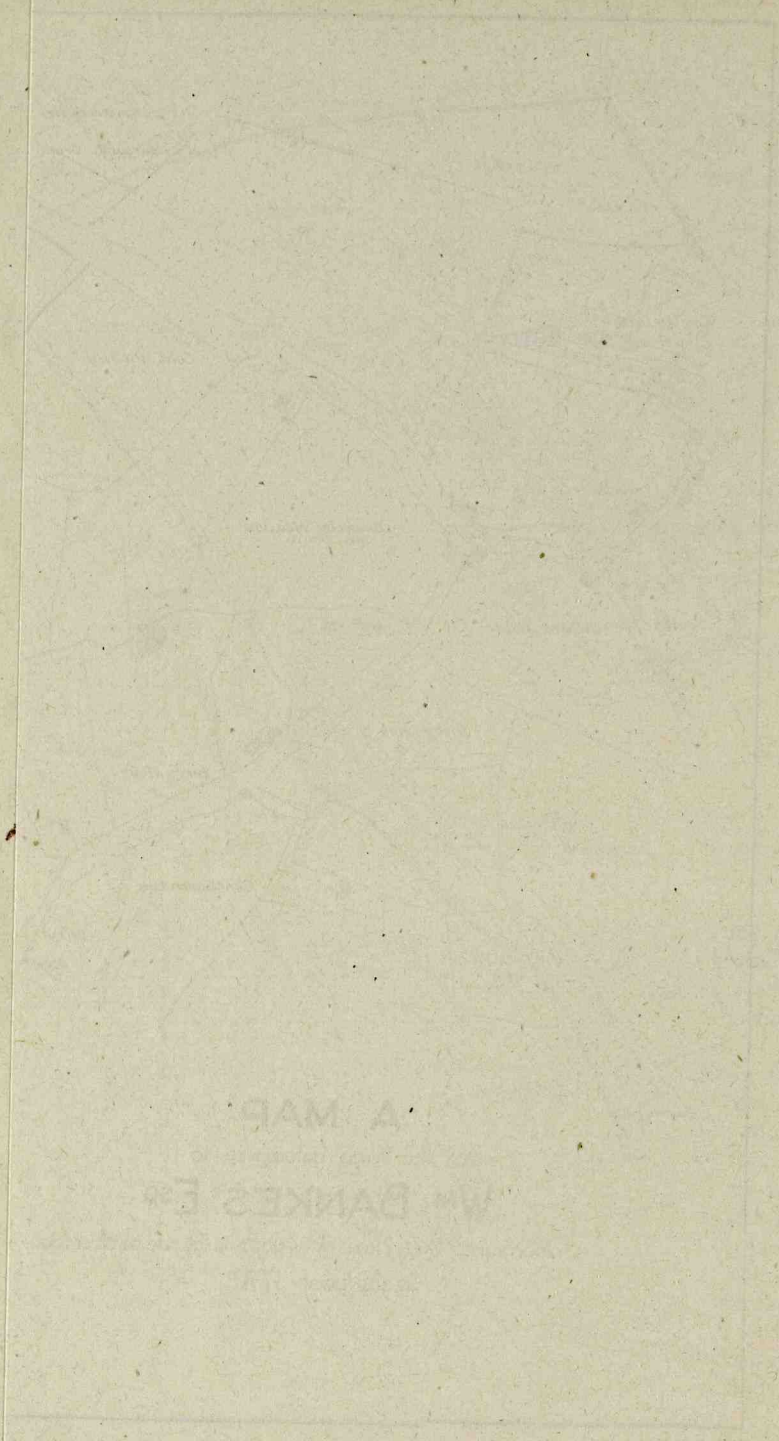


A MAP
of the Land belonging to
WM BANKES Esq

Measured by a chain of 64 yards to the pole, perch or rood.
in the year 1770.



LIVERPOOL
PUBLIC
LIBRARIES



A MAP
BY
W. BANKS
1850

c
i
c
c
M
c
c
t
l
f
t
a
l
l
?
f
u
v
r
h
c
l
r
i
t
a

otherwise let the sam for a yearly rent, by reson it leeth a myle from you, it was parsell of yor demane and all was be longed to the hole, I am informed contened a bowt fyfte acres." It is possible that this land lay in the direction of the "Higher and Lower hills", as the Moor Mill, lying west of the Orrell road on Smithy Brook, is known in various deeds as the Harr Mill, and the Harr grounds are mentioned in seventeenth century Bispham deeds.

The field called the Horstohead was also taken from the demesne and did not return within its boundaries until the nineteenth century, when the strip of land contained between the Higher and Lower Lees and the Billinge-Winstanley road was enclosed.

Around Wigan are a number of Homestead moats, a form of protection favoured during the lawless Middle Ages, and in some cases down to Tudor times. One of these moats is situated within the demesne at Winstanley, and like others in the neighbourhood it is square in shape.

The hall is a fair example of the stone-built manor house of the Elizabethan period. Extensive structural alterations were made at the latter end of the eighteenth century, but the basic plan of the traditional Tudor house can easily be traced; the central hall with the parlour opening from it on one side and the "greate chamber over the Hall" remain unaltered. Conforming to the fashion of the day, the house faces east and west. A southerly aspect was to be avoided, "for the south wind doth make evil vapours" according to Andrew Boorde. Although built on higher ground than the site occupied by the old moat, the house is situated on the lower slopes of the demesne. The builders may have agreed with Harrison when he said: "In this island likewise the winds are commonly more strong and fierce than in any other places of the main . . . and inforceth our nobility, gentry and commonality to build their houses in the valleys, leaving the high grounds to their corn and cattle, lest the cold and stormy blasts of winter should breed them greater annoyance".

FRECKLETON WATER MILL.

By Robert Walker.

Read 30 May, 1942.¹

THE brick-built water mill at Freckleton, although disused for many years, still remains in a fairly good state of repair, even the mechanism being almost intact. On one of the stone supports of the main cog-wheel is carved the date 1433, but the palaeography of the numerals does not suggest the carving to have been contemporary with the inscribed date. It does suggest, however, that the present mill is on, or near, the site of a water mill which operated in mediæval times. A deposition of 1427 is the earliest documentary record referring specifically to Freckleton water mill, which was then in the possession of William Hodelliston. All earlier references to mills in the township give no indication of the motive power, which may have been water, wind, or even horses. In consequence it is difficult to recognise those which concern the water mill, and impossible to do more than make a shrewd surmise as to its ownership. Undoubtedly the earliest corn mill would be operated by water power.

Prior to 1427 the water mill was probably held by the family assuming the surname of Freckleton, who were principal holders of the manor shortly after the Conquest. Roger de Freckleton, tenant in 1199, confirmed to Richard de Freckleton (who appeared by a brother, Adam) the sixteenth part of a mill and a fishery in the township.² By the thirteenth century many subdivisions of the manor had taken place, yet the de Freckleton family continued as principal holders, and were, no doubt, owners of the mill. An heiress, Joan, daughter of a Ralph de Freckleton, carried the manor to William Huddleston about the year 1427.³ It would be as a result of this marriage that the water mill also came into

¹ This is a section of the paper read under the title of "The Marshlands of Newton-with-Scales and Freckleton." As much new material has recently become available, Mr. Walker proposes to extend his study to embrace the whole of the marshlands on the N. side of the Ribble estuary. [Ed.]

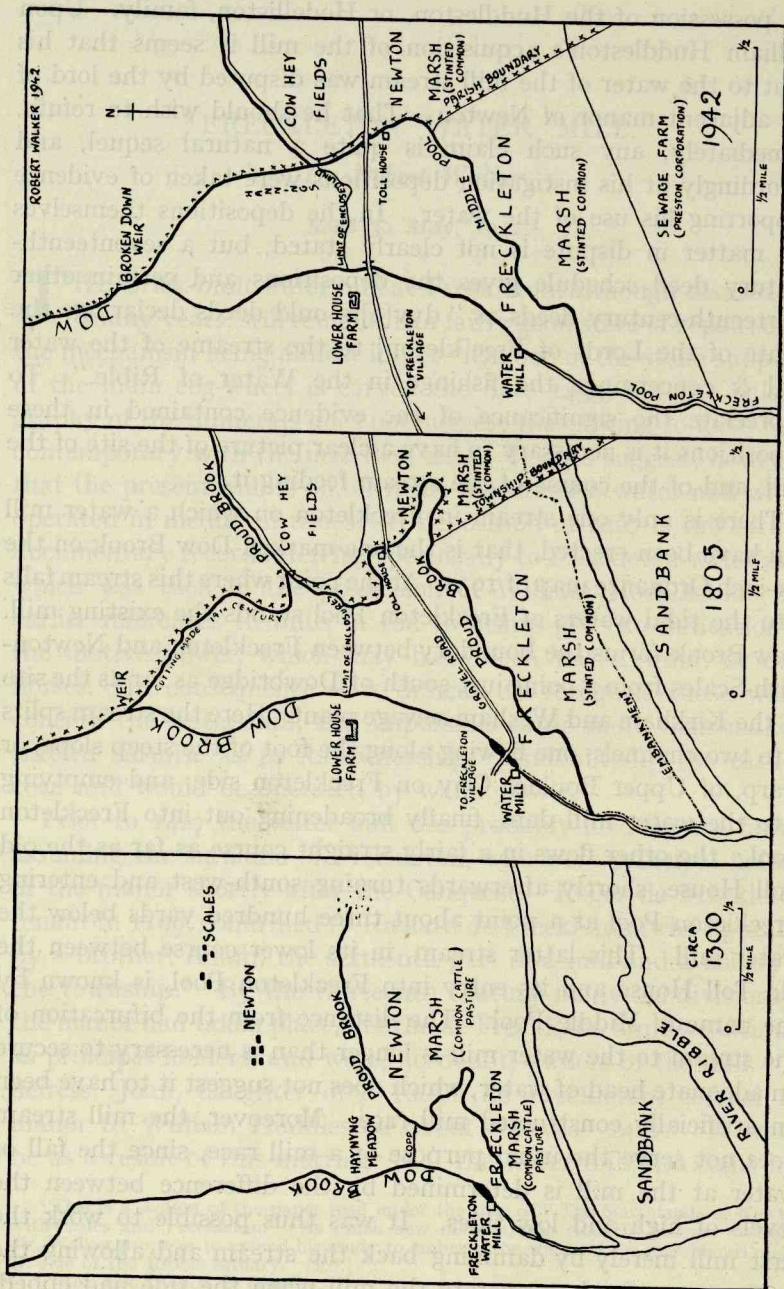
² Rec. Soc. Lancs. & Ches., i, 7.

³ *Victoria County History, Lancs.*, Vol. 7, p. 169.

the possession of the Huddleston, or Hodelliston, family. Upon William Huddleston's acquisition of the mill it seems that his right to the water of the mill stream was disputed by the lord of the adjacent manor of Newton. That he should wish to refute, immediately, any such claim is quite a natural sequel, and accordingly at his instigation depositions were taken of evidence supporting his use of the water. In the depositions themselves the matter in dispute is not clearly stated, but a seventeenth-century deed schedule gives the depositions and certain other fourteenth-century deeds as "dyv[e]rs ould deeds declaring the righte of the Lords of Frec[kleton] to the streame of the water mill & concerninge the fishinge in the Water of Ribble." To appreciate the significance of the evidence contained in these depositions it is necessary to have a clear picture of the site of the mill, and of the course of the stream feeding it.

There is only one stream in Freckleton on which a water mill can have been erected, that is the one marked Dow Brook on the six-inch Ordnance map of 1932. At the point where this stream falls into the tidal waters of Freckleton Pool stands the existing mill. Dow Brook forms the boundary between Freckleton and Newton-with-Scales from a point just south of Dowbridge as far as the site of the Kirkham and Wesham sewage plant. Here the stream splits into two channels, one flowing along the foot of the steep slope, or scarp, of Upper Boulder Clay on Freckleton side, and emptying into the water mill dam, finally broadening out into Freckleton Pool; the other flows in a fairly straight course as far as the old Toll House, shortly afterwards turning south-west and entering Freckleton Pool at a point about three hundred yards below the water mill. This latter stream, in its lower course between the old Toll House and its entry into Freckleton Pool, is known by the name of Middle Pool. The distance from the bifurcation of the stream to the water mill is longer than is necessary to secure an adequate head of water, which does not suggest it to have been an artificially constructed mill race. Moreover, the mill stream does not serve the usual purpose of a mill race, since the fall of water at the mill is determined by the difference between the levels of high and low tides. It was thus possible to work the first mill merely by damming back the stream and allowing the water so retained to operate the mill when the tide had ebbed.

Freckleton Water Mill



At the point of divergence there are the remains of a stone weir designed, when erected, to keep most of the water flowing along the original course of the Dow into the water mill dam. The surplus water overflowed the weir and emptied into Freckleton Pool by way of the Middle Pool. Now that the weir is broken down, practically all the water from the upper reaches of the Dow finds its way to the Ribble by the same route. No stream of this kind forms such a deltaic entry into the sea, unless one of the watercourses has been artificially cut. Upon superficial examination of the Ordnance map it appears to have been a simple example of a mill race, the main stream having been dammed by a weir to divert water to the mill. This view is supported by the fact that now the weir is broken down little water flows along the mill stream. It by no means, however, conclusively disproves the theory that the mill stream was the original course of the Dow, and that the course now followed south of the weir was, for a considerable distance, artificially constructed. Had the water always flowed as it does to-day, it is extremely unlikely that the lord of Newton manor would have allowed the diversion of Dow Brook to the exclusive advantage of the township of Freckleton. Originally there must have been two independent streams, the Dow Brook, running past the water mill, and another which was the stream now called Middle Pool, then having an independent source in the marshy land of Clifton, and in its course to the sea flowing, at its nearest point, within a few hundred yards of Dow Brook; this nearest point must have been about 300 yards north of the site of the old Toll House.

That Middle Pool was anciently called Proud Brook, or Ryver of Prowde, although the name is no longer known locally, is conclusively proved by an agreement¹ made on 11 August, 1735, between the owners of Newton and Freckleton stinted commons concerning the division between their respective marshlands. The division ditch agreed upon was to "begin at the foot of the said Marshes adjoining to the Sand side . . . and from thence in a direct line Northwards towards a place called and known by the name of Clow Dubb to a Brook or Watercourse called Proud." This division ditch is still in existence and remains

¹ Document in the possession of Mr. R. Cunliffe Shaw.

the boundary between the two stinted commons. At its northern end it runs into the Middle Pool, therefore Middle Pool and Proud Brook are one and the same. That its source was in Clifton is suggested by an entry, dated 8 November, 1699, in the household account book of Thomas Clifton, who was lord of the manor of Clifton at that time. "Paid George Noblett for 3 loads of stones, and leading them to Prowde Bridge, 2s. 6d."¹

Having identified Proud Brook, we may appreciate more readily the significance of the depositions of 1427. Evidence given by a certain Roger Freckleton, or as he calls himself, Hokekyn of Freckleton, proves that there were originally two independent streams, and also a water mill on the Dow, in the fourteenth century. The depositions were taken before William de Kerby, clerk, of Carlisle diocese, on 27 August, 1427, the witnesses being "Joh[an]ne de Cotu[n]," bachelor at law, vicar of the parish church of Kirkham; "Will[el]mo de Cotu[n]" of Kirkham, scrivener, and "Will[el]mo Cowp[er] et Ric[ard]o Bray" of the diocese of York. As the preliminary portion of the document states, in Latin, the evidence concerns a certain water mill in the parish of Kirkham, in York diocese, near to the boundaries of the township of Frekylton, and was given "in vulgari sub hac forma verbor[um]."

"Be it knawen to all men þ[a]t I hokekyn of Frekylton þe son of ald Rawlyn of Frekylton in my hole mynd because þ[a]t it is nedefull and spedefull to ber wittynes of trewth as mot I answar before god I sall record þe trewth of þis mat[te]r und[e]rwrityn als for as I have knowlage þat is to say of þe watyr betwene þe lord of Frekylton and þe lord of Newton þat was as I herd record be eldyrs befor þis tyme þat was a conand² made betwene þes forsayd lord þat þe mene watyr betwene þai suld be holy drawing to þe lords mylne of Frekylton sanand³ thre dayes and thre nyght in þe som[me]r tyme at thre div[er]se tymes to wat[e]r þayr catall w[i]t[h]all and if at it wer not sufficient þai schuld come w[i]t[h] þair catell to þe milne dame and wat[e]r þai þair and so agayne to þair pastur[e] in sothfastnes⁴ þis have I sene done indede and as I herd say by my forsayd eldyrs þ[a]t was gefen for þe course of þe wat[e]r fro þe lord of Frekylton to þe lord of Newton þe land and medowe þ[a]t lyse w[i]t[h]in ald prowde and þen þe dych was schorne wyth mens hand betwene þe haynyng medowe

¹ In *The Clifton Papers*, edited by R. Cunliffe Shaw, 'Prowde Bridge' is incorrectly transcribed as 'Strowde Bridge.'

² Mid. E. *conand*, a covenant, or agreement.

³ Mid. E. *sanand*, saving, excepting.

⁴ Mid. E. *sothfastnes*, truth.

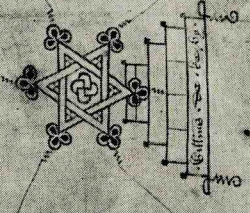
In the name of the Lord Amen I the undersigned do hereby certify that the following is a true and correct copy of the original as the same is on file in the office of the Clerk of the Court of the County of Middlesex at New York City.

The original is a copy of a letter from the Honorable John Jay to the Honorable John Adams, dated the 15th day of September 1789. The letter is in the handwriting of John Jay and is written in ink on a piece of paper which is now yellowed with age. The letter is addressed to John Adams, then the Vice President of the United States, and is dated the 15th day of September 1789. The letter contains a copy of a letter from the Honorable John Jay to the Honorable John Adams, dated the 15th day of September 1789. The letter is in the handwriting of John Jay and is written in ink on a piece of paper which is now yellowed with age. The letter is addressed to John Adams, then the Vice President of the United States, and is dated the 15th day of September 1789. The letter contains a copy of a letter from the Honorable John Jay to the Honorable John Adams, dated the 15th day of September 1789.

I have compared the copy with the original and find it to be a true and correct copy.

Witness my hand and seal this 15th day of September 1900.

John Jay



The original is a copy of a letter from the Honorable John Jay to the Honorable John Adams, dated the 15th day of September 1789. The letter is in the handwriting of John Jay and is written in ink on a piece of paper which is now yellowed with age. The letter is addressed to John Adams, then the Vice President of the United States, and is dated the 15th day of September 1789. The letter contains a copy of a letter from the Honorable John Jay to the Honorable John Adams, dated the 15th day of September 1789.

an
of
be
he

be
lo
w
be
ca
st
ti
w
F
da
to
co
to
th
be
gr
w
be
da
w
w
an
to
st
P
so
le
b

b
d
d
V

and þe forsayd medowe on þ[a]t other syd þ[a]t þai myght have þe course of þe wat[er] to þair catell þe thre forsayd tymes and also for a mer¹ betwene þai and þie I ber witnes of for trewe evidens and for my saule hele."

It seems that at some earlier date the lord of Freckleton had been accustomed to use the stream for his water mill, while the lord of Newton had a desire to tap the Dow as a source of fresh water, the upper reaches of the Middle Pool, or Proud, in summer, being dry. In mediæval times the Proud ran through the common cattle pasture which was then more extensive than is Newton stinted common to-day. With the drying up of Proud Brook, in times of drought, the common would be entirely devoid of fresh water. Evidently agreement was reached whereby the lord of Freckleton had right to the water of the Dow, except for three days and three nights in the summer time, when it was available to the lord of Newton for the purpose of watering cattle. As compensation the lord of Newton was granted certain land near to the stream called Proud. To ensure an adequate supply for the cattle, a ditch was cut from the Dow to the Proud, running between the Haynyng meadow and the land near to the Proud granted to the lord of Newton. A weir and sluice were erected where the cutting joined the Dow so that the flow of water might be controlled; in this way full use could be made of the three days' and three nights' water supply, and also the lord of Newton would have the advantage of any surplus water overflowing the weir. The cutting also became the boundary between their lands, and remains to-day the boundary between Freckleton and Newton townships, and since the breaking down of the weir is the principal stream. After the making of the channel from the Dow to the Proud, the latter stream apparently gradually lost its individuality, so that to-day its course higher than the old Toll House is nameless, except for the title 'brook', and lower down is only known by the name of Middle Pool.

Further evidence was given in 1427 by "Rawlyn of Cowburne," but the connection between this evidence and the matter in dispute is rather obscure. His testimony gives details of the death, caused by the plague, of his uncle Richard Bannister of Warton about the year 1400. It runs as follows:—

¹ *mer*, *mear*, or boundary

“ Be it knawen to all men þat I Rawlyn of Cowburne in my hole mynde because of sothfastnes and trewth wytnes þis und[e]rwrytten als I sall answar befor god þ[a]t it is trewe þ[a]t I forsayd Rawlyn of Cowburne in age of xvij ye[a]rs went w[i]t[h] my moder to Warton¹ to hir brother decon Banast[e]r for he lay seke in þe pest[i]lence and þ[e]r[e] my moder and I dwellyd þ[e]r[e] all nyght w[i]t[h] hym and about mydnyght þe spotts wer brokyn out on hym and his wyf sagh þe tokyn and sayd decon þow thynkest littill on Janet þi doght[e]r and anone þai send aft[e]r a preste S[i]r jon of Cornay and belyfe þai send aft[e]r a clerk one Thomlyn Johnson of Warton and made a dede to Sir John and toke seisin whedyr it was knawen to þe seke man or noght I wote noght nev[e]r þe les it was all done betwene midnyght and cokyscrowe for þe forsayd decon banast[e]r þ[a]t was seke was dede befor day verraly knawyn to me þ[a]t I suppos þe seke man wist noght þ[e]r[e]of and wele I wote þ[e]r[e] was nothyng done as touchyn þis mat[te]r befor þ[a]t nyght.”

On 20 January, 1467/8, Richard Hodylston and Isabell his wife of Southkyrkeby appointed, as their attorney, Nicholas Hodylston, chaplain, of Bethome, to take seisin of their land in Swenscroft, and possession of a water mill in the lordship of Freckylton, which they lately had from a gift and feoffment by Thomas Borow, John Erswyke, John Borow, and Richard Gillybrand. The Huddleston estate, not described as a manor, was sold to the Earl of Derby in 1496.² No doubt the water mill was included in the property conveyed, and the discovery of Huddleston water mill documents among the papers of the Sharples family, who were lessees of Freckleton water mill from the Earls of Derby, points to this conclusion.

Arthur Sharples of Freckleton obtained, from William, Earl of Derby, a lease of land on which to erect a water mill by indenture of demise dated 8 April 1609. From the original deed it would appear that an entirely new mill was erected, but it is reasonable to assume that it was built not far from the site of the earlier edifice, which had perhaps fallen into decay. The demised property is described as:—

“ One p[ar]cell of the waste or common of Freckleton neere unto a place commonly caled the outelände hill in Freckleton afforesayde or in and uppon any other place neere unto the Marshe called Freckleton Marshe fytt and sufficiente to erecte and buylde a water corne mylne or mylnes under one Rooffe thereuppon together w[i]th the streame and water course

¹ Warton-in-Amounderness, adjoining the western boundary of Freckleton.

² *Victoria County History of Lancashire*, Vol. 7, p. 169.

falinge and usually runninge betweene Newton and Freckleton to serve the sayde mylne or mylnes together w[i]th full and free lyberty to make and erecte or cause to be made and erected any further fences dam or dams fludgate or fludgates or other necessary workes for the servinge of the sayde mylne or mylnes And necessary and conveniente roume and place for the makinge and settinge of any suche dam or dames fence or fences And also a p[ar]cell of the waste afforesayde for the erectinge of a howse to bee a kylne and other roumes necessary and fytt for the use of the said mylne or mylnes To have hould enjoye the sayde p[ar]cells of waste or comon w[i]th the watercourse and mylne or mylnes or kylne thereuppon to be erected . . . unto the full end and terme of fowre score yeares nexte ensuinge fully to bee compleete and ended yf John Sharples, Cuthbert Sharples, and James Sharples sonnes of the sayde Arthur Sharples (or any of them) shall happen so longe to lyve yeelding and payinge therefore yearly . . . the yearly rente of fourteene shillings."

It was further covenanted by the Earl of Derby

"that yf at any tyme after the erection of any mylne or mylnes under one rooffe uppon the sayde p[ar]cell of waste the same shall fortune to decaye and the foundacion fayle or decaye by the beatinge of the streame flood or watercourse That then yt shall and maye bee lawfull to and for the sayde Arthur Sharples . . . to remove or newly build upp suche other necessary buyldinge dam or dames or other workes to any other place of places of the sayde waste or common of Freckleton beeinge more fyrme and convenient grounde to buyld the same uppon."¹

The building of the new mill was probably commenced almost immediately. It was certainly completed by 11 January, 1615/6, on which date Arthur Sharples enfeoffed in trust to Rodger Nowell of Reade esquier, Roger Nowell his son, and Henry Byrome of Byrome, and others, the "milne and kilne and the multure suite and soaken theareof" for the use of the said Arthur Sharples during his lifetime, and after his decease to John Sharples his son and heir. On 4 May, 1619, Arthur Sharples granted the profits of the "water corne mill and kilne" to his son John, during Arthur's own lifetime, in consideration of the payment by John of certain debts, amounting to £103,² contracted by his father.

At this period the Sharples of Freckleton were among the most

¹ Witnesses to the sealing and delivery: Thomas Lathome; Edw[ard] Smythe; J. Sharp; Thomas Parker.

² The schedule of the several sums owing gives: to Marie Preston, xxxvj li.; to Edwarde Browne xxvj li.; to Mrs. Apryse xj li.; to Mr. Clayton xvj li.; to Roberte Turner xiiij li.

eminent families in the district. John, the son of Arthur, served under the Earl of Derby as Controller of the Isle of Man during the Civil War. George, his son and heir, became a county coroner, was one of the Kirkham Thirty Men, and in his later years was a Commissioner for several aids granted to William and Mary in 1689. Upon his decease in 1691 the estate came to his eldest surviving son, also George, who had, however, been appointed a Customs Officer, and, in 1700, resided in Bristol. In his absence from Lancashire the affairs of the Freckleton estate were managed by his cousin, Richard Harrison, Vicar of Poulton le Fylde.¹ George Sharples still held Freckleton water mill by lease from the Earl of Derby. The following series of letters, 1700-1701, from Harrison to Sharples concerning repairs to the water mill, besides giving detailed information about the structure of the mill, also reveal something of the life and character of Harrison himself. All are addressed "For Mr. George Sharples at the Custom-house, Bristoll." The first is undated.

"Cosen Sharples,

On Monday last was the meeting at Knowsley of L[o]rd Derby's Comissioners I sent in y[ou]r behalf one Ric[h]ard Singlton a discreet honest man in my Parish, he told me yesterday, for putting in two Lives you must pay 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ £, so they ord[e]red him to acquaint you. They meet not again till this time twelve month. They are Gentlemen very positive will allow no arguing nor pleading. Mr. Lime formerly of Liverpool now in Prescott spoke kindly of you he's one of the Comissioners were it not w[hi]ch you writt to him, the demands most extrav[agantly] high. Y[ou]r thoughts quicke to y[ou]r whiles.

R[ICHARD] H[ARRISON].

All the[i]r Fines and Rents are doubled."

"Poolton,

June 17-700.

Cosen Sharples,

I have acquainted you how Cropper fail'd about the Miln & th[a]t they are set to one Colbron of Freckleton for 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ p[er] ann[um]. I wish[e]d you to let me know whether you bo[u]ght a house & garden of one Robinson when you were last i'th country & set a lease therof to John Salthouse, ther's a claim made by Harry Freckleton's heir & br[other] Hornby employ'd. I gott the water-miln view'd by an old experienc'd Milnwright, shaft & wheel must be gotten to the ground, so I must forthw[i]th send about buying wood. The fellow I had to look at the Water-miln is one

¹ Joseph Harrison, Minister of Lund, 1645-1662, and father of Richard Harrison, Vicar of Poulton, married Jennet Sharples, sister of George Sharples, father to George Sharples the customs official.

th[a]t has left worke, not acquainted w[i]th any to be employ'd, so I suppose deliver'd his judgment fairly. The light horse is to be call'd, so ther will be charge & tr[o]uble shortly. Y[ou]r Rent days for y[ou]r estate I told you (as I think) were Candlmas & Martimas, but Eastham mov'd for an alteration of days upon further consid[er]ation. Y[ou]r mother's came to time at Kirkham, and she sent to me yesterday about her last Whits-Rent. I have foggott the time I had a letter from you.

I am,

Good Cosen,

Y[ou]rs, R[ICHARD] H[ARRISON]."

" Poolton,

Feb. 28,

700 [1701]

Cosen Sharples

I ordered Eastham to go to Mr. Will[ia]m Gradwel & Mr. Christopher Clayton, he writes back to me he has been w[i]th you & th[a]t I need not give myself nor him any further trouble as to y[ou]r Bill of 25 £ . I hope the matter will be better manag'd than I expected. I have ordered the buying [of] 2000 brick for y[ou]r Wat[er] Miln & Armes for water-wheel to be season'd and made ready, they tell me Bucket-boards & starts may be gott in y[ou]r ground. Mr. Grimbalston sent me word the other day he would let me know so soon as there might be any Treaty about a Lease¹ of y[ou]r W[ater] M[iln]. Cosen Sharples. My sight mightily decaies pray will you enquire in y[ou]r Town for a broad Glasse to hold in my hand to help me to read. I would have the glasse green w[i]th a litle handle for one aged about 52. In so doing you'd much oblige

Y[ou]rs

R[ICHARD] H[ARRISON]."

" Poolton, May 5—701

Cosen Sharples

The 25 £ Bill to Mr. Christopher Clayton is p[ai]d by Eastham, the remainder of his Candlemas Rent w[i]th somw[ha]t mor is gon in Taxes. Y[ou]r Tenant James Frecklton o'th Hall crosse is dead. I have no answer yet from L[o]rd Derby's Comiss[i]oners about y[ou]r Water-miln, I hear Jack Grimbalston w[i]th one of you have been to viewe it, I every day look for some accounts. 'Tis not thought wise to set upon building till y[ou]r Lease be renew'd. I should be glad to see you in Lanc[ashire] who am truly y[ou]rs whiles

R[ICHARD] H[ARRISON]."

" Poolton, Sept 16—701

Cosen Sharples,

I was yesterday to see y[ou]r water-miln, 'twill be finished this week.

¹ An undated valuation of the Freckleton estate made by George Sharples, about the year 1702, states: "Water Mill wherein is onely my life $\text{£}50$."

All say 'tis wel don but I fear 'twill be very chargeable. When I have rec[eived] the account of costs I will send it you

Who am

Y[ou]rs whites

R[ICHARD] H[HARRISON]."

The next three letters are not in Richard Harrison's own hand, his being an almost illegible scrawl, but were written by John Alston, schoolmaster at Poulton, who, because of Harrison's ill health, acted as his secretary.

" Poulton, October the 20th, 1701.

Coz. Sharples

By y[ou]r L[ette]r dated the 10th Instant I observe you are under a mistake concerning the mill rent, for you apprehend the Miller to be in arreare £7 s5 d11 which if you please to have recourse to my last letter you will find that in the Acc[oun]ts therewith sent I owne the receipt of £7 paid by miller last Candlemas and as for last August rent I writt that he paid £5 thereof to Edward Swartbreck expecting the remaining 20s. to be allowed for want of using the mill whilst in building, soe that there is but only that 20s due from him. The Mill now very near finishing but yet there is wanting a Sack rope which I am told will be very chargeable. I intend to get the mill viewed by some expert workman, and shall take care that Edward Swartbreck send you his Acc[oun]ts that you may be satisfied of the whole charge. I am now (praise God) much better in health than of late, soe I rest.

Yo[u]r affectionate Kinsman & Serv[an]t

RICHARD HARRISON.

Yesterday a messenger from Freckleton gave me an Acc[oun]t that a spar is failed at the wind mill, and I have ordered a new one to be fixt."

" No[vembe]r 3d, 1701, Poulton.

Coz. Sharples,

This day I rece[ive]d an Acc[oun]t of the whole charge of the Mill from Edward Swartbreck which I have inclosed therein, together with a l[ette]r from Mr. Rigby. I expected to have had notice ere now which way you would order payment of remainder of the money you will find short of the Acc[oun]ts before menconed, which if you doe not resolve upon very speedily I shall be put to very much inconveniency, for this day the millwright and Edward Swartbreck were both upon me for their money. Soe pray faile not let me have your order for payment thereof. I am alsoe to acquaint you that there is a Townes Apprentice putt upon you, and I desire you give your advice in your next what is best for your tennant to doe therein. I have gott the work at the Mill viewed by a very honest understanding man who tells me it is very well done, and that the charge is not extravagant considering how much it was out of order, but he tells

me another Sparr is wanting to the Wind Mill besides what I menconed before. I suppose you have rece[ive]d the letter wherein I gave you Acc[oun]t of your mistake as to the miller's payment of his rent. Your Mother is as importunate for her money as the rest, so expecting to hear from you by the next post,

I remaine
Yo[u]r Affectionate Kinsman and Serv[an]t
RICHARD HARRISON."

Poulton, No[vembe]r the 14th, 1701

Coz. Sharples

I admire you should expect an acc[oun]t of the profit of the mills whilst they were managed by Edward Swartbreck whereas if you remember he paid you some money when you was in the Countrey, and the rest which was about £3 I am sure I gave you acc[oun]t how it was disposed of, at or before the time they were lett to Coulburne who hath them at present, the articles beare date the 15 day of May 1700, which are to effect th[a]t the miller should have them from that time till Candlemas the next following in consideracon of £7 to be paid at Candlemas afforesaid, and from thence for terme of 5 years at £12 p[er] ann[um] to be paid upon 15th of August and second day of February which £7 you have in my last acc[oun]t and the other £6 due the 15th of August last was paid to Edward Swartbreck which he employed about the Water Mill, only the miller stopt 2os thereof (as I acquainted you before) expecting it might be allowed him for want of the mill whilst it was in building. Soe that I hope you will now be better satisfied herein than heretofore. I thought you would have ordered the Millwright and others to have been discharged out of Eastham's Martinmas rent which would very much contribute to my ease and quiet, for they are very impatient.

I am
Yo[u]r Affectionate Kinsman & humble Serv[an]t
RICH[ARD] HARRISON."

Evidently annoyed at an uncharitable letter from Sharples about the charge of the mill repairs, Harrison was goaded to replying in his own hand:—

" 9ber 20, 701

Cosen Sharples

I have scarce writt any thing myself since I had the Fit w[hi]ch the physikians say was Apoplecticke nor had I writt now but for y[ou]rs of the 10th instant fill'd w[i]th wonder at the charge of the water-miln. I do as much admire at you as you do at the charge. June 16th—701 you ordred the doing of it in as good a manner as if you had contracted a new Lease. Befor 'twas begun I sent one Hoggart formerly Mr. Hesket's milner at his water-miln to view y[ou]rs & let me know whether 'twas possible to keepe it going w[i]thout taking it down, he brought me word

no shaft nor wheel could be put . . . bringing the whole down. You have p[ai]d Wrights nor Bricks nothing but w[ha]t they h[av]e in other places wher they do not find you meat. Ther's nothing don at y[ou]r Miln but w[ha]t was p[er]fectly necessary as only (if ther be occasion) may be made by several honest sufficient neighbours. There was one to attend the workmen daily to see they did not loiter, mor timber had been used but th[a]t some was gott out of y[ou]r own ground. If you please to make use of any man of sense and honesty you dare trust to enquire 'twill be made appear you wer saved £5 by dextrous and wary management. All y[ou]r amazement proceeds from y[ou]r being unacquainted w[i]th taking down old water-milns and building th[e]m anew and th[a]t several do say w[hi]ch have experience. Pray be pleas'd to let me [know] w[ha]t is the particular knavish or foolish step made in the managing y[ou]r water-miln concern. As to a stae-rope or sack rope now I remember the Milner spoke of it when the miln was building and s[ai]d it might be bought els he would not medle w[i]th the Miln. But you shall have further account of it and when Eastham paies Martmas Rent w[ha]t about paying workmen and charges of y[ou]r Miln. Y[ou]r Mother will be impatient and shed many a tear for want of her due if no course be took about it. I have ridd for you and spent many a shilling I never charg[e]d upon you, and is now in effect requited w[i]th most severe censures as to y[ou]r Water-miln

Y[ou]rs, R[ICHARD] H[ARRISON]."

John Alston afterwards wrote to George Sharples giving more explicit reasons for the alleged extravagant charge of the repairs.

" December the 9th, 1701, Poulton

S[i]r

Being I am a stranger to you these may acquaint you that I am the schoolm[aste]r of this towne and reader to Mr. Harrison by whose order I have kept Acc[oun]t of your Water Mill since he began to be seized with a distemper which has rend[er]ed him altogether unfitt for manning concerns of this sort, however I am satisfyed you have noe just reason to think of any extravagant charges therein, for I have heard severall sufficient p[er]sons say that the work is done well and reasonably (all disadvantages considered) and besides 'tis said that had the Out South End Wall been brought upp with breeck instead of wood (which saved a considerable charge) the last violent storme would have brought it downe againe and th[a]t is what makes the mill wrights Bill extend soe much to your admiration but Mr. Harrison is very sorry to think you should be so much disatisf[ie]d with his management, he has this day discharged most of the workme[n] out of George Easthams Martinmas rent, and intends to give you Acc[oun]t of [the] remainder as soone as all is paid off, but I am satisfyed (being acquainted with the Acc[oun]ts) that the over-plus, workmen discharged and taxes allowed, will not be much, your mother

(who [ha]s been very like to dye) is extreemly urgent for her money, and it is Mr. Harrison's earnest request you would either order her payment or satisfye her by a l[ette]re with all convenient speed you can, otherwise she will be daily exclaimeing against him for want of it which will be very tedious and uneasy. The new ropes which were bought are a stone rope and a jack rope which are for the Water Mill, the old jack rope had been pieced with old traces till it would serve noe longer and the old stone rope is to be made use of at the Wind Mill whilst it will doe any service there, which may be for some time whilst there is a light stone. Mr. Harrison gives his service to you which is all att pr[e]sent from

S[i]r

Your unknown friend & humble serv[an]t

"JO[H]N ALSTON."

After the death of George Sharples, about the year 1715, it is difficult to obtain conclusive evidence as to the lessees of the water mill. John Sharples was tenant under the Earl of Derby in 1800. By indenture dated 21 Dec., 1829, Edward Earl of Derby demised to James Sharples and Thomas Sharples of Freckleton, millers, for the lives of "the said James Sharples aged thirty-seven years, of the said Thomas Sharples aged thirty years, and of Thomas son of the late James Battersby of Clifton, Farmer, aged eighteen years" a message, "with a Water Corn Mill, Drying Kiln, and two Mill Dams containing in the whole three Roods and thirty-six Perches of Land of eight yards to the pole or perch" being in Freckleton, and now in the occupation of the said James Sharples and Thomas Sharples. The consideration was £400, annual rent £2.

Although it cannot be accepted as proof, such circumstantial evidence suggests that after 1715 the water mill continued to be leased from the Earls of Derby by a junior line of the Sharples family throughout the intervening period.

The flooding of the fields adjoining Dow Brook, caused by the damming of the waters at the mill, had been a source of annoyance to the owners of the affected fields since the mill was first erected. Numerous petitions about this nuisance were addressed to Quarter Sessions during the seventeenth century, the result of one petition made in 1675 being that Dow Brook was ordered to be scoured "to the widnes of tenne foote at the least."¹

Early in the nineteenth century some were so incensed at the

¹ Lancs. Quarter Sessions Records, County Record Office.

flooding of their lands that it was proposed to demolish the weir that prevented the water from flowing down the fourteenth-century cutting, and a draft agreement¹ was drawn up to indemnify the person so demolishing the offending weir. It is undated and incomplete, as if it were not generally approved and supported, and suggests also that the promoters were doubtful of the legality of their proposal. Commencing that it is an agreement between Hugh Hornby of Kirkham, merchant, followed here by a large blank space, it goes on :—

“ being Owners and Occupiers of Lands within the several Townships of Newton with Scales and Freckleton aforesaid of the first part and Thomas Hankinson of Kirkham aforesaid Merchant John Gradwell of Clifton in the said County yeoman Robert Smalley Tanner and Thomas Coulborn Chapman both of Freckleton aforesaid also Owners or Occupiers of Lands within the said Townships of Newton and Freckleton of the other part Whereas James Sharples of Freckleton aforesaid Miller hath lately erected a Stone Clough or Damn on the East Side of a certain Water Course lying between the Townships of Newton and Freckleton aforesaid called Dawbridge Brook and hath raised the same to a much greater Height than it formerly stood the better to work a certain Water corn Mill in Freckleton aforesaid whereof he is Tennant whereby the Water is confined in the said Brook and prevented from running its usual course and frequently overflows the lands lying contiguous to the said Brook And the Owners and Occupiers of such Lands thereby sustain great Loss and Damage And by reason of the said Clough or Damn being so raised and erected a certain other Water Course called . . . branching from the said first mentioned Brook and running from thence to Newton Marsh is in a great measure stopped up and obstructed by which means the Cattle kept upon the Marshes of Newton and Freckleton aforesaid have been and yet are deprived of wholesome Water necessary for their Sustenance and Nourishment.”

It was further agreed that the dam should be dug up, and the person so doing should be indemnified and legally supported at the expense of the subscribers to the agreement according “ to the Breadth and Extent of the several Estates.”

In complaining that cattle kept on Newton Marsh were deprived of fresh water by reason of the building anew of the weir, these nineteenth-century landowners little knew how near they came to explaining the existence of the stream (i.e. the fourteenth-century cutting) which they asserted to have been the original course of

¹ In the possession of Mr. R. Cunliffe Shaw.

the Dow, yet for which they apparently had no name, as is evidenced by the blank in the draft. It is a significant document which lends support to the evidence of the 1427 depositions. If in the nineteenth century the owners of rights on Newton Marsh were so insistent on having the water of the Dow for their cattle, how much more vehement would have been the objection of the lord of Newton in the fourteenth century to any diversion of the stream to the advantage of Freckleton. An important factor affecting the drainage, and also the running of the mill, was the tidal flow. Only when the tide ebbed was the mill able to function, milling operations, therefore, had to be arranged accordingly; during exceptionally high tides the mill floor became submerged.

After being in the possession of the Earls of Derby for a period of 354 years, Freckleton Water Mill was sold on 25 April 1850, by Edward Earl of Derby to Thomas Clifton and John Talbot Clifton, both of Lytham.

For the sum of £350 the Trustees of John Hornby's Charity School purchased the mill from Mrs. Madeline Diana Elizabeth Clifton of Lytham Hall, widow, on 13 Sept., 1882; The sole "object of the purchase being to benefit the property of the Charity which now sustained damage by reason of the water not being able to get off properly." At the time of the conveyance it was occupied by Thomas Battersby who was one of the lives in the 1829 lease from the Earl of Derby. Extracts from the Minute Book of the Trustees of John Hornby's Charity continue the story:—

"22nd February, 1883, Mr. Parkinson reported that he had let the Freckleton Corn mill and cottage for £22 on a yearly tenancy to Christopher Dobson."

"5 February, 1885. Resolved that Mr. Parkinson replace the stones showing the boundaries¹ in the Mill ponds at Freckleton."

"11 February 1885. Mr. Parkinson reported that he had reset the stones in the Mill Pond at Freckleton and also reported that he had let Freckleton Mill to Mr. Robert Cartmell of Treales at the rent of £23 per annum."

¹ Several of these boundary stones still remain, some being used to form a pathway in the garden of the mill cottage. It is believed that they were first erected early in the nineteenth century; they were already in position when the mill was sold by the Earl of Derby in 1850 (Information of Mr. W. E. Hale). Their purpose was to mark the boundaries in the mill dams, between the property belonging to the mill and Freckleton Marsh land, upon which the dams had encroached.

"18th February 1886. Mr. Parkinson reported . . . that he had let Freckleton Mill to Mr. Richard Pritt at a rental of £28 a year."

"31st August, 1887. Resolved that Mr. Parkinson and Mr. Dickson arrange with Mr. Titus Thorp as to the winding up of Freckleton mill and that on completion of arrangements the mill be advertised to be let."

"16th February, 1888. Mr. Dickson reported that arrangements had been made with Mr. Titus Thorp as to the rent of the Freckleton Mill and that the same had been let to Mr. Cartmell at the same rent that Mr. Pritt had paid.

"25 February 1891. Resolved that the Trustees sell to the Freckleton Marsh owners the mill and dam at Freckleton for the sum of £350 on the distinct understanding that the dam in the main stream be removed and that any sewage obstruction to the stream be removed and done away with, that the dam at the Mill be removed and that the stream be cleansed to its original depth so as to afford sufficient outfall for the draining of the abutting agricultural lands to a depth of from 3 to 4 feet but that the Marsh owners be not called upon to build any new structural works nor be allowed to construct any works so as to impede the free flow of water in the stream and that no sewage be allowed to go into the stream; the site of the Mill race in the Trustees' land to remain the property of the Trustees.

Many of the descriptions in the foregoing entry such as 'main stream', 'mill race', are plainly shown to be erroneous in the light of earlier evidence.

After its purchase by Freckleton Marsh owners the mill, nevertheless, continued to operate at full capacity until 1918, but the subsequent change over from arable to dairy farming, combined with the competition of modern centralised milling plants, resulted in the water mill being finally abandoned about 1922.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Except where stated otherwise, all original material has been obtained from the muniments of the Trustees of John Hornby's Charity School, Newton-with-Scales. For their permission to make use of these documents I am greatly indebted; also to Mr. R. Cunliffe Shaw I owe thanks for liberty to quote from documents in his possession.

THE OLD WOOLTON SUMMER HOUSE, AND THE QUESTION OF WOOLTON BEACON.

By Stanley A. Harris, A.C.I.S.

Read 4 April, 1940.

I

IN a letter written by Samuel Derrick at Liverpool on 5 August, 1760, we are told: "The roads about Leverpoole are deep and sandy, consequently rather unpleasant, but the views are grand and extensive, particularly from a summer house on Chilwell-hill, about three miles distant, where you have a prospect of fifteen counties and a good view of the sea."¹

In 1769 William Yates and George Perry published their *Map of the Environs of Liverpool Drawn from an Actual Survey Taken in the Year 1768*.² At the S.S.E. end of an area marked "Child-wall Heath" is a point described as "Summer House." Elevated areas are surrounded by shaded lines, and it is within one of these areas that the "Summer House" is shown. There can be no doubt that the "summer house on Chilwell-hill" mentioned by Derrick and the "Summer House" on the Yates and Perry map refer to the same building.

When the Yates and Perry map is compared with the Ordnance Survey map it becomes apparent that the summer house was erected near the summit of Woolton Hill, which is 290 feet above sea level, and, except for three elevated points within Knowsley Park, respectively 304, 314 and 328 feet, the highest point in this corner of S.W. Lancashire. It is 40 feet higher than the ground level at Everton Church, 60 feet higher than that at Edgehill Church and more than 100 feet higher than that at Mossley Hill Church.

In Enfield's *Liverpool* (1773) is inserted a drawing entitled "The Diagram or Series of Great Triangles by which the most eminent places in the [Yates and Perry] Map of the Environs of

¹ *Letters written from Leverpoole, Chester, Corke, The Lake of Killarney, Dublin, Tunbridge-Wells, and Bath.* By Samuel Derrick, Esq., Master of the Ceremonies at Bath (Dublin, 1767).

² Issued with *An Essay towards the History of Liverpool*, by William Enfield. (First Edition, Warrington, 1773).

Liverpool were projected." One of these " eminent places " is described as " Childwall Summer House." The summer house is also shown on Yates's *Map of Lancashire*, published in 1786.

The foregoing [viz : Derrick's *Letters*, the Yates and Perry Map, the diagram in Enfield's *Liverpool*, and the Yates *Map of Lancashire*] appear to be the only original eighteenth century mentions of the summer house. There are three early nineteenth century references which will appear later.

Some years ago the late Robert Gladstone¹ told the writer that he had seen the Woolton Summer House from the top of the Woolton Reservoir.² He suggested that the summer house was worthy of closer inspection with a view to ascertaining if the present building was that mentioned by Derrick. It was in response to this suggestion that the following notes on the summer house were compiled.

The summer house stands in the Knolle Park estate, a fine property with frontages on Beaconsfield Road and Church Road, Woolton. It is just within the Little Woolton boundary. The Knolle Park house has now the subsidiary title of St. Gabriel's Convent. It appears to have been built about 1829 by Thomas Foster, the Liverpool Town Clerk who was discharged from office by the " reformed " Council elected after the passing of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.³ In the early fifties of last century it was the residence of John Stock, who became a member of this Society in 1850. His son, James Henry Stock, was born at Knolle Park in 1855, and sat as M.P. for the Walton division of Liverpool from 1892 to 1906. Colonel Myles Sandys, sometime M.P. for the Bootle division of Lancashire, took over Knolle Park from the Stocks, and it was afterwards acquired by the Roman Catholic Arch-diocese of Liverpool for its present purpose, viz., a school for Roman Catholic girls under the Public Assistance Authorities.

In the autumn of 1938, by kind permission of the Sister-in-

¹ I am indebted to the late Robert Gladstone for much help and encouragement in connection with this paper.

² A good view of the Summer House can be obtained from Reservoir Road.

³ It may appear surprising that a Corporation official should have the means to build and maintain such a large mansion. Foster, however, had a prosperous legal practice before becoming Town Clerk, and when in office was probably the highest paid official ever employed by Liverpool, with pay and fees exceeding £7 000 a year. (Picton. *Memorials of Liverpool* (2nd Ed.) 1. 470). His official income was greater than that received by the then President of the United States.

charge, I visited Knolle Park to inspect the summer house. The building is a regular octagon and is stuccoed over red sandstone.¹ The soil has receded at the base, leaving the unstuccoed stone exposed. Each of the eight sides is six feet in length, and from the ground to the eaves is ten feet. The walls are about sixteen inches thick. The low-pitched roof is of slate with ridge tiles; it is in eight sections corresponding with the walls. Originally there were three windows facing south, south-west, and west. The south-west window has been built up, but the sill remains. The door is in the north-east wall and is approached by two or three steps. The summer house is surrounded by a circular wall, about eighteen inches high, in a rather decayed condition, partly stone and partly brick, surmounted by a stone coping and iron railing. The shrubs which surround the building make it impossible to photograph the lower portion.

The interior is plastered. The stone floor is about two feet above the ground level. The ceiling is also plastered and is in eight sections corresponding with the roof.

The trees which are now so plentiful near the summit date only from when Childwall and Woolton Heaths were laid out as large residential properties; but even to-day, notwithstanding the surrounding patches of woodland, the view from the summer house is exceptionally fine. Derrick, as mentioned above, states that it extended to fifteen counties. Baines, in his *Liverpool*,² comments: "It would have puzzled Mr. Derrick to have named the fifteen counties visible from Childwall, though few views can be finer than those obtained from that spot, and from the ridge on which Childwall stands, of the plains of Lancashire and Cheshire, the River Mersey and the sea, and the mountains of Flintshire, Denbighshire, and Carnarvon. In very clear weather Black Comb [Cumberland], the Isle of Anglesea, and the faint outline of the hills of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and perhaps Staffordshire may be seen, but it would require a strong imagination, as well as good eyes to make out the other counties."

The first question of interest which arises is—Who was the

¹ Knolle Park is a stuccoed house and the summer house may have received that treatment for purposes of harmony. It is possible however, that it may have been stuccoed when originally built. The late Robert Gladstone stated that the Childwall Hall built by Isaac Greene before 1728 (see below, p. 114) was stuccoed.

² *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool*, by Thomas Baines (London and Liverpool, 1852), p. 427.

builder of the summer house? The question is answered for us by a passage in the Enclosure Act for Childwall and the two Wooltons, passed in 1805,¹ running as follows: "Provided also, and be it further enacted, That the scite of such part of the said Commons on which the Summer House called 'Woolton Summer House' erected by Isaac Greene, Esquire, the grandfather of the said Bamber Gascoyne, lately stood, is hereby reserved to the said Bamber Gascoyne, his heirs and assigns, as part of his ancient estate."

Isaac Greene,² the prosperous Prescott attorney, acquired the manors of Childwall, Much Woolton and Little Woolton in July 1718, and the summer house was therefore built at some time between that date and Greene's death in 1749. Greene married in 1725, and rebuilt Childwall Hall as his principal residence before 1728,³ and we may assume that in all probability the summer house also was then built. It was situated about a mile from the Hall, and was doubtless used as the objective of many a delightful walk across the then unspoilt heath.

The next question which arises is—Is the present summer house the one built by Isaac Greene? We know that it occupies the same site. The words "lately stood" in the Enclosure Act might be held to imply that in that year the summer house was not in existence. The late Robert Gladstone, however, was of opinion that the words are merely an example of legal caution, and imply that the summer house was standing there when the Woolton Commons were surveyed before the drafting of the Bill.

There is, indeed, strong evidence that the summer house built by Isaac Greene was still standing in 1813. The Enclosure Act of 1805 appointed three Commissioners to apportion out the Commons. They held their first meeting on 1 September, 1805, and their task was not completed for over seven years. The Award associated with the Act is dated at the end, 15 February, 1813, and in it, as part of the land allotted to Bamber Gascoyne, reference is made to "one other piece or parcel of the said Commons in Little Woolton aforesaid marked upon the said Plan

¹ 45 Geo. III, c. 60.

² For an account of this remarkable character, and his acquisition of numerous Lancashire manors, see *Isaac Greene, a Lancashire Lawyer of the 18th Century*, by R. Stewart-Brown (Liverpool, 1921).

³ A terrier of Childwall Glebe, 1728, refers to Mr. Green's new house. See *Notes on Childwall* by R. Stewart-Brown in Vol. 65 of these *Transactions*, p. 116.

'No. 19' containing five acres and one rood exclusive of the scite of the old Summer house by the first recited Act directed to be reserved to the said Bamber Gascoyne his heirs and assigns as part of his ancient estate." It will be noticed that in the Award, the words "scite of the old Summer House" are substituted for "part of the said Commons on which the Summer House . . . lately stood." Had the summer house not been standing in 1805 there would have been no occasion for Bamber Gascoyne to have troubled to claim the reservation of the site to himself. The ground upon which the building stood would not measure more than about fifteen square yards. It would be of no particular value without the building upon it.

Following the Award, three maps were made, one for each of the three townships.¹ These are dated 1813, and on the Little Woolton map the site of the present summer house is shown shaded (apparently to indicate a building) within the boundaries of the piece of land "No. 19" mentioned in the Award as allotted to Bamber Gascoyne.

Is the present summer house the one which was standing in 1813? Bamber Gascoyne died in 1824, and it would appear improbable that after having taken the trouble to have the summer house allotted to him he should have allowed it to be taken down during his lifetime. He inherited the Childwall and Woolton estates on the death of his father in 1791, and in view of the fact that the building on Woolton Hill is described as "the *old* summer house" in the Award of 1813, and in the Act is stated to have been built by Isaac Greene, it is apparent that Gascoyne had not rebuilt it before 1813. There is the possibility, of course, that he may have rebuilt it between 1813 and his death in 1824. This, however, appears to be unlikely. It is not probable that having possessed the building unaltered for 22 years he should rebuild it in the last few years of his life.

On the 5 feet to 1 mile Ordnance Survey Map of 1847 the summer house and its encircling wall are both clearly shown.²

¹ The original maps, with the Award, are at the County Record Office, Preston. The late Robert Gladstone had copies made of the Maps and the Award. The present whereabouts of these copies, which are of great importance for our local history, appears to be unknown.

² In a letter dated 19 July, 1939, the Director-General of the Ordnance Survey writes: "There is no mention of any such (summer) house or building in our records of the survey of 1844 or later revisions." This is a surprising statement in view of the fact that the summer house is (as stated above) clearly marked in its present position on the 1847 Map based on the 1844 Survey.

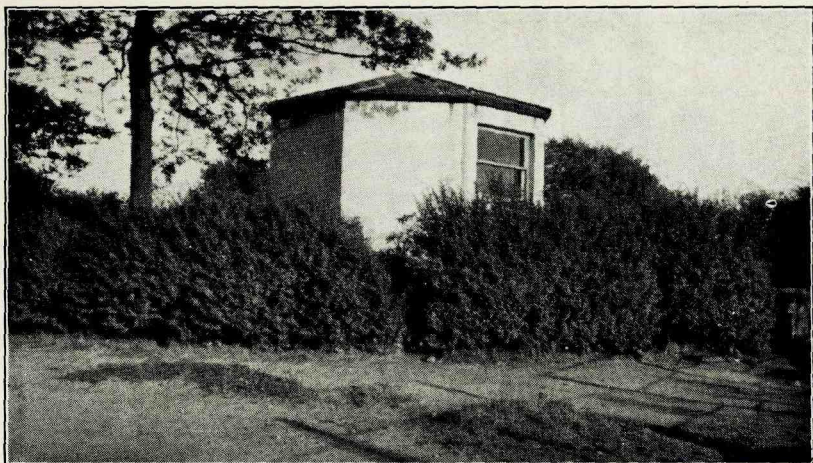
From the present appearance of the building and the wall it is certain that they are the same. This leaves a 23 years' gap between Gascoyne's death in 1824 and the Ordnance Survey of 1847 during which the summer house may have been rebuilt. Was it rebuilt between these years? The position of the windows is the principal evidence to the contrary. The present view from the windows is now obscured by trees; the open view is to the north and east, and the summer house has no windows commanding those directions. Before the trees were planted the present windows would command fine views of Wirral, the Welsh Mountains, the Mersey estuary, and the Irish Sea. It is scarcely likely that if the builder of Knolle Park rebuilt the summer house he would place windows facing south, south-west and west, and then obliterate the view by planting woodlands. It is far more probable that the present summer house was built at a time when there were no trees on Woolton Hill, and that the windows were placed where they would command the best views.

The summer house is devoid of architectural details which might enable one to fix approximately the period of its construction. There may, however, be buildings in existence of known date so similar in construction as to afford corroborative evidence of date. One such building is the porch of the Friends' Meeting House and School at Lancaster, of which an illustration is given.¹ The City Librarian and Curator of Lancaster (Mr. G. M. Bland) informs me that this porch was built in 1708. The original Meeting House was built in 1677. A new one was erected on the same site in 1708, and although a lintel within the porch has in it a stone dated 1677, a Meeting House minute book records that the porch was included in the rebuilding scheme of 1708. The 1677 stone, probably for sentimental reasons, was evidently incorporated in the 1708 building.

The porch bears a striking similarity to the old Woolton summer house, the roofs of the two structures being almost identical. The plan of the porch is an incomplete octagon, the flat wall of the main building taking the place of three of the eight sides.

Assuming that Isaac Greene built the summer house soon after

¹ For further information about this Meeting House see the *Victoria History of Lancashire*, Vol. 8, p. 47.

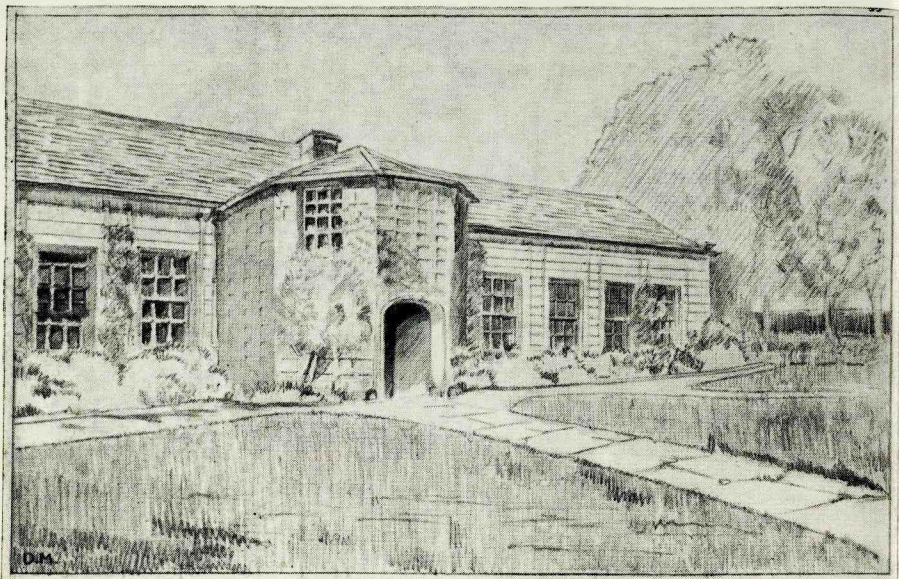


THE OLD WOOLTON SUMMER-HOUSE.

(Photographed in 1939.)

To face page 116.]

BERPOOL
PUBLIC
LIBRARIES



THE FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE, LANCASTER.
(From a drawing by Dorothy Muschamp.)

To face page 117.]

re-building Childwall Hall, less than twenty years separated the erection of the summer house and the porch.¹

A feature of the summer house which may have some bearing on its age is the encircling wall which, as mentioned above, is surmounted by a low railing. If the summer house were erected only when Knolle Park was laid out, the wall and railing would have been superfluous. If it was built when the land was open heath, the wall would be necessary if only to guard against straying cattle breaking the windows.

The evidence, circumstantial though it is, supports the opinion that the present summer house is the one which was built by Isaac Greene.

II

The inquiry into the age of Woolton summer house suggests the interesting question whether a fire beacon ever stood on Woolton Hill, and, if so, whether it had any association with the summer house. If a beacon tower were ever built there, it may well have occupied this very site.

Mr. William Harrison, in his paper "Ancient Beacons of Lancashire and Cheshire,"² includes Woolton in his list of Lancashire beacon points. So far as is known, however, no documentary evidence of any beacon here is extant. There is, however, evidence of a circumstantial nature.

The Woolton summer house site was eminently suitable for a beacon. Several other high points in that part of Lancashire were undoubtedly used for beacons, for example, Everton, Billinge, Ashurst, and Rivington. All these points are in full view from Woolton Hill, as are also the castles of Halton and Beeston in Cheshire.

The names of two properties and a road near the summit of the hill suggest that a beacon or beacons once existed in the locality. At some date before 1844 Ambrose Lace,³ of Liverpool, a considerable owner of property in Woolton and the adjoining township of Allerton, built a large house and laid out an estate

¹ The summer house is similar also to several turnpike toll houses in Lancashire and Cheshire. Some of these date from the mid-eighteenth century.

² Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, Vol. 15 (1897).

³ Lace, a Liverpool attorney, was one of the two last bailiffs of Liverpool. For a brief account of the Lace family see *A History of the Manor and Township of Allerton*, by R. Stewart-Brown, pp. 188-9.

to the north of Knolle Park and separated from the latter only by a road. Joshua Lace, the father of Ambrose, had this portion of the commons allotted to him under the 1805 Enclosure Act.

Ambrose Lace called the house "Beaconsfield." It existed until about six years ago, when it was taken down and the estate broken up. Since Benjamin Disraeli did not assume the title of Earl of Beaconsfield until 1876, the house and Beaconsfield Road¹ in which the house stood, cannot possibly have derived their names from the Victorian statesman, notwithstanding that only a few hundred yards away are Gladstone and Cobden Streets.

It is, of course, not unusual to find ancient field names bestowed upon houses erected on the fields. By the courtesy of the Vicar of Childwall I have inspected the Childwall Tithe Maps and find that the word "beacon" does not appear in any field name in the vicinity of Woolton Hill. Other field names figure extensively on the maps. Before 1805 the area under review was common land, and when enclosed the various divisions were distinguished by numbers. If a beacon formerly stood on the hill it is highly probable that the name "beaconfield" or "beaconsfield" would be applied locally to the public pastures surrounding the beacon. It is significant that in 1802 the portion of Everton commons on which Everton Beacon stood was known as the "beaconfield." A road in Everton is still known as Beacon Lane, and is almost certainly the old footpath to the beacon which, in the various leasings of the land about, was always reserved to the township. A list of Everton landholders in 1790 given in Syers's *Everton*² contains references to "Beacon Land", "Beacon Hey", and "Beacon Field".

William Harrison's paper referred to above records numerous examples of the use of the name "beacon" in Lancashire and Cheshire nomenclature. At some of these places beacons are known to have existed. His examples are Longridge Fell, Garstang, Frodsham, Caldý Hill, Lowith, Blawith, Furness Abbey, Fell End (Cartmel) and Walney Island.

¹ This road was laid out under the Award completed in 1813. In the Award it is described as "beginning at an occupation road in Allerton near to Douce Cross." This hitherto unknown cross must have stood near the corner of Yewtree Road and Vale Road (Menlove Avenue). The occupation road commenced where Yewtree Road now enters Menlove Avenue, but did not follow the course of Yewtree Road. It led to the Dowse House Farm, near the site of which now stands a house called "Dowsefield."

² *The History of Everton*, by Robert Syers (Liverpool, 1830), pp. 463 sqq.

The estate at Woolton which adjoins the old "Beaconsfield" property on the west is named "Beacon Hill." It is reasonable to assume that the person who named the property "Beacon Hill" had some reason for so doing, even if merely local tradition. A recent writer, J. F. Marsh,¹ has assumed the association of "Beacon Hill" and "Beaconsfield" with former beacon points.

There is a possibility, of course, that even if a fire beacon formerly stood on Woolton Hill its purpose was not to warn the countryside of an impending enemy invasion. It may have been a highway beacon, i.e., a "land lighthouse" erected for the guidance of traffic by night along the ancient road which crossed Childwall Heath.² It is likely that this road, being merely a portion of a side road between Liverpool and Warrington, would be little better than a rough track, which, after dark, would not be easily distinguishable from the unenclosed heath which it traversed.³ There is ample evidence that fire beacons (varying from cressets on long poles to cupolas, with interior lighting provision, on church towers) were used for this purpose.

It is, perhaps, not without significance to this inquiry that Hadley Church, Middlesex, on the tower of which is a cresset believed to have been lighted for the benefit of travellers through Enfield Chase, stood upon high ground known, at least as early as the reign of Elizabeth, as "Beacon's Hill".

It is possible that two or more highway beacons formerly stood alongside the Childwall Heath road. This is rather suggested by the name "Beaconsfield" which Ambrose Lace gave to his house.

If the beacon tradition derives from the former existence of highway beacons, it precludes any association of the beacons with Woolton Summer House, which is a considerable distance from the ancient roads in the locality.⁴

¹ *The Story of Woolton* (1931), Part 2, p. 5.

² For further information on highway beacons see *The Highways and Byways of England*, by T. W. Wilkinson, pp. 93-5, and *Travel in England in the 17th Century*, by Joan Parkes (1925), pp. 282-3.

³ That much traffic in the 18th century went by way of "Childwall Hills" as an alternative route to the turnpike road is evidenced by entries in the minutes of the Turnpike Trustees. See *Minutes of Trustees of Turnpike Roads from Liverpool to Prescot*, etc., by F. A. Bailey, in Vol. 88 of these *Transactions*, p. 181.

I am indebted to Mr. Bailey for the information regarding highway beacons, and for other help in connection with this paper.

⁴ The Yates and Perry Map of 1768 (mentioned above) shows the nearest roads to the summer house at that date to be Woolton Road (formerly Gateacre Road), which ran below the summit of the hill on the N.E. side, and Vale Road (formerly Folly Vale Lane), which skirted the foot of the hill on the S.W. The former road is about three furlongs from the summer house; the latter road is about half-a-mile away.

These notes would not be complete without reference to a statement on page 115 of Enfield's *Liverpool* which may have a bearing on the question of the beacon. It refers to the foundations of a round tower which had "lately been discovered" on the Woolton Heath. He suggests that this tower was formerly part of a house belonging to the Knights Hospitallers. This suggestion, however, would appear unlikely, as the Hospitallers never had more than a bailiff's office at Woolton.¹

George Perry,² who collected much of the material from which Enfield wrote his history of Liverpool,³ was an extremely reputable and conscientious man, and doubtless had sound evidence that the foundations of a round stone structure actually were discovered on Woolton Heath. I venture to suggest the following as a possible explanation of the statement. George Perry died in 1771. Assuming that he collected his historical data during the last decade of his life, and that the word "lately" covered the previous thirty or forty years, the discovery may well have been made during the earlier part of Isaac Greene's residence at Childwall. It is possible that Greene's workmen, in excavating for the foundations of a summer house, encountered the foundations of an old stone fire beacon. Greene, aware of the former association of the Hospitallers with Woolton, may wrongly have assumed that the foundations were those of a round tower of a house formerly belonging to them. Such a theory implies, however, that Greene was unaware of the beacon tradition.

Until further documentary or other evidence as to the former existence of a beacon or beacons on Woolton Hill is forthcoming the foregoing notes appear to be all that can usefully be written on the subject.

Woolton Summer House is a plain unpretentious structure without merit in an architectural sense. Historically, however, its interest lies in the fact that it appears to be the only early Georgian structure of its type and purpose in the Liverpool area; that it may be associated with a former fire beacon of considerable antiquity; and that it is a relic of one of the most remarkable characters in South-West Lancashire history—Isaac Greene.

¹ See *Early Charters of the Knights Hospitallers relating to Much Woolton, near Liverpool*, by Robert Gladstone, in Vol. 54 of these *Transactions*, pp. 173-196.

² A biographical note about him appears in *Memorials of Liverpool*, by J. A. Picton, (2nd Ed.), Vol. 2, pp. 283-5.

³ A statement to this effect is on the title page of Enfield's *Liverpool*.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE IN 1942.

DURING the year 1942 many important additions, both official and unofficial, have been made to the resources of the County Record Office. Private individuals, firms, public bodies and local authorities have deposited documents varying from one item to many hundreds. This Society has considered that a yearly résumé of accessions will be of interest and value, so the following lists are presented, with the reminder that they are but the briefest of indications of the wealth of documents received.

County Archives.

Calendar of Badgers	1635 - 1638
Proceedings of Annual and Quarter Sessions (printed) .	1821 - 1889
Reports of Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool and Manchester Gaols	1823 - 1852
Papers relating to the disputed Preston Election .	1826.
Transportation Bonds	1836 - 1843
General Finance Committee Minutes	1845 - 1889
Whittingham Asylum Papers	1867 - 1883
Survey of Hindley	1740.

Official Documents.

Highway Boards :—

Childwall	1885-1898	Prescot	1882-1889
Garstang	1863-1895	Sefton	1864-1899
Leyland Hundred	1865-1899	Southport	1893-1899
Ormskirk	1864-1890	Warrington	1866-1899

Rural Sanitary Authorities :—

Blackburn	1873-1893	Leigh	1872-1894
Chorley	1880-1894	Lunesdale	1873-1892
Clitheroe	1880-1894	Ormskirk	1872-1894
Fylde	1873-1894	Prescot	1873-1894
Garstang	1873-1891	Warrington	1872-1894
Haslingden	1872-1883	West Derby	1885-1894
Lancaster	1872-1894		

Rural District Councils :—

Blackburn	1895-1907	Leigh	1895-1933
Chorley Rural District Highway Committee			1899-1915

Semi-official Documents.

Turnpike Trusts :—

Bury, Haslingden, Blackburn and Whalley	1789-1875
Clitheroe and Blackburn	1845-1881

Clitheroe Grammar School :—

Minutes	1844-1878	Leases	1701-1847
Accounts	1680-1915	Miscellaneous Papers	1622-1903

Parochial Records.

Most, but not all, of these documents relate to Rating and Valuation.

Accrington	1880-1882	Higher and Lower	
Allithwaite, Upper	1674-1858	Booths	1880-1882
Alston	1712-1817	Holleth	1873-1906
Altcar	1901-1907	Huncoat	1885-1900
Altham	1925-1929	Inskip-with-Sowerby	1863-1896
Astley	1857-1891	Kirkland	1862-1896
Barnacre-with-Bonds	1862-1916	Lancaster	1809-1840
Barrowford	1895-1928	Little Harwood	1838-1894
Barton-upon-Irwell	1821-1822	Myerscough	1863-1894
Bilsborrow	1863-1896	Nateby	1862-1906
Bispham-with-		Nelson	1885-1929
Norbreck	1794-1839	Nether Kellet	1898.
Bleasdale	1863-1896	Nether Wyersdale	1863-1896
Briercliffe-with		Newchurch	1880-1882
Extwistle	1885-1900	Northtown	1925-1929
Brierfield	1895-1921	Out Rawcliffe	1848-1895
Burnley	1884-1906	Padiham	1895-1929
Burrow-with-Burrow	1817-1870	Penwortham	1837-1860
Cabus	1863-1896	Pilling	1864-1907
Cantsfield	1876-1896	Preesall-with-	
Caton	1830-1883	Hackensall	1865-1903
Catterall	1863-1896	Read	1925-1929
Claughton (Garstang)	1848-1863	Ribbleton	1868-1869
Cleveley	1862-1906	Rishton	1839-1896
Colne	1898-1925	Roughlee Booth	1885-1929
Coupe with Lench	1880-1892	Sabden	1925-1928
Dilworth	1842.	Sefton	1888-1890
Dunnockshaw	1875.	Stalmine-with-Stainall	1858-1895
Forton	1863-1906	Tottington Higher	
Foulridge	1885-1900	End	1880-1892
Garstang	1863-1909	Tunstall	1890-1897

Great Eccleston	1863-1883	Tyldesley-with-	
Habergham Eaves	1836-1890	Shakerley	1840-1891
Hambleton	1863-1896	Ulnes Walton	1837.
Hapton	1885-1895	Upper Rawcliffe-with-	
		Tarnicar	1863-1896
		Whittingham	1808-1892
		Winmarleigh	1864-1906
		Worsthorne-with-	
		Hurstwood	1885-1906

Documents Purchased.

- "Articles to be given in Charge at the Sessions of the Peace".
Circa 1610.
Appointment of William Asshurst as Clerk of the Crown in Lancashire,
1647.
Many Enclosure Acts, making the collection of these almost complete.

Documents Deposited.

(The numbers in brackets indicate the number of individual documents).

Blackpool Corporation :

Grant of the Manor of Layton to Thomas Fleetwood, 1553.

Miss A. Tattersall :

MS. Treatise on Astrology, 1826.

Mrs. Trafford :

Thornton, West Derby (2), 1706-1713.

J. C. Kay, Esq. :

Pilling (22), plans of water and wind mills, 1808-1812.

Essex Record Office :

Clitheroe and Wesham (2), 1647-1713.

A. Langshaw, Esq., J.P. :

Clitheroe (2), 1736-1797.

Wiswell (5), court books, 1732-1735.

Sir Matthew Fell, K.C.B., F.R.C.S. :

Letters Patent to Guide over Kent Sands, 1867.

Mrs. G. Wilkinson :

Clitheroe and Chatburn (2), 1681-1687.

Mrs. E. A. Self Weekes (through F. A. Bailey, Esq., M.A.) :

Blackburn Hundred Townships (68), 1378-1839.

2 Rate precepts, 1705.

Horoscope, 17th century.

6 MS. Sermon Books, 17th century.

C. Cartmell, Esq. :

Layton-with-Warbreck (6), 1595-1740.

Samuel Stockton, Esq. :

Astley (7), 1634-1765.

Mrs. Makinson :

Anderton (5), 1818-1865.

A. C. M. Lillie, Esq. J.P. :

Croston (2), 1471-1474.

Messrs. Baldwin, Weekes & Baldwin :

Clitheroe District (74), 1569-1832.

Preston Libraries Committee :

Accrington, Anglezarke, Balderstone, Bispham-with-Norbreck, Blackburn, Blackrod, Broughton East, Burnley, Carleton, Chorley, Over Darwen, Great Eccleston, Goosnargh, Hambleton, Heapey, Heath Charnock, Hoghton, Lancaster, Layton-with-Warbreck, Oswaldtwistle, Preston, Rawcliffe, Ribchester, Singleton, Slyne-with-Hest, Staveley, Sutton, Tockholes, Welch Whittle, Whittingham, Wigan and Witton (103), 1574-1813.

Messrs. Finch, Johnson & Lynn :

Adlington (90), 1305-1781, including Enclosure Agreement, 1763.

Leyland (26), 1623-1785.

Marton (41), 1738-1826.

Mawdesley (191), 1297-1785.

Ulnes Walton (46), 1609-1815.

Worthington (72), c. 1260-1683, and

Bretherton, Eccleston, Great Harwood, Hambleton, Hindley, Layton - with - Warbreck, Leck, Liverpool, Manchester, Out-Rawcliffe, Stalmine-with-Stainall, and the Wigan to Preston Turnpike Trust (72), 1647-1838.

A. T. R. Houghton, Esq., M.C., M.A. :

Ashton-in-Makerfield (11), 1777-1803.

Brindle, 1703, concerning legacy to School.

Houghton (3), 1804-1813, including Enclosure Agreement, 1813.

Haslingden (9), 1786-1836, including plans of Ogden Brook.

Leyland (54), 1770-1802, Court Books.

Longton (2), 1712-1817, including Rules of Amicable Society, 1817.

Penwortham (5), 1696-1840.

Pleasington (14), 1746-1829.

Preston (41), 1738-1841.

Samlesbury (11), 1702-1796.

Walton-le-Dale (159), 1572-1849.

Walton-on-the-Hill (6), 1698-1785, including plans of Enclosure, 1698.

Westhoughton, Brief in support of Bill for improving of road from Westhoughton to Heath Charnock, with report of Macadam, 1826.

Proceedings under Tithe Commutation Act, Penwortham and Ulnes Walton, 1837-1841.

2 Jacobite Broad-sides, 1745.

Case of Proprietors of Lancashire Salmon Fisheries, 1755, and Lower Allithwaite, Barton, Bispham - with - Norbreck, Blackburn, Bretherton, Broughton, Charnock Richard, Chorley, Croston, Fishwick, Forton, Fulwood, Goosnargh, Hesketh-with-Becconsall, Hoghton, Howick, Ireby, Lancaster, Lea, Leigh, Much Hoole, Musbury, Newton-with-Scales, Osbaldeston, Over Wyersdale, Skerton, Tarleton, Ulnes Walton, Warton, Whittingham, Withnell, Woodplumpton and Yate & Pickup Bank (68), 1542-1849.

The calendaring of the muniments of the Farington family of Worden is now completed. There are some 2,500 documents in all, and the following list gives some idea of the scope of the collection :—

Blackburn Easter Book	1565 - 1569
Blackburn Easter Roll	1586
Order Book of the Royal Lancashire Regiment	1794 - 1795
Various Account Books	1695 - 1842
Rentals and Surveys	1411 - 1839
Leyland Court Rolls and Books	1618 - 1765
Penwortham Court Rolls and Books	1567 - 1780
Ulnes Walton Court Rolls and Books	1503 - 1711
Aspull Court Rolls	1565 - 1600
Constableness of Lancaster Castle	1586 - 1599
Pedigrees of Farington, Bradshaw of Pennington, and	

Nowell of Read.

Ribble Fisheries	1534 - 1801
Lancaster Vicarage	1593 - 1673
Nowell of Read	1735 - 1778
Shrievalty	1713 - 1851
Stanley Family	1569 - 1706
Suits and Legal Matters	1540 - 1850
Marriage Settlements and Entails	1406 - 1769

Various Townships (Deeds, etc.) :—

Abram & Hindley	1663	Croston	1349-1725
Accrington	1598-1616	Dinkley	1627
Aighton, Bailey and		Eccleston (Chorley) c.	1200-1605
Chaigley	c. 1250	Euxton	1663-1758
Aughton	1326-1342	Farington	c. 1220-1669
Blackburn	1548-1598	Heaton Norris	1567-1591
Bretherton	1584-1591	Hesketh-with-	
Bryning-with		Becconsall	c. 1220-1410
Kellmergh	1565-1580	Howick	1366-1560
Chorley	1512-1579	Hutton	c. 1220-1600
Clayton-le-Dale	c. 1200	Lathom	1329
Clitheroe	c. 1230	Leigh	1596-1770

Leyland	c. 1229-1867	Ulnes Walton	1332-1757
Longton	1308-1691	Walton-le-Dale	1618-1761
North Meols	1752	Whittingham	1621
Ormskirk	c. 1250-1410	Whittle-le-Woods	c. 1240-1638
Penwortham	1495-1838	Wigan	1368
Preston	1322-1740	Wilshire	c. 1230
Read	1580	Woodplumpton	1330
Salesbury and Tockholes	1528-1567	Wrightington	1329

Miscellaneous, 1504-1862, including royal letters of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Charles I, and a muster at Whalley, 1597.

The de Hoghton muniments referred to on page 123 of Vol. 93 of these Transactions, contained many documents not calendared by Mr. J. H. Lumby in the *Calendar of de Hoghton Deeds and Papers* printed by the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. The following list gives the scope of these:—

Rentals	1648-1830
Account Books	1730-1800
Accounts of the Sarah Walmsley Charity	1703-1791
Pedigrees of de Hoghton, Patten and Bold	1635-1816
Bold Family Deeds	1561-1728
Letters concerning Interments in Preston Parish Church	1627-1784
Papers relating to Preston Parish Church	1644-1855
Papers relating to Walton-le-Dale Church and Schools	1685-1812
Requests to pass through Walton Mains	1733-1810
Plans and papers relating to the boundaries of Walton, Heapey, Anglezarke, Lea, Ashton, Walton-le-Dale and Hoghton	1679-1839
Papers relating to Moulden Brow, Livesey	1644-1706
Papers relating to Ribchester Church	1663-1863
Papers relating to Walton Cop	1634-1749
Papers relating to Broughton Chapel	1683-1819
Papers relating to the Manor Courts of Walton-le-Dale, Alston, Hoghton, Lea and Ashton	1583-1748
Family Settlements, etc.	1707-1794
Miscellaneous Documents	1523-1862
Letters of Daniel Houghton, African traveller	1777-1779
Letters, diaries, etc., of Major-General Daniel Houghton	1770-1813

The extensive and important muniments of the Clifton family of Lytham have been deposited in the County Record Office by H. T. de V. Clifton, Esq. Some progress has been made in the calendaring, as is shown in the following list:—

Various deeds, etc.

Aintree	1700	Heysham	1574-1640
Altcar	1292-1718	Ince Blundell	1377-1387
Ashton-in-Makerfield	1639	Kirkby	1595
Ashton-with-Stodday	1342	Kirkdale	1682
Astley	1604	Lancaster	1614
Aughton	1372	Lathom	1611-1627
Bedfordshire	1595	Liverpool	1311-1787
Birkdale and Ainsdale 1618-1634		Lowton	1406
Bilsborrow	1436	Lydiate	1502-1525
Bispham-with-Norbreck	1759	Maghull	1466-1660
Blackrod	1607-1608	Medlar	1612
Bleasdale	1552-1713	Melling	1281-1633
Bryning-with-		Newton-with-Scales	1561-1762
Kellamergh	1561-1607	Northamptonshire	1671
Bootle-with-Linacre	1341	Out Rawcliffe	1691
Carleton	1630-1751	Pemberton	1315
Caton	c. 1220	Pilling	1564-1621
Catterall	1635	Preston	1442-1536
Charnock Richard	1403	Ribby-with-Wrea	1565-1741
Cheshire	c. 1190-1657	Salford	c. 1220
Cronton	c. 1250	Scotforth	1547-1612
Cuerden	1611	Sefton	1667-1696
Dalton (Wigan)	c. 1250-1604	Silverdale	1614
Downholland	c. 1240-1620	Singleton	1566
Eccleston (Croston)	1611-1626	Somerset	1628
Little Eccleston-with-		Stalmine-with-Stainall 1582-1606	
Larbreck	1661-1680	Sussex	1668
Ellel	c. 1220-1719	Tarbock	1425
Elswick	1606	Thornton	1388-1488
Euxton	c. 1240-1627	Toxteth Park	1620
Formby	1537-1630	Upholland	1506-1589
Freckleton	1605	Walton-le-Dale	1410
Goosnargh	1561-1825	Walton-on-the-Hill	1433-1471
Greenhalgh-with-		Weeton-with-Preese	1771
Thistleton	1530-1611	West Derby	c. 1250-1722
Haighton	1794	Westleigh	1601
Halsall	1379-1621	Westmorland	1505
Hambleton	1543	Winstanley	1362
Hardhorn-with-		Great Woolton	1710-1785
Newton	1729-1779	Wrightington	1682
Heskin	1556	Yorkshire	1338-1477
Wills			1476-1832
Appointments			1565-1832
Bonds			1490-1778

Legal Suits	1515-1728
(including Molyneux v. Corporation of Liverpool).	
Miscellaneous Books (including Lytham Dock Registers, Team Books, Estate Memoranda, Lytham Easter Rolls, Contract Books, etc.)	1632-1820
Account Books	1696-1840
Rentals	1625-1768
Lease Books	1688-1809
Tithe Rentals	1725-1774
Arrears Books	1727-1756
Surveys	1736-1886
Pedigrees	1466-1895
Fisheries	1674-1751
Clifton & Lea Road	1718-1893
Molyneux Papers	1566-1769
Lytham, Warton and Westby Sea Defence	1728-1790
Layton Hawes (including a plan of 1531)	1531-1767
Layton-with-Warbreck	1595-1875
Warton	1607-1844
Settlements, Mortgages, etc.	1394-1802
Subsidies	1585-1626
Pardons	1350-1507
Inventories	1654-1657
Delinquency Papers	1652-1654
Drainage	1792-1874
Proceedings in the Court of Arches concerning Halsall Church	1365
A Legal Formulary	c. 1450
Accounts of Ness Colliery, co. Chester	1769-1770
Ellel Court Rolls	1588-1670
Halton and Widnes Court Roll	1355-1356
Kirkham Court Rolls	1582-1811
Litherland and Walton Compoti	1401-1413
Lytham Court Rolls	1504-1772
Salfordshire Court Rolls	1540-1547
Westby Court Rolls	1568-1712
Clifton-with-Salwick Court Book	1677-1712
Correspondence (in all some 3,000 documents)	1605-1886

There are also several boxes of miscellaneous documents relating to Clifton-with-Salwick, Kirkham, Little Marton, Lytham, and Westby-with-Plumpton not yet calendared.

R. SHARPE FRANCE.

○ A GRANT OF ARMS TO URMSTON, LANCS.

AN interesting recent grant of municipal arms was made to the Urban District Council of Urmston, near Manchester, on 10 June, 1942, by Sir Gerald Woods Wollaston, Garter, Sir Arthur William Steuart Cochrane, Clarenceux, and Algar Henry Stafford Howard, Norroy. The blazon runs as follows: ARMS: Per chevron azure and Barry wavy argent and of the first, on a chevron ermine



between in chief a griffin segreant and an oak tree eradicated or and in base a bezant charged with an anvil sable a rose gules barbed and seeded proper between two martlets also or. CREST: A squirrel sejant proper holding with the forepaws a balance or. The motto is "Salus populi suprema est lex."

The arms were obtained primarily as a result of the Warship Week held some time previously. When the Admiralty informed

the Council that the town was to be allowed to adopt the warship H.M.S. *Express*, it was suggested that there should be an exchange of tokens as between the citizens and the ship's company, as was usual throughout the country. At that time the Council had nothing more presentable than what the Clerk to the Council, Mr. L. Watkins, calls "a repellent combination of the letters U.U.D.C." Accordingly, the Council were enterprising enough to apply for a grant of arms, being unwilling, as so many authorities have been, to allow an unauthorised device to be displayed all over the world in the town's adopted warship. After a number of alternative designs had been submitted by the College of Arms, the design as given above was submitted by Mr. A. T. Butler, Windsor Herald, and went forward for Garter's approval. Later, a presentation plaque showing the new arms was carved and painted by Mr. E. A. Mitchell, the heraldic artist.

The griffin in the arms recalls that of the Traffords, who bore it gules on argent. Richard de Trafford had the whole Lordship of Trafford granted to him by Hamo de Masci and Margery his daughter, widow of Roger Payne of Ashbourne, Derby, about the year 1200; in the troubled times of the wars of King John he divided his lands between his sons Henry and Geoffrey. Henry, the elder son, inherited Trafford, Stretford, and all his father's lands in Manchester.

The chevron was suggested by the arms of the Hydes and Ashawes. Ralph de Hyde, who was living in 1357, had Urmston in right of his wife, who was daughter and heiress of Adam de Ormeston, from whose arms the squirrel in the crest was taken. Lawrence Ashawe had Shawe Hall in Flixton in right of his wife, Jane Valentine, who died *sine prole*, c. 1558. He bequeathed his estates to his nephew Leonard Ashawe, who was buried at Flixton in 1594. The Valentines held lands in Flixton as early as the reign of Edward II, as shewn by the survey of the manor and barony of Manchester in 1320. The martlets are also taken from the Ashawe arms. The rose is the rose of Lancaster, the anvil represents industry, and the oak symbolises the preservation of the rural aspect of the district. The wavy bars, representing water, stand for the Mersey and the Ship Canal, and the scales held by the squirrel are the emblem of St. Michael, patron saint of the parish.

The motto means "The welfare of the people is the highest law". This motto, without the verb, is used by a number of local authorities, including Lytham St. Annes, Tonbridge, Tipton and Willenhall.

This is the second coat of arms to be granted to a Lancashire U.D.C. in recent years. The first was granted to Denton in 1936. Arms were also granted to Prestwich, Farnworth, Stretford, Swinton and Pendlebury, Radcliffe and Crosby, but only in anticipation of their immediate incorporation.

H. ELLIS TOMLINSON.

REV. FREDERICK ODO BLUNDELL, O.S.B., F.S.A.(Scot.)

FATHER BLUNDELL, who died at Fort Augustus Monastery on 6 February, 1943, was born at Crook Hall, Lancashire, in 1868. The son of John Blundell, he belonged to the well-known family of Blundell of Crosby Hall.

He became a Benedictine monk attached to Fort Augustus Monastery. During the war of 1914-19, he was a chaplain with the Grand Fleet, and served with the present King in H.M.S. *Collingwood*. In 1921 he was appointed Roman Catholic Port Chaplain of Liverpool, where he did great work among Catholic seamen, founding the Apostleship of the Sea in 1922.

Belonging as he did to a family closely bound up with Catholic history in this neighbourhood, it is natural that his antiquarian interests were directed to that subject, and he became a notable figure in the Catholic community of the district for his researches into the past history of Catholicism in Lancashire. His *Old Catholic Lancashire*, published in three volumes between 1925 and 1931, is a standard work on the subject.

He joined the Historic Society on his first coming to Liverpool in 1921, and continued a member until his death, being elected to the Council in 1927.

In addition to the works listed below, he transcribed the Lancashire and Irish deeds, 13th to 16th centuries, preserved at

Crosby Hall. A copy of these transcriptions is in the Liverpool Public Library.

PUBLICATIONS :—

Ancient Catholic Homes of Scotland.

Broughton Catholic Society (1787-1920). Preston, 1923.

The Catholic Highlands of Scotland. 2 v. 1909-17.

Kilcumein and Fort Augustus.

Old Catholic Lancashire. 3 v. 1925-31.

PAPERS READ TO THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE
AND CHESHIRE :—

1922. "Were there Crannogs in Martin Mere?" Printed in v. 75, 203.
1924. "Old-time Lancashire chalices." Printed in v. 76, 115.
1935. "The Molyneux deeds at Croxteth Hall, 1115 to 1600: a summary."
1936. "A deposition of Title Deeds with the Abbot of Whalley, 1522." (Hesketh deeds, No. 33.)

JAMES HOULT, F.R.Hist.S., F.S.A. (Scot.), F.R.S.A. (Ireland).

Died 17 March, 1943, in his 79th year.

MR. HOULT was a member of the Historic Society for two periods, from 1911 to 1919, and from 1924 to 1929.

He was the son of James Hoult, provision dealer, of Prescott Road, Old Swan, and grandson of James Hoult, proprietor of the Old Swan Inn and Posting House. Mr. Hoult succeeded his father in the provision business: his extensive premises, situated at the corner of Prescott Road and St. Oswald Street, were a local landmark under the popular name of Hoult's Corner. They have lately been rebuilt under one of the Corporation housing schemes.

Outside his business, Mr. Hoult's main interests were anti-quarian, and he possessed an unrivalled knowledge of Old Swan and neighbourhood, much of which he embodied in his *West Derby, Old Swan and Wavertree: historical and topographical*, published in 1913. Local historians owe him a debt of gratitude

for putting into this permanent form a record of these rapidly changing districts. He contributed many antiquarian articles and letters to the local press, and frequently lectured on local history. During the war of 1914-19, when American troops were stationed at Knotty Ash, he gave them several talks on this subject, and some years later was asked by the B.B.C. to give some broadcast talks.

The following is a list of books and articles by Mr. Hoult:—

INDEPENDENT WORKS.

- West Derby and Old Swan : historical and topographical.* Liverpool, 1911.
West Derby, Old Swan and Wavertree : historical and topographical.
 Illus. Liverpool, 1913.
West Derby Hundred : early highways and byways. Illus. St. Helens,
 1923.
Lancashire local history : The Vill, Manor and Township of Knowsley.
 Illus. Liverpool, 1930.
Story of Stoneycroft. Illus. Liverpool, 1939.

PAPERS IN THE *Transactions* OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE
 AND CHESHIRE.

1912. "Old Swan Charity School." Vol. 64, p. 255.
 1920. "Travelling post." Vol. 72, p. 18.
 1925. "Prescot watchmaking in the XVIII century." Vol. 77, p. 39.
 1927. "Prescot in Tudor Times." Vol. 79, p. 112.

In addition Mr. Hoult read the following unpublished papers to the Society:—

1918. "Early highways and byways of the Hundred of West Derby."
 1925. "Prescot during the Stuart period."
 1927. "Clay pot and pipe makers of South-west Lancashire."
 1928. "The market gardens of S.W. Lancashire in the 18th century."
 1929. "Knowsley."

PROFESSOR G. S. VEITCH, M.A., Litt.D.

The loss to historical scholarship, both general and local, through the death of Dr. Veitch, which took place on 23rd June, 1943, is a considerable one. Dr. Veitch was formerly a member of the Council of this Society and a contributor to these *Transactions*. It is hoped to include a more comprehensive memoir in the next volume.

REPORT OF COUNCIL, 1942.

During the year sixteen members were elected and seven resignations and one death have to be recorded, bringing the total membership of the Society to 175.

The following were elected members of the Society during the year 1942.

DATE.	NAME OF MEMBER.	PROPOSER.
Jan. 31.	Mrs. Anne Anderson.	F. A. Bailey.
Feb. 14.	Major A. T. R. Houghton, M.C., M.A.	F. A. Bailey.
„ 14.	Mrs. F. T. Wainwright, B.A.	F. T. Wainwright.
„ 14.	Robert Walker.	F. A. Bailey.
March 28.	Miss I. Skelland.	Mrs. F. A. Bailey.
„ 28.	R. Dickinson, Ph.D., F.I.C.	F. A. Bailey.
„ 28.	Richard Thomas Lewis.	A. C. Wardle.
April 16.	H. E. Tomlinson, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.)	R. Sharpe France.
„ 16.	Liverpool College Library.	F. T. Wainwright.
Oct. 24.	Philip Ashcroft, Junr.	R. Sharpe France.
„ 24.	A. V. Carefull.	F. T. Wainwright.
„ 24.	Douglas B. Cochrane.	R. Sharpe France.
„ 24.	W. E. Corlett.	Frederick G. Blair.
„ 24.	George R. Millner.	R. Sharpe France.
„ 24.	W. G. H. Jones.	R. Le F. Hodgson.
Nov. 21.	W. A. Cross.	F. A. Bailey.

The ordinary meetings of the Society were held during the year, and in this connection it has to be recorded that, contrary to the usual practice, the Society has met at Preston and the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, this latter meeting being held in conjunction with the Bromborough Society, thereby enabling members in the aforementioned districts to attend ordinary meetings of the Society. The Council proposes to continue this practice whenever it is thought desirable.

The following papers were read during the year :—

Feb. 14.	“Liverpool’s early Customs Collectors, 1665-1707,” by A. C. WARDLE.
March 28.	“Speke Hall and two Norris Inventories, 1624 and 1700,” by Miss E. B. SAXTON, M.A., M.L.A.
April 16.	“Merseyside Orchestras: an introduction to the history of local instrumental music,” by BERTRAM B. BENAS, J.P., B.A., LL.B.
May 30.	“The Marshlands of Newton-with-Scales and Freckleton,” by ROBERT WALKER. Meeting held at the County Hall, Preston, Mr. Francis Weld, High Sheriff of the County, presiding.
Oct. 24.	“A voyage on the <i>Red Jacket</i> to Australia in the years 1857-58,” by E. CUTHBERT WOODS, L.D.S., R.C.S., and “A unique Roman Fibula,” by Dr. PHILIP NELSON.

Nov. 21. "The Scandinavians in Cheshire," by F. T. WAINWRIGHT, B.A. Meeting held at the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, in conjunction with the Bromborough Society, the Mayor, Councillor R. Snape, M.C., J.P., presiding.

During the year volume 93 of the Society's *Transactions* was published.

FREDERICK G. BLAIR,
Hon. Secretary.

REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1942.

Since the various rooms at the Royal Institution, formerly occupied by the Members for their meetings, were taken over by the Services Quiet Club following their occupation of the building in January, 1942, and in consequence of the reshuffling of the dates of meetings owing to the necessity for fitting in with other cultural societies, little use has been made of the library. The number of books borrowed for home reading was 30 volumes.

The contents of the bookcase in the "Tea Room" were removed to another part of the building to the satisfaction of the new tenants.

The stock of *Transactions* has been increased by the donation of various volumes, viz. :—

- v. 1-36, and 54, by Mr. C. R. BOULT. 37 vols.
- v. 79-91, by Mr. G. KENNETH COOK. 13 vols.
- v. 1-24, 27, 32, 69-74, by Mr. J. W. THWAITE. 32 vols.
- v. 66-70, 78-83, by Mr. W. H. PERRY. 11 vols.
- v. 11, by Miss EARLE.

Additions to the Library were presented by the following, viz. :—

Bertram B. Benas, Esq. "A Plea for a genealogical and historiographical section of the Jewish Society of England. 1942."

John A. Stewart, Esq. "Inchmahome, and the Lake of Menteith, by W. STEWART. 1933."

Additions to the stock of the Library have been received from various scientific and learned societies who exchange volumes with us. The grand total of volumes received under the various headings numbers 119 volumes and 19 parts.

During the year several odd volumes of the *Transactions* have been sold, to the satisfaction of the Hon. Treasurer.

Volume 93 of the *Transactions* was distributed to members on 27 October and 28 copies were added to stock. It should be pointed out that volume 93 has been produced under wartime conditions and in accordance with the "Book production war economy standard" which means that the typography of this book conforms to the authorised economy standard. Nevertheless, the Hon. Editor is to be congratulated on the production.

J. F. SMITH,
Hon. Librarian.

The Hon. Treasurer in Account with the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1942.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.			
1942.					
Jan. 1	To Bank Balance from last Account	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
	" Subscriptions	124	2 6	...	4 10 2
	" Sale of <i>Transactions</i>	192	15 6	...	13 13 0
	" Interest on War Loan	17	0 0	...	10 0 0
	" Donations—	4	7 10	...	10 0 0
	Hon. Editor : cover for volume 93	10	0 0	...	1 6 1
	Hon. Editor and F. T. Wainwright, Esq. : blocks for volume 93	4	5 11	...	21 6 1
	Capt. F. Crooks : volume 93	5	0 0	...	1 0 0
	J. Lamb, Esq. : block for volume 92	1	8 0	...	1 0 0
	Cost of off-prints :	20	18 11	...	5 1 0
	Lancashire County Council	5	0 0	...	122 4 9
	F. H. Crossley, Esq.	3	5 0	...	40 6 2
	" Hon. Treasurer	8	5 9	...	5 18 0
		0	1 5	...	168 8 11
		8	5 9	...	1 7 3
		0	1 5	...	7 11 3
		...	...	...	0 7 6
		...	...	...	0 6 5
		...	...	...	1 2 0
		...	...	...	0 6 0
		...	...	...	143 11 7
		...	...	...	£367 11 2

Audited and found correct,
(Signed) G. KENNETH COOK, Chartered Accountant } Hon. Auditors,
S. A. HARRIS

(Signed) W. A. PHILLIPS, Hon. Treasurer.
Liverpool, 8th January, 1943.

INDEX

Names mentioned more than once on a page are indexed only once. Names of places are printed in italics.

- ABRAM, 125
 Accrington, 122, 124, 125
 Aclea, 5
 Adlington, 124
 Adlington, Roger, 77; Timothy, 81
 Aelfwyn, 26, 27, 53-5
 Æthelflæd, 5, 14, 16, 19, 22-8, 54
 Aglionby, 44n
 Aigburth, 41n
 Aighton, 125
 Ainsdale, 127
 Aintree, 127
 Alfred, king, 3, 5-14, 18, 22, 23, 29, 55
 Allerton, 117, 118n
 Allithwaite, 122, 125
 Allonby, 44n
 Alston, 122, 126
 Alston, John, 104, 106, 107
 Alicar, 122, 127
 Altham, 122
 Anderton, 124
 Anderton, H. I., 62n, 78n
 Andrews, John, 75
 Anglesey, 21, 113
 Anglezarke, 124, 126
 Angus, W. S., 24n
 Appledore, 10, 11
 Arrowe, 41, 44, 46
 Arrowsmith, Rob., 87
 Ashawe, Lawr., 130; Leon., 130
 Ashbourne, 130
 Ashcroft, Philip, 89n
 Ashton, 126
 — in *Makerfield*, 92, 124, 127
 — with *Stodday*, 127
 Ashurst, 117
 Ashurst, Wm., 85, 123
 Aspull, 125
 Asser, 5, 9
 Astley, 122, 123, 127
 Athelstan, priest, 9
 Atherton, Humph., 81; Rob., 66, 82, 86, 87; Wm., 87
 Aughton, 125, 127
 Avernon, Sir Alex., 60-2; Marjorie, 62

 BABBINGTON, John, 60
 Babington plot, 73
 Bailey, 125
 Bailey, F. A., 119n, 123
 Baines, Tho., 113
 Bakewell, 28
 Balderstone, 124
 Baldwin, Weekes & Baldwin, 124
 Ballett, Eliz., 58; John, 58, 63
 Banks, J. H. M., "James Banks and the Manor of Winstanley," 56-93
 Banks (Banckes), Adam, 58, 63, 78, 79, 81, 84, 86, 87; Chris., 60, 79; Ellen, 80; Eliz., 58, 74; Gerard, 78, 79; Gilb., 79; Humph., 58, 63n, 64, 80; Jas., 56-93; John, 62, 76; Marg., 74, 88; Ralph, 64, 74, 78, 88; Rob., 79; Susan, 62, 73, 77, 84-8; Tho., 58, 63, 64, 73-6, 79, 80, 88; Wm., 58-60, 63, 65, 73, 74, 76, 78-81, 84, 86-8
 Bank Newton, 76
 Bannister, Janet, 100; Ric., 99, 100
 Barnacre, 122
 Barrowford, 122
 Barton, 122, 125
 Barton, —, 78; Gilb., 81, 84, 88; Kath., 86; Marg., 84; Ralph, 81; Wm., 80, 81, 86
 Battersby, Jas., 107; Tho., 107, 109
 Beacons in Lancs., 117-20
 Beconsall, 125
 Bedford, 22
 Bedfordshire, 127
 Beeston, 117
 Benfleet, 10, 11
 Beorhtwulf, 4, 5
 Bethom, 100
 Bewdley, 79
 Bewsey, 74
 Bibby, Gilb., 81
 Billinge, 65, 74, 81, 86, 87, 92, 93, 117
 Billinge, Ric., 89
 Billitt, Scipio, 59
 Bilsborrow, 122, 127
 Birchall, Marg., 81; Rob., 87; Wm., 81
 Birkdale, 127
 Birkenhead, 43
 Birmingham, 60
 Bispham, 122, 124, 125, 127
 Bispham, Eliz., 74; Sam., 74; Wm., 74
 Black, J. B., 57n, 62n, 70n
 Blackburn, 121, 122, 124, 125
 Black Comb, 113
 Blackleyhurst, 73, 83
 Blackmore, Ant., 84
 Blackpool, 123
 Blackrod, 124, 127
 Bland, G. M., 116
 Blawith, 118
 Bleasdale, 122, 127
 Blowick, 40n
 Blundell, F. O., 131-2; John, 131; Rob., 80
 Bold fam., 126
 Bonds, 122
 Boorde, And., 93
 Booths, 122
 Bootle, 112, 127

- Borrow, John, 100; Tho., 100
 Bradshaw, John, 65; Roger, 86
 ——— pedigree, 125
 Bray, Ric., 98
Brecheinog, 13n
Bremesbyrig, 23
Bretherton, 124, 125
Bridgnorth, 12n, 13, 23, 24
Briercliffe, 122
Brierfield, 122
Brimstage, 43
Brindle, 124
Brinsop, 65
Bristol, 102
 Brook, C. G., 6n
Broughton, 124, 125, 126
 Brown, Edw., 101n; Jas., 65
Bryning, 125, 127
Buallt, 13n
Buckingham, 23
 Buckland, Didimus, 59
 Burgred, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12
Burnley, 122, 124
Burrow, 122
Burscough, 41n
 Burton, J. P., 79
Bury, 122
 Bury, Ralph, 81
 Butler, A. T., 130
Buttington, 11n, 12
 Byrom, 101
 Byrom, Hen., 101
- CABUS*, 122
 Cadell, 16
Caldy, 41, 44
 ——— *Hill*, 118
Cambridge, 7, 25
Canterbury, 4
Cantsfield, 122
Carleton, 124, 127
Carlisle, 98
Carnarvon, 21, 113
 Carter, Peter, 63
Cartmel, 118
 Cartmell, C., 123; Rob., 109, 110
 Castle, —, 74
 Catholicism in Lancs., 131-2
Caton, 122, 127
Catterall, 122, 127
Cele-Dabhaill, 16
 Ceolwulf, king, 4, 7, 8, 9
 Chadocke, Tho., 81
Chaigley, 125
 Chambers, G. C., 63n
Charnock Richard, 125, 127
Chaiburn, 125
Cheadle Hulme, 50, 51
Chepstow, 12n
Cheshire, deeds, 127
Chester, 62, 76
 ———, pre-Conquest, 5n, 11n, 12, 13, 16-20,
 23-5, 28-31, 48
 ———, lawmen, 30-1
 ———, moneyers, 32-3
 Childeric, 1
Childwall, 111-20, 121
 ———, Enclosure Act, 114-5
 ———, Glebe, 114n
 ———, Hall, 113n, 114, 117
- Childwall*, Heath, 111, 113, 119
 ———, Hill, 111, 119n
 ———, Summer House, 111-20
 ———, Tithe Maps, 118
Chirbury, 23, 24
Chorley, 121, 122, 124, 125
Church Hulme, 50
Cirencester, 8, 9n
 Clarkson, Ellen, 81
Cloughton, 41, 44, 80, 122
Clayton-le-Dale, 125
 Clayton, —, 101n; Chris., 103
Cleveley, 122
Clifton, 97, 98, 107, 108, 128
 Clifton, H. T. de V., 126; John T., 109;
 M. D. E., 109; Tho., 98, 109
Clitheroe, 121, 123, 124, 125
 ———, School, 122
Clydog, 16n, 27
 Coalmining, 62, 64, 67, 71, 73
 Coales, Jas., 81; John, 81
 Cochrane, Sir A. W. S., 129
Cockersand, 60
 Coenwulf, 4
 Cokerom, Eliz., 73
 Colbron, —, 102
Colchester, 25
 Collingwood, W. G., 43
Colne, 122
Congleton, 50
 Cornay, John de, 100
Cornwall, 12n
Cotton Hall, 74
 Cotton, Edw., 74
 Cotun, John de, 98; Wm. de, 98
 Coulburne, —, 105; Tho., 108
Coupe, 122
 Cowburn, Rawlin of, 99-100
 Cowley, John, 92
 Cowper, Wm., 98
Crabwell, 43
 Crawford, Earl of, 79
 Croft, Edw., 80
Cronton, 127
 Cropper, —, 102
Crosby, 41n, 131, 132
 Crosorthe, Nich., 81
 Cross, John 66, 86; Wm., 66n
Croston, 124, 125, 127
 Crowley, Rob., 57
Croxall, 51, 52
Croxeth, 41n
Croxton, 50-2
 Crunes, Wm., 78
Cuddington, 32
Cuerden, 127
Cumberland, 44n, 45n, 50n, 70, 113
Cunscough, 41n
- DALTON*, 80, 85, 127
 Dampport, —, 64
 Darby, H. C., 51n
Davenport, 28
Davyhulme, 51
 Dawber, Tho., 84; Wm., 87
 De Hoghton fam., 126
Denbighshire, 113
Denton, 131
 Deorlaf, bishop, 9
Derby, 22, 24, 25

- Derby, Earl of, 74, 80, 100-3, 107, 109
 —, Commissioners of, 102, 103
Derbyshire, 8, 28, 35ⁿ, 44ⁿ, 52, 53, 70, 113
 Derbyshire, Tho., 81
 Derrick, Sam., 111-3
Devon, 10, 12ⁿ, 52ⁿ
 Dickson, —, 110
Dilworth, 122
Dingley, 59
Dinkley, 125
 Disraeli, 118
Ditton, 81
 Dobson, Chris., 109
Dore, 4ⁿ
Dovenby, 45ⁿ
 Downes, Eliz., 62ⁿ; Roger, 62, 87
Downholland, 127
Droitton, 51, 52
Dublin, 16ⁿ, 19
 Duffield, Edm., 60
 Dugdale, Wm., 76
Duggleby, 45ⁿ
 Duignan, W. H., 51ⁿ
Dunnocksshaw, 122
Durham Co., 44ⁿ, 47ⁿ, 50ⁿ
 Duxbury, Edm., 87
- EADBERT, bishop, 9
 Eadulf, 28
East Anglia, 4ⁿ, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12ⁿ, 13, 14,
 22, 25
Eastham, 48
 Eastham, Geo., 103, 105, 106
Eccles, 62
Eccleston, 124, 125, 127
Eddington, 7
Eddisbury, 22, 24, 25, 28
 Edward the Elder, 3-5, 11, 14, 16, 20ⁿ,
 22-9, 49, 54, 55
 Egbert, 4
 Ekwall, E., 12ⁿ, 40ⁿ, 41ⁿ, 50ⁿ, 51ⁿ
Ellel, 127, 128
Elswick, 127
 Enclosure Acts, 114-5, 123
 Enfield, Wm., 111, 112, 120
Enfield Chase, 119
 Ernle, Lord, 57ⁿ, 70ⁿ, 72ⁿ
Essex, 4ⁿ, 10, 12, 74, 123
 Essex's conspiracy, 80
 Ethelbald, 5
 Ethelfrith, 12ⁿ
 Ethelred, ealdorman, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 18,
 22, 23, 26, 54
 Ethelweard, 7, 10, 11ⁿ, 14, 23
 Ethelwulf, 5
Euxton, 125, 127
Everton, 111, 117, 118
Exeter, 7
Extwisle, 122
- FAIRCLOUGH, Ellen, 81; Humph., 81;
 John, 86; Lawr., 80; Lowry, 81
 Fairhurst, John, 81
Farington, 125
 Farington fam., 125
Farnon, 28
Farnham, 11
Farnworth, 131
 Fellitzen, O. von, 33ⁿ, 35ⁿ, 50ⁿ
 Fell, Sir M., 123
- Fell End*, 118
 Fibula, a late Roman, 1-2
 Finch, Johnson & Lynn, 124
Fishwick, 125
 Fitzherbert, John, 71
 Fleetwood, Edw., 56ⁿ, 83-7; Tho., 123
Flintshire, 113
Flixton, 51, 52, 74, 130
 —, Shaw Hall, 130
 Flower, John, 59
 Ford, Alex., 87
Formby, 41ⁿ, 80, 127
Fort Augustus, 131
Forton, 122, 125
 Foster, Tho., 112
Foulridge, 122
 France, R. S., "The County Record Office
 in 1942," 121-8
Frankby, 41, 44, 47, 48
Freckleton, 127
 —, Clow Dubb, 97
 —, Dowbridge, 95
 —, Dow Brook, 95-9, 107-9
 —, Haining Meadow, 98, 99
 —, Hall Cross, 103
 —, Marsh, 100, 109ⁿ, 110
 —, Middle Pool, 95-9
 —, Mill ponds, 109
 —, Outland Hill, 100
 —, Pool, 95, 97
 —, Proud Brook, 97-9
 —, Toll House, 95, 97, 99
 —, Water Mill, 94-110
 Freckleton, Adam de, 94; Hen., 102;
 Jas., 103; Joan, 94; Ralph de, 94,
 98; Ric. de, 94; Roger, 98;
 Roger de, 94
Frodsham, 43ⁿ, 118
Fulwood, 125
Furness, beacon, 118
Fylde, 121
- GAISKELL, Edm., 88; Edw., 88
Garstang, 118, 121, 122
 Gascoyne, Bamber, 114-6
 Gaskell, John, 81
Gayton, 43
 Gerard, Miles, 62ⁿ; Tho., 78
 Gillibrand, Ric., 100
 Gladstone, Rob., 112, 113ⁿ, 114, 115ⁿ,
 120ⁿ
Glamorganshire, 13
Gloucester, 7
Gloucestershire, 8
Goosnargh, 45ⁿ, 124, 125, 127
 Gorges, Edw., 59ⁿ
 Gradwell, John, 108; Wm., 103
 Gray, Hen., 81, 86, 87
Greasby, 43, 44, 48
Great Eccleston, 123, 124
Great Harwood, 124
 Green, J. R., 47
 Greene, Edm., 81; Hamlet, 81; Isaac,
 113-6, 120; Ralph, 84, 87
Greenhalgh, 127
Greet, 60, 61
 Gresould, Hen., 61
 Griffin, Edw., 59, 60
 Grimbalston, John, 103
Grimsgarth, 45ⁿ

Gunston, 51, 52
Guthrum, 7, 9n
Gwenllwg, 13n
Gwent, 13n

HABERGHAM EAVES, 123

Hackensall, 122
Hadley, 119
Hasten, 10, 11
Haughton, 124, 127
Hale, W. E., 109n
Halfdan, 6, 7
Halsall, 80, 127, 128
Halsall, Sir Cuth., 80
Halton, 117, 128
Hambleton, 123, 124, 127
Handbridge, 31
Handforth, 50
Hankinson, Tho., 108
Hapton, 123
Hardhorn, 127
Harris, S. A., "Woolton Summer House and Beacon," 111-20
Harrison, Jos., 102n; Ric., 102; Wm., 93, 117
Hartrig, Denis, 75
Harvy, Jas., 79
Harwood, 122, 124
Hasbach, W., 69
Haslingden, 121, 122, 124
Hawkley, 63
Heapey, 124, 126
Hearings, John, 87
Heath Charnock, 124
Heaton, Ric., 86
Heaton Norris, 125
Helsby, 41, 43n, 44
Hereford, 9
Herefordshire, 8
Heriford, 23
Hesketh, 125
Hesketh, —, 105
Heskin, 127
Hest, 124
Hewitt, H. J., 31, 48n
Heysham, 127
Hindley, 60, 65, 121, 124, 125
Hodgkin, R. H., 2n, 6, 10n, 11n, 12n
Hoggart, —, 105
Hoghton, 124, 125, 126
Hoghton, Dan., 126; fam., 126
Holleth, 122
Holt, John, 68, 70n, 71
Honorius, 2n
Hooton, 48
Hornby, Hugh, 108; John, 109, 110
Houghton, 72
Houghton, A. T. R., 124; Dan., 126
Howard, A. H. S., 129
Howick, 125
Huddleston (Hodelliston), Isabel, 100; Nich., 100; Ric., 100; Wm., 94, 95
Hulme (Lancs.), 51
— (Staffs.), 51
Hulme End, 51
Hulme Hall, 50
Hulme Walfield, 50
Huncoat, 122
Hurdinglee, 32
Hurst, John, 81; Ralph, 81

Hurstwood, 123
Hutton, 125
Huyton, Ellen, 81
Hyde, Geo., 74; Ralph de, 130
Hywel, 16n, 27

ICELAND, 45n

Ince, 62n, 78
Ince Blundell, 127
Ingimund (Hingamund), 15-21, 31, 46
Inskip, 122
Irby, 41, 44, 46, 48
Ireby, 125
Ireland, Norsemen from, 14-20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33, 45, 46
Ireland, Sir Tho., 74

JACOBITES, 124

Johnby, 44n
Johnson, Thomlin, 100
Jonson, Ben, 59

KAY, J. C., 123

Kellmergh, 125, 127
Kent, 4n, 10
Kent Sands, 123
Kerby, Wm. de, 98
Kettleshulme, 52
Kirby, 41
Kirkandrews, 45n
Kirkbride, 45n
Kirkby, 41n, 127
Kirkdale, 41n, 127
Kirkham, 95, 98, 102, 103, 108, 128
Kirkland, 122
Kirkoswald, 45n
Knowsley, 102, 111
Knowstone, 52n
Knuston, 52n
Knutsford, 50, 52
Knutton, 51, 52n

LACE, Ambrose, 117; Joshua, 118

Lancaster, 80, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127
—, Castle, 125
—, Friends' Meeting House, 116
—, Goal, 121
—, Vicarage, 125
Langshaw, A., 123
Larbreck, 127
Larton, 41, 44
Lathom, 41, 125, 127
Lathom, Tho., 101n
Layton, 123, 124, 128
—, Hawes, 128
Lea, 125, 126, 128
Leck, 124
Ledsham, 48
Leeds, E. T., 1
Lees, Wm., 85
Leicester, 22, 24, 26, 30
Leicestershire, 8, 44, 52, 53
Leigh, 60, 80, 86, 87, 121, 122, 125
Leigh, Wm., 86
Leighton, 48
Lench, 122
Levenshulme, 51
Leyland, 124, 125, 126
—, Hundred, 121
Lichfield, 9

- Lillie, A. C. M., 124
 Lincoln, 26, 27
 Lincolnshire, 50n, 52, 53
 Lindkvist, H., 50n
 Lindsey, 6
 Lipson, E., 70n
 Litherland, 41n, 128
 Little Sankey, 63
 Little Woolton, see Woolton
 Liverpool, 66, 86, 102, 111, 112, 117,
 119n, 120, 124, 127, 128, 131
 —, Edge Hill, 111
 —, Gaol, 121
 —, Knotty Ash, 133
 —, Mossley Hill, 111
 —, Old Swan, 132
 —, Public Lib., 132. See also *Allerton*,
 Childwall, *Everton*, *Sefton*, *Walton*,
 Woolton
 Livesey, 126
 Lloyd, J. E., 16n, 27n
 London, 4, 6, 8, 11, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64,
 73, 80
 —, Goldsmiths, 56-64
 —, Gray's Inn, 74, 80
 —, Holborn, 64, 75, 80
 —, Long Lane, 75
 —, Scrope's Court, 75
 —, Smithfield, 75
 —, Staple Inn, 76
 —, Tower, 62n
 Longridge Fell, 118
 Longton, 124, 126
 Loud, 50n
 Louth, 50n
 Lower Peover, 31
 Lowith, 118
 Lowton, 127
 Lumby, J. H., 126
 Lund, 102n
 Lunesdale, 121
 Lunt, 41n
 Lydiate, 127
 Lyme, —, 102
 Lytham, 109, 126, 128
 Lytham St. Annes, 131
- MACADAM, J. L. 124
 Mac Egan, N., 15
 Mac Firbisigh, D., 15
 Maghull, 127
 Makinson, Mrs. 124
 Maldon, 25
 Man, *Isle of*, 102
 Manchester, 25, 28, 51, 53, 55, 74, 124, 129,
 130
 —, Gaol, 121
 Markland, Ralph, 78; Rob., 81
 Marling, 70-2
 Marsh, J. F., 119
 Marton, 124, 128
 Masci, Hamo de, 130; Margery, 130
 Mather, Francis, 85, 87
 Mawdesley, 124
 Medlar, 127
 Melling, 127
 Meols, 41, 44
 Mercia, Scandinavians in, 3-55
 Mersea Is., 11, 13
 Middlesex, 119
- Middleton, 74
 Middlewich, 31
 Milton, 10
 Mitchell, E. A., 130
 Mollington, 48
 Molyneux, Brian, 81; Lawr., 87; Tho. 63
 —, fam., 128
 Monmouthshire, 13
 Monteagle, Lord, 80
 Montgomery, 12
 Monza, 2
 Moresby, 44n
 Morganwy, 13n
 Moryson, Fynes, 57n
 Much Hoole, 125
 Musbury, 125
 Myerscough, 122
- NATEBY, 122
 Neale, Tho., 78
 Nelson, 122
 Nelson, Philip, "A Late Roman Fibula,"
 1-2
 Ness, 40, 43, 128
 Neston, 40, 43, 44
 Nether Kellet, 122
 Nether Tabley, 31
 Nether Wyersdale, 122
 Newburgh, 80
 Newchurch, 122
 Newton-in-Makerfield, 65
 Newton with Scales, 94n, 95, 97-9, 101,
 108, 109, 125, 127
 —, Charity, 109, 110
 —, Marsh, 108, 109
 —, School, 109, 110
 Newton with Hardhorn, 127
 Nightgall, Lawr., 84-5, 87
 Noblett, Geo., 98
 Noctorum, 41, 46
 Norbreck, 122, 124, 125, 127
 Norfolk, 50n
 Normacot, 51
 Northampton, 24, 25
 Northamptonshire, 8, 25, 52n, 59, 127
 North Meols, 126
 Northtown, 122
 Northumberland, 50n
 Northumbria, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12n, 13, 14,
 19, 24, 25, 28
 Nottingham, 6, 9n, 26, 27, 28, 54
 Nottinghamshire, 28, 35n, 52, 53, 130
 Nowell, Roger, 101
 —, fam., 125
 Nuthurst, 6n
- O'DONOVAN, J., 15
 Offa, 4
 Ogles, John, 73
 Oldham, 51
 Orm, 21
 Ormeston, Adam de, 130
 Ormskirk, 41n, 121, 126
 Orrell, 62n, 64, 79, 80, 81, 87, 92
 Orrell, Alex., 80; Ellen, 64, 80; Geo.,
 80; Hen., 79; John, 80; Lewis,
 80; Peter, 63-4, 80; Ric., 80;
 Tho., 80, 81; Wm., 80; Wm.
 de, 79
 Orwin, C. S., 66n

- Osbaldeston*, 125
Osborne, —, 61
Oswald, 4*n*
Oswaldtwistle, 124
Out Rawcliffe, 122, 124, 127
Over Darwen, 124
Overpool, 31
Over Tabley, 31
Over Wyersdale, 125
Oxford, 1, 63
Oxfordshire, 8
Oxton, 43
- PADIHAM*, 122
Parker, Tho., 101*n*
Parkes, Joan, 119*n*
Parkinson, —, 109, 110
Passenham, 25
Patten fam., 126
Payne, Marg., 130; *Roger*, 130
Pemberton, 62-5, 76, 78, 87, 92, 127
 —, *Goose Green*, 76
 —, *Lamberhead Green*, 76
 —, *Old Fields*, 63
 —, *Sankey or Stone House*, 63, 64, 77
Pemberton, Alice, 81; *Edmund*, 82;
Edw., 82; *Rob.*, 87; *Tho.*, 81, 82, 87
Pembrokeshire, 66
Pendlebury, 131
Pennington, 125
Pennington, Jas., 81; *Wm.*, 81
Pensby, 41, 44, 48
Penwortham, 122, 124, 125, 126
Perry, Geo., 111, 112, 119*n*, 120
Peterborough, 6*n*
Picton, J. A., 112*n*, 120*n*
Picts, 7
Pilling, 122, 123, 127
Pleasington, 124
Plegmund, 9
Plumpton, 128
Poole, 14
Poulton-le-Fylde, 102, 103,, 104 105
Preesall, 122
Prenton, 48
Prescot, 73, 102, 114, 119*n*, 121
Prescott, Lawr., 87
Presteigne, 65
Preston, 124, 126, 127
 —, *Church*, 126
 —, *County Record Office*, 107*n*, 115*n*,
 121-8
 —, *Election*, 121
 —, *Gaol*, 121
 —, *Grammar School*, 63
Preston, Mary, 101*n*
Prestwich, 131
Price (Apryce), Mrs., 101*n*
Pritt, Ric., 110
Puddington, 48
- RABY*, 41, 44, 48
Radcliffe, 131
Radnorshire, 65
Ragnald, 24, 25, 26*n*, 28
Rainford, 50*n*
Rainford, Marg., 81; *Roger*, 81
Ratchdale, Geo., 73
Rawcliffe, 124
Read, 101, 122, 125, 126
- Repton*, 6, 9*n*
Rhodri Mawr, 16, 21
Ribble fisheries, 95, 125
Ribbleton, 122
Ribby, 127
Ribchester, 124, 126
Rickerby, 44*n*
Rigby, —, 104; *Roger*, 77, 81-3, 85
Rishion, 122
Rivington, 117
Robinson, —, 102
Roby, 41*n*
Roby, Chris., 89
Rochester, 4
Rogers, T., 71*n*
Roman fibula, 1-2
Rome, 7
Rostherne, 50, 52
Roughlee Booth, 122
Round, J. H., 47
Royal Lancashire Regiment, 125
Rufford, 89*n*
Runcorn, 23, 24, 25, 28
Rylands, Edm., 81; *Hump.*, 81
Rymer, Hen., 87
- SABDEN*, 122
Salesbury, 126
Salford, 127, 128
Salthouse, John, 102
Satwick, 128
Samlesbury, 124
Sandys, Myles, 112
Sankey fam., 63
Scandinavians in N.W. Mercia, 3-55
Scergeate, 23
Scholar Green, 51
Scotforth, 127
Scott, Gilb., 78; *Jas.*, 89; *Jane*, 84;
Tho., 57
Sefton, 121, 122, 127
Shackerley, 123
Sharp, J., 101*n*
Sharples, Arthur, 100-2; *Cuth.*, 101;
Geo., 102-7; *Jas.*, 101, 107, 108;
Janet, 102*n*; *John*, 101, 102, 107;
Tho., 107
Shaw, R. Cunliffe, 97*n*, 108*n*, 110
Shelley, R. J. A., 78
Sherington, Alex., 64; *Eliz.*, 84, 86;
Francis, 62-4, 81; *Gilb.*, 62;
John, 64; *Kath.*, 62; *Sarah*, 75;
Susan, 62; *Wm.*, 62, 75
 — *fam.*, 80
Shoebury, 11, 12
Shotwick, 40, 43
Shrewsbury, 21*n*
Shropshire, 8
Sihtric, 28
Silverdale, 127
Simon, abbot, 30
Singleton, 124, 127
Singleton, Ric., 102
Skelmersdale, 41*n*
Skerton, 125
Slyne, 124
Slynehead, Wm., 67
Smalley, Rob., 108
Smith, Edw., 101*n*
Somerset, 7, 127

- South Kirkby, 100
 Southport, 40n, 121
 Southwark, 62
 Southworth, 74
 Southworth, John, 72; Tho., 72
 Sowerby, 122
 Stafford, 23, 24
 Staffordshire, 8, 35n, 51, 52, 53, 113
 Stainall, 122, 124, 127
 Stalmine, 122, 124, 127
 Stamford, 26
 Standish, 85, 86
 Standish, Edw., 86
 Stanley, fam., 125. See also Derby, Earl of
 Staninought, Wm., 85, 86
 Starkey, Tho., 62
 Stavely, 124
 Stenton, F. M., 25n, 30n
 Stewart-Brown, R., 114n, 117n
 Stilicho, 2
 Stock, James, 112; John, 112
 Stockden, Manasses, 59
 Stockton, Sam., 123
 Stoke-on-Trent, 51
 Storeton, 43, 44
 Strathclyde, 7, 28
 Stretford, 130, 131
 Studley Priory, 61
 Suffolk, 35n, 47n
 Surrey, 4, 62
 Sussex, 4n, 127
 Sutton (Ches.), 31, 48
 — (Lancs.), 124
 Swanscoe, 50
 Swartbreck, Edw., 104, 105
 Swinscoe, 51
 Swinton, 131
 Syers, Rob., 118
 Syria, 1
- TAIT, J., 30n, 31, 32n, 33n, 38n
 Tamworth, 23, 24, 26
 Tarbock, 127
 Tarleton, 125
 Tarnicar, 123
 Tattersall, Miss A., 123
 Tawney, R. H., 59n, 60n, 66n, 70n
 Taylor, Jas., 81
 Tempsford, 25
 Tettenhall, 23
 Thelwall, 25, 28, 55
 Thingwall (Ches.), 43, 44
 — (Lancs.), 41n
 Thistleton, 127
 Thompson, Rob., 87
 Thorney, 11n
 Thornton, 123, 127
 Thorpe, Titus, 110
 Thrisington, 47n
 Throgmorton, Clement, 61
 Thrussington, 47
 Thurstanton, 43, 44, 47, 48n
 Thurston, 47n
 Tipton, 131
 Tockholes, 124, 126
 Toft, 50
 Tomlinson, Geo., 73
 Tomlinson, H. E., "A Grant of Arms to
 Urmston," 129-31
 Tonbridge, 131
- Topping, Rob., 84
 Torksey, 6
 Tottington Higher End, 122
 Towcester, 25
 Townley, John 84-5, 87
 Toxteth, 41n, 127
 Trafford, 130
 Trafford, Hen. de, 130; Geoff. de, 130;
 Mrs., 123; Ric. de, 130
 Tranmere, 43, 44
 Travers, John, 73
 Treales, 109
 Tunstall, 122
 Tupling, G. H., 67n
 Turner, Rob., 101
 Turnpike roads, 117n, 119n, 122, 124
 Turton, 79, 80
 Tyldesley, 123
 Tylandes, Edm., 81
 Tyson, Ric., 81
- ULNES WALTON, 124, 125, 126
 Upholland, 79, 127
 Upper Hulme, 51
 Upper Rawcliffe, 123
 Upton, 48
 Urmston, 51, 52, 74
 —, arms of, 129-31
 Urswick (Erswyke), John, 100
- VALENTINE, Jane, 130
- WAINWRIGHT, F. T., "North-West
 Mercia 871-924," 3-55
 Wales, relations with Mercia, 5, 12, 27, 41,
 54
 Walker, R., "Freckleton Water Mill," 94-
 110
 Walmsley, Sarah, 126
 Walney Is., 118
 Walton Cop, 126
 Walton-le-Dale, 124, 126, 127
 Walton-on-the-Hill, 124, 127
 Walton (unspecified), 112, 126, 128
 Warbreck, 123, 124, 128
 Wardley Hall, 62
 Wareham, 7
 Warrington, 63, 76, 111n, 121
 Warton, 99, 100, 125, 128
 Warwick, 23, 24
 Warwickshire, 6n, 8, 53
 Watkins, L., 130
 Watling Street, 10, 13
 Wearbyrig, 23
 Wednesfield, 23
 Weekes, Mrs. E. A. S., 123
 Welch Whittle, 124
 Welshpool, 12
 Werfrith, bishop, 6n, 9
 Werwulf, 9
 Wesham, 95, 123
 Wessex, 4-8, 12, 14, 27, 53
 Westby, 128
 West Derby, 41n, 56, 121, 123, 127
 Westhoughton, 124
 West Kirby, 43, 44, 48
 Westleigh, 127
 Westmorland, 50n, 127
 Wetherby, Peter, 73
 Whalley, 122, 126

- Whiston*, 73
Whitby, 43, 44, 48
Whitfield, Wm., 88
Whittingham, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126
Whittle-le-Woods, 126
Widnes, 128
Wigan, 56, 57, 62, 63, 65, 74, 76, 83, 87, 88,
 92, 124, 126, 127
 —, Church, 76
 —, Haigh Hall, 79
 —, Pewterers, 58, 63, 78-9
 —, Public Lib., 62*n*, 64
 —, Rector of, 83-7
 —, School, 62-3
Wigingamere, 25
Wiglaf, 4*n*
Wilkinson, Mrs. G., 123; T. W., 119*n*
Willenhall, 131
Wiltshire, 126
Wilson, Tho., 59*n*, 60*n*
Wiltshire, 7
Winmarleigh, 123
Winstanley, 56-93, 127
 —, Coalmining, 62, 67, 80, 81, 86
 —, Cross Field, 66
 —, Field names, 92-3
 —, Mill, 67
 —, Sandford, 68
Winstanley, Adam de, 65; Anne, 83;
 Edm., 65, 66, 77, 80-2, 86, 89;
 Eliz., 65; Humph., 81; Jas., 66,
 73, 81, 82, 83; John, 81; Miles,
 81; Ric., 80; Rob., 68, 81;
 Roger de, 65; Tho., 62*n*, 65, 81
Winwick, 72
Wirral, 12-53 *passim*, 116
Wiswell, 123
Witham, 23
Withington, 51
Withnell, 125
Wilton, 124
Wollaston, Sir G. W., 129
Wood, Anne, 84; John, 71
Woodplumpton, 125, 126
Woods, Frances, 80; Geoff., 80
Woolton, 127
 —, Beacon, 117-20
 —, Beaconsfield, 118, 119
 —, Enclosure Act, 114-5, 118
 —, Heath, 113, 120
 —, Hill, 111, 115-9
 —, Hospitallers, in, 120
 —, Knolle Park, 112, 113, 116-8
 —, Summer House, 111-7, 119
Worcester, 6*n*, 8, 9
Worcestershire, 8, 61, 79
Worden, 125
Worsley, 62
Worsley, Eliz., 62*n*; Sir Jas., 62*n*; Kath.,
 62*n*; Ralph, 62*n*, 64, 81
Worsthorpe, 123
Worthington, 124
Worthington, John, 87
Wrea, 127
Wreak, 44
Wrekin, 21*n*
Wrightington, 87, 126, 127
Wrightington, John, 86, 87
Wroxeter, 21*n*
Wybunbury, 32

YARDLEY, 61
Yate & Pickup Bank, 125
Yates, Wm., 111, 112, 119*n*
York, 6, 9*n*, 24, 26, 28, 98
Yorkshire, 35*n*, 44, 50*n*, 76, 113, 127

LIVERPOOL
 PUBLIC
 LIBRARIES

