

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE DURING
THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

VOL 2

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CHAPTER IX.

THE TEACHERS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.

- a) The availability of schooling.
- b) The teachers.
- c) The literate.

a) The Availability of Schooling.

By the second half of the sixteenth century formal education was available in several ways that were not necessarily always easily differentiated. Local studies appear to indicate that only a small proportion of the rural population was too geographically distant for access to some education^{al} provision.⁽¹⁾ 'Petty' schools providing elementary instruction may well have been the usual form of immediately available education or there might have been a type of 'free/grammar' school where a slightly more elaborate curriculum was provided offering greater use of English, some mathematics and accounting.⁽²⁾ There was also the true 'grammar' school with a genuine classical curriculum and some religious instruction.⁽³⁾ During the sixteenth century nationally there was developed greater provision for all these types of school so that it has been established that there was one school approximately every twelve miles or one school per four thousand, four hundred population by the seventeenth century.⁽⁴⁾

Compared with the other hundreds of Lancashire, that of West Derby was fairly well provided with schools during the sixteenth century,⁽⁵⁾ and several were functioning in the four parishes of the south-west of the county. Disruption caused by the Reformation to

(1) R. O'Day, Education and Society 1500-1800, London 1982, p. 31.

(2) L. Stone, "The Education Revolution in England, 1560-1640" in Past and Present No. 28, 1964, p.p. 42-44.

(3) Ibid.

(4) W. K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660, London 1959, p.p. 279-291.

(5) J. D. Skepper, "Endowed Schools in the West Derby Hundred of Lancashire during 17th Century", M.Ed. Liverpool 1967, p. 20.

education can be exaggerated because, whilst some monastic and chantry schools were suppressed, much education provision was preserved. Lay sponsorship of education had been of increasing importance during the fifteenth century, and this lay interest had opportunity to be more strongly felt after the Reformation.⁽¹⁾ Because of this situation later sixteenth century developments in education rose from an "intensification of an existing trend" rather than from new and dramatic changes.⁽²⁾ The dates of foundation and increasing local interest in the south-west Lancashire schools demonstrate this pattern.

Probably the oldest school in the area was that at Farnworth in Prescott parish. In 1507 a native of Farnworth - William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln - provided an endowment to convert a free school into a grammar school. (Two years later he provided much of the endowment for Brasenose College, Oxford)⁽³⁾ Fortunately the appointment of the master of the school was placed in the hands of the mayor of Chester with the ten pounds per annum salary being paid from a three hundred pounds' worth endowment of land from the priory of Launde in Lincolnshire. After the dissolution this provision was protected and continued.⁽⁴⁾ The actual size of Farnworth school is uncertain, but with its unbroken existence its academic reputation

(1) K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England, London 1965, p.p. 89-94.

(2) O'Day, Education and Society, p. 42.

(3) C. R. Lewis, The History of Farnworth School, Widnes 1905, p.p. 10-14.

(4) Ibid., p. 17.
Chester City R.O., Pentice Cartulary CHB/2 fos. 64v-65.

during the sixteenth century was considerable in the locality.⁽¹⁾

Soon after Farnworth Liverpool school was established by provision in the 1515 will of John Crosse - a native of the town who had become Rector of St. Nicholas Church in Newgate Street, London. He left various land and tenements in and around Liverpool to finance a priest to keep a grammar school.⁽²⁾ By the times of the chantry surveys in the 1540 s Humphrey Crosse was the priest and schoolmaster,⁽³⁾ but despite the chantry dissolution the school was continued through the 1550 s⁽⁴⁾ and arrangements finally reached in 1565 for the mayor and burgesses, with the assent of the Bishop of Chester, to nominate and appoint a learned person as schoolmaster.⁽⁵⁾

In comparison the exact origins of Prescott school are imprecise. A native of the parish - Gilbert Lathom - had risen in the Church to become Archdeacon of Man and in his will of 1544 he left funds to support a grammar school at Prescott.⁽⁶⁾ Gilbert Lathom, however, did not die until 1552 and after some further delay, including writs served by Prescott churchwardens on the executor of the will,⁽⁷⁾ the money was finally forthcoming. These funds, though, may not have founded the school, but merely augmented an existing one. There had

(1) See p. 477.

(2) H. A. Ormerod, The Liverpool Free School, Liverpool 1951, p.p. 5-7.

(3) History of the Chantries within the County Palatine of Lancaster, Reports of the Chantry Commissioners, ed. F. R. Raines, in Chet. Soc. Vol. LIX, 1862, p. 85.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 49.

(5) P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster Records: Miscellaneous Books, DL 42/23 fo. 270.

(6) F. A. Bailey, "Prescot Grammar School in Elizabethan Times: a sidelight on the Reformation in Lancashire" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. LXXXVI, 1935, p.p. 6-14.

(7) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 69 T 18.

been three 'stocks' of rent and cattle at Prescot to provide funds for three chantry priests - Our Lady's Stock, Rood Stock and St. Catherine's Stock. Clearly from a survey of 1592 some of these stocks had been converted, presumably late in Edward VI's reign, into income for the school. In this survey three rent charges - two of two shillings each and one of one shilling were due to the school from burgages in the town, whilst the "schole house" was held by copy by the school wardens.⁽¹⁾ In fact a "schole house" had been recorded in 1547 before there had been any occasion to change the stocks.⁽²⁾

Throughout Elizabeth I's reign two school wardens/guardians were responsible for collecting rents and charges for cattle hire that were due to the 'free grammar school' - even to the extent of presenting defaulters at the manor court.⁽³⁾ School wardens were appointed from amongst the more influential men in the parish, for example Henry Coney Gentleman in 1574 and 1577.⁽⁴⁾ The school income must have paid the teacher's salary and provided for the maintenance of the school house. In 1574 the garden surrounding this property was enlarged slightly by an exchange of land.⁽⁵⁾

The clearest evidence for the foundation of a school in Huyton parish is not until 1556 with an agreement arranged by the principal

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- (1) Pres. Recs., p.p. 37-46.
 (2) Ibid., p. 316.
 (3) Ibid., p.p. 161-169 and p. 223.
 (4) Ibid., p. 187 and p. 202.
 (5) Ibid., p. 166 and p. 187.

gentlemen of the parish for the payment of the teacher. Ralph Sutton Gentleman, John Harrington of Huyton Hey Esquire, Thomas Wolfall of Wolfall Gentleman, Robert Williamson of Huyton, George Tarleton of Huyton, Peter Stockley of Knowsley yeoman, Edward Rochdale of Knowsley yeoman and James Holland of Tarbock yeoman with the assent of the whole parish contracted to pay Edward Lowe priest six pounds per annum for the rest of his life (forty shillings from Knowsley township, forty shillings from Tarbock township and forty shillings from Huyton township). For this Edward Lowe was to "teche a fre gramer schole" in Huyton in the school house appointed, and when necessary he could serve in the parish church. He was to occupy a dwelling called Our Lady's Chamber situated against the churchyard at Huyton. According to the agreement Edward Lowe was to receive also one penny from each scholar every quarter. The witnesses to the deed were four local gentry - Mr. Adam Hawarden, Mr. Richard Tarbock, Mr. Richard Tildesley and Mr. Henry Coney.⁽¹⁾

The suggestion in this agreement is that perhaps a chantry school had existed in Huyton and that the school house and dwelling were not newly acquired. The agreement with the teacher over remuneration had become necessary with the dissolution of the chantries, and it was the gentry of the parish who took the initiative in formalising local decisions.

(1) L.R.O., DDM 33/1.

To what extent this school was indeed a grammar school is doubtful, although the teacher Edward Lowe was a former canon of Burscough priory.⁽¹⁾ In 1558 he became vicar of Huyton and continued in office until 1564. Whether he continued to teach is not known, and in fact the continuation of the school is little documented. In 1561 the two reeves of Our Lady's Stocks at Huyton were recorded in the Little Woolton court books⁽²⁾ and in 1572 and 1575 the two wardens and governors of the goods and chattels of the free grammar school of Huyton sued for rent in Prescot court.⁽³⁾ After Edward Lowe, unfortunately, no schoolmasters are specifically named. In about 1600 with donations from four local families and a land grant from the Wollfall family the school was rebuilt.⁽⁴⁾

Likewise Much Woolton school - the only recognized school in Childwall parish - was this indeterminate type of school. In the early eighteenth century in a diocesan survey it was recorded "by whom built is not known", but it was repaired as a charge upon the entire parish.⁽⁵⁾ The origins, therefore, of this school remain impossible to determine exactly and its siting at Much Woolton, although roughly in the middle of the parish, is also something of a mystery. The parish registers refer to the burial in 1591 of Henry

(1) See p. 502.

(2) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924 fo. 192.

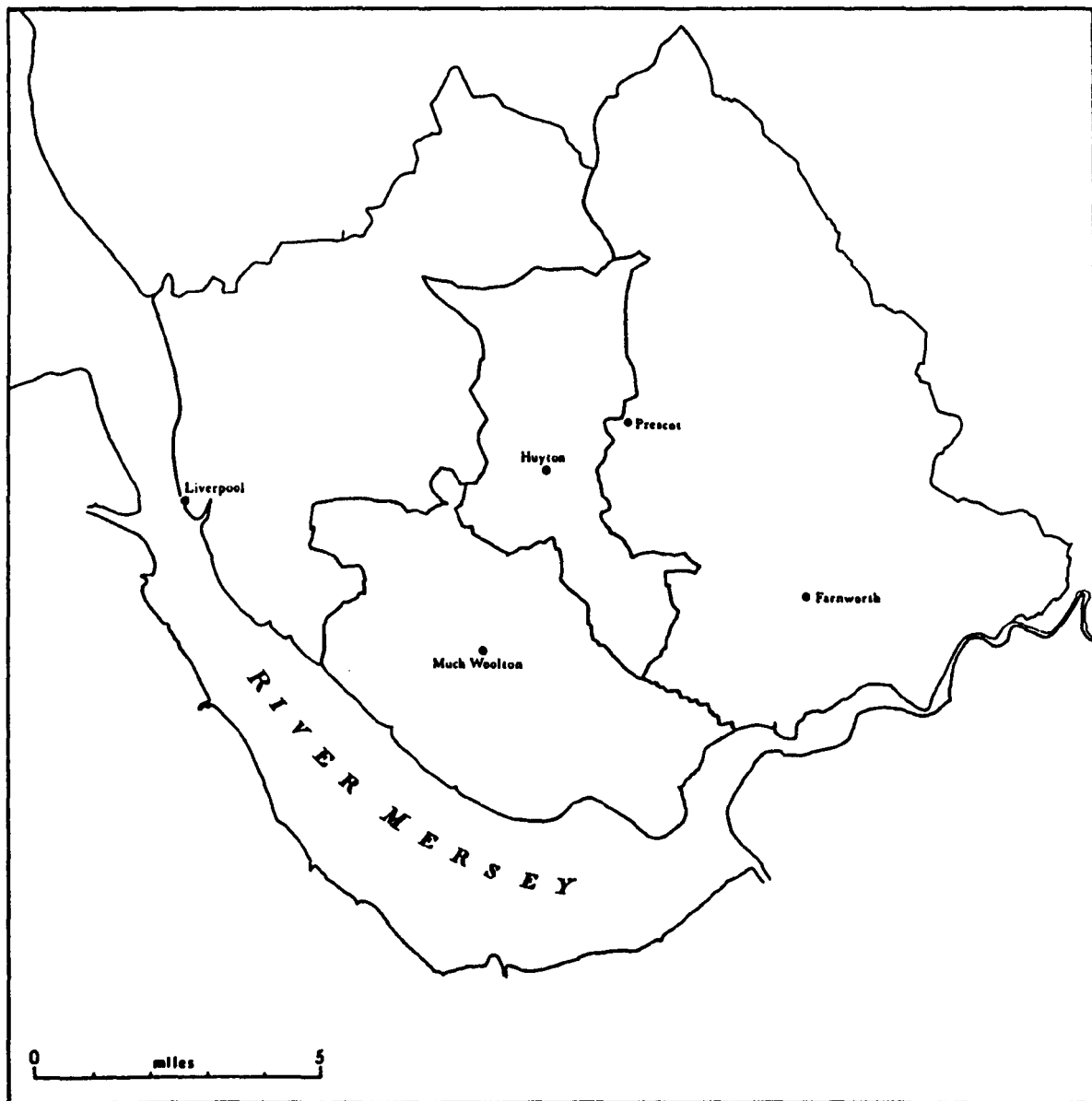
(3) Pres. Recs., p. 181 and p. 192.

(4) E. R. Johns, "Some aspects of education in the West Derby Hundred of Lancashire in the 17th Century", M.Ed. Manchester University 1973, p. 155.

(5) Notitia Cestriensis of Right Reverend Francis Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, ed. F.R. Raines, in Chet.Soc. Vol.VIII 1845 p.167.

Blundell "ludimagister" from Speke township and possibly he was the same Henry Blundell that was married at Childwall in 1568,⁽¹⁾ but whether he taught at Speke for the Norris family or at the Much Woolton school is unknown. The churchwardens' accounts for Childwall first make reference to the schoolmaster in 1590 - for writing presentments. The same man - Robert Quick - continued to use his penmanship on behalf of the churchwardens through until 1604; at times he wrote the accounts themselves, or parts of the register book, or other miscellaneous pieces of writing.⁽²⁾ Possibly during the sixteenth century, but certainly from 1606, the Norris family at Speke had a strong interest in the Much Woolton school as Edward Norris and his son William left sixty pounds towards the maintenance of the schoolmaster there.⁽³⁾ Conceivably the school at Much Woolton was sited on land formerly granted by the Norris family to their chantry at Childwall church and following the dissolution leased to the family.⁽⁴⁾ A bishop's visitation of 1625 makes it plain that the Much Woolton school was administered by two reeves chosen from different townships in the parish and that at least one hundred and thirty-five pounds' worth of endowment was in their hands.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) Registers of Childwall.
(2) Child. Accs., p.p. 27-63.
(3) Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 17/25.
(4) See p.p. 709-710.
(5) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2176 fo. 30b.



MAP XX: SCHOOLS OPERATING DURING 1550-1600.

The references, such as they are, to these south-west Lancashire schools do demonstrate the continuing interest in education provision during the sixteenth century. Farnworth and Liverpool certainly, and possibly Prescott and Huyton, had existed from early in the century and had eventually come through the Reformation changes with renewed lay sponsorship and lay control. The Liverpool school was very much controlled by the town through their appointment powers and their augmentation of the master's salary. The use of school reeves or wardens at Much Woolton, Huyton and Prescott must have encouraged a degree of local participation and interest in the schools. Also clear is the gentry interest in local education provision. Several had supervised the establishment of Huyton school, the Norris family had a very keen interest in the Much Woolton school and a protracted dispute concerning the Prescott school is further witness to this.

During the 1580 s and 1590 s quite a concerted attempt was made to have Prescott school transferred from its location beside the church in Prescott town to another location away from the supervision and interest of the vicar, Thomas Meade. In a letter to the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, in May 1586 Vicar Meade includes a paragraph about the school:-

"Sir, we have a free schole in this towne of Prescote, which is no smale commoditie to the towne, and a greate futherance for religion. Scholemasters and ministers ether do or shold joyne hande in hande for instruction of youth, to teache them the trewe feare of God, and to sett them in the trew way to the true service of God. Our gentlemen of this parishe, whereof I am minister, per ceavinge my indevor hearin, of late, within this fewe dayes, entered consultation to remove the schole ii miles from the churche, purposinge hearby to hinder my good corse, which God be thanked hathe not bene without

some profite: my trust is greater will follow. I have withe some displeasure unto myselfe stayed it for this time.

I beseche you (good sir), as you tender the good procedinge in religion, be erneste with my L. of Darby, that it be not at any time removed."⁽¹⁾

By January 1591 the Vicar was still appealing to the Provost for his assistance and for him to write to the Earl of Derby, as the parish gentlemen were continuing to plan to move the school so that the children should escape instruction in the established religion. Vicar Meade estimated that Prescot town had four hundred souls of whom one hundred and twenty were under sixteen years of age. The attempt by the gentry was persistent and perhaps nearly succeeded because "as yett ther is such cunning meanes amongst them "⁽²⁾ Accompanying Thomas Meade's appeal for help he submitted a memoranda of reasons why Prescot town was the best place for the school. At some length he explained again the value of the minister and schoolmaster working together for the education of the youth, and dismissed the proposals for a new location as coming from discontented and disobedient subjects - "some have kept in thir

(1) Prescot Records at King's College, IV 19.

(2) Ibid., IV 24 (3).

houses privat scholmasters corrupt in religion who have taught there childrene the principles of Papistry" and he feared that the relocated school might become "a verie nurse of seminarie priests ".⁽¹⁾

Apparently this appeal met with some response from the Earl of Derby as in June 1591 Thomas Meade claimed that only the Earl's intervention had prevented the removal of the school, but that unless the Provost could see further remedy the problem remained and "our schole is greatly hindered by a gentleman in our parish, Mr. Eccleston ".⁽²⁾

This continuing difficulty, and others, eventually prompted Dr. Goad, the Provost, to make a personal visit to Prescot in 1592, and he clearly planned to liaise with the Earl of Derby over the matter and to attempt to recontrol the stock of the school.⁽³⁾ Following the visit he contacted the Earl with specific requests⁽⁴⁾ and articles were drawn up and signed by the Earl, Dr. Goad and four leading gentlemen - Richard Bold Esquire, Thomas Lancaster Esquire, Henry Eccleston Esquire and Philip Layton Esquire, with the attendance of three other gentlemen - William Standish, Thomas Fox and John Watmough. The articles agreed to continue the school on its Prescot site. The

(1) Ibid., IV 24 (4).

(2) Ibid., IV 24 (1).

(3) Ibid., IV 15.

(4) Ibid., IV 22.

Earl's steward was to oversee the written accounts of the school wardens.⁽¹⁾

Despite this controversy Prescott school did benefit from some local support and four bequests during the latter part of the sixteenth century. In about 1587 Catherine Glover of Rainhill left a rent charge of ten shillings, in 1600 Richard Hawarden of Whiston left a six shillings and eight pence rent charge and Robert Coney of Prescott an annual income of two shillings from land in Rainhill, whilst in 1597 Mr. James Kenwrick bequeathed a three hundred pounds' debt to the school (possibly it was uncollectable by the school reeves!).⁽²⁾ These bequests do demonstrate some interest in the welfare of the school from inhabitants of several townships in the parish.

This debate about the location of Prescott school highlights amongst its arguments the availability of these south-west Lancashire schools to the local population. At least five schools were probably operating in the area during the second half of the sixteenth century and, therefore, no child could have been more than five and a half miles away from a school.⁽³⁾ The schools seem to have been intended to serve a specifically designated area. Vicar Meade wanted Prescott school to be available to the one hundred and twenty children in the town and others in the Prescott 'side' of the parish. Farnworth

(1) Ibid., IV 24 (2).

(2) J. D. Skepper, "Endowed Schools", p. 30.

(3) See Map XX.

school principally served the chapelry, Huyton school the smallish parish, Liverpool school the town and Much Woolton school the parish (conveniently sited in the middle of quite a large parish and well away from the immediate interest of the vicar at Childwall).

Availability also depended on size of school, the cost of attendance and the sex of the pupils. Size is difficult to determine in the absence of few precise references. Certainly throughout the second half of the sixteenth century Liverpool's school functioned with relatively short periods during which no teacher was available. Before 1570 the school may have met in the chapel of St. Mary del Quay beside St. Nicholas' chapel, but in 1572 this building became the town's warehouse and was leased as this. Possibly the school continued to operate in part of the building,⁽¹⁾ and the size at this time was about thirty-six scholars.⁽²⁾ If, in fact, these south-west Lancashire schools were not true grammar schools providing a full classical education, but rather the free/grammar school type of education that Stone speaks of⁽³⁾ then attendance may have been necessary for only a few years to obtain fairly basic literacy and numeracy and the schools would not have been very large.

In depositions taken in 1601 the Much Woolton school and schoolmaster Robert Quick were referred to, and in the same evidence

(1) Ormerod, Liverpool School, p.p. 22-23.

(2) Ibid., p. 20.

(3) See p. 463.

it was made plain that ten years' old boys - the sons of husbandmen from Speke and Halewood townships - did attend the school.⁽¹⁾ This does provide one of the few indications of age of attendance, occupation of father and distance travelled - about one and a half miles. Another clue to the type of person interested in these schools is evident in the grant made by Robert Ballard in 1580. He was a husbandman from West Derby township unable to sign his own name, yet he arranged for seven pounds to be put out at interest of sixteen pence in the pound to bring in nine shillings and four pence per annum to augment the salary of a schoolmaster to teach in "any comen scole within Lyverpole".⁽²⁾ For a decade at least this amount was paid to the teacher of the Liverpool school - four or five miles away from West Derby.⁽³⁾ Nowhere at all in this area is there any indication that girls had the opportunity to attend any of these schools.

Another factor in considering the availability of schools was mentioned by the vicar of Prescot in his defence of the school there. He referred in 1592 to the town being the most suitable place for the school because, amongst other reasons, the children could be 'tabled' in the town when distances in the parish were too great for children to travel daily.⁽⁴⁾ This 'tabling out' or boarding over quite small distances was not uncommon for those who had a particular wish to

(1) P.R.O., STAC 5 A 38/31.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 258.

(3) Ibid., 920 MOO 262, 267 and 270.

(4) Bailey, "Prescot Grammar School", p. 10.

attend school.⁽¹⁾ At least one specific example of this arrangement is known in the area. John More Esquire from Bank Hall in Kirkdale township recorded the costs of his "lytell boyse" - James, Thomas and Robert - when they were at table at John Lister's house in 1554. After a period at home during the summer James and Robert returned as did Thomas after a bout of illness. They all remained with John Fazakerley's wife until returning home at Christmas.⁽²⁾ These boys were the second, third and fourth sons of John More aged about fourteen-ten years old. They were clearly attending Farnworth school - about fifteen miles away from home. John Lister, a yeoman, lived at Denton in Widnes township quite near to the school. 'Tabling out' was, therefore, certainly a possibility for those that could afford the arrangement, and John More's decision does provide an indication of his opinion of the reputations of Farnworth and Liverpool schools during the 1550 s.

The area of south-west Lancashire most distant from a school was much of Walton parish. Possibly some unofficial provision existed⁽³⁾ or perhaps the Liverpool school was the nearest. Not until 1613 was a substantial bequest of one hundred and twenty pounds made to a school at Walton, but whether this was to found or augment an existing school is not clear.⁽⁴⁾

(1) O'Day, Education and Society, p. 32.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 937 a.

(3) See p. 484.

(4) Notitia Cestriensis, p. 225.

b) The Teachers.

The academic reputation that the various schools held in the locality must have depended on the curriculum available and on the qualities of the various school teachers. No precise detail is known of any of the curricula in these schools, although John More's decision to send his sons to Farnworth and this school's connections with Brasenose College, Oxford,⁽¹⁾ probably meant that this was the most desirable school academically. Usually grammar schools had one master, occasionally a second master or usher, and very rarely three or more teachers.⁽²⁾ Their salaries ranged from about ten-twenty pounds per annum with possibly a house or part of the schoolhouse provided. Very few teachers earned more than this.⁽³⁾ The Farnworth schoolmaster, according to the foundation deed, was to have a salary of ten pounds per annum⁽⁴⁾ which was not large by national standards, and there is no indication of augmentation during the century. No record survives of an usher or second master at Farnworth, although in 1547 a native of the area - Mathew Smith (first Principal of Brasenose College) - left a grant of land in Sutton township chargeable with twenty shillings per annum for an usher at the school.⁽⁵⁾ Perhaps a senior pupil served in this capacity, perhaps no usher was ever appointed, or perhaps the schoolmaster collected the rent charge.

(1) See p.477 and p.p.620-622.

(2) A. M. Stowe, English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, New York 1908, p. 55.

(3) Ibid., p. 86.

(4) Lewis, History of Farnworth School, p. 17.

(5) Ibid., p. 29.

The first known teacher at the Farnworth school was Thomas Hatton who died in 1542.⁽¹⁾ Possibly during the period 1542-1563 a local man, John Standish, served for a while,⁽²⁾ but by 1563 John Leigh had become the schoolmaster.⁽³⁾ His tenure of the job lasted until his death in December 1592.⁽⁴⁾ John Leigh was a native of Prescott parish - probably from Rainhill township where at least two brothers lived. His baptism in 1539 and his two marriages to local women are recorded in the chapelry registers, as are the baptisms of his six children.⁽⁵⁾ Quite possibly John Leigh attended Farnworth school during the late 1540 s and early 1550 s. At his death in 1592 the register scribe did attribute the courtesy of 'Mr.' to the local and long-established schoolmaster.⁽⁶⁾

As early as January 1593 the interest of the local community in the school was evident in the appeal to the mayor of Chester to make a quick appointment to fill the vacancy. The letter was written by Richard Bold Esquire, the leading local gentleman.⁽⁷⁾ By April the position had been filled. Robert Hitchmough, B.A., was nominated by the mayor for a quarter's probation and the Farnworth gentry expressed their approval with the "conversacon and diligence" of their new schoolmaster. Seven gentry, two yeomen, the curate of

- (1) L.R.O., Witham Weld & Co. Papers, DDWw 1/1 m.9.
Registers of Farnworth.
- (2) Lewis, History of Farnworth School, p. 217.
Chester City R.O., Pentice Cartulary CHB/2 f.65v.
- (3) C.R.O., Bishops' Visitation Correction Books, EDV1 /3 fo. 33.
- (4) Registers of Farnworth.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) Lewis, History of Farnworth School, p. 35.

Farnworth and four chapelwardens signed the letter.⁽¹⁾ Robert Hitchmough was another local product; in all likelihood a former pupil of Farnworth school and even of John Leigh. His father was a mercer/yeoman from Bold township who had sent his son to Brasenose College in 1584 aged fourteen years old. He had obtained his B.A. degree by 1588⁽²⁾ and then nothing further is known of his study or work until his appointment at Farnworth in 1593. He stayed twenty-three years until his death in 1616.⁽³⁾ These two teachers at Farnworth and their predecessor were the most successful and most desirable in the area. It seems unlikely that other teachers in the locality were better qualified or had more professional assistance.

Indeed, Farnworth school may well have provided the great majority of teachers in south-west Lancashire. The only known teacher at Much Woolton school was Robert Quick.⁽⁴⁾ The Childwall registers record his marriage to a local person and the baptisms of his children during the 1590 s,⁽⁵⁾ but in all probability he came from the only family in the entire area with his surname - the Quicks from Cronton township where two or three brothers may have been alive by the end of the century.⁽⁶⁾ If this were to have been the case, then

(1) Manuscripts of the City of Chester, Hist. Mss. Comm., 8th Report, Appendix Part II, London 1881, p. 375.

(2) J. Foster, Alumni Oxoniensis, 1500-1714, Oxford 1891.

(3) Lewis, History of Farnworth School, p. 44.

(4) See p.469.

(5) Registers of Childwall.

(6) Registers of Farnworth.

Robert Quick must have been educated at Farnworth, perhaps by John Leigh.

Unfortunately, few of the schoolmasters at Prescot are mentioned by name. Thomas Webster was certainly the teacher in 1587 and remained there until at least 1593. Again he was a local man with two brothers living in the parish.⁽¹⁾ Possibly he was a son of the Prescot carrier Hugh Webster who was employed quite frequently by John More Esquire to convey goods and money to his son at Oxford University.⁽²⁾ Thomas Webster could have been another product of Farnworth during the 1550 s at the same time as John More's sons.⁽³⁾

The Liverpool teacher had his stipend paid by the Duchy officials at Halton Castle,⁽⁴⁾ although it would seem this wage was supplemented by a ley collected in the town.⁽⁵⁾ Early in 1565 Ralph Higginson of Everton was schoolmaster, but left before the end of the year. He must have been teaching temporarily before going to Oxford where he obtained his B.A. degree in 1569.⁽⁶⁾ (He eventually became curate and schoolmaster at West Derby)⁽⁷⁾ He was replaced in Liverpool early in 1566 when four of the town's aldermen were in London where they hired John Ore B.A. who was to be paid ten pounds per annum. He certainly was an 'outsider', but it is possible he never actually appeared in

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 236, p. 239, p. 245, p. 247, p. 254.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 937.

(3) Ibid., and see p. 480.

(4) P.R.O., DL 42/23 fo. 270.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 255.

(6) L.T.B. I, p. 374.

(7) See p. 484.

Liverpool and that the curate supervised the school until March 1568 when John Ryle was licensed by the Bishop of Chester as Liverpool's schoolmaster.⁽¹⁾ Probably also an 'outsider', John Ryle did settle in the town, married and by the 1580 s was living in a house in Dale Street leased from the town (former chantry land).⁽²⁾ His salary continued at ten pounds per annum with an additional one pound and fifteen shillings for serving the office of clerk (or sexton) of the chapel which John Ryle reluctantly accepted in 1572.⁽³⁾ He continued to serve in both these capacities until 1583, when he was replaced by Richard Welling as schoolmaster and by his son, John Ryle Junior, yeoman, as clerk of the chapel.⁽⁴⁾

Richard Welling was another Farnworth pupil. He came from a yeoman family at Upton in Widnes who had sent their twenty-one years old son to Oxford University in 1578.⁽⁵⁾ Richard Welling taught in Liverpool until 1593, when perhaps illness forced his retirement before his death in 1594.⁽⁶⁾ His successor was one Robert Baker who had just obtained his B.A. degree.⁽⁷⁾ His tenure of office was short - until 1598 - when it proved difficult to find a replacement

(1) L.T.B. I, p.p. 300-301.

(2) Ormerod, Liverpool School, p. 19.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 24.

(4) Ibid., p. 556.

(5) Registers of Farnworth.
Johns, "Aspects of Education in West Derby Hundred", p. 214.

(6) Registers of Farnworth.

(7) Ormerod, Liverpool School, p.p. 20-21.

and the curate Thomas Wainwright agreed to keep school "untill God sende us some sufficient learned man".⁽¹⁾ A ley collected for the schoolmaster's salary in 1600 suggests that the post had been filled, and by 1602 Hamlet Webster - possibly from the same family as Thomas Webster, schoolmaster at Prescott and certainly from Farnworth school - was serving as teacher.⁽²⁾ He remained until 1616, when he moved back to his former school.⁽³⁾

The majority of school teachers in south-west Lancashire were, therefore, local products (as well as their clergy)⁽⁴⁾ - mostly of the school at Farnworth. In Cambridgeshire the quality of schoolmasters was quite high because of the surplus of university graduates,⁽⁵⁾ but in this Lancashire area there is evidence only of B.A. degrees and not always of those. The salaries available were probably insufficient to attract the better qualified and there was little opportunity for 'outsiders' to obtain a post.

These official schools, however, may not indicate the full extent of educational provision in the area. Adam Martindale of Prescott parish in his early seventeenth century autobiography clearly states that when he was six years old he was given an A.B.C. and with the help of his brothers and sisters learned to read from a

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 779.

(2) Ibid., p. 794.

(3) Ormerod, Liverpool School, p. 21.

(4) See Chapter X.

(5) M. Spufford, "The Schooling of the Peasantry in Cambridgeshire 1575-1700" in ed. J. Thirsk, Land, Church and People, Reading 1970, p. 129.

primer. Two years later he then attended the local school.⁽¹⁾ This home tuition may have been quite common for teaching rudimentary reading. Apprenticeship was another avenue through which literacy could have been acquired, although the range of occupational openings available in south-west Lancashire was somewhat limited.⁽²⁾ Those mercantile interests requiring some book and record keeping presumably attracted apprentices who had had already some schooling.

Another possibility was that temporary and/or unofficial schools also operated in the area, as they did in many parts of the country. D. Hey refers to the local petty schools, perhaps in private houses, of only a few years' duration or during the lifetime of the teacher which were used by all classes of people in Shropshire.⁽²⁾ The school in West Derby township was possibly of this type. In 1563 depositions taken at Chester testified that Thomas Fletcher aged about ten years old had attended a school locally in West Derby in about 1554.⁽³⁾ Not until 1578 was a specific teacher recorded when Ralph Higginson appeared as both curate and teacher.⁽⁴⁾ Presumably he taught in the chapel. Maybe later curates were required also to staff this petty type of school, or perhaps other curates were not prepared to teach. Certainly West Derby seems to be an example of a temporary, official school. A similar possibility is indicated in

(1) Life of Adam Martindale, p.p. 5-11.

(2) Hey, An English Rural Community: Myddle, p.p. 188-191.

(3) Child Marriages, Divorces and Ratifications in the Diocese of Chester 1561-1566, ed. F. J. Furnivall in Early English Text Society 1892, p.p. 23-24.

(4) B.I.Y. Metropolitan Visitation, RVI A 8 fo. 64.

1601 when John Nuttall was reader and teacher at St. Helens Chapel in Prescot parish.⁽¹⁾

In addition unofficial schools may also have operated in the area. The licensing of schoolmasters by bishops was allowed in the royal injunctions of 1559, and after 1562 the teachers were required to conform to the royal supremacy and the Thirty-Nine Articles.⁽²⁾ In an area of strong recusancy⁽³⁾ there was considerable incentive to provide a reliable Catholic education and surely intermittently numbers of Catholic school teachers operated in south-west Lancashire. Robert Dewhurst was recorded as tutor to several families including the Norris household in Speke township in 1580.⁽⁴⁾ He had formerly been schoolmaster at Rivington Grammar School from 1574 until he retired, through sickness (!) in 1579.⁽⁵⁾ It is a possibility that Henry Blundell 'ludimagister' from Speke whose death was recorded in 1591 was also a Catholic teacher.⁽⁶⁾ However, the interpretation of Much Woolton school as a Catholic school because, amongst others, Blessed John Almond attended there before travelling to Ireland and then Rome in 1597 to train for the priesthood, is something of an exaggeration.⁽⁷⁾ Much Woolton was the official parish school, with perhaps a very strong or predominant Catholic influence. Not only in Childwall parish, but also in Prescot, Catholic teachers were known. John Butterfield

(1) C.R.O., EDV 1, Vol. 126 fol. 144v.

(2) O'Day, Education and Society, p. 27.

(3) See Chapter XIV.

(4) A. C. F. Beales, "Biographical Catalogue of Catholic Schoolmasters" in Recusant History Vol. 7 1963-4, p. 273.

(5) L.R.O., Rivington Grammar School Governors' Accounts, DDX 94/94.

(6) Registers of Childwall.

(7) A. C. F. Beales, Education under Penalty, London 1963, p. 79.

was listed at Sutton in 1592 owing two hundred and twenty-four pounds in recusancy fines.⁽¹⁾ From 1577 the Privy Council had been urging bishops to deal with unlicensed schoolmasters and recusant teaching, but this was difficult to achieve in households that could afford tutors/clerks.⁽²⁾ Spasmodic effort was made by the Bishops of Chester and occasionally someone was apprehended, but by 1592 these schoolmasters were still available in Lancashire.⁽³⁾

c) The Literate.

Schools, schoolmasters and education were available to quite a proportion of the south-west Lancashire population, although there is no evidence of formal education for girls in this area. The quality of the available education is, however, debatable. The correspondent may have wished to create a particular impression, but a writer to the Provost of King's College in 1583 described Lord Derby's deputy steward for Prescott Manor - one Edward Sutton Gentleman - as "a man altogether without learning" and the clerk of Prescott court - one Thomas Fox Gentleman - as a man "I cannot terme learned, for he can nether speake or wryte trew latten, nor ever redd eny lawe".⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, south-west Lancashire schools and education did provide an adequate enough grounding for entry to the universities and for successful careers for those who continued their education.⁽⁵⁾ By 1594 John Wyke, son of Thomas Wyke of Upton in

(1) Beales, "Biographical Catalogue", p. 271.

(2) Beales, Education under Penalty, p. 39.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/243 fo. 52.
F. Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, London 1779, p. 103, p. 112.

(4) Pres. Recs., p.p. 297-298.

(5) See p.p. 619-627.

Widnes township, had become minister of the parish of Avington in Southampton - after attending Farnworth school and Brasenose College, Oxford.⁽¹⁾

If an adequate education was available to some in south-west Lancashire - sufficient to enable them to pursue a literate career - then the extent of basic literacy remains debatable. Literacy itself in this period is a difficult concept as it was probably regarded as a specific skill necessary to certain occupations, rather than as generally desirable.⁽²⁾ It has been claimed that "literacy (was) merely a useful adjunct to the rural routine".⁽³⁾ By the beginning of Elizabeth's reign illiteracy rates can be estimated at ninety-five per cent for women and eighty per cent for men,⁽⁴⁾ but, on the other hand, many people may have lived on the "margins" of literacy.⁽⁵⁾

Only the ability or inability to write a signature can be measured as an indicator of literacy, albeit a poor guide, yet few comprehensive lists of signatures from substantial numbers of a community are available. Deeds witnessed by various individuals do show that many husbandmen and craftsmen in south-west Lancashire could sign, whilst some yeomen could not. Certainly the sons of husbandmen were attending Much Woolton school and a husbandman from

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 167 w 19.

(2) O'Day, Education and Society, p. 13.

(3) D. Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England, Cambridge 1980, p. 11.

(4) Ibid., p. 176.

(5) Ibid., p. 17.

Bold wrote his debt book with "my own hand".⁽¹⁾ In the absence of adequate lists it seems reasonable to suppose that illiteracy amongst females may well have been ninety-five per cent (although Adam Martindale was taught by his sisters as well as brothers),⁽²⁾ but that eighty per cent for males is too high a proportion. This indication of the ability to sign may, of course, be a poor guide to those able to write with ease or read without hesitation.⁽³⁾

The success of the school teachers and another indication of levels of literacy may be apparent from references to ownership of books in probate records. It is true only a limited section of the community made wills and created probate inventories, but they are just about the only available listings of possessions. It has to be considered also that the supply of books in North-West England may not have been as easy as in the South-East. Chester stationers were mentioned in 1534 and by the Elizabethan period several were trading in Chester.⁽⁴⁾ By the early seventeenth century booksellers were known also in Manchester and Warrington, but not earlier.⁽⁵⁾ Other sources of supply may have been the smaller towns of the North-West where general traders were able to supply books. Mathew Markland, the Wigan mercer who died in 1617, left books, horn books, cards and

- (1) See p.p. 474-476.
L.R.O., Will of John Banner of Bold 1592.
- (2) See p. 483.
- (3) Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order, p.p. 53-55.
- (4) R. Stewart-Brown, "The Chester Stationers, Printers and Booksellers to about 1800" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. LXXXIII, 1931, p.p. 102-127.
- (5) J. P. Earwaker, "Notes on early booksellers and stationers of Manchester prior to 1700" in T. L. C. A. S., Vol. VI, 1888, p.p. 2-3.

paper amongst his great assortment of stock in hand. In addition to his haberdashery and mercery interests he functioned also as a chemist, grocer, stationer and bookseller.⁽¹⁾ Books were, therefore, available in south-west Lancashire from towns not far away, but a little determination and some expense would have been necessary to acquire them. A copy of the Prayer Book could cost several shillings, and a popular, non-religious work such as Hakluyt's Voyages could cost nearly twelve shillings in 1589.⁽²⁾ Possibly it would have been just as easy in the North-West to have obtained books direct from London by those sections of the community with London contacts.⁽³⁾

By the reign of Elizabeth private libraries were seen as a social as well as a literary asset, and some extensive collections were accumulated - by 1600 even by ordinary gentry in Kent.⁽⁴⁾ Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe in Norfolk came from amongst the ranks of county gentry (in 1579 he was sheriff) and he gradually built up his library of assorted books. According to the probate inventory made at his death in 1618 he possessed about fourteen hundred books and seventy manuscripts valued together at seven hundred pounds. Seventy-five per cent of the books were in Latin, nine per cent in English and the remainder in French, Italian, Spanish and Greek.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) J. J. Bagley, "Mathew Markland, a Wigan Mercer" in T.L.C.A.S., Vol. LXVIII, 1958, p.p. 46-59.
- (2) F. R. Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book Prices 1550-1640" in Transactions of the Bibliographical Society: The Library, 5th Series, Vol. V, 1950, p.p. 103-105.
- (3) See Chapter VII.
- (4) P. Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640, Hassocks 1977, p. 210.
- (5) D. J. McKitterick, The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe 1539-1618, Cambridge 1978, p.p. 1-26.

This extensive collection still did not compare with the three thousand volumes in the library of Lord Lumley according to the 1609 catalogue.⁽¹⁾

However, in south-west Lancashire no evidence of even modest libraries survives. Possibly the Earls of Derby with their interests in drama and literature may have had a significant library at Knowsley, but no record remains.⁽²⁾ Three hundred and seventy-seven probate inventories from during the reign of Elizabeth survive from the four parishes - in only ten cases were books mentioned in any way, despite twenty-one of the inventories being those of gentlemen. The one record of books in Huyton parish were those belonging to a Knowsley widow, probably from a gentry family, who had ten shillings' worth of books.⁽³⁾ Likewise the one instance from Childwall parish was from a gentry inventory - two old books of chronicles worth six shillings and eight pence.⁽⁴⁾ In the large Prescott parish just three book references remain - ten shillings' worth belonging to a yeoman, ten shillings' worth belonging to another gentleman and the largest collection in the area, six pounds' worth of books owned by the schoolmaster at Farnworth.⁽⁵⁾ Walton parish was also poorly equipped with books, except in the town of Liverpool where five inventories

(1) ed. S. Jayne and F. R. Johnson, Catalogue of the Library of John, Lord Lumley, London 1956.

(2) See p.p. 632-634.

(3) L.R.O., Inventory of Margaret Heaton, Knowsley 1592.

(4) L.R.O., Inventory of William Brettergh, Little Woolton 1583.

(5) L.R.O., Inventory of Robert Latham, Rainford 1584.
Inventory of Robert Layton, Prescott 1572.
Inventory of John Leigh, Farnworth 1592.

make some reference to literature. One gentleman had a Bible (unpriced), one merchant had just two books worth six shillings and eight pence, the curate had a modest ten shillings' worth of books, the schoolmaster rather more at forty shillings' valuation, and another gentleman had thirty-one books in all assessed to be worth thirty-four shillings and four pence.⁽¹⁾ Ownership of books was clearly not widespread in this area and in no instance did a large collection exist. Gentry ownership predominated, but only in small quantities. Even at a house as large as Speke Hall only one book was recorded in 1624 - the Latin book belonging to a Jerusalem map.⁽²⁾

This inventory information is, however, representative of only a minority of the population, albeit the most literate section, and evidence of books may be inconclusive. A further indication of the availability of reading material in south-west Lancashire is glimpsed from the debt list appended to the will of Thomas Short of Huyton; in addition to monetary items he recorded "bookes which I have lende".⁽³⁾ These included to Thomas Orme (Gentleman of Little Woolton) Nowell and Dorman, to Thomas Brettergh (Gentleman of Little Woolton) A Disputation between the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Cole, to Bevis Caterall (of Speke) A Mirror for Magistrates, to William

(1) L.R.O., Inventory of Edward Heyes, Liverpool 1602.
L.R.O., Inventory of William Secum, Liverpool 1592.
L.R.O., Inventory of James Seddon, Liverpool 1588.
L.R.O., Inventory of Richard Welling, Liverpool 1594.
L.R.O., Inventory of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.

(2) Saxton, "Speke Hall and Norris Inventories", p. 122.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Short, Huyton 1582.

Woodward (yeoman of Much Woolton), The Revelation of St. John, to William Brettergh the Elder (Gentleman of Little Woolton), The History of King Boccus and Sydracke, to the daughter of Ralph Wolfall (of Wolfall) Aesop's Fables and The Obedience of a Christian Man. These titles may have been rather conservative, but Thomas Short's books were obviously desirable and borrowed from as far away as Speke - about five miles.

CHAPTER X.

THE CLERGYMEN AND THEIR CHURCHES.

- a) The established church.
- b) The parochial clergy.
- c) Additional clergymen.
- d) Catholic priests.

a) The Established Church.

The relatively small number of men who staffed the Anglican church in south-west Lancashire by the end of the sixteenth century formed one of the few groups of professional people in the area. They had something of a common academic and institutional training, followed an occupation in which there were certain recognized rules, regulations and codes of conduct, and in which a recognized hierarchy operated.⁽¹⁾ In the four parishes of Childwall, Huyton, Prescot and Walton the total number of clergy by 1600 was very much less than it had been fifty years previously.⁽²⁾ This actual decline in numbers had been accompanied by a decline in status and acceptance in the community for those that remained. The professional status of the clergy may have been clear in theory and in legality, but in practice in south-west Lancashire that professionalism was not always apparent and not easily recognized by the congregations to whom the clergy had to minister.

According to C. Haigh the church in Lancashire had been backward and slow in evolution: the fifty-six parishes of 1291 had increased to only fifty-seven by 1541. Church control had been always weak with the diocesan centres at Lichfield and York so remote.⁽³⁾ In much of the county by the sixteenth century church administration could be described as 'inadequate'.⁽⁴⁾ In 1539 legislation empowered

(1) R. O'Day, The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558-1642, Leicester 1979, p. 1.

(2) See Table XLIII.

(3) C. Haigh, "Finance and Administration in a new diocese: Chester 1541-1611" in ed. R. O'Day and F. Heal, Continuity and Change: Personnel and Administration of the Church in England 1500-1642, Leicester 1976, p.p. 145-166.

(4) C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire, London 1975, p. 6.

Henry VIII to create new dioceses by letters patent, and the north-west of England was considered in several schemes. Finally the unwieldy diocese of Chester was established in 1541 from the former archdeaconries of Richmond and Chester. The diocese became the third largest in England stretching one hundred and twenty miles at its largest and ninety miles at its greatest breadth with its cathedral in the extreme south-west corner.⁽¹⁾ With these inherently difficult geographical features the new diocese had also serious financial problems through inadequate endowments - it was next only to Rochester as the poorest in England. One immediate consequence of this was that the early bishops chose not to nominate their two archdeacons to avoid paying their salaries, but depriving themselves of possible valuable administrative assistance.⁽²⁾ Ecclesiastical discipline was, therefore, always difficult to enforce through distant courts inadequately staffed. This in consequence affected the enforcement of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's reformation changes in an area where there was no help from Lollardy nor Protestant propaganda and where there was no machinery of enforcement. Probably by the beginning of Elizabeth's reign popular Protestantism had made only minimal progress.⁽³⁾ In view of this in an unchanging ecclesiastical organization it is not surprising that the bishops of

(1) Ibid., p.p. 6-7.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 7-10,
and
ed. R. O'Day and F. Heal, Continuity and Change, p. 22.

(3) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p.p. 76-86.

Chester continued to face severe difficulties.

In addition the individual characters of several bishops did not help. In Elizabeth's reign Chester was one of the last sees to be filled - not until May 1561 by a former chaplain to the Queen, William Downham. He was not a particularly strong character and, with the continuing administrative and financial problems of his diocese, he had lost much of the initiative by 1562 when he began to try to impose the 1559 legislation. He died in 1577 heavily in debt.⁽¹⁾ His successor William Chadderton's continuing financial difficulties were so great that his debts were rescinded by the Crown.⁽²⁾ After 1587 the decline in real value of the bishop's income was finally steadied through the efforts of the bishop and a slowing rate of inflation, but at a cost of abdication from the real government of the diocese.⁽³⁾ Chadderton was translated to Lincoln in 1595 and replaced by Hugh Bellot, who served only a short tenure of the see because of his death in 1597. His replacement Richard Vaughan was another short appointment as he was moved to London in 1604.⁽⁴⁾

The state of the established church in Lancashire by the 1590 s was the subject of much comment by those who knew and also by those who did not know perhaps so well. Sixteen clergy from the diocese of

- (1) Ibid., p.p. 210-215.
ed. B. E. Harn's, The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Cheshire, Volume III, Oxford 1980, p.20.
- (2) Haigh, "Finance and Administration", p. 156.
- (3) Ibid., p. 166.
- (4) R. V. H. Burne, Chester Cathedral, London 1958, p. 71.

Chester (although none from south-west Lancashire) were responsible for A description of the state, civil and ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancashire produced in about 1590.⁽¹⁾ They referred to "the inconvenient state of churches and chappelles" and to the fact that many churches lay "ruinouse, unrepaired and unfurnished" as parishioners would not contribute to their maintenance. Chapels suffered from insufficient endowment for their ministers so that many were destitute of curates and in ruin. Many parishioners claimed to be attending a chapel and so did not attend at the parish church, but then no service took place at the chapel. These claims can be augmented by a report made to the Privy Council in about 1591.⁽²⁾ It claimed that in Lancashire churches were empty on Sundays and holidays, preachers were few and most parsons unlearned, and many of those that were learned were non-resident. In any case there were so few people in church that even preachers did not bother to preach. At service time streets and the innumerable alehouses were full and open markets were held and many unlawful games practised. In a letter of 1592 the Privy Council enumerated these games as "May gaimes, morryce daunces, plaies, beare baytings, ales and other like pastimes".⁽³⁾

(1) ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Miscellanies, Chet. Soc. O.S. Vol. XCVI 1875, p.p. 9-11.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/240, fo. 138.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. XXII, p. 549.

These descriptions of Lancashire clearly contain elements of generalization and propaganda, but certainly some of the characteristics may have affected south-west Lancashire and some of the difficulties faced the clergy of Huyton, Childwall, Prescott and Walton parishes. Many Lancashire parishes were large and relatively remote. Those in authority did not always know exactly where and with whom they were dealing. In 1563 when the bishop of Chester returned a survey of his diocese to the Privy Council he did list the parish churches of Huyton, Childwall, Prescott and Walton, but with an inaccurate list of the chapels in the four parishes (omitting Rainford and recording as two Hale and Halebank).⁽¹⁾ The Metropolitan visitation of 1578 likewise omitted Rainford and also St. Helens chapels in Prescott parish,⁽²⁾ whilst a View of the state of the county Palatine of Lancashire made in about 1590 omitted Hale chapel.⁽³⁾ Lord Burghley's annotated map of Lancashire made at about this date marks a number of churches and chapels in this area but omits Huyton and Walton churches, Hale, Kirkby and St. Helens chapels.⁽⁴⁾

The four parishes concerned were, however, all recorded in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 and their churches and chapels in the inventories of ecclesiastical goods taken in 1552.⁽⁵⁾ These afford a

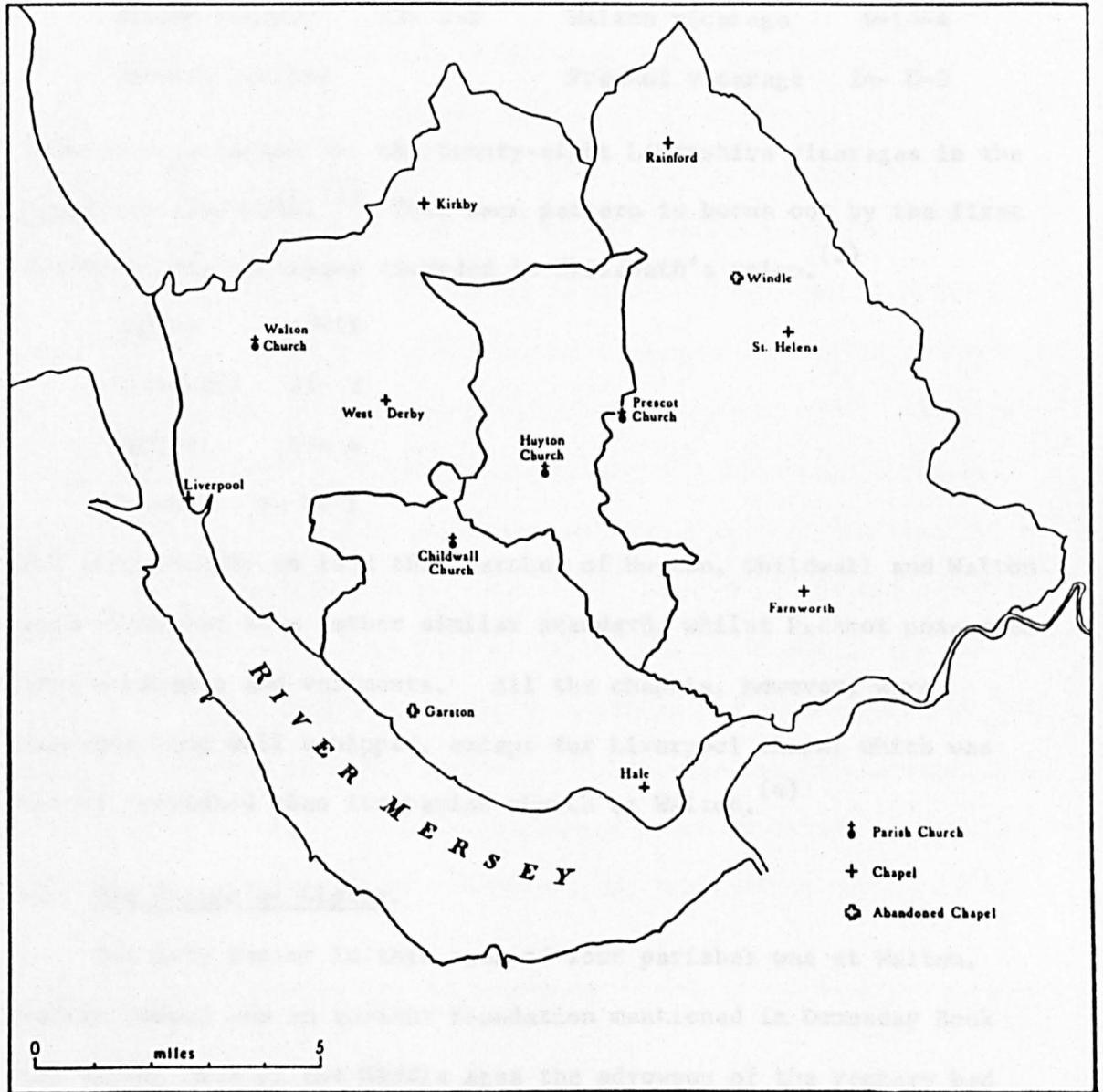
(1) B.L., Harl. Mss. 594 fo. 101.

(2) B.I.Y., RV 1 A 7 fo. 45v.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/235, fo. 4.

(4) B.L., Royal Mss. 18 Diii, fo. 82.

(5) See Map XXI.



MAP XXI: CHURCHES AND CHAPELS OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

measure of comparison financially. According to the Valor:-⁽¹⁾

Huyton rectory	21- 7-2	Huyton vicarage	6- 9-0
Childwall rectory	38-13-4	Childwall vicarage	6- 0-0
Walton rectory	77- 5-6	Walton vicarage	6-13-4
Prescot rectory		Prescot vicarage	24- 0-9

(The average income for the twenty-eight Lancashire vicarages in the Valor was £12-9-3½).⁽²⁾ This same pattern is borne out by the first fruits of the vicarages recorded in Elizabeth's reign.⁽³⁾

Huyton	12-11
Childwall	11- 2
Walton	13- 4
Prescot	2- 8- 1

Not surprisingly in 1552 the churches of Huyton, Childwall and Walton were furnished to a rather similar standard, whilst Prescot possessed more ornaments and vestments. All the chapels, however, were markedly less well equipped, except for Liverpool chapel which was better furnished than its parish church at Walton.⁽⁴⁾

b) The Parochial Clergy.

The only rector in this area of four parishes was at Walton. Walton church was an ancient foundation mentioned in Domesday Book and during much of the Middle Ages the advowson of the rectory had been held by Shrewsbury Abbey. This advowson, however, had been purchased in 1470 by Thomas Molyneux of Sefton⁽⁵⁾ and during the

(1) V.C.H. III, p. 6, p. 105, p. 153, p. 342.

(2) C. Haigh, The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace in Chet. Soc., 3rd series, Vol. XVII, 1969, p. 2.

(3) B.L., Harl. Mss., 2219, fo. 3.

(4) Inventories of Goods in Churches and Chapels of Lancashire taken in 1552 in Chet. Soc. Vol. CXIII, 1888, p.p. 80-101.

(5) V.C.H. II, p.p. 5-6.

sixteenth century it was the practice for a member of the Molyneux family to hold the rectory.

Anthony Molyneux D.D. was instituted in 1543 and remained in office until his death in 1557.⁽¹⁾ His successor in September 1557 was his godson, another Anthony Molyneux - a student of Corpus Christi College, Oxford who obtained his B.A. degree in 1558.⁽²⁾ He was present in Walton at the visitation of 1562, but refused to conform to the new regime and by 1563 had departed overseas.⁽³⁾

Alexander Molyneux, presented in October 1565, was to hold the rectory for sixty-six years. He was a younger son of the patron Sir Richard Molyneux and must have been about ten years old at the time he was instituted by special dispensation.⁽⁴⁾ However, it was not until 1574 that Alexander Molyneux was made a deacon⁽⁵⁾ and in 1590 he was still recorded as "no preacher".⁽⁶⁾ In 1591 he was described to the Archbishop of York as "a yonge gent. not inferiour to any of worship in Lancashire", but he was unlearned and unaccustomed to "say service or administer sacrements".⁽⁷⁾ Not only was he unlearned, he was also non-resident with the parsonage house in decay.⁽⁸⁾ The tithe income of the rectory, however, was substantial and Alexander

- (1) V.C.H. III, p. 7.
- (2) C.R.O., Institution Act Books and Ordination Registers, EDA 1/1 fo. 49v.
- (3) C.R.O., Visitation Call Books, EDV 2/5 fo. 4v.
- (4) P.R.O., Records of the Court of Requests: Proceedings, REQ 2 200/38.
Kenyon Manuscripts, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, App. 4, 1894, No. 14.
- (5) C.R.O., EDA 1/3.
- (6) P.R.O., SP 12/235, fo. 4.
- (7) Kenyon Mss., No. 601, fo. 112d.
- (8) B.I.Y., R VI A 7, f. 47v.

Molyneux took care to collect his dues.⁽¹⁾ His wife was buried at Walton in 1614 and Alexander Molyneux lived on until 1631.⁽²⁾

The vicars of the four parishes in south-west Lancashire did not provide any noticeable improvement on the standards maintained by the one rector. In Huyton parish the vicar had been provided by the Augustinian canons of Burscough Priory⁽³⁾ and they had Roger Mason instituted as vicar in 1517. He served through the various Reformation changes until his death in 1557.⁽⁴⁾ His will made reference to his family in Chester.⁽⁵⁾

James Smith, also a canon from Burscough, may have served briefly as vicar in 1557-8 when Edward Lowe was presented as the new incumbent.⁽⁶⁾ He had been the priest in charge of the "fre gramer schole" in Huyton since 1556.⁽⁷⁾ He was named in the visitations of 1562 and 1563,⁽⁸⁾ but was soon in trouble with the new ecclesiastical regime. In September 1564 he was presented for offending in various ways - "in makinge of hollie water, leading of his parishioners in the old accustimal manner of praier". He was ordered on the next four Sundays to read from his pulpit at service time the declaration of the bishop.⁽⁹⁾

- (1) P.R.O., REQ 2 200/38.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 160 F9 (69).
- (2) V.C.H. III, p. 7.
- (3) Haigh, Last Days of Lancashire Monasteries, p. 3.
- (4) V.C.H. III, p. 154.
- (5) C.R.O., Bishops' Registers, EDA 2/1.
- (6) C.R.O., EDA 1/1 fo. 50v.
- (7) L.R.O., DDM 33/1.
- (8) C.R.O., Visitation Correction Books, EDV 1/3 fo. 33 and EDV 2/5 fo. 4.
- (9) C.R.O., Proceedings of Royal Commissioners, EDA 12/2 fo. 80v.

Presumably Edward Lowe departed quite rapidly as by the time of the 1565 visitation William Wood was the vicar at Huyton.⁽¹⁾ Possibly he was one and the same person as William Wade who witnessed a will in 1576 and appeared at the Metropolitan visitation of 1578.⁽²⁾ Reprimands may have resulted in William Wade commencing a new register book at Huyton in October of 1578.⁽³⁾ However, he was also presented for keeping an alehouse in his vicarage and again in 1581 for assaulting the constable.⁽⁴⁾ In 1586 William Wade and his wife Jane were both referred to at Prescott court, but by 1587 his wife had been widowed.⁽⁵⁾

From 1578 Roger Devias had been curate at Prescott church, but in 1587 he was presented to the vicarage at Huyton,⁽⁶⁾ although in 1590 he was still referred to as "no preacher".⁽⁷⁾ According to Duchy depositions taken in 1600 Roger Devias must have been about forty years old at the time of his arrival in Huyton⁽⁸⁾ where he remained until his death in 1607.⁽⁹⁾ He had married his first wife Ellen in 1579 whilst at Prescott and after her death in 1590 remarried probably a local woman Margery Fletcher in 1591. A son survived from his first marriage and three daughters and two sets of twins were born to

- (1) C.R.O., EDV 1/3, fo. 71.
- (2) B.I.Y., R VI A 8 fo. 64.
- (3) Register of Huyton.
- (4) B.I.Y., R VI A 7 fo. 47.
Pres. Recs., p. 203.
- (5) Pres. Recs., p. 232 and p. 238.
- (6) C.R.O., EDA 1/4 fo. 14.
- (7) P.R.O., SP 12/235 fo. 4.
- (8) P.R.O., DL 4 42/38.
- (9) Register of Huyton.

his second wife. Only three of these later children survived.⁽¹⁾
 During his time at Huyton Roger Devias had kept a cottage and kiln at
 Prescot with an undertenant, whilst his brother and family lived in
 Tarbock township of Huyton parish.⁽²⁾

Something of the same pattern of resignations, short
 incumbencies and local connections is evident in Childwall parish.
 John Ainsdale, instituted as vicar in 1546⁽³⁾ was also a former canon
 of Burscough priory who finally retired from office in January
 1558.⁽⁴⁾ His successor, William Crosse, was probably a local man who
 had been ordained deacon at Chester in 1555.⁽⁵⁾ He was in Childwall
 parish by 1560 and presented at visitations until 1565.⁽⁶⁾ His
 resignation was secured in 1569, but this did not remove William
 Crosse from the immediate area as he continued in the parish
 operating as curate at Hale chapel.⁽⁷⁾

David Catton filled the vacancy at Childwall in January 1570 and
 presumably he was felt to be more reliable to established religious
 practices than his predecessor.⁽⁸⁾ He had been ordained as priest in
 1542 and must have been about forty-seven years old when appointed to

- (1) Registers of Huyton and Registers of Prescot.
 (2) Pres. Recs., p. 237 and Registers of Huyton.
 (3) V.C.H. III, p. 106.
 (4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52515.
 (5) Ordination Register of the diocese of Chester 1542-1558 ed.
 W. F. Irvine in Rec. Soc. Vol. XLIII, 1902.
 (6) L.R.O., DDLi 253/3.
 C.R.O., EDV 2/5 fo. 4, EDV 1/3 fo. 33, EDV 1/3 fo. 70v.
 (7) V.C.H. III, p. 107.
 (8) C.R.O., EDA 1/4 fo. 1v.

Childwall.⁽¹⁾ He remained until his death in 1588.⁽²⁾ Little is known about his eighteen years in the parish, but he also was possibly a local man. Lawrence Blackburne was presented to the vacancy in October 1588, but may never have taken up the post.⁽³⁾ Similarly Thomas Williamson M.A. was presented in January 1589, but almost immediately was transferred to the parish of Eccles.⁽⁴⁾

Eventually in June 1589 Edmund Hopwood was instituted and actually arrived in Childwall.⁽⁵⁾ His qualifications are unknown, although he had been licensed as reader at Littleborough in 1576 and ordained deacon at Chester in 1583.⁽⁶⁾ He must have taken up residence in Childwall quite promptly following his appointment as a daughter was baptised at Childwall in November 1589. Two more daughters and two sons were also baptised there before 1603.⁽⁷⁾ In addition to these family registrations, Edmund Hopwood appears in a number of deeds and leases throughout the period 1589-1603 suggesting that he was usually resident in his parish.⁽⁸⁾ However, in the survey of the county in 1590 he was recorded as "no preacher"⁽⁹⁾ and on the

(1) P.R.O., DL 4/25/20.

(2) Registers of Childwall.

(3) C.R.O., EDA 1/4 fo. 16v.

(4) C.R.O., EDA 1/4 fo. 17 and V.C.H. III p. 106.

(5) V.C.H. III p. 106.

(6) C.R.O., EDA 1/3.

(7) Registers of Childwall.

(8) for example, B.L., Add. Ch. 52636 and 52656 and L.R.O., DDLi 253/15.

(9) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.

occasion of Mistress Katherine Brettergh's funeral in 1601 Mr. Hopwood was obviously not considered adequate academically nor suitable in his religious temperament to preach the sermon. The Queen's Preacher from Huyton and the vicar of Standish were used.⁽¹⁾ Edmund Hopwood remained as vicar at Childwall until 1616.⁽²⁾

In the absence of a resident and effective rector, the vicar at Walton must have been a person of some importance to the large parish, yet relatively little is known about them during the second half of the sixteenth century. Thomas Allen was presented at the visitation of 1554.⁽³⁾ By 1562 and 1563 John Finch, a local man, was vicar but in 1564 he was moved to the adjoining Sefton parish.⁽⁴⁾ He was replaced in 1565 by Robert Halsall⁽⁵⁾ who presumably remained until his death in 1572.⁽⁶⁾ A lengthier tenure of office was achieved by the next two vicars. William Hesketh was presented in March 1572 and remained in the parish until his death in 1586.⁽⁷⁾ His replacement Peter Hey, probably a local man, came in 1587 and remained until his death in 1621.⁽⁸⁾ In 1604 he had been recorded as

(1) W. Harrison, Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, London 1602. W. Leigh, The Soules Solace against Sorrow, London 1602.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 106.

(3) V.C.H. III, p. 9.

(4) C.R.O., EDV 2/5 fo. 4v, EDV 1/3 fo. 33v.

(5) C.R.O., EDV 1/3 fo. 71v.

(6) C.R.O., EDA 1/1 fo. 4.

(7) C.R.O., EDA 1/1 fo. 4 and V.C.H. III, p. 9.

(8) C.R.O., EDA 1/4 fo. 13v and V.C.H. III, p. 9.

"no preacher",⁽¹⁾ whilst in 1590 with others he had been accused at the Quarter Sessions of assault and breaking down enclosures - although found not guilty.⁽²⁾

As an exceptionally large parish Prescott at one time had a large complement of clergy. However, when the rectory was appropriated and the vicarage established in 1448 the vicar was required to provide all necessary chaplains from the small tithes he was entitled to.⁽³⁾ In 1541 Robert Brassy D.D. was instituted as vicar, but there is no evidence of any great attachment to Prescott. He eventually became provost of King's College, Cambridge in 1556, although he died shortly after in 1558.⁽⁴⁾ He had long since arranged for the impropiator, the Earl of Derby, to sub-let the demesne lands of Prescott Hall to his nephew John Layton.⁽⁵⁾

William Whitlock D.D. was presented as vicar at Prescott in December 1558.⁽⁶⁾ He was recorded at the visitations of 1562, 1563, 1565 and 1578, although in 1562 he was at the time in London.⁽⁷⁾ He was a graduate of King's College - well educated and scholarly; perhaps too much so for Prescott parish since as prebend of Lichfield cathedral he was able to spend much of his time writing books.⁽⁸⁾ In

(1) Kenyon Mss., No. 14.

(2) Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records 1590-1606, ed. J. Tait in Chet. Soc. N.S. Vol. LXXVII, 1917, p. 20.

(3) Pres. Recs. at Cambridge IV (5).

(4) V.C.H. III, p. 344 and Pres. Recs., p. 10.

(5) Pres. Recs., p.p. 10-11.

(6) C.R.O., EDA 1/1, fo. 51.

(7) C.R.O., EDV 2/5, fo. 3, EDV 1/3, fo. 33, EDV 1/3, fo. 70v, B.I.Y., R V I A 8, fo. 64.

(8) F. G. Paterson, History of Prescott, Prescott 1908, p. 29. B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 48v.

fact he was rarely resident at Prescot although he remained as vicar until his death in 1583.⁽¹⁾ Ten years before a local gentleman, Thomas Lancaster, had arranged to sub-let the vicarage⁽²⁾ and the vicar's absence was such that in 1568 his name was incorrectly recorded in the churchwardens' accounts as Sir 'Robert' Whitlock.⁽³⁾

Thomas Meade M.A. succeeded as vicar in 1583 and for the first time in forty years Prescot had a resident vicar who had a relatively long tenure of office until his death at Prescot in 1616.⁽⁴⁾ Another Etonian graduate of King's College, Thomas Meade should have been well qualified and in 1590 he was described as "a preacher",⁽⁵⁾ yet how diligent he was or found it possible to be is questioned by his presentation in 1592 for not catechising the youth of his parish. In response Mr. Meade claimed that every Sunday and holy day he interpreted some piece of Scripture both morning and afternoon.⁽⁶⁾ As early as May 1586 the vicar had written to the provost of King's College expressing concern over the school in his parish and the need to catechise the youth. He had made reference to "certeyne spirituall exercises in Lankeshire and Cheshire, whereof one is in Prescot towne once everie monethe, the three coldest excepted".⁽⁷⁾

- (1) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 48v.
V.C.H. III, p. 344.
- (2) C.R.O., EDA 12/3, fo. 26.
- (3) Pres. Accs., p. 63.
- (4) V.C.H. III, p. 344.
- (5) P.R.O., SP 12/235 fo. 4.
Paterson, History of Prescot, p. 30.
- (6) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 123.
- (7) Pres. Recs., p.p. 300-302.

Probably Mr. Meade was referring to the prophesying exercises for clergymen encouraged by Bishop Chadderton.⁽¹⁾

Thomas Meade was probably married before his appointment at Prescott. His will refers to his brother and to property in Hertfordshire, and to his children Henry, Edward, George and Susan, whilst in addition a son Thomas had been baptised at Prescott in 1586 and another son Devereux had died in 1597.⁽²⁾ In a conservative area married clergy were perhaps suspect, and general opinion of the vicar must have reached a resounding low when Thomas Meade sued his wife for divorce in 1596 on the grounds of her adultery with Philip Layton Gentleman. Evidence was taken in his own church by two local clergymen.⁽³⁾

In addition to his personal problems Thomas Meade also had considerable financial difficulties in an atmosphere of local non-co-operation. In 1585, 1591 and 1592 he was presented and fined at the manor court for causing trees to be felled in Prescott woods for repairs to his vicarage and for fencing his tenement.⁽⁴⁾ He had to write to the provost about his house repairs and in 1591 had to ask for a delay in paying rent to the College because his house had no ground and maintenance in stock.⁽⁵⁾ This plea was followed later in the year by another letter claiming a respite "for want of abilitie, so great is my charge heare". Mr. Meade went on to explain that he had had to just pay the Queen's tenth and subsidy and he still had to

(1) R. Halley, Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity, Manchester 1869, p.p. 129-130.

(2) Registers of Prescott.
L.R.O., Will of Thomas Meade of Prescott.

(3) C. Haigh, "Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I" in E.H.R. No. CCCLXII, 1977, p.p. 49-50.
C.R.O., EDC 1/29 fos. 104-105.

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 231, p. 250, p. 252.

(5) Pres. Recs. at Cambridge, IV 23 (5) and IV 24 (3).

keep house when "the towne and parishe is very poore and looketh for hospitalitie at my hands". He had no glebe land belonging to the vicarage and as his predecessor was never resident the house was in great decay. Timber for repairs was essential but, although the Prescott tenants claimed it themselves by ancient right, they begrudged it to their vicar.⁽¹⁾

It was likely that Thomas Meade as the first resident vicar for many decades faced an exceptionally difficult task in Prescott. Way back in 1557 the manor court had tried to regulate Sunday trading in the town by ordering that victuals and wares were not to be sold between the beginning of matins and the end of high mass.⁽²⁾ By 1586 Mr. Meade was writing to the provost trying to enlist his support in having the Sunday market in the town removed to Tuesday⁽³⁾ Partly in response to these appeals Dr. Goad, the provost, did visit Prescott and the court in person in 1592. Following his visit he wrote to the Earl of Derby commenting on the market problem and on the nineteen alehouses he had found in Prescott, few or none of which were licensed. He claimed they were the cause "of many great disorders, and specially of great negligence of coming to the church on the saboth day"⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Goad's visit and subsequent letters can have had

(1) Pres. Recs. at Cambridge, IV 24.

(2) Pres. Recs., p. 139.

(3) Pres. Recs. at Cambridge IV 19.

(4) Ibid., IV 22.

little lasting impact because in 1598 he was writing to Mr. Percival Harrington, the manor's deputy steward, complaining of the twenty alehouses that then operated "notwithstanding order taken for reformation at my being there not many years past".⁽¹⁾ These events give some clue to the situation within which Thomas Meade had to live and work. His lack of success is instanced by the fifty-four presentments made in 1604 for members of his congregation who stood and gazed into the street during divine service.⁽²⁾ At least they were in church!

In addition to each having a vicar the four parishes had been accustomed to a considerable additional staff of clergy - even in Huyton the smallest of the parishes which had no chapels of ease. In 1541 Huyton parish did have a curate recorded in addition to the vicar⁽³⁾ and early in Elizabeth's reign there is brief reference to a curate in 1562 when John Whitfield's name was written instead of one Hugh Brekall.⁽⁴⁾ After this date no further mention of a Huyton curate is found. Perhaps Lord Burghley was more accurate than he realised when he commented in 1571 that in the country near Lord Derby's house (at Knowsley in Huyton parish) the churches were not served with curates nor any to preach.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Prescott Recs. at Cambridge IV 22.

(2) Haigh, "Puritan Evangelism", p. 47.

(3) V.C.H. III, p. 155.

(4) Ibid.

(5) H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. I, p. 575.

No evidence of curates at Childwall church survives, although clearly in the first part of Elizabeth's reign a number of priests were alive and living in the parish. St. Mary's Chapel at Hale is recorded from 1260 with known chaplains since the fifteenth century.⁽¹⁾ It was long established and accustomed to be served by a curate who had four pounds per annum wages allowed and paid by the vicar of Childwall.⁽²⁾ The chapel was clearly recorded in 1553 by the King's commissioners, although quite poor with only two bells worth forty-five shillings and ornaments worth four shillings and six pence.⁽³⁾ However, it was not recorded in the 1590 ecclesiastical survey of the county⁽⁴⁾ and incorrectly recorded in 1604.⁽⁵⁾ Whether the chapel was continuously supplied with a curate, or whether the domestic priest of the Ireland family at Hale officiated is unclear. In the 1554 visitation James Whitford was the curate⁽⁶⁾ and not until 1573 in the will of a Halebank yeoman is William Crosse mentioned as curate of Hale.⁽⁷⁾ William Crosse was recorded at the 1578 Metropolitan visitation despite being the deprived vicar of Childwall from 1569.⁽⁸⁾ Possibly he had been active at Hale from his deprivation until his death at Hale in 1588.⁽⁹⁾ By 1587 he had been

(1) V.C.H. III, p. 149.

(2) B.L., Add. Mss. 369424, fo. 117.

(3) History of the Chantries within the County Palatine of Lancaster, Reports of the Chantry Commissioners, ed. F. R. Raines, in Chet. Soc. Vol. LX, 1862, p.p. 273-6.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/235 fo. 4.

(5) H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., No. 14.

(6) V.C.H. III, p. 107.

(7) L.R.O., Will of Edmund Wainwright, Halebank 1573.

(8) B.I.Y., R V I A 7 fo. 45v.

(9) Registers of Hale.

officially replaced by William Sherlock who continued as curate until he moved closer to home to Farnworth chapel in 1598.⁽¹⁾

St. Wilfrid's chapel at Garston within Childwall parish had likewise operated since the thirteenth century with chaplains recorded in the fifteenth century. From demolition evidence from the nineteenth century it appears that the chapel was virtually rebuilt in about 1500.⁽²⁾ By the visit of the commissioners in 1553 the chapel, however, was possibly in a state of decay and ornaments worth only sixteen pence were recorded.⁽³⁾ The chapel was dissolved with colleges, chantries and other chapels and the commissioners arranged for its sale to Edward Parkes who in 1553 resold it to Sir William Norris of Speke.⁽⁴⁾ Clearly the building stood as it was used as a rent receiving venue until 1600,⁽⁵⁾ but whether after 1553 any clergy had officiated at Garston is impossible to state with any certainty. A probably ruinous building was available and the chapel did have a graveyard. No known clergy are recorded during the remainder of the century, yet in 1606 Edward Norris Esquire of Speke left two hundred pounds to maintain a chaplain at Garston.⁽⁶⁾

Walton parish also had chapels within it which should have been staffed by appropriate clergy. There were chapels at Kirkby, West

(1) V.C.H. III, p. 149.

(2) Ibid., p. 127.

(3) History of Chantries, p.p. 268-276.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52511.

(5) Liverpool University Archives, Norris Deeds 237.

(6) Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 17/25.

Derby, Liverpool and Formby (which was detached from the parish and not considered in this study).

Of Kirkby chapel very little is known. The name of the township would appear to indicate a pre-Conquest church, but of this structure nothing survived an eighteenth century rebuilding.⁽¹⁾ There was a graveyard at the chapel and in 1553 the chapel's ornaments were valued at just twelve pence.⁽²⁾ At the 1563 visitation no return was made against the chapel's name,⁽³⁾ but there is reference to a wedding being performed there in 1564.⁽⁴⁾ At the Metropolitan visitation of 1578 one George Heyfield was returned as curate,⁽⁵⁾ and by 1590 and 1604 there was a reading minister.⁽⁶⁾ A Kirkby will of 1593 was witnessed by Thomas Lydiate, clerk, so possibly he was the Kirkby curate.⁽⁷⁾ Therefore, although poor, the chapel did continue to function with perhaps an intermittent supply of clergymen. Chapelwardens were mentioned at the 1592 visitation.⁽⁸⁾

West Derby chapel was documented from the mid fourteenth century, although again the structure was demolished in the eighteenth century.⁽⁹⁾ Robert Bolton was curate in 1548 and 1554,⁽¹⁰⁾ but in 1563

- (1) V.C.H. III, p. 55.
- (2) History of Chantries, p. 276.
- (3) C.R.O., EDV 1/3, fo. 33v.
- (4) C.R.O., Consistory Deposition Papers, EDC 2/9 fo. 1.
- (5) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 45v.
- (6) P.R.O., SP 12/235 fo. 4.
H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., No. 14.
- (7) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Woods, Kirkby 1593.
- (8) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 119.
- (9) V.C.H. III, p.p. 17-18.
- (10) V.C.H. III, p. 17.

no entry was recorded.⁽¹⁾ However, William Forster - clerk of West Derby and aged fifty-two years in 1570 - claimed to have known a deponent for twenty-four years.⁽²⁾ By 1578 he had been replaced by Ralph Higginson who was listed also as the schoolmaster at West Derby.⁽³⁾ In 1590 the curate was recorded as "no preacher"⁽⁴⁾ and must have been the John Gill of West Derby, clerk, who was bound over to keep the peace following an assault.⁽⁵⁾ From 1592 until 1598 Thomas Wainwright was curate until his move to Liverpool chapel.⁽⁶⁾ Technically he must have been only a 'reader' as he did not take priest's orders until he was ordained deacon and priest on the same day in 1598.⁽⁷⁾

Liverpool chapel was some four miles from Walton parish church and clearly it served a more substantial immediate population than the other south-west Lancashire chapels. The 1548 chantry survey had recorded that "Lyverpole is one haven town havinge a grete nombre of Inhitantes in the same and also grete nombre of strangers bothe by lande and see wher for the sam chapell and preist convenyent for the same requayreth to be had".⁽⁸⁾ For these reasons of population and

- (1) C.R.O., EDV 1/3 fo. 33v.
- (2) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 944.
- (3) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 45v.
- (4) P.R.O., SP 12/235 fo. 4.
- (5) Lancs. Quarter Sessions, p.p. 7-8.
- (6) C.R.O., EDV 1/10 fo. 129.
- (7) O'Day, The English Clergy, p. 13.
- (8) History of Chantries, p. 83.

because of more substantial endowment Liverpool chapel was, in fact, supplied almost continuously with a curate.

From 1557-1563 Evan Thomasson alias Nicholson, the younger son of a local burgess, served as curate seemingly to the satisfaction of his congregation.⁽¹⁾ The Town Books recorded in 1559 that he "hath well and diligentlie served as minister",⁽²⁾ but shortly before his death he was presented for using beads and ordered to use only the Prayer Book.⁽³⁾ In his private possession he still kept a large Catholic service book.⁽⁴⁾ A replacement curate is not known until John Milner officiated briefly from 1572 until his death in 1574.⁽⁵⁾ There may even have been a temporary minister - Ralph Vernam⁽⁶⁾ - until in October 1574 James Seddon was licensed as curate.⁽⁷⁾

Again a local man had been chosen - his brother and sister both lived nearby.⁽⁸⁾ Frequent references in the Town Books suggest continued residence by James Seddon until 1584 when he was considered unfit for his duties and his 'disabling' by the Bishop of Chester was discussed.⁽⁹⁾ A replacement - James Martindale - had been approached, but Seddon recovered and continued in office until his death during the winter of 1588-9.⁽¹⁰⁾ Even in good health James Seddon's

(1) C.R.O., EDV 1/3, fo. 33v.
L.R.O., DDB1 23/10-13.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 124.

(3) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p. 89.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 72.

(5) Ibid., p. 60.

(6) Ibid., p. 174.

(7) Ibid., p. 158.

(8) L.R.O., Will of James Seddon, Liverpool 1588.

(9) L.T.B. II, p. 486.

(10) Ibid., p. 548.

qualities were considered insufficient for one of the 'big' occasions at Liverpool chapel. In 1577 the Earl of Derby was delayed by adverse weather in Liverpool en route to the Isle of Man - from 15th to 28th April - and this necessitated St. George's Day being celebrated by the Earl in Liverpool. On 22nd April he viewed the chapel to "appointe oute a fyttte place for the clothe of estate" and had the south side chapel "rychlie hanged with costlie ornaments and clothe of golde". The Earl then attended evening prayer at 5.00 p.m. with a considerable procession of the town's dignitaries and the Earl's household. On 23rd - St. George's Day - there was another procession about the churchyard and a service at which the Earl's chaplain - Mr. John Caldwell (rector of Mobberley and Winwick) - preached a sermon. The day after the Earl again attended the chapel in the morning for Mr. John Nutter - one of the Queen's chaplains (prebend of Chester and rector of Sefton, Aughton and Bebington) - to preach. James Seddon was not entirely forgotten; perhaps he had shared in the officiating as he received a piece of gold from the Earl. (1)

Hugh Janion ministered in the town from 1590 until 1594, when discussions took place again concerning the 'unsatisfactory' qualities of the curate. (2) Six months' notice was considered, but in the event Hugh Janion remained until his death in 1596. (3) Ralph Bentley was "elected" by the town's assembly to succeed as curate, but by 1598 he was called upon to explain "whether he be mynded to

(1) L.T.B. II, p.p. 242-245.

(2) Ibid., p. 577.

(3) Ibid., p. 675, p. 703, p. 730.

continewe in his place as minister here".⁽¹⁾ Mr. Bentley claimed that he had already been discharged by the mayor and had found himself another office.⁽²⁾ The scribe of the Town Books chose to record that the curate "went awaie of his own accorde".⁽³⁾ Perhaps in an endeavour to secure a satisfactory appointment the town, with the consent of the Bishop, elected Thomas Wainwright as minister. Having served six years at West Derby chapel only a few miles from Liverpool his personality and religious disposition must have been known. In 1604 Mr. Wainwright was referred to as "a reading minister",⁽⁴⁾ and he evidently gave satisfaction at his new chapel where he continued until his death in 1625.⁽⁵⁾

The largest of the four parishes was, however, Prescot where some provision for curates might be expected. Owing to the frequent non-residence of the vicar, Prescot was the only parish where a curate was provided at the parish church. Robert Nelson had been there since at least 1558 and continued in office until 1567.⁽⁶⁾ During that period he was presented on five occasions at the manor court for breaches of the peace.⁽⁷⁾ Whether for this reason or another, the churchwardens in 1568 went to Ormskirk "to hyre a pryst",⁽⁸⁾ although there is no record of their success until Oliver

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 750.

(2) Ibid., p. 751.

(3) Ibid., p. 766.

(4) H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., No. 14.

(5) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Wainwright, Liverpool 1625.

(6) Pres. Accs., p.p. 42-45.
C.R.O., EDV 2/5, fo. 3, EDV 1/3 fo. 33, EDV 1/3, fo. 70v.

(7) Pres. Recs., p. 145, p. 148, p. 160, p. 163, p. 169.

(8) Pres. Accs., p. 63.

Orrell appeared as curate in 1573.⁽¹⁾ He remained in the parish for five years, but cannot have been a much better character than his predecessor; Mr. Orrell was presented at the manor court for selling ale in his house without a licence in 1575 and for unlawful gaming in 1577.⁽²⁾

By 1578 Roger Devias had been appointed curate and was to remain until 1587 when he moved to the neighbouring parish of Huyton as vicar.⁽³⁾ Like his predecessors Mr. Devias was probably a Lancashire, if not a local, man.⁽⁴⁾ John Whitaker was briefly referred to as Prescott's curate in 1587 and 1589, and, like many of the other late sixteenth century curates, as negligent. A "John Whiticares clerk" was still in the parish in 1602 and he may well be the same man discharged by the provost of King's College.⁽⁵⁾ In any event he had been replaced in 1589 by Edmund Fairhurst who was still serving at the church by 1604.⁽⁶⁾ Probably another local man had been appointed.⁽⁷⁾

Curates were required also to serve at the chapels of ease in Prescott parish, but at last at two of the chapels provision of curates was extremely intermittent. Rainford chapel had a curate in 1541,⁽⁸⁾ but no reference to any minister was made after that until 1590.⁽⁹⁾ By 1592 the curate was presented at the visitation for not

(1) Registers of Prescott.

(2) Pres. Recs., p.p. 190-191 and p. 201.

(3) B.I.Y., R V I A 8, fo. 64.

(4) R. McKinley, The Surnames of Lancashire, London 1981, p. 28.

(5) Registers of Prescott.
Prescot Rolls 1602-1648, ed. J. Knowles, Knowsley 1980, p. 44.
Pres. Recs. IV 23 (5).

(6) Registers of Prescott.

(7) Ibid.

(8) V.C.H. III, p. 385.

(9) P.R.O., SP 12/235 fo. 4.

giving admonitions and was excommunicated.⁽¹⁾ By 1604 a reading minister had been appointed.⁽²⁾ The other thinly documented chapel in Prescott parish was St. Helens (St. Ellen's). Its earliest mention was in 1552⁽³⁾ and no clergy were recorded until Ralph Hunt, the curate in 1578. At the time he was presented for making holy water and going about with it to bless both people and beasts.⁽⁴⁾ No curate was attached to the chapel in 1590 and by 1592 John Rutter, the reader there, was excommunicated.⁽⁵⁾ A reading minister was again in attendance by 1604.⁽⁶⁾

The most prominent chapel in Prescott parish, however, was that at Farnworth which, in effect, served half of the parish. It dated from at least the twelfth century with substantial fourteenth and fifteenth century building.⁽⁷⁾ Despite the chapel's prominence, the service of curates during the sixteenth century was still intermittent. Richard White certainly was curate from 1542-1554 and probably was still there in 1557.⁽⁸⁾ Thomas Hill is not recorded until 1562 and his death in 1566 ended his short incumbency.⁽⁹⁾ John Walbank is recorded only in 1567 and Thomas Roebuck only in 1576.⁽¹⁰⁾ Thomas Hankinson had replaced him by 1578 and presumably continued in office until his death at Farnworth in 1584.⁽¹¹⁾ All of these men

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- (1) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 126.
 (2) H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., No. 14.
 (3) V.C.H. III, p. 375.
 (4) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 48v.
 (5) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 117 and fo. 125.
 (6) H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., No. 14.
 (7) V.C.H. III, p.p. 389-391.
 (8) Ibid., p. 391.
 L.R.O., Miscellaneous Depositions, DDX 480 26/45.
 (9) C.R.O., EDV 2/5 fo. 3v and EDV 1/3 fo. 33 and fo. 70v.
 (10) V.C.H. III, p. 391.
 (11) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 45v and Registers of Farnworth.

could have been quite local persons. Edward Baguley succeeded as curate - aged about forty-five.⁽¹⁾ At least his tenure of office was a little longer until his death in 1598.⁽²⁾ William Sherlock moved from his curacy at Hale chapel to replace him. As Mr. Sherlock so carefully wrote himself in the chapelry registers, he had been born in 1563 in Sutton township in Prescott parish - no more than a mile away from his new chapel. He married Elizabeth Stringer, a widow at Farnworth in 1594 and a son and daughter had been baptised by 1602.⁽³⁾

It is certain in some cases, for example William Sherlock curate of Farnworth, Evan Thomasson curate of Liverpool and Alexander Molyneux rector of Walton, that these clergymen came from this area of south-west Lancashire, and it is probable⁽⁴⁾ in a great many more instances that this was true - for instance David Catton vicar of Childwall, James Seddon⁽⁵⁾ curate of Liverpool and Peter Hey vicar of Walton. This local supply of the local incumbents was reinforced when the additional clergy in the parishes are considered. Either through private family chapels or through their family chantries the local gentry of the area were accustomed to their own ecclesiastical staff usually provided by members of their own family or tenants. In the north most clergy had local connections and few outsiders found appointment as patronage still operated in a local framework. Partly in consequence many clergy maintained the same benefice

(1) P.R.O., DL 4/30/11.

(2) Registers of Farnworth.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Because of circumstantial evidence.

(5) This pre-Reformation characteristic is discussed in J. J. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, Oxford 1984, p. 44.

throughout their working lives, and curates rarely moved into the ranks of the beneficed clergy.⁽¹⁾

c) Additional Clergymen.

These characteristics were true even of the smallest parish - Huyton. In 1541 the parish had had a staff of six clergy - the vicar, a curate, two chantry priests and two domestic chaplains. By 1548 an additional two clergymen were recorded, but by 1554 the number had returned to six.⁽²⁾ The chantry priests were housed in property beside the churchyard and served in the chantries of the Harrington and Tarbock families in their chapels in the church.⁽³⁾ In addition both of these families maintained their domestic chaplains. How long these priests survived after 1554 and whether they were replaced is uncertain. William Tarbock Esquire's will of 1557 made arrangements for his priest Sir George Robinson to say mass at "the said chappell that stands upon Tarbocke grene" and to provide new ornaments and a vestment for this chapel. William Tarbock's two uncles were also priests and to receive bequests.⁽⁴⁾ As late as 1577 Edward Tarbock Esquire granted his son a messuage in Tarbock called "Chapel Hall".⁽⁵⁾

In Childwall parish the Norris and the Ireland families had a similar interest in their own clergymen. A Norris chantry had been founded in Childwall church in the late fifteenth century and certainly this recent foundation was staffed until at least 1554.⁽⁶⁾ In addition

(1) O'Day, The English Clergy, p.p. 5-12.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 155.

(3) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p. 93.

(4) Chet. Soc., Will of William Tarbock, Tarbock 1557.

(5) L.R.O., DDM 48/35.

(6) B.L., Add. Ch., 52375.
V.C.H. III, p. 107.

domestic chaplains served at both the Hutte and Speke. Christopher Ireland, chaplain to the Ireland family, was in service in 1547 and remained there until his death in 1575.⁽¹⁾ At Speke the Norris family had employed two chaplains in 1547 and at least one - Richard Norris - was being supported by a yearly rent of eight marks in 1566.⁽²⁾ As late as 1624 an inventory of Speke Hall listed the chamber over the old chapel, the chapel chamber, the new little chapel and the old chapel amongst the rooms.⁽³⁾

Walton parish presents a less clear picture but chantry priests and domestic chaplains must have contributed to the fourteen clergy in the parish in 1548.⁽⁴⁾ There was one chantry at Walton with a priest who was still alive in 1563 - a local man aged seventy-one,⁽⁵⁾ and four more chantry priests in Liverpool. Some survived early into Elizabeth's reign⁽⁶⁾ although in 1559 Nicholas White priest took himself away "without leave takyng".⁽⁷⁾ The More family at Bank Hall in Kirkdale certainly had their household chaplains - William and Robert - brothers of Thomas More and by 1564 they had not attended church for six years.⁽⁸⁾ William More, priest, was still alive in 1571.⁽⁹⁾ Other families such as the Molyneux at Croxteth

(1) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p. 98.
Registers of Hale.

(2) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p. 98.
B.L., Add. Ch. 52515.

(3) Saxton, "Speke Hall and Two Norris Inventories", p. 116.

(4) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p.p. 80-89.

(5) C.R.O., EDV 2/5 fo. 4v and EDV 1/3, fo. 33v.

(6) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p.p. 82-89.

(7) L.T.B. I, p. 130.

(8) P.R.O., State Papers Ireland, SP 63/10/26.

(9) Liv. R. O., 920 M00/1750.

must have had their own clergy, although only David Rose, clerk (aged seventy-eight in 1576) is known by name. Since 1563 he had occupied a house in Edge Lane, West Derby, and in depositions made reference to his sister and to his sons.⁽¹⁾

In a parish the size of Prescott it was also to be expected that chantry clergy and domestic chaplains had existed - to make a complement of fourteen clergy in 1548.⁽²⁾ At least two chantry priests were known at Prescott and one at Farnworth - all of them local men.⁽³⁾ When John Webster died at Prescott in 1567 his sister claimed his two messuages in the town.⁽⁴⁾ Even more domestic chaplains must have operated - for the Eccleston family, the Ditchfield family, the Tildesley family and the Bold family at least.⁽⁵⁾ John Tildesley served his brother's family in Ditton township whilst Roger Ditchfield, priest (also of Ditton) remained with his family until his death in 1592.⁽⁶⁾ The situation of the chaplains to the Bold family is made a little clearer by a Duchy enquiry of 1578 in which it was claimed by ten deponents that the Bold family had been accustomed to providing meat, drink and wages for two chaplains who served in the Chapel of Jesus which stood on Bold Heath a quarter of a mile from the manor house. Vestments and

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 94 R 9 (55) and Vol. 101 M 2 (23).
L.T.B. I, p. 426.

(2) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p.p. 76-79.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 168.

(5) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2129, fo. 107.

Registers of Farnworth.

Pleadings and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, ed.

H. Fishwick in Rec. Soc., Vol. XL (1899), p. 36.

Warrington Library, Bold Deeds, P8277/660.

(6) Ibid.

ornaments were usually conveyed from the house to the chapel when required. The enquiry stated also that these chaplains were often used as reeves, stewards of the house and collectors of rent by the family.⁽¹⁾ Certainly one such example was John Rathbone who in about 1550 was both chaplain and steward to Richard Bold. He came from Cuerdley township where his two sisters continued to live.⁽²⁾

Also in Prescott parish there was a chapel at Windle (or Windleshaw) containing a chantry founded by Sir Thomas Gerrard in the fifteenth century. This small chapel measured only twelve yards by three yards, but was served in 1548 by Richard Frodsham, priest.⁽³⁾ From 1553 for a further thirty-four years another Sir Thomas Gerrard disputed with the chantry commissioners over four tenements in Windle and whether they were part of the chantry endowment or part of his demesne.⁽⁴⁾ Amongst the depositions it was stated that the minister of the chapel was paid by Sir Thomas Gerrard and lived in his house. Gilbert Capper, minister, was still alive in 1561.⁽⁵⁾ Some incentive to continuing use of the chapel could have been provided by the cemetery which surrounded it.⁽⁶⁾

These chantry priests and domestic chaplains slowly disappeared during the new regime of Elizabeth's reign. There were, however, a few additions to the complement of clergy. During Roger Devias'

(1) P.R.O., DL 4/20/45.

(2) P.R.O., DL 4/8/26.
P.R.O., STAC 5 L15/4.

(3) History of Chantries, Vol. LIX, p. 79.

(4) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 55 G 6 (20).
P.R.O., DL 4/3/39.
P.R.O., DL 4/29/45.

(5) P.R.O., DL 4/3/39.
See also C. J. Kitching, "The Quest for Concealed lands in the Reign of Elizabeth I" in T.R.H.S., 5th Series, Vol. 24, 1974, p.p. 63-78.

(6) No author, "Windleshaw Chantry and Cemetery" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 39, 1888, p.p. 11-20.

incumbency as vicar at Huyton the parish also became the centre for one of the Queen's Preachers who had finally been established in an attempt to cope with the deficiencies of the Lancashire clergy. Throughout the 1590 s there had been projected schemes for financing these preachers and eventually in 1599 four were established with salaries of fifty pounds per annum payable from recusancy fines by the receiver of the Duchy. (They were established at Ormskirk, Leigh and Garstang in addition to Huyton).⁽¹⁾ The appointment of these four preachers demonstrated finally official recognition of the county's inability to provide resources for its own preachers.⁽²⁾ In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil in 1600 the Bishop of Chester claimed to have seated the Queen's Preachers "with as much care as I could".⁽³⁾ William Harrison (M.A. at Cambridge in 1595) was the first of these preachers at Huyton.⁽⁴⁾ Presumably he took up his duties quite quickly as he testified to being in the area in April 1600. From this same deposition it emerges that he was thirty-one years old at the time of his appointment.⁽⁵⁾ How extensively Preacher Harrison was able to operate is impossible to assess. Certainly he was at Prescott in 1600 and preached an extensive funeral sermon at Childwall in 1601.⁽⁶⁾ His efforts were eventually rewarded with the rectory of Eccleston in Cheshire in 1619.⁽⁷⁾

(1) E. Axon, "The King's Preachers in Lancashire 1599-1845" in Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Vol. LVI, 1941-2, p.p. 69-70.

(2) Haigh, "Puritan Evangelism", p. 32.

(3) H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. X, p. 12.

(4) Axon, "King's Preachers", p. 77.

(5) P.R.O., STAC 5 A38/31.

(6) Axon, "King's Preachers", p. 77.

(7) Ibid.

Also in Huyton parish was the Earl of Derby's residence at Knowsley, although he used in addition Lathom and New Park in Lancashire and his London house. When in residence the earls must have had considerable influence in the locality, and in 1571 Lord Burghley claimed that Common Prayer was not continued in Lord Derby's house and that Lady Margaret had lately given silver crosses to gentlewomen in the county to hang about their necks as relics.⁽¹⁾ Somewhat later the family household books make it clear that at least in 1587 the Earl had his own chaplain, Gilbert Townley, and that various preachers were invited on specific occasions - such as the vicars of Standish, Winwick, Wigan and Rochdale, but never any of the clergy from south-west Lancashire.⁽²⁾ Perhaps the degree of religious commitment by the earls may be suspected when on occasions these preachers made their sermons in the mornings only to be followed by companies of players providing the afternoon and evening entertainment.⁽³⁾

During the 1590 s Liverpool also decided to contribute to the appointment of a preacher. This was not an unusual decision in towns, although new in Liverpool.⁽⁴⁾ In June 1591 discussion took place concerning voluntary contributions to the stipend of Mr. Carter, the preacher, who showed great zeal and preached often and diligently. It was agreed to pay him four pounds per quarter. This arrangement continued until 1593, although probably on an

(1) H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. I, p. 576.

(2) Halley, Lancashire Puritanism, p. 127.
Stanley Papers, edited F. R. Raines in Chet. Soc., Vol. XXXI, 1853, p.p. 23-90.

(3) Ibid., p.p. 128-9.

(4) O'Day, The English Clergy, p. 102.

intermittent basis.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Carter was possibly Oliver Carter - a preacher at Manchester College and frequent guest of the Earl of Derby.⁽²⁾

As their numbers reduced during the second half of the sixteenth century the degree of contact and links amongst the south-west Lancashire clergy is hard to assess. They certainly did not live in close proximity with each other, although the parish churches of Prescott, Huyton and Childwall were only a few miles from each other. Very few indications of contact do exist. In 1588 Huyton registers record the burial of Childwall's vicar David Catton, but perhaps this was a necessity.⁽³⁾ The curate of Hale chapel married and had a child baptised at Farnworth chapel, but he had been born in this chapelry.⁽⁴⁾ The only real evidence of friendship is between Huyton's vicar Roger Devias and Childwall's vicar Edmund Hopwood. One child of Mr. Hopwood was baptised and another buried by Mr. Devias who was also godfather to a third child of Mr. Hopwood.⁽⁵⁾ As movement through appointment within the area was so restricted this also reduced the opportunity for contact amongst the clergy. Only four transfers were made during the second half of the sixteenth century: two curates moved - Thomas Wainwright from West Derby to Liverpool and William Sherlock from Hale to Farnworth, one vicar became a curate - William Crosse from Childwall to Hale, and one curate became a vicar - Roger Devias from Prescott to Huyton.

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 596, p. 608, p. 656.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 596 note.
Stanley Papers, p.p. 28-90.

(3) Huyton Registers.

(4) Farnworth Registers.

(5) Huyton Registers.
L.R.O., Will of Roger Devias, Huyton 1607.

The standard of living available to these Lancashire clergy is hard to assess with any precision. There were many poor livings in the church and often clergy needed supplementary incomes from teaching, preaching or some other alternative career. The situation did improve slowly by the end of the century, but mainly in the south of England. Lancashire was probably scarcely affected.⁽¹⁾ The curate at Liverpool was paid £4-17-5 per annum as his stipend by the Duchy of Lancaster.⁽²⁾ This had to be collected from Halton Castle annually with 11-10d being the deductions for fees, portage, the clerk, the acquittance and transport. The curate was, therefore, left with £4-5-7 which was augmented by £8-0-0 per annum collected by rate in Liverpool.⁽³⁾ In contrast the curate of Hale chapel was allowed only £4-0-0 per annum throughout this period by the vicar of Childwall.⁽⁴⁾ Clearly the stipends of clergy at chapels remained low and possibly actually deteriorated in real terms by the very end of the sixteenth century.⁽⁵⁾

With incomes like these any 'luxurious' features to life were scarcely possible. The probate inventory of James Seddon, curate of Liverpool, records goods totalling only £6-5-0. He possessed a few household items, apparel worth 11-0d and books worth 10-0d.⁽⁶⁾ One

(1) R. O'Day, "The Reformation of the Ministry 1558-1642" in ed. R. O'Day and F. Heal, Continuity and Change, p.p. 56-72.

(2) P.R.O., DL 42/23.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 468.

(4) B.L., Add. Mss. 369424, fo. 117.

(5) M. L. Zell, "Economic Problems of the parochial clergy in the 16th century" in R. O'Day and F. Heal, Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1600, Leicester 1981, p. 32.

(6) L.R.O., Inventory of James Seddon, Liverpool 1588.

of his successors in Liverpool - Thomas Wainwright, who died in 1625 - left goods totalling £31-5-0 from which £8-0-0 worth were books itemised separately. He had two Bibles, two testaments, several commentaries on parts of the Scriptures, a book of sermons and a book on the practice of preaching.⁽¹⁾ His possessions, however, were very modest. Roger Devias, vicar of Huyton, was obviously in a different category financially from these two curates. His probate inventory of 1607 amounted in total to £88-16-6. His books were worth only £4-0-0 and his apparel £3-6-8. The bulk of his possessions was made up of household goods - including four feather beds, three flock beds, one straw bed, one standing bed with curtains and five truckle beds - and his items of husbandry. The vicar had six cattle, one calf, one horse, five pigs, poultry, quantities of barley, oats and hay, a cheese press, three spinning wheels and a reasonable collection of farm equipment.⁽²⁾ From this small available sample it seems likely that the standards of living for the clergy could vary considerably even within a small geographic area. Some might live in a similar manner to prosperous yeomen, but others were at the other end of the scale with poor husbandmen. In south-west Lancashire many must have engaged in agriculture to augment their clerical incomes.⁽³⁾

(1) L.R.O., Inventory of Thomas Wainwright, Liverpool 1625.

(2) L.R.O., Inventory of Roger Devias, Huyton 1607.

(3) O'Day, The English Clergy, p.p. 177-183.

d) Catholic Priests.

A Catholic community and persistent, substantial recusancy could be sustained only by a sizeable priesthood. This creates problems of identification and even of definition. The Elizabethan Settlement of 1559 required existing clergy to subscribe to the new regime. However, the Marian Bishop Cuthbert Scott of Chester was not deprived of his office until 1559 and the vacancy that was occasioned not filled until 1561 - by one of Elizabeth's former chaplains, William Downham.⁽¹⁾ He was relatively slow to take up the administrative reins of office and performed his early visitations in a rather casual manner. In consequence it is not surprising that many priests of Mary's reign remained in office in Lancashire and the number of deprivations remained low.

During the 1560 s to what extent these men regarded themselves as Marian priests, or as part of the new regime, or the new regime as perhaps a temporary phenomenon is impossible to assess; probably there was considerable diversity.⁽²⁾ Certainly in the four parishes of south-west Lancashire during the 1560 s the majority of clergy were of conservative persuasion. Some remained for a while in parochial appointments such as Edward Lowe, the vicar of Huyton, who was reported in 1564 for the "makinge of hollie water" and using the "old accustimal manner of praier".⁽³⁾ Many others remained in the area as domestic chaplains to the families they had long served and frequently came from.⁽⁴⁾ A report to the Government in 1564 recorded

(1) See p. 496.

(2) P. McGrath and J. Rowe, "The Marian Priests under Elizabeth I" in Recusant History, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1984, p. 103.

(3) C.R.O., EDA 12/2, fo. 80v.

(4) See p.p. 522-525.

that Liverpool was "full of Papists" and named two priests there - Sir William More and Sir Robert More, brothers of Thomas More Esquire of Liverpool. The two priests did "much hurt and prate openly" and Thomas More had not received communion since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.⁽¹⁾ In Childwall parish Sir William Norris was making arrangements in 1566 to pay his chaplain - Sir Richard Norris - a yearly annuity.⁽²⁾

These examples are indicative of quite a large group of "recusant clergy" in Lancashire who refused to serve the Established church and who probably existed in a much greater proportion than in the rest of England.⁽³⁾ During the 1560 s sufficient of these priests must have been available in the area to make religious provision little different than it had been during the 1550 s and 1540 s. Most of these family chaplains attracted little diocesan or national attention, although in the county as a whole a few individuals such as Lawrence Vaux drew greater publicity through their writing and contacts.⁽⁴⁾

By the late 1560 s national awareness of the number of priests in Lancashire was surfacing. In 1568 Bishop Downham was reprimanded for not apprehending deprived ministers⁽⁵⁾ and in 1570 summoned to London to explain his negligence.⁽⁶⁾ Some deprivations

(1) P.R.O., SP 63/10/26.

(2) B.L., Add. Ch. 52527.

(3) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 216.

(4) W. R. Trimble, The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1964, p. 10.
ed. T. G. Law, A Catechism or Christian Doctrine by Lawrence Vaux in Chet. Soc., N.S. Vol. IV, 1885.

(5) P.R.O., SP 63/46/32.

(6) V.C.H. Cheshire, Vol. III, p. 20.

did take place, but the rate was slow, the replacements were often conservative, Catholic-trained clergy, and little attention was paid to domestic chaplains. With the level of stipends and nature of the area it was impossible to find significant numbers of Protestant educated and trained clergy to fill the parishes and chapels of south-west Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ Clearly losses amongst the Catholic clergy were steadily mounting, yet this slow, cautious policy took a surprisingly long time to take effect fully.

During the 1570 s the term 'old priest' began to appear, such as the reference in Liverpool to David Rose an "old priest - now papist" who was owed a debt by the town in 1574.⁽²⁾ At the Metropolitan visitation of 1578 another old priest, Sir Ralph Hunt, was curate at St. Helen's chapel in Prescot parish and he was presented for still making holy water and going about with it to bless both people and animals.⁽³⁾ By about this date there were probably four other old priests working in the parish and at least five laymen who were having masses said in their houses.⁽⁴⁾

Glimpses of the types of activity undertaken by these priests are provided by two reports to the Privy Council made during the early 1580 s. One report details the holding of mass in 1582 at Bold Hall in Farnworth chapelry. The priest, Richard Smith, lived

(1) See p.p. 511-521.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 187.

(3) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 48v.

(4) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 258.

at Poole House in Widnes but he often travelled the couple of miles to Bold where he entered a back gate into the garden and over the drawbridge into the house. He was fed in the kitchen and then taken to use Sir Thomas Gerrard's chamber where he said mass. Presumably the family attended and the report listed also a number of local gentlemen such as Henry Gerrard Gentleman of Rainhill, local workmen such as John Denton the miller at Bold, and household servants such as Margaret Winstanley the laundress who also arrived for the service.⁽¹⁾ Because it was Bold Hall the necessary equipment for the priest was perhaps provided, or perhaps Richard Smith carried with him similar possessions to those listed in 1585 which had been found with James Stones "an old massing priest" from County Durham who had been apprehended in south Lancashire by the Earl of Derby and sent to the gaol in Salford. He had an alb, a surplice, a vestment, a corpus and case, a tin chalice and cover, three little pewter boxes in a leather case for oil and the cruet, two little pewter bottles for wine, two little boxes for singing bread, three crucifixes, one Agnus Dei, a psalter, part of an old primer in parchment, a piece of an old book of sermons and an old mass book.⁽²⁾

It would seem that in south-west Lancashire relatively little organization and enthusiasm was ever brought to bear in tracking down and apprehending these 'old priests'. They existed in considerable

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/153/62.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/184/33.

numbers in the 1560 s, although by the 1570 s they had lost many parochial appointments.⁽¹⁾ Only during the 1580 s did their numbers seriously decline through death whilst a few lived on into the early 1590 s - Sir Roger Ditchfield priest from Ditton (where presumably he was domestic chaplain to the Ditchfield family) lived until 1592.⁽²⁾ The contribution of these priests to sustaining the Catholic faith in the area was immense and they ensured continuity, familiarity and local identity.⁽³⁾ They were part of the community and many came from the area and from gentry families, such as Sir William Norris priest at Speke (last known 1566), Sir Christopher Ireland priest at Hale (died 1575), Sir William More priest at Kirkdale and Liverpool (last known 1571) or Sir Roger Ditchfield. This contribution during the first part of Elizabeth's reign was probably decisive, as generally in the 1560 s English Catholics were poorly led by their clergy with little overt secular support⁽⁴⁾ so that south-west Lancashire's local circumstances were crucial.

This contribution from the 'old priests' was probably all the greater because of the dilatoriness and genuine difficulties facing Bishop Downham and Bishop Chadderton,⁽⁵⁾ and because of the survival for so long in south-west Lancashire of parochial clergy educated and trained in earlier decades of the sixteenth century with, one must suppose, a 'sympathetic' view of Catholicism. Edward Lowe seems to

(1) See Tables XXI - XXIV.

(2) Registers of Farnworth.

(3) See Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, p.p. 142-144.
McGrath and Roe, "Marian Priests", p. 111 and p. 117.

(4) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 5.

(5) See p.p. 494-496.

have been removed from Huyton in 1564, but David Catton served as vicar at Childwall from 1570 until his death in 1588, whilst his displaced predecessor William Crosse merely moved to the chapelry at Hale until 1588. Catton had been ordained in 1542 and Crosse in the mid 1550 s.⁽¹⁾ The curate at St. Helen's chapel, Ralph Hunt, despite presentations served until his death in 1586.⁽²⁾ It remains hard to imagine that this type of clergyman was conscientious and determined in reporting the activities of his former colleagues and in presenting recusants.

This survival of the old priesthood in south-west Lancashire into at least the 1570 s, if not as strongly into the 1580 s, allowed for an overlap with the arrival in England of reinforcements in the shape of 'new priests' recently trained in seminaries abroad. William Allen's seminary at Douai had been established in 1568 and the first priests reached England in 1574. Despite a period in Rheims (1578-1593) the college continued operations and a steady flow of priests was maintained.⁽³⁾ This was augmented from the 1580 s by the Jesuit operation in England, with colleges in Rome, St. Omer, Valladolid and Seville.⁽⁴⁾ By the end of Elizabeth's reign about eight hundred priests in all had been sent to the country.⁽⁵⁾ In increasingly difficult circumstances these 'new'

(1) Ordination Register of the Diocese of Chester 1542-1558, ed. W. F. Irvine in Rec. Soc. Vol. XLIII, 1902, p. 43 and p. 87. See p. 503.

(2) See p. 520.

(3) G. Anstruther, The Seminary Priests, Durham 1968, p. x.

(4) Ibid., p.p. x-xi.

(5) J. C. H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe, London 1976, p.p. 52-59.

C. Haigh, "From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England" in T.R.H.S., 5th Series, Vol. 31, 1981, p.p. 133-144.

priests survived in much the same way as the 'old' had done. Support and protection from local gentry was of crucial importance and from a base as resident chaplain the priest could serve an area or circuit of known available houses.⁽¹⁾ Amongst Lord Burghley's memoranda are two lists dated 1592 enumerating gentry known to be "relievers and favourers" of both Jesuit and seminary priests. Seven families from the four parishes of the south-west of Lancashire are included in these national lists: Tarbock of Huyton parish, Molyneux of Walton parish, Ireland and Norris of Childwall parish, and Bold, Eccleston and Latham from Prescot parish.⁽²⁾

Certainly south-west Lancashire was an area well patronized by these 'new' priests and their services must have been relatively easily available to those requiring them. In 1580 there were probably fourteen seminary priests in the county, in 1585 about twenty-three, in 1590 about twenty-nine, and in 1600 probably twenty-two.⁽³⁾ Whether the 'new' priests were ever as fully accepted and as well regarded as their 'old' counterparts is debatable. It has been claimed that this new generation of overseas-trained priests represented new attitudes and opinions which were not always so amenable to their protectors and flock in England.⁽⁴⁾ Understandably the exact status and role of these missionary priests when they were not local men or even from local gentry families must have caused some difficulties. The need to dress and travel as laymen must have reduced the element of segregation surrounding the priesthood.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Aveling, Handle and Axe, p. 60.

(2) Cecil Papers 168/142-4 and 21/69-70 in C.R.S. Vol. LIII p.p. 123-126.
See Table LXI.

(3) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 279.

(4) J. Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" in Past and Present, No. 21, 1962, p.p. 44-51.

(5) J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, London 1975, p. 251.

In south-west Lancashire, however, the 'new' priests were not really such an alien element as many were supplied by the county they later returned to.⁽¹⁾ By the 1580 s the Privy Council was trying to draw the attention of the Bishop of Chester to the numbers of young gentlemen being educated abroad where "they are accustomed and nurished in papistrie". The Council wanted the Bishop to take bonds from those families with children in Spain, Italy or France to have them returned within three months. Twenty names were provided for Lancashire including the Ashton and Bold families from Prescott parish.⁽²⁾ These measures cannot have had great success particularly with contacts between Liverpool or Chester with Ireland and/or the continent making departure relatively easy. In 1585 Henry Latham of Mossborough in Prescott was recorded for having one of his sons a monk in Spain and two other sons at Douai College.⁽³⁾ Other possibilities are also demonstrated by William Blundell from Crosby in south Lancashire staying at the pilgrim hospice at the English College in Rome in 1591 and Mr. Norris, a priest from Speke, staying there for ten days in 1606.⁽⁴⁾ Vicar Thomas Meade was stating the evident truth when trying to defend the siting of Prescott school beside the parish church; he wrote of the dangers of private schoolmasters "corrupt in religion" who were educating children in "principles of Papistry" so that he feared the parish might be " a verie nurse of

(1) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p.p. 278-279.

(2) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XXVI, p.p. 99-100.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/185/35.

(4) H. Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, London 1880, Vol. VI, p. 564 and p. 581.

seminarie priests".⁽¹⁾

Because of obvious elements of deliberate concealment the identity and place of birth is not always clear, but undoubtedly the four parishes of south-west Lancashire provided a number of missionary priests. John Almond was born about 1577 on the Speke/Allerton township boundary in Childwall parish. He claimed to have been educated at Much Woolton School, and then to have travelled via Ireland to the college at Rheims, and then to Rome where he was ordained a priest in 1601. He returned to England in 1602 where he served until his death at Tyburn in 1612.⁽²⁾ Thomas Worsley was born at Bold township in Prescott parish in 1572. He studied at Valladolid during the 1590 s before returning to England in 1595 using the alias Brown.⁽³⁾ In 1604 his brother Francis Worsley was presented and "suspected to relieve and mayntayne his brother a priest".⁽⁴⁾

An interesting testimony was provided in 1625 by William Singleton who was apprehended in Durham en route from Yarmouth to Berwick to escort a child abroad for education. William Singleton explained that he had been born in Prescott parish (his father was a yeoman - John Singleton of Gleast in Eccleston township) and educated at Prescott school ("the nurse of seminarie priests") until he was eleven or twelve years old. Then he had entered the service of Robert Hindley Esquire of Hindley in Lancashire from where he was sent to Ireland and then the Low Countries. Abroad he had trained

(1) Pres. Recs. at Cambridge, IV 24(4).

(2) F. O. Blundell, Old Catholic Lancashire, London 1925, p.p.79-82. Anstruther, Seminary Priests, p. 19.

(3) Ibid., p. 386.

(4) Cecil Papers 141/282 in C.R.S., Vol. LIII, 1960, p. 148.

as a lay brother in the Benedictine order and in 1625, whilst William Singleton admitted being a Catholic, he denied being a priest.⁽¹⁾

Probably quite a number of other priests came from the four parishes, for example William Ball trained at Valladolid and Seville,⁽²⁾ William Chaddock educated at Douai, Rheims and Rome before returning to England in 1587,⁽³⁾ Edward Kenyon trained at Rheims before his return in 1599,⁽⁴⁾ John Lister also at Rheims and arrested in England in 1585,⁽⁵⁾ William Nicholson educated at Douai and back in England by 1579,⁽⁶⁾ Edward Rushton who was born in 1550 and at Douai by 1573 before being captured in London and banished,⁽⁷⁾ and William Wilson who had been born in 1571, educated at Valladolid and returned to England in 1595 - his brother John was at the time living in Liverpool.⁽⁸⁾

South-west Lancashire was clearly supplying novices for training abroad and some of them certainly returned. An informer in 1599 wrote to Sir Robert Cecil that "at a place called Speake, dwells one Edward Norris, an esquire of five hundred pounds livelihood, a known recusant, but who, through fear of his greatness, has never been presented". It was claimed that he harboured two priests - little Sir Richard (or Sir Richard Norris) and Sir Peter Jackson. They were lodged in a chamber over the parlour and waited at table "in a livery coat and cognisance". The children of Edward Norris, not surprisingly, were christened, married and buried "with masses and

(1) Mickleton and Spearman Ms. 2 in C.R.S., Vol. LIII, p.p.287-288.

(2) Anstruther, Seminary Priests, p. 19.

(3) Ibid., p. 69.

(4) Ibid., p. 196.

(5) Ibid., p. 210.

(6) Ibid., p. 252.

(7) Ibid., p. 290.

(8) Ibid., p. 383.

H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. XII, p. 600.

Romish ceremonies".⁽¹⁾ Right up until the end of Elizabeth's reign the Government was unable to sever these contacts with the continent and the protection of returned priests. Quite a number of houses were evidently available for mass, as witnessed by the six individuals from Farnworth chapelry who were presented for this offence in 1604.⁽²⁾ In 1639 a list of Catholic clergy in the county of Lancashire revealed the continuing local names serving in the four south-western parishes - William Latham a Benedictine served Childwall and Huyton, Thomas Caterall a Benedictine served Prescott and Walton, Peter Wetherby was a secular priest in Prescott and John Challinor in Walton, whilst Mr. Cowley and Mr. More were the two Jesuits serving Prescott.⁽³⁾

Despite a largely sympathetic, or at worst indifferent, environment, life for priests in south-west Lancashire was not always safe. It is testimony to the continuing strength of Catholicism that families remained willing to send their sons abroad. About half of the eight hundred priests sent to England during the latter half of Elizabeth's reign were eventually caught by the Government. One hundred and twenty-three were executed and many more died in gaol.⁽⁴⁾ For instance Cuthbert Mayne had been executed at Lancaster in 1577⁽⁵⁾ and John Lister had been arrested not far from home at Prescott in 1585, taken to London and was never heard of after 1588.⁽⁶⁾ The Earl of Derby carried out fairly extensive searches along twenty-four miles of the Mersey coastline for the seminary Thomas Bell in

(1) Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 18.

(2) Cecil Papers 141/282 in C.R.S. Vol. LIII, 1960, p. 150. John Linaker of Widnes, William Smith of Widnes, Thomas Harrison of Widnes, John Windle of Cronton, Francis Worseley of Bold and Nicholas Penketh of Great Sankey.

(3) G. Anstruther, "Lancashire Clergy in 1639" in Recusant History, Vol. IV, 1957-8, p. 42.

(4) Aveling, Handle and Axe, p. 61.

(5) P.R.O., SP 12/118/46.

(6) Anstruther, Seminary Priests, p. 210.

1592.⁽¹⁾ Robert Hawkesworth a priest was arrested in Liverpool in late 1595. He had been educated at Blackburn Grammar School and then studied in Rheims and Rome before returning to England in only 1594.⁽²⁾ On the other hand Thurstan Hunt, a seminary who was arrested in the Fylde area in 1600, claimed at his examination to have been in England since about 1585 and to have spent the intervening years in Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lancashire. After questioning in London Hunt was returned to Lancaster for execution in 1601.⁽³⁾

Thurstan Hunt's fifteen years at large does indicated that priests in Lancashire must have had a reasonable chance of survival - at least for a period of time. Warnings of searches, escapes and lax treatment in gaol all contributed. In 1601 the Bishop of Chester complained to Sir Robert Cecil that a seminary priest - one Atkinson - had escaped from Lancaster gaol through the "wilful negligence, or rather corruption" of the gaoler. Previously the Bishop had remonstrated about treatment which allowed recusants "overmuch liberty to hunt and hawk abroad at their pleasures, and to walk the town and country with their guns and weapons".⁽⁴⁾ His criticism was perhaps somewhat unfairly addressed at only Lancaster when the priest captured in Liverpool - Robert Hawkesworth - had been sent in 1595 to the Gatehouse prison at Westminster from where he had escaped in 1597, so that by 1603 he was still at large in Lancashire.⁽⁵⁾

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/243/71.

(2) Anstruther, Seminary Priests, p. 157.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. VI, p. 312.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/275/83.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. XI, p.p. 166-167.

(4) Ibid., p. 123.

(5) Anstruther, Seminary Priests, p. 157.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. VI, p. 312.

The total number of priests available in Lancashire - or indeed in the four parishes of the south-west of the county - at one and the same time during Elizabeth's reign is obviously an area of great uncertainty. It has been claimed that a priest was available possibly only once a month,⁽¹⁾ but certainly for the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign in south-west Lancashire there were plenty of 'old' priests to provide a much better service than this.⁽²⁾ In the latter part of the reign it is less easy to be so precise. In 1585 five priests including one Jesuit were listed in the county,⁽³⁾ yet this seems an unlikely low number. Only two years later Edward Fleetwood, vicar of Wigan, estimated that there were twenty-one vagrant priests in Lancashire.⁽⁴⁾ It appears likely that there was at least sufficient manpower to travel around the area and some substance to the claim of 1591 that baptisms and marriages could be performed by priests without any problem.⁽⁵⁾ In January 1603 Cecil Trafford of Trafford in south-east Lancashire wrote to Sir Robert Cecil to pass on details from his secret informant amongst the Papists, that in less than half of the county there were forty seminaries and some Jesuits who were able to travel "daily".⁽⁶⁾ This opinion seems to be confirmed by the Bishop in 1605, who described Lancashire as a county where "many Jesuytts and popish prieests secretly lurk and are harbourghred".⁽⁷⁾

(1) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 126.

(2) See Appendices XXX-XXXIII.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/185/85.

(4) B.L., Cotton Mss., Titus BII, No. 114, fo. 239.

(5) P.R.O., SP 12/240/138.

(6) P.R.O., SP 12/287/9.

(7) Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, C.P. 190/134.

It has been estimated that in Lancashire as a whole the churches and dependent chapels were served by over four hundred clergy in the 1540 s, but that by 1559 the total number of clergy had fallen significantly and that it was quite rare for a parish to have more than one authorized clergyman.⁽¹⁾ This assertion is not quite true as the numbers of clergy in this area of south-west Lancashire had fallen to two in both Huyton and Childwall parishes and five in both Walton and Prescott parishes.⁽²⁾ Undoubtedly there was a very serious worsening of the population/clergy ratio and area/clergy ratio, which was at its worst in what became the two most recusant parishes - Childwall and Prescott.⁽³⁾

TABLE XLIII: NUMBERS OF CLERGYMEN IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Acreage</u>	<u>1548 clergy</u>	<u>1603 clergy</u>	<u>1548 pop- ulation</u>	<u>1603 pop- ulation</u>
Huyton	10383	8 1 per 1298 acres	2 1 per 5192 acres	676 1 per 85 people	1 per 338 at least
Childwall	16043	8 1 per 2005 acres	2 1 per 8022 acres	811 1 per 101 people	1 per 406 at least
Walton	22996	14 1 per 1643 acres	5 1 per 4599 acres	750 est. 1 per 54 people	1 per 150 at least
Prescot	37221	14 1 per 2659 acres	5 1 per 7444 acres	1351 1 per 97 people	1 per 270 at least

(1) Zell, "Economic Problems of the Parochial Clergy", p.p. 21-31.

(2) See Appendices XXX-XXXIII and Table XLII.

(3) See Chapter XIV.

See p.p. 39-41.

The 1563 population estimates have been used for 1603 as no later sources are available.

The moderate and wealthy livings were reserved for those with a university education and social connections.⁽¹⁾ Many clergy, especially curates, could well have been on fixed salaries that took no account of inflation whilst most urban clergy depended on monetary payments.⁽²⁾ The church of south-west Lancashire was, therefore, predominantly staffed by men from the area. Quite clearly C. Cross asserts that "on the whole a diligent incumbent could manage most parishes in the South, the Midlands and in the Yorkshire plain, but farther north in particular in the North-West, where the parochial structure had never fully evolved, a parochial minister stood no chance of knowing his parishioners in the way that reformed teaching demanded".⁽³⁾ Unfortunately for the clergy, bad was made worse by the attempts to enforce the 1559 religious settlement which must have made parochial life "a dreary round of inquiry and inquisition"⁽⁴⁾ amongst a population from which most of the clergy came.

In part it can be only a reflection on the clergy that by the end of Elizabeth's reign Lancashire was "by far the most Catholic county in England".⁽⁵⁾ In the mid nineteenth century R. Halley referred to the intermediate religious party between the Papist and

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- (1) Zell, "Economic problems of the Parochial Clergy", p. 40.
- (2) C. Cross, "The Incomes of Provincial Urban Clergy 1520-1645" in O'Day and Heal, Princes and Paupers, p.p. 65-86.
- (3) C. Cross, Church and People 1450-1660, London 1976, p. 131.
- (4) W. P. M. Kennedy, Parish Life Under Queen Elizabeth, London 1914, p. 21.
- (5) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 278.

Puritan extremes as being "too feeble or too indifferent"⁽¹⁾, and probably most of the established clergy of south-west Lancashire fit into this categorization. The difficulties were enormous - too large an area, too many chapels, too few clergy, a new bishopric and distance from London, but in addition some clergy brought difficulties on themselves by their personal conduct. In these seemingly insuperable circumstances it is not surprising that most parishioners little respected their clergymen and, on the whole, paid little attention to them. Patronage, chantry endowments, the churchyards, church leys and the secular responsibilities of churchwardens retained a more immediate and sustained interest.⁽²⁾ The survival of significant numbers of 'old' priests until the arrival of some 'new' priests ensured that some provision could be made in this area for those sections of the population wanting traditional Catholic sacraments.

(1) Halley, Lancashire: Its Puritanism, p. 156.

(2) See Chapter XIV.

Section B: The Community of South-West Lancashire.

A study of the interaction of various groups and individuals within the community of the four parishes of south-west Lancashire. Contact with the world outside this corner of north-west England remained limited but possible. Communal interest, influence and participation were, therefore, of substantial concern and relevance to the population of this small area.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS ADMINISTRATION.

- a) The influence of the Earls of Derby.
- b) The role of the gentry.
- c) The Liverpool community.
- d) Local office-holding.

'Community' can mean many things to many people.⁽¹⁾ Large units such as shires have been regarded as "held together by proximity, by local feeling and above all by common living traditions and common responsibilities".⁽²⁾ In the north-west of England it is unlikely that Lancashire ^{had} ever had extensive communal identity; rather topography, kinship, neighbourliness, local regulation and common agriculture helped to define a community on a much smaller scale.⁽³⁾ In practice the actual bounds of any one community were probably never fixed, but were rather a series of overlapping, yet not identical, planes. In consequence the demarcation of a community is inevitably artificial.⁽⁴⁾ Geographical propinquity and features of society and economy were important in fostering and maintaining strong localism, but no sixteenth century community was isolated and self-contained; a regional and a national context did exist.⁽⁵⁾

a) The Influence of the Earls of Derby.

In the immediate aftermath of the Rebellion of the Northern Earls in 1569 Sir Francis Leek wrote to Sir William Cecil of the

- (1) MacFarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities, p.p. 1-15.
 (2) H. M. Cam, Liberties and Communities in Medieval England, Cambridge 1944, p. 247.
 (3) See Chapter XIII.
 Clerk, Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, p. 121.
 (4) MacFarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities, p. 206.
 (5) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p.p. 40-41.

rebels' retreat from Hexham and included his opinion of the fidelity of the Earl of Derby and Lancashire - the two were apparently synonymous because "it rests doubtful that all the keys of Lancashire do not hang at the Earl of Derby's old girdle".⁽¹⁾ The keys were quite firmly attached to the Stanleys in 1569 and were mostly still there in 1603. It can be claimed that the Tudors never really found an alternative to local ties and loyalty.⁽²⁾ Henry VIII had made relatively little use of the office of Lord Lieutenant, but the Lords Protector in Edward VI's reign had seen greater value in their appointment and this practice was continued by Mary I.⁽³⁾ The Earl of Derby was first appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1536, then again in 1547 with a series of appointments in 1551, 1552 and 1553 for Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Flintshire and Denbighshire.⁽⁴⁾ As Lieutenant still in 1557 the Earl had been responsible for the levies used against the Scots.⁽⁵⁾

Perhaps with a regard to the dangers of creating an hereditary office Elizabeth I had made irregular and sparing use of lieutenants until the 1580 s.⁽⁶⁾ However, almost immediately after her accession the Queen had to continue to use the pre-eminent nobleman in the

(1) P.R.O., SP 15/15/113.

(2) P. Newton, "Decay of the Borders: Tudor Northumberland" in C. W. Chalklin and M. A. Havinden, Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800, London 1974, p.p. 2-28.

(3) G. S. Thomson, Lords Lieutenants in the 16th Century, London 1923, p.p. 16-17, p. 25, p.p. 32-36.

(4) B. Coward, "The Lieutenancy of Lancashire and Cheshire in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 119, 1968, p. 47.
L.R.O., DDK 1413/3.

(5) J. Harland, The Lancashire Lieutenancy under the Tudors and Stuarts, Part I in Chet. Soc., Vol. 49, 1859-60, p. 15.

(6) Thomson, Lords Lieutenants, p.p. 45-46.

North-West and by December 1559 the Earl was arranging to transport Lancashire men to Berwick.⁽¹⁾ Ten years later at the time of the Rebellion of the Northern Earls the allegiance of the Stanley family may well have been in doubt, but the Queen did order the Earl of Derby to raise forces from Lancashire and Cheshire to proceed against the rebels.⁽²⁾ The Earl, in fact, sent the rebels' proclamation to the Queen.⁽³⁾ As Lord Lieutenant the Earl's main task was to ensure the defence of his county, such as in 1574 when he reported to the Privy Council on the state of musters, coastal defences and warning beacons in Lancashire - as he again did in 1586.⁽⁴⁾ This regular task was indeed to some extent personally supervised by the earls during their summers months in Lancashire.⁽⁵⁾

The fourth Earl and his son Ferdinando, Lord Strange, had worked quite closely together; both had been at Wigan in 1583 making decisions over the county's oxen payments to the charges of the royal household.⁽⁶⁾ From 1585-1594 the lieutenancy was held continuously by the Earl, although during his prolonged absence on his diplomatic mission to the Netherlands in 1588 Ferdinando (aged 29) was held sufficiently competent to deputize for his father in

(1) L.R.O., DDK 6/2.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/59/28 and SP 12/59/30.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. I, p. 433.

(3) Ibid., p. 445.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/99/2 and SP 12/192/37.

(5) See Table IX.

(6) B.L., Harl. Mss., 1926/33, f. 48.

the county. In June of that year Ferdinando received a mandate from the Queen to act in her behalf with preparations for the arrival of the anticipated Spanish Armada, and by July he was undoubtedly summoning Justices and gentlemen to assist him and ordering constables to suppress news and rumours.⁽¹⁾ In 1593, when the fourth Earl was evidently seriously ill, Ferdinando corresponded several times with Sir Robert Cecil over a speedy transfer of appointments should his father die; Ferdinando specifically referred to the chamberlainship of Chester and to the lieutenancy of Lancashire and Cheshire.⁽²⁾

The appeals continued over the next two months immediately after the death of the fourth Earl. Ferdinando wrote again himself and had his wife Alice write - addressing Sir Robert Cecil as 'cousin'. The uncertainty of the reappointments may have been genuine or may have been heightened by the new Earl and his wife's isolation from Court in Lancashire. Certainly Countess Alice could write of her husband, "I doubt not but he shall be crossed in Court and crossed in his country ...". The appointments were not immediately made and Ferdinando wrote to Lord Burghley complaining bitterly that the Chancellor of the Duchy had granted the minor office of bowbearer of the Forest of Bowland to one of his own servants rather than to the

(1) Coward, "Lancashire Lieutenancy", p. 48.
B.L., Harl. Mss., 1926/41,/54,/59.

(2) H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. IV, p. 376, p. 378, p. 393.

traditional recipient - a Stanley protégé, a member of the Shireburn family.⁽¹⁾ The death of Earl Ferdinando and the disputed inheritance created the circumstances of the long absence of the lieutenancy - 1595-1607.⁽²⁾ From 1595 only Commissioners for musters were appointed for Lancashire.⁽³⁾ Until this date the Earls of Derby had been the individuals in the North-West that sixteenth century monarchs had had to use, and the lieutenancy had been the local appointment the Earls had keenly wanted; it was not, however, the only local office.⁽⁴⁾

Ecclesiastical affairs were no new area of activity for the Earls. The third Earl had played quite an active part in the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Henry VIII's reign, and in 1553 he was the principal Lancashire commissioner for the survey of chantries.⁽⁵⁾ In 1562 the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester were appointed Commissioners in Ecclesiastical Causes throughout the diocese of Chester - establishing an association with the bishops that was to continue throughout the reign.⁽⁶⁾ In 1580 the Earl was one of the twelve reappointed Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Lancashire with specific instructions from the Privy Council to direct the Commission.⁽⁷⁾ In Lancashire the position of Lord

(1) Ibid., p. 427, p. 437, p. 465.

(2) Coward, The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, p. 153.

(3) H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. V, p. 524.

(4) Bernard, Power of the Early Tudor Nobility, p. 180.

(5) R. Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, Vol. I, 1265-1603, London 1953, p. 298.

(6) P.R.O., SP 12/23/56.
See Chapter XV.

(7) P.R.O., SP 15/27/61.
A.P.C., Vol. XII, p. 53.

Lieutenant and Ecclesiastical Commissioner gave the Earls immense influence in the enforcement of the Elizabethan church settlement.⁽¹⁾
 A note from the fourth Earl was sufficient in 1585 to assure the Privy Council of the conformity of two of his near gentry neighbours.⁽²⁾

Not surprisingly the Earl and, if suitable, his eldest son headed the Commission of the Peace for Lancashire, as in 1562 and again in 1592.⁽³⁾ They played no active part as Justices, but their honorific titles demonstrated their pre-eminent position and their influence over the selection of other, more active, magistrates. This influence could be directed in addition to many other appointments. The office of Clerk of the Crown at Lancaster was held from 1570-1603 by the Rigby family - Alexander 1570-1587 and his son Edward 1587-1603. These may have been royal appointments, but the holders were principal officers in the Earl of Derby's household.⁽⁴⁾ From the 1580s onwards the office of Deputy Lieutenant became increasingly common.⁽⁵⁾ From 1585-1592 Sir Richard Shireburn held this office as did Sir Richard Holland 1589-1592 - both men 'servants' and 'counsellors' to the fourth Earl.⁽⁶⁾

(1) See Chapter XV.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/184/20.

(3) B.L., Lansdowne Mss. 1218, f. 89v.
 B.L., Royal Mss., 18 Diii, f. 8lv.

(4) Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, p. 437.

(5) Thomson, Lords Lieutenants, p. 59.

(6) A.P.C., Vol. XVIII, p. 336.
 P.R.O., SP 12/209/98.
 Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. II, p. 328.

In the absence of any other significant member of the aristocracy in both Lancashire and Cheshire, the only potential threat to the regional political influence of the Earls of Derby came from the Chancellors of the Duchy of Lancaster - royal appointees who through their control of the Duchy organization in London wielded considerable patronage. Some Chancellors certainly held the office with sufficient length of tenure to seek to use their influence in the North-West, for instance 1559-1568 Sir Ambrose Cave and 1568-1587 Sir Ralph Sadler. With some accommodation it was possible for the Earls to share a degree of local patronage, whilst maintaining their substantial advantage of infinitely greater real regional power.⁽¹⁾ This sharing of influence was perhaps most consistently maintained in the field of parliamentary patronage.⁽²⁾ In Lancashire the county election writ was sent via the Chancellor to the sheriff and so provided the opportunity for both Chancellor and Earl to take an interest.⁽³⁾ In fact the county Members were almost always landed gentry resident in the county, but even here a degree of approval must have operated. In 1593 when Sir Richard Molyneux appears to have arranged his own successful election campaign his reward at the end of Parliament was to be charged with several misdemeanours over election procedures and to be committed to the Fleet for a month.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Kinney, Titled Elizabethans, p. 3.

(2) Somerville, History of the Duchy of Lancaster, p. 327.

(3) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. I, p. 181.

(4) Ibid., p.p. 186-187.

In the Lancashire boroughs the shared influence was more apparent; Lancaster was strongly influenced by the Chancellor and Sir Ralph Sadler had his own sons elected as Members and his vice-Chancellor, Sir Gilbert Gerrard. In Preston quite frequently one Member was nominated by the Chancellor and one by the Earl of Derby, which was similar to the situation obtaining in Liverpool borough. Indeed, the Earl seems to have been regarded by the town authorities as a more desirable influence than the Chancellor.⁽¹⁾ In 1559 and 1563 Sir Ambrose Cave tried to secure both of the Liverpool nominations, but was thwarted by the town and the Earl. For the rest of the reign the shared patronage prevailed.⁽³⁾ Influence, however, was not confined only to the elections; the Earl clearly used the opportunity to promote some of his household officers as well as favourable gentry. Michael Doughty, for example, served the fourth, fifth and sixth Earls as clerk of the kitchens and later as financial officer; he also sat as Member of Parliament for Flintshire boroughs in 1586, for Preston in 1589 and for Liverpool in 1593.⁽⁴⁾ Peter Legh had been page, gentleman waiter and servant to the fourth Earl, and Member for Wigan in 1586 and 1589.⁽⁵⁾

(1) See p.p. 588-589.

(2) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. I, p.p. 188-191.

(3) Ibid., p. 191.

(4) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. II, p.p. 50-51.

(5) Ibid., p. 453.

An opportunity for a demonstration of the Earl of Derby's regional influence was occasioned by the 'Instrument of Association' devised in the uncertain foreign situation of 1584. Its actual viability may have been doubtful but the bonds provided for a public demonstration of loyalty. The lords lieutenant were specifically directed by Sir Francis Walsingham to organize local initiatives. In November 1584 the Earl of Derby "stage-managed a compelling spectacle of aristocratic loyalty at Wigan"; he summoned the county Justices and gentry to meet in the church to join the Association. The Earl reported, "I most reverently upon my knees bareheaded in the Church took my oath first, ministered unto me by my Lord Bishop of Chester". The Bishop and Lord Strange followed and then all the gentry of Lancashire in groups of six. It was claimed that none refused, and the whole proceedings took three hours. A few days later a similar ceremony was arranged by the Earl for Cheshire at Northwich. By 5th November the Earl of Derby had sixty-six signatures from Lancashire and eighty-four from Cheshire.⁽¹⁾ The Lancashire list recorded with the lieutenancy papers, however, has signatures by eighty-three gentlemen.⁽²⁾ The 1584 Association demonstrated the reality of political power; the Privy Council had to invite the co-operation of the nobles to use their informal and substantial influence to lead their senior gentry into the

- (1) P.R.O., SP 12/175/4.
D. Cressy, "Binding the Nation: the Bonds of Association 1584 and 1696" in D. J. Guth and J. W. McKenna, Tudor Rule and Revolution, Cambridge 1982, p.p. 217-222.
- (2) Harland, Lancashire Lieutenancy, Part II, p.p. 152-157.

Association.⁽¹⁾

Even towards the end of the sixteenth century when the death of two earls in less than twelve months and a bitterly contested succession had disrupted family stability, the sixth Earl of Derby could still - with little effort - command attendance and attention in Lancashire. When the Earl's wife reached the boundary of the county at Warrington she was met by the Earl attended by the sheriff, other gentry and seven hundred horsemen. A banquet was held in the streets of the town and the whole party accompanied the Earl and Countess to Knowsley.⁽²⁾

Where it was possible, various parties used the Earls' influence in the county to secure decisive and speedy settlements to local disputes. For example, in 1575 the Privy Council required the Earl to make a final end to a controversy between John Crosse Esquire and Dublin merchants, whilst the following year he was asked to settle a dispute involving the enclosure of thirty acres of mossland by Sir John Holcroft.⁽³⁾ Likewise inhabitants of south-west Lancashire used the Earls for their influence to achieve settlements not easily obtainable elsewhere. The town had already sought the Earl's advice in 1577 over Chester's claims to jurisdiction in Liverpool when a year later the claims of the Spanish Company appeared still more threatening. Appeals to the

(1) C. Haigh, The Reign of Elizabeth I, London 1984, p. 18.

(2) H.M.C., Salis. Mss. Vol. VII, p. 327.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. VIII, p. 392 and Vol. IX, p. 118.

Earl brought the matter before the Privy Council and obtained a satisfactory solution for Liverpool.⁽¹⁾

Even the churchwardens at Childwall parish church saw the Earl as the appropriate person to arbitrate in a protracted parochial dispute. On occasions they had been summoned to the Earl, as in 1575 at New Park, but in 1590 they took their own dispute to him.⁽²⁾ A proper enquiry ensued with depositions on behalf of the churchwardens and the chapelry of Hale over the extent of liability to contribute to repairs at the parish church and churchyard. The decision by the Earl was signed by him at Court at Greenwich in 1591.⁽³⁾ Although a decision had been made it did not please the chapelry and their contributions were not forthcoming. After further appeals by the churchwardens in 1593 to Lathom the Earl wrote himself to the constables of Hale and Halewood and the chapelwardens at Hale giving them nine days to pay the leys at Childwall before witnesses "at your peril".⁽⁴⁾

Although in a clear, pre-eminent position in the county, the Earls were conscious of the need to protect their interests. The fourth Earl protested vigorously to the Privy Council in 1581 that he had been slighted when their letters were delivered first to the

(1) Coward, "The Stanley Family c. 1385-1651", p. 153.

(2) Child. Accs., p. 8 and p. 26.

(3) B.L., Add. Ch., 52613.

(4) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924, fos. 117-121.

sheriff of Lancashire before reaching him. The Privy Council wrote to placate the Earl and to assure him "that it was supposed that (you) might happily be absent this huntinge season, and the service required some expedicion and speede".⁽¹⁾

In the four parishes of south-west Lancashire with their concentration of Stanley estates and Knowsley Hall, the influence of the Earls of Derby was extraordinary; elsewhere it was considerable but less immediate and intense.⁽²⁾ The Earls were the undoubted leaders of the power structure in local communities. Lancashire had little sense of 'county' community as the administrative arrangements of the county remained very decentralized. This, together with the lack of a strong county town, contributed to the continuing influence of the Earls.⁽³⁾ There was no natural focus for the development of urban, mercantile interests, nor suitable location for county gentry to assemble and exert their combined influence. All of these circumstances enabled the Earls of Derby to maintain their great patronage network in the North-West - unhampered even by visiting from the Privy Council.⁽⁴⁾ Later religious divisions divided the county, but until the end of the sixteenth century the Earls preserved their control.⁽⁵⁾

- (1) A.P.C., Vol. XIII, p.p. 183-184.
- (2) Coward, "The Stanley Family c. 1385-1651", p. 162.
- (3) A. Hassell-Smith, County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk 1558-1603, Oxford 1974, p. 15.
Quintrell, "Government in Perspective", p. 37.
- (4) Ibid., p.p. 37-38.
- (5) B. Coward, "The Earls of Derby 1640-1672", lecture Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, June 1982.

b) The Role of the Gentry.

The rank, status and wealth of the gentry in the sixteenth century ensured that they had access to various administrative offices - some at national level, many at a county level and others at a local, parochial level. Access to these various offices was linked quite closely to rank within the gentry class itself, and also to more fortuitous factors such as age and location of residence of individual gentlemen. Administrative office gave the gentry considerable influence which was possibly greater in Lancashire than many counties because of the lack of an effective county town and 'county' community.⁽¹⁾

The office of Member of Parliament may have been elective, but in practice at this time the gentry claimed a great many of the seats. As in many counties, the two Lancashire county seats were dominated by the most senior gentry of the county and only the Molyneux family from the south-west parishes could aspire to that status. There were, however, a number of Lancashire boroughs offering opportunities to other gentry providing they had the support of the various 'patrons'. In the event the Molyneux family was the only family from this area to establish regular parliamentary connections.

Richard Molyneux Gentleman, second son of Sir Richard Molyneux (died 1569) was Member for Liverpool in 1563 and Wigan in 1572. He had been educated at the Middle Temple and practised at the Bar until the mid 1570 s when he lost his room through discontinuance and was

(1) Quintrell, "Government in Perspective", p. 37.

fined for failing to act as a reader.⁽¹⁾ In 1581 Sir Richard Molyneux, grandson of Sir Richard (died 1569) first got into Parliament aged just twenty-two at a bye-election in Wigan borough. His election was supported by the Earl of Derby.⁽²⁾ By 1584, however, he was elected one of the knights of the shire, and again in 1593. On the latter occasion Sir Richard managed his own election campaign without informing the Earl. The campaign was successful, but as soon as Parliament ended in April 1593 Sir Richard was charged in Star Chamber with various misdemeanours. He spent until late May in the Fleet prison and after a suitable submission he was released.⁽³⁾ Despite this altercation with the Earl of Derby, Sir Richard Molyneux's service as a knight of the shire demonstrated his county status and membership of the élite families. In 1585 he had served on the Parliamentary subsidy committee and in 1593 on the committee against recusants.⁽⁴⁾ In 1584 the Liverpool Member was one John Molyneux Gentleman - either the uncle of Sir Richard who lived at New Hall, West Derby, or, more likely, a younger brother of Sir Richard who lived at Croxteth Hall.⁽⁵⁾

During the second half of the sixteenth century two other

- (1) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. III, p. 62. Hasler has some confusion between this Richard Molyneux and his nephew Sir Richard. See L.T.B. I, p. 216.
- (2) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. I, p. 191.
- (3) Ibid., p.p. 186-187. A.P.C., Vol. XXIV, p.p. 256-257.
- (4) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. III, p. 62.
- (5) Ibid., p. 62 and Vol. I, p. 139.

south-west Lancashire gentry served as Members of Parliament (as did one Liverpool merchant).⁽¹⁾ George Ireland Esquire of the Hutte represented the boroughs of Great Bedwyn in Wiltshire in 1572 and Appleby in Westmorland in 1584. His election to these two rather unlikely places is probably explained by the patronage of the fourth Earl of Derby and his wife Margaret Clifford - daughter of the Duke of Cumberland.⁽²⁾ During his time in Parliament from 1572 through the sittings in 1576, 1581, 1584 and 1585 George Ireland seems to have spoken on a few occasions and sat on five committees including the 1576 Committee about parish registers and the 1584 Committee concerning the Oath Association.⁽³⁾ The only other Member of Parliament from the four parishes was also one of the principal esquires - Richard Bold. He briefly held one of the county seats having filled it at a bye-election in 1585 caused by the elevation of Sir Gilbert Gerrard to the House of Lords. He served for only a few weeks during which time he served on the Subsidy Committee.⁽⁴⁾

Aside from attendance at Westminster most other administrative offices were based on county appointments and, in consequence, were also closely linked with the influence and patronage of the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Derby. No gentry from south-west Lancashire

(1) See p.p. 610-617.

(2) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. I, p.p. 272-273.

(3) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 369.

(4) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 186.
T. E. Hartley, Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1558-1581, Leicester 1981, p. 454.

served as a deputy lieutenant during the sixteenth century, but with the Earls' residences at Knowsley and Lathom this would have been scarcely desirable. However, during the 1590 s, when the sixth Earl did not hold the lieutenancy, Sir Richard Molyneux was one of the five royal commissioners for musters in Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ Other senior gentry were associated with the lieutenancy, however, in fulfilling military provisions and preparations in the county. For instance, in 1553 at the muster of four hundred and thirty men from West Derby Hundred eleven commanders were appointed including the Earl himself, Sir Richard Molyneux, William Norris, George Ireland and William Tarbock Esquires.⁽²⁾ During Elizabeth I's reign individual gentry were appointed by the Earl of Derby to implement military preparations; from 1575-1580 Edward Tarbock Esquire was the Earl's captain in the Isle of Man and his son organized the gathering of light horsemen at Wigan in 1592, was captain of the light horse at Preston in 1595, and was recommended to conduct two hundred reinforcements to Ireland in 1598.⁽³⁾ Henry Eccleston Esquire claimed that his good store of armour and weapons existed because the Earl had appointed him captain to train soldiers 1586-1587, and in 1595 he was indeed captain of six hundred soldiers mustered at Prescott.⁽⁴⁾ Richard Bold Esquire was ordered to co-operate with the

- (1) A.P.C., Vol. XXV, p. 157.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. V, p. 524.
- (2) Harland, Lancashire Lieutenancy, Part I, p. 2.
- (3) A.P.C., Vol. XXVII, p. 524.
B.L., Harl. Mss. 2219, fos. 81-84.
Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 1341.
- (4) P.R.O., STAC 5 E6/20.

Earl in levying three hundred volunteers to be led by him to the Netherlands in 1586, and by 1595 Richard Bold was captaining five hundred northern soldiers mustered at Preston.⁽¹⁾ During the legal disputes over the title to the Isle of Man Elizabeth I appointed Robert Molyneux Gentleman, brother of Sir Richard, deputy-Governor 1597-1599 and Captain 1600-1610.⁽²⁾

Apart from military service, other royal service was intermittently necessary in the localities. The leading gentry were appointed collectors of the subsidies, although this duty usually fell to the esquires rather than to the knights. In 1563 Sir Richard Molyneux and William Norris Esquire were the two collectors for West Derby Hundred, and in 1571 John More Esquire collected in both West Derby and Salford Hundreds, whilst Edward Norris Esquire shared the task in West Derby and also operated in Leyland Hundred. By 1585 Edward Tarbock Esquire was serving as collector in Salford, and in 1593 Edward Norris operated in both West Derby and Salford. In 1589 William More Esquire was responsible for the 'ox money' from seven parishes in the south of Lancashire.⁽³⁾ Presumably those paying the most to the subsidies were expected to be in a position to

(1) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2219, fos. 81-84.
A.P.C., Vol. XIV, p. 55.

(2) G. Molineux, Memoir of the Molineux Family, Printed Privately 1882, p. 11.

(3) P.R.O., E 179/131/211.
L.R.O., DDM 11/4.
L.R.O., DDF 2430.
Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 191, 270 and 1309.
Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 16/2.

exact payment from those assessed at lower rates!

Two gentry families served the Crown regularly by holding appointments as steward of royal manors. From 1559-1569 Sir Richard Molyneux as steward presided over West Derby manor court at its biannual meetings.⁽¹⁾ Thereafter, following the death of Sir Richard, whilst his grandson was a ward his guardian, Gilbert Gerrard, travelled to Lancashire - albeit only once a year - to hold the court from 1570-1580.⁽²⁾ In 1580 Richard Molyneux (aged 21) resumed the family's duties as steward, with just two occasions in 1583 and 1601 when his uncle, John Molyneux of New Hall in West Derby, officiated as deputy steward.⁽³⁾ After the dissolution of the Order of Knights Hospitallers and the confiscation of the manors of Little Woolton and Much Woolton, the Norris family of Speke served as royal steward of the manors. William Norris prepared rentals of the manors in 1549 and again in 1566, and his son Edward continued to hold the royal appointment until the end of Elizabeth I's reign - at an unchanging annual remuneration of twenty shillings.⁽⁴⁾ Direct financial return was clearly negligible, but in terms of local prestige and indirect influence these royal appointments were very desirable.

Rather more gentry had the opportunity to serve the Crown as local, royal commissioners - appointed normally through the Duchy of

(1) Liv. R. O., West Derby Court Rolls, 920 SAL 1/67-81.

(2) Ibid., 920 SAL 1/82-111.

(3) Ibid., 920 SAL 1/95 and 109.
P.R.O., DL 4 25/19 and DL 4 40/25.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch., 52544, 52675, 53803, 53804.

Lancaster courts as and when required. This again was a role which fell predominantly to the upper and middling gentry - the knights and the esquires. Sir Richard Molyneux served about as frequently as John Crosse Esquire and his son, William Norris Esquire and his son, George Ireland Esquire and his son, Henry Eccleston Esquire and William More Esquire.⁽¹⁾ For these gentry five or six opportunities at least occurred when they were designated as a royal commissioner. Edward Tarbock Esquire and Richard Bold Esquire appear rather less frequently than might have been expected, and the Harrington family not at all.⁽²⁾ Very few gentlemen shared these royal appointments; those that did owed their choice to family connection, such as Cuthbert Lathom the son of an esquire, or to service with the Earl of Derby such as Henry Coney and Thomas Fox.⁽³⁾ Once every year or every few years service as a royal commissioner may have cost a few days' time and travelling expenses to a venue less than ten miles from home, but the local influence and prestige were immeasurable.

Some royal appointments were, however, longer lasting and of county importance. The office of sheriff lost some of its former significance during the fifteenth century, but by the second half of

(1) P.R.O., DL 4 7/7, 8/26, 9/7, 19/12, 20/45, 25/1, 25/19, 25/20, 29/36, 30/11, 30/25, 31/1, 32/28, 33/43, 40/25, 40/32, 42/33. P.R.O., DL 14, No. 314, No. 369, No. 419.

(2) P.R.O., DL 4 25/19.
P.R.O., DL 14 No. 369.

(3) P.R.O., DL 4 14/16, 25/20, 30/11.

the sixteenth century it could still prove a burdensome office which involved supervision of the Assize courts at Lancaster, of the Quarter Sessions, the empanelling of juries, producing prisoners from the county gaol, executing writs, supervising elections when necessary and providing hospitality.⁽¹⁾ In Lancashire the sheriff's year ran from November to November, and the twelve months could be a serious financial burden. However, as in Norfolk, the gentry probably competed for shrievalty and once they had obtained it tried to use the position to their advantage.⁽²⁾ So desirable was the office that only the senior gentry from the county could hope to secure it during this period. Not surprisingly, therefore, just three families from the four parishes of south-west Lancashire held the office during the reign of Elizabeth I. Sir Richard Molyneux (aged 56) served 1566-7 and his grandson (aged 29) from 1588-9 and again 1596-7. Richard Bold Esquire secured the appointment (aged 35) 1575-6 and again 1589-90, whilst during his year 1602-3 John Ireland Esquire (aged 44) was able to greet King James I on his entrance into England.⁽³⁾

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- (1) G. R. Elton, Tudor Constitution, 2nd Edition, Cambridge 1982, p. 463.
 A. G. R. Smith, The Government of Elizabethan England, London 1967, p.p. 85-86.
 J. S. Cockburn, A History of English Assizes from 1558-1714, Cambridge 1972, p.p. 19-25.
- (2) Hassell-Smith, County and Court, p.p. 147-154.
 Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry 1529-1558", p. 60.
- (3) Somerville, History of Duchy of Lancaster, p. 464.
 W. Beamont, Hale and Orford, Warrington 1886, p. 47.
 E. Baines, The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster, London 1868, p. 59.
 B. L., Harl. Mss., 2219, f. 2.

In Lancashire this same small élite group of gentry not only served as sheriff, but also secured appointment as Justices of the Peace.⁽¹⁾ The Commission of the Peace could have included anyone with lands worth a minimum of twenty pounds, but through the advice of the lord lieutenant, judges and Duchy officers only knights and some esquires secured inclusion.⁽²⁾ As in most parts of England the number of Justices was increasing; in Lancashire from twenty-four in 1564 to about forty by 1603.⁽³⁾ However, no great change occurred in the composition of the list. The circumstances influencing choice were probably related to local politics rather than general and national issues.⁽⁴⁾ Once chosen, the Justices faced an increasing burden of legal and administrative work for which they were largely unpaid and untrained - except by experience. William Lanbarde's Eirenarcha listed three hundred and six statutes in which activity by the Justices was mentioned in some way.⁽⁵⁾ The range of their activity from wage rates, to highway supervision, to poor law enforcement, to criminal punishment ensured that the local influence of magistrates was considerable, and it was always possible for them to use the procedures of the legal system to their own advantage or,

- (1) Long, "Wealth of the Magisterial Class", p. i.
- (2) J. H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England 1558-1640, Oxford 1969, p. 47 and p. 57.
- (3) Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry, 1529-1558", p. 93.
- (4) A. Hassell-Smith, "Elizabethan Gentry of Norfolk: Office-Holding and Faction", University of London, Ph.D., 1959, p.p. 1-3.
- (5) Smith, Government of Elizabethan England, p. 91.

indeed, to frustrate legal action by negligence or suppression of evidence.⁽¹⁾

All Justices could have attended the Quarter Sessions of the county, but some did little work at all and others remained very localized in their activities. In Lancashire this tendency was emphasized as the county "remained the least centralized in England". In 1546 the Chancellor of the Duchy had arranged that the Lancashire Sessions be held over a week or eight days at four towns - at Lancaster for Lonsdale Hundred, at Preston for Amounderness and Blackburn Hundreds, at Manchester for Salford Hundred, and at Wigan or Ormskirk for West Derby Hundred.⁽²⁾ This system operated until the end of the sixteenth century and encouraged the attendance of three or four Justices at their local venue for a day or two to deal with only local business.⁽³⁾ In view of this strong 'local' trend, the choice of individual Justices must have been of considerable moment to the population of the four south-west Lancashire parishes.

Details of continuous service by Lancashire Justices of the Peace are hard to come by, but the Molyneux family certainly was amongst the pre-eminent magisterial families. In 1562 there were just five Justices in West Derby Hundred including the Earl of Derby and Lord Strange; Sir Richard Molyneux was one of the others.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) J. A. Sharpe, Crime in Early Modern England 1550-1750, London 1984, p. 24, p. 39.
Cockburn, History of English Assizes, p.p. 126-7.
- (2) B. W. Quintrell, Proceedings of Lancashire Justices of the Peace at the Sheriff's Table during Assizes Week 1578-1694 in Rec. Soc. Vol. 121, 1981, p. 7.
- (3) A similar pattern emerged in Norfolk where the use of 'divisions' for some hundreds encouraged localism. Hassell-Smith, County and Court, p.p. 106-111.
- (4) B. L. Lansdowne Mss. 1218, f. 89v.

He had probably already served for some years and continued until his death in 1569. The family connection was renewed by his grandson who was a Justice by 1583 - aged 24. Probably Sir Richard then had continuous appointment on the Commission, although details are fragmentary.⁽¹⁾

TABLE XLIV: SERVICE AS JUSTICES OF THE
PEACE BY GENTRY FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE. (2)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Years of Service</u>
Richard Bold (died 1603)	Esquire	1568, 1569, 1575, 1578, 1583, 1584, 1591, 1592, 1595, 1598, 1600, 1601, 1602.
Henry Eccleston (died 1598)	Esquire	1595
Thomas Ireland	Esquire	1595
John Ireland (died 1614)	Esquire	1598, 1600, 1601, 1602.
William More (died 1602)	Esquire	1583, 1590.
Richard Molyneux (died 1569)	Knight	1560, 1562, 1565.
Richard Molyneux (died 1623)	Knight	1583, 1584, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1595, 1598, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603.

(1) See Table XLIV.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/104/63 and 64.
P.R.O., REQ 2 12/160.
P.R.O., STAC 5 A38/31.
B.L., Lansdowne Mss. 1218, f. 89v.
B.L., Royal Mss. 18 Diii, f. 81v.
L.R.O., Commissions of the Peace, QSC/1 and /2.
H.M.C., Mss. Lord Kenyon, No. 583.
L.T.B. I, p. 150, p. 278, L.T.B. II, p. 795.
Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, passim.
R. Sharpe France, "Lancashire J.P.s in 1583" in T. H. S. L. C.,
Vol. 95, 1943, p. 131.
Watson, "The Lancashire Gentry, 1529-1558", p. 431.

By 1592 there were, in fact, fifty-five Justices on the Commission for Lancashire of whom nine resided outside the county whilst Lord Strange was included in predominantly an honorific capacity. West Derby Hundred had eight resident Justices.⁽¹⁾ By 1598 Sir Richard Molyneux had risen to twelfth in a Commission of fifty-three, and by this time he was custos rotulorum, as he still was in 1602.⁽²⁾ Tait speaks of his unparalleled regular attendance in the period 1601-6; presumably his particular duties account for this, and something of this diligence had been there a decade before. The West Derby Hundred cases were usually heard at Wigan or Ormskirk and it would not have been surprising at this time had Sir Richard attended only at these towns. However, even in 1591 he was present at Wigan, Ormskirk⁽²⁾, Manchester⁽²⁾, Preston and Lancaster. In 1592 he attended the complete Epiphany, Easter, St. Thomas Martyr and Michaelmas Sessions in all towns.⁽³⁾ Probably at this date he was already custos rotulorum. In any event this attendance throughout Lancashire must have provided Sir Richard Molyneux with a county-wide knowledge and series of contacts. It is conceivable that he saw the use of the magisterial system as one way of augmenting his influence and status, particularly as relatively little direct part was played

(1) B.L., Royal Mss. 18 Diii, f. 8lv.

(2) L.R.O., QSC /1 and /2.

(3) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p.p. ix-xiii, p.p. 28-67.

in this field of activity by the Earl of Derby. The fourth Earl attended just one meeting of the Quarter Sessions at Ormskirk in 1592.⁽¹⁾

Possibly the longest serving Justice from the four parishes was Richard Bold Esquire. He had been appointed by 1568 and served probably until his death in 1603.⁽²⁾ By the 1590 s he was accustomed to attend the Wigan and Ormskirk Sessions, but no others, although at some date before 1601 he had been designated as a member of the quorum.⁽³⁾ More than thirty years as a magistrate must have accrued for Richard Bold a fund of information, influence and connection. John Ireland Esquire had become a Justice by 1598 and during the next five years operated in much the same way as his more senior partner - attending at Wigan and Ormskirk, and just once at Manchester.⁽⁴⁾ Three other esquires, Henry Eccleston, William More and Thomas Ireland, are known to have served as Justices for short periods of time, although their actual service may have been longer.⁽⁵⁾ Some esquires evidently never secured inclusion in the Commission - the Crosse, the Norris and the Tarbock families, for instance.

The only office most gentlemen were ever likely to hold was that of High Constable. Often there were two in any hundred, and in West Derby there were three - chosen annually by the Justices.⁽⁶⁾ Their

(1) Ibid., p. 45.

(2) See Table XLIV.

(3) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 25, p. 45, p. 63, p. 76, p. 106, p. 118, p. 125, p. 129, p. 140, p. 149.

(4) Ibid., p. 76, p. 93, p. 106, p. 118, p. 129, p. 131, p. 140, p. 149, p. 158.

(5) See Table XLIV.

(6) Smith, Government of Elizabethan England, p. 96.
Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. xxxii.

duties were somewhat imprecise, but included relaying muster arrangements to local constables, supervising the collection of taxation and attending the biannual Assize in Lancaster.⁽¹⁾ Evidence of these duties and of the personnel who served in the office is very sparse, but by the end of the sixteenth century, not unexpectedly, one gentleman from the four parishes served one of the appointments every year.⁽²⁾ Otherwise gentlemen could expect to hold no specific administrative office, but to exert influence very locally through manorial institutions and parochial institutions.

TABLE XLV: SERVICE AS HIGH CONSTABLES
BY GENTLEMEN FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.⁽³⁾

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Residence</u>
1600	William Brettergh	Little Woolton
1601	Thomas Orme	Little Woolton
1602	Francis Watmough	Sutton
1604	John Ogle	Whiston
1605	Thomas Wolfall (discharged because of his wife's recusancy)	Wolfall

In many respects the gentry expected to control affairs in their immediate locality, such as in ecclesiastical matters. The Ireland family, for example, totally dominated Hale chapel; they held the

(1) Cockburn, History of English Assizes, p. 61.
Smith, Government of Elizabethan England, p. 96.

(2) See Table XLV.

(3) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 95, p. 141, p. 236.
P.R.O., STAC 5 A8/31.

advowson, leased the tithes and no other gentry attended at the chapel.⁽¹⁾ At Childwall church several gentry attended, if only for burial, but the Norris family of Speke - although three miles away - exercised very considerable influence. The churchwardens were "elect and chosen" by Edward Norris Esquire and the rest of the parish in 1572 and again in 1576 and 1577.⁽²⁾ Their accounts were approved when "openly shewed and declared" before Edward Norris throughout the 1570 s and 1580 s.⁽³⁾ Special or unusual expenditure necessitated particular approval from the family, such as the extensive repairs in 1576.⁽⁴⁾ Occasionally other gentry shared this influence with the Norrises, as did William Lathom Gentleman in 1572, Henry Coney Gentleman in 1576 and 1584, and William Brettergh Gentleman in 1595, but the consistent interest was that of the Norrises.⁽⁵⁾ In 1601 Edward Norris even loaned money to cover the immediate costs of repairing the church roof.⁽⁶⁾ At Prescot the gentry interest also lay in supervising the annual audit of the churchwardens' accounts, although a number of gentry from the large parish shared this concern.⁽⁷⁾

Reinforcing the gentry's common identity of interest and their

(1) Chapel Registers of Hale.
See Chapter XIV.

(2) Child. Accs., p. 2, p. 10, p. 14.

(3) Ibid., p. 1, p. 9, p. 13, p. 15, p. 19.

(4) Ibid., p. 11.

(5) Ibid., p. 1, p. 11, p. 17, p. 32, p. 41.

(6) Ibid., p. 50.

(7) Pres. Accs., p. 15, p. 43, p. 46, p. 50, p. 57, p. 83, p. 129, p. 131, p. 144.

family members was the service members of the gentry performed for superior lords. In the four parishes of south-west Lancashire most noticeably, this was the service - and deference - all the gentry owed to the Earls of Derby. From such years as details survive, it is clear that the senior gentry of the area were accustomed to visiting the Earls when they were in residence at Knowsley, Lathom or New Park. From 1587-1590 the principal gentry who regularly visited were Sir Richard Molyneux, Edward Norris Esquire (sometimes with his son), George Ireland Esquire, Richard Bold Esquire, Edward Tarbock Esquire (sometimes with his brother) and Henry Eccleston Esquire. The Earls were in residence for only a matter of months in any one year, but from mid 1587 to mid 1590 Sir Richard Molyneux visited at least fourteen times and his wife once. In March 1590 Lord and Lady Strange in fact visited his house at Croxteth and stayed for a week.⁽¹⁾ Edward Norris visited eight times, Henry Eccleston six times, George Ireland and Richard Bold five times each and Edward Tarbock three times.⁽²⁾ Pleasant as it may have been to visit and on occasions stay to dinner, there was also a sense of obligation about their appearance.

In 1570, whilst giving evidence over an affray at Mold fair in Flintshire, Richard Bold claimed that he was there at the request of the Earl of Derby and was on his way to him in Warwickshire.⁽³⁾

(1) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 19, p. 28, p. 31, p. 32, p. 34, p. 35, p. 49, p. 51, p. 53, p. 55, p. 60, p. 61, p. 76.

(2) Ibid., p. 19, p. 32, p. 37, p. 41, p. 42, p. 45, p. 46, p. 47, p. 57, p. 62, p. 65, p. 66, p. 70, p. 71, p. 74, p.p. 76-78, p. 82.

(3) P.R.O., STAC 5 B57/40.

In 1584 Edward Norris appended a note to Little Woolton court rolls to the effect that on the very morning of the court he had received a summons from "My lord" and in consequence could not preside as steward at the court; normally Edward Norris never missed attending in person.⁽¹⁾ The funeral processions of the third and fourth Earls graphically demonstrated the loyalty and recognition they could command from the gentry of south-west Lancashire.⁽²⁾ Edward Norris, for instance, carried the great banner at the funeral of the third Earl.⁽³⁾ Possibly some of these gentry had served in the Earls' household in their youth. In 1590 Henry Bold Gentleman and Edward Tarbock Gentleman were two of the seven gentlemen-waiters in the household.⁽³⁾

Not only was attendance and loyalty expected, the Earls also used the local gentry for specific offices. Nicholas Tildesley Gentleman of Dam House in Huyton served as deputy steward for the Earl at Prescott manor from 1574-1577, by 1583 Thomas Fox Gentleman of Sutton was clerk at Prescott for the Earl, and from 1597-1600 Percival Harrington Esquire of Huyton Hey was serving as deputy steward.⁽⁴⁾ From 1570-1574 George Ireland Esquire of the Hutte was steward of Halewood manor on behalf of the Earl, whilst William Parr Gentleman was bailiff of Rainford manor and Alexander Parr Gentleman bailiff of

(1) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/6, f. 226.

(2) See p.p. 101-103.

(3) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 84.

(4) Pres. Recs., p.p. 184-199, p. 264, p.p. 297-298.

Kirkby manor for Earl Ferdinando.⁽¹⁾

Aside from this type of part-time service, some gentry found careers working permanently for the Earls. Henry Coney Gentleman of Ditton served the fourth, fifth and sixth Earls. In 1574 he had accompanied the fourth Earl on his visit to Liverpool and had served as feoffee for the manors of Childwall and Kirkby in 1581. He had been bailiff of Halewood manor and Childwall Grange for the fifth Earl, and by the time he was writing his will in 1598 he was heavily in debt to the sixth Earl for supplies of wine and beer he had provided.⁽²⁾ Thomas Ireland Esquire (younger son of Robert Ireland Gentleman of Halewood) used his legal career to obtain advancement as "servant and solicitor" to the sixth Earl, and as part of his work became steward of the manors of Knowsley, Roby, Rainford and Prescott.⁽³⁾

Other gentry from outside the four parishes also found careers in the household of the Earls, and some of them settled permanently in the area. William Fox Gentleman from Pilkington near Bury became comptroller of the household for the fourth Earl, and eventually acquired land and settled in Toxteth Park.⁽⁴⁾ Ralph Sutton Gentleman from Rushton Spencer in north Staffordshire was in the service of the third Earl by the 1550 s and continued in office, for example, as deputy steward at Prescott, until 1573. He was then

(1) L.R.O., DDF 991.
C.R.O., EDC 2/9 f. 470.

(2) L.R.O., DDM 35/31.
L.R.O., DDF 991.
L.R.O., Will of Henry Coney, Ditton 1598.
L.T.B. II, p. 156.

(3) L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 14/20.
See p.p. 165-166.

(4) Raines, Derby Household Papers, p.p. 109-110.

able to hand over his work to his son Edward who remained established at Knowsley.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps one of the best examples, however, of a career gentleman was Michael Doughty from Lathom in Lancashire. He entered the service of the fourth Earl in the 1580's as clerk of the kitchen and counsellor. He remained in these posts whilst, through the Earl's influence, sitting as Member of Parliament in 1586, 1589 and 1593. By 1594 he was bailiff of Toxteth Park and his brother Robert became bailiff of Knowsley. He was a feoffee for the fifth Earl, and continued service under the sixth Earl - probably as secretary and certainly involved in many land negotiations. Whilst accomplishing all this work Michael Doughty had leased land in Roby, bought land in Roby, leased Prescott coal mines and leased Northwich manor in Cheshire. During the 1590's he had styled himself 'of Roby, gent.' - but in 1606 he bought property from the sixth Earl at Thornley on the Lancashire/Yorkshire border and ultimately settled there.⁽²⁾

The Earls of Derby undoubtedly dominated gentry service, but they probably reinforced the expectation of service at a lower level. Many gentlemen performed services for esquires similar to those done by the senior gentry for the Earls of Derby. For instance, Robert Fazakerley Gentleman of Fazakerley was bailiff of the Walton properties of Sir Richard Molyneux, and William

(1) L.R.O., DDM 3/1.
Pres. Recs., p.p. 131-182, p.p. 202-261.

(2) L.R.O., DDK 363/29.
L.R.O., DDM 50/4.
L.R.O., DDLi 356/7, 351/1 and 2.
L.R.O., DDF 991.
Pres. Recs., p. 23.
Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 23, p. 84, p. 106.
Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. II, p.p. 50-51.

Fazakerley Gentleman of Kirkby served as bailiff there for Sir Richard.⁽¹⁾ Thomas Bold Gentleman of Farnworth, James Pemberton Gentleman of Whiston and John Ashton Gentleman of Penketh all regarded themselves as 'servant' and 'officer' to Richard Bold Esquire.⁽²⁾ Likewise Randle Rixton Gentleman of Great Sankey was 'servant' to Edward Butler Esquire of Bewsey.⁽³⁾ In Eccleston manor Henry Eccleston Esquire used his brother Thomas as his officer to collect all his rents, whilst Henry's son Edward appointed George Standish Gentleman as his collector.⁽⁴⁾

Details are sparse and random, but clearly the gentry operated within their conception of a hierarchy and could demonstrate great influence over those lower in rank. The widow of Richard Curren Gentleman of Bold took her case to the Duchy courts in 1576 in an attempt to obtain recognition of the inheritance of her two daughters - because she claimed Richard Bold Esquire had taken possession claiming evidence of debts. She could not go to common law as Richard Bold was "a man of great power".⁽⁵⁾ Only a year later the six daughters of Thomas Parr Esquire of Parr went to court to force their brother to grant their legacies; common law was of no use because the brother had the support of Henry Eccleston Esquire "a great gent. of great living, kindred and acquaintance in the county of Lancashire".⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) L.R.O., DDM 1/10.
- (2) P.R.O., DL 4 30/25 and 42/33.
P.R.O., STAC 5 J 10/5.
- (3) W. Beamont, Annals of the Lords of Warrington, II in Chet. Soc. Vol. 87, 1872, p. 511.
- (4) P.R.O., DL 4 41/3.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 101 M 3.
- (6) Ibid., Vol. 106 B 11.

A further demonstration of the acceptance of the local influence of the gentry is provided by the use of gentry as executors and supervisors in the wills of a significant number of the population. Not unexpectedly the gentry themselves named men of a like class to administer their probate provisions, but many other individuals clearly saw advantages in using their local gentry for this purpose.

TABLE XLVI: GENTRY NAMED IN WILLS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.⁽¹⁾

	<u>Total Wills 1550-1603</u>	<u>Gentry Executors</u>	<u>Gentry Supervisors</u>	<u>Total Wills Naming Gentry</u>
Huyton Parish	38	3	4	6
Childwall Parish	78	-	13	13
Walton Parish	85	1	11	11
Prescot Parish	204	10	32	40

When Roger Dey, husbandman of Knowsley, William Edmundson, husbandman of Little Woolton, Jane Nicholson, widow of Liverpool, and Miles Slack weaver of Farnworth, could all use members of the gentry in their wills, the influence of local gentry must have been all pervasive.⁽²⁾

c) The Liverpool Community.

At Prescot there were never sufficient merchants trading at any one time to establish a strong community identity; agricultural

(1) See Appendix IV.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Roger Dey, Knowsley 1592.
L.R.O., Will of William Edmundson, Little Woolton 1594.
L.R.O., Will of Jane Nicholson, Liverpool 1593.
L.R.O., Will of Miles Slack, Farnworth 1593.

trade from the surrounding area controlled the economy.⁽¹⁾ The surviving town fields and agricultural practices also had a very strong influence on the character of Liverpool's mercantile community. It is clear that from 1600 a swineherd was used to drive the animals from the town every morning and he was not to return until four o'clock.⁽²⁾ The continued repair of a pinfold testifies to the use and necessity of this facility.⁽³⁾ However, in Liverpool there were enough merchants to form a distinctive occupational community, albeit still with agrarian interests.⁽⁴⁾ By the late sixteenth century Liverpool was probably in much the same circumstances as Manchester (although with less industry) where the economy depended on both agriculture and trade, but rarely were individuals solely dependent on farming.⁽⁵⁾ Even Leicester, which by the second half of the century had a population of about six thousand, had a markedly non-industrial character in the centre of a rich farming area; the town still had three open fields, many orchards, barns and gardens.⁽⁶⁾

During this period merchant classes in towns were reputedly small, compact and financially dominant. In Exeter, for example, a relatively large town, only sixteen merchants initially founded the 1559 Adventurer Company, although by the end of the century this number had increased to sixty.⁽⁷⁾ Even so this Exeter group remained

(1) See p. 400 and Appendix XXIV.

(2) L.T.B. I, p. 144.

(3) Ibid., p. 264.

(4) See Appendix XXIV.

(5) Willan, Elizabethan Manchester, p.p. 39-42.

(6) W. G. Hoskins, "An Elizabethan Provincial Town: Leicester" in Hoskins, Provincial England, p. 87 and p. 96.

(7) W. T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, Harvard Massachusetts 1975, p.p. 137-149.

small - only about one in twenty families was mercantile. From these men all the important officials came and only twenty-six families provided the fifty Elizabethan mayors.⁽¹⁾ In London merchants formed a community linked by marriage, loans, leases and trading connections; not all of this community was active in city affairs but individuals were usually related to those who were. Four levels of rulers existed in the city with only the élite of the hierarchy eventually becoming mayors of London.⁽²⁾ In Liverpool an occupational community of merchants existed, and the small size of the town must have provided them with considerable participation in civic affairs. St. Luke's Day, 18th October, was election day and the beginning of the civic year; the mayor was elected and sworn in, then the people's bailiff elected, and then the mayor chose his bailiff. The mayor appointed also a sergeant-at-mace.⁽³⁾ On the Monday following election day the Great Portmoot - an assembly of freemen - was held, on the Thursday after the second Portmoot, and then three more meetings were held at the quarters of the year.⁽⁴⁾

During the second half of the sixteenth century some consideration was given to modification of this organisation. In 1572-3 the office of recorder was separated from that of town clerk, and in 1580 the "late disordered assemblies" were referred to and an

- (1) Hoskins, Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter, p. 165.
- (2) Foster, "Politics and Community in Elizabethan London", p.p. 115-123.
- (3) L.T.B. I, p. lxxvii.
- (4) Ibid.

attempt made to establish a common council. John Crosse and Robert More were chosen to join the existing aldermen to make their number up to twelve and twenty-four councillors chosen.⁽¹⁾ However, it proved very difficult for Liverpool to sustain this level of bureaucracy.

In the period 1550-1603 Liverpool had thirty different mayors, although from twenty-two different families.⁽²⁾ One man, Robert Corbet, held office on five occasions and one man on four occasions. More typically five individuals served in three various years and five individuals in two years. Eighteen men held office as mayor only once, although six of these at least were honorific appointments - Sir William Norris of Speke Hall, two sons of the third Earl of Derby and the eldest son of the fourth Earl, Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford and Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth Hall.⁽³⁾ In a less certain category are the several members of the More family; the head of the family resided at Bank Hall in Kirkdale, but younger members of the family lived in the town.⁽⁴⁾ Serving as mayor may have been a time consuming business incurring financial outlay. Aside from the honorific appointments, virtually all Liverpool mayors were members

(1) Ibid, p. lxxi.
L.T.B. II, p.p. 346-347.

(2) See Appendix XXXIV.

(3) Ibid.
See p.p. 590-593.

(4) See p. 115.

of the merchant community in this period.⁽¹⁾

The offices of the two bailiffs were also dominated by merchants, although from a wider financial spectrum than those who became mayor.⁽²⁾ Many mayors, however, had served in their time as bailiffs. Predominantly only one year of office was served as bailiff so in a town of Liverpool's size this office must have provided the opportunity for many merchants to participate personally in the administration of their community. In fact in Liverpool this situation may have been accentuated by the virtual absence of craft guilds from the town. York had a mayor, twelve aldermen and a common council of forty-one made up of representatives from the major and minor craft guilds, and by the reign of Elizabeth I there were over sixty of these guilds offering the opportunity for participation in administration to at least some of their members.⁽³⁾ Even Chester had twenty-five craft guilds, but not a "clearly defined body" as a guild merchant. In Chester trade was dominated by a small group of important merchants but many had other interests - in farming, in mills, in taverns or in other ships.⁽⁴⁾ This situation was probably analagous to that in Liverpool.

The burgess rolls of the town provide some guide to the number of

(1) See Appendix XXXIV.

(2) See Appendix XXXV and Table XXXI.

(3) M. Sellers, "The City of York in the 16th Century" in E. H. R., Vol. IX, 1894, p.p. 275-288.
D.M. Palliser, "Trade Guilds of Tudor York" in ed. Clark, P. and Slack, P., Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700, London 1972, p.p. 86-95.

(4) J. Beck, Tudor Cheshire, Chester 1969, p. 49.
Woodward, Trade of Chester, p. 73, p.p. 106-116.

active economic participants in Liverpool; as the numbers are relatively small presumably the accuracy of the rolls is at least reasonable.

TABLE XLVII: NUMBERS OF BURGESSES IN LIVERPOOL.⁽¹⁾

1565	174 burgesses	21% foreign
1572	193 burgesses	33% foreign
1577	213 burgesses	-
1589	190 burgesses	41% foreign

The total number of burgesses suggests a slight rise during the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign which stabilized and perhaps even declined towards the end of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately no roll is available at the very end of this period. The Town Books record some admissions to freedom through completed apprenticeship, purchase or patrimony, but no freemen rolls survive to provide a complete picture of new burgesses.

Liverpool always had some 'foreign'/non-resident burgesses, but virtually all of these were gentry from south-west Lancashire. For instance in the 1565 list Sir Richard Molyneux, William Norris Esquire, the heirs of Richard Bold Esquire, George Ireland Esquire, Richard Blundell Esquire and William Fazakerley Gentleman all appear.⁽²⁾ There were also a few local dignatories - the Earl of Derby, Lord Strange, Lord Thomas Stanley, Lord William Stanley, Lord Francis Stanley and Edward Waterhouse Esquire - the army victualler all were recorded in 1572.⁽³⁾ Except for these honorific dignatories

(1) L.T.B. I, p.p. 446-453.
L.T.B. II, p.p. 830-841.

(2) L.T.B. I, p.p. 446-453.

(3) L.T.B. II, p.p. 830-838.

most local gentry in fact had some direct interest in Liverpool probably receiving their own supplies and travelling through the port when necessary.⁽¹⁾ Foreign burgesses were expected to contribute to regular town leys and sometimes attended assemblies in town - as did Sir Richard Molyneux, William Norris and John More in 1563.⁽²⁾ In 1568 some were actually fined for non-attendance.⁽³⁾ Mostly their influence was immediate and quite substantial.

The Earl of Derby was usually treated with considerable respect by Liverpool; he and his sons were normally freemen.⁽⁴⁾ On a visit in August 1560 the third Earl with two of his sons and his officers arrived in a [] - possibly a coach - drawn by two horses and were escorted into the town to the Tower by the mayor, aldermen, bailiffs and burgesses, and later the mayor provided a banquet of "dilicouse delicates of 2 courses".⁽⁵⁾ On occasions the Earls made plain their influence, for example when the fourth Earl summoned the mayor to attend him at the Tower in 1574 and arranged for his four sons to be made freemen immediately.⁽⁶⁾ Intermittently the Earls did visit the town and could be delayed there days or even weeks whilst waiting for suitable weather to reach the Isle of Man.⁽⁷⁾

Liverpool's officers, however, were more than prepared to use the Earls for their advice and influence. In 1560 the town took advice from the Earl's officer Ralph Sutton over the sheriff's precept for

(1) See p. 363.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 117.
L.T.B. I, p. 234.

(3) Ibid., p. 390.

(4) See p. 586.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 312.

(6) L.T.B. II, p. 156.

(7) Ibid., p. 242.

the debasement of the coinage, and in 1572 was prepared to appeal to Lord Strange during his father's illness to intervene in a customs dispute "callyng and namyng in writyng this porte a creeke to Chestre".⁽¹⁾ This dispute continued and bailiff William Golborne was sent to Knowsley and Lathom several times during 1574-5. Advice was again sought in 1578.⁽²⁾ So serious was the threat of the Spanish Company in 1581 that the mayor, recorder and senior townsmen all went in person to Knowsley in 1581, and their efforts appear to have been successful in obtaining intervention from the Earl. Sir Francis Walsingham replied directly to the Earl - "thus much I thought meete to be signified to your lordshippe, as the chiefe person in these partes and patrone of that poore town".⁽³⁾ The Earl and the town both recognized their place.

The Earls' influence was also demonstrated on the occasions of parliamentary elections - one of Liverpool's two members being reserved for the Earls' nomination. In 1555 this was, in fact, Sir Richard Sherburne - steward to the Earl.⁽⁴⁾ (The other nomination was normally reserved for the Chancellor of the Duchy.) Quite clearly there was usually no dispute over accepting whomsoever the Earl nominated, such as in 1582 when he sent a letter recommending

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 138.
L.T.B. II, p.p. 34-35.

(2) Ibid., p. 185 and p. 272.

(3) Ibid., p. 387 and p. 405.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 52a.
See p.p. 555-556.

Arthur Autye - secretary to the Earl of Leicester.⁽¹⁾ In contrast on a few occasions the town did try to elect their own candidate in preference or in the absence of one from the Chancellor as in 1559 and 1563.⁽²⁾ On both these dates the town tried to elect Ralph Sekerston, a local merchant.⁽³⁾

The Earls of Derby took their influence seriously and were anxious to protect it; they could show considerable displeasure when arrangements or decisions made by the town did not suit them. In 1561 a Dublin ship ran aground in bad weather and Liverpool's mayor prevented it being taken by the Earl's steward to the Cheshire side of the river. . Soon after the mayor and officers received a cold welcome at Lathom and were required to hand over the ship and its contents.⁽⁴⁾ Later in the same year the Earl forbade the town the use of Toxteth Park for herbage. A special town meeting was convened and advice sought from William Norris before a letter was sent to the Earl in London - with the apologies.⁽⁵⁾

These relations with the Earls of Derby testify to Liverpool's weak political situation and to an awareness of its limited financial resources. The attitude of the merchant community was not, however, so different from that in many other towns. Warwick, with a population of two and a half thousand, was subservient to the Earl of Leicester - he chose burgesses, nominated to Parliament,

(1) Ibid., p. 408.

(2) Ibid., p. 108, p. 216 and p. 218.

(3) See p.p. 611-612.

(4) Ibid., p. 164.

(5) Ibid., p. 166.

influenced the choice of steward and bailiff and had an interest in financial matters.⁽¹⁾ In 1582 when the freemen assembly of Winchester decided to appoint a High Steward with an annuity to overview the town's interests, they chose Sir Francis Walsingham, then Lord Buckhurst, then Sir Thomas Heneage and at the end of the century Lord Mountjoy.⁽²⁾ Liverpool could not escape the influence of the Earls of Derby, and inevitably at times tried to use it.

Not only the Earl of Derby, but also many south-west Lancashire gentry had influence in Liverpool. They owned many burgages⁽³⁾ and were used by the town and merchants for their connections and as arbiters in internal disputes. In 1561 William Norris settled a financial dispute between the town authorities and Thomas More, whilst in 1596 Sir Richard Molyneux dealt with a claim of fraud by an Irish merchant against the town.⁽⁴⁾ The Molyneux family of Croxteth and Sefton was the most prominent local gentry family during the second half of the sixteenth century and their influence in the town considerable.

The Molyneux family held the fee farm of Liverpool including the ferry over the Mersey, the shambles for butchers, stallage and market tolls, fair tolls, perquisites of courts and anchorage dues.⁽⁵⁾ Normally this was leased to the mayor and burgesses - as in 1557 for eleven pounds, sixteen shillings and eight pence a year - but disputes

(1) A. L. Beier, "The Social Problems of an Elizabethan Country Town: Warwick 1580-90" in ed. P. Clark, The Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England, Leicester 1981, p.p. 47-51.

(2) T. Atkinson, Elizabethan Winchester, London 1963, p.p. 92-94.

(3) See p.p. 592-593.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 181.
A.P.C. Vol. XXV, p.p. 488-489.

(5) L.R.O., DDM 39/80.

were frequent.⁽¹⁾ The family also held the constablership of Liverpool castle, although by 1559 this was said to be in "greate ruin and decay" and about "to fall in utter distruction". Nothing apparently was repaired and when the castle was resurveyed in 1588 it was reported all ruinous and over one thousand marks could not repair it.⁽²⁾ In addition the Molyneux family let the mills from the Queen - another source of potential dispute as became evident in 1581 and 1588.⁽³⁾ Considerable as this Molyneux influence was in both Liverpool and throughout Walton parish, the prompt purchase of the leases of the lands from three of the four Liverpool chantries substantially augmented this position. In 1548 Sir Richard Molyneux obtained a twenty-one years' lease on the lands of the altars of St. Katherine, St. Nicholas and St. John.⁽⁴⁾ (The fourth chantry - that of St. Mary - was leased to Richard Wrightington who had serious difficulties enforcing his title with the mayor and burgesses in Liverpool.)⁽⁵⁾ By the time of a Molyneux rental of these chantry lands in 1568 there were sixty tenants in Liverpool on this property, and with this investment the family exerted a very real and immediate influence amongst the population of the town.⁽⁶⁾ Liverpool did not have the independent resources to withstand seriously this considerable Molyneux presence,

- (1) Ibid., DDM 39/76.
P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. VII M 11, Vol. X M 1.
L.T.B. I, p. 33 and p. 86.
- (2) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster: Special Commissions, DL 44 No. 9.
L.R.O., DDM 3/12.
P.R.O., DL 44 No. 419.
- (3) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. LXXII M 1 and Vol. CVII M 2.
L.R.O., DDM 39/107.
Liv. R. O., 920 MOO/945.
- (4) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster: Colleges and Chantries, DL 14
Bundle 5, No. 18.
L.R.O., DDM 39/71 and 39/72.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 14 Bundle 5 No. 18.
Pleadings and Depositions in Duchy Court in Rec. Soc. Vol. XXXV,
1887, p. 38.
- (6) L.R.O., DDM 12/30.

and on occasions had to 'humour' the family such as the banquet provided in 1559.⁽¹⁾

The Molyneux, however, was not the only gentry family the town had to contend with - on the town's doorstep was the More family. At his death in 1541 William More Esquire held the manors of Kirkdale and Bootle, lands in Fazakerley, Ditton, Linacre, Litherland, Orrell, West Derby and Little Crosby townships and burgages in Liverpool.⁽²⁾ By the time of the 1565 rental this Liverpool property amounted to twenty-one tenants, but with purchases this land was being increased.⁽³⁾ By 1576 the family had forty-eight tenants and by 1592 fifty-three tenants in Liverpool.⁽⁴⁾ At William More's death in 1604 he held fifty-five burgages in the town - a presence which again conveyed considerable influence bolstered by the proximity of Kirkdale and the family residence at Bank Hall.⁽⁵⁾ The head of the More family and many junior members made significant contributions to town administration and activities.⁽⁶⁾

Other gentry held substantially less property in Liverpool than did the More and Molyneux families, but even so the total gentry holding was significant and not declining. In 1558 Richard Blundell

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 125.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 M00/235.

(3) Ibid., 920 M00/100 and 920 M00/749.

(4) Ibid., 920 M00/256 and 920 M00/266.

(5) Inquisitions Post Mortem, Stuart Period Part I in Rec. Soc. Vol. III, 1879, p.p. 13-14.

(6) See Appendix XXXIV.
L.T.B. II, p. 387.
L.R.O., DDK 1402/28.

of Little Crosby held one burgage in the town and bought for forty pounds a half of another in Castle Street in 1580.⁽¹⁾ Richard Bold Esquire of Bold, Roger Breres Gentleman of Walton and Robert Fazakerley Gentleman of Fazakerley all held one burgage each.⁽²⁾ Richard Gellibrand Gentleman of Lathom held one burgage in 1570 but by 1610 the family had five burgages in the town.⁽³⁾ Many other gentry families - the Norris, the Meoles, the Hesketh, the Mossock, the Eccleston, for example - held small amounts of land and there is no sign of them being relinquished.⁽⁴⁾ The only other large property owner was the Crosse family; James Crosse Esquire held twelve burgages in 1558 which by 1619 the family had expanded to twenty in total.⁽⁵⁾

The town itself did hold some property - but relatively very little and insufficient for independence. There was a burgage in Dale Street and one in Water Street, two half burgages, eighteen pieces of land in the town fields, one rent charge on a house in town, some land off Edge Lane just outside Liverpool and a tenement in Garston township.⁽⁶⁾ All this property, however, by 1563 brought in only just over five pounds a year. Town authorities could use other sources of revenue such as fees for freedom, local tolls and the perquisites of carts,⁽⁷⁾ but in Liverpool these sources were likely to be fairly small or unavailable. Liverpool usually had only a modest

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- (1) L.T.B. I, p. 92.
L.R.O., DDB1 23/12, 13 and 14.
- (2) P.R.O., DL 7 Vol. XV, No. 20 and Vol. XVII, No. 34.
- (3) Ibid., DL 7 Vol. XX No. 59, DL 1 Vol. X L 57.
- (4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52851.
P.R.O., DL 7 Vol. XI No. 22, Vol. XIII No. 15, Vol. XVI No. 28,
Vol. XVII No. 9, Vol. XI No. 66.
L.T.B. I, p. 92.
L.T.B. II, p. 632.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 7 Vol. X No. 20.
Inquisitions Post Mortem, Stuart Period Part II in Rec. Soc.
Vol. XVI 1887 p. 135.
- (6) L.T.B. I, p.p. 420-429.
- (7) J. H. Thomas, Town Government in the 16th Century, London 1933,
p.p. 27-31.

civic income and relied on the collection of leys for regular expenditure such as the schoolmaster's salary and for unexpected costs such as the town's defence against the Spanish Company.⁽¹⁾

The normally modest level of town financial commitment was seen in November 1561 when "the great wynde and stormes" damaged the harbour and the town had to arrange for repairs and some improvement. At a town meeting thirteen shillings and nine pence was collected towards the cost, but otherwise work was to be undertaken for a month by a rota with each street providing a labourer from every house.⁽²⁾ Such a level of personal participation was possible only in a town as small as Liverpool. Not many other facilities were maintained and repaired by the town - there was the stone bridge over Pool stream at the end of Dale Street, the butts by the castle, the stocks near the High Cross, and the common hall.⁽³⁾ Considering the size of Liverpool this hall could indeed serve as a community centre and it was used by townsmen for wedding dinners and dancing, although by 1571 there was a danger of the floor collapsing. By 1574 it did have glass windows - presumably on the first floor as the ground floor was used as a gaol. In 1579 the Assembly discussed the need for an alternative common gaol, but clearly nothing was done other than to provide the common hall gaol with a privy.⁽⁴⁾

(1) See p.481 and p.p. 367-368.

(2) L.T.B. I, p.p. 117-118.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 249, p. 264.
L.T.B. II, p. 7, p. 659.

(4) Ibid., p. 10, p. 169, p. 340, p. 538.

John Leland did not have much to say about "Lyrpole" other than referring to it as a "pavid towne" where "the king hath a castelet" and the Earl of Derby "a stone howse".⁽¹⁾ William Camden did add the comment that the town was "not so eminent for its being ancient, as for being neat and populous".⁽²⁾ In 1569 John Crosse had indeed arranged for a paver from Warrington to pave one half of Dale Street in one year and the other half the following year.⁽³⁾ Considerable individual action was expected and encouraged by town assemblies, and in a small town it must have been hard to escape the attention of neighbours. It would appear that fouled water supplies were a persistent problem. From 1558 onwards citizens were urged to keep all wells covered and Thomas Fisher and his wife were fined for throwing a dead pig and "unlawful flesh" into a well.⁽⁴⁾ Ten years later Edmund Irlam and Ralph Roughley were typical of many offenders in being fined for washing fells, skins and wool in Fall Well.⁽⁵⁾ Other 'noisome' practices caused concern, such as glovers liming fells and skins in backyards and unfenced middens before the doors of houses. In 1560, so great was the obstruction in the town streets through middens, carts, wains, stones and piles of timber, that the Assembly tried to enforce the provision of a four yard wide mid channel along all streets.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Leland, Itinerary, p. 40.

(2) Camden, Britannia, p. 790.

(3) L.R.O., DDSH No. 197.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 100.

(5) Ibid., p. 398.

(6) Ibid., p. 395 and p. 150.
L.T.B. II, p. 334.

In a place of Liverpool's size it was possible to participate in communal entertainment. On 17th November 1576 mayor Thomas Bavand made arrangements to celebrate Elizabeth's accession day - the first recorded indication of this in Liverpool. He arranged a bonfire in the market place near the High Cross, another outside his own house, and encouraged other householders to do the same. A banquet - perhaps for aldermen and civic officers - took place at Ralph Burscough's house which finished with white wine, sack and sugar being provided at the mayor's house. Thomas Bavand did have the foresight to ask the two bailiffs to see that the fires were all later quenched!⁽¹⁾ From 1577 onwards on Ascension Day in May a horse race was held over the sands from Crosby to end at Bank Hall - a distance of four and a half miles. A silver bell prize worth over six pounds was provided by Edward Tarbock Esquire with horses by local gentlemen. Mr. Tarbock's horse, unfortunately, did not win the first race.⁽²⁾

While a degree of community spirit was expressed in such entertainment, rivalry and competitions between individuals was inevitable in Liverpool. Mercantile activity offered plenty of scope for dispute at the best of times. Richard Andleser was assaulted by Thomas Secum with a dagger in 1563, whilst the next year Thomas More was wounded by Ralph Sekerston with a long dagger.⁽³⁾ Also in 1564 great violence occurred when Thomas Secum, Thomas Rose and Ralph Jamison entered the draper's shop of Alexander Garnet and seized quantities of cloth.⁽⁴⁾ The restricted nature of these

(1) L.T.B. II, p.p. 240-241.

(2) Ibid., p. 247-248.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIV A 2.
DL 1 Vol. XXV M 9.

(4) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. XIX G 1.

disputes and the opportunities for communal entertainment reflect the small-scale town environment. Clearly opportunities existed for substantial merchant participation in civic affairs, but with limited independent decision and action.

In late medieval north England towns inter-marriage and remarriage links and connections could be very complex and of considerable significance.⁽¹⁾ It has been found that in sixteenth century London most merchants married into similar families, providing extensive networks of connection.⁽²⁾ In south-west Lancashire there may have been a measure of this inter-marriage within the merchant community, but probably they were not such a large group that they could be exclusive. Unfortunately, surviving records are very inadequate in this respect, particularly as no chapelry register for Liverpool is available, and so only random details remain. For example Alice, the daughter of draper Alexander Garnet, married Robert Wytter a merchant, and Cecily, the daughter of merchant Ralph Sekerston, married merchant Thomas Bavand.⁽³⁾ There were also marriage links between the Liverpool and Prescott merchant groups; Margaret, the daughter of George Rainford, a Liverpool merchant, married Thomas Potter, a prominent Prescott merchant.⁽⁴⁾

Possibly amongst the ordinary merchant community this kind of link

(1) Kermode, "Merchants of Three Northern English Towns", p. 17.

(2) Foster, "Politics and Community in Elizabethan London", p. 132.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 253.
L.T.B. II, p. 44.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Bavand of Liverpool, 1588.

was quite common, but amongst some of the Élite there was a desire to marry into local gentry families - which is perhaps what they aspired to be, or how they regarded themselves. Roger Walker - merchant and Gentleman - who died in 1558 had married Alice, the sister of Thomas Eccleston Esquire of Prescot parish.⁽¹⁾ Ralph, the son of Thomas Secum - merchant and Gentleman - married in 1578 Catherine, the daughter of John Poley Gentleman of Melling. As his second wife, however, Ralph Secum Gentleman married in 1602 Anne (nee Stock), the widow of Richard Catton, a substantial Halewood yeoman.⁽²⁾ The Crosse family, as esquires and also merchants, was in something of an anomalous situation amongst the Liverpool community, but clearly they appear to have known where their true interests lay! John Crosse Esquire (died 1575) married three times - firstly Alice, daughter of Roger Ashall Gentleman of Heath Charnock; secondly Alice, daughter of Ralph Ashton Esquire of Great Lever; and thirdly Anne, daughter of Robert Langton Esquire of Hindley.⁽³⁾ His son and heir, John Crosse, married a little closer to home - Alice, the daughter of John More Esquire of Bank Hall.⁽⁴⁾ As important as marriage links amongst the merchant community itself may have been apprenticeship

(1) Flowers Visitation, p. 98.

(2) L.R.O., DDSH No. 202.
Childwall Registers.

(3) Flowers Visitation, p. 107.
Stewart Brown and Beazley, "Crosse Family", p.p. 169-178.

(4) H.M.C., Mss. of Captain Stewart of Altyrobyn, 10th Report, London 1885, p. 60.

connections, for instance in Liverpool John Bird served as apprentice to Thomas Bavand and Giles Brooke had served his time with George Rainford.⁽¹⁾

Sixteenth century regionalism did not mean that towns such as Liverpool were necessarily isolationist and introverted. The merchants could and did travel in northern England, in the Midlands and to London, but economic circumstances and international relations did not encourage significant growth in the volume of Liverpool's trade nor the size of its merchant community. Clearly those merchants who were able to survive showed concern to improve their environment, to establish sound administration and to ensure their social survival.⁽²⁾ In such a way by the end of the sixteenth century they were a distinctive occupational group able to dominate the modest civic affairs of Liverpool; they had not, however, escaped from the pervading influence of the Earls of Derby and the local gentry.

d) Local Office-Holding.

Substantial as gentry influence and Stanley influence was in south-west Lancashire in the second half of the sixteenth century, local offices still had to be filled and administration conducted by somebody at a very local level. Throughout most of the four parishes this was accomplished through the very traditional parochial

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 154.
Pound, "Government and Society in Tudor and Stuart Norwich", p. 140.

(2) MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, passim.
Kermode, "Merchants of Three Northern English Towns", p. 7.

office of churchwarden and through the multiplicity of offices which existed in most manors. Liverpool town also had its own urban officials - many of whom in practice fulfilled duties not unlike many manorial appointments. Through all of these offices a wider selection of the population of south-west Lancashire had the opportunity - or duty - of direct involvement in local administration, even if for only a brief space of time.

A comment on the ecclesiastical state of Lancashire in about 1590 included the remarks that "there is no smale corruption in the Church officers: as in the Churchwardens, Sidesmen and Parishe Clerkes". They were chosen by nomination by "the gentlemen and better sorte of everie Towne, withowte the consent of the Pastor" and commonly they were the meanest sort of people and "therefore most fitt to serve the humor of the gentrye and multitud". Not only was their choice arranged, but they were usually not chosen at the correct time and scarcely ever took the required oath so that for much of the year there may well have been no officers.⁽¹⁾ Certainly at Childwall the churchwardens' accounts make plain the substantial influence of Edward Norris Esquire.⁽²⁾

At Prescot there were four churchwardens from the Prescot 'side' of the parish; they took office on St. Katherine's Day (25th November) and served their year.⁽³⁾ Just once annually the

(1) ed. F. R. Raines, State Civil and Ecclesiastical of the County of Lancaster in Chet. Soc., Vol. XCVI, 1875, p. 9.

(2) Child. Accs., p. 2.
See p. 575.

(3) Pres. Accs., p. 86.

chapelwardens from the Farnworth 'side' came to Prescott to view the accounts.⁽¹⁾ The four Prescott churchwardens, although having a territorial allocation, were chosen "accordinge to custome"⁽²⁾ by the 'Eight Men'. These 'Eight Men' had been established by decree of the Bishop of Chester in 1555 to appoint the churchwardens, audit the accounts and to decide the level of parish leys.⁽³⁾ These men all came from the Prescott 'side' of the parish, being chosen "with the consent of the gentilmen of the parishe".⁽⁴⁾ Clearly some pattern of hierarchy was in operation and relatively few men had the opportunity to serve as one of the 'Eight Men'.⁽⁵⁾ Office was held usually for one year, but with the probability of a new term of duty after several years' lapse. Many of the 'Eight Men' were quite comfortably off - some gentlemen, yeomen, tanners, mercers and blacksmiths, but with a few husbandmen as well.

The more senior parish gentry did not serve amongst the 'Eight Men', but they did maintain quite close supervision of church accounts, for example in 1558 seven members of the gentry were present at the making up of the accounts and eight present in 1565.⁽⁶⁾ As well as this direct personal supervision the gentry were obviously useful

(1) Pres. Accs., p.p. 30-36.

(2) Ibid., p. 79.

(3) Ibid., p. vii.

(4) Ibid., p. 46.

(5) See Appendix XXXVI.

(6) Pres. Recs., p. 48 and p. 57. For example, Henry Eccleston, Richard Eltonhead, James Pemberton, William Holland, John Ogle, Ralph Sutton, Edward Halsall, William Standish.

and influential in the parish in other ways. In 1573, when the Bishop adjudicated in the ley dispute between Prescott and its Farnworth chapelry, Mr. Bold represented Farnworth and Mr. Halsall and Mr. Eccleston spoke for the Prescott 'side'.⁽¹⁾

At both Childwall and Prescott surviving churchwardens' accounts make possible fairly detailed lists of personnel serving as churchwardens during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ At Childwall two wardens were chosen and most individuals served for a number of years such as William Woodward 1572-1577 and John Pasmuch 1595-1601. They tended to come from the 'church' side of the parish - Wavertree, Little Woolton and Much Woolton. At Prescott office was held normally for only one year with individuals from the eight townships of Prescott 'side' serving according to a pre-arranged pattern.⁽³⁾ The men appear to have come from the 'stable' members of the community - some yeomen, some husbandmen and some craftsmen (a carpenter, slater and tanner).⁽⁴⁾ As at Childwall, it cannot really be claimed that these men represented the 'meanest sort' of people; the list even included two gentlemen at Childwall. There is no indication that wilfully the most unsuitable type of men were chosen, although equally there is no way of knowing how well-fitted these men were for the quite onerous duties of churchwarden.

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 70.

(2) See Appendices XXXVII and XXXVIII.

(3) This feature was also true of Walton parish, where West Derby township provided a churchwarden every third year, Walton and Fazakerley every sixth year, Bootle, Kirkdale and Everton every ninth year. R. Syers, History of Everton, Liverpool 1839, p. 427.

(4) See Appendices XXXVII and XXXVIII.

Onerous though their ecclesiastical duties were for the churchwardens, they were also faced with increasingly heavy secular tasks.⁽¹⁾ Elizabethan legislation demanded greater involvement from churchwardens in the administration of the poor laws. From 1572 onwards this created considerably more work at both Childwall and Prescot; for instance, the Prescot wardens regularly had to transport rogues to Ormskirk, arrange for payment for them and attend Quarter Sessions concerning them.⁽²⁾ The wardens were involved in the collection of the poor rate which necessitated a box with lock and iron band,⁽³⁾ and had to keep the assessment books for the rate.⁽⁴⁾ Quite frequently in addition, collections for the relief of maimed soldiers had to be conveyed to the High Constable.⁽⁵⁾

Other statutes required action by the churchwardens. They met the local justices concerning licensing of alehouses⁽⁶⁾ and the wearing of caps;⁽⁷⁾ they supervised the appointment of surveyors of the highways;⁽⁸⁾ they arranged for the scouring and dressing of the parish armour - in the case of Prescot by men from Bolton every few years;⁽⁹⁾ and according to the 1566 statute they paid out remuneration for the

(1) See p.p. 710-712.

(2) Pres. Accs., p. 73.

(3) Ibid., p. 107.

(4) Ibid., p. 107.

(5) Child. Accs., p. 52. p. 57.

(6) Pres. Accs., p. 121.

(7) Ibid., p. 135.

(8) Child. Accs., p. 13.

(9) Pres. Accs., p. 87, p. 94, p. 101, p. 114.

destruction of local vermin. At Prescot they paid individuals from all over their 'side' of the parish for the crows, magpies, bullfinches, kites, rats, moles and hedgehogs that were removed.⁽¹⁾ With such an array of duties the office of churchwarden was, therefore, of considerable significance both to the holder of the office and to the rest of the parishioners. The ecclesiastical aspect of the position could not be detached from the multifarious secular concerns which impinged on all the community.

In a predominantly agrarian area with many resident landlords, manorial organization continued to operate regularly throughout the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ At West Derby in 1560 the manor court met on three occasions (16th January, 29th May and 25th September), but the normal pattern was twice a year.⁽³⁾ At Little Woolton the usual pattern was also twice a year - at the feast of St. John the Baptist (24th June) and at the feast of Michaelmas (29th September).⁽⁴⁾ Other indications from the four parishes suggest that regular manorial administration was not unusual.⁽⁵⁾

All manor courts had slight variations both in the numbers of officials they felt it necessary to appoint and in the names they used. Nonetheless, great similarity prevailed. In 1559 West Derby court appointed four constables, four leyleyers, four

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 82, p. 90, p. 96, p. 106, p. 108, p. 115.

(2) Sharpe, Crime in Early Modern England, p. 25.

(3) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 1/68.

(4) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/6.

(5) See Pres. Recs., passim.

burleymen, four moss reeves and two customers.⁽¹⁾ By 1602 this had been modified by the addition of two more constables, three supervisors of delphs and six supervisors of highways.⁽²⁾ At Much Woolton in 1559 there were two constables, four leyleyers, two burleymen, two aleconners, two assessors and one bailiff; by 1578 two haywards and four supervisors had been added.⁽³⁾ Evidently manor courts were prepared to select numbers appropriate to the size of their manor and to modify their appointments to suit prevailing local circumstances such as supervisors of delphs at West Derby, hilllookers at Little Woolton and streetlookers at Prescot.⁽⁴⁾

Many of the manorial officials were directly concerned with the operation of farming practices - the burleymen, the moss reeves and the bailiff. They were anxious to control and conserve fuel supplies, to control grazing, to supervise hedging and to recover straying animals. In 1559 the Prescot burleymen were ordered to "se gud nebirhud done" throughout the manor in terms of fencing and hedging.⁽⁵⁾ Other manorial officials, however, were concerned more with general local administration, such as the leyleyers, the alefounders, the constables and the surveyors of the highway. In small agrarian communities these jobs required participation from quite large numbers of individuals and must have reinforced local

(1) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 1/67.

(2) Ibid., 920 SAL 1/110.

(3) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 10.

(4) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 1/110.
B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/6.
Pres. Recs., p. 212.

(5) Ibid., p. 145.

identity and involvement in administration.

Probably most of these manorial offices were filled from some sort of rota amongst the manorial tenants and so involved a wide section of the community. At Little Woolton a rota certainly was operating as in 1568 Richard Hulgreave's departure was recorded when it was his turn to serve as burleyman. His tenement was in the hands of William Brettergh Gentleman who had to appoint a deputy to serve the office.⁽¹⁾ At Prescott the list of constables' names make it plain that a one year appointment was usual and that the men liable for constable duty could well serve the other manorial posts.⁽²⁾ Probably only the very poor were totally excluded from manorial responsibilities. At Little Woolton twelve cottagers were responsible for finding one constable in one year.⁽³⁾ This appears to be a rather different practice than at Terling in Essex where participation in office in the village and the church was concentrated amongst ten-fifteen men who often served five year periods.⁽⁴⁾

Local men imposing rules and regulations amongst their neighbours and acquaintances must have operated with certain advantages of personal knowledge, but with difficulties of familiarity

(1) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/6, f. 200.

(2) See Appendix XXXIX.

(3) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924/6, f. 234.

(4) Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety: Terling, p. 106.

and inexperience. Some attempt was made to uphold the authority of these officials and, if necessary, use the sanctions of the manor court. At Little Woolton in 1585 three men were presented for not obeying the constable over mending the highways, and one man fined for leaving the court before proceedings had finished.⁽¹⁾ However, presentations at the manor courts do not suggest widespread or organized disturbances; mostly, as at West Derby in 1561, unlawful alehouses, the illegal taking of turves and two or three 'tustles' constituted the total offences.⁽²⁾ To what extent this was a reflection of the effectiveness of any officials, or more a reflection of community discipline in the knowledge of ultimate gentry sanctions is impossible to discern. It is unlikely that any manorial officials could have prevented the numbers of people that gathered at Rainhill in 1564 with bows, arrows, spikes, staves and daggers from seizing cartloads of marl, or the similar group of people gathered at Roby in 1577 from spoiling pastures and fields. The constable of Roby and the tenement holder fled!⁽³⁾

Effective government required knowledge, interest and power - even at local level. Local government was dominated by the established gentry families who themselves were strongly influenced

(1) B.L., Add. Mss., 36924/6, f. 232.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 1/70.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 60 K 3 and Vol. 106 C 7.

by the patronage of the Earl of Derby. When the gentry chose, their administration could be vigorous, sustained and effective.⁽¹⁾

Equally a measure of indifference could prevail. For many gentry, for the urban community of Liverpool, and for the rural population of the four parishes of south-west Lancashire identification and administration centred on their own local area. Local contact, conciliation, persuasion and coercion - often in a rather casual way - provided adequate administration - usually.

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- (1) J. D. Alsop, "Government, Finance and the Community of the Exchequer", in ed. C. Haigh, The Reign of Elizabeth I, London 1984, p.p. 117-123.
- (2) P. Williams, "The Crown and the Counties", in ibid., p.p. 137-146.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

- a) Ralph Sekerston and Parliament.
- b) Educational opportunities.
- c) Cultural connections.

Lancashire, and the south-west of the county in particular, can be regarded as relatively isolated and remote during the sixteenth century,⁽¹⁾ yet links and connections with the rest of the country were there - if tenuous and undeveloped. The Earl of Derby, his family and some of his household had a pattern of routine travel from the North-West to London.⁽²⁾ Many Lancashire gentry were able to travel to London and some served in Parliament.⁽³⁾ Liverpool merchants travelled to fairs and markets in the north of England, many had contacts with Ireland and some with Spain and France.⁽⁴⁾ These links, however, affected mainly a minority of the population - the wealthier élite. For the majority of south-west Lancashire's population contact with the outside world occurred only if that world came to them - and it rarely did in the sixteenth century.

a) Ralph Sekerston and Parliament.

The choice of Liverpool's two Members of Parliament was usually greatly influenced by the borough's two patrons - the Earl of Derby and the Chancellor of the Duchy.⁽⁵⁾ In a small town of limited prosperity this influence must have been hard to resist. In 1555 the Town Books refer to the accepted practice of holding an assembly

(1) See p.p. 27-31.

(2) See Chapter II.

(3) See p.p. 561-563.

(4) See Chapter VII.

(5) See p.p. 555-556.

in the common hall after evensong and sealing the town's agreement to the sheriff; one of the burgesses was to be Sir Richard Sherburne, steward of the Earl of Derby, and the other "place left open for thother to be nominatyd" by the Chancellor as no information from him had been received.⁽¹⁾ In January 1559, however, not hearing from the Chancellor again, the town tried to nominate one of its own merchants and citizens - Ralph Sekerston - and agreed to support him with limited expenses.⁽²⁾ In the event the Chancellor did make a choice and had Mr. Sekerston's name erased and another inserted in the parliamentary return.⁽³⁾ Ralph Sekerston never took his seat.

Ralph Sekerston was an alderman of the town who served as mayor 1550-1 and again 1560-1.⁽⁴⁾ As one of the principal merchants he must have been moderately wealthy by the standards of Liverpool,⁽⁵⁾ and experienced in the local affairs of the town. He was also persistent! In late 1562 Liverpool was "evyll trobled aboute the election"; the town chose a younger son of Sir Richard Molyneux (lessee of the fee farm) as one burgess and reserved the other choice for the Earl of Derby "merveylying muche that he send not to the towne".⁽⁶⁾ Several meetings were necessary in the vacuum of

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 52a.

(2) Ibid., p. 108.

(3) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. III, p. 364.

(4) Ibid.

(5) See p.p. 321-341.

(6) L.T.B. I, p. 216.

information and the mayor had to reply to the sheriff that still no choice had been received from the Earl "when always wee were moost naturallye beholdyn and bound to".⁽¹⁾ In these circumstances Ralph Sekerston was again nominated "oone one daye and disapoynted another daye" - the sheriff refused the certificate.⁽²⁾ Another town meeting agreed to send Mr. Sekerston to London "soe he roode almost poost and toke the sayd certificat wyth him" in an attempt to secure the Earl of Derby's approval.⁽³⁾ The Chancellor, Sir Ambrose Cave, "in his fumous" summoned the mayor to Westminster and tried to oppose the choice, but with the Earl's approval Ralph Sekerston finally took his seat as Member of Parliament in 1563.⁽⁴⁾

Not only had Ralph Sekerston actively supported his own election by his speedy journey to London, but the whole incident cost the town dearly. The case put the town "to a great charge" and during the early months of 1563 after letters had passed between Sekerston and the town "a sesse was leyd and gathered throughe the towne and send up to London for the charges of hym after ii^s a daye".⁽⁵⁾ Ralph Sekerston apparently diligently attended the parliamentary sessions and "stode up after the maner theare and was speaker hymselffe, to the great grief of mayster chauncellour"⁽⁶⁾ - and "all this whylis

(1) Ibid., p. 217.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., p.p. 217-218.

(4) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. III, p.p. 364-365.

(5) L.T.B. I, p. 219.

(6) Ibid., p. 218.

nothing was heard of what mayster Richard Molineux dyd".⁽¹⁾ The town clearly identified with a Member of Parliament it knew and expected to be kept informed of proceedings. In February 1567 at a town assembly Ralph Sekerston "declaryth openlie his doyns in this last parliament" (1566-7) and, indeed, he presented a petition on behalf of "your graces decayed towne of Liverpole".⁽²⁾ Not that Ralph Sekerston had great success in attracting relief for Liverpool, but he did clearly feel able to participate in Parliament and to seek to use its influence.

Not surprisingly, at the elections of 1571 and 1572 Ralph Sekerston was again returned as Member of Parliament with the patronage of the Earl of Derby. The town returned their one choice to the sheriff leaving blank the Chancellor's nomination.⁽³⁾ With a little experience Ralph Sekerston now became quite an active ordinary Member; he served on three parliamentary committees - on dress, on tillage and, appropriately, on navigation, and introduced a private bill "for erectyage of a parish church at Lyverpole".⁽⁴⁾ One can only imagine that this was a matter dear to Ralph Sekerston and to the wishes of Liverpool's council. There was no time for its completion.

In 1572, however, Ralph Sekerston returned to Westminster with

(1) Ibid., p. 219.

(2) Ibid., p. 322 and p. 337.

(3) Ibid., p. 567.

(4) Hartley, Proceedings in Parliament, p. 252.

equal enthusiasm. He served on one committee - on cloth, but was a prominent speaker on a variety of social and economic matters.⁽¹⁾ In May the bill providing further poor law provision was discussed and Mr. Sekerston claimed "the bill very parciall. London and other greate cities provided for. But no provision for Lipoole and other smale boroughes". He also claimed that lords, gentlemen and bishops kept so few servants that this "breedeth" vagabonds, and "as for courteurs, they care not for us, nor we care not for them". This blunt attitude may have won Ralph Sekerston some friends, but it also created some opposition - notably from Mr. Treasurer, Lord Burghley himself; "this ridiculous jesting he liketh not in the Howse, meaning by Segarston".⁽²⁾ Not surprisingly a few days later, when Ralph Sekerston returned to his plan "that chapel L'pool. be made a parish church" with Richard Molyneux and his successors as patrons, he obtained insufficient support. He claimed "the chappell fairer than the church" and that the Molyneux would be patrons of both churches.⁽³⁾ Without wider political support, however, his private bill did not proceed beyond its second reading.⁽⁴⁾

During the next few weeks, nothing daunted, Ralph Sekerston continued his parliamentary participation. He spoke against the proposal to limit the export of leather claiming "the lawe very

(1) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. III, p. 365.

(2) Hartley, Proceedings in Parliament, p. 366.

(3) Ibid., p. 384.

(4) Ibid., p. 402.

perillous. All against merchauntes who are not the authors of the dearth of shooes". He must have further antagonized authority by speaking against the abuses of the Lord Admiral's licences.⁽¹⁾ Presumably on this type of topic Ralph Sekerston had particular knowledge of the matter, as he had on the proposal to limit imported wares by royal proclamation. This bill was supported by Lord Burghley, yet Liverpool's Member firmly claimed "this bill altogether for benefit of the City" and that Liverpool would suffer if Spanish ware such as iron and train oil was limited.⁽²⁾ He also associated himself with the interests of other localities such as Stafford, but predominantly Ralph Sekerston saw himself as a representative of his town and its interests.⁽³⁾ In the debate on the bill for sea marks and buoys he did not oppose the main provisions, but he did complain that all forfeitures were to go to Trinity House when Lancashire and Cheshire had special privileges - "every man now seeketh all commodities to come to London, as though all the knightes and burgesses of the rest of the realme come in vayne".⁽⁴⁾

Two months later in August 1572 Ralph Sekerston was back in Liverpool explaining his "doyngs in this parlament" and passing on information about the provisions of the new poor law.⁽⁵⁾ The Member

(1) Ibid., p. 386.

(2) Ibid., p. 387 and p. 390.

(3) Ibid., p. 409.

(4) Ibid., p. 410.

(5) L.T.B. II, p. 43.

of Parliament could scarcely have been more closely linked with his constituency. Personal tragedy, however, followed soon; his two married daughters both died later in the year and also his only son.⁽¹⁾ Sometime two or three years later Ralph Sekerston himself died.⁽²⁾ His blaze of Liverpool's representation in Parliament also died; for the rest of the century Liverpool's two burgesses were again 'outsiders' nominated by the Earl of Derby and the Chancellor of the Duchy.⁽³⁾ By 1583 the town wrote to one of these Members - Arthur Autye, secretary to the Earl of Leicester - that the town was too "poore to perfourme anie reward".⁽⁴⁾ The town may have been too poor, or merely unwilling, to contribute anything to an 'outsider'; for their own merchant they had paid the two shillings a day! Ralph Sekerston may have had a parliamentary career of only a decade, but he had shown what was possible - albeit with the co-operation of the Earl of Derby. A Liverpool merchant of only moderate means could travel regularly to Westminster and sit in the national Parliament; he could even dispute policy with the Queen's Treasurer, Lord Burghley. He knew of national policy and national legislation, and yet retained and enunciated his local interests. Not until 1603-4 did another Liverpool merchant sit in Parliament - Giles Brooke, former mayor and alderman.⁽⁵⁾ Ralph Sekerston's brief Parliamentary

(1) L.T.B. II, p.p. 44-45.

(2) Hasler, House of Commons, Vol. III, p. 365.

(3) W. D. Pink and A. B. Beavan, The Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire 1258-1885, London 1889, p.p. 183-184.

(4) L.T.B. II, p.p. 449-450.

(5) Pink and Beavan, Parliamentary Representation, p. 184.

career demonstrates Liverpool's connections and participation in national events - as also do the Parliamentary careers of gentry from south-west Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ He also demonstrates Liverpool's unimportant and insignificant role at this level. Ralph Sekerston may have made a valiant personal contribution, but he was politically isolated and without the support of other economic and social interests.

b) Educational Opportunities.

Schooling was available within the four parishes of south-west Lancashire and the school at Farnworth was perhaps the most desirable local school during the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ Yet the possibility of sending children some distance to school was an option open to all those who could afford the fees and maintenance. These schools could have been in adjacent parishes or more distant ones. A chantry school at Warrington had operated from 1520 and continued through the sixteenth century providing a possible education establishment for those on the eastern side of Prescot

(1) See p.p. 561-563.

(2) See Chapter IX.

parish.⁽¹⁾ More distant, for example, was Rivington Grammar School (north-east of Bolton) where in 1575 the schoolmaster produced a roll of his pupils with one hundred and fourteen names in all.⁽²⁾ Some certainly came from south-west Lancashire - William and Edward, the sons of Edward Norris Esquire of Speke, Edward Ogle Gentleman of Whiston, Richard Latham Gentleman of Allerton, Thomas Prescott Gentleman of Eccleston and possibly five or six more. The will of John Layton of Prescot Gentleman/yeoman made specific provisions for one of his sons to be educated at Westchester (Chester) and the other at Eton College.⁽³⁾ The Eton College register does record at least six pupils from this area during the second half of the sixteenth century:-⁽⁴⁾

- Robert Wollfall attended from 1558-1562. He came from Wollfall in Huyton parish and made a successful career in the Church.
- Michael Halsall attended from 1556-1560. He came from Prescot parish and went on to university and a teaching career in Kent.
- Thomas Stanley attended from 1560-1566. He came from Prescot parish.
- Thomas, John and Richard - the second, third and fourth sons of Thomas Lancaster of Rainhill - attended during the 1580 s. They

- (1) J. D. Skepper, "Endowed Schools in the West Derby Hundred", p.p. 25-28.
- (2) L.R.O., DDX 94/94.
- (3) Prescot Records at King's College, IV 25 (16).
- (4) The Eton College Register 1441-1698, ed. W. Steny, Eton 1943, p. 154, p. 204, p. 318, p. 378.

each continued to King's College, Cambridge and to careers in the Church - Thomas became a vicar in Sussex, Richard a rector in Essex and chaplain to Prince Henry in the early years of the seventeenth century, and John became the Bishop of Waterford.⁽¹⁾ The cost of three sons attending at Eton must have been considerable - even if the successful careers followed.

An alternative means of education for the sons of Catholic households was through schools abroad. A level of wealth was necessary, but by 1580 the Privy Council was requiring the Bishop of Chester to check suspected gentry families and to take bonds to ensure their sons returned within three months. The twenty Lancashire names included the Ashton and Bold families from Prescott parish.⁽²⁾

Measures cannot have been particularly successful because by 1585 Henry Latham from Mossborough Hall in Prescott parish had two sons being educated at Douai and another son who became a monk in Spain.⁽³⁾

Limited though the supply of books seems to have been,⁽⁴⁾ there was nonetheless a strong interest in higher education in south-west Lancashire. During the sixteenth century both universities at Cambridge and Oxford had undergone expansion and internal change. Greater accessibility had been created by the foundation of new colleges.⁽⁵⁾ The usual time for a B.A. degree was four years of study, with a further three years for an M.A. degree; many students, however, did not obtain degrees.⁽⁶⁾ By the later part of the sixteenth century

(1) Ibid., p. 204.

(2) Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, p.p. 99-100.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/185/85.

(4) See p.p. 488-492.

(5) M. H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition 1558-1642, Oxford 1959, passim.
K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England, London 1965, passim.

(6) C. R. Thompson, "Universities in Tudor England" in L. B. Wright and V. A. La Mar, Life and Letters in Tudor and Stuart England, Ithaca 1958, p. 344.

a university education, if not a degree, was a desirable attribute for a young gentleman, and an opportunity for those of less wealth.⁽¹⁾

Clear patterns of popularity to various university colleges emerge from various parts of the country. For Lancashire students Oxford was more popular always than more distant Cambridge and from south-west Lancashire the trend was overwhelming. Even allowing for the inadequacies of the admissions records and non-recognition of students during the period 1550-1603 twenty-one students from this area attended Cambridge and one hundred and one Oxford.⁽²⁾ At Cambridge the most popular colleges with Lancashire students were supposed to be St. John's, Christ's and Caius,⁽³⁾ but from the south-west of the county a preference for Trinity and King's was evident. At Oxford Brasenose College dominated the county choice and, in fact, took about three-quarters of all Lancashire students.⁽⁴⁾ Certainly this dominance was true of the south-west - ninety-three per cent of Oxford students attended Brasenose, for understandable reasons.

Brasenose had been founded in 1509 by an endowment from Bishop Smith of Lincoln and Sir Richard Sutton of Cheshire. Bishop Smith was a native of Farnworth chapelry and the original foundation of the college allowed preference to students from Prescott parish in Lancashire and Prestbury parish in Cheshire.⁽⁵⁾ In addition to this

- (1) H. Kearney, Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain 1500-1700, London 1970, passim.
- (2) See Appendix XL and Appendix XLI.
- (3) E. R. Johns, "Aspects of Education in West Derby Hundred", p.125.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) A. J. Butler, "Brasenose Quartercentenary Monographs, Volume I, An Account of the Benefactions Bestowed upon the College" in Oxford Historical Society, Vol. LII, 1909, p. 15.

arrangement the first principal of the college - Mathew Smith (probably a relation of Bishop Smith) had come also from Prescott parish and he encouraged the college link with his own parish.⁽¹⁾ Not only preference, but specific scholarships also cemented the connection between Brasenose and south-west Lancashire. Humphrey Ogle - native of Prescott parish, B.D. from Brasenose and a vicar in Oxfordshire left one hundred pounds in his 1543 will to found two scholarships at Brasenose for persons born in Prescott parish - or in default born in parishes next adjoining Prescott in the diocese of Chester. The students were to receive forty shillings a year.⁽²⁾ Six more scholarships were created in 1565 by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's. These scholarships also tenable at Brasenose were principally for pupils from Middleton, Whalley or Burnley schools - but in default pupils from any school in Lancashire.⁽³⁾

This preferential treatment does seem to have encouraged attendance at Brasenose College - from south-west Lancashire and, in particular, from the townships of Prescott parish.⁽⁴⁾ The scholarships that were available should have meant that the opportunity for attendance was there to quite a wide section of the community, and certainly some sons of husbandmen were able to go to Brasenose.⁽⁵⁾ However, the scholarships were not necessarily reserved for the most financially deserving cases - several sons of

(1) Butler, "Benefactions of Brasenose College", p. 15.

(2) Ibid., p. 14.

(3) Ibid., p. 17.

(4) See Appendix XLI.

gentry families also used them.⁽¹⁾ As David Cressy has suggested, demand for university places came increasingly from the gentry by the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁽²⁾ Even Catholic gentry from south-west Lancashire found it desirable for their sons to go to university and as religious conformity was perhaps rather superficial in some colleges⁽³⁾ the Catholics continued to attend, for example the sons of Edward Norris Esquire of Speke. With its Lancashire associations Brasenose College even produced a number of graduates who went abroad to complete their education and became seminary priests or Jesuits.⁽⁴⁾

With the aid of scholarships, or even without, it was possible for the sons of yeomen and husbandmen to attend university, but as the cost of attendance was never insignificant it was easier for the gentry to cope with the expense. Various estimates ranging from fifty down to twenty pounds per annum for a university education have been made,⁽⁵⁾ but John More Esquire of Bank Hall in Kirkdale township seems to have made his sons manage on less than this.⁽⁶⁾ Amongst the miscellaneous notes kept by John More are the allowances he sent to his son William at Brasenose College. All moneys were sent by

(1) See Appendix XLII.

(2) D. Cressy, "The Social Composition of Caius College, Cambridge 1580-1640" in Past and Present No. 47, 1970, p.p. 113-114.

(3) Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge, p. 188.

(4) R. W. Jeffrey, "Brasenose Quartercentenary Monographs, Vol. II: The History of the College 1547-1603" in Oxford Historical Society, Vol. LIII, 1909, p. 47.

(5) P. Clark, English Provincial Society, p. 205.
L. Stone, "The Education Revolution", p. 71.

(6) Liv. R. O., 920 MOO 937 a and b.

carrier to the principal for use by William More. During the academic year 1553-4 eighty-six shillings and eight pence was sent, whilst, probably more accurately, in the year 1554-5 two hundred and forty-two shillings were accounted for. In 1564 John More's fourth son, Robert, also entered Brasenose and again his father kept notes of both cash outlay and goods sent to his son:-

1564-5	£12- 0-0 in cash
1565-6	£ 9-10-4 in cash
1566-7	£10-13-0 in cash .

The variations may be explained by initial expenses incurred when Robert More first went to Brasenose, and the moneys represent only what John More sent to his son. In addition Robert More may have carried money himself and other expense was necessary for various maintenance items. After his son had departed John More despatched considerable goods to Oxford in October 1564 - a feather bed, a bolster, a pillow, a pillowcase, three new sheets, "markyd with his mother's marke", two blankets, two coverlets - one white and one coloured, two kerchiefs "of newe cloth with letters ffor your name", six books (one of which belonged to his brother William) and an old hair brush. In January 1565 Robert was sent a shirt and a pair of shoes whilst the carrier's brother was reimbursed for purchasing a pair of bedstocks for him. In the spring black cloth for hose was despatched and in the summer a cap, a doublet, a pair of hose and a pair of shoes. During the next two years more clothing and material was sent by John More, but not the equipment that had been necessary in 1564. For example, in 1566 a handkerchief, a shirt, three yards of cloth for two pairs of hose, one and a quarter yards of russet fustian and one and a half yards of broadcloth for a coat , three yards of black frieze for lining and twenty-four black silk buttons

found their way to Oxford. Provisions, transport and expenses of this type helped the gentry to achieve their dominance at the universities.

In addition to Oxford and Cambridge it was possible to supplement this education by attendance at William Harrison's "third university" - the Inns of Court.⁽¹⁾ The full course of study there allowed for entrance to the legal profession, but a more limited period of attendance might provide some useful legal knowledge as well as useful accomplishments acquired through private tutors at what had become virtual 'finishing schools' for young gentlemen.⁽²⁾ The Inns flourished financially, socially and culturally in this capacity during the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ The incomplete registers of admission and matriculation suggest that over eighty per cent of students at the Inns of Court came from gentry or aristocratic backgrounds.⁽⁴⁾ Certainly a period of desirable residence in London - if only for a few terms - must have appealed to the sons of gentry families, whilst actual legal qualification through the Inns could open up a tempting career for those able to afford the training. Increasingly law students had already some university experience, although this was by no means essential - in 1561 perhaps only thirteen per cent had a university background, but

- (1) W. Harrison, The Description of England, London 1587, ed. G. Edelen, Ithaca 1968, p. 65.
- (2) W. Prest, "The Legal Education of the Gentry at the Inns of Court 1560-1640" in Past and Present No. 38, 1967, p.p. 21-26. W. Prest, The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640, London 1972, passim.
- (3) K. Charlton, "The Professions in Sixteenth Century England" in University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1969, p. 32.
- (4) Prest, "The Legal Education", p. 20.

by 1601 this proportion had risen to forty-nine per cent.⁽¹⁾

Certainly it was perfectly possible for students from south-west Lancashire to attend the Inns of Court during this time. From identifiable names in the admission registers eight attended during the 1550 s, three during the 1560 s, nine during the 1570 s, nine during the 1580 s and four during the 1590 s.⁽²⁾ All students were from gentry or aristocratic families. Gray's Inn was easily the most popular with twenty-eight of the students, three attended the Inner Temple, two the Middle Temple and just one chose Lincoln's Inn. Some families, although the evidence is somewhat limited, had a habit of using the Inns of Court - George Ireland Esquire and his son John, Sir William Molyneux and his son John, William and Edward Norris - brothers, and Richard and Robert More - brothers. Obviously some of these students were using the Inns for their qualities as 'finishing schools' to provide a rudimentary legal education and cultural accomplishments. Probably the sons of the Earls of Derby, the Ireland and the Norris families attended for these purposes, as none of them ever practised law. On the other hand, other students did take the legal training seriously and stayed the course. Richard Molyneux, second son of Sir Richard Molyneux, entered the Middle Temple in 1556 and was still there as a law student used by his father to brief attorneys in 1564.⁽³⁾ Francis More Gentleman entered the Middle

(1) L. A. Knafla, "The Matriculation Revolution and Education at the Inns of Court in Renaissance England" in ed. A. J. Slavin, Tudor Men and Institutions, Baton Rouge 1972, p. 242.

(2) See Appendix XLIII.

(3) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 60 M 17 (54).

Temple in 1580 and pursued a successful career in the legal profession before becoming a Bencher in 1603. A less prominent, but nonetheless successful, career could be provided by some years' attendance at the Inns. Edward Sutton Gentleman was at Gray's Inn in 1551 and he was able to follow his father Ralph as one of the Earl of Derby's principal local officials. Thomas Molyneux Gentleman who attended Gray's Inn in 1578 (with William Norris) became chief administrator and steward for William's father, Edward Norris Esquire.

In only a few cases is the age of the students known when they entered the Inns of Court. The youngest were fifteen or sixteen, whilst many went when they were eighteen, nineteen or in their early twenties. Cost must in many cases have determined length of stay. A minimum of forty pounds a year has been estimated as necessary for accommodation and tuition in London,⁽¹⁾ and certainly when Robert More moved from Brasenose College to London in 1568 his father had to make more substantial contributions.⁽²⁾ From 1568-1571 Robert More was at Barnard's Inn, before entering Gray's Inn where he remained until at least 1574.

1568-9	£18-0-0 in cash
1571-2	£22-0-0 in cash
1572-3	£24-0-0 in cash
1573-4	£25-0-0 in cash

This outlay may well not present the full picture of necessary expenditure, yet it is already an increase on his expenses at Oxford.⁽³⁾

(1) Prest, The Inns of Court, p. 27.

(2) Liv. R. O., 920 M00 937 a and b.

(3) See p. 623.

Throughout this period, therefore, a suitable early education, the necessary contacts and sufficient finance were available amongst some members of south-west Lancashire society so that they could send their sons to the Inns of Court. In reality, the opportunity must have existed amongst quite a restricted number of families - almost certainly on financial grounds, and possibly because of family tradition. The Earls of Derby were the only aristocratic family in the area, the Ireland and the Norris were the leading gentry from Childwall parish, the Bold and the Eccleston the leading gentry from Prescott parish, and the Molyneux and More likewise from Walton parish. These few families provided the great majority of south-west Lancashire students at the Inns of Court. A very small number of the lesser gentry also managed attendance - the Lancaster and Sankey families, for instance, but the majority of the lesser gentry - the Breres, the Fazakerley, the Ogle, the Ditchfield, the Eltonhead families, for example - never sent a member to the Inns. This may reflect their economic circumstances and also those of the Liverpool merchants who similarly were unable to demonstrate any interest at all in the Inns of Court.

c) Cultural Connections.

Higher education in the sixteenth century required travel to receive it, but cultural interests and activities may have reached south-west Lancashire from elsewhere in England and, in consequence, had a greater impact. Collections of musical instruments and evidence of musical or dramatic entertainments in the area might indicate the strength of this cultural interest. It is claimed that ecclesiastical and secular music was popular in Elizabethan England, yet it is extremely doubtful that the music of Tallis, Byrd and Gibbons reached south-west Lancashire as it remained the preserve

of cathedrals and a few big churches.⁽¹⁾ Some secular music, however, may well have been available. It is possible that the Earls of Derby and some of the gentry employed musicians, perhaps often on an intermittent basis. The only regular performers were the two trumpeters the Earl of Derby maintained⁽²⁾ and the one trumpeter Sir Richard Molyneux could afford at Croxteth.⁽³⁾ No surviving probate records before 1600 indicate any evidence of a single musical instrument, let alone a collection. This picture may, however, be a little deceptive as in 1603 a Prescott gentleman did have an "instrument" valued at nine pounds and by 1614 a Prescott yeoman had a lute and virginals.⁽⁴⁾

Waits had been employed by towns principally as musicians since the fifteenth century. By the late sixteenth century in the larger towns they could comprise small groups of musicians - possibly seven men and about twelve apprentices in London.⁽⁵⁾ Liverpool did aspire to this civic dignity, although with some difficulty of provision and continuity. In 1557 Thomas Wawen had to provide four sureties to receive his silver badge of office as the town wait. He was required to play every morning and evening except Sundays.⁽⁶⁾ However, Thomas Wawen died in 1559, and was replaced by a William Poughtyn. When

- (1) W. L. Woodfill, Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I, New York 1953, p. 135.
- (2) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 25.
- (3) H.M.C., Salis. Mss., Vol. XI, p. 166.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of Richard Harrington of Prescott, 1603.
L.R.O., Will of Edward Stockley of Prescott, 1614.
- (5) Woodfill, Musicians in English Society, p. 33.
- (6) L.T.B. I, p.p. 78-79.

James Atherton succeeded to the office in 1562 his duties were further elaborated - he was to attend upon the mayor on market, fair and festival days.⁽¹⁾ These short tenures of office continued because in 1565 James Atherton had to be discharged for being "captain" to twelve youths who had caused considerable disturbance in the town.⁽²⁾ Not until 1567 was Nicholas Forber appointed.⁽³⁾ His tenure of the office is uncertain, but cannot have been for very long as the town's badge was delivered to Henry Halewood early in 1572.⁽⁴⁾

Previous difficulties in filling the post to the satisfaction of the town were again evident as Halewood's badge was taken from him for "lewdness" at the St. James' Fair of 1572. Shortly after the incident he repented his actions and the badge, presumably mistakenly, was returned to him. By November of that year he was in gaol for violent behaviour.⁽⁵⁾ At the recommendation of the Earl of Derby (whom he had possibly worked for) James Atherton was restored to the office of wait in 1574.⁽⁶⁾ The length of tenure is again uncertain, but the pattern of short appointments was to be repeated with Nicholas Forber returning to the post in 1577.⁽⁷⁾ Whether the job was unpopular, not worthwhile financially or attracted unsuitable characters is not entirely evident from surviving references, but Liverpool clearly had to call on the

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 110, p. 150, p. 197.

(2) Ibid., p. 252.

(3) Ibid., p. 350.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 24.

(5) Ibid., p.p. 24-25, p.p. 77-78.

(6) Ibid., p. 166.

(7) Ibid., p. 269.

services of local men who served short periods of office, yet remained thereafter in the vicinity. The only indication of the method of remuneration for the wait is the permission to collect in the town and from door to door.⁽¹⁾

In 1579 Henry Halewood reappeared as the wait, having evidently been in the town in the intervening years and also having been involved in damaging the windows of the common hall and an assault case.⁽²⁾ Possibly he was the only available candidate who was used until 1581, when an outsider - Henry Clennes - took over.⁽³⁾ For a short period of time this was satisfactory, but by 1584 he was reluctant to perform his duties and disappears from office.⁽⁴⁾ For two years the town reiterated the desirability of having a wait, but could not fill the post. One imagines with reluctance, in 1587 they had to agree to reappoint the ubiquitous Henry Halewood who served, possibly until his death in 1588-9.⁽⁵⁾ The vacancy was again difficult to fill to the satisfaction of the mayor and councillors, and for a decade the town rarely had an available wait. In 1591 a brief appointment of Edward Dawson was made, but eight months later the need for a new wait was recorded. Another brief appointment of Thomas Brookfield, a piper, was made 1594-6, but not until 1599 was continuity achieved with John Blakeden and then Hugh Harper in 1600.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Ibid., p. 269, p. 461.

(2) Ibid., p. 230, p. 262, p. 338.

(3) Ibid., p. 399.

(4) Ibid., p. 427, p. 461, p. 470, p. 478.

(5) Ibid., p. 493, p. 511, p. 518, p. 541, p. 558.

(6) Ibid., p. 561, p. 572, p. 585, p. 601, p.p. 681-682, p. 781, p. 788.

The one town wait was evidently regarded as desirable in Liverpool, despite the difficulties of finding suitable personnel. As with other itinerant musicians, it is difficult to know how fashionable was their music. Entertainment was available and in 1571 the town's council had to recommend that no licences be granted for use of the common hall for wedding dinners, plays or dancing until the floor had been repaired⁽¹⁾ - yet on the occasion of the Earl of Derby's celebrations for St. George's Day on April 1577 in the town, dances took place "the lyke wherof was never sene or knowen to be done in this said towne of Liverpole".⁽²⁾

Another cultural link may have been touring dramatic companies visiting the area. During the 1570 s the Elizabethan government had finally been able to suppress the religious stage and traditional mystery plays by increasing the authority of the Master of the Revels in London and by controlling itinerant acting companies in the provinces. As a result amateur guild productions tended to disappear and only professional companies remained.⁽³⁾ Town and guildhalls, private houses, inn courtyards and gardens all provided adequate conditions for these professional companies.⁽⁴⁾ The first building solely for plays, 'The Theatre', appeared in London in 1576, to be followed quickly by 'The Curtain'. After something of an

(1) Ibid., p. 10.

(2) Ibid., p. 246.

(3) G. Wickham, Early English Stages 1300-1600, Vol. II 1570-1660, Part I, London 1963, p.p. 75-79.

(4) Ibid., Part II, p. 3.

uncertain period with problems from Puritan opposition, outbreaks of plague and management disputes from 1587 with the completion of 'The Rose' in Southwark theatre building became established. 'The Swan' of 1595, 'The Globe' in 1599 and 'The Fortune' in 1600 all added to available theatre capacity in the capital. (1)

Drama had a very special patron in south-west Lancashire - the Stanley family. Their dramatic interests were obviously centred increasingly around London, but their direct involvement and connections must have had repercussions in Lancashire. In Henry VIII's reign the third Earl of Derby had entertained players, but it was his son Henry, Lord Strange, who became one of the major patrons of drama. (2) From 1563-1570 he supported a company that toured only in the provinces, and by 1574 as the fourth Earl he continued this patronage. During the 1570s this company appeared over a widespread part of England and by 1580 they had made their first Court performance. These royal events became regular annual occasions in the 1580s. (3) It has even been claimed that there may have been some

- (1) L. B. Wright, "Shakespeare's Theatre and Dramatic Tradition" in Wright and La Mar, Life and Letters, p.p. 116-120.
- (2) E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, Vol. II, Oxford 1923, p. 118.
- (3) Ibid.
A.P.C., Vol. XI, p. 398 and Vol. XII, p. 321.

connection during the 1580 s between William Shakespeare and the Stanley family in Lancashire.⁽¹⁾ At this same time it is possible that Ferdinando, Lord Strange, was also supporting his own company which toured in the provinces and in London. So successful was the company that six Court appearances were made during the winter 1591-2. In 1592 the company settled to a season at 'The Rose' theatre with Shakespeare in the company and Will Kempe as the chief clown. With the fourth Earl's death in 1593 the company name again reverted to Lord Derby's Men. Even the sudden death of Ferdinando did not break the family commitment and William, sixth Earl, continued patronage during the 1590 s of a mainly touring company (many of the principal actors settled in London with the Lord Chamberlain's men).⁽²⁾ The interest of William, sixth Earl, may have gone beyond patronage as in 1599 he was referred to in a letter as "busy penning comedies for the comon players".⁽³⁾

How much this undoubted interest by several generations of the Stanley family with their personal involvement with drama in the capital and at Court had in south-west Lancashire is not easy to assess. The Stanley household accounts record Lord Leicester's players twice in July 1587, the Queen's players in September 1588 and

(1) E. A. J. Honigman, Shakespeare: the 'lost years', Manchester 1985, p. 1, p.p. 35-39, p. 60, p. 129.

(2) Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, p.p. 119-127.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/271, fos. 34-35.

another company on two occasions in January 1589.⁽¹⁾ These companies, however, must have reached a little further afield as John Crosse Esquire of Liverpool spent money on Lord Oxford's players and My Lord of Derby's players in 1582.⁽²⁾ In fact, in 1601 the Lord Chamberlain's company contained the actor 'Willie Ecclestone' - a very Lancashire and even Prescott name.⁽³⁾ Local drama was also available - for instance in the scholars' play performed by the boys of Liverpool school.⁽⁴⁾ The particular association between the Stanley family and drama was clearly recognized locally and in Chester special entertainments arranged when the family visited the city. In July 1577 the painters and glaziers put on a special play at the High Cross for the fourth Earl and Ferdinando, Lord Strange,⁽⁵⁾ and again in 1588 the city organized a play called 'The Storey of King Ebrank with his 50 sonnes' for the Earl.⁽⁶⁾

However, perhaps the most curious impact in south-west Lancashire of this dramatic interest was the appearance at Prescott of a playhouse. The Earls of Derby, as lessees from King's College, Cambridge of Prescott Rectory, were able to appoint a deputy steward to supervise the manor court. Their policy in the 1590 s evidently

(1) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 32, p. 51, p. 56.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 440.

(3) A. Burgess, Shakespeare, London 1970, p. 193.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 178.

(5) R. H. Morris, Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns, Chester 1895, p. 80.

(6) Ibid., p. 88.

allowed for the operation of numerous alehouses in the town⁽¹⁾ and in the early seventeenth century the vicar Thomas Meade referred to "the playhouse builded upon the wast by Mr. Richard Harrington now Mr. Stuardes".⁽²⁾ (The Steward, Richard Harrington Gentleman was buried at Huyton in February 1603).⁽³⁾ From 1600 Mr. Harrington had been the lessee of Prescott Hall. By 1609 the manor rolls record that one Thomas Malbon had converted "ye play howse" into a house for habitation (he had probably married Richard Harrington's widow and thus came into control of the playhouse).⁽⁴⁾ During the first part of the seventeenth century several more court records refer to the former playhouse.

Although of not long existence, the Prescott playhouse is a small testimony to the interest in dramatic and other cultural activities in south-west Lancashire. Distance from the metropolis posed many problems for fashionable cultural interests, but with the influence of the Stanley family, and with other educational contacts in local schools, at the universities and at the Inns of Court, south-west Lancashire was not in practice quite as isolated as some contemporaries liked to believe.

(1) See p.p. 284-286.

(2) F. A. Bailey, "The Elizabethan Playhouse at Prescott, Lancashire" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. CIII, 1951, p.p. 69-81.

(3) Registers of Huyton.

(4) J. Knowles, Prescot Records 1602-1648, Knowsley 1980, p. 4.

By the second half of the sixteenth century schools were available to many sections of the population in south-west Lancashire, albeit mainly petty schools offering a fairly basic curriculum. The opportunity for boys to acquire a measure of literacy must have been quite reasonable.⁽¹⁾ The south-west Lancashire schools served quite scattered populations and pupils may have travelled a few miles to attend, but not more unless they chose and were able to pay for more elaborate education. Farnworth school in particular was able to send quite a significant number of pupils to university and, in some cases, from relatively humble backgrounds. The literate proportion of the population and those who had benefitted from an 'outside' education had access to 'national' culture. The Stanley family provided a valuable link with national dramatic interests and introduced players and plays into south-west Lancashire. A measure of cultural consciousness and contact was available in south-west Lancashire, attendance at the universities and Inns of Court was possible, and the parliamentary career of Ralph Sekerston demonstrates the personal connection with the capital city that was possible. However, links were not quite the same as incorporation and common identity. Some of south-west Lancashire could visit the world outside in the rest of England, but the rest of England rarely contacted south-west Lancashire.

(1) See Chapter IX.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS COMMUNAL INTERESTS.

- a) Bequests.
- b) The 'deserving' poor and vagrants.
- c) Indebtedness.

Communal interest might manifest itself in a number of ways. Administrative organization and duties could impose a measure of corporate action and participation, but genuine communal interest implies a voluntary dimension. A willingness to provide for those members of a community unable to maintain themselves infers a recognition of responsibility, of concern and even of self-interest. The distinction between provision for 'deserving' poor and not for those 'undeserving' highlights the extent of community identity and action. Bequests made in wills reinforce the concerns and interests of individual members of a community, whether these be for relief measures for the poor, for education provision or for local highway maintenance. Participation and involvement might, however, be expressed in other ways especially through commercial transactions, assistance and support. The extent to which members of the population were indebted to each other demonstrates the significance of economic interaction and dependency.

a) Bequests.

Great uncertainty surrounds the nature and extent of individual charitable giving; the greatest opportunity for giving existed during people's lifetimes, yet often only testamentary provisions remain identifiable. Lifetime donations, assistance and bequests are usually an unknown factor, as is the extent of family provision which might not have been regarded as a form of charity - more as an obligation.

The most likely recipients of charitable bequests were the poor. At times it might well be that the level of charitable giving could cope with those deserving cases by providing a very low level of

subsistence during at least normal harvest conditions.⁽¹⁾ Evidence survives from only the Earl of Derby's household where isolated references indicate that it was his usual practice to offer some relief to the poor. In 1561 despite - or because of - the exorbitant price of wheat in Lancashire (five shillings per windle) bread was provided daily for the poor.⁽²⁾ Presumably this custom continued as by 1587 the yeomen of the pantry and the butlers were reprimanded for selling broken beer and scraps which should have been distributed.⁽³⁾ Possibly the recipients were also abusing the system because at the same time new instructions ordered household officers to take a weekly view to ensure no vagrants were being harboured.⁽⁴⁾ It is hard to imagine that the south-west Lancashire gentry did not ape the Earl of Derby to some extent and provide at least a measure of relief through food to their locally deserving poor.

Most known charitable bequests, however, come to light only through the testamentary provisions of their donors. Much has been written of the increasing level of these bequests during the

(1) W. K. Jordan, The Chantries of Rural England, London 1961, p. 49.

P. Williams, The Tudor Regime, Oxford 1979, p. 214.

(2) Raines, Derby Household Books, p. 1.

(3) Ibid., p. 21.

(4) Ibid., p. 22.

Elizabethan period, and the fact that the bulk of donations went in some way to the poor.⁽¹⁾ Lancashire, however, was not an entirely typical county in that religious bequests were quite popular, education was often favoured and poor relief received less attention than in many parts of England.⁽²⁾ From the four south-west Lancashire parishes bequests to the poor certainly predominated - over fifty per cent of non-religious bequests, although not in Childwall parish where the highways and bridges warranted greatest attention.⁽³⁾ Overall about forty per cent of bequests were designated for this purpose, whilst educational provision received relatively little support.⁽⁴⁾ Altogether one in eight surviving wills from the four parishes record some form of non-religious bequest.⁽⁵⁾

- (1) W. K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660, London 1959, passim.
- (2) W. K. Jordan, The Social Institutions of Lancashire, 1480-1660, Manchester 1962, p.p. 5-7.
- (3) See Table XLVIII.
- (4) Ibid.
- (5) See Appendix IV.

TABLE XLVIII: CHARITABLE BEQUESTS FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE WILLS 1550-1603.

	<u>To the Poor.</u>	<u>To Highways and Bridges.</u>	<u>To Education.</u>
<u>Huyton Parish.</u>	Roger Mason Huyton 1557 320/- to poor	Ellen Wright Knowsley 1598 10/- highway	Margaret Heaton Knowsley 1592 20/- to Huyton school
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>	Thos. Wainwright Halebank 1591 3/4 to poor Edward Holland Halewood 1594 60/- to poor	James Ireland Hale 1587 10/- highway Catherine Tarleton Halewood 1588 6/8 to 2 bridges William Atherton Wavertree 1591 40/- highway Wm. Edmundson Little Woolton 1592 6/8 highway Edward Challinor Speke 1602 5/- highway	Edward Norris Esq. Speke 1606 £60 Much Woolton school- master
<u>Walton Parish.</u>	Peter Rimmer Liverpool 1560 20/- to poor Henry Bedford Liverpool 1568 30/- to poor Reginald Melling Liverpool 1572 6/8 to poor Robert Wolfall Liverpool 1578 10/- to poor Robert Ballard West Derby 1580 £20 to poor George Ackers Liverpool 1588 40/- to poor Thomas Bavand Liverpool 1588 20/- to poor Anne More Liverpool 1589 £8-3-4 to poor Wm. Barrow West Derby 1590 20/- to poor Thomas Woods Kirkby 1593 ¼ bushel wheat to poor William Fox Texteth 1595 10 metts of barley to poor John Pasmuch Kirkby 1596 £20 to poor	William Barrow West Derby 1590 4/- highway	
<u>Prescot Parish.</u>	Richard Halsall Whiston 1557 13/4 to poor John Ogle Whiston 1562 cloth to poor William Birchall Bold 1564 5 bushels barley and of oats to poor John Layton Prescot 1567 60 yds. cloth, £15 and 30 windles of barley to poor Edward Deane Rainhill 1572 1/32 of goods to poor Brian Hayward Parr 1578 20 windles wheat to poor Francis Bold Bold 1587 £5 to poor Henry Blundell Whiston 1587 £4 and 20 windles oats to poor Alexander Holland Sutton 1588 20/- to poor prisoners John Hearn Widnes 1591 20/- to poor John Banner Bold 1592 10/- to poor Richard Bold Cuerdley 1595 20/- to poor Richard Hawarden Whiston 1600 6/8 to poor John Street Bold 1602 £4 to poor Henry Lawton Farnworth 1603 20/- to poor	Richard Halsall Whiston 1557 10/- highway Wm. Ditchfield Ditton 1567 10/- highways Brian Hayward Parr 1578 ? bridges Ralph Banner Bold 1580 5/- highways Wm. Cowper Eccleston 1591 6/8 bridges John Derbyshire Bold 1591 6d highways Miles Slack Farnworth 1593 2/- highways John Edwardson Bold 1595 8d highways Roger Kenyon Ditton 1595 12d highways Robert Kenyon Ditton 1595 12d highways Henry Lawton Farnworth 1603 20/- highways	Baldwin Smith Widnes 1562 20/- to Farnworth school Elizabeth Bold Bold 1596 20/- to Farnworth school Richard Hawarden Whiston 1600 close to benefit Prescot schoolmaster

Bequests to the poor were mostly quite small and usually in the form of a once and for all cash or produce gift. There is no evidence of bequests involving elaborate provision such as almshouses, apprenticeships or stocks of materials - only Alexander Holland of Sutton specified poor prisoners as the recipients of his twenty shillings.⁽¹⁾ Some testators did arrange for their bequest to be invested to provide an annual income, as did John Pasmuch of Kirkby, and it is possible that this happened even where directions were not given.⁽²⁾ In 1595 Richard Bold of Cuerdley certainly mentioned twenty shillings that was part of Roger Mason's legacy of 1557.⁽³⁾ Possibly some parishes and even individual townships had accumulated stocks of invested money bringing in a predictable annual income. However, it seems unlikely that this income could have been considerable; the money may have brought a small, welcome addition on specified days in the year to the local deserving poor, but it cannot have provided resources to cope with significant numbers.

What is plain is that testators saw their gift benefitting their community - the township or, at most, the parish. For the poor and for highway maintenance the immediate township was the most likely

(1) L.R.O., Will of Alexander Holland, Sutton 1588.

(2) L.R.O., Will of John Pasmuch, Kirkby 1596.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Richard Bold, Cuerdley 1595.

specified area; only school provision was perceived at a parish level.⁽¹⁾ Brian Hayward wanted his bequest to provide repair work for the bridges in Parr township, whilst Catherine Tarleton wanted to assist the repair of Green Bridge and Cart Bridge over Ditton Brook - on the Halewood township side only.⁽²⁾ Also with roads, the designation of the section to be repaired could be very specific. Both Richard Halsall and William Edmundson referred to sections of highway beside their own property, whilst James Ireland specified "the highwaye betwixt George Irelands and Hale Chappell upon the marshe comonlie called Crosse Marshe".⁽³⁾ William Atherton went so far as to leave forty shillings to repair "the waye in Wavytre Lane to paye and discharge the pavers for the worke thereof and they to begine at the end of the sayd lane. And if the towne and neighbours will not lead stones and sande unto the same then this my gift to be of none effect".⁽⁴⁾ Highway maintenance and poor relief were of some concern to a minority of the population of south-west Lancashire, but mainly bequests were to be used within the local township where immediate benefits might be perceived.

b) The 'Deserving' Poor and the Vagrants.

A few modest bequests may have provided intermittent, slight assistance for the local poor, but relief for many categories of the

(1) See Table XLVIII.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Brian Hayward, Parr 1578.
L.R.O., Will of Catherine Tarleton, Halewood 1588.

(3) C.R.O., Will of Richard Halsall, Whiston 1557.
L.R.O., Will of William Edmundson, Little Woolton 1592.
L.R.O., Will of James Ireland, Hale 1587.

(4) L.R.O., Will of William Atherton, Wavertree 1591.

poor may well have been a long-term necessity. All communities must have contained some individuals who through various circumstances were unable to maintain themselves; the imponderable question is who was included in any definition of 'the poor'? Contemporary writers had much to say on the subject and legislation sought to find means to alleviate the problems which caused poverty, but definitions elude precision.⁽¹⁾ Probate inventories valued at less than forty pounds in total were classified as Infra material and proved more cheaply through the courts of rural deans than through the diocesan machinery.⁽²⁾ According to these standards the majority of people in south-west Lancashire must have been poor.⁽³⁾

TABLE II: INFRA PROBATE INVENTORIES
FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE 1550-1600.

	<u>Total number of</u> <u>Probate Inventories</u>	<u>Total number of</u> <u>Infra Inventories</u>	<u>Percentage of</u> <u>Infra Inventories</u>
Huyton Parish	29	20	69%
Childwall Parish	60	37	62%
Walton Parish	66	37	56%
Prescot Parish	174	92	53%
<u>Total</u>	329	186	57%

Indeed, the detail from some of these probate inventories supports the sense of poverty.⁽⁴⁾ Many people who made wills had incredibly few

(1) Harrison, Description of England, p.p. 180-186.
Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, passim.

(2) See p.p. 23-24.

(3) See Table II.

(4) See Chapter VIII.

assets either amongst their household equipment, or amongst their agricultural and craft equipment, or amongst their livestock; certainly they possessed no luxuries. One supposes, however, that very few from amongst the most impoverished in society felt the need to make a will at all, and in consequence their numbers are substantially under-represented.

Obviously he was pleading his case, yet the Vicar of Prescot must have been in some position to judge the situation around him and he was not always too fond of his parishioners,⁽¹⁾ so when he referred to "this poore towne of Prescote" in 1586 perhaps he was speaking with some validity. He went on in his letter to the Provost of King's College, Cambridge to claim that out of one hundred and five families in the town "ther be scarce xx that be able to helpe themselves withoute begginge" and in consequence manorial rights of pasture and fuel were essential.⁽²⁾

Poverty, however, was and is always relative. In general terms the standard of housing, furnishing, clothing, food and drink in the four parishes may indeed have been 'poor' for many compared with parts of the Midlands and southern England, but was poverty a problem during the second half of the sixteenth century? 'The Poor' can also be regarded more precisely as those unable to support themselves, and even those unwilling to do so. By these standards it is likely that south-west Lancashire did not have the urgent and insurmountable problems that faced some Elizabethan towns.⁽³⁾ Certainly at this time the situation was not easy and for many probably getting more

(1) See p.p. 508-511.

(2) Pres. Recs., p.p. 299-300.

(3) Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p.p. 58-68.

difficult; between 1570-1600 prices at Chester rose by more than seventy per cent whilst in the same period assessed wage rates rose by only forty per cent.⁽¹⁾ Vagrancy was an increasing element of the larger problem of poverty and with the increasing numbers of troops passing through Liverpool to Ireland this also was scarcely a problem which escaped the four parishes.⁽²⁾

The 'deserving' poor were not a discovery of sixteenth century legislation;⁽³⁾ they had always existed and through the century continued to be regarded as such. For William Harrison they were the "poor by impotency, as the fatherless child, the aged, blind, and lame, and the diseased person that is judged to be incurable" and the "poor by casualty, as the wounded soldier, the decayed householder, and the sick person" - those who through no fault of their own were unable to maintain themselves.⁽⁴⁾ Family support may well have hidden much of this problem such as the elderly at least partially supported and maintained by children, nieces and nephews brought up by aunts and uncles; but it could not be assumed that kin were living always nearby. All Tudor poor laws recognized only parents and grandparents as being obliged to provide support, not the wider family.⁽⁵⁾ Random references do make it plain that the local community usually undertook some responsibility for these

- (1) D. M. Woodward, "The Assessment of Wages by Justices of the Peace 1563-1813" in Local Historian, Vol. 8, No. 8, 1969, p.p. 293-299.
- (2) See Chapter VII.
- (3) Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p.p. 39-57.
- (4) Harrison, The Description of England, p. 180.
- (5) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p.p. 45-47.

cases of deserving poor where immediate familial assistance was not available. Edward Norris Esquire of Speke granted a lease in 1584 to his servant George Turner for twelve years on a messuage in Garston - formerly the holding of Thomas Mercer deceased - providing George Turner fed and clothed Thomas Mercer's two girls for those twelve years.⁽¹⁾ In 1554 for some undisclosed reason special arrangements were made at Prescot for the children of William Maykyn deceased to occupy rent free one bay at the west end of their mother's house which was to be repaired at the town's expense.⁽²⁾ In Liverpool it was agreed to provide Henry Wirrall, "a verie poore man", with a cottage, yard and garden in More Street at an exceptionally low rent, and that in 1576 Katherine Dial could bake and brew at the reduced licence fee of only twelve pence per annum during her widowhood in order to maintain herself and her poor family.⁽³⁾ Certainly there were elements of self-interest and the desire to avoid future expenditure in these provisions, but nonetheless there probably was a wish to assist those perceived to be 'deserving' poor.

A category of potentially 'deserving' poor which was seen as avoidable was that of illegitimate children. Registration throughout the four parishes may well have become stricter and more

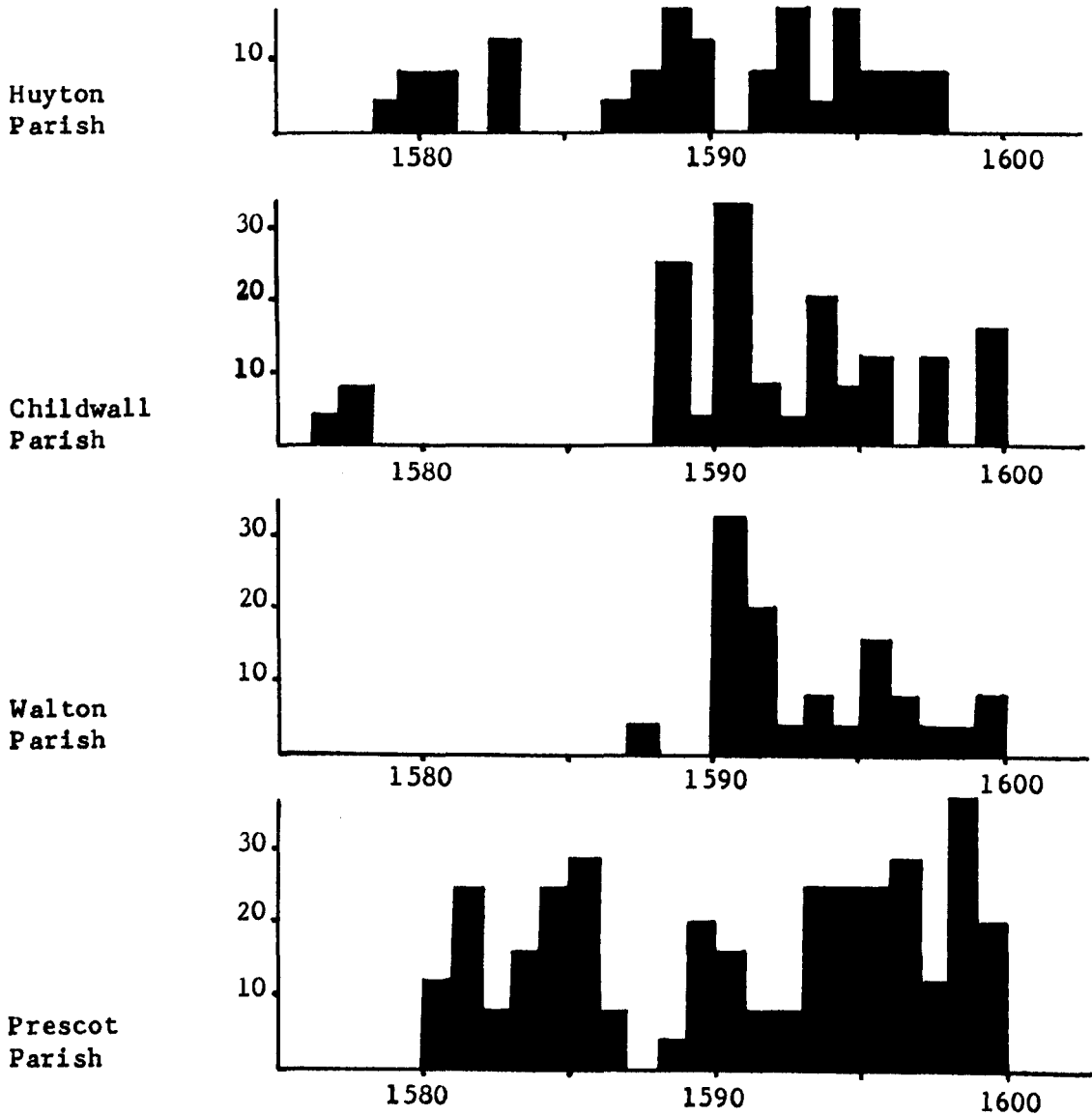
(1) B.L., Add. Charters 52590.

(2) Pres. Recs., p. 128.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 405 and L.T.B. II, p. 237.

precise during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, but Table L does provide an indication of the level and trends of illegitimacy which found their way into parochial registration.⁽¹⁾

**TABLE L: ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS
RECORDED IN PARISH REGISTERS 1575-1600.**



(1) Registers of Huyton, Childwall, Hale, Walton, Prescot and Farnworth.

See ed. P. Laslett, K. Oostelveen and R. M. Smith, Bastardy and its Comparative History, London 1980, passim.

Many wills from the area testify to a recognition of illegitimate children and an attempt by at least one parent to make some provision for them. Nine unmarried men (out of a total of eighty-six in the probate records) recognized their offspring. Christopher Ellowe, a labourer from Childwall, made a few small bequests and otherwise left such possessions as he had to his illegitimate son.⁽¹⁾ John Gifford Gentleman of Liverpool was far removed in financial terms but also left the bulk of his possessions to his illegitimate child - a daughter.⁽²⁾ Thomas Bolton of Liverpool, on the other hand, shared his assets amongst his three legitimate daughters, the legitimate son and two illegitimate sons.⁽³⁾ These examples are typical of most in that quite frequently illegitimate children shared an inheritance with other children, or if they were an only child they could well be the sole beneficiary. Five single women (from a total of sixty-two in probate records) also made similar provision for their illegitimate children, for example Elizabeth Southern of Whiston and Cicely Naylor of Widnes.⁽⁴⁾ Margery Richardson of Great Sankey in fact left half of her possessions to her illegitimate son and the other half to her brother - perhaps in the hope that he would look after the boy.⁽⁵⁾ Fifteen married men (out of a total of two hundred and forty-three in probate records) also made arrangements for illegitimate children in addition to provision for their wives and families - usually by providing an

(1) L.R.O., Will of Christopher Ellowe, Childwall 1594.

(2) L.R.O., Will of John Gifford, Liverpool 1598.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Bolton, Liverpool 1597.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Elizabeth Southern, Whiston 1582 and Will of Cicely Naylor, Widnes 1594.

(5) L.R.O., Will of Margery Richardson, Great Sankey 1596.

adequate child's 'share'.⁽¹⁾

One presumes that those illegitimate children remembered in wills had probably been provided for anyway in the sense of being maintained. Richard Tyrer, a labourer from Speke, fathered an illegitimate son who was baptised in December 1602; two months later he married the mother, Anne Davy.⁽²⁾ Ellen Lake of Wavertree at the age of nineteen gave birth to an illegitimate daughter - the father named as Richard Wodley. Three years later Ellen was again the mother of an illegitimate daughter - the father this time was Edward Hawksey. Ten months after the baptism of the child Ellen Lake married Edward Hawksey - in 1594.⁽³⁾ In both of these cases the illegitimate children were probably reared within the families of at least one parent and there is no reason to suggest that they ever became a maintenance problem. Indeed the will of Griffith ap Edward, a Halewood husbandman, made plain that his widow Anne was not the mother of his three illegitimate children, yet they shared two-thirds of his assets and the widow received her one-third.⁽⁴⁾ At the highest end of the social scale even Henry, 4th Earl of Derby, made careful provision for the future of his two illegitimate children. In 1581 he arranged for the manors of Kirkby and Childwall to be

(1) See, for example, L.R.O., Will of Thomas Kenyon, Eccleston 1593.

(2) Childwall Registers.

(3) Ibid.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Griffith ap Edward, Halewood 1581.

feoffed to the use of himself for life, then to Joan, daughter of Robert Halsall of Knowsley - the mother of his son, Thomas, until the lad reached the age of twenty-four.⁽¹⁾ In 1582 a similar arrangement was made with lands in Ormskirk ultimately to the use of Henry, another illegitimate son.⁽²⁾

The Earl of Derby may have been exceptional in the wealth at his disposal, but careful provision seems to have been made for many illegitimate children by their parents. Clearly there were other children not so well maintained and decisions may have been made by the justices at Quarter Sessions. Jane Southworth of Wrightington in Lancashire was ordered in 1601 to care for her illegitimate daughter for two years and then the father, Richard Garstang of Fazakerley, was to maintain her until she reached the age of twelve.⁽³⁾ Both parents were to be whipped at Ormskirk. Three months later Richard Garstang had still not provided the initial maintenance of six shillings and a cow so the punishment against the mother was respited.⁽⁴⁾ These provisions and punishments were, in fact, fairly standard where both parents were available.⁽⁵⁾ However, clearly there was always the danger of non-performance of obligations by one or other parent as is demonstrated by the case of Margaret Haworth's illegitimate son. The father was known and

(1) L.R.O., DDM 35/31.

(2) L.R.O., DDK 6/16a.

(3) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 94.

(4) Ibid., p. 107.

(5) Ibid., p. 118 and p. 150.

came from Halsall parish, but as he could not be contacted Prescot parish was ordered to contribute twenty shillings per annum to the maintenance of the mother.⁽¹⁾ Illegitimacy, therefore, appears to have represented the dubious fringe of the deserving, but hopefully avoidable, poor.

In addition to specific categories of 'deserving' poor who were always present, there was during the second half of the sixteenth century the very real possibility that natural disasters of famine and disease could suddenly create serious problems of poverty. High mortality where the death rate might double or treble could be very disruptive to local life by removing wage earners and leaving widows and young children without immediate financial support, by disrupting local trade and by interfering with agricultural practices. However serious and traumatic at the time, these disturbances were often of fairly short-term duration.⁽²⁾ Probably the main epidemic diseases were influenza, typhus and plague, although bubonic plague was more an urban than a rural killer.⁽³⁾

South-west Lancashire was certainly not immune to the ravages of various diseases, but as the only real concentration of population was in Liverpool much of the area escaped epidemic disasters in many years. It is clear that from the 1540 s Liverpool had considered measures to adopt at times of epidemics - principally by housing all victims and suspected victims in cabins on the heath until the mayor

(1) Ibid., p. 94.

(2) P. Slack, "Mortality crises and epidemic disease in England 1485-1610" in C. Webster, Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century, Cambridge 1979, p. 9.

(3) A. B. Appleby, "Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland 1580-1640" in Ec. H. R., Vol. 26, 1973, p.p. 403-406.

considered it safe to allow them to return.⁽¹⁾ Specific reference to disease appeared in Liverpool in 1558 when "great sicknesse" in all parts of Lancashire was reported. The outbreak began on 10th August when Roger Walker (a former mayor) and a child of Nicholas Braye's were buried. It was claimed by the recorder of the Town Books that the plague had been carried from Manchester by an Irishman trading in linen cloth. From Braye's house the plague "encresyd daylye and daylye to a gret numbre that died"; the number recorded between 10th August and Martinmas (11th November) was about two hundred and fifty people.⁽²⁾ A disaster on this scale must have had at least a serious short-term impact on the Liverpool economy - the fair was not held and no markets took place until after Christmas.⁽³⁾ Nervousness was understandably still apparent in January 1559 when Ellen Denton was forced to "avoyde towne" because she was believed to have the disease.⁽⁴⁾ However, not until April 1578 was plague or epidemic sickness in the vicinity mentioned again,⁽⁵⁾ and thereafter no further mention occurs until after the end of the century - in 1610 - when special arrangements and the cabins on the heath were again necessary.⁽⁶⁾

(1) L.T.B. I, p.p. 16-17.

(2) L.T.B. I, p.p. 104-105.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 105.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 108.

(5) L.T.B. II, p. 276.

(6) Liv. R. O., 920 M00/289.

The surviving parish registers of south-west Lancashire are by no means ideal for correlating with the reports in the Town Books or for producing their own statistics.⁽¹⁾ 1558 does not appear to have been a serious mortality year in Farnworth Chapelry where the registers were quite well kept, suggesting that the plague was indeed confined to the urban area. 1588, however, throughout the entire region was a year of exceptional mortality. After only a short respite, the early years of the 1590s were again years of difficulty - 1591-2 in most areas, and continuously to 1595 in many areas.⁽²⁾

The outbreaks of unusually high mortality may be connected with disease or they may be more closely connected with food scarcity following adverse harvests.⁽³⁾ Nationally there were bad harvests in 1586 and 1594-7 which have been described as the "worst sequence in the century".⁽⁴⁾ In Cumberland and Westmorland there was famine in 1587-8 and again in 1597.⁽⁵⁾ In a rural area epidemic disease was not likely, so widespread mortality was probably attributable to famine conditions.⁽⁶⁾ In periods of scarcity the price of grain was

(1) See Chapter I.

(2) See Table LI.

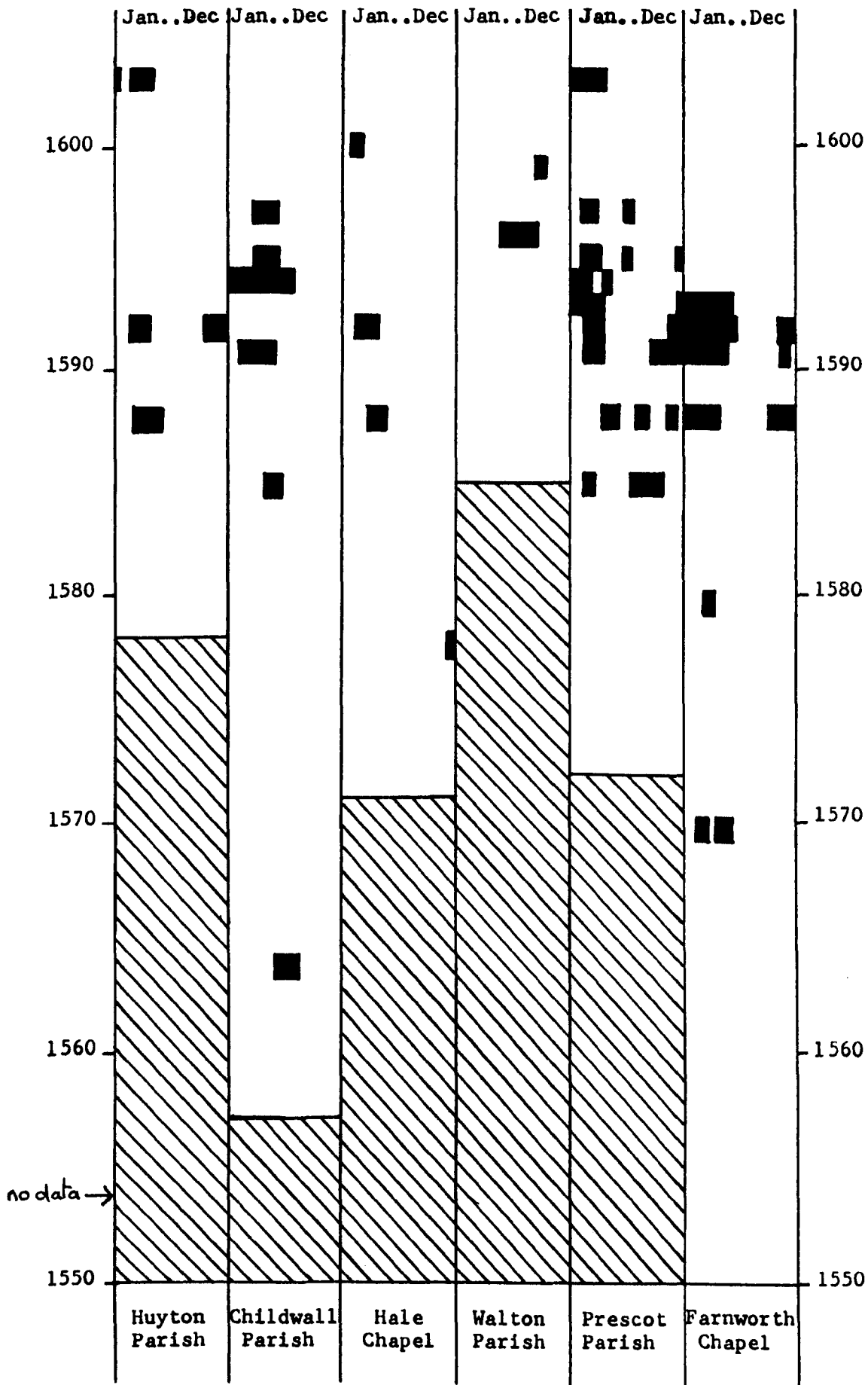
(3) Slack, "Mortality crises", p. 17.

(4) Ibid., p. 16.
W. G. Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History 1480-1619" in The Agricultural History Review, Vol. XII, 1964, p. 32.

(5) A. B. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England, Liverpool 1978, p. 1.

(6) See Table LI.

TABLE LI: MONTHS AND YEARS OF HIGH MORTALITY IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.



of crucial importance; wheat was usually the key crop, although in the North-West oats and barley and even the fodder crops of peas and beans were of significance.⁽¹⁾ For W. G. Hoskins a harvest can be considered "deficient" if the price of wheat rose between ten and twenty-five per cent above a thirty-one years' moving average, "bad" if the price rose between twenty-five and fifty per cent above this average, and "dearth" when a price of more than fifty per cent above this was reached.⁽²⁾

Evidence is limited, but nonetheless it is certain that by the 1590 s food prices were rising rapidly in the North-West.⁽³⁾ In isolated years previously prices had also risen, for instance in 1578 when in April corn was at "an excessive price"⁽⁴⁾ and in 1580 when little wheat was to be had in all of Lancashire and Cheshire

- (1) Ibid., p.p. 6-7.
R. B. Outhwaite, "Dearth, the English Crown and the 'Crisis of the 1590 s'" in P. Clark, The European Crisis of the 1590's, London 1985, p.p. 28-34.
- (2) Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations", p. 29.
- (3) See Table LII.
- (4) L.T.B. II, p. 275.

TABLE LII: FOOD PRICES RECORDED IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	1558	1562	1566	1570	1574	1578	1582	1586	1590	1594	1598	1602				
Beans							10/6 b.	3/4 w.			23/2 b.	30/- b.				
Peas							8/- b.									
Wheat	8/4 b.	20/- b.			3/8 w.	3/4 w.	4/- w.	10/- b.	5/- w.	20/- b.	28/- b.	4/- w.	5/- w.	44/- b.	38/- b.	6/- w.
Rye		4/- w.		2/- w.			13/4 b.	19/- b.	13/4 b.		35/- b.	33/4 b.				
Barley	6/8 b.	1/6 w.		1/8 w.	2/4 w.	5/- b.	10/- b.	3/3 w.	16/- b.	2/4 w.	10/- b.	3/- b.	31/- b.	26/8 b.	16/- b.	
Oats	4½ ^d w.	1/6 w.		7 ^d w.	1/- w.	2/8 b.	5/4 b.	1/1 w.		1/1 w.	1/- w.	2/6 b.	26/8 b.	10/- b.		
Malt							5/- b.	4/- b.			23/- b.	28/- b.				
Cheese							2 ^d lb.					3 ^d lb.				
Butter							3 ^d lb.					4 ^d lb.				

b = bushell. w = windle. lb. = pound.

Sources:-

P.R.O., SP 12/262/138 (1597).
SP 63/ 79/ 21 (1580).
SP 63/194/ 36 (1596).

Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 2/631 (1580).
920 MOO 834 (1594).

L.T.B. I, p. 82 (1558).
p.116 (1559).
p.223 (1563).

L.R.O., Inventories of:-

Richard Halsall, Whiston 1557.
John Ogle, Whiston 1562.
Baldwin Smith, Widnes 1563.
Edward Deane, Rainhill 1572.
Henry Watmough, Eccleston 1572.
Reginald Melling, Liverpool 1573.
Thomas Orme, Roby 1576.
Edward Bower, Widnes 1578.
Edward Cowper, Widnes 1579.
Robert Lawrence, Widnes 1579.
Percival Crosse, Huyton 1582.
Richard Wainwright, Halewood 1582.

Hamlet Plumpton, Cuerdley 1583.
Henry Holland, Tarbock 1587.
Henry Blundell, Whiston 1588.
John Part, Hale 1590.
Henry Battersby, Bold 1591.
John Harrison, Widnes 1591.
Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591.
John Williamson, Parr 1593.
Thomas Barrow, Bold 1595.
Robert Pasmuch, Liverpool 1597.
Henry Linaker, Widnes 1599.
Hugh Hey, Speke 1602.

for supplies to Ireland.⁽¹⁾ However, the 1590 s were undoubtedly the worst consecutive years and it is possible to speculate that dearth may have appeared earlier in this area than the rest of England because of the high mortality from 1591 onwards. Alternatively, if the high mortality was disease caused this may well have helped to prolong famine conditions caused by poor harvests. By March 1596 Robert More, mayor Liverpool, was complaining to the mayor of Chester that "the dearth considered" Liverpool could not withstand the multitudes of soldiers in the vicinity.⁽²⁾ He also commented that many householders were already dead. By October 1596 it was reported to Lord Burghley from Chester that no wheat or rye was to be had for any money,⁽³⁾ and by 1600 there was still a great scarcity of wheat in these parts.⁽⁴⁾

From 1588, therefore, through to the end of the sixteenth century natural disasters of one sort or another were responsible for the continuing serious mortality levels in much of the area of south-west Lancashire. The consequences for the poor were enormous. W. G. Hoskins estimated that about one-third of the population may have been below the poverty line and one-third just above this level.⁽⁵⁾ Whatever the exact accuracy of these proportions, a very substantial percentage of the population clearly suffered in the four parishes. Not surprisingly organized efforts to cope with the poor

(1) P.R.O., SP 63/76/70.

(2) P.R.O., SP 63/187/51.

(3) P.R.O., SP 63/194/36.

(4) H.M.C., Calendar of Salisbury Mss., Vol. X/12.

(5) Hoskins, "Harvest Fluctuations", p. 29.

do seem to have been taken more seriously.⁽¹⁾

As well as natural misfortunes accentuating the problems facing the poor, man-made decisions and policies could also add to the situation particularly by fostering conditions which bred unemployment. In south-west Lancashire land tenure and inheritance patterns do not seem to have created great unrest nor insecurity, although an increasing population towards the end of the sixteenth century may have started to put pressure on agricultural employment.⁽²⁾ Likewise the much maligned enclosure practices of the century do not seem to have had a devastating impact on farming practice and employment in the four parishes.⁽³⁾ In consequence, serious unemployment was probably not a major problem in this area. Liverpool Town Books make reference to the appointment of two poor or idle men as shepherd and swineherd - but not until 1571 and thereafter.⁽⁴⁾

Liverpool in particular and the parishes around it did, however, have to contend with one giant man-made problem during the second half of the sixteenth century - the conveyance of English troops to and from Ireland. The logistics of transport and victualling have been mentioned elsewhere,⁽⁵⁾ but the actual passage of considerable

(1) See p. 670.

(2) See A. J. Bettey, " 'According to ancient custom time out of mind' A problem of manorial custom" in The Local Historian, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1980, p.p. 93-94, and M. Paget, "A study of manorial custom before 1625" in The Local Historian, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1982, p.p. 166-173.

(3) See Chapter IV.

(4) L.T.B. II, p. 9, p. 60, p. 95.

(5) See Chapter VII.

numbers of men, many of whom may have been unwilling participants, brought severe problems of law and order and of relief. As early as November-December 1565 Lord Sidney's company caused serious disturbance which led eventually to actual bloodshed before they finally departed.⁽¹⁾ By 1572 the town was again "verie evill vexed and troubled" before the soldiers with the Earl of Essex expedition departed, and this unrest continued into the next year, when the only way to punish a soldier in the stocks was to have him watched by twelve billmen from the town.⁽²⁾ This incident was by no means the end of the matter; as the recorder reported, fortunately on a Sunday when the townsfolk were at home with their best weapons, they found it necessary to form up on the heath "egar as lions" in "batell arey".⁽³⁾ The outcome of this skirmish is unrecorded, but clearly action such as this seriously exaggerated lawlessness and disorder in Liverpool.

The other aspect of this troop transport was, of course, the return journey. The town in 1573 was burdened with many poor soldiers - some sick and wounded and some who died and had to be buried at the town's expense.⁽⁴⁾ After the misfortunes at Carrickfergus in 1574 Liverpool's schoolhouse was pressed into use as a temporary hospital for sick soldiers.⁽⁵⁾ Serious though these

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 289.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 44 and p. 123.

(3) Ibid., p. 124.

(4) Ibid., p. 147.

(5) Ibid., p. 179.

problems may have been for a small town such as Liverpool, they were relatively short-lived until the 1590 s when activity in Ireland was at a much greater and more persistent level.⁽¹⁾ At this time when the town was facing other economic problems the sick and wounded and dismissed soldiers returned.⁽²⁾

Some attempt had been made at national provision for the relief of distressed seamen and soldiers since 1593 with parishes collecting two pence per week.⁽³⁾ Whether south-west Lancashire benefitted in any way from the collections is not clear, but certainly the problem must have been closely appreciated. From 1594 at least the money was collected in Prescott parish.⁽⁴⁾ In 1595 the Lancashire Justices of the Peace were urged to collect six pence per week from each parish because of their substantial size,⁽⁵⁾ but although collections continued in Prescott the rate remained at two pence.⁽⁶⁾ Not until April 1601 did the Lancashire Justices establish variable weekly rates with Huyton and Childwall contributing two pence each, Walton four pence and Prescott six pence.⁽⁷⁾ In 1601 and 1602 Prescott did forward this amount to the High Constable.⁽⁸⁾

(1) See p.p. 383-385.

(2) L.T.B. II, p. 703.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. XXIV/180.

(4) Pres. Accs., p. 122.

(5) A.P.C., Vol. XXV/9.

(6) Pres. Accs., p. 126, p. 128.
Child. Accs., p. 43, p. 56.

(7) Quintrell, Proceedings of Lancashire J.P. s, p. 70.

(8) Pres. Accs., p. 137, p. 140.

In the four parishes of south-west Lancashire the immediate difficulties of coping with these returning soldiers may have at times deflected some interest from the ever present problem associated with poverty - that of vagrancy. Contemporary writers and attitudes stressed the great dangers and threats posed by excessive, and even modest, vagrancy, although one imagines the problem must have been most acutely felt in areas of high unemployment and areas potentially attractive to travellers.⁽¹⁾ In the four parishes evidence of the more disreputable vagabonds' activities is not very evident, possibly because, at least early in Elizabeth's reign, there were not a great many. However, interest does seem to have been acute throughout the second half of the century in making sure that vagrants moved on and were not given any opportunity to lodge and then settle. In 1566 and 1567 at Little Woolton men were presented at the manor court for receiving rogues and vagabonds contrary to orders of the court,⁽²⁾ whilst in 1568 at Much Woolton a similar presentment was made.⁽³⁾ At Prescott activity was perhaps a little greater, and during the 1550 s one or two individuals were fined each year for receiving vagabonds and beggars - the fines ranging from two pence to two shillings.⁽⁴⁾ By the 1570 s

(1) See F. Aydelotte, Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds, Oxford 1913, passim.

A. L. Beier, "Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England" in Past and Present, No. 64, 1974, p.p. 3-27.

(2) B.L., Add. Mss. 36924, fos. 197-198.

(3) Liv. R. O., 920 SAL 10.

(4) Pres. Recs., p. 112, p. 116, p. 119 and p. 124.

and 1580 s the level of presentment had increased as had the fine to about three shillings and four pence.⁽¹⁾ At the same time the Churchwardens' Accounts make it clear that Prescott parish from 1572 onwards shared in the attempts to apprehend vagrants and convey them to the Justices at Wigan or Ormskirk. Enthusiasm, however, may have been tempered by the necessity to contribute to their maintenance. In 1574 six rogues were dealt with by the churchwardens - not many in a parish of Prescott's size.⁽²⁾

Liverpool as the only sizeable town in the area and as a port could perhaps have been expected to attract such vagrants as were to be found in south-west Lancashire. Clearly it is hard to distinguish offences which may well have been associated with vagabonds from those committed by townspeople. The petty thief of 1564 may have been a vagrant like the man from Chester who confessed to picking purses in 1565; his punishment must have been an example in a small town - he was nailed by the ear to a post, later stripped and beaten with rods by many boys as he left the town.⁽³⁾ In the same year a pair of stocks was provided for unruly persons.⁽⁴⁾ Contemporary attitudes were plain in 1572 when "noe players of interludes ... jugglers and gesters, or wandring people brynggyng ... any monstrous or straunge beastes, or other visions voyde or vayne" were to be allowed into the town without a licence from the

(1) Ibid., p. 201, p. 215, p. 244.

(2) Pres. Accs., p. 71, p. 73, p. 74, p. 77, p. 91.

(3) L.T.B. I, p. 241 and p. 273.

(4) Ibid., p. 271.

mayor.⁽¹⁾ Perhaps in response to this in 1573 two wanderers and turners with a hobby horse were put in the stocks at the High Cross.⁽²⁾

Not until 1573 was the problem of begging specifically mentioned - a woman and five children were ordered not to beg at the chapel at service time.⁽³⁾ A comment two years later would suggest that this particular problem was on the increase as action was to be taken "to advoyde the evill example of the griedie beggers and petie pikers".⁽⁴⁾ Unrest must have continued, perhaps fostered by the influx of soldiers for Ireland, as by 1578 the ducking stool had to be repaired and in 1579 the need was felt for a common gaol where previously the common hall had sufficed.⁽⁵⁾ By 1580 the recorder referred to the "multitude of idle and loytringe persons" and a year later it was claimed that many loiterers came from the Isle of Man, Ireland and the North - in addition to Welsh Alice and other vagrants who were to be expelled from the town.⁽⁶⁾

This seems to have been the beginning of more concerted activity during the 1580 s and 1590 s to get vagrants to leave town; by 1584 a three years' residence period was being specified to allow settlement.⁽⁷⁾ At the same time renewed efforts were directed

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 16.

(2) Ibid., p. 96.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., p. 210.

(5) Ibid., p. 308 and p. 340. See p.p. 384-385.

(6) Ibid., p. 353 and p. 423.

(7) Ibid., p. 460, p. 476, p. 490 and p. 522.

against begging.⁽¹⁾ The culmination of the activity was the decision in 1596 to draw up a catalogue of all lodgers in Liverpool and those without the residence qualification were to be expelled or maintained at the costs of those with whom they lodged.⁽²⁾ By 1598 Liverpool authorities were certainly in the right frame of mind to implement the provisions of the new poor law.⁽³⁾

These attempts to undertake firmer action against vagrants, particularly in Liverpool, highlighted one problem closely associated with vagrancy - that of illegal lodgings being provided, often by women. From as early as 1560 at least Liverpool had imposed a six shillings and eight pence fine on these people taking unlawful lodgers and had intermittently presented townsfolk for the offence.⁽⁴⁾ From the early 1580 s attempts to suppress illegal lodging intensified and, for example, William Golbrand was accused of keeping "diverse and manie tenantes on the back sydes of his tenementes".⁽⁵⁾ Additional income, however small, from sub-letting must have always been attractive to many of the population and efforts to reduce lodgers clearly met with passive resistance. In Prescott town a similar pattern emerges. As early as 1563 the court had ruled that no undertenants were to be permitted and all existing ones unable "to

(1) Ibid., p. 622 and p. 642.

(2) Ibid., p. 716.

(3) See p. 670.

An Act for the Relief of the Poor, 39 and 40 Eliz. Cap. III in ed. G. W. Prothero, Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents, Oxford 1894, p.p. 96-100.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 143, p. 241.
L.T.B. II, p. 2 and p. 34.

(5) Ibid., p. 372, p. 426 and p. 577.

live upon theym selves" were to be expelled.⁽¹⁾ During the 1560 s and 1570 s fines were intermittently imposed, but during the 1580 s the numbers of offenders increased - for example William Leadbeater who was fined in 1581 for lodging four undertenants.⁽²⁾ In 1597 Henry Blundell was harbouring a tenant in the kitchen on his 'back side'.⁽³⁾ The visit of the Provost of King's College, Cambridge in 1592 and his enquiries at the manor court revealed seventy-six undertenants on tenements in the town which the Provost claimed was "tending much to the impoverishing of the sayd town".⁽⁴⁾ It is doubtful if these lodgers saw the situation in quite such financial terms.

Many of these undertenants and lodgers were not necessarily troublesome vagrants and many may not have travelled very far to settle in Prescot or Liverpool, but they were potentially or actually unemployed and likely to be a charge to the towns if they could secure three years' residence.⁽⁵⁾ Many of them found their lodgings where there was space available - with widows and in alehouses - many of which were run by women.⁽⁶⁾ At Prescot a noticeable group of women caused concern to the manorial officials over a period of time and evidently there was little success in dealing with them. Jane Higham was a "petie micher and a stayler of pullen" in 1563 and because of this was banned from the town, but

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 156.

(2) Ibid., p. 151, p. 166, p. 191, p. 201, p. 215.

(3) Ibid., p. 265.

(4) Ibid., p.p. 305-306.

(5) An Act for the punishment of vagabonds, and for relief of the poor and impotent, 14 Eliz. Cap. V, Prothero, Select Statutes, p.p. 67-72.

(6) See p.p. 284-286.

in 1566 the order to ban her had to be reiterated.⁽¹⁾ However, by 1575 she was still there and still a "misordered woman".⁽²⁾ During the 1580 s a number of women were presented and fined for receiving inmates, but the policy appears not to have noticeably worked; the greatest number of presentments was in 1599.⁽³⁾ Alice the Manx woman was mentioned first in 1589 and ordered to leave; in 1599 she was still in Prescot!⁽⁴⁾

The deteriorating situation both in Liverpool and in Prescot as far as relieving the poor and coping with vagrants was concerned during the 1580 s and 1590 s probably to a lesser extent affected the surrounding rural area.⁽⁵⁾ The worsening situation, therefore, probably accounts for the increasing interest in the area in enforcing the provisions of national legislation. In 1531 and 1563 the poor laws had assumed that the deserving poor would be dealt with by their communities through charitable giving and, after 1563, by the additional collection of a poor rate.⁽⁶⁾ No evidence survives to suggest whether or not this rate was ever collected in south-west Lancashire, but the low numbers of designated 'poor' perhaps infer that there was no need or that voluntary giving to a poor box was regarded as sufficient.⁽⁷⁾ There is no suggestion in this area that

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 156 and p. 166.

(2) Ibid., p. 191.

(3) Ibid., p. 228, p. 233, p. 244, p. 270 and p. 273.

(4) Ibid., p. 244 and p. 273.

(5) See p.p. 654-658.

(6) Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p.p. 39-46.
An Act for the Relief of the Poor, 5 Eliz. Cap. III, Prothero, Select Statutes, p.p. 41-45.

(7) Pres. Accs., p. 29.

the strenuous whipping campaign and searches for vagrants directed by the Privy Council during the 1560 s was necessary as in other parts of the country.⁽¹⁾

The 1572 poor law carefully distinguished between the deserving poor with the need for a compulsory rate to assure their maintenance and a tighter definition of rogues and vagabonds with a desire to enforce strict punishment for them. The complementary 1576 act allowed for stocks of materials to be obtained in an attempt to provide work for the unemployed, and required the provision of one or more houses of correction in each county.⁽²⁾ These dual sets of provision then remained in force until almost the end of the century. In south-west Lancashire some action was occasioned by these statutes - most noticeably in Liverpool where alderman Ralph Sekerston actually attended the session of Parliament, May-June 1572, which passed the poor law. By August of that year the Town Books could report, "It was provided for the poore folke, according to this estatute parliament".⁽³⁾ Liverpool had done its duty with great alacrity and local circumstances perhaps did not warrant great attention for several more years. In 1578 the town had no collector for the poor.⁽⁴⁾ Not until 1580 was it decided that because of the large numbers of "idle and loytringe persons" to invoke the provisions of the 1576 act and to tax the town twenty pounds for the provision of

(1) Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p.p. 46-47.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 47-53.

An Act for the punishment of vagabonds, and for relief of the poor and impotent, 14 Eliz. Cap V; An Act for the setting of the poor on work, and for the avoiding of idleness, 18 Eliz. Cap. III, Prothero, Select Statutes, p.p. 67-74.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 43.

(4) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, f. 52v.

stocks and stores to provide work. The naively optimistic belief was expressed that the stocks might be replenished by charity.⁽¹⁾ Likewise in the county some attention was paid to the 1572 act and the Prescot churchwardens were required to attend Quarter Sessions at Ormskirk concerning treatment of vagrants.⁽²⁾ Some type of gaol operated and Prescot parish contributed annually to its upkeep - for instance twenty-six shillings and ten pence in 1574.⁽³⁾ As well as these maintenance costs other amounts were necessary to convey vagrants there securely.⁽⁴⁾ After the initial enthusiasm either this system collapsed through lack of support or was found to be unnecessary as after 1576 little reference is made to it. This development is borne out by the Childwall Accounts where fragmentary references to dealing with 'rogues' finish after 1576.⁽⁵⁾ Probably none of the rural parishes ever implemented the 1576 provisions to acquire materials for the unemployed and it is doubtful if they collected a compulsory rate - they could not even get everybody to church;⁽⁶⁾ their only real interest was in conveying vagrants out of the parish if necessary and hopefully discouraging them from coming to settle in the first place.⁽⁷⁾

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 353.

(2) Pres. Accs., p. 71.

(3) Ibid., p. 73.

(4) Ibid., p. 73, p. 74 and p. 77.

(5) Child. Accs., p.p. 8-9.

(6) See Chapter XIV.

(7) See J. Hill, A Study of Poverty and Poor Relief in Shropshire 1550-1685, Liverpool M.A., 1973, p.p. 65-99.

Nationally the various economic problems of the 1590 s together with the inadequacy of existing measures prompted the three statutes of 1598 intending to ensure revised provision for the deserving poor and more uniform treatment of vagrants.⁽¹⁾ The acts themselves were intended to be systematic in application not permissive, and by the end of the century the parishes of south-west Lancashire probably had a more immediate interest than hitherto in responding decisively. Nowhere was this attitude more keenly felt than in Liverpool; in June 1598 an assembly considered the provision for poor people in the town and decided forthwith to acquire a house of correction. Robert More was approached to let his Poole House and a rent of twenty shillings a year agreed, although by 1599 the money had not been paid.⁽²⁾ Only the deserving poor and children whose names were to be catalogued were to be allowed in the town. Otherwise all begging was to cease, rogues and vagabonds were to be strictly punished and a poor man's box provided (which presumably had not been available before).⁽³⁾ How effective this action was is impossible to assess, but certainly the determined attitude of the town burgesses was demonstrated. Action also took place at a parochial level. At Childwall a Collector for the Poor was appointed, and in 1598 the Prescott churchwardens went to Farnworth Chapelry to liaise about poor provisions.⁽⁴⁾ By 1601 and

(1) An Act for the Relief of the Poor, 39-40 Eliz. Cap. III; An Act for punishment of rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars, 39-40 Eliz. Cap. IV; An Act for erecting of hospitals or abiding and working houses for the poor, 39-40 Eliz. Cap. V, Prothero, Select Statutes, p.p. 96-103. Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p.p. 53-57.

(2) L.T.B. II, p.p. 751-752 and p. 771.

(3) Ibid., p.p. 752-753.

(4) Child. Accs., p. 36.
Pres. Accs., p. 128.

1602 at Childwall lists were clearly being prepared to record payments to the poor rate and supervision was being taken seriously by the Justices.⁽¹⁾

In comparison with the levels of action undertaken elsewhere, south-west Lancashire's treatment of the poor was limited in scope and late in development. Many towns had undertaken local experiments and schemes well in advance of the requirements of national legislation - for instance London, Ipswich and Norwich.⁽²⁾ The authorities in Lincoln had considered vagrancy a problem in the 1540 s, by 1560 had appointed a beadle to control beggars, and by the 1570 s was making a systematic collection for the poor.⁽³⁾ Likewise action in Norwich had been seriously enlarged and developed during the 1560 s and 1570 s.⁽⁴⁾ Similarly the parishes of south-west Lancashire responded to their local situation - doing little until circumstances required action: by the 1580 s in Liverpool and the 1590 s in the rural area. Even then Liverpool took the lead as most towns did.⁽⁵⁾

The significance of this time delay is, however, not easy to interpret. Did the four parishes really have fewer 'poor' or just fewer problem 'poor'? In Norwich J. Pound believed one-quarter - one-third of the population were poor and another third of the population close to poverty.⁽⁶⁾ In Warwick A. Beier calculated one

(1) Child. Accs., p. 52 and p. 57.

(2) Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy, p.p. 58-68.

(3) J. W. F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, Cambridge 1956, p.p. 89-90.

(4) J. Pound, "Government and Society in Tudor and Stuart Norwich, 1525-1675", Leicester Ph.D., 1974, p. 253.

(5) A. L. Beier, "The Social Problems of an Elizabethan country town: Warwick 1580-90" in ed. P. Clark, Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England, Leicester 1981, p. 46.

(6) Pound, "Government and Society", p. 219.

in nine families could be classified as poor in good times and one in four in bad times.⁽¹⁾ Similarly a proportion of one in eight was found in Shrewsbury.⁽²⁾ If the Infra probate records can be any guide at all south-west Lancashire was indeed poor - fifty-seven per cent of all surviving inventories fell into this category. J. Pound, in fact, claimed that before 1600 inventories valued at less than ten pounds truly represented the poor.⁽³⁾ In the four parishes twenty-four per cent of inventories are in this category, and the poor are not supposed to have usually made wills.⁽⁴⁾

The truth seems to be that a very sizeable proportion of the population of south-west Lancashire could be considered 'poor', but mostly not problem 'poor'. Because of the predominance of a rural economy, because of the type of agriculture and type of tenure, most of the population were able to maintain themselves most of the time. The mixed farming pattern was some help in counteracting the effects of bad harvests, and the multiplicity of part-time employments created something of a cushion in difficult times. Private charity on a limited but widespread scale could usually cope. Few elaborate schemes and no almshouses were felt necessary or could be funded; instead a paternalistic community concern was sufficient for those deserving poor unable to entirely support themselves.⁽⁵⁾ The real

(1) Beier, "Social Problems", p. 54.

(2) Hill, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Shropshire", p. 162.

(3) Pound, "Government and Society", p. 236.

(4) See p. 23 and p.p. 773-776.

(5) Even London in the 1590 s had a rather belated and unco-ordinated response to the food and price crisis. See M. J. Power, "London and the Control of the 'Crisis' of the 1590 s" in The Historian, 1985, p. 377.

problem was when this private charity could not cope for various reasons mostly beyond the control of the area in the later decades of the century; then some action along the lines of national provision was taken. The prevailing situation is probably best demonstrated by two contemporary comments: Firstly by the Vicar of Prescott writing in 1592 and explaining to the Provost of King's College that about four hundred souls lived in the town - three hundred of whom needed relieving by their neighbours,⁽¹⁾ and secondly by an entry in the Prescott Churchwardens' Accounts in 1603 - Henry Halsall, a poor, maimed soldier born in Whiston township in the parish, had been licensed by the Justices for a weekly payment of eight pence. Henry Halsall was, in fact, paid six weeks' money together on condition that he surrendered his licence and "did trouble the parishe noe more".⁽²⁾ The vicar was probably overstating his case, but he was right - the area was poor, and, as in Henry Halsall's case, was most of the time concerned to make sure long-term recipients of relief stayed away.

c) Indebtedness.

A further form of community interaction and involvement may be seen through the prevalence and extent of indebtedness within the south-west Lancashire area. The existence of such debts may

(1) Prescott Records at Cambridge, IV 24(3).

(2) Pres. Accs., p. 142.

indicate not only financial transactions, but also "exchanges of aid, trust and obligation".⁽¹⁾ Debts were obviously incurred for a variety of reasons and in a variety of circumstances, yet their very existence implies contact, association and commitment.

In this area indication of debts is found usually in wills or attached to wills; over three-quarters of all wills surviving from the four parishes record some form of indebtedness.⁽²⁾ Over half of the surviving testators had debts which they owed to others, and over half had credit owed to them by others.⁽³⁾

TABLE LIII: DEBTS AND CREDIT IN THE
PROBATE RECORDS OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	<u>Suitable probate records</u>	<u>Debts owed to others</u>	<u>Percentage with debts</u>	<u>Credits owed by others</u>	<u>Percentage with credits</u>	<u>Probate records with debts and/or credit</u>
Huyton	35	19	54%	25	71%	32 91%
Childwall	78	47	60%	33	42%	57 73%
Walton	83	41	49%	40	48%	56 67%
Prescot	203	114	56%	129	64%	161 79%
<u>Total</u>	399	221	55%	227	57%	306 77%

A not dissimilar pattern is found throughout the four parishes and in

(1) James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society: Durham Region, p.21.

(2) See Table LIII.
One-third of wills in Chippenham village in Cambridgeshire had loans outstanding. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Cambridge 1974, p. 212.

(3) See Table LIII.

all townships; there is no indication that Liverpool and Prescot as market towns had any greater incidence of indebtedness than the rural areas around them.⁽¹⁾ Likewise there is little evidence to suggest that particular occupations or social situations created debts.⁽²⁾

TABLE LIV: PREVALENCE OF DEBTS LINKED TO OCCUPATIONS.

	<u>Known probate record</u>	<u>Indebtedness</u>	<u>Percentage with debts</u>
Widows	53	37	70%
Craftsmen	35	29	81%
Husbandmen	92	79	86%
Yeomen	62	50	81%

In view of the low valuations of the majority of inventories in this area, it is not surprising that most debts involved quite small amounts of money.⁽³⁾ In Huyton parish nineteen individuals owed one hundred and fifty-two different debts - all of them valued at less than ten pounds and many of them at less than a pound each. The majority of individuals owing debts, according to their probate records, had less than ten of these small value debts. Just four men had larger numbers of outstanding debts - John Beasley had eighteen, Thomas Short had twenty-one, Thomas Orme had twenty-three

(1) See p.p. 342-350.
See Appendix XLIV.

(2) See Table LIV.

(3) See p. 644.

and Robert Williamson a list of twenty-six debts.⁽¹⁾ Many of these debts, however, were valued at less than a pound and surely represent extensive and moderately complicated small-scale transactions.

Credits were predominantly of the same type of small valuation - two hundred and thirty-nine different items of credit were owed to twenty-five individuals in Huyton parish; all except three of these credits were valued at less than ten pounds and none of these exceeded twenty-five pounds.⁽²⁾ There was, however, some tendency for the credit items owed to individuals to represent a greater proportion of their inventory valuation than the debts they owed.⁽³⁾ Jane Webster had an inventory which totalled eleven pounds and twelve shillings, yet she claimed she was owed a further eleven pounds and nineteen shillings by three creditors.⁽⁴⁾ John Glover had an unexceptional husbandman's inventory valued at just over thirty-two pounds, but nineteen individuals owed him over sixty-four pounds.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) L.R.O., Will of John Beasley, Huyton 1581, Will of Thomas Short, Huyton 1582, Will of Thomas Orme, Roby 1576, Will of Robert Williamson, Tarbock 1592.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of Henry Holland, Tarbock 1587, Will of John Glover, Knowsley 1598.
- (3) See Table LV and Appendix XLIV.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of Jane Webster, Knowsley 1603.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of John Glover, Knowsley 1598.

TABLE LV: DEBTS AND CREDITS AS PROPORTIONS OF INVENTORY VALUATIONS.

	<u>Available Inventory and Debt list</u>	<u>Debts represented as a percentage of the inventory valuation</u>										
		<u>1-10%</u>	<u>11-20%</u>	<u>21-30%</u>	<u>31-40%</u>	<u>41-50%</u>	<u>51-60%</u>	<u>61-70%</u>	<u>71-80%</u>	<u>81-90%</u>	<u>91-100%</u>	<u>100%+</u>
<u>Huyton</u>	16	4	5	3		2	1	1				
<u>Childwall</u>	39	11	7	7	4	6	1			1		2
<u>Walton</u>	35	8	9	4	3	3	3	3			1	4
<u>Prescot</u>	97	32	10	20	9	11	3	3	1		4	4

	<u>Available Inventory and Credit list</u>	<u>Credit represented as a percentage of the inventory valuation</u>										
		<u>1-10%</u>	<u>11-20%</u>	<u>21-30%</u>	<u>31-40%</u>	<u>41-50%</u>	<u>51-60%</u>	<u>61-70%</u>	<u>71-80%</u>	<u>81-90%</u>	<u>91-100%</u>	<u>100%+</u>
<u>Huyton</u>	23	6	5	5	3			1	1			2
<u>Childwall</u>	27	17	1	1	1	1		1		1		
<u>Walton</u>	33	6	8	5	1	2	2	1	1	2		5
<u>Prescot</u>	114	47	15	16	5	5	1	2	2	1	1	19

In Childwall parish a pattern rather similar to that in Huyton prevailed. The largest debt was less than twenty-seven pounds, and the most exceptional debt list recording fifty-four items had no single debt valued at more than ten pounds.⁽¹⁾ In both parishes a handful of individuals clearly owed debts far beyond their means to pay.⁽²⁾ Richard Lathom, an Allerton yeoman, had twenty-four debts totalling over fifty-three pounds, yet his inventory recorded possession of less than ninety pounds.⁽³⁾ At a different level altogether, Richard Wainwright a Halewood husbandman had seven debts amounting to just under two pounds in total, but his assets were only a few shillings more than this.⁽⁴⁾ At this sort of economic level both Henry

(1) L.R.O., Will of Hugh Hey, Speke 1602, Will of Edward Holland, Halewood 1595.

(2) See Appendix XLIV.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Richard Lathom, Allerton 1597.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Richard Wainwright, Halewood 1593.

Lake of Wavertree and Robert Lyon of Much Woolton owed more than their inventory valuations.⁽¹⁾ The great majority of credits amounted to less than ten per cent of the inventory total of the testator; only in a few cases were disproportionately large amounts outstanding and in all instances to individuals with very small inventory valuations.⁽²⁾

In the other two parishes the predominant debt and credit pattern prevailed with the additional feature of a few more substantial debts - either individually or in total. Richard Bold, a yeoman, had a single debt of thirty-two pounds, John Gerard, also a yeoman, recorded a single debt of sixty-eight pounds, whilst George Ackers, the soldier/gentleman of Liverpool had debts itemized at thirty-five, forty-two, forty-two, one hundred, one hundred and five, one hundred and forty-seven and one hundred and ninety-eight pounds.⁽³⁾ Richard Lonsdale, the Kirkdale husbandman, and Ralph Edgecar, the Liverpool joiner, both had debts which far exceeded their inventory valuations.⁽⁴⁾ This joiner perhaps represents the group of craftsmen who certainly had long lists of small, outstanding debts, for instance Richard Johnson the Sutton glover with twenty-one

- (1) L.R.O., Will of Henry Lake, Wavertree 1567, Will of Robert Lyon, Much Woolton 1594.
- (2) For example, L.R.O., Will of Robert Richardson, Childwall 1571, Christopher Ellowe, Childwall 1594, Margery Whitfield, Little Woolton 1592.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of Richard Bold, Cuerdley 1594, Will of John Gerard, Widnes 1599, Will of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of Richard Lonsdale, Kirkdale 1596, Will of Ralph Edgecar, Liverpool 1578.

debts, and Thomas Blundell the Bold weaver with fifty-six debts.⁽¹⁾

Some farmers, however, could be in this situation - Hamlet Plumpton had thirty-two debts and Henry Blundell thirty-seven.⁽²⁾ Involvement in debt and credit situations was clearly widespread in south-west Lancashire. Often this was at a modest level, but individual circumstances were very variable.⁽³⁾ For some credit facilities were the essential means of usual economic activity; for others they provided the way to economic disaster.

Probably the greatest number of debts were accounted for by usual and regular economic transactions by both farmers and craftsmen in the community; credit sales were unavoidable. Margaret Heaton owed twelve shillings for barleyseed, Roger Dey owed money for barley, wheat and rye, Thomas Whitefoot owed ten shillings and six pence for cow-hire, and John Ogle owed payment for the bull and two kine he had 'purchased'.⁽⁴⁾ Edward Holland of Halewood was owed money by fifty-four individuals - almost entirely for livestock and produce he had supplied such as mares, calves, heifers, horses, wheat, barley, rye,

- (1) L.R.O., Will of Richard Johnson, Sutton 1601, Will of Thomas Blundell, Bold 1586.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of Hamlet Plumpton, Cuerdley 1581, Will of Henry Blundell, Whiston 1587.
- (3) See Appendix XLIV.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of Margaret Heaton, Knowsley 1592, Will of Roger Dey, Knowsley 1592, Will of Thomas Whitefoot, Halewood 1595. C.R.O., Will of John Ogle, Whiston 1562.

hemp and hay.⁽¹⁾ In addition to settlement of livestock and produce transactions, payment of rent and for work could also be outstanding. Miles Slack of Farnworth had clearly not been paid for a number of minor tasks he had undertaken for a variety of people, whilst Catherine Stevenson had not paid her rent for seven years.⁽²⁾ John Beasley owed thirty shillings rent to his landlord, and yeoman Robert Sutton owed sixteen pounds for the lease of Travis' house.⁽³⁾

Other services, supplies and products were also obtained on credit. A Knowsley husbandman claimed to be owed a few shillings for bread and ale he had provided.⁽⁴⁾ The Tarbock blacksmith had five debts outstanding for his goods and services, whilst the Roby carpenter was owed five shillings by Huyton church for timber he had provided.⁽⁵⁾ Weavers and tailors had to wait for payment, and eleven individuals owed less than a pound each to Margaret Ditchfield for quantities of coal they had received.⁽⁶⁾ At a certain level, however, these fairly small debts must have become, in total, a serious

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- (1) L.R.O., Will of Edward Holland, Halewood 1595.
 - (2) L.R.O., Will of Miles Slack, Farnworth 1593, Will of Alice Johnson, Knowsley 1592.
 - (3) L.R.O., Will of John Beasley, Huyton 1581, Will of Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591.
 - (4) L.R.O., Will of Roger Dey, Knowsley 1592.
 - (5) L.R.O., Will of Richard Pendleton, Tarbock 1560, Will of George Darlington, Roby 1561.
 - (6) L.R.O., Will of John Pearson, Halewood 1598, Will of John Johnson, Hale 1582, Will of Margaret Ditchfield, Sutton 1594.

problem. The glover from Sutton has twenty-one people owing him money; surely an unrealistic number for the scale of his operations.⁽¹⁾ Unfortunately, no suitable record survives to indicate the involvement of Liverpool merchants in credit transactions.

Economic business, however, was not the only cause of debt. A few individuals owed money to their local schools, such as William Lathom of Allerton who owed Much Woolton school twenty shillings, and John Cowper of Knowsley who owed thirty shillings to the reeves of Huyton school.⁽²⁾ Some individuals were out-of-pocket through various local offices they had undertaken. William Atherton of Wavertree claimed five shillings from Childwall church after his service as churchwarden.⁽³⁾ More frequent than these types of debts, though, were debts incurred within the family. Everyday transactions must have created some debt situations amongst family members and inheritance provisions added another dimension.⁽⁴⁾ The implementation of inheritance arrangements probably was responsible for many of the larger individual debts. Ellen Gorsuch owed money to her children - by provision of their father's will.⁽⁵⁾ Andrew Tyrer of Knowsley was

- (1) L.R.O., Will of Richard Johnson, Sutton 1601.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of William Lathom, Allerton 1594, Will of John Cowper, Knowsley 1575.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of William Atherton, Wavertree 1590.
- (4) See Chapter VIII.
Houlbrooke, The English Family, p. 47.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of Ellen Gorsuch, Knowsley 1575.

owed sums of money by his two brothers and a brother-in-law.⁽¹⁾ The amounts involved could be quite substantial - and possibly unattainable. Henry Gleast owed over fourteen pounds to his daughter, Ann Birch was waiting for thirty pounds from her brother, and William Garnett claimed he was owed over thirty pounds by his father-in-law.⁽²⁾ A Whiston widow recognized a debt of over one hundred and twenty-eight pounds to her son-in-law.⁽³⁾ Sums of money such as this must have been almost impossible to realise for many of the population, but obligation and assistance was often recognized.

Other debts were incurred not through family transactions, nor through economic transactions, nor through local commitment, but through the availability of money for loan. In a number of debt lists "lent money" is the expression frequently used. At a very local level loaning money was a "safe and reliable way of employing cash surpluses".⁽⁴⁾ Presumably the likelihood of accumulating such a cash surplus was to some extent predictable for some sections of the community and to some extent accidental. It has been claimed that some clergy were moneylenders, although in south-west Lancashire it is doubtful if they had substantial assets.⁽⁵⁾ The only indication

- (1) L.R.O., Will of Andrew Tyrer, Knowsley 1602.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of Henry Gleast, Halewood 1591, Will of Ann Birch, Bold 1602, Will of William Garnett, Rainhill 1591.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of Thomasine Wirrall, Whiston 1590.
- (4) B.A., Holderness, Pre-Industrial England, London 1976, p. 214.
- (5) B.A., Holderness, "The Clergy as Money-lenders in England 1550-1700" in R. O'Day and F. Heal, Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500-1800, Leicester 1981, p.p. 197-207.

of clerical provision in this respect is the twenty-five shillings that John Ogle Gentleman had borrowed from the vicar of Huyton.⁽¹⁾ Other individuals, however, clearly did loan sums of money to a limited number of local acquaintances. Richard Pendleton, the Tarbock blacksmith, was owed a total of ten pounds that he had loaned to six people, whilst Henry Holland, a Tarbock husbandman, was owed eleven pounds by a further six individuals.⁽²⁾ A Speke yeoman claimed he had lent over twenty-six pounds to his landlord - 'Mr. Norris'.⁽³⁾ The most substantial moneylender appears to have been Robert Sutton, a Rainhill yeoman; four individuals owed him money by bond or bill. Hugh Rose of Walton and Thomas Meade the vicar of Prescott both owed him five pounds, Michael Tildesley of Huyton owed nine pounds and ten shillings, and Simon Garnett of Rainhill owed twenty-two pounds and three shillings:⁽⁴⁾ scarcely massive u. sury, and unfortunately there is no indication of interest rates or the loan period. Probably most loans were for fairly short-term periods. Several other individuals referred to repaying debts within twelve months, such as at next Corpus Christi and Michaelmas, or at the next feast of St. John the Baptist and feast of St. Martin, or at the next Prescott fair, or the next Wigan

(1) C.R.O., Will of John Ogle, Whiston 1562.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Richard Pendleton, Tarbock 1560, Will of Henry Holland, Tarbock 1587.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Hugh Hey, Speke 1602.

(4) L.R.O., Will of Robert Sutton, Rainhill 1591.

fair.⁽¹⁾

Almost all debts appear to be from individuals living within the four parishes - usually no more than five miles from the testator.⁽²⁾ The normal practice was to record debts owed or owing by name, and if no further detail was provided they almost certainly were known to the executors and lived within the parish and possibly the township of the testator. Similar names were identified by occupation or 'Senior' and 'Junior', and beyond the immediate locality there was some care to identify place of residence. Of one hundred and fifty-two debts recorded in Huyton parish only two individuals lived more than five miles away - and they lived less than ten miles distant.⁽³⁾ Predominantly the association was closer than this; eighty-four per cent of debts came from within a two mile radius and seventy-seven per cent of credit.⁽⁴⁾ Although not very far, the few more distant debts recorded in Huyton parish quite frequently were payable in Liverpool.⁽⁵⁾

In Childwall, Walton and Prescot parishes similar distributions prevailed, but with a minority of exceptional cases.⁽⁶⁾ Richard

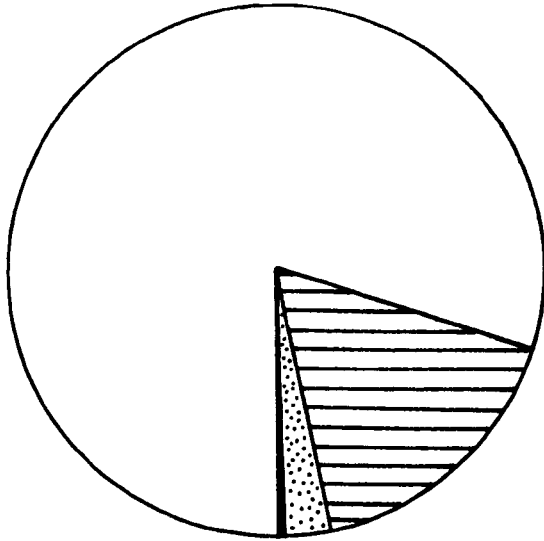
- (1) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Kenyon, Eccleston 1593, Will of Henry Watmough, Eccleston 1572, Will of Henry Webster, Eccleston 1594, Will of Robert Bannester, Eccleston 1603.
- (2) At Terling in Essex a ten mile radius predominated. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety: Terling, p.p. 76-79.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Orme, Roby 1576, Will of Thomas Gorsuch, Huyton 1596.
- (4) See Table LVI.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of George Darlington, Roby 1561, Will of Percival Crosse, Huyton 1582, Will of Thomas Gorsuch, Huyton 1596.
- (6) See Table LVI.

Lathom, of Allerton, had one debt in Lydiate, whilst William Holland, a Much Woolton yeoman, had two debts in Chester.⁽¹⁾ Thomas Seddon of Toxteth had one debt in Aughton, and three men from Prescott parish had debts in Cheshire.⁽²⁾ The most substantial group of debts outside the four parishes belonged to Lawrence Shaw of Fazakerley who listed three debts in Wigan, one in Westhoughton, two in Bowdon, two in Wrightington and twelve in Aspull.⁽³⁾ In the main limited contact with south Lancashire and north Cheshire is indicated by these debts. However, a handful of individuals provide debts suggesting more distant transactions. A Cuerdley yeoman was owed money by two Staffordshire men, and a Simonswood yeoman by two Denbighshire men.⁽⁴⁾ A fisherman from Kirkdale had one debt in Lancaster and another in Milnthorpe, whilst a Prescott mercer provides the only known debt in London.⁽⁵⁾ John Gore, a Liverpool weaver, recorded one debt in the Isle of Man, and three more Liverpool men testify to the link with Ireland.⁽⁶⁾

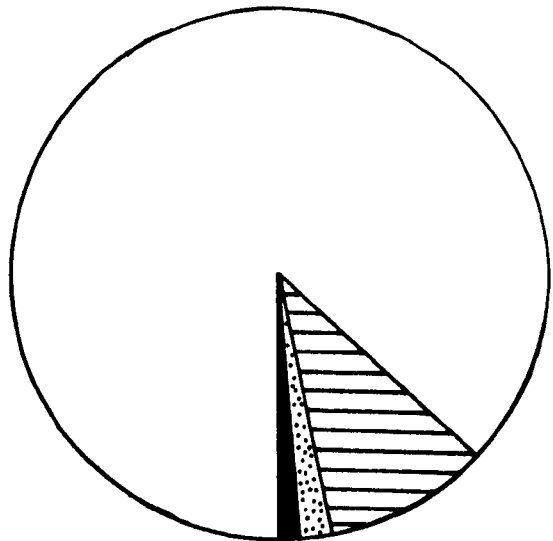
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- (1) L.R.O., Will of Richard Lathom, Allerton 1597, Will of William Holland, Much Woolton 1582.
- (2) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Seddon, Toxteth 1591, Will of William Green, Prescott 1588, Will of Henry Coney, Ditton 1592, Will of Henry Coney, Ditton 1598.
- (3) L.R.O., Will of Lawrence Shaw, Fazakerley 1575.
- (4) L.R.O., Will of Richard Bold, Cuerdley 1594, Will of Richard Tatlock, Simonswood 1593.
- (5) L.R.O., Will of William Ainsdale, Kirkdale 1578, Will of William Lyme, Prescott 1603.
- (6) L.R.O., Will of John Gore, Liverpool 1594, Will of John Nailor, Liverpool 1584, Will of George Ackers, Liverpool 1588, Will of James Melling, Liverpool 1603.

TABLE LVI: LOCATION OF DEBTS AND CREDIT OF TESTATORS FROM THE FOUR PARISHES.

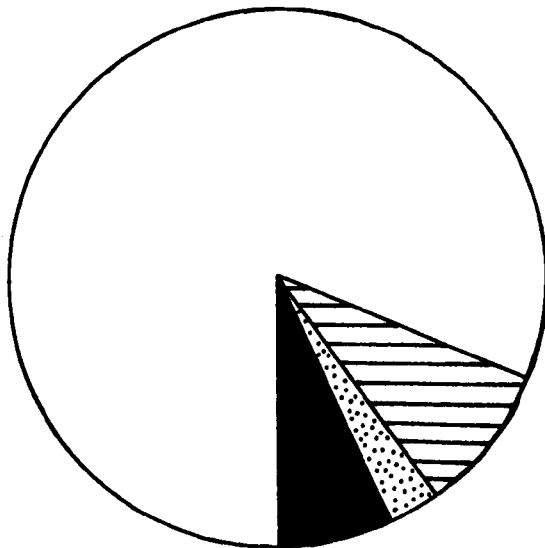
Huyton Parish



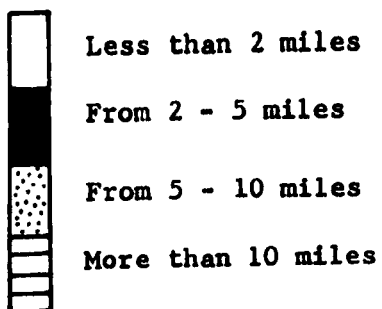
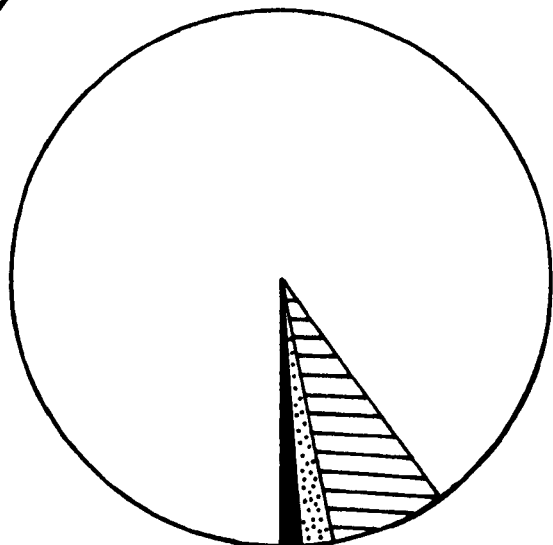
Childwall Parish



Walton Parish



Prescot Parish



Distant financial commitment during the second half of the sixteenth century remained, however, limited. Local credit, assistance and obligation predominated and, indeed, may have "underpinned the whole of rural society".⁽¹⁾ A very substantial proportion of the population was involved in commitment with each other to provide some type of loan or credit facility. The substantial debt lists of two men highlight this local emphasis and local significance. Thirty-two people owed money to Hamlet Plumpton, a Cuerdley husbandman, for wheat, oats, herrings, leather, cows, pigs, cloth and 'lent money'. Nine of them came from Wigan, Manchester, Kendal or Conway; twenty-three of them lived within a few miles of Cuerdley.⁽²⁾ Still more striking was the local significance of Henry Lawton, a Farnworth yeoman. One hundred and thirty-four people, at least, owed him money in small amounts totalling two hundred and twenty-three pounds. At least ninety-one of those people lived within two miles of Farnworth and a further forty within five miles.⁽³⁾ He must have been one of the best-known men in Prescott parish! Association, commitment and participation on this sort of scale represents substantial communal interaction and dependency.

(1) M. Spufford, "Peasant Inheritance Customs and Land Distribution in Cambridgeshire from the 16th to the 18th Centuries" in J. Goody, J. Thirsk and E. P. Thompson, Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800, Cambridge 1976, p. 163.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Hamlet Plumpton, Cuerdley 1581.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Henry Lawton, Farnworth 1603.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS CHURCHES.

- a) The churches and their assets.
- b) The development of recusancy.
- c) The Catholic community?
- d) The recusants.

Lancashire parishes may have been frequently large, yet parochial organization, responsibilities and action still created a level of unavoidable co-operation, communication and identity. Liverpool and Prescot had some sense of mercantile identity, but for the remainder of the south-west Lancashire area parish identity provided, by the sixteenth century, the strongest local consciousness. Notwithstanding Reformation changes during the century, the parish continued to have great significance for all its parishioners. At the same time, however, the 'new religion' made some impact, although Lancashire has been described in the second half of the sixteenth century as the "frontier" of its advance and western parts of the county referred to as "Indian territory".⁽¹⁾ For a variety of reasons Protestantism made this limited progress and many Catholics remained to confound official attempts to enforce conformity and attendance at church.

a) The churches and their assets.

As so many of the south-west Lancashire clergy came from local families, either in their own parish or adjoining, they must have had many personal and family ties locally in addition to the contacts

(1) P. Collinson, "The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion" in Haigh, Reign of Elizabeth, p. 172.

with their parishioners required by their occupation.⁽¹⁾ Despite this, in general in this area bequests to the clergy and/or church were not common. At Huyton during the period of Elizabeth I's reign thirty-seven wills survive: none made any sort of clerical bequest. From Walton parish eighty-one wills survive and only five (6%) considered a clerical bequest. Four of these five gifts were rather small - six pence to the curate of Liverpool, a gown to the curate of Liverpool, a crossbow to the parson of Prescot (!) and six shillings and eight pence to the maintenance of Kirkby chapel.⁽²⁾ Easily the most substantial bequest was the twenty pounds John Pasmuch of Kirkby left "to the use and benefite of the chappell of Kirkbie".⁽³⁾

A similar pattern emerges from the much larger collection of wills from Prescot parish. Of the two hundred and one wills only fifteen (7%) made an ecclesiastical bequest, and then one was to St. Helens chapel, three to Prescot church and eleven to Farnworth chapel. Only the gifts to Farnworth came throughout the period; those to the rest of the parish were made early in Elizabeth's reign. The bequests to Farnworth were mainly small amounts towards repair work - twelve pence was the smallest gift, two shillings and three shillings and four pence usual, whilst twenty shillings was the

(1) See Chapter X.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Richard Denton of Liverpool, Will of John Gower of Liverpool, Will of William Fox of Toxteth Park, Will of Thomas Woods of Kirkby.

(3) L.R.O., Will of John Pasmuch of Kirkby.

largest gift.⁽¹⁾

Childwall parish, however, does not entirely fit this pattern of bequests. Seventy-eight wills survive and in fifteen instances (19%) gifts were made for ecclesiastical purposes. Remarkably they all were to Hale chapel from individuals living at the chapelry end of the parish. Usually the bequests were of one or two shillings towards chapel maintenance, occasionally three shillings and four pence or six shillings and eight pence with ten shillings representing the largest gift.⁽²⁾ In addition in 1601 one bequest of a Bible to the chapel was made.⁽³⁾ Only in the rather remote, and probably very conservative, Hale chapelry was a regular pattern of ecclesiastical giving maintained, with Farnworth chapelry in Prescot parish presenting a reflection of this pattern.

Other bequests almost certainly were made to the churches and chapels, but probably they did not modify the level of generosity and interest in the church and clergy presented in the probate records. For example, Edward Norris gave five shillings to repairs at Childwall in 1578⁽⁴⁾ and Henry Whitfield provided six shillings

(1) L.R.O., Wills of Thomas Parr, Parr 1558, Henry Houghton Eccleston 1559, John Ogle, Whiston 1562, Henry Blundell, Whiston 1587, Thomas Barrow, Bold 1595, William Birchall, Bold 1564, Elizabeth Bold, Bold 1596, William Ditchfield, Ditton 1567, Roger Houghton, Bold 1568, John Leigh, Farnworth 1592, William Ley, Penketh 1579, James Mason, Ditton 1562, Christopher Phipp, Bold 1591, Baldwin Smith, Widnes 1562, Nicholas Williamson, Bold 1594.

(2) L.R.O., Wills of John Cartwright, Hale 1593, Thomas Crosbie, Hale 1583, Robert Hitchmough, Halewood 1592, James Ireland, Hale 1587, John Richardson, Halewood 1582, William Robertson, Hale 1593, Katherine Tarleton, Halewood 1588, Edmund Wainwright, Halewood 1574, John Wainwright, Halewood 1602, Richard Wainwright, Halewood 1593, Thomas Wainwright, Halewood 1590, William Wainwright, Halewood 1594, John Whitling, Hale 1582.

(3) L.R.O., Will of William Wainwright, Halewood 1601.

(4) B.L., Add. Mss. 36926, fo. 100.

and eight pence to repair the bells there in 1595.⁽¹⁾ At Prescott Edward Parker arranged for a two shilling rent charge on a message in the town to be paid to the churchwardens from 1595.⁽²⁾ Mostly reluctance to contribute to the clergymen or their churches was the usual pattern.

Since the income of Lancashire clergy was unspectacular, and since the level of donation to churches was so low, it is not surprising that many churches, and worse still chapels, suffered from neglect to the fabric. Much of Huyton church dated from the late fifteenth century,⁽³⁾ yet by the mid sixteenth century it was in a bad state of repair. A writ to the Attorney of the Duchy in 1555 described the chancel as very ruinous and decayed, whilst a survey of only one year later reported that the thirty-one by thirty feet chancel had "some ruin and decay" to such an extent that the rain came in and the roof was "ready to fall". Other parts of the church had to be used for services and repairs were estimated at £35-6-8.⁽⁴⁾ Whether adequate repairs were put in hand is not known, but in 1592 the appropriator William Brereton Esquire was presented because the chancel was "ruinated".⁽⁵⁾

Visitations likewise highlighted the poor physical condition of Childwall church - much of the building dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁽⁶⁾ In 1578 the ruinous chancel was the

(1) Liv. R. O., Churchwardens' Accounts of Childwall Parish 1571-1674, typescript R, Stewart-Brown, p. 33.

(2) Pres. Recs., p. 258.

(3) V.C.H. III, p. 152.

(4) Pleadings and Depositions, p. 191.

(5) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 118.

(6) V.C.H. III, p. 103.

responsibility of none other than the Bishop of Chester.⁽¹⁾ By 1592 the lessee Mr. Anderton was still being presented for lack of chancel repairs⁽²⁾ and by then the body of the church was in great decay and the churchwardens were presented.⁽³⁾ In a building clearly in need of substantial repair ornaments could not be safe. In 1574 it had been reported that the church book could not be kept in the coffer in the church because the two locks were broken and other things had been stolen.⁽⁴⁾ The churchwardens' accounts do record a certain level of expenditure on repairs, although their efforts do seem to have been directed towards the bells and the steeple. Quite large amounts were spent in 1572, 1574 and 1576 to repair the bells and bell frames.⁽⁵⁾ Intermittently money was spent on shingles for the church roof, glazing repairs and pointing,⁽⁶⁾ but by 1589 even the churchwardens recorded that "the church at this present day is grown into great decay for want of repayre".⁽⁷⁾ Some activity ensued, mainly for timber, lead and moss for the roof.⁽⁸⁾ Some attention was given to the churchyard and the alder trees growing in it and a new sundial set up⁽⁹⁾ - but by 1601 it was necessary for "a ley for the speedye repayre of the sayde Church of Childwall being in great ruyn"

- (1) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 50.
 (2) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 115.
 (3) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 115.
 (4) B.L., Add. Mss. 369424, fo. 119.
 (5) Child. Accs., p.p. 4-8.
 (6) Ibid., p.p. 4-13.
 (7) Ibid., p. 18.
 (8) Ibid., p.p. 22-24.
 (9) Ibid., p.p. 37-43.

and decay".⁽¹⁾ This time the phraseology cannot have been exaggeration as the old church roof was sold for forty-five shillings and considerable effort expended in buying timber from Knowsley, transporting it, cutting it and assembling the new roof before slating and mossaing it. Some new windows were also glazed and leaded.⁽²⁾ Therefore some expenditure and effort was directed eventually towards maintaining a weatherproof church - not always with success. There is little evidence that new work was undertaken or that interior furnishings and fittings were enhanced.

Little is known about the state of the church at Walton, although certainly the Molyneux rectors largely ignored it and chose to devote some attention to Sefton church.⁽³⁾ Liverpool made contributions to repairs at Walton in 1565⁽⁴⁾ and to the maintenance of the bells in 1582.⁽⁵⁾ Perhaps on the whole a satisfactory state of repair was achieved as no attention was drawn to Walton in visitations.

At Liverpool chapel relatively regular repairs were undertaken, although their extent is hard to assess. In 1555 a church ale was held to raise funds for the "new adorning" of the chapel⁽⁶⁾ and not until 1564 were repairs recorded again when the chapel walls and wooden roofed steeple were attended to.⁽⁷⁾ Unfortunately, a severe

(1) Child. Accs., p. 45.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 50-56.

(3) L.R.O., Will of Anthony Molyneux, Walton 1553.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 275.

(5) L.T.B. II, p. 417.

(6) L.T.B. I, p. 51.

(7) L.T.B. I, p. 249 and p. 257.

winter storm in December 1565 did considerable damage and a double rate to raise thirty pounds for the repairs was necessary.⁽¹⁾ A stonemason had to be specially hired. In 1568 the chapel was slated,⁽²⁾ and possibly interior work was also taking place as by 1572 the seventy-eight pipes of the organ had been removed and lodged with a chapelwarden.⁽³⁾ At this same time a decision was taken to use two copes for costumes for pageants.⁽⁴⁾ The state of the chapelyard also necessitated some comment on a number of occasions. In 1578 the porch on the south side of the chapel was flagged so that the elderly and infirm could more easily enter,⁽⁵⁾ and a year later the chapelyard wall was repaired at a cost of twenty pounds because it was in a ruinous state.⁽⁶⁾ The curate had charge of the chapelyard and James Seddon was in trouble for allowing swine to do considerable damage in 1585⁽⁷⁾ whilst Hugh Janion cut down the "greate thorne" in 1593⁽⁸⁾ and allowed his horse and cattle in the chapelyard in 1594. Not surprisingly Mr. Janion was presented for not having the chapelyard gate open at appropriate times.⁽⁹⁾ Within limits, the Liverpool authorities do seem to have kept a continuing interest in their

(1) L.T.B. I, p. 292.

(2) Ibid., p. 364.

(3) L.T.B. II, p. 73.

(4) Ibid., p. 74.

(5) Ibid., p. 309.

(6) Ibid., p. 321.

(7) Ibid., p. 495.

(8) Ibid., p. 654.

(9) Ibid., p. 672.

chapel and achieved a state of maintenance at least sufficient to avoid criticism at visitations. If the level of the four chantry endowments can be taken as an indication, then Liverpool chapel was better provided for and perhaps better maintained than other south-west Lancashire church buildings.⁽¹⁾

Little is known of the state of the fabric of the chapels in Prescott parish. Nothing at all is known of Rainford, and St. Helens chapel needed repairs and equipping with all necessary books at the 1592 visitation.⁽²⁾ Farnworth chapel appears not to have attracted criticism and may have been in a reasonable state of repair. Part of the chapel had been completed relatively recently in the early sixteenth century with bequests from Bishop William Smith,⁽³⁾ and disputes concerning the removal from the chapel of a "great rancke of iron" some thirty feet long across the breadth of the chancel and three other ranks from the rood loft in 1552 suggest that the interior may have been reasonably furnished.⁽⁴⁾

At Prescott itself a church without a resident vicar was perhaps unlikely to have a well maintained and furnished fabric. Internal fittings were evidently altered in accordance with Reformation legislation, such as in 1550 when the altar stones were taken down and replaced by a table⁽⁵⁾ and in 1551 when the rood loft window was slated over.⁽⁶⁾ With alacrity, however, by 1554 church and chapel

(1) History of Chantries, p.p. 82-89.

(2) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 117.

(3) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2129, fo. 117.

(4) Pleadings and Depositions, p.p. 199-200.

(5) Pres. Accs., p. 29.

(6) Ibid., p. 30.

goods had been restored to their former use.⁽¹⁾ The building, though, was in no fit state: an episcopal decree of 1555 recorded "there is so great ruins and deformities and dilapidations in the roofs, ornaments, wall and windows, that unless speedy remedy be taken, the said church is in a short time likely to fall down to the ground".⁽²⁾ In 1555-6 some repairs were put in hand - mainly pointing the church walls and steeple and employing a glazier and two servants for six weeks to relead the old glass and put in about fifty feet of new glass.⁽³⁾ In addition thirty feet of glass was put into the reopened rood loft window.⁽⁴⁾ For a decade after this the churchwardens' accounts do not suggest further substantial maintenance work. A lectern for the Bible was purchased, a new communion book, homily book, Erasmus' Paraphrases and Bishop Jewel's Apology acquired and the rood loft window reboarded - despite appeals to Chester "to see wether the roode loft cold have ben lycensyd and leve stand for the ease of the parochie".⁽⁵⁾ At the same time the churchyard wall was trodden down by beasts at the fair and alders were growing "in divers places uppon the churche".⁽⁶⁾

From 1569 onwards minor repair work was attempted - the south side of the church was covered with shingles and the church wall

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 30.

(2) Pres. Accs., p. xi.

(3) Ibid., p.p. 32-35.

(4) Ibid., p. 38.

(5) Ibid., p.p. 45-56.

(6) Ibid., p. 56.

partly replaced by a hedge until stones could be provided. A glazier from Ormskirk repaired a few windows, but on the whole during the 1570s the churchwardens' expenses were principally for their own time and travel, for example to Chester to see the bishop 1569, to a visitation at Wigan in 1570 and also to Warrington, to West Derby Court in 1573, to Preston to see the Earl of Derby and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1575, to Chester in 1576, to Winwick in 1579, and to Manchester for the Commissioners in 1580.⁽¹⁾ This pattern of expenditure continued into the 1580s with various meetings with ecclesiastical and legal bodies culminating in travel to Lancaster in 1588. Only small expenditure was made for necessary fittings and furnishings. In 1580 the church organ with one hundred and forty-nine pieces of piping was removed, and from 1578-1585 protracted negotiations concerning the purchase of little catechisms for the parishioners was pursued with great reluctance. In 1585 many remained unsold. A new surplice and cloth for the communion table were purchased in 1583 - perhaps because of the arrival of a new vicar. The only substantial sum of money spent on the church during the 1580s was in 1586 when a church bell was recast twice in a special furnace built for the purpose. The bell metal, fuel, furnace and bellfounder cost over eleven pounds.⁽²⁾

By the mid 1580s the chancel of Prescot church was "greatly

(1) Pres. Accs., p.p. 67-84.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 85-108.

decayed" and no repairs carried out by the sublessee of the vicarage.⁽¹⁾ At the 1590 Metropolitan visitation the church itself was reported to be in a state of decay⁽²⁾ and by 1592 the church lacked even a decent communion table and cloth to cover it.⁽³⁾ By 1595 the decay of the chancel was so great it had almost fallen down.⁽⁴⁾ These depredations are borne out by the churchwardens' accounts where lead that fell off the roof in 1593 was sold and other lead that was "blowne off" was disposed of in 1594.⁽⁵⁾ Little substantial response to these conditions was immediately evident - the porch was slated, a few shingles added to the roof and the church whitewashed.⁽⁶⁾ Finally in 1600 a new communion table was purchased for twelve shillings and a cloth for it in 1601 costing eleven shillings and three pence.⁽⁷⁾ Whether through enforced necessity or through planned choice, Prescott church was evidently in such an unsound and dangerous state that in 1610 the entire church was rebuilt.⁽⁸⁾

The low level of ecclesiastical bequests and poor state of many south-west Lancashire churches testified to a disinterest in the physical condition of church fabric by the congregations of the area.

(1) Pres. Recs., p. 32.

(2) B.I.Y., R V I A 12, fo. 71.

(3) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 123.

(4) B.I.Y., R V I A 14.

(5) Pres. Accs., p.p. 119-123.

(6) Ibid., p.p. 110-126.

(7) Ibid., p.p. 133-136.

(8) V.C.H. III, p. 341.

This situation was exacerbated because church and chapel did not always operate to the best advantage of the established church. A complicated and protracted dispute, for example, involved Childwall church and Hale chapel in the early 1590s. The Earl of Derby was required to adjudicate in the dispute which involved the testimony of thirteen witnesses on behalf of Childwall churchwardens and seven witnesses on the part of Hale. The evidence referred to eighteen years' dispute concerning the share of leys Hale chapelry had to contribute to the mother church. In 1591 from Greenwich the Earl issued his decision in favour of the Childwall wardens, but by 1593 he had to write to the constables within Hale chapelry and the chapel warden ordering that the belated leys should be paid over before witnesses "at your perils".⁽¹⁾ This dispute highlights the poor provision for many chapels and the bitter local contests that could ensue over ecclesiastical finance. In Childwall parish quite a complex method of local taxation had evolved with the townships of the parish divided into quarters - but Speke, Garston and Allerton comprised one quarter that paid 8/25 of leys, Much Woolton, Little Woolton, Wavertree and Thingwall were another quarter paying also 8/25, Childwall township paid 1/25, and Hale chapelry of Halewood, Halebank and Hale made up the final quarter also assessed for 8/25.⁽²⁾ Less protracted, but nonetheless serious, were disputes between Prescot church and Farnworth chapel. For instance, in 1586

(1) B.L., Add. Mss. 36942.4, fos. 117-121.
B.L., Add. Ch. 52613.

(2) B.L., Add. Mss. 369424, fo. 117v.

a citation had to be obtained from Chester to force the chapel to pay their leys for that year when a considerable proportion went to the recasting of the bells at Prescott.⁽¹⁾

This disinterest in church fabric and endowment could, however, have been a temporary phenomenon brought about by unwelcome religious changes. Another indication of a community's interest in its ecclesiastical buildings might be the expressions in surviving wills concerning the place of burial of the testator. In Walton parish 56 (69%) out of 81 surviving wills make a specific reference to place of burial - either at or in Walton Church, Liverpool chapel or Kirkby chapel. At Childwall parish a similar proportion is evident as 55 (71%) out of 78 surviving wills arrange for burial at or in Childwall Church or Hale chapel. In the other two parishes the proportion is even higher. Huyton Church or churchyard was specifically designated as place of burial in 30 (81%) out of 37 surviving wills, and at Prescott 168 (84%) of 201 surviving wills arranged for burial at Prescott, Farnworth or even Warrington in three cases. So keen was interest in place of burial that some arrangements could be very specific - several testators at Prescott wished to be buried in the church where their forms stood,⁽²⁾ whilst one testator at Farnworth specified interment in the churchyard between the porch and the cross, and another testator wished to be buried under the yew tree in the chapelyard.⁽³⁾

The local communities might also have an interest in their

(1) Pres. Accs., p.p. 100-101.

(2) L.R.O., Wills of William Cowper, Eccleston 1591 and William Garnett, Rainhill 1591.

(3) L.R.O., Wills of Hugh Shepley, Cronton 1591 and Thomas Ranicars, Penketh 1592.

church for non-ecclesiastical purposes. Various churches were used in October 1560 for gentlemen and freeholders to assemble with their proofs of tenure to meet the Queen's feodary - Liverpool chapel on 10th, Childwall church on 11th and Prescot church on 12th October.⁽¹⁾ In 1573 the sheriff and Justices of the Peace of Lancashire called a meeting in Liverpool chapel on the instructions of the Privy Council in an attempt to enforce regulations concerning meat during the Lent period - all butchers, alehouse and innkeepers were ordered to attend.⁽²⁾ During the same year the chapel was used also as the venue for paying the subsidy; the collector Mr. John More of Bankhall gave notice that he wished to collect after the morning service⁽³⁾ - (surely a good reason for non-attendance!). Regularly churches were used as payment venues for local transactions - the porches of Huyton and Childwall were specified, Garston chapel, the Exchequer in West Derby chapel and the font in Prescot church.⁽⁴⁾ Another regular practice was to hold Duchy of Lancaster enquiries in ecclesiastical buildings and to take depositions there - virtually every church and chapel in the area was used.⁽⁵⁾ In 1585 the hundred and halmote courts of West Derby had to be held in the chapel there although it was a place "nothing decente" for such a purpose

- (1) L.T.B. I, p. 138.
See comments Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, p. 45.
- (2) L.T.B. II, p. 87.
- (3) Ibid., p. 78.
- (4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52577 and 52554.
B.L., Add. Mss. 36924, fo. 220.
L.R.O., DDLi 253/7.
P.R.O., DL 4/917.
Pres. Recs., p. 163.
- (5) P.R.O., DL 4/7/13, DL 4/14/16, DL 4/19/12, DL 4/24/38,
DL 4/40/25, DL 4/42/38.

because of the ruin and decay of the court house.⁽¹⁾

In addition to the ecclesiastical buildings, the clergy might also have been of some non-religious use or value to the community - particularly as scribes. Certainly clergymen could have easily written many wills for their parishioners as in the case of the will of Richard Pendleton of Huyton where the scribe is specifically mentioned as the vicar Edward Lowe.⁽²⁾ This practice, however, does not seem to have been particularly common. In Prescot parish only 6 (4%) out of 162 surviving wills even have clergymen as witnesses, but perhaps this is only to be expected where the vicars were so frequently absent. A truer picture is represented by the 9 (13%) out of 72 surviving suitable wills at Childwall and the 6 (19%) out of 31 wills at Huyton. In Walton parish, however, this proportion is much higher as 21 (30%) of 69 surviving wills with witnesses involved a clergyman's name. Between 1590-1598 the vicar of Walton, Peter Hey, was mainly responsible for this higher proportion - perhaps by deliberate policy or personal character. In the entire area only once was any clergyman designated as the executor in a will.⁽³⁾ Equally occasionally it seems as if individual clergymen were called upon for other writing services. From 1598-1600 vicar Edmund Hopwood of Childwall was paid by his churchwardens because he wrote presentments for them,⁽⁴⁾ and vicar Roger Devias of Huyton was owed money in a probate debt list for writing a pair of indentures

- (1) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Records: Special Commissioners DL 44/369.
- (2) ed. F. J. Furnival, Child Marriages, Divorces and Ratifications in the Diocese of Chester, Early English Text Society 1897, p.131.
- (3) Pres. Recs., p. 216.
- (4) Child. Accs., p.p. 38-48.

for a husbandman in his parish.⁽¹⁾

In contrast, the local clergymen and their churches were of considerable concern and interest to the local gentry in a variety of ways unrelated to the actual quality of the clergy, the type of service being performed or the standard of repair of the church buildings. Of greatest interest to the local gentry was the question of patronage in the three appointed rectories. Burscough priory, until its suppression, had been patrons of the Huyton living; the Crown then took over and remained responsible for presenting the clergy until the rectory was sold in 1598.⁽²⁾ In 1553 Queen Mary had leased the rectory for twenty-one years, but in 1568 Queen Elizabeth released it for thirty-one years following the expiry of the previous lease (rent £21-3-11).⁽³⁾ Eight years before this lease expired in 1598 the Huyton rectory was sold for £955-19-2 to Edward Cason, of the Middle Temple and Richard Burrell, grocer.⁽⁴⁾ On the eventual expiry of the lease in June 1605 these purchasers resold to a local gentleman, Edward Tarbock Junior of Tarbock township, for £1380.⁽⁵⁾ Two months later he resold the rectory to his father, Edward Tarbock Esquire, for £1330.⁽⁶⁾ Therefore, during the sixteenth century the presentation of clergy and tithe income from the rectory had been of relatively little concern to the local gentry of Huyton parish, but when the opportunity arose at the beginning of the seventeenth century

(1) L.R.O., Will of Thomas Gorsuch, Huyton 1596.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 153.

(3) Ibid., p. 154.

(4) L.R.O., Solicitors' Accumulations H. Cross & Co., Prescot, DDCs 16/1.

(5) L.R.O., DDM 33/3.

(6) L.R.O., DDM 33/4.

the Tarbock family from Huyton parish seized their chance to acquire this local patronage.

Upholland priory had held the advowson of Childwall until the dissolution, when by 1538 the rectory and tithe barns had been leased for thirty-one years to John Chadderton Esquire of Portsmouth for £56-16-4 per annum. In 1551 he was able to renew his lease.⁽¹⁾ However, the collection of tithes in the parish did not always progress smoothly. During the 1550s George Ireland Esquire of Hale refused to co-operate and allowed the tithe barn to fall into great "ruin, waste and decay" and William Norris of Speke was accused of riotously entering Woolton tithe barn and seizing tithe corn.⁽²⁾ The local gentry were clearly accustomed to collecting the tithes and paying servants of John Chadderton in London. In 1553 and 1554 payments were receipted normally, but in 1556 William Norris' servant claimed to have tarried at the font stone in St. Paul's London waiting to make payment, but no-one arrived.⁽³⁾ In 1547 William Norris had in fact bought the lease to the tithe barn in Garston from Lawrence Ireland of Lydiate in Lancashire who had sublet it from a Sir William Leyland.⁽⁴⁾ These complex local responsibilities for tithe collection ensured that disputes involving the Norris and Ireland families continued through the 1560s and 1570s.⁽⁵⁾

In 1582 a new lease of three lives for the rectory was granted

(1) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2071, fo. 174.
Pleadings and Depositions, p. 152.

(2) Ibid., p. 153 and p. 224.

(3) B.L., Add. Mss. 36942.4, fos. 106-113.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52499.

(5) P.R.O., REQ 2 268/72 and 275/102.
C.R.O., EDC 2/9, fo. 356.

by the Bishop of Chester to James Anderton of Lostock in Lancashire for £56-6-4 per annum - the rectory having been let since 1568 to his father, Christopher Anderton, who had acquired also the lease of the Garston tithes in 1574 for an additional 15-4d per annum.⁽¹⁾ This latter was renewed in 1586 at the same rent,⁽²⁾ and his grandson was able to obtain a further renewal in 1603.⁽³⁾ As before, however, the Anderton family sublet the tithe collection to the local gentry.⁽⁴⁾ The Norris family even entered into an agreement with the vicar of Childwall in 1598 to pay him £4-0-0 per annum in lieu of the small tithes of hemp and flax in Garston and pig and goose in Little Woolton.⁽⁵⁾ An idea of the value of all of these tithes to the Norris family can be obtained from a memorandum drawn up in 1602 valuing Childwall rectory to the farmer.⁽⁶⁾

Woolton tithe barn	26- 0-0
Lee tithe barn (Little Woolton)	25- 0-0
Halebank tithe barn	15- 0-0
Hay	4- 0-0
Mortuaries	1-10-0
Tithe of all mills	11-0
Tithe fish	5-0
Tithe wool and lamb, besides Childwall house	8- 0-0

(contd.)

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- (1) L.R.O., Gerard of Ashton in Makerfield Papers, DDGe/232.
B.L., Harl. Mss. 2071, fo. 174.
- (2) L.R.O., DDGe/202.
- (3) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2176, fo. 26.
- (4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52618 and 52630.
L.R.O., DDGe/790, DDGe/1171, DDGe/1331.
- (5) B.L., Add. Ch. 52636.
- (6) Liverpool University Library, Norris Deeds 239.

Glebe land in occupation John Hitchmough	13- 4
Glebe land in Hale in occupation wife of John Wiswall	1-11
Little barn in hands of my cousin Ogle	10- 0- 0
Wavertree tithe barn in hands of Thomas during his life	15- 0- 0
Tithe corn of Holt and Aigburth in hands of Brettergh and his mother	5- 0- 0
George Ireland's wife has lease for	13- 4
For Childwall house for corn, hay, wool and lamb	6-13- 4
Mr. Ireland has a barn for the demeane Hutte and Hale	10- 0- 0
Edward Norris held by lease in Speke, Garston and Allerton	16- 0- 0
Total of receipts and profits	144- 7-11
(Incorrectly added to	142- 7-11)
From receipts to pay out yearly	76-16- 4
In repair of chancel by estimation	5- 0
In other odd changes	<u>3- 6- 8</u>
	80- 8- 0

Prescot rectory occupied a somewhat unusual position in southwest Lancashire. In 1445 King Henry VI had granted patronage of the rectory to his newly founded King's College at Cambridge,⁽¹⁾ and in 1448 the rectory itself was appropriated to King's including the tithes, religious dues, manorial profits of Prescot town and the demesne land of Prescot Hall.⁽²⁾ This property became the most remote and quite isolated of the lands of King's College and it was quite rare for college personnel to visit Prescot themselves.⁽³⁾ Quite early on, therefore, the college leased the rectory to the Earls of Derby and in 1558 a renewal of the lease was negotiated at

(1) Prescot Records at King's College, IV 1 and IV 2.

(2) Ibid., IV 3 and IV 4.

a cost of £90-0-0 per annum for ten years with the Earl bearing the costs of repairs to the chancel and Prescot Hall.⁽¹⁾ In response the Earl sublet Prescot Hall to John Layton for ten years for £6-3-0 per annum with the tenant to repair the chancel and Prescot Hall and to collect the rents from the tithe barns.⁽²⁾ In 1568 a further renewal of the Earl's lease was secured at the same rent with twelve fat oxen (or £20-0-0 per annum in lieu).⁽³⁾ A memorandum by the Provost of the college dated about the time of this 1568 lease renewal gives some idea of the profits of the rectory.⁽⁴⁾

Bold tithe (leased to Mr. Bold)	13-16-0
Penketh tithe	4- 5-0
Great Sankey tithe (leased to Mr. Butler)	5-10-0
Eccleston tithe (leased to Mr. Eccleston)	6- 3-4
Prescot tithe (leased to Margaret Latham)	1- 6-8
Demesne and mill (leased to John Layton)	5-19-8
Rainhill tithe (leased to the Vicar)	4- 0-0
Prescot rents	12-16-5
Widnes and a new barn at Appleton	5-10-0
Cronton	4-10-0
Ditton and Cuerdley	9- 0-0
Sutton tithe barn	9- 0-0
Parr tithe barn	5- 0-0
Whiston tithe barn	2- 6-8
Rainford tithe barn	4- 0-0
Windle	<u>4-10-0</u>
	38-12-4

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- (1) Pres. Recs., p.p. 7-8.
(2) Ibid., p.p. 12-13.
(3) Ibid., p. 8.
(4) Ibid., p.p. 25-26.

By 1586 probably a truer picture emerges with another memorandum which estimated the gross profits of Prescott rectory at £505-2-1 per annum for which the Earl paid in total £180-8-6.⁽¹⁾ Whatever the exact profit figure Prescott rectory was clearly a considerable financial asset and in 1598 William, the sixth Earl, was anxiously trying to recover the tithes into his own hands and contested with Henry Eccleston Esquire the sub-lease of the tithes in Eccleston.⁽²⁾ In any case, during the second half of the sixteenth century the value of the great tithes rose considerably, much more so than did the small tithes on which many vicars were virtually dependent.⁽³⁾ This financial situation with regard to the great tithes, no doubt, kept the rectorial patronage at the forefront of interest for many gentry.

Another way in which gentry and other local interest was maintained in ecclesiastical revenue was through the dissolved chantry endowments. For instance, the Norris family maintained their interest in the chantry founded by the family in the late fifteenth century and endowed with land in Halewood, Much Woolton, Garston and Wavertree townships. In 1582 these lands had been leased by the Crown to Ralph Asheley Esquire, but on their surrender in 1598 they were re-let for £12-0-0 to Edward Norris of Speke.⁽⁴⁾ When these chantry lands were surveyed in 1608 they amounted to two messuages in Halewood, two in Much Woolton, one in Garston and two

(1) Prescott Records at King's College, IV 18.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Vol. 172 D 3 (43) and DL 1 Vol. 176, D 5 (71).

(3) O'Day, The English Clergy, p. 173.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52375, 52379, 52640, 52641, 52639.

rent charges in Wavertree. At this date Sir William Norris was able to buy the chantry lands for one hundred and twenty-five pounds.⁽¹⁾

Likewise in Liverpool the four quite well endowed chantries caused immediate interest in the vicinity when they were suppressed. The one - the altar of St. Mary at the High Altar in St. Nicholas' chapel was leased in 1548 to Richard Wrightington of Lancashire and the other three chantries - St. Katherine's, St. John's and St. Nicholas' - were leased for twenty-one years to Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth.⁽²⁾ The endowments had been in the form of burgages, tenements, cottages and land in the town fields. In 1568 when Richard Molyneux had his property surveyed a total of sixty tenants were involved in his three chantry lands⁽³⁾ and the other chantry involved a further twenty sub-lessees.⁽⁴⁾ In addition to the chantries in Liverpool there had been a stone chapel - St. Mary del Key - beside the chapel. This was taken over by the town and in 1572 was referred to as "the townes new warehouse".⁽⁵⁾ As this, it was let by the town and the rent used to the town's benefit.⁽⁶⁾

In all parishes in this area the gentry wielded considerable influence over ecclesiastical affairs in a variety of ways. This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated through the surviving churchwardens' accounts for Childwall and Prescott parishes.⁽⁷⁾ The office of

(1) B.L., Add. Ch. 52689.

(2) P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Records: Colleges and Chantries, DL 14 Bundle 5/18 and DL 14 Bundle 5/19.

(3) L.R.O., DDM 12/30.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 402.

(5) L.T.B. II, p. 64.

(6) Ibid., p. 171.
J. Elton, "The Chapel of St. Mary del Key, Liverpool" in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. 54, 1902, p.p. 76-113.

(7) See Chapter XI.

churchwarden carried with it secular as well as ecclesiastical responsibilities, and at a parochial level the office made a significant contribution to local administration. The ecclesiastical duties were essentially to provide necessary church equipment and to superintend repairs. For instance at Childwall wine was provided regularly from Liverpool, occasionally the surplice was washed and even replaced, and intermittently new purchases made such as a Bible, a communion book or even a communion cup from a Chester goldsmith.⁽¹⁾ Annually the parish leys had to be accounted for and the income from rent and stocks collected.⁽²⁾ At Childwall eleven stocks brought in a return of one shilling each per annum in 1576,⁽³⁾ but this money was not always easy to obtain.⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps more unwelcome and time-consuming were the journeys the churchwardens were increasingly called upon to make. Visitations by the rural dean could involve travel to Prescot, Wigan, Warrington or Chester,⁽⁵⁾ a metropolitan visitation could mean Wigan and Manchester,⁽⁶⁾ and meetings with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners could take the churchwardens to

(1) Child. Accs., p. 56, p.p. 24-25, p. 9, p. 8, p. 5.

(2) Ibid., p. 18.

(3) Ibid., p. 10.

(4) Ibid., p.p. 24-25.

(5) Ibid., p.p. 5-6.

(6) Ibid., p. 25.

Preston.⁽¹⁾ In addition to this type of journey, by the 1590s the responsibilities of the churchwardens required them to make greater efforts regarding attendance at church. In 1590 the Childwall accounts recorded "spent being abroad in the parish six dayes to warne the parishioners to come to Churche according to my Lord of Derby's commandment"⁽²⁾ - (it sounds as if the Earl of Derby was able to inspire greater efforts than either the Queen or the Bishop!) and lists of the recusants, communicants and non-communicants had to be produced.⁽³⁾

Perhaps amongst the pleasanter ecclesiastical duties of the churchwardens was supervising the bell ringers, particularly on the Queen's coronation day (although, in fact, her accession day, 17th November, was usually meant). At both Childwall and Prescot the cost of the ringing on this day steadily increased. In 1575 the expenses had been only eight pence at Childwall; by 1586 they were twelve pence; by 1594 five shillings and by 1602 nine shillings "on the ringers and ourselves".⁽⁴⁾ At Prescot the two shillings and six pence of 1583 had risen steadily until in 1600 the twelve ringers cost six shillings, dinner for them four shillings, expenses for the churchwardens one shilling and four pence and ale for them all a further ten pence.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Child. Accs., p. 7.

(2) Ibid., p. 28.

(3) Ibid., p. 57.

(4) Ibid., p. 8, p. 16, p. 37, p. 56.

(5) Pres. Accs., p. 92, p. 134.

The Liverpool clergy were in a somewhat different environment from the other clergy in south-west Lancashire as their position was very susceptible to the wishes of the town and town officials.⁽¹⁾ The Liverpool clergy were chosen by the town as arranged with the Chancellor of the Duchy in 1565⁽²⁾ and the word 'elected' was used more than once. Not all choices were found to be satisfactory.⁽³⁾ Close supervision of the clergy's behaviour and practices was also possible in the one chapel town. In 1562-3 the Town Books record a decision that the mayor should see that a service was held in the chapel every Wednesday, Friday and Saturday evenings,⁽⁴⁾ and in 1584 the siting of the pulpit was a decision taken by the Assembly.⁽⁵⁾ However, in the early 1590s more concern is evident regarding the direction of services. In 1590 it was recorded that both the first and second lessons should be read in the nave, and clearly the minister did not co-operate. The mayor was reprimanded for not enforcing the town's decision and in 1592 the order had to be reiterated.⁽⁶⁾

Despite this interest in the order of service, the town officials were usually more concerned with the interior fittings of the chapel, particularly as they concerned them. In 1572 the

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 70.

(2) P.R.O., DL 42/23.

(3) See p.p. 516-518.

(4) L.T.B. I, p. 196.

(5) L.T.B. II, p. 461.

mayor's stall in the chancel was replaced by a new decent pew with the Queen's Arms set over it in "fayre guylding or other pleasant colors".⁽¹⁾ By 1587 "some contraversie, contencion and variance hath bene had and moved amongeste diverse women, as well the baliffes wyves nowe beinge, as others whose husbandes have heretofore supplied the same office, and chieflie for and aboutes theire places of kneelinge or sittinge in the church". The Assembly had to take the decision that, by seniority of office, those whose husbands had been mayor were to sit and kneel at the uppermost form or place nearest Mr. Mayor. Those whose husbands were then bailiffs were to have the highest form and she whose husband had been the most ancient bailiff the second place, with the same arrangement for the aldermen's wives. All this was to be accomplished with the proviso that if the forms were not "sufficiente and large enough to conteine theim all" the youngest in office was to remove to some other convenient place.⁽²⁾

In Liverpool, as elsewhere, concern in affairs of the church was evident, continuing and possibly contentious. The gentry had specific interests in church finance, ecclesiastical administration and safeguarding their own patronage, yet most parishioners had some points of direct contact with their churches - through leys, as churchwardens, or as places of business transaction. By the reign of Elizabeth I, however, not all were in sympathy with the type of service prescribed for these buildings.

(1) Ibid., p. 44 and p. 64.

(2) Ibid., p.p. 529-530.

b) The Development of Recusancy.

Many scholars have written at some length about the survival of Catholicism in northern England and in Lancashire in particular.⁽¹⁾ Christopher Haigh speaks of the county by the end of Elizabeth I's reign as "by far the most Catholic county in England" and John Bossy comments that there were "more Catholics in this relatively small area than in the rest of the North put together".⁽²⁾ Explanations for this situation have been offered, such as that "popular Protestantism had made minimal progress in Lancashire by the death of King Edward" and that "by the accession of Elizabeth, the Church in Lancashire was better able to withstand attack than it had ever been before".⁽³⁾ However, it is difficult to be precise about the development of recusancy; for much of Elizabeth's reign the country was "above all confused about religion".⁽⁴⁾ It must have taken at least a decade for Catholics, particularly in the north of England, to realise fully that they could no longer attend their parish churches. Indeed for some while after 1558 Catholicism must have continued as the religion of the majority and there was probably no need for open resistance to the Established church providing the 1559

(1) J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, London 1975, passim.

C. Haigh, Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire, London 1975, passim.

W. R. Trimble, The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, Cambridge Massachusetts 1964, passim.

(2) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 278.
Bossy, English Catholic Community, p. 92.

(3) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 178 and p. 195.

(4) E. Ives, "Queen Elizabeth and the People of England" in The Historian, No. 1, 1983, p. 5.

Settlement was casually enforced. (1)

The 1559 legislation provided a twelve pence fine payable for non-attendance at the approximately seventy days of obligation in the Anglican calendar by every recusant. The duty of collection lay with churchwardens who were able to distrain goods if necessary. (2)

Recusancy came to signify Catholicism in that Catholics were distinguished from Protestants by non-attendance at church and showing their opinion in the world. (3) However, especially in the north of England it is probably true that from 1558 to about 1580 "religious conservatism was very prevalent, but outright Catholic nonconformity was relatively rare". (4) Recusancy in the early part of Elizabeth's reign could be expected to be less in Lancashire than elsewhere because there was "no need for recusancy". (5)

Explanations for continuing Catholicism are in part geographic. Much of Lancashire was relatively isolated by geographic features and this undoubtedly applied strongly to the south-west of the county. Moorland, marsh, peat moss, mud flats and poor maritime connections contributed to this isolation, as did the area's distance from an

- (1) J. A. Hilton, "Catholicism in Elizabethan Northumberland" in Northern History, Vol. XIII, 1977, p.p. 44-46.
A. Pritchard, Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England, London 1979, p. 3.
- (2) H. Aveling, Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790, London 1966, p. 117.
- (3) P. Holmes, Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics, Cambridge 1982, p. 83.
- (4) Aveling, Northern Catholics, p. 61.
- (5) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 248.

economically dominant town.⁽¹⁾

The type of society was also a contributory factor to continuing Catholicism. In an area of "marked social continuity" and "marked social harmony",⁽²⁾ the fairly numerous gentry whose predominant interests were confined to their own territories⁽³⁾ were able to play a decisive role in supporting the 'old faith'. The gentry were able to maintain domestic chaplains who could continue to practise their traditional beliefs for the rest of their lives, and later the gentry households were vitally important in providing shelter, support and protection for the 'new' priests from abroad. In this type of household it was possible to ensure a suitable environment for traditional religious festivals to continue in a manner not likely elsewhere.⁽⁴⁾ Only the gentry had the resources for this continued and sustained support. In the North's "quasi-feudal social structure" the rest of society was probably quite strongly influenced by the lead provided by the gentry.⁽⁵⁾ In any event the gentry were also significant because of their role in local government and administration where their co-operation was essential for the enforcement of legislation within their locality.⁽⁶⁾ By 1570 the

(1) J. Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" in Past and Present, No. 21, 1962, p. 39.

(2) Bossy, English Catholic Community, p. 93.

(3) See Chapter III.

(4) Bossy, "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", p. 40.

(5) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 88.

(6) See Chapter XI.

gentry's stance had been recognized and in a letter Sir William Cecil received it was claimed that in Lancashire "in some houses of great men ... no service hath been said in the English tongue".⁽¹⁾

As has been previously stated, there were also considerable difficulties associated with the enforcement of the Elizabethan Settlement in this particular area. The size and poverty of the new diocese of Chester meant that it was not up to the task confronting it.⁽²⁾ Much of the diocese was so distant from the cathedral that ecclesiastical jurisdiction had long been "held in contempt" and the career of George Wilmesley had deprived the three south Lancashire rural deaneries of effective decanal supervision.⁽³⁾ The Bishop of Chester may have been the obvious instrument of enforcement to the Privy Council, but in his diocese he was probably little regarded. The bishops had few traditional contacts because the creation of the diocese was so recent, some unfortunate choices of appointment were made, and the bishops had to compete for social status, respect and obedience with the Earls of Derby.⁽⁴⁾

Chester was the last English see to be filled in Elizabeth's reign - not until 1561 by the "thoroughly unsuitable" William Downham.⁽⁵⁾ He was slow to appoint his officials and his visitations

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/74/22.

(2) V.C.H. Cheshire Vol. III, p.p. 12-13.
See Chapter X.

(3) V.C.H. Cheshire Vol. III, p. 14.

(4) F. Heal, Of Prelates and Princes: A study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate, Cambridge 1980, p. 244.

(5) V.C.H. Cheshire Vol. III, p. 20.

of 1562-3 and 1565 were performed only in a "perfunctory" manner.⁽¹⁾ In late 1567 it was reported to the Privy Council that news of the supposed Spanish invasion had greatly encouraged Papists in the North-West "to speak very boldly and to use great conferences". Gentlemen in the county of Lancashire were taking an oath amongst themselves not to receive the sacraments and they were able to lead the greatest part of the population.⁽²⁾ This report provoked some reaction from the Council which early in 1568 ordered the Bishop, the Earl of Derby and the sheriff to take action against these gentlemen.⁽³⁾ However, there was little effective response and in November 1568 William Glaseur at Chester could note that the Bishop would not go to Wigan - or such like place - to execute the Ecclesiastical Commission because he knew what a commotion would be caused. Mr. Glaseur knew that from Warrington all along the south coast of Lancashire the gentlemen had withdrawn from religion (with one exception).⁽⁴⁾ At this same time there was, however, some contradiction of opinion as the Bishop of Chester claimed to the Council that he had visited his diocese - despite it being six score miles in extent - and he had brought many obstinate and wilful persons into conformity and that he had found the people very

(1) Ibid.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/44/56.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/46/19.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/48/35.

"tractable and obedient".⁽¹⁾ Such was Bishop Downham's negligence that in 1570 he was summoned to London to explain his behaviour,⁽²⁾ but nothing had been done to improve episcopal administration and consequently during the early part of Elizabeth's reign the campaign against the Catholics had little effect in south-west Lancashire.

In July 1562 a special Ecclesiastical Commission had been appointed for the diocese of Chester with the intention that it would have greater effectiveness than the Bishop and his courts in enforcing legislation and in reforming the church.⁽³⁾ Originally there were twenty-one members - four clergy and the rest laymen - but in 1567-8 the membership had to be reviewed and seven laymen removed (two of whom at least were recusants).⁽⁴⁾ The head of the Commission remained the Earl of Derby who had been always, at best, conservative in religious matters.⁽⁵⁾ In 1571 when he was compiling notes on the state of Lancashire Lord Burghley referred to the rumours that the Prayer Book was not continued in use in the Earl's house as formerly and that his daughter-in-law, Lady Margaret Stanley, had been distributing silver crosses to the gentlewomen of the county.⁽⁶⁾

(1) P.R.O., SP 12/48/36.

(2) V.C.H. Cheshire, Vol. III, p. 20.

(3) P.R.O., SP 63/23/56.
W. P. M. Kennedy, Parish Life under Queen Elizabeth, London 1914, p. 106.

(4) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 213.
R. B. Manning, "The Makings of a Protestant aristocracy: the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in the Diocese of Chester 1550-98" in B. I. H. R., Vol. XLIX, 1970, p. 60.

(5) See Chapter II.

(6) H.M.C. Salisbury Manuscripts, Vol. I, p.p. 575-6.

In the late 1560s and early 1570s the political implications of recusancy became more evident⁽¹⁾ and by 1570 reports were being received that "on all hands the people fall from religion, revolt to popery, refuse to come to church" in Lancashire.⁽²⁾ The Bishop of Chester was urged to be more diligent and the Archbishop of Canterbury was required to investigate the Bishop's conduct.⁽³⁾ Presumably so serious were felt to be the failings of Bishop Downham that the Bishop of Carlisle was invited to visit Chester diocese.⁽⁴⁾ He reported that whereas the populations of Westmorland and Cumberland were conformable, in Lancashire people were resorting to popery.⁽⁵⁾ This cannot have done much for the prestige of Bishop Downham.

The developing political and religious situation in England and abroad from 1568-1574 transformed the picture of the early years of the reign and created a "Catholic community".⁽⁶⁾ In 1571 legislation tried to tighten controls of Catholics, but the remonstrances and appeals to the Bishop of Chester and the Earl of Derby can have had little effect in Lancashire which in 1574 was described as "the very sincke of Poperie".⁽⁷⁾ When three years later the Privy Council

(1) K. R. Wark, Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire, Chet. Soc. 3rd Series Vol. XIX, 1971, p. 12.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/74/22.

(3) A.P.C., Vol. VII, p. 399 and Vol. VII, p. 5.

(4) A.P.C., Vol. VIII, p. 28.

(5) P.R.O., SP 12/69/22.

(6) Pritchard, Catholic Loyalty, p. 4.

(7) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 64.
A.P.C., Vol. VIII, p.p. 276-7.

required a national survey of recusants only thirty-five names from this county were reported⁽¹⁾ - a comment more on Bishop Downham and the Ecclesiastical Commission than on the numbers of Catholics.

From about 1580, despite the problems of enforcement, the Government determined to secure acceptance of the Established church. Through the legislation of 1581 the recusancy fine was raised to twenty pounds per month for four successive absences from church with recusants being certified as such at the Quarter Sessions.⁽²⁾ This was not easy to enforce as it was tempting not to bother with those that could not afford the level of penalty, it demonstrated the need for lists to check attendance, and it involved the slow processes of local government with their multifarious local interests. Some fleeting action was taken at Prescot when the churchwardens were paid their expenses for attending at Manchester to take a book of the parishioners' names that they had compiled⁽³⁾ - but then no further action was recorded for twelve years.

Greater demands for action by the central government coincided with the episcopacy of William Chadderton (1579-1595). His personal qualities were more praiseworthy than those of his predecessor and he was aware of government anxiety.⁽⁴⁾ However,

(1) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p.p. 82-84.

(2) Aveling, Northern Catholics, p. 122.

(3) Pres. Accs., p. 84.

(4) V.C.H. Cheshire, Vol. III, p. 23.

there was probably some confusion over the expectations of various parties concerned - what they would have wished, what the law of the land required, and what in fact was feasible in local circumstances. Sir Francis Walsingham did write to Bishop Chadderton in 1580 congratulating him on winning "manie of the gentlemen of that countie to an outward obedience"⁽¹⁾ and a few months later he again commented to the Bishop that providing recusants attended church they could be left as non-communicants until preachers were provided to instruct them.⁽²⁾ Greater action in fact revealed the complexity of the offence. During the first part of Elizabeth's reign there had been much disassociation from the Established church through non-communicating, talking in sermons and similar activity - not only strict recusancy. The problem was also one of scale; Bernadino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, had reported to his king that "in the county of Lancaster they have arrested sixty men for attending mass. When the order arrived the people of the neighbourhood said that if the Queen was going to punish them for that, she would have to imprison all the county".⁽³⁾ The ambassador may have wished to impress Philip II, but the sentiment he expressed had some validity.

(1) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XVIII, p. 92.

(2) Ibid., No. XXIV, p. 97.

(3) P. Caraman, The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I, London 1960, p. 93 - quoting Calendar of State Papers Spanish, Vol. III, p. 38.

More vigorous action demanded by the Government did result in Bishop Chadderton being asked to improve his "imperfect" certificate of recusants and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners being reappointed and asked for greater efforts.⁽¹⁾ Much of this 'activity' may, however, have been of a rather superficial nature. Correspondence ensued concerning whether the Earl of Derby's house in Liverpool (the Tower) could suitably be used as a gaol for recusants, and whether a suitable gaoler could be found for recusants in Halton Castle (near Runcorn).⁽²⁾ More significant perhaps was the complaint in 1580 to the Ecclesiastical Commission by the farmer of the recusancy fines in Lancashire that no wealthy individuals were being proceeded against,⁽³⁾ and the decision in December 1581 to site the recusant gaol in Manchester (or more precisely New Fleet in Salford) well away from the coast in a place where the inhabitants were "well affected".⁽⁴⁾ In the same month the Privy Council went so far as to send the Earl of Derby a copy of the 1580 Act to Retain the Queen's Subjects in Due Obedience and to urge the Bishop, the sheriff and justices to take action accordingly.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XXV, p. 98.
Ibid., Lib. III, No. XII, p. 88.
Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 99.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. XII, p. 77 and p. 270.
Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XII, p. 88.

(3) Ibid., No. XIV, p. 89.
A.P.C., Vol. XII, p.p. 103-104.

(4) Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 279.

(5) Ibid., p. 284.
Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XXXI, p. 103, No. XLIII, p. 111.

Another element of this renewed action was the establishment in 1582 of a rate to pay for the maintenance of the recusant prison in Salford. The monthly fines imposed on recusants were to be used and supplemented by eight pence a week collected from every parish in Lancashire and Cheshire⁽¹⁾ - this had been allowed for in the statute of 1572, but never previously had been collected with any success.⁽²⁾ In 1577 Richard Bold Esquire of Prescott parish had complained about the tax and collection seems to have ceased.⁽³⁾ In 1582 Mr. Worsley, the keeper of the Salford Gaol, persuaded the Privy Council that he could operate better and establish a workhouse if he had a year's collection in advance.⁽⁴⁾ By early 1583 the Council was complaining to the Bishop and Earl of Derby about dilatoriness in collection and by July news had reached Council that "thinhabitaunts of ether countye doe murmere and fynde themselves greeved with the payment"⁽⁵⁾. The tax was equally levied on all parishes regardless of size. The problem appears to have preoccupied the Privy Council, yet in July 1583 keeper Mr. Worsley revealed that the gaol held only sixteen recusants (six priests and the rest too poor to pay their debts).⁽⁶⁾

(1) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. LII, p. 118.

(2) Ibid., No. LIII, p. 119.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/115/15.

(4) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. IV, No. VI, p. 126.

(5) Ibid., No. XVII, p. 133 and No. XX, p. 135.

(6) Ibid., No. XXI, p. 136.

Richard Bold Esquire was still leading obstinate gentlemen who refused to make contributions.⁽¹⁾

Despite the great fears of the 1580s with regard to Lancashire and the deteriorating foreign situation few really effective measures were taken against recusants. By 1590 the Earl of Derby was still being exhorted to act against the "many seminaries and other evill affected persons" in the county and "some exemplar punishment" was recommended.⁽²⁾ Evidence suggests, however, that the problems of enforcement had never seriously been tackled.⁽³⁾ Action was not easy, as events in November 1591 in Prescott parish demonstrated. Two of the Queen's messengers had been trying to seize the goods of certain recusants when they had been 'attacked' by nine men and four women from the neighbourhood. The Privy Council provided the Earl of Derby with their names and ordered their apprehension, but the sympathetic treatment accorded by the Earl to his close neighbours is evident when he claimed to the Council that the goods in question could not now be recovered and that the "weomen were unhable (being weak and sickly) to travel hither".⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid., No. XXVI, p. 140.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. XIX, p. 156 and p. 312.

(3) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 140.

(4) A.P.C., Vol. XXII, p.p. 92-93 (John Linaker, John Winstanley, Ellen Shepley, Elizabeth Shepley, Alice Shepley, Elizabeth Stanley, Richard Green, Hugh Grease, Thomas Halsall, John Gleast, Henry Goodall and John Wilson).
A.P.C., Vol. XXII, p. 468.

The Privy Council, however, was determined on greater action and in 1591 ordered the Assize judges to proceed against the husbands of women "that remayne obstinate" and the Earl of Derby to proceed against "the most principall persons, being of credit, for their obstinacie and in livelihood of habilitie and likeliest to do hurt by their example".⁽¹⁾ The Council was aware of the problems of enforcement in Lancashire: that recusants had spies near the Ecclesiastical Commissioners so that apprehension could be avoided, that some Commissioners and justices had in their possession grants of goods and lands from recusants so that the recusants were liable to forfeit less and that many Lancashire farmers of recusancy goods made easy compositions with the offenders.⁽²⁾ At the beginning of 1599 the new Bishop of Chester - Vaughan - reported similar problems especially the difficulty of seizing recusants because they had so many spies "above and beneath" and so many "kindred alliances".⁽³⁾

In the face of this situation most progress was made during the 1590s in the listing of recusants and the collection of fines. This had been wished for before⁽⁴⁾ but perhaps never seriously attempted until 1591 onwards.⁽⁵⁾ From the two surviving sets of churchwardens' accounts there is some evidence that during the 1590s a greater

(1) A.P.C., Vol. XXII, p.p. 325-326.
Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p.p. 110-111.
 M. B. Rowlands, "Recusant Women 1560-1640" in M. Prior, Women in English Society 1500-1800, London 1985, p.p. 149-152.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/240/138.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/266/18.

(4) Harland, Lancs. Lieutenancy, Vol. L, p.p. 186-187.

(5) H.M.C., Kenyon Mss. fo. 109, p. 600.

response was found in south-west Lancashire. At Childwall for the first time the two churchwardens were paid for going "forth to warne the Parishieners according to our articles for xii^d a Sondaye".⁽¹⁾ Following this action the churchwardens reported their work to the Dean at Warrington. The following year they again spent six days covering the parish to warn parishioners to come to church - possibly more effectively because it was done according to "my Lord of Derbies commandment" - and a list of the names of all parishioners was drawn up by one warden and conveyed to the Earl at Wigan.⁽²⁾ Likewise at Prescot, 1592 was a year of some action in this respect with the churchwardens compiling a list of parishioners and crossing out names (possibly of those who did indeed attend church).⁽³⁾

Then action seems to have reduced in intensity until the end of the decade. In 1598 both at Prescot and Childwall the churchwardens compiled new lists. At Prescot it is specifically mentioned that the task was done township by township and then all the names were written up in a book,⁽⁴⁾ whilst at Childwall the list of communicants and non-communicants was clearly drawn up on Easter Monday of that year.⁽⁵⁾ The lists from both parishes were then presented to the

(1) Child. Accs., p. 26. No reference was made to the twenty pounds per month fine collectable since 1580.

(2) Ibid., p. 28.

(3) Pres. Accs., p.p. 116-118.

(4) Ibid., p.p. 127-128.

(5) Child. Accs., p. 36.

Bishop at Prescot.⁽¹⁾ From 1599-1601 following this careful listing the churchwardens at both Prescot and Childwall were obviously empowered to warn non-attenders and recusants to come to church and to continue recording those who attended. It took the Prescot wardens eight days to compile all the names (!) yet still the twelve pence fine was referred to.⁽²⁾ In 1603 this pressure was maintained with the presentation of recusants and non-communicants at the Dean's court.⁽³⁾ Clearly Farnworth and Rainford chapel wardens shared this activity and presumably a similar level of commitment was demanded from Huyton and Walton parishes.⁽⁴⁾

Further indications of seriousness on the part of the Government are found during the 1590s in the way the Earl of Derby was much more frequently directed to take action against named individuals⁽⁵⁾ and in the way consistent efforts were made to force recusants of sufficient means to contribute to the military effort in Ireland - for example four gentlemen from Prescot parish had to furnish fifteen pounds each for a light horseman in 1598.⁽⁶⁾ The final move on the part of the Government was to create a new Ecclesiastical Commission in 1598 - very considerably enlarged to seventy-one members allowing

(1) Pres. Accs., p. 128.
Child. Accs., p. 36.

(2) Pres. Accs., p.p. 134-138.
Child. Accs., p. 46.

(3) Pres. Accs., p. 143.
Child. Accs., p. 57.

(4) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. XVI, p. 101.

(5) A.P.C., Vol. XXIII, p. 64, Vol. XXIV, p. 50 and p. 410.

(6) A.P.C., Vol. XXIX, p. 118, Edward Eccleston Esquire, Peter Wetherby gent., Henry Travers gent. and Henry Latham gent.

considerable representation by clergymen such as Thomas Meade of Prescot and Puritan lecturers.⁽¹⁾

These various measures instigated by the Government may have had a greater measure of success than attempts earlier in the reign, particularly with the translation to Chester of Richard Vaughan in 1597 - a bishop of very definite Protestant views and with some determination to suppress recusancy⁽²⁾ - and with the character of the new Ecclesiastical Commission of 1598. Official action clearly did stir local anxiety, fear and reaction. The end of the reign witnessed serious disturbances in south-west Lancashire: the attack in February 1599 on two royal messengers by recusants in Sutton township of Prescot parish - an incident which was still with difficulty being investigated in mid 1600 when a so-called 'riot' by recusants took place in Much Woolton township of Childwall parish.⁽³⁾

c) The Catholic community?

The number of priests, both 'old' and 'new', obviously served a significant Catholic congregation and ensured the development of recusancy, but it is not easy to assess what exactly this amounted

(1) Manning, "Makings of a Protestant aristocracy", p. 64 and p. 73.

(2) V.C.H. Cheshire, Vol. III, p. 25.

(3) See Chapter I and Chapter XV.

to. Recusancy had a strict legal definition, but over a period as long as the reign of Elizabeth I in practice it could have had a variety of interpretations. In its strict sense recusancy was non-attendance at the Anglican services, although in south-west Lancashire until the 1590s relatively few individuals were indicted and fined for this offence.⁽¹⁾ However, in addition to this overt recusant proportion of the population there must have been always a great many more Catholic sympathizers who were perhaps casual and infrequent church attenders. This proportion of the population is even harder to assess.⁽²⁾

In Lancashire conservative sentiments and practices survived widely within the framework of the Established church during the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁽³⁾ The extent of these Catholic practices is virtually impossible to measure, but by 1590 Edward Fleetwood, the vicar of Wigan, could refer to "the preachers that are so pestered with the supersticions of papists".⁽⁴⁾ For example, the 1559 Injunctions had limited the use of bells to one bell rung before the sermon, but in the North-West bells were much

(1) See p.p. 719-727.

(2) See p.p. 733-759.

(3) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 221.

(4) B.L., Add. Mss. 48064, fos. 68-69.

more frequently heard, for instance on All Saints and All Souls Days.⁽¹⁾ From late medieval England onwards holy water had been seen as a remedy for sickness both of humans and animals and even of value for fertility for fields and crops, but during the late 1540s the Protestant church had discarded the use of holy water along with holy oil and holy bread.⁽²⁾ In the middle of Elizabeth's reign the curate at St. Helen's chapel was still using holy water to bless his parishioners and their livestock.⁽³⁾ Traditional Catholic practice required quite a number of fast days during the year - on Fridays, holy days and during Lent; these could survive and be continued by household decision.⁽⁴⁾ Likewise feast days could be celebrated, particularly in gentry households. Many Catholic beliefs and practices, such as these, were integrated into the usual lifestyle of many rural areas,⁽⁵⁾ and may well have continued in south-west Lancashire right through Elizabeth's reign - certainly by recusants, but also by many others in the community. A presentment from Farnworth chapelry in 1604 cited many disorders including "wearing Palme crosses".⁽⁶⁾

Baptism was a sacrament easily performed privately providing a priest was available. It was also possible that a vicar or curate was asked and/or bribed to enter a baptism he had not performed into the register book, or for Catholic families to arrange two baptism

- (1) Kennedy, Parish Life, p. 25 and p.p. 117-118.
- (2) K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, London 1971, p. 30 and p. 57.
- (3) See p. 520.
- (4) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 125.
- (5) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 43.
- (6) Cecil Papers 141/282 in C.R.S. Vol. LIII, 1960, p. 147.

ceremonies - one privately and one in church.⁽¹⁾ At private baptisms it was, of course, likely that suitable Catholic godparents could be arranged⁽²⁾ and that practices such as the triple submersion of the child and the use of chrism could be adopted.⁽³⁾

Marriage was another sacrament also fairly easily performed privately through the services of a priest. In any case, many parts of the country had a long tradition of private contract for marriage so that the services of the Established church in this respect were no great loss.⁽⁴⁾ Whilst in the Gatehouse Gaol in 1593 Edward Eccleston of Prescott parish testified that he had been married a number of years previously by an 'old' priest, Roger Ditchfield.⁽⁵⁾ How many clandestine marriages actually involved Catholics is not easy to assess, but it has been claimed that in the last decade of the sixteenth century the number of these recusant marriages was increasing.⁽⁶⁾ For example, Alice Wolfall and William Spencer Gentleman were presented in 1595 for marrying without banns in Walton parish.⁽⁷⁾ They, in fact, both came from Huyton and in the

(1) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 126.

(2) Kennedy, Parish Life, p. 118.

(3) State civil and ecclesiastical, p. 7.

(4) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 136.

(5) B.L., Harl. Mss. 6998, fo. 52.

(6) H. Aveling, "The Marriages of Catholic Recusants 1559-1642" in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. XIV, 1963, p.p. 72-74.

(7) B.I.Y., E V I A 14.

same year were recorded in their own parish as recusants.⁽¹⁾ In about 1590 these Catholic marriages were described in Lancashire with the frequent use of crosses, the transposing of the ring from finger to finger, the giving of a large dowry for the woman, the bringing of the parties to and from church with piping and the spending of the whole wedding day in dancing.⁽²⁾ Certainly Henry Halewood, the wait in Liverpool, was presented in 1590 for piping before weddings in Walton parish.⁽³⁾ The recusant list from Farnworth chapelry in 1604 recorded six couples as having been married by popish priests.⁽⁴⁾

Burials could be a very much more sensitive event. Generally there was great determination by all the community to be buried in a specific place - in the parish church or churchyard even in a designated location.⁽⁵⁾ Usually, therefore, Catholics also strongly wished to use parochial facilities and this could create an area of potential conflict with the clergy of the Established church.⁽⁶⁾ The description of Lancashire in about 1590 explained in detail the traditional practices associated with burial that were still commonly used. Graves were dug during service times, the burial procession stopped at crosses en route to the church, the corpse may well have been buried without the minister being present although the church may have been used, popish rites were employed at home whilst the

(1) ed. H. Bowler, Recusant Rolls Nos. 3 and 4, 1595-6 in C.R.S., Vol. LXI, 1970.

(2) State civil and ecclesiastical, p. 7.

(3) B.I.Y., R V I A 12, fo. 71.

(4) Cecil Papers 141/282 in C.R.S. Vol. LIII, 1960, p.p.148-149.

(5) See p. 701.

(6) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 136.

corpse was still there - such as it was "all garnished with Crosses, and sett rounde abowte with tapers and candelles burninge night and day", the neighbours visited the corpse to say pater nosters, there was kneeling around the corpse and wailing at the time of burial, there was excessive ringing of bells before and after the burial, a 'dole' or "banquet of charitie" was prepared at an alehouse for neighbours after the burial, and twelve months later on "minninge day" the bells were rung again. ⁽¹⁾

In south-west Lancashire Catholic influence at burials was certainly widespread. In 1578 there had been presentations in Walton parish for excessive bell-ringing at burials, ⁽²⁾ and in 1592 in Prescot parish the Earl of Derby was called upon by the Privy Council to make enquiries following the "disorderly burial" of a recusant Henry Laithwaite. ⁽³⁾ Further details of recusant burials emerged in the depositions collected after disturbances in Childwall parish in 1600. Edmund Hopwood the vicar testified that at the burial of the wife of Ralph Hitchmough a red cross and two other burned crosses had been on the sheet over the body, and on at least two occasions in that year recusants refused to follow the vicar into church, but buried the body themselves in the churchyard. It was claimed also that there was nothing unusual in "four score or

(1) State civil and ecclesiastical, p.p. 4-6.
Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 39.

(2) B.I.Y., R V I A 7, fo. 47v.

(3) A.P.C. Vol. XXII, p. 529 and A.P.C. Vol. XXIII, p.p. 64-65.

more" people attending the funeral of a recusant from Speke - five miles away from the parish church - because "all neighbours go one with another" and it was the "custom for one to go from every house to funerals".⁽¹⁾ The continuing seriousness surrounding the problem of Catholic burials is highlighted by William Blundell's provision in Crosby in an adjacent parish of a Catholic burial ground - the Harkirk - which was used from 1611 onwards.⁽²⁾

In addition to traditional and conservative religious practices, recusancy in Lancashire came to be associated with traditional pastimes and practices on the Sabbath. To what extent this behaviour was an accepted and traditional part of weekly activities, and to what extent it was deliberately encouraged by recusants as a form of protest and demonstration of opposition to the Established church, is now hard to discern. According to the 1559 Injunctions alehouses were to be closed during service times.⁽³⁾ This rarely seems to have happened in south-west Lancashire and, for example, several men were presented from Childwall in 1592 for being "haunters" of alehouses during divine service.⁽⁴⁾ Various accounts make some reference to the "multitude of alehouses" in the county and even to the "unreasonable strength of ale!"⁽⁵⁾ Possibly in

- (1) P.R.O., STAC 5 A8/31.
R. G. Dottie, "The Recusant Riots at Childwall in May 1600": A Reappraisal" in T.H.S.L.C., Vol. CXXXII, 1983, p p. 1-23.
- (2) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 143.
Blundell, Old Catholic Lancashire, p. 53.
- (3) Kennedy, Parish Life, p. 26.
- (4) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 116.
- (5) State civil and ecclesiastical, p. 12.

conjunction with drinking a number of men from Prescott parish were presented, also in 1592, for playing cards in James Ditchfield's house during evening service on the Sabbath.⁽¹⁾ In the same year the Privy Council urged the Earl of Derby to take greater action to suppress May games, morris dances, plays, bear-baitings and ales which were held on Sundays chiefly by those "evily affected" in religion.⁽²⁾ Even markets and fairs were traditionally held on the Sabbath.⁽³⁾

As well as 'disturbance' of the Sabbath day, recusants and their friends or sympathizers were associated also with actual disturbance of Anglican services. Quite frequently parishioners might attend church but not receive communion or ostentatiously not pay attention to the minister. They might arrive very late for the service, or depart before it was finished.⁽⁴⁾ At Childwall a number of presentments were made in 1592 for individuals who stood and talked in the churchyard during the service and in the church during the sermon, whilst at Prescott there were no less than fifty-four presentments in 1604 for parishioners in church standing gazing into the street during the service.⁽⁵⁾ Other disruptions might originate outside the church such as the throwing of stones onto the church roof or piping in the churchyard during the service. Several men

(1) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 124.

(2) A.P.C., Vol. XXII, p. 549.

(3) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XVII, p. 91.

(4) Pritchard, Catholic Loyalty, p. 4.
State civil and ecclesiastical, p. 4.

(5) C.R.O., EDV 1/10, fo. 116.
Haigh, "Puritan Evangelism", p. 47.

were accused of this at Childwall in 1592 and even in more orthodox Liverpool the town authorities were still trying to suppress piping and dancing during evening service in 1598.⁽¹⁾

Outward conformity was obviously possible at times for some recusants, and Vicar Meade of Prescot had the sense in 1592 to know that many "come for fear of the laws, yet there other actions do signifie that they have hartes otherwise affected".⁽²⁾ It was probably true that the 'trappings' of the Old Faith remained very enticing for many.⁽³⁾ There may well, therefore, have been significant numbers who at least intermittently attended Anglican services yet who retained an attachment to Catholic practices, sympathy for recusants and even indirect or direct support for them. For instance, even Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth in Walton parish "maketh shew of good conformitie, but many of his companie are in evell note" in 1590, and when a royal messenger and the Earl of Derby wished to apprehend Mistress Anne Westbie three years later she could not be found although a "lyttle before" she was in the company of Sir Richard.⁽⁴⁾ Liverpool had perhaps greater attachment to the Established church than much of the area and had at least installed a Protestant preacher by the end of Elizabeth's reign, but the port

(1) L.T.B. II, p. 753.

(2) Prescot Records at King's College, IV 24 (4).

(3) C. Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle: A study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism" in Past and Present, No. 51, 1971, p. 46.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.
A.P.C., Vol. XXIV, p. 361.

maintained easy access with Catholic Ireland and Spain. During the 1590s the mayor and other prominent townsmen frequently lodged foreign, and especially Irish, merchants who refused to attend church on Sundays.⁽¹⁾ This did not make the mayor and his associates into recusants, but it reflected an element of sympathy and unwillingness to proceed against non-attenders.

In addition there must have been a substantial proportion of the population with direct contact and links with recusants. Merely to provide two examples from many, John Ogle Gentleman and Edward Tarbock Esquire, both from Huyton parish, attended church with a degree of conformity in 1590 but both their respective wives were recusants.⁽²⁾ Where did their sympathies lie? Then there were the determined and persistent recusants, who by the 1590s were more easily counted - Peter Wetherby Gentleman and Edward Eccleston Esquire, both from Prescott parish, who by 1601 were both confined to five miles from their homes, or Cecily Penketh who by 1601 had not attended Prescott church for sixteen years.⁽³⁾ Such was the varied and sometimes confusing nature of the Catholic community by the end of the sixteenth century.

d) The Recusants.

Nothing is new about the problems of enumerating recusants; the

(1) See Chapter VII.
L.T.B. II, p. 631.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.
For an estimate of numbers see Table LXI.

(3) P.R.O., SP 12/282/74.
Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, p. 79.

Elizabethans themselves had great difficulties of definition, record keeping and actual apprehension. There was always uncertainty concerning how many recusants actually existed, and in what sense individuals could be classified as such. Aside from this, there is the further uncertainty of what sort of people recusants were and what their relationship was with one another.

Usual estimates of numbers are based on the recusant rolls which in any event were not produced until the 1590s. These rolls in themselves are very "problematical" because they are lists of convicted recusants owing fines and have a primarily financial motive - although possibly the fines were regarded more as a threat than a liability.⁽¹⁾ Many recusants, however, may never have been convicted; in 1595 it was suggested that many attended church on only one or two Sundays before the Assizes met.⁽²⁾

TABLE LVII: NUMBERS RECORDED IN
RECUSANT ROLLS FOR SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	<u>Huyton</u>	<u>Childwall</u>	<u>Walton</u>	<u>Prescot</u>
Recusant Roll 1592-3	8	35	13	62
Recusant Roll 1593-4	2	33	6	14
Recusant Roll 1595-6	5	23	4	21
<u>Total</u>	15	91	23	97

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- (1) Wark, Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire, p.p. 86-87.
- (2) H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., f. 23, p. 585.
- (3) ed. M. M. C. Calthrop, Recusant Roll No. 1, 1592-3 in C.R.S. Vol. XVIII, 1916.
ed. H. Bowler, Recusant Roll No. 2, 1593-4 in C.R.S. Vol. LVII, 1965.
ed. H. Bowler, Recusant Rolls Nos. 3 and 4, 1595-6 in C.R.S. Vol. LXI, 1970.

The case of Prescott parish highlights the inadequacy of these rolls.

It has been claimed that the numbers reflect "not so much the incidence of recusancy but the efforts put into finding them".⁽¹⁾

The visitation records for the parish list 18 recusants in 1590, 99 in 1598, 184 in 1601 and no less than 682 recusants and non-communicants in 1604 - a figure estimated at about 34 per cent of the population of communicating age.⁽²⁾ In Christopher Haigh's opinion there were probably as many temporizers, church papists and 'fair weather' Catholics in the same parish.⁽³⁾

Table LVIII indicates the known recusants within the four parishes of south-west Lancashire during the 1590s together with the township in which they lived.⁽⁴⁾ Bearing in mind the inadequacy of the recusant rolls and visitation lists, these numbers must represent the very minimum figures and even then immediate discrepancies are apparent. Walton parish is probably seriously under-represented due to poor documentation for the entire parish and virtually no documentation for Kirkby chapelry. For the same reasons Hale chapelry in Childwall parish is probably significantly under-represented as are some townships in Prescott parish, for example Bold, Cuerdley, Penketh and Great Sankey to the east and Prescott township itself. Table LVIII includes also those families which

(1) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 273.

(2) Ibid., p. 275.

(3) Ibid., p. 276.

(4) See above for recusant rolls.
C.R.O., EDV 1 and EDV 2 Visitation Correction and Call Books.

TABLE LVIII: NAMED RECUSANTS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE DURING 1590s.

		<u>Town- ship Total</u>	<u>Parish Total</u>	<u>Probable families with recusant sympathies</u>
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Fazakerley Township West Derby Township Kirkdale Township Bootle Township Walton Township Liverpool Township	11 18 1 2 3 8	43	68
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	Huyton Township Tarbock Township Knowsley Township	29 20 15	64	22
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Halewood Township Hale Township Much Woolton Township Little Woolton Township Allerton Township Wavertree Township Garston Township Speke Township Childwall Parish	22 12 9 6 15 17 31 42 5	159	171
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Ditton Township Cronton Township Cuerdley Township Penketh Township Great Sankey Township Widnes Township Bold Township Rainford Township Windle Township Eccleston Township Whiston Township Sutton Township Rainhill Township Parr Township Prescot Township	51 38 20 5 17 54 52 10 21 13 13 24 13 14 1	346	421

were probably either recusant - but unrecorded - or recusant in sympathy with very infrequent church attendance. Their numbers have been calculated from probate indications⁽¹⁾ and from those families which, over a period of time, used their parish churches only for burials and never for baptisms and marriages.

The social status and/or occupations of recusants not unexpectedly bear a close relationship to those groups of people who inevitably were well documented and to the predominant occupations of the area.⁽²⁾ What is abundantly clear from Table LIX is that the government and contemporary commentators were justified in attributing significant recusant activity to the gentry of the area,⁽³⁾ and otherwise recusants could have existed amongst almost any occupational group. The chance survival of recusants' occupations has to be taken into consideration, but, allowing for this and for the likely poor registration of labourers, recusancy in south-west Lancashire was a habit of life for a cross-section of the population.

It has been claimed that, albeit "darkly", evidence from wills can contribute to an estimate of the strength of particular religious beliefs in an area.⁽⁴⁾ Allowing for standardization and the inclinations of scribes, nonetheless, trends of opinion can be

- (1) See below.
See p.p. 38-41 for population estimates.
- (2) See Chapters III and IV.
- (3) See Tables LXI and LXII.
- (4) M. C. Cross, 'Protestantism in Hull and Leeds in the Sixteenth Century' - a paper delivered to a Northern History Colloquium at the University of Leeds, 19th-20th September 1981. Report in C.O.R.A.L. Newsletter No. 15, 1982, p. 12.
N. R. Evans, "Testators, Literacy, Education and Religious Belief" in L.P.S. No. 25, 1980.
Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, p.p. 2-11.

TABLE LIX: KNOWN OCCUPATIONS OF RECUSANTS DURING 1590s (listing only one member of any family).

<u>Township</u>	<u>Gentry</u>	<u>Yeoman</u>	<u>Husband- man</u>	<u>Labourer</u>	<u>Mer- chant</u>	<u>Web- ster</u>	<u>Tailor</u>	<u>Potter</u>	<u>Miller</u>	<u>Mason</u>	<u>Carp- enter</u>	<u>Black- smith</u>	<u>But- cher</u>	<u>Widow</u>
Fasakerley	2	1	3											
West Derby		1	4											3
Kirkdale				1										
Walton														1
Liverpool	2			1	1									1
Huyton	6	3	2				1							2
Tarbock	1	1	4	1			1							2
Knowsley	1	4	2											
Halewood		2	9	2		1								2
Hale	1		2											
Much Woolton			2	1						1				2
Little Woolton			1			1						1		
Allerton	1	1		3		2								3
Wavertree	2		2	1										
Garston			10	2		2					1			4
Speke	1	6	16	3					2					4
Ditton	4		3								1	1		4
Cronton		2	1											1
Cuerdley		1	1											
Penketh	1													
Great Sankey	1													
Widnes	1		1	2										
Bold	1	2	1											1
Rainford	2	1		1										
Windle	2		2	2					1		2			
Eccleston	1	3					1	1						2
Whiston	3		1	1			1							1
Sutton	3	4	1			2	2						1	5
Rainhill	4	3	1											2
Parr	1	1	2			1					1		3	
Prescot					1									
<u>Total</u>	41	36	73	21	2	9	6	1	3	1	5	2	4	40

discerned, for example, in north Suffolk the last will totally Catholic in tone was written not later than 1560, whereas not until the 1560s did the last references to the Virgin appear in wills from Hull and Leeds.⁽¹⁾ Table LX demonstrates that Catholic and conservative sentiment survived longer in south-west Lancashire, with the last reference to the Virgin not until 1578⁽²⁾ and several mentions of the angels and holy company of heaven during the 1580s and 1590s. Indeed until the end of the sixteenth century frequent reference was made to the death and passion of Jesus Christ and to belief in the merits of his bloodshedding, at a time when it was equally possible to find scribes who would pen wills with a rather brief, noncommittal religious statement. Whilst to some extent inconclusive evidence from only the will-making sections of the community, these probate comments demonstrate persistent Catholic sentiment from a substantial proportion of the south-west Lancashire population.

Catholic and recusant sympathy was indeed widespread in the area, but gentry support and sympathy was probably crucial. As Trimble comments, within any locality the ordinary Catholic population depended for protection on "the squires, the magistrates, and the gentry families".⁽³⁾ From the 1580s, when the Government campaign against recusants intensified, this key role had been recognized. The Earl of

(1) Ibid., p.p. 45-49.
M. C. Cross, op. cit.

(2) L.R.O., Will of Bryan Hayward, Parr 1578.

(3) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 5.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Decade</u>	<u>Total number of wills with clear religious statement</u>	<u>Similar to "Almighty God my maker and redeemer.." (1)</u>	<u>Similar to "to Almighty God and to all the holys compania of heaven.." (2)</u>	<u>Similar to "to Almighty God my maker and rademer by whose death and passion I trust I shal be of those which shal be inheritors of his heavenly kingdom.." (3)</u>	<u>Similar to "to Almighty God my maker trustinge to be saved by fayth in Jesus Christ (4)</u>	<u>Similar to "to Almighty God my maker and redemer and by the merities of Jesus Christ his only sonne I trust to be saved.." (5)</u>	<u>Similar to "to God Almighty and Lady Saint Marye.." (6)</u>
<u>Huyton</u>	1560s	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
	1570s	5	3	-	3	-	-	-
	1580s	6	3	1	1	1	-	-
	1590s	12	10	-	-	1	1	-
<u>Walton</u>	1560s	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	1570s	5	1	-	4	-	-	-
	1580s	18	7	-	11	-	-	-
	1590s	41	24	-	15	1	2	-
<u>Childwall</u>	1560s	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
	1570s	3	1	-	-	1	1	-
	1580s	11	4	-	5	2	-	-
	1590s	39	23	1	6	9	-	-
<u>Prescot</u>	1560s	5	-	3	1	-	-	1
	1570s	21	7	7	7	-	-	1
	1580s	21	6	7	5	1	2	-
	1590s	66	20	2	40	1	3	-

(1) L.R.O., Henry Webster, Eccleston 1594.

(2) L.R.O., Edward Bower, Widnes 1579.

(3) L.R.O., Henry Walker, Cuerdley 1602.

(4) L.R.O., Henry Whitfield, Halewood 1597.

(5) L.R.O., Thurstan Kersley, Cuerdley 1592.

(6) L.R.O., Richard Hardman, Great Sankey 1561.

Huntingdon (Lord President of the Council in the North) had written to the Privy Council that "this defection is principallie begunne by sundrye principall gentlemen of that countie, by whom the meaner sort of people are ledd and seduced",⁽¹⁾ and undoubtedly the Government would have liked to have seen action "begin first with the best of the said recusants".⁽²⁾ There was some intention of penalising particularly the gentry recusants through additional military provision, for instance for three levies of horsemen during the 1580s.⁽³⁾ The rate set by the sheriff of Lancashire in 1584 was twenty-four pounds per horseman,⁽⁴⁾ which would have been substantial had many recusant gentry actually paid. In 1585 and 1586 only nine gentry from the entire county were listed for payment.⁽⁵⁾

The nervousness in the autumn of 1584 created by the assassination of William the Silent, the success of Spain in the Netherlands and fears of the Catholics in England prompted Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham into devising 'the Instrument of an Association' to enable the gentlemen of the county to associate themselves to revenge any assassination attempt on the Queen. As a propaganda piece this caused considerable public demonstrations of loyalty.⁽⁶⁾ The Earl of Derby "stagemanaged a compelling spectacle of

(1) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. IX, p. 85.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 177.

(4) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. IV, No. L, p.p. 153-154.

(5) P.R.O., SP 12/183/15.
Trimble, Catholic Laity, p.p. 205-206.

(6) Cressy, "Binding the nation: the Bonds of Association 1584 and 1696", p.p. 217-218.
See p.p. 557-558.

aristocratic loyalty at Wigan" on 1st November 1584.⁽¹⁾ He claimed that all the gentlemen of Lancashire had been most willing to join the Association.⁽²⁾ In all eighty-three gentlemen took the oath, including the prominent gentry from the four parishes.⁽³⁾

This public demonstration of loyalty to the Queen, or perhaps more immediately to the Earl of Derby, is not all that surprising, but it is interesting how many of these same south-west Lancashire families had at least one member who was recorded as a recusant only

(1) Ibid., p.p. 218-224.

(2) P.R.O., SP 12/175/4.

(3) Harland, Lancashire Lieutenancy, p.p. 152-158.

a decade later.⁽¹⁾ The principal gentry did demonstrate their loyalty in 1584, whatever the Association may have meant, but during the latter part of the reign the principal gentry demonstrated also their recusancy, their recusant connections or their recusant sympathy. Table LXI indicates the gentry families where either the head of the family or a close relation was listed as a recusant at sometime during the 1590s. This represents thirteen per cent of gentry families in Walton parish, thirty-three per cent in Childwall parish, fifty-three per cent in Huyton parish and forty-six per cent in Prescott parish.⁽²⁾ These substantial proportions do not, however, testify to the total strength of Catholic support. A number of other gentry families from the area had marriage connections with the recusant families, or through their absence from parish registers or recording only for burials indicate reluctance to participate actively in the Established church.⁽³⁾

Substantial in itself, this gentry recusant support was also important administratively. The bishops of Chester may have had their problems, but they can scarcely be entirely blamed for the difficulties of enforcing legislation against recusants in their diocese. The Justices of the Peace were crucial to the efficient operation of local government,⁽⁴⁾ and in a county the size of

(1) See Table LXI.

(2) See Chapter III.

(3) See Table LXII.

(4) J. H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640, Oxford 1969, p.p. 68-82.

TABLE LXI: RECUSANT GENTRY FAMILIES DURING 1590s.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Members of Family</u>
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	Ditchfield Harrington Spencer Tildesley Ogle Sutton Tarbock Wolfall	gent. Esq. gent. gent. gent. gent. Esq. gent.	self wife brother wife wife wife self wife wife wife son wife
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Walker Secum Tarleton Whitfield	gent. gent. gent. gent.	self wife self son wife
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Norris Ireland Bower Haughton	Esq. Esq. gent. gent.	self wife children wife wife self
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Bold Eccleston Byrom Lee Gerrard Kenwright Lancaster Fox Parr Hey Blundell Ditchfield Penketh Sankey Hunt Latham Mainwaring Menny Travers Tildesley Wetherby Whittle Pemberton Eltonhead Stanhope	Esq. Esq. Esq. gent. gent. gent. Esq. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent. gent.	self wife brother wife wife wife wife self wife wife self wife self wife sons, sons' wives self wife brothers's wife, daughter wife self self wife sons self wife self wife mother self wife brothers self wife self wife self wife self wife sons, son's wife wife brother wife

TABLE LXII: GENTRY LIKELY TO BE CATHOLIC SYMPATHIZERS.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Title</u>	
<u>Huyton</u> <u>Parish</u>	Coney	gent.	burials only
<u>Walton</u> <u>Parish</u>	Bower	gent.	not in registers
	Fletcher	gent.	burials only
	Norris	gent.	burials only
	Standish	gent.	burials only
	Breres	gent.	not in registers
	Fazakerley	gent.	burials only
	More	Esq.	non-communicant
	Crosse	Esq.	non-communicant
<u>Childwall</u> <u>Parish</u>	Lathom	Esq.	not in registers
	Molyneux	gent.	burials only
	Cooke	gent.	burials only
<u>Prescot</u> <u>Parish</u>	Standish	gent.	not in registers, harbouring priests
	Garnett	gent.	burials only
	Roughley	gent.	not in registers
	Pearson	gent.	burials only
	Rigby	gent.	burials only
	Rixton	gent.	not in registers
	Prescott	gent.	burials only

Lancashire, with its county town in its northern corner, it was particularly important to secure a relatively even distribution of personnel. Most Justices operated for much of the year in a fairly restricted area attending Quarter Sessions at only one or two of the six venues in Lancashire.⁽¹⁾

The four parishes of south-west Lancashire, however, were quite frequently poorly represented on the Commission of the Peace. Complete lists survive for only a few years during the second half of the sixteenth century, but it is evident that the Earl of Derby, and his son when of an appropriate age, were honorific magistrates leaving very few active or effective Justices in this area. The problem for the Government was to find suitable candidates of both the proper status and reliable religious persuasion. As early as 1564, when the Bishop of Chester returned a survey of the Justices in his diocese, he found only six in Lancashire of a favourable disposition and eighteen unfavourable.⁽²⁾ It has been found in Sussex that Catholic office holders could be replaced only slowly because of administrative inefficiency and local patronage, whilst even Protestant magistrates were reluctant to proceed against Catholic neighbours and associates.⁽³⁾ The situation in Lancashire was similar, and in 1582 the Privy Council had to exhort the sheriff to

(1) Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, passim.

(2) ed. M. Bateson, Letters of Bishops to the Privy Council in 1564 in Camden Miscellany No. 9, Camden Society 1891.

(3) Manning, Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex, p.p. 240-253.

enquire into the behaviour of the Lancashire Justices and to report "which of them hathe shewed anie backwardnes in this service",⁽¹⁾ and the Earl of Derby was to take action concerning "some slackness and parcialitye used by some of the justices".⁽²⁾

Despite official awareness of the problem, action came only slowly. Even in the 1590s in Lancashire there were inadequate numbers of suitable gentlemen to fill the Commission, as Christopher Haigh reckons about nineteen or twenty likely men were discounted because of their noted recusancy,⁽³⁾ and in consequence a number of church-papists and Catholic sympathizers still held office by 1598.⁽⁴⁾ In spite of all the Privy Council could do a substantial minority of Justices in the county had religious sympathies "closer to Rome than Geneva",⁽⁵⁾ and indeed in the periods 1589-91 and 1602-3 the northern circuit itself had a Lancashire-born judge of Catholic leanings.⁽⁶⁾

Tables LXI and LXII demonstrate the Government's difficulties in south-west Lancashire; an area that needed resident or local magistrates had little prospect of providing candidates 'untainted' by recusancy. Few complete lists of the Commission survive for

(1) A.P.C., Vol. XIII, p. 320.

(2) Desiderata Curiosa, Lib. III, No. XLIV, p. 113.

(3) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 285.

(4) Ibid.

(5) B. W. Quintrell, Proceedings of Lancashire J.P.s at the Sheriff's Table during Assizes Week 1578-1694 in Rec. Soc., Vol. CXXI, 1981, p. 6.

(6) Ibid.

Lancashire during the second half of the sixteenth century,⁽¹⁾ but from those and other miscellaneous references something of the problem can be discerned. In 1561 thirty-six Lancashire Justices were recorded, but according to the Bishop in 1561 only four were resident in West Derby Hundred and three of those were unfavourable in their religious sentiments. Only one lived in the four parishes in the extreme south-west of the county - Sir Richard Molyneux of Croxteth in Walton parish and Sefton.⁽²⁾ It is hardly surprising that early in the reign little was done to enforce the 1559 Settlement with any alacrity. Between 1592 and 1601 six Justices of the Peace are known to have resided in the four parishes, but never more than four at the same time.⁽³⁾ Sir Richard Molyneux (grandson of the 1561 Justice) served throughout this later period although he was undoubtedly 'suspect' in religious persuasion. In 1586 it had been claimed that he was a Protestant in London and a Papist in Lancashire⁽⁴⁾ and this opinion undoubtedly contains a strong element of truth. Richard Bold Esquire of Bold in Prescot parish also served throughout the period and he also "maketh shew of good conformitie, but was not gretely forward in the public actions for religion";⁽⁵⁾ perhaps not surprisingly, his wife was a recusant and his daughter married to a recusant.⁽⁶⁾ Sir John Byrom of Parr in

(1) D. J. Wilkinson, "The Commission of the Peace in Lancashire 1603-1642 in T. H. S. L. C., Vol. CXXXI, 1982, p. 42.

(2) B. L., Lansdowne Mss. 1218, fo. 89v.
Letters of Bishops 1564, Camden Soc. f. 81.

(3) B. L., Royal Mss. 18 D III, fo. 80v.
H.M.C., Kenyon Mss., p. 583.
L.R.O., QSC 1.
P.R.O., SP 12/282/74,
L.R.O., QSR 7.

(4) B. L., Harl. Mss., 286/19, fo. 97v.

(5) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.

(6) Wark, Elizabethan Recusancy, p. 110.
Chester City R.O., Mayors Great Letter Books M/L/5/220-227.

Prescot parish and of the adjacent Winwick parish was a magistrate in 1592 and his son was married to a recusant.⁽¹⁾ John Ireland Esquire of Hale in Childwall parish served in 1601 and his mother was a recusant (and another daughter of Richard Bold).⁽²⁾ Henry Eccleston Esquire of Eccleston in Prescot parish was on the bench in 1595 despite his son and heir Edward having spent four months in the Gatehouse prison at Westminster and sometime in Lancaster gaol for his recusancy as recently as 1593.⁽³⁾ Virtually all of Henry Eccleston's family were recusants - his wife, son, daughter-in-law and other children; the Privy Council must have been singularly ill-informed, which seems unlikely, or desperate to fill the Commission in 1595! Only one of the six Justices of the Peace from this area seems to have had a family relatively unconnected with recusancy - Ralph Ashton Esquire of Penketh in Prescot parish, who was appointed to the bench in 1601.⁽⁴⁾ It remains hard to imagine that all his friends and associates were Protestant!

Clearly the Justices of the Peace who were resident in this area were unlikely to proceed with vigour against the recusants in their own families and local communities. There were also notable omissions from the Commission from amongst the gentry of the four parishes. It seems reasonable to assume that, aside from their

- (1) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.
 (2) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.
 (3) B.L., Harl. Mss. 6998, fo. 52.
 P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.
 (4) P.R.O., SP 12/184/20.
 P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.

religious affiliations, there was no reason why the Harrington and Tarbock families of Huyton parish, the More family of Walton parish, the Norris family of Childwall parish, and the Ditchfield and Lancaster families of Prescott parish should not have provided suitable personnel for the Commission.⁽¹⁾ This number of significant omissions cannot have helped the efficiency of local government at this time. In any case right through this period there must have been also an element of local protection for perceived local interests and the local social order - regardless of varying religious opinions. On a number of occasions complaints had been made to the Duchy of Lancaster's officials that plaintiffs could not "hope for an indifferent trial because of the unlawful maintenance... from divers great men in the said county" or that outsiders could not obtain redress because a defendant "is greatly friended in the said county of Lancashire where the plaintiff is a very stranger".⁽²⁾ These instances serve only to support Christopher Haigh's assertion that "under Elizabeth, class and family loyalties proved stronger than either religious differences or allegiance to the Crown; conformist magistrates were willing to assist recusants, who were frequently their relations, while county leaders complained vociferously when Catholic gentlemen were removed from the Commission

(1) See Chapter III.

(2) Pleadings and Depositions, p.p. 36-37 and p.p. 152-153.

of the Peace and replaced by Protestants of inferior social status".⁽¹⁾

Amongst those county leaders the sheriff maintained a role of some prestige, if also of some expense. South-west Lancashire provided the personnel for this office on six occasions between 1560-1603.⁽²⁾ All of these men were to some extent 'suspect' as far as their religious sentiments and those of their families were concerned.⁽³⁾ It is not surprising that although at least eight hundred persons - many "of good lyvehood" - had been indicted for recusancy in Lancashire, few or none of them were actually brought to trial because they were "linked unto kindred, and finde so greate favor at the hands of hir Majesty's officers".⁽⁴⁾

The vicar of Wigan, Edward Fleetwood, complained on these grounds to Lord Burghley in 1587; he referred to the "corrupt state" of the entire county regarding the placing and displacing of Justices of the Peace, and was even so bold as to cite the head of county society and leader of the Ecclesiastical Commission - the Earl of

- (1) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p.p. 90-91.
- (2) B.L., Harl. Mss. 2219, f.2.
See p.p. 567-568.
- (3) See Table LXI.
- (4) B.L., Cotton Mss., Titus B III, No. 20, f.65.

Derby. The vicar drew attention "to the notorious backwardness of his whole Company in religion" and chiefly of his closest friends and advisers - such as Mr. Halsall who had been presented as a recusant at the last Assize and Mr. Ffarington who was not any sounder in religion.⁽¹⁾ As the vicar of Wigan was actually employed as an intermittent preacher at Lord Derby's household during the 1580s⁽²⁾ presumably he was in a position to know something of the household and the Earl's friends. Despite these accusations, Henry, the fourth Earl, had served as a Privy Councillor from 1586 until May 1589 when he must have been under fairly close official scrutiny,⁽³⁾ and in 1590 he and his son were commended for their public actions in religion.⁽⁴⁾ However, alongside this personal approval the Earl was urged by the Privy Council "to take order amongst his servants, tenants and retinues" and to see that they were brought "to conformitie or to see them punished" in July 1590.⁽⁵⁾ By 1592 the Earl was being thanked for the "reformation of your owne tenentes",⁽⁶⁾ but little of substance can have actually happened. The relatives, friends, acquaintances and officers of the Earl remained virtually unchanged. Ralph Sutton of Knowsley Gentleman and steward of Prescott manor, adjacent to Knowsley, for the Earl of Derby remained

(1) B.L., Cotton Mss., Titus B II, No. 114, fo. 239.

(2) Halley, Lancashire, Its Nonconformity, p. 127.

(3) B. W. Quintrell, "Government in Perspective: Lancashire and the Privy Council, 1570-1640" in T.H.S.L.C., Vol. CXXXI, 1981, p.43.

(4) P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.

(5) A.P.C., Vol. XLX, p. 337.

(6) A.P.C., Vol. XII, p. 369.

married to Margaret, the daughter of Henry Latham Gentleman of Mossborough Hall in Prescot parish - one of the most notorious recusants in the area whose entire family was not only suspect, but known to be recusant. Four of Margaret's brothers became monks on the Continent, and Henry Latham himself spent some time in Lancaster gaol in 1592.⁽¹⁾

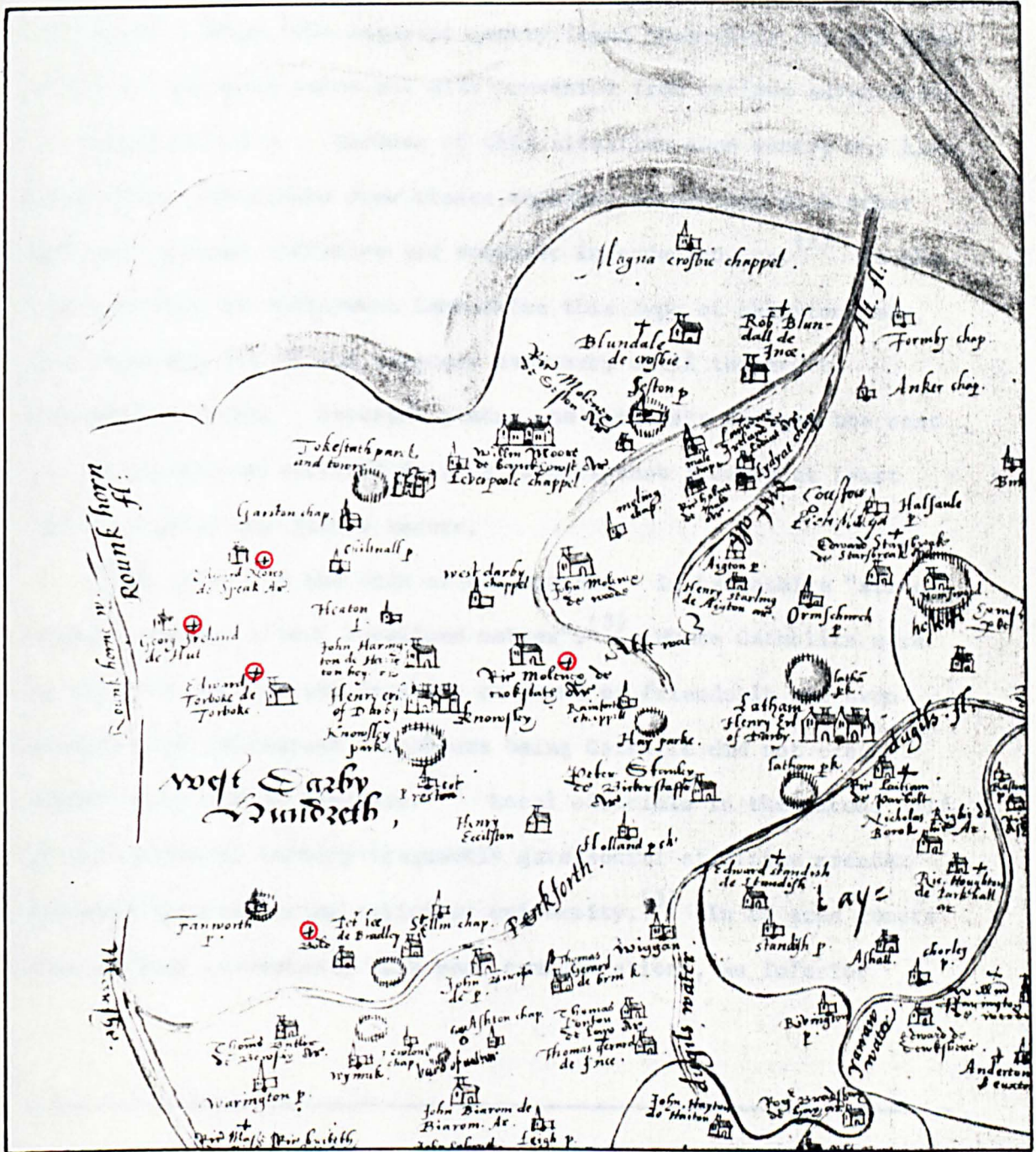
The Privy Council undoubtedly recognized the key role of the Earls of Derby in the North-West in an area beyond the usual visiting range of Councillors and Duchy officers.⁽²⁾ Traditional forms of patronage and administration ensured that the Earl's household and personnel must have contained recusants and Catholic sympathizers. A measure of official, and in particular Lord Burghley's, concern with Lancashire is the annotated map he had drafted in about 1590.⁽³⁾ Possibly the map was drawn by Christopher Saxton from his 1577 county map; some churches and chapels are located and the seats of the principal gentry. Lord Burghley is believed to have marked those gentlemen requiring special attention.⁽⁴⁾ The map does demonstrate the concern and interest in locating the whereabouts of these gentry in an unfamiliar area. Probably quite accurately, Lord Burghley highlighted Edward Norris and George Ireland in Childwall parish, Edward Tarbock in Huyton parish, Sir Richard Molyneux in Walton

(1) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. IV, p. 241.
P.R.O., SP 12/235/4.
B.I.Y., R V I A 14.

(2) Quintrell, "Government in Perspective", p.p. 37-38.

(3) ed. J. Gillow, Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire in C.R.S., Vol. IV, 1907.

(4) See Map XXII.



(0-71 reduction)

(⊕) The recusants in the four parishes marked by Lord Burghley)

MAP XXII: LORD BURGHLEY'S MAP OF LANCASHIRE 1590.

parish and Richard Bold in Prescot parish. What the map does not convey are the many other gentry in the four parishes who were also recusants or church-papists.⁽¹⁾ In Sussex by about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the recusant gentry found themselves cut off from national political power and also prevented from serious advancement in county politics. Because of this situation some gentry may have compromised and others drew closer together to protect each other through marriage alliances and economic interdependence.⁽²⁾ In the four parishes of south-west Lancashire this type of behaviour may have existed, but it was scarcely necessary until the end of Elizabeth's reign. Recusant gentry and recusants amongst the rest of the population survived in such numbers that locally at least their position was fairly secure.

This surely is the crux of the matter: in Lancashire "strong Catholicism was a very localized matter".⁽³⁾ Where Catholics were an integral part of any locality on terms of friendship and even kinship with Protestant neighbours being Catholic did not create social and economic barriers.⁽⁴⁾ Local officials in the second half of the sixteenth century frequently gave social stability greater priority than enforcing religious uniformity.⁽⁵⁾ In an area remote from central government, with poor communications, an inferior

(1) See Table LXI and Table LXII.

(2) Manning, Religion and Society, p. 155.

(3) Trimble, Catholic Laity, p. 207.

(4) Ibid., p. 235.

(5) Manning, Religion and Society, p.p. xii-xiii.

clergy and reluctant episcopal leadership, local commitment would have been essential for repressing recusancy. Generally there was a reluctance to prosecute in crimes without a victim⁽¹⁾ and neglect of church attendance can never have seemed a priority in south-west Lancashire.

Unfortunately for all Lancashire Catholics they suffered from "an almost insuperable anxiety" on the part of the Government. This sentiment was based on a view of the Roman church as highly organized and presenting a united front linking all English Catholics together; to be Catholic became synonymous with being a traitor. This exaggerated opinion of Catholic unity created a fierceness of reaction to what at times was the "mischief" of individuals or small groups.⁽²⁾ The Government campaign from the middle of Elizabeth's reign onwards and particularly during the 1590s created a core of recusants alongside a mass of sympathizers who probably supported the priests at times and certainly hoped to die in the faith, although at times they occasionally conformed.⁽³⁾ The Government's reaction and slow success are also explained by its knowledge of the North-West; it is Brian Quintrell's opinion that "it probably took the Council many years to acquire a clear conception of Lancashire".⁽⁴⁾

(1) Wrightson, English Society, p. 165.

(2) Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle", p.p. 29-40.

(3) Aveling, The Handle and the Axe, p. 66.

(4) Quintrell, "Government in Perspective", p. 37.

If "Catholicism was generally a hereditary allegiance"⁽¹⁾ then as long as continuity was maintained in the social and economic environment Catholicism was able to survive in south-west Lancashire. The key to this continuity was the gentry. Without the contribution of the gentry there would have been some Catholic recusants, but the gentry allowed for the creation of a Catholic community.⁽²⁾ In south-west Lancashire such a community was not really created in the sixteenth century, but rather merely sustained. Social institutions supported a certain social sentiment which supported the Old Religion.⁽³⁾ Some time ago it was, in fact, recognized that in many parts of the county the Protestant cause seemed to actually decline during the reign of Elizabeth.⁽⁴⁾

In early 1600 the Bishop of Chester was writing to Sir Robert Cecil explaining that one of his newly established preachers in Lancashire was "daily assaulted by popish wolves"⁽⁵⁾ and in 1602, after only five years of office, Bishop Vaughan, not for the first time, was seeking preferment elsewhere after service in "this troublesome place".⁽⁶⁾ Perhaps he was right; at the feast of the Purification in 1603 mass was celebrated in the house of John Linacre

(1) Bossy, Catholic Community, p. 150.

(2) Ibid., p. 181.

(3) Bossy, "Character of Elizabethan Catholicism", p. 39.

(4) Halley, Lancashire, Its Puritanism, p. 117.

(5) H.M.C., Salisbury Mss., Vol. X, p. 84.

(6) Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 446.

in Widnes in Prescot parish at which a hundred people were present and as many candles "as a man wold carrie" were burned. ⁽¹⁾

Persistent Government action finally found the means to count them, and when they were counted the Catholics represented a very sizeable proportion of the population. C. Haigh has estimated that eight per cent of the population of Warrington deanery were recusants by 1604. ⁽²⁾ A presentment by the Prescot vicar and his curates at Farnworth and Rainford in 1604 estimated ten per cent of parishioners were recusants and twenty-three per cent who were recusant and/or non-communicant. Attached to the presentment was the comment that those listed were of "meane reputation and of no force or abilitye of themselves" - a comment which suggests that the gentry were not included, and so the proportion of recusants should have been still higher. ⁽³⁾

(1) C.R.S., Vol. LIII, p. 150.

(2) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 317.

(3) Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 141/281.
C.R.S., Vol. LIII, p. 146.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

- a) The sources and the people of south-west Lancashire.
- b) The biography of a little place: the community.
- c) The riots.

a) The Sources and the People of South-West Lancashire.

Many of the sources used in this work remain, to some extent, incomplete, inconclusive and partial. However, used in conjunction with each other some of the weaknesses can be reduced and an amount of valuable material constructed; the sum of the evidence is more useful than its individual components. In some parts of the country and in some respects, in the sixteenth century the parish may have certain advantages as a unit of local study, but in the north-west of England this is not necessarily applicable. The study of contiguous townships covering an area of 146 square miles may be more appropriate in view of the type of parish and the fragmentary nature of the evidence. Certainly substantial local detail is recoverable. The total size of the population during the second half of the sixteenth century remains a tantalizingly elusive figure, but a significant proportion of this population does emerge with a unique identity from the surviving records. This surely demonstrates the value of these somewhat imperfect sources.

The Earls of Derby and those of gentry status certainly "crowd the scene" in terms of legal records, official correspondence and local administration. Not unexpectedly, much has been written and much is known of the lifestyle of the Earls, their household, their houses, their patronage of players, their connections with the royal court, the diplomatic missions of the fourth Earl, and the contested inheritance of the sixth Earl. To an extent this stresses the

Earls' national role and makes little of the six months every year they spent in south-west Lancashire. The family did have serious financial problems by midway through the reign of Elizabeth I and the disputed inheritance of the 1590s exacerbated this situation, but to the end of the century their influence and assets in the four parishes were largely untouched. In person, or in their temporary absence, the role of the Earls remained pervasive, apparent and significant.

Although of little prominence outside the county, or even in the southern half of it, the gentry of the area can likewise appear well documented; they generated estate papers, leases and manorial records and participated in the processes of administration. In fact, this is predominantly true of only the senior gentry - the knightly Molyneux family and the handful of esquires. The majority of the gentry aspired to no more than the title of 'gentleman', and most of them and some of the esquires remain in only a few sources. Gentry wealth was mostly commensurate with their status, and for all was substantially derived from the traditional economic resources of the area. Opportunity was available for attendance at university, at the Inns of Court, for representation in Parliament, for Edward Norris to find his wife in London, and for Edward Heyes to promote North American colonies, but it was opportunity that does not seem to have beckoned the gentry in large numbers and opportunity that does not seem to have seriously undermined the gentry integration



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into the economic fabric of the south-west Lancashire area. Indeed, for some members of the gentry existence based on the resources of one or two manors could be precarious by the end of the sixteenth century. Predominantly, however, the gentry families were long established, unchanging in economic outlook and prominent - at least to the rest of south-west Lancashire's population, if not to a wider audience.

Directly, or indirectly, the majority of surviving sources relate in some way to the vast majority of the male population of the area - the farmers. A well established pattern of mixed agriculture prevailed throughout the four parishes and new economic activities remained limited. Stable leases of predominantly two lives and stable rents ensured a measure of continuity, even if fines might be raised by landowners. The benefits of some arable production and substantial animal rearing ensured a cushion of diversity at times of adverse weather conditions, whilst the availability of 'waste' land allowed for the absorption of some increase in population and production. The prevailing geography and climate of the area were never harsh and so, whilst not tremendously profitable, the traditional agricultural practices were dependable and ensured reasonable survival in the sixteenth century. At this modest level of existence and subsistence the total population demands within the four parishes were crucial, but throughout the century demand was met from traditional methods and local resources. Farming dominated

the area; no group in society or the economy escaped its immediate interests.

The majority of craftsmen were typical of a mixed agrarian economy; they processed and supplied the goods for a local market and were totally dependent on that market. Their products were the necessities of wood, metal and leather, and specialization and sophistication were severely limited. Details of their crafts and livelihoods are not abundant, but sufficient survives in probate inventories and probate debt lists to indicate the nature and scale of their activities. The south-west Lancashire economy did not generate sufficient demand for doctors, apothecaries, lace-makers, goldsmiths, pewterers and service agents found in some towns.⁽¹⁾ A few economic developments were underway; coal production was notable in several parts of Prescott parish, textile production was found throughout the area, and even the intriguing beginnings of clock manufacture can be discerned. However, these products were substantially used locally, the scope for development was slow, and only the military-engendered demands from Ireland encouraged coal production. Potential for individual craftsmen and producers remained restricted and, in consequence, their links with the agricultural environment still strong.

This lack of potential applied also to the prospects for the merchant members of south-west Lancashire's population. In Prescott and Liverpool local market demands were met, but the relative

(1) For comparison, see D. M. Palliser, "York under the Tudors: The Trading Life of the Northern Capital" in Everitt, Perspectives in English Urban History, p.p. 39-59.

poverty of these merchants testifies to the extent of these markets and the restricted opportunities. The Port Books of Liverpool demonstrate conclusively the disappearance of the French and Spanish sea routes mid way through Elizabeth's reign and their replacement with increased, but not new, contact with Ireland. Redirection occurred, but there is little sign of growth in trading activities, whilst in the short term more frequent transport to Ireland brought its own problems of unwilling and unruly soldiers passing through the area and disproportionate demands on shipping and supplies. Limited it may have been, yet nonetheless, merchant activity did ensure that south-west Lancashire was in contact with many parts of England and abroad.

Fragmentary ecclesiastical sources and some probate material provide limited detail of the presence and lifestyles of the 'learned' members of the population - the clergy and the teachers. School provision for boys was available in all four parishes, but probably at little more than an elementary level. The teachers, not surprisingly, were predominantly local products - often of Farnworth school - returning to work quite near to their places of birth. Likewise with poor stipends and strong gentry 'interest' most clergymen were also local products working in an environment they knew and identified with. The teachers and clergy demonstrate the opportunities for education and career prospects that did exist, yet remained relatively unexploited by the south-west Lancashire population. Once they had returned to the area stipends were such

that an interest in agricultural practice ensured continuing strong involvement in the economic community around them. By the end of the sixteenth century in only a very limited way had outside influence penetrated this supply of personnel; King's College at Cambridge had ensured the appointment of Thomas Meade as vicar at Prescott, William Harrison had been appointed Queen's Preacher at Huyton, and John Ryle the Liverpool schoolmaster came from beyond this area. Predominantly little incentive encouraged 'outsiders' to make a career in the south-west Lancashire parishes.

Certainly the male half of the population dominate the surviving sources - even at times in the capacity of apprentices, servants and labourers. At this economic level evidence is limited, but for many of the individuals concerned this situation in life was probably temporary. Apprentices and some labourers and servants graduated to craftsmen and farmers who do appear in certain sources. Other servants may have worked for others all their lives, and many of them appear, at least as statistics, amongst the evidence relating to the wealthier families. Casual and itinerant labourers there must have been and probably they escape most documentation, but in an area of resident landlords and a fairly static population their presence cannot have been concealed from contemporaries and efforts to discourage their proliferation may have had some effect.

The people who appear in the greatest 'shade' are the females;

the use of patronymics until the end of the sixteenth century in south-west Lancashire makes identification difficult even when documentation exists. From parochial registers the presence of many women can be ascertained or inferred, but rarely do they appear in more detail. At Prescott and Liverpool some females were involved in economic activities especially the provision of alehouses and the operation of the ferry, and these periodically created some comment. However, the lifestyle, economic activities, interests and concerns of the great majority of women can be inferred only from what is known of their husbands and fathers. Only as widows do some women emerge to be identified and to exist with a greater measure of independence.

Table LXIII details the total valuations of all surviving probate inventories from the four parishes during the period 1558-1603. (Some were too damaged or incomplete for totals to be reached, and the 1580s and 1590s are better represented than the earlier decades.) ⁽¹⁾ Clearly this is not an ideal means of over-viewing the population, dependent as it is on those who left wills, but it does include some spinsters, servants and labourers and it does illuminate different levels of wealth and different living standards. Certainly in south-west Lancashire there was no very differentiated population in terms of wealth; the great majority found their livelihoods through a similar type of agriculture and lived with similar equipment, furniture and belongings. Overall

(1) See Appendices II, III and IV.

Occupation OR Status	Less than 9-19-11	10- 0- 0 - 19-19-11	20- 0- 0 - 29-19-11	30- 0- 0 - 39-19-11	40- 0- 0 - 49-19-11	50- 0- 0 - 74-19-11	75- 0- 0 - 99-19-11	100- 0- 0 - 149-19-11	150- 0- 0 - 199-19-11	200- 0- 0 - 299-19-11	More than 200- 0-0	Total Number
	<u>Widow</u>	23	9	5	4	1	4	2	2		1	748-15-6 1
<u>Spinster</u>	10											10
<u>Merchant</u>	1			1		2		3				7
<u>Farmer</u>	18	19	18	16	12	25	16	9	1	1		135
<u>Gentry</u>	1			1	2	3	3	3	1	3	1436-16-0 1	18
<u>Vicar</u>	1											1
<u>Teacher</u>		1				1						2
<u>Labourer</u>	3	1										4
<u>Servant</u>	3											3
<u>Craftsman</u>	3	13	1	6	5	5	5	1	2			41
<u>Unknown Occupation</u>	23	14	18	8	7	17	2	2	1			92
<u>Total</u>	86 23.5%	57 16.0%	42 11.5%	36 10.0%	27 7.5%	57 16.0%	28 7.5%	20 5.5%	5 1.0%	5 1.0%	2 0.5%	365

there are few signs of real wealth; ninety-two per cent of all inventories were recorded at less than one hundred pounds and sixty and a half per cent at less than forty pounds - the official Infra category. In fact, twenty-three and a half per cent of all inventories totalled less than ten pounds - surely reflecting a very basic subsistence level of existence. ⁽¹⁾

All spinsters, all servants and nearly all labourers left goods valued at less than ten pounds, and eighty-two and a half per cent of all women left goods valued at less than forty pounds. In all these cases, however, the individual's economic situation may have been of a temporary nature, or ameliorated by the provision of food and accommodation, or assisted by other kin; the inventories may not be a true reflection of lifestyle. Equally some widows undoubtedly had few or no immediate relations and must have lived in conditions of quite real and abject poverty. In some respects expressing more prolonged and persistent poverty were the inventories of many craftsmen and farmers. Only seven per cent of craftsmen's inventories were valued at less than ten pounds, but forty-six and a half per cent were worth less than forty pounds. Often these men with dependent families relied on the combined

(1) For comparison, 53 inventories for the village of Welbourn in the rich farmland of Holland in Lincolnshire, 1530-1600, produced proportions of 19% valued at under £10, 48.5% at under £40 and 90.6% at under £100. G. A. J. Hodgett, Tudor Lincolnshire, Lincoln 1975, p. 77.

success of their craft production and their meagre farming interests.⁽¹⁾ Most craftsmen from the four parishes probably either sold their goods directly and/or used the markets of Liverpool and Prescott; permanent shops scarcely existed and the annual fairs cannot have created significant additional demand. Only tanning appears to have offered greater prospects in this area. Many farmers were not necessarily any better off financially; thirteen per cent of yeoman/husbandman inventories were valued at less than ten pounds and fifty-three per cent at less than forty pounds.⁽²⁾ Mixed agriculture with the availability of some grains, livestock, orchards and fishing must have ensured a reasonably reliable subsistence existence in many years, but it was existence for a family at a very low level of comfort.

Only eight per cent of the surviving probate valuations are at more than one hundred pounds. At this level security and comfort were greater, but the difference was largely of degree not of kind. These people had more equipment and more furniture - often not better nor different. Throughout the entire area few items of real luxury were ever recorded; wealth for the wealthy might amount to a few silver buttons. Predominantly quite a homogenous environment

- (1) In south-west Lancashire craftsmen were slightly better situated financially than those in Myddle in Shropshire. Hey, An English Rural Community: Myddle, p. 55.
- (2) The great majority of men with no known specific occupation were probably farmers as their inventories contain no indication of craft equipment. 24% of this category had inventories valued at less than £10 and 68% at less than £40.

prevailed for the people of south-west Lancashire and differentiation between rich and poor had not strongly emerged by the end of the sixteenth century as it had in some areas.⁽¹⁾ A hierarchical view of society undoubtedly existed and inequalities could be readily seen. The Liverpool officers and their wives were much exercised by their respective seating in chapel, and the funeral processions of the third and fourth Earls of Derby publicized the local hierarchy, yet divisions in society were complex and dependent on several criteria - birth, title, land, occupation, wealth.⁽²⁾ For the aristocracy, the gentry and some merchants these distinctions were clear in south-west Lancashire, but for many other people stratification was not clear. A rural economy, rural interests and rural practices dominated the four parishes and were felt by all who lived in the area. Many people who lived here during the second half of the sixteenth century emerge from the sources as identifiable individuals, but with an identity moulded by their economic environment.

b) The biography of a little place: the community.

The choice of four contiguous parishes in south-west Lancashire as a 'little place' to study is arbitrary and artificial; it is doubtful if contemporaries would have regarded the four parishes together as a 'place' or even as 'little'. Their sense of place

(1) Terling in Essex was "highly stratified" and divisions between rich and poor distinct. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety: Terling, p. 2 and p. 174.

(2) See Wrightson, "Social Order of Early Modern England", p.p. 180-181.

was probably their township and/or their manor in this part of England. Geographical propinquity and the practice of the local economy focused the interaction of the population. The parish, certainly in the case of Prescott and probably in the other three, might well have been regarded as a larger context by many of the parishioners.

Involvement in local activities through necessity and even choice is not, however, quite the same as communal action; community is an elusive - or even illusory - concept. At the level of the township and the manor most of the population in south-west Lancashire must have identified and known each other and had to co-operate. Manorial offices had to be filled annually and there was little opportunity or likelihood that many men escaped their share of duties and responsibilities. Few outsiders moved into the area so most marriage partnerships came from within a restricted area. Most products were consumed domestically or locally and involved commercial exchange with acquaintances and neighbours. Even in Liverpool the town's population and economy were so small that this type of environment prevailed. Identification with this immediate environment is seen in charitable bequests, whether to the deserving poor or to the repair of a local road. However, at this local level, although there was participation in community activities and a sense of identification, there was not necessarily communal activity. The farmers and craftsmen had their own, quite secure leases and were responsible for their own family fortunes and

inheritance; alongside local identity there was a measure of independence and individualism.

Individualism, however, is a relative concept. The isolation and prevailing economy of the area allowed the landowning families to exercise very considerable authority and influence - to such an extent that they were able to dominate economic, social and religious life throughout this period. The absence of a developing county town in Lancashire, the peripheral county situation of the four parishes, and the effect of the Mersey barrier and surviving mossland all reinforced the influence of the gentry in their own areas. Even in Liverpool, where the merchants exercised considerable involvement in the administration and organization of the town, the gentry and the Earl of Derby wielded economic and political influence. Throughout the four parishes the gentry controlled local administration, organization and government, be it at manor, parish or county level, and they in turn were influenced by the authority of the Earls of Derby. In south-west Lancashire the Earls held an uncontested role throughout the sixteenth century, and through their fund of patronage, coercion and the self-interest of landowners they were able to strongly influence the gentry and the merchants. The position of the Earls was reinforced by central government; it has been claimed that local government "fell into the hands of the Earl of Derby" because the area was too remote from London for close

supervision and because local control by someone was desirable.⁽¹⁾ By the end of the sixteenth century, despite the problems of the Stanley family, no local alternative had emerged - although Sir Richard Molyneux may have had ambitions in that direction.

As urban activity intensified in some areas in this period it is conceivable that Liverpool had significant impact on its immediate hinterland - the four parishes. However, development in the port was of modification rather than growth by the end of the sixteenth century. The limited foreign trade had virtually disappeared to be replaced by transport services to Ireland, in addition to continuing coastal activities. These maritime concerns provided for a concentration of merchants and some craftsmen in the town but were insufficient to generate substantial population growth so that the impact of the town on its hinterland remained limited. There is little evidence that significant numbers of rural workers moved into Liverpool or that the poor and unemployed were attracted by the urban opportunities. Liverpool had some impact as a local market, but in no way dominated the area of the four parishes by focussing commercial and administrative activities. Rather the town remained a part of the social and economic fabric of south-west Lancashire and was neither separated from it nor had the ability to dominate it.

(1) Haigh, Reformation and Resistance, p. 104.

People in south-west Lancashire, therefore, lived in several communities: a restricted township and/or manorial community of daily economic and social interaction, a wider parish or chapelry community of regular and traditional yet more intermittent contact and obligation, and a market community involving Prescot and/or Liverpool at a distance of no more than ten miles. Beyond this area mobility was probably limited and many people never travelled beyond these four parishes. Other Lancashire registers contain very few references to individuals from the four parishes, and the use of long-standing local surnames reinforces a sense of isolation. For a sense of identity, for consciousness of local interest, and for the influence of the gentry and the Earl of Derby, this isolation was important, and yet not necessarily were the people introspective and introverted.

K. Wrightson has written of the "myth of a relatively isolated and static rural community".⁽¹⁾ Some sections of society always had the means and opportunity to travel - and they did. The Earls of Derby and some of their household and servants spent six months of the year elsewhere in England, including some time at their London house and some time at Court. The senior gentry could use schools well outside the area or even abroad, could attend Oxford or

(1) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p. 41.

Cambridge or the Inns of Court, and their wives could come from London, Bedfordshire or Gloucestershire. Some individuals from the four parishes could sit in Parliament and one Liverpool merchant even pursued a modest Parliamentary career. Liverpool merchants could have regular contact with Yorkshire fairs, Manchester, Hallamshire and London merchants and they and their crews could reach Irish ports and even France and Spain. By the late sixteenth century a consumer society was appearing amongst the nobility and gentry and also amongst yeomen, husbandmen and craftsmen.⁽¹⁾ For those with some money a range of goods was available from market, fair, shop or pedlar. Judging by the stock of the Kirkby Lonsdale draper in 1578, the range of goods of a Wigan mercer in 1617, and the ruined cargo of the ship lost off Liverpool in 1594, many luxury products could have been available in south-west Lancashire.⁽²⁾

South-west Lancashire was not isolated from the rest of England, but the rest of England had little time, interest or incentive to visit south-west Lancashire; this was perhaps more crucial. People from the four parishes with time and money and reason could have contact with the rest of their country, but individuals from elsewhere had virtually no contact with them. To the end of the

(1) Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects, p. 8.

(2) Ibid., p. 121.
 J. J. Bagley, "Mathew Markland, a Wigan Mercer" in T.L.C.A.S., Vol. LXVIII, 1958, p.p. 45-59.

sixteenth century there was no economic nor social incentive for the rest of England to know of Lancashire, and in particular the four south-west parishes. During the 1580s and 1590s military and political considerations began to erode this attitude. Liverpool found itself as geographically the most suitable port for the embarkation of troops and supplies to the north of Ireland - but only on an intermittent basis, and the evident Catholicism and recusancy of the whole area was regarded with increasing political concern by a distant central government. Lord Burghley's map of Lancashire testifies finally to a wish to know more of the area.

c) The Riots.

Were the events of 1595, 1599 and 1600 in Walton, Prescot and Childwall parishes just local disturbances? Were they unusually serious? Was religious sentiment so strong that it provoked rioting? Were the events of genuine concern to the Privy Council? Did those in authority outside the area misconstrue the cattle attack in Fazakerley, the assault on the royal messengers in Sutton, and the 'recusant riot' in Childwall? Was the North - and south-west Lancashire - feudal, violent and Catholic?

Certainly in all local areas in the sixteenth century the same economic and social concerns were of moment to most of the population and conflict between neighbours can be regarded as an "essential feature".⁽¹⁾ Some disputes were settled through litigation and

(1) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p. 51 and p. 61.

others through show of strength and, if necessary, use of violence with quite frequently commonplace implements rather than weapons. In the 1560s Henry Bury Gentleman of West Derby had been committed to Lancashire gaol by the sheriff for contempt; in his absence about twenty people had raided his property armed with swords, bucklers, pikes and staves and driven off his family and animals.⁽¹⁾ In 1588-9 the sons and retainers of Edward Tarbock Esquire had assaulted William Orrell Esquire both in Tarbock township and at Lancaster.⁽²⁾ In 1600, following an affray in Warrington, Richard Bold Esquire instructed his tenants to wear weapons when they attended Newton fair, to market, to church, and when they went anywhere in order to be able to defend themselves.⁽³⁾ Armed attack and the need for protection were obviously not unknown, and even disturbances amongst the mourners in funeral processions were possible. In 1587 Edward Eccleston Esquire claimed an attack by sixteen confederates on his house in Skelmersdale; the defence of the rioters was that, at the ringing of the town's bell, they had assembled outside the house of a deceased neighbour to attend the corpse to church.⁽⁴⁾

A measure of local lawlessness was, therefore, not new and, indeed, there may have been something of a tradition of riot - crowd

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 70 B24.

(2) P.R.O., DL 4 30/47.
P.R.O., STAC 5 A57/30, 08/28.

(3) P.R.O., STAC 5 J10/5.

(4) P.R.O., STAC 5 E6/20.

action by three or more individuals amounting usually to a controlled demonstration which expressed a wish to defend some threatened situation. An element of negotiation may have been involved, and authority and the prevailing social order were not seriously under attack.⁽¹⁾ During the 1590s economic, demographic, fiscal and military problems put severe strains on some local communities and may have exacerbated local tensions and rivalries.⁽²⁾ This could well have applied to south-west Lancashire in general terms and, in particular, to the renewed attempts to enforce conformity and church attendance. During the reign of Elizabeth I Protestantism might have been imposed on the population officially from above, or unofficially through conversion from below - but in Lancashire neither of these policies worked well.⁽³⁾ There was a remarkable attempt by the government to compel the adult population to attend the Established church, but in Lancashire the machinery of local government and of church control was unsuitable and unwilling for the task. Conservative religious practices and Catholicism and, therefore, recusancy were in the fabric of society in south-west Lancashire and largely untouched by Protestant preaching efforts. However, in these circumstances an activist Protestant minority could infuriate the majority and easily lead to parochial conflict.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p.p. 173-179.
Sharpe, Crime in Early Modern England, p.p. 134-139.

(2) Clark, English Provincial Society: Kent, p. 249.

(3) P. Collinson, "The Elizabethan Church and the New Religion" in Haigh, Reign of Elizabeth I, p. 177.

(4) C. Haigh, "The Church of England, the Catholics and the People" in Haigh, Reign of Elizabeth I, p. 214.

The disturbances in south-west Lancashire may, therefore, be seen as demonstrations and protest in the face of a situation of enforcement which by the 1590s had become threatening - certainly in Fazakerley and Sutton. In Childwall this same situation was compounded by long standing local rivalries and concerns. The Brettergh family of the Holt in Little Woolton township was a middle ranking gentry family who had lived in the area for several generations at least; according to a 1527 inquisition the family held one hundred acres of land.⁽¹⁾ Family fortune benefitted from William Brettergh's marriage to a joint heiress of land at Aigburth in Garston township, but this brought the family into some rivalry with the Norris family of Speke - holders of the manor of Garston. Rivalry may also have been heightened by the Norris interest in leasing land in Much Woolton and Little Woolton following the dissolution in 1540 of the Knights Hospitallers.⁽²⁾

From the 1560s onwards William Brettergh tried to augment his property in Little Woolton; he bought Lee Mill which he already rented from William Norris and land adjoining the mill.⁽³⁾ In the 1570s further transactions took place with William Brettergh purchasing land in Little Woolton and Edward Norris land in Aigburth.⁽⁴⁾ Transactions involving both freehold and copyhold land continued between the two families into the 1580s. By this time, however, William Brettergh was in dispute with John Ashton

(1) Stewart Brown, "Brettergh of Brettergh Holt", p. 222.

(2) V.C.H. III, p. 125.

(3) B.L., Add. Ch. 52520 and 52523.
L.R.O., DD Li Bundle 253/2 and /3.

(4) B.L., Add. Ch. 52546, 52550.
V.C.H. III, p. 125.

Gentleman of Penketh over the marriage of John's daughter, Maud, to William's son and heir - William. John Ashton claimed that his son-in-law had falsified documents and shown him an untrue conveyance for property in Aigburth.⁽¹⁾ Whilst this legal action was continuing the Brettergh family had difficulty meeting schedules of repayment at Childwall church and Garston chapel to Edward Norris. The back of a 1583 receipt for one thirty pounds' instalment noted "the forged rasure of the acquittance done by young Wm. Brettergh" and another note of 1583 records items received by Edward Norris from William Brettergh including a forged indenture, a forged bond and "the conterfett grant of Wolton Hey".⁽²⁾ In 1584 William Brettergh failed to make further repayments to Edward Norris' steward who waited at both Childwall and Garston, and in consequence some Little Woolton property was surrendered to Edward Norris.⁽³⁾

This protracted, serious rivalry intensified during the mid 1580s. Local farmers, tenants of both the Norris and Brettergh families, were probably involved. Certainly a case was brought in the Duchy courts on behalf of the infant son of George Cooke of Little Woolton claiming that William Brettergh "a rich man of great ability and kindred" had seized a house and three closes of land.⁽⁴⁾ In 1585 a bond for over one thousand and six hundred pounds and the

(1) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 124 A4, Vol. 127 A6, Vol. 132 A51, Vol. 134 A2.

(2) B.L., Add. Ch. 52560, 52554, 52555, 52557, 52562, 52569, 52579.
 B.L., Add. Ms. 36924/5, f. 223.
 L.R.O., DDLi Bundle 253/7.
 Liv. R. O. 920 NOR 2/493, 920 NOR 2/622.

(3) B.L., Add. Ms. 36924/6, fos. 224-227.
 B.L., Add. Ch. 52582.
 L.R.O., DDLi 253/6 and /7.

(4) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 129 C22.

charges at Westminster and the Court of Common Pleas was delivered by Edward Norris to William Brettergh - who died a few months later still possessed of the hundred acres of land and forty acres in Aigburth.⁽¹⁾ By November 1585 the Brettergh family was in dispute with itself. William's heir - his grandson William - claimed that his uncle Thomas Brettergh had seized muniments, evidences and scripts by forcing open chests, cupboards and coffers in the house and had damaged the house at the Holt, mangled cattle and wasted the two mills in Little Woolton. The Court hearings of 1586-7 involved many accusations and counter-charges by not only William and Thomas Brettergh but also by many tenants claiming various leases and surrenders. Edward Norris provided testimony as steward of Little Woolton court that the Brettergh family were trying to turn poor men out of tenements and that the clerk of the court had been prevented from reading surrenders.⁽²⁾

Within Childwall parish this local dispute had been sustained by the Brettergh and Norris families over two generations at least and it seems unlikely that the rivalry suddenly disappeared in the 1590s. Most likely attitudes hardened with the changing religious situation. From the 1560s the Norris family had become identified

(1) B.L., Add. Ch. 52599 and 52600.
P.R.O., DL 7 Vol. XIV No. 60.

(2) P.R.O., DL 1 Eliz. Vol. 135 B5, Vol. 135 B26, Vol. 138 B14,
Vol. 138 B18.
P.R.O., DL 4 29/36.

with Catholic survival, Catholic priests and recusancy. By the 1590s with renewed efforts at enforcement the Norris family and its influence in the parish was under some threat. By the 1590s William Brettergh had associated himself with the Protestant - even Puritan - minority in the area. The attacks on William Brettergh's cattle in 1600 were the result of his persistent religious attitude and long-standing local tensions and rivalries. The extent to which the incident drew support from such large numbers of the community is testimony to the strength of Catholic affiliations in south-west Lancashire, and also to tenurial and community ties. The numbers of individuals who were directly involved, indirectly associated or called upon to give testimony in the case is incredible. Virtually every part of the community was involved, and, whatever their initial sympathies, attendance at Prescott, Wigan, Lancaster, Chester or London cannot have been popular. At least one hundred and seventeen people were mentioned by name in the evidence that was collected. Most witnesses were recorded as yeomen or husbandmen, but two millers, one blacksmith, one carpenter, one mason, one roughwaller, three tailors, two weavers, four servants, twelve labourers, five constables, three clergymen, one schoolmaster, ten women, six gentlemen, two esquires and one knight also provided evidence. ⁽¹⁾

(1) P.R.O., STAC 5 A8/31, A38/31, A47/42.
P.R.O., SP 12/275/102 and SP 12/275, 115.
A.P.C., Vol. XXI, p. 137 and Vol. XXX, p.p. 662-66, p. 746.
H.M.C., Cal. Salis. Mss. Vol. X, p. 373, Vol. XI, p.p. 160-166.
Liv. R. O., 920 NOR 17/6.

Dilatoriness in dealing with local disputes was not unknown in the sixteenth century, nor partiality on the part of magistrates. Clearly many of the participants in the riots were neighbours and probably many of them were inter-related. The principal local Justice, the custos rotulorum of the county, the man who conducted most of the investigations into the Childwall riots - Sir Richard Molyneux - was also related to the principal suspect Edward Norris Esquire. Sir Richard's brother Edward had married Edward Norris' daughter (whilst her sister was married to William Blundell Esquire of Crosby who had shared accommodation in the Gatehouse prison in 1593 with Edward Eccleston Esquire who was involved in the attack on royal messengers in Sutton).⁽¹⁾ Sir Richard Molyneux, as early as 1586, had been accused of being a Protestant in London and a Papist in Lancashire, and in 1592 he was suspected of receiving Catholic priests.⁽²⁾ Not surprisingly he was reluctant to proceed with vigour against kin, acquaintance and those with like interest and sympathy.

Dilatoriness and concern on the part of the Privy Council may also have been caused by the absence in the area of the direct control of the Earl of Derby. The death of Earl Ferdinando and the disputed family inheritance throughout the 1590s may have meant that William, sixth Earl, did not have the clear, personal local connections of his father and grandfather. Settlement was not

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- (1) B.L., Harl. Mss. 6998, f. 51v.
L.R.O., DDM 1/10.
L.R.O., DD Bl 55/78.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss. Vol. IX p. 18.
- (2) B.L., Harl. Mss. 286/19, f. 97v.
H.M.C., Salis. Mss. Vol. IV p. 241.

finally reached until 1600 with payment to the heirs general in 1602. During this period the Earl's local prestige and patronage must have suffered; he was frequently in London and, most significantly, from 1595-1607 no Lord Lieutenant was appointed for Lancashire. For the Privy Council the reality of effective local control was to use a local magnate, but in 1600 in south-west Lancashire none was available.

Rioting was usually quite orderly and restricted to specific targets; violence against persons was rare. No fundamental threat to the existing social order was intended and participants were mainly trying to defend their perception of a legitimate situation which was under threat.⁽¹⁾ In south-west Lancashire this indeed was usually the case. The objects of attack were animals and crops. The Fazakerley, Sutton and Childwall rioters were trying to protect their interests from outside enforcement of the Established church. William Brettergh as a Puritan and as High Constable made this threat more immediate and potentially successful. The numbers and types of people involved in the protest are a remarkable testimony to the local society of south-west Lancashire and to the strength of Catholicism in it. Local government with its dependence on the nobility and their personal contacts and persuasion might usually have contained, suppressed or 'dealt' with these disturbances, but the absence of the Earl of Derby and a Lord Lieutenant was crucial. Central government took an interest; enforcement of its decisions

(1) Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680, p.p. 175-177.
J. G. Bellamy, Criminal Law and Society in Late Medieval and Tudor England, Gloucester 1984, p. 83.

was difficult, but by the late sixteenth century an active interest was possible. In attempting to protest to defend their society and its religion, the rioters brought undue government attention to bear on south-west Lancashire and probably hastened the disintegration of the society they were trying to defend.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I: LANCASHIRE PARISH
REGISTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

<u>Parish.</u>	<u>Date of Commencement of Registers.</u>	<u>Numbers of entries referring to the 4 south-west Lancashire parishes.</u>	<u>Lancashire Parish Register Society Volume and Year of publication.</u>
Bury	1590	-	1, 1898
Burnley	1562	-	2, 1899
Whittington	1538	-	3, 1899
Wigan	1580	9	4, 1899
Croston	1538	-	6, 1900
Whalley	1538	-	7, 1900
Didsbury	1561	-	8, 1900
Brindle	1558	-	11, 1901
Middleton	1541	-	12, 1902
Ormskirk	1557	6	13, 1902
Chipping	1559	-	14, 1903
Padiham	1573	-	16, 1903
Colne	1599	-	17, 1904
Poulton-le-Fylde	1591	-	19, 1904
Cockerham	1595	-	21, 1904
Culcheth	1599	-	22, 1905
Upholland	1600	-	23, 1905
Eccles	1564	-	25, 1906
Ribchester	1598	-	26, 1906
Cartmel	1559	-	28, 1907
Aldingham	1542	-	30, 1907
Manchester	1573	-	31, 1908
Lancaster	1599	-	32, 1908
Bispham	1599	-	33, 1908
Altham	1596	-	36, 1909
Chorley	1548	-	38, 1910
Blackburn	1600	-	41, 1911
Halton	1592	-	44, 1912
Standish	1560	-	46, 1912
Bolton	1590	-	50, 1913
Stalmine	1583	-	51, 1914
Radcliffe	1560	-	60, 1922
Garstang	1567	-	63, 1925
Ashton-under-Lyne	1594	-	65, 1927-8
North Meols	1594	1	66, 1929
Thornton	1576	-	67, 1930
Warrington	1591	-	70, 1933
Warton	1566	-	73, 1935
Great Harwood	1547	-	75, 1937
Aughton	1541	-	81, 1942
Kirkham	1539	-	83, 1944
Sefton	1597	2	86, 1947
Dalton	1565	-	100, 1962
Winwick	1563	7	109, 1970

APPENDIX II: NUMBERS OF PROBATE RECORDS
AT THE LANCASHIRE RECORD OFFICE, 1558-1603.

1558	7	1581	100
1559	3	1582	72
1560	5	1583	40
1561	5	1584	38
1562	4	1585	19
1563	2	1586	9
1564	1	1587	102
1565	6	1588	137
1566	4	1589	50
1567	5	1590	134
1568	10	1591	137
1569	9	1592	210
1570	6	1593	179
1571	3	1594	153
1572	35	1595	125
1573	24	1596	88
1574	32	1597	122
1575	34	1598	138
1576	24	1599	59
1577	26	1600	122
1578	58	1601	55
1579	55	1602	221
1580	41	1603	169

APPENDIX III: NUMBERS OF PROBATE RECORDS CONSULTED
FROM HUYTON, CHILDWALL, WALTON AND PRESCOT PARISHES.

Huyton Parish.

<u>Township.</u>	<u>Wills.</u>	<u>Administrations.</u>	<u>Inventories.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Huyton	11	3	13	15
Roby	3	1	4	4
Tarbock	12	1	10	14
Knowsley	14	5	12	16
	40	10	39	49

Childwall Parish.

Childwall	7	1	7	9
Little Woolton	9	1	10	10
Much Woolton	5	2	4	5
Speke	6	2	5	8
Allerton	5	-	6	6
Garston	3	1	5	5
Wavertree	9	2	6	9
Halewood	26	5	24	29
Hale	9	2	9	9
	79	16	76	90

Walton Parish.

Walton	17	8	14	20
Kirkdale	4	-	6	6
Bootle	1	-	1	1
Everton	2	-	2	2
Fazakerley	3	1	3	4
Simonswood	4	-	4	4
West Derby	17	3	15	19
Kirkby	4	2	4	5
Toxteth Park	2	-	1	2
Croxteth Park	1	-	1	1
Liverpool	43	4	39	54
	98	18	89	118

Prescot Parish.

Prescot	11	5	9	16
Cronton	6	4	6	7
Penketh	4	4	5	7
Cuerdley	13	2	12	13
Whiston	14	1	12	15
Parr	12	3	12	13
Bold	30	1	25	31
Windle	10	1	10	11
Ditton	20	4	21	23
Widnes	17	2	17	18
Eccleston	18	-	18	20
Great Sankey	6	1	5	7
Rainhill	12	2	13	17
Rainford	7	1	7	8
Farnworth	8	2	8	8
Sutton	19	6	20	23
	<hr/>			
	207	37	200	237
<u>Totals from 4 Parishes</u>	424	81	404	494

Totals by decades:-

1550-59	12
1560-69	17
1570-79	40
1580-89	97
1590-99	228
1600-09	80
1610-19	17
1620-29	<u>3</u>
Total	494

APPENDIX IV: PROBATE RECORDS CONSULTED FROM
HUYTON, CHILDWALL, WALTON AND PRESCOT PARISHES.

Huyton Parish.

<u>Name.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Status/ Occupation.</u>	<u>Will.</u>	<u>Administration.</u>	<u>Inventory.</u>	<u>Infra Valuation.</u>	<u>Location.</u>
<u>Huyton.</u>							
Roger Mason	1557	vicar	W				C.R.O.
Ellen Potter	1579	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Beasley	1581			A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Lunt	1581	butcher	W				L.R.O.
Henry Milner	1581	weaver	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Percival Cross	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Hutchen	1582	weaver			I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Short	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Percival Smith	1583	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Ainsworth	1587	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Chowner	1590	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Gorsuch	1596	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Nicholas Rigby	1603	husbandman		A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Roger Devias	1607	vicar	W		I		L.R.O.
Percival Harrington	1609	esquire			I		L.R.O.

Roby.

George Darlington	1561	carpenter	W		I		L.R.O.
George Robertson	1569			A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Orme	1576	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Webster	1593	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Tarbock.

Thomas Tarbock	1554	esquire	W				Chet.Soc.
William Tarbock	1557	esquire	W				Chet.Soc.
Richard Pendleton.	1560	blacksmith	W				C.R.O.
Thomas Knowle	1575	yeoman	W				L.R.O.
William Hayward	1581				I	Infra	L.R.O.
Janet Toxteth	1581		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Holland	1587	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Williamson	1592	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Holland	1593	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Williamson	1593	husbandman	W	A	I		L.R.O.
Elizabeth Holland	1602	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Harrison	1603	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Skillington	1603	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
Edward Tarbock	1608	esquire			I	Infra	L.R.O.

Knowsley.

Ellen Gorsuch	1575	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
Henry Heaton	1578		W		I		L.R.O.
John Cowper	1579		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Roger Day	1592	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Heaton	1592	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
George Tildesley	1592	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry, Earl of Derby	1593	earl	W				P.R.O.
Ferdinando, "	1593	earl	W				P.R.O.
Alice Johnson	1593	widow	W				L.R.O.
Nicholas Kochdale	1594	yeoman		A			L.R.O.
Ellis Tyrer	1597	yeoman	W	A	I		L.R.O.
Ellen Wright	1598	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Glover	1599	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Andrew Tyrer	1602	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Anthony Stockley	1603	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Jane Webster	1603	widow		A	I	Infra	L.R.O.

Childwall Parish.Childwall.

James Amott	1564		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Plumpton	1566	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Richardson	1571		W		I		L.R.O.
William Mossock	1581		W				L.R.O.
George Plumpton	1581		W		I		L.R.O.
James Johnson	1591	weaver	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Christopher Ellowe	1594	labourer	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Pendleton	1599				I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Brettergh	1601	gentleman		A			L.R.O.

Little Woolton.

Margaret Knoll	1579	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Orme	1583		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Cooke	1592	gentleman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margery Whitfield	1592	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Cooke	1594	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Edmundson	1594	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Whitfield	1594	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Janet Plombe	1598	widow			I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Knowles	1602	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Whitfield	1603		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Much Woolton.

William Holland	1582	yeoman	W				L.R.O.
Robert Lyon	1594	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Hunt	1597		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Hitchnough	1602	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Halewood	1603	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Speke.

William Challenor	1588	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Johnson	1593	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Molyneux	1593	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Wainwright	1593	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
John Cooke	1600	husbandman		A		Infra	L.R.O.
Edward Challenor	1602	miller	W	A		Infra	L.R.O.
Hugh Hey	1602	yeoman			I	Infra	L.R.O.
Hugh Pilkington	1603	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.

Allerton.

Jane Woodley	1588	spinster	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Cuthbert Lathom	1592	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Lathom	1594	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Lathom	1597	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Margaret Miller	1597	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Almond	1609	yeoman			I		L.R.O.

Garston.

William Brettergh	1583	gentleman			I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Baxter	1589	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Bushell	1590	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Molyneux	1592	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Agnes Richardson	1601	widow			I	Infra	L.R.O.

Wavertree.

Henry Lake	1567		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Atherton	1590	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Elizabeth Pendleton	1592	widow	W				L.R.O.
Thomas Hall	1593	husbandman	W	A			L.R.O.
Margaret Griffith	1594	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Joan Lake	1594	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Robertson	1594	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Humphrey Toxteth	1594	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Toxteth	1594	widow	W				L.R.O.

Halewood.

Edmund Wainwright	1574	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Edward ap. Griffith	1581	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Richardson	1582	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Wainwright	1582	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Katherine Tarleton	1588	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Wainwright	1590		W				L.R.O.
Henry Gleast	1591	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Elizabeth Houghton	1591	spinster	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Ireland	1591	gentleman	W				Chet. Soc.

Robert Hitchmough	1592	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Wainwright	1593	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Gilbert Leadbeater	1594	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Thomason	1594	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Wainwright	1594		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Edward Barrow	1595	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Bushell	1595		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Edward Holland	1595		W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Catton	1595				I		L.R.O.
Henry Whitfield	1597	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Pearson	1597		W		I		L.R.O.
John Lyon	1598	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Whitefoot	1598		W		I		L.R.O.
William Janion	1601	wheelwright	W		I		L.R.O.
William Wainwright	1601	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Plumpton	1602			A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Wainwright	1602		W		I		L.R.O.
Alice Pendleton	1603	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Ireland	1611	esquire	W		I		L.R.O.
Gilbert Ireland	1626	knight			I		Chet.Soc. L.R.O.

Hale.

John Johnson	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Whitting	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Crosby	1583		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
James Ireland	1587		W		I		L.R.O.
John Part	1590	weaver	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Cartwright	1593	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Robertson	1593		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Wiswall	1602		W		I		L.R.O.
William Cooke	1603		W		I		L.R.O.

Walton Parish.Walton.

Anthony Molyneux	1553	vicar	W				Chet.Soc.
Robert Mather	1556				I		L.R.O.
Richard Halsall	1572	vicar	W				L.R.O.
William Kighley	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Williamson	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Richardson	1583		W				L.R.O.
Lawrence Breres	1584	gentleman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Harper	1591	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Lawrence Plomb	1592			A			L.R.O.
William Coppowe	1593		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Anne Boulton	1594	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Breres	1594	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Bridge	1594	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Nicholas Rymer	1594		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Roger Breres	1595	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Gilbert Ainsdale	1596		W		I		L.R.O.
Ralph Mercer	1597	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Adam Wright	1597		W				L.R.O.
Thomas Prescott	1598	yeoman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Wood	1603			A			L.R.O.

Kirkdale.

William Ainsdale	1578	fisherman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Corsuch	1581		W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Lonsdale	1590	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Higginson	1596	weaver	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ann Tarleton	1602	widow			I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Rigby	1603				I		L.R.O.

Bootle.

John Washington	1591	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
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Everton.

Roger Hey	1591	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Higginson	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.

Fazakerley.

Lawrence Shaw	1575	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Robert Middleton	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Marton	1591	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Michael Whitehead	1602			A	I	Infra	L.R.O.

Simonswood.

John Woods	1581	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Tatlock	1586	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Tatlock	1593	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Peter Ball	1603		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

West Derby.

James Tarleton	1580		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Hugh Riding	1581	yeoman	W				L.R.O.
John Plumpton	1582	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Tarleton	1582	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Longworth	1584				I		L.R.O.
William Barrow	1590		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Mercer	1591		W		I		L.R.O.
William Robertson	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Hoxhead	1592				I	Infra	L.R.O.
George Mercer	1592	wheelwright	W				L.R.O.
John Rigby	1592	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Rogerson	1593	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Arthur Tyrer	1593	blacksmith	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Pasmuch	1596		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Rycroft	1596		W	A			L.R.O.
Peter Ackers	1598	tailor	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Gill	1599	yeoman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Alice Fazakerley	1602	widow	W			Infra	L.R.O.
David Kushton	1602	mason	W		I		L.R.O.

Kirkby.

Margery Syre	1585	spinster	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Woods	1593	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Robert Charlton	1595			A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Pasmuch	1596		W	A			L.R.O.
Richard Atherton	1602	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Toxteth Park.

Thomas Seddon	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Fox	1595	gentleman	W				L.R.O.

Croxteth Park.

Richard Wood	1595	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
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Liverpool.

Nicholas Braye	1558	mariner	W				P.R.O.
Peter Rymer	1559		W				C.R.O.
Henry Bedford	1568		W				C.R.O.
Reginald Melling	1572	blacksmith	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Hitchmough	1574	merc		A	I		L.R.O.
John Crosse	1575	gentleman	W				L.R.O.
Ralph Edger	1577	joiner	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Wolfall	1578	draper	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Denton	1580	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Peter Ireland	1580	joiner			I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ellen Fairclough	1583	widow		A			L.R.O.
Ann Hughson	1583	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Nailer	1584		W				L.R.O.
George Ackers	1588	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Bavand	1588	merchant	W		I		L.R.O.
Ann Brodhead	1588	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
James Seddon	1588	vicar	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Anne Moore	1589	widow	W		I		Chet.Soc.
John Williamson	1590	tanner	W				L.R.O.
Thomas Hitchmough	1591	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Smith	1591	glover	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Anthony Davy	1592	merchant	W				P.R.O.
William Secum	1592	merchant	W		I		L.R.O.
Jane Nicholson	1593	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Gower	1594	weaver	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Parr	1594	yeoman	W				L.R.O.
Richard Welling	1594	teacher			I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Bird	1595	merchant			I		L.R.O.
James Chambers	1595		W				L.R.O.
Gilbert Formby	1595	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Boulton	1597	merchant	W		I		L.R.O.
Christopher Holden	1598	mariner		A			L.R.O.
Edward Johnson	1601	merchant	W				P.R.O.
Edward Heyes	1602	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Wardell	1602	gentleman	W				L.R.O.
James Melling	1603	shoemaker	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Bird	1604	merchant	W		I		L.R.O.
Robert Moore	1608	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Ellen Hodgson	1609	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
John Bailey	1610		W				L.R.O.
Thomas Hitchmough	1610	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Tristram	1610	hooper	W		I		L.R.O.
Margaret Bird	1611	widow			I		L.R.O.
Thomas Secum	1611				I		L.R.O.
Richard Shaw	1611	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Eleanor Moore	1612	widow			I		L.R.O.
Peter Tarbock	1613		W		I		L.R.O.
Giles Brooke	1614	merchant	W		I		L.R.O.
Sylvester Starky	1615				I		L.R.O.
Giles Brooke	1616	merchant	W		I		L.R.O.
John Bird	1618	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
George Farrer	1618				I		L.R.O.
Richard Moore	1619	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Wainwright	1625	vicar	W				L.R.O.

Prescot Parish.Prescot.

Lawrence Halsall	1561			A			L.R.O.
Percival Croston	1567				I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Laton	1567	gentleman	W				Pres.
Robert Laton	1572	gentleman	W		I		Recs.
Robert Leigh	1579	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Fletcher	1581	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Thomas Laton	1581	gentleman	W	A			L.R.O.
John Pyke	1581	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Green	1588	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Cecily Naylor	1589			A			L.R.O.
Humphrey Ashcroft	1592			A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Bower	1595			A			L.R.O.
Jane Taylor	1597	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
Evan Pyke	1601	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Lyne	1603	mercier	W				L.R.O.
Thomas Halsall	1608	blacksmith	W		I		L.R.O.

Eccleston.

Henry Houghton	1559	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Henry Wainmough	1572	blacksmith	W		I		L.R.O.
Ellis Bourghe	1579	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Henry Hey	1579		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Pyke	1579	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Oliver Hey	1581		W		I		L.R.O.
Margaret Rigby	1583	spinster	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Swan	1586	thrower	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
James Garnett	1589		W				L.R.O.
William Cowper	1590	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Oliver Cowley	1592		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Alice Cowper	1593	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Kenyon	1593	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Webster	1594	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Hey	1595	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Margaret Dronning	1598	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Gowther Swift	1598	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Prescott	1600	gentleman			I		L.R.O.
Roger Bannester	1602	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Edward Dicconson	1606	gentleman			I		L.R.O.

Rainford.

Robert Lathom	1584	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Cecily Naylor	1588	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Hugh Breck	1591		W		I		L.R.O.

Ellen Lyon	1591	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
James Lyon	1592		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Mercer	1594		W		l	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Bannester	1595	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Parr	1603	yeoman	W				L.R.O.
<u>Windle.</u>							
Alexander Smith	1578	millar	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Lyon	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Winstanley	1588		W		I		L.R.O.
Margaret Denton	1590	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Koughley	1592	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Parr	1594	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Gerrard	1599	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Thurstan Cowley	1602	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Fox	1602	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Margaret Cowley	1603	widow	W				L.R.O.
Elizabeth Markland	1603	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
<u>Parr.</u>							
Thomas Parr	1558	esquire	W				Chet.Soc.
Bryan Hayward	1578	weaver	W		I		L.R.O.
William Birchall	1581	weaver	W		l	Infra	L.R.O.
Edward Potter	1582	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Roger Parr	1591		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Mathew Ellan	1592		W		I		L.R.O.
Jane Williamson	1592	widow	W	A	I		L.R.O.
John Knowles	1594		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Ellan	1598	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
Alice Wakefield	1598	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Boardman	1602		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Sherlock	1603	weaver	W	A	I		L.R.O.
Mary Byron	1614	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
<u>Sutton.</u>							
John Lea	1575		W		I		L.R.O.
Robert Whitlow	1579	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Oliver Seddon	1582		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Garnett	1585	yeoman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Cecily Dugand	1587	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Alexander Holland	1588	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Robert Lee	1588	tanner	W		l		L.R.O.
Lawrence Nutch	1590	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Mercer	1591	labourer	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Tyrer	1591	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ellen Garnett	1592	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Tickle	1593		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Ditchfield	1594	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Rothwell	1595	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Boardman	1597	blacksmith	W		I		L.R.O.
Thomas Crawforth	1598		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ann Rothwell	1598	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Myleson	1601	gentleman	W		l		L.R.O.
Peter Sutton	1602	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Eltonhead	1602	gentleman	W	A			B.I.Y.
John Tarbock	1603	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
John Parker	1603		W	A			L.R.O.
Richard Johnson	1609	glover	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
<u>Rainhill.</u>							
Edward Deane	1572	weaver	W		I		L.R.O.
George Webster	1572		W				L.R.O.
Elizabeth Ackers	1583	spinster	W		I		L.R.O.
Hugh Green	1586	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Porter	1588		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Joan Richardson	1590	widow	W		I		P.R.O.
William Garnett	1591		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Kenwick	1591	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Robert Sutton	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Elizabeth Ackers	1592	widow	W	A	I		L.R.O.
Ellen Ackers	1592	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ellen Brookes	1592	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Hugh Lea	1592	weaver	W		I		L.R.O.
Humphrey Wainwright	1595		W		l	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Lee	1599	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Thomas Lancaster	1607	esquire	W				L.R.O.
Thomas Lancaster	1629	esquire	W		I		L.R.O.
<u>Whiston.</u>							
Richard Halsall	1557	miner	W		I	Infra	C.R.O.
Thomas Green	1561		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

John Ogle	1562	gentleman	W		1		C.R.O.
William Litherland	1582	miner	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Southern	1582	spinster	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Blundell	1587	husbandman	W		1		L.R.O.
Henry Cooke	1590	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Thomasine Worrall	1590	widow	W		1		L.R.O.
Gilbert Cropper	1591	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Henry Ditchfield	1591		W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Kobert Wyke	1591	husbandman	W		1		L.R.O.
Alice Pemberton	1593	widow	W	A			L.R.O.
Catherine Lyon	1595	widow	W		1		L.R.O.
Richard Hawarden	1600	yeoman	W		1		L.R.O.
Anne Wyke	1603	widow	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.

Bold.

William Birchall	1564	yeoman	W		1		C.R.O.
Roger Houghton	1568		W				L.R.O.
Catherine Bold	1580	widow	W				L.R.O.
John Denton	1580	servant	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Banner	1580		W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Sanderson	1582		W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Ellen Lathom	1584	widow	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Blundell	1586	weaver	W		1		L.R.O.
Francis Bold	1587	gentleman	W		1		C.R.O.
William Smith	1588		W		1		L.R.O.
John Gandy	1589		W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Bushell	1590	wheelwright	W		1		L.R.O.
Henry Battersby	1591	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
John Derbyshire	1591	weaver	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Nicholas Smith	1591	servant	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Christopher Phipp	1591	yeoman	W		1		L.R.O.
Hugh Appleton	1592	miller	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
John Banner	1592	husbandman	W				L.R.O.
Ellis March	1592	servant	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Ashcroft	1592	labourer	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Nicholas Williamson	1594	yeoman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Barrow	1595		W		1		L.R.O.
John Cowper	1595		W				L.R.O.
John Edwardson	1595	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Bold	1596	widow	W		1		L.R.O.
Robert Hitchmough	1598	mercier	W		1		L.R.O.
Emma Curren	1601	widow	W				L.R.O.
Ann Birch	1602	spinster	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
John Street	1602	yeoman	W		1		L.R.O.
Henry Parker	1603	labourer	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Bold	1612	knight	W	A			L.R.O.

Great Sankey.

Richard Hardman	1561		W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Hasleden	1591		W				L.R.O.
Ralph Mosley	1591	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Margery Richardson	1596	spinster	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
John Sefton	1597	yeoman	W	A			L.R.O.
Edward Twambrooks	1598	husbandman	W		1		L.R.O.
Ralph Rixton	1603	gentleman	W		1		L.R.O.

Penketh.

William Lea	1579	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Gilbert Hawksey	1589		W	A			L.R.O.
John Ashton	1590	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Ranicars	1592		W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Emma Wyke	1593	widow	W	A	1	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Wyke	1596	spinster	W	A	1	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Hey	1602		W	A			L.R.O.

Cuerdley.

Lancelot Plumpton	1583	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Walker	1588	yeoman	W		1		L.R.O.
James Standish	1592	husbandman	W		1	Infra	L.R.O.
Thurstan Kersley	1592	weaver	W		1		L.R.O.
John Linaker	1593	husbandman	W		1		L.R.O.
William Walker	1593	tanner	W		1		L.R.O.
Richard Bold	1594	yeoman	W		1		L.R.O.
Richard Appleton	1595	husbandman	W		1		L.R.O.
Henry Holme	1595		W		1		L.R.O.
Margaret Ashbrook	1596	widow	W	A	1		L.R.O.
Henry Kidd	1597	yeoman	W	A	1	Infra	L.R.O.
John Smith	1599		W		1		L.R.O.
Henry Walker	1602	yeoman	W				L.R.O.

Widnes.

Baldwin Smith	1562	yeoman	W		I		C.R.O.
Robert Rathbone	1572	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Gilbert Leadbeater	1575		W		I		L.R.O.
John Part	1577	weaver	W		I		L.R.O.
Edward Bower	1579		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Cowper	1579	widow	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Dallon	1591	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Harrison	1591		W		I		L.R.O.
John Hearn	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Croft	1591	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
Christopher Rathbone	1594	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Collier	1594	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Ralph Ainscough	1594		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Cecily Naylor	1595	spinster	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Linaker	1599	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Denton	1600		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Brian Hayward	1602	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Ashbrook	1603		W		I		L.R.O.

Farnworth.

Robert Lawrence	1575		W		I		L.R.O.
Roger Bold	1575	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Seddon	1589	husbandman	W		I		L.R.O.
John Leigh	1592	teacher	W		I		L.R.O.
Miles Slack	1593	weaver	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Margaret Marsh	1596	widow	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Washington	1597		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Lawton	1603	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.

Cronton.

Henry Hayward	1582		W	A			L.R.O.
Hugh Shepley	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Richard Carter	1596		W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Hawarden	1596	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Jane Houghton	1597	widow	W	A	I		L.R.O.
William Burgess	1602		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Sanderson	1603	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

Ditton.

John Tildesley	1554	priest	W				Chet.Soc.
Thomas Marsh	1557	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
William Ditchfield	1567	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
James Mason	1572		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Elizabeth Thornton	1577	spinster	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Nicholas Cartwright	1579		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Tarbock	1581		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
William Webster	1581	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Richard Wainwright	1581		W	A			L.R.O.
John Ditchfield	1582		W		I		L.R.O.
Robert Taylor	1582	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
John Tildesley	1588	gentleman	W		I		Chet.Soc.
Maud Gudicar	1590	widow	W		I		L.R.O.
John Lawton	1591		W		I		L.R.O.
William Robertson	1591	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Henry Coney	1592	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Hugh Kenyon	1595	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Robert Kenyon	1595	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Roger Kenyon	1595	husbandman	W	A	I	Infra	L.R.O.
Thomas Welling	1595	yeoman	W		I		L.R.O.
Henry Coney	1598	gentleman	W		I		L.R.O.
Henry Wainwright	1602		W		I	Infra	L.R.O.
Henry Webster	1603	husbandman	W		I	Infra	L.R.O.

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APPENDIX V: CHRISTIAN NAMES RECORDED IN BAPTISMS AT HALE,
CHILDWALL, WALTON, HUYTON, PRESCOT AND FARNWORTH, 1550-1600.

Male.

John	700
Thomas	510
William	476
Richard	340
Henry	293
Robert	211
Edward	150
James	94
George	84
Ralph	40
Roger	40
Francis	26
Edmund	24
Humphrey	24
Peter	22
Gilbert	21
Hugh	21
Nicholas	21
Hamlet	18
Christopher	16
David	16
Mathew	12
Ellis	10
Evan	10
Arthur	8
Alexander	7
Andrew	7
Antony	6
Bevis	6
Lawrence	6
Michael	6
Miles	6
Brian	5
Adam	4
Baldwin	4
Ferdinando	4
Leonard	4
Philip	4
Randle	4
Thurstan	4
Cuthbert	3
Gowther	3
Oliver	3
Percival	3
Timothy	3
Daniel	2
Tucher	2
Alphrey	1
Benjamin	1
Charles	1

Female.

Elizabeth	501
Margaret	468
Anne	385
Ellen	338
Jane	307
Alice	285
Catherine	114
Margery	125
Joan	101
Mary	93
Isabel	51
Dorothy	50
Janet	22
Cicely	19
Grace	17
Frances	14
Emma	13
Susan	13
Agnes	12
Maud	10
Eleanor	8
Ursula	7
Christian	5
Prudence	5
Thomasine	5
Martha	4
Matilda	4
Sarah	4
Blanche	3
Parnell	3
Beatrice	2
Bridget	2
Christobel	2
Dowse	2
Juliane	2
Rose	2
Scholastica	2
Amy	1
Clemence	1
Constance	1
Edith	1
Emily	1
Euphemia	1
Lettice	1
Marian	1
Mildred	1
Perpetua	1
Phoebe	1
Sybil	1
Tabitha	1

Gabriel	1
Garves	1
Giles	1
Hercules	1
Ignatius	1
Isaac	1
Jasper	1
Jerome	1
Justinian	1
Lancelot	1
Moses	1
Nathanial	1
Simon	1
Sylvester	1

Timothea	1
Winifred	1

APPENDIX VI: THE GENTRY OF SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	<u>Family</u>	<u>Township of Residence</u>	<u>Residence of more than 100 years by 1550</u>	<u>Personnel</u>		<u>Literate</u>	<u>References</u>
<u>Knight Walton Parish</u>	Molyneux	Croxteth	/	Richard Molyneux 1509-1569	/	a b c d e f g n	
				Richard Molyneux 1559-1623	/		
<u>Esquire Huyton Parish</u>	Harrington	Huyton	/	John Harrington 1530-1572	/	c e g h n p	
				Percival Harrington 1552-1609	/		
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Tarbock	Tarbock	/	William Tarbock 1526-1558	/	b e g h j k n p	
	Ireland	Halewood	/	Edward Tarbock -1608	/		
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Norris	Speke	/	George Ireland -1596	/	b c e g i n p	
				John Ireland 1558-1614	/		
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Crosse	Liverpool	x	William Norris 1501-1569	/	b e g i j n p	
				Edward Norris 1540-1606	/		
<u>Walton Parish</u>				James Crosse -1553	/	a b e f i j n	
				John Crosse 1526-1575	/		
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Molyneux	West Derby	x	John Crosse -1601	/		
				John Molyneux 1537-1599	/	c i	
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	More	Kirkdale	/	Richard Molyneux	/		
				John More 1504-1575	/	b e f i j k	
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Bold	Bold	/	William More 1538-1602	/		
				Richard Bold 1513-1558	/	b c e i j n	
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Byrom	Parr	/	Richard Bold 1541-1603	/		
				John Byrom 1537-1594	/	j	
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Eccleston	Eccleston	/	Henry Byrom 1564-1613	/		
				Thomas Eccleston -1558	/	b e i j m n p	
<u>Prescot Parish</u>				Henry Eccleston 1541-1598	/		
				Edward Eccleston 1563-1623	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Parr	Parr	/	Thomas Parr 1516-1553	/	j k	
				William Parr 1540-1594	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Bury	Roby	/	Ralph Bury 1509-1553	/	h k p	
				Henry Bury 1556-1583	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Childwall	Roby	/	George Childwall -1593	/	j	
				Edward Childwall	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Doughty	Roby	x	Michael Doughty	/	e	
	Easthead	Tarbock	/	Richard Easthead	/	e	
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>				John Easthead -1613	/		
				Robert Knowle -1589	/	e	
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Knowle	Tarbock	/	Robert Knowle 1579-	/		
				Thomas Orme -1576	/	k o	
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Orme	Roby	/	William Orme	/		
				Edward Orme 1564-	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Orme	Tarbock	/	Robert Williamson	/	k p	
	Robertson	Wolfall	/	George Robertson -1569	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>				William Georgeson	/		
				Edward Smith	/	g	
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Smith	Knowsley	/	William Spencer -1593	/	e	
	Spencer	Huyton	/	William Spencer 1556-	/	L.R.O., DD Ho	
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>				Ralph Sutton -1574	/	g i m	
				Edward Sutton 1552-1603	/		
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>	Tildesley	Huyton	/	Nicholas Tildesley -1558	/	m	
				Nicholas Tildesley -1578	/	Huyton Register	
<u>Gentleman Huyton Parish</u>				Michael Tildesley -1603	/		
				Thomas Wolfall 1506-1558	/	e g i	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>				Thomas Wolfall -1591	/		
				Thomas Wolfall	/		
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Brettergh	Little Woolton	/	William Brettergh 1516-1586	/	h i j k n p	
				William Brettergh 1571-1608	/		
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Cooke	Little Woolton	/	Richard Cooke -1592	/	k	
				John Cooke	/		
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Fazakerley	Halewood	/	Edward Fazakerley	/	k	
	Ireland	Halewood	/	Robert Ireland -1591	/	k	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>				George Ireland 1556-1600	/		
				Thomas Ireland	/	o	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Ireland	Childwall	/	John Richardson	/	h n	
	Johnson	Wavertree	/	William Johnson	/		
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Lathom	Allerton	/	William Lathom -1588	/	i k n	
				Cuthbert Lathom -1592	/		
<u>Childwall Parish</u>				Thomas Lathom	/		
				Thomas Orme -1560	/	e i n p	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Orme	Little Woolton	/	Thomas Orme 1562-1606	/		
				Francis Walworth -1586	/	h i	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Walworth	Wavertree	/	William Woodward -1560	/	e	
	Woodward	Much Woolton	/	William Woodward -1604	/		
<u>Walton Parish</u>				George Ackers -1553	/	k	
				Thomas Bannester 1547-1596	/	l	
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Ackers Bannester	Liverpool Liverpool	/	William Bannester -1607	/		

	Bower	Fazakerley		William Bower		e
	Breres	Walton	x	Robert Bower		
				Lawrence Breres	1515-1584	/ c e f j k
				Roger Breres	1535-1595	/
	Dixon	Liverpool		Lawrence Breres	1583-1612	
	Fazakerley	Fazakerley	/	William Dixon	-1603	/ l
				Robert Fazakerley	-1590	/ c d e f g h j
	Fazakerley	Kirkby	/	Nicholas Fazakerley	1553-1604	/
				William Fazakerley	-1601	/ e f g
	Fazakerley	West Derby		Nicholas Fazakerley		
				Edward Fazakerley	-1588	
	Fletcher	West Derby		Thomas Fazakerley	1529-1598	L.R.O., DD Sh
				John Fletcher	-1593	
				Thomas Fletcher	1544-1585	/ s
				John Fletcher	1568-1595	/
	Fox	Toxteth	x	William Fox	-1595	/ k
				William Fox		
	Cardiner	Liverpool		Thomas Cardiner	-1599	l
	Georgeson	West Derby		John Georgeson	1533-1593	i
	Gifford	Liverpool	x	John Gifford	-1598	h i k
	alias			alias Wardell		
	Wardell					
	Houghton	West Derby		Evan Houghton	1526-1609	e g i
	Meys	Liverpool	/	Richard Hey		x g h i k
				Edward Heyes	1527-1601	/
				Edward Heyes	1550-	
	Huyton	West Derby		Nicholas Huyton	-1572	p
				William Huyton	-1561	
				James Huyton	-1596	
	Longworth	West Derby		Henry Longworth	-1577	/ e g
				Richard Longworth	-1601	
	More	Liverpool	/	Thomas More	1512-1580	f i k
				James More	-1594	/
				Robert More		/
				Antony More		/
	Norris	West Derby	x	Henry Norris	1544-1581	e g
				Richard Norris	-1595	
				Andrew Norris		
	Parr	Liverpool		William Parr	1527-1593	/ l
				William Parr		
	Reaching,	Liverpool	x	Thomas Reaching		/ l
	Secum	Liverpool		Thomas Secum	-1589	/ e f l
				Ralph Secum	-1603	
				Richard Secum		
	Standish	West Derby		Ralph Standish	-1596	e g
	Starkey	Liverpool	x	Edward Standish	1569-1601	/ l
	Tarleton	Fazakerley		Peter Starkey	-1603	/ j n
				Richard Tarleton	-1568	
				William Tarleton	1548-1632	/
	Walker	Liverpool		Roger Walker	-1558	/ a l
				Thomas Walker	-1593	/
				Lancelot Walker		/
	Whitfield	Fazakerley		Ralph Whitfield	-1592	/ g
				David Whitfield	-1595	/
	Wickstead	Liverpool		Thomas Wickstead		/ l
	Ashton	Penketh	/	Thomas Ashton	1514-1573	b c e h i j
				William Ashton	1543-1604	
	Ashton	Great Sankey		William Ashton	1566-1612	i
	Ashton	Eccleston		Thomas Ashton	1512-1596	/ e
				Richard Ashton		
	Barnes	Rainford		Peter Barnes	-1590	j
				Edmund Barnes	-1619	
	Bold	Widnes		Roger Bold	1547-1578	/ f
				Thomas Bold	1556-1604	/
	Coney	Ditton	/	Robert Coney	-1559	/ g j k m
				Henry Coney	-1569	
				Henry Coney	1527-1594	/
				Henry Coney	1552-1596	/
				Robert Coney	1553-1600	/
				William Coney		/
	Cowley	Windle	/	Roger Cowley	-1500	f i
				Robert Cowley	1518-1595	
				Roger Cowley		
	Curren	Bold	/	Richard Curren	-1551	h
				Thomas Curren	-1588	
	Ditchfield	Ditton	/	Hamlet Ditchfield	1511-1601	/ b c d e h i
				William Ditchfield	-1606	/
	Eltonhead	Sutton	/	Richard Eltonhead	1502-1558	/ b c d e f i m
				Richard Eltonhead	1526-1590	/
				William Eltonhead	1537-1601	/
				Richard Eltonhead	1582-	/
	Fox	Sutton		Thomas Fox	1540-1603	/ e f i k m
	Garnett	Rainhill	/	William Garnett	1490-1576	e i
				James Garnett	-1562	
				Simon Garnett	1542-1600	
	Gerrard	Rainhill		Henry Gerrard	-1584	/ e
				Thomas Gerrard	1560-1603	

Prescot
Parish

Gleast	Eccleston	/	Ellis Gleast	1532-1591		e i
			James Gleast	1561-1601		
			James Gleast	1592		
Hawarden	Widnes		John Hawarden	1532-1589		c i
			John Hawarden	1548-1600		
			John Hawarden	1575-1604	/	
Hayward	Rainhill		William Hayward	-1600	/	n
Hey	Ditton		Hamlet Hey	1533-1611	x	i
Holland	Sutton	/	William Holland	-1575	/	b i j k
			Alexander Holland	-1555		
			Richard Holland	1577-1611		
Hunt	Rainford		Thomas Hunt		/	m n
Lancaster	Rainhill	/	Richard Lancaster	1521-1558	/	b c d e g i j k m n
			Thomas Lancaster	1541-1607	/	
Lathom	Rainford	/	John Lathom	-1553		c e j n
			Henry Lathom	1551-1620	/	
Layton	Prescot	x	John Layton	-1569	/	h i m
			Thomas Layton	1562-1581		
			Philip Layton	1564-1608		
Linacre	Ditton		Thomas Linacre	-1618		j
Mainwaring	Windle	x	Oliver Mainwaring		/	m n
Malbon	Cuerdley		Robert Malbon	-1592		h
			Thomas Malbon	1573-1606		
Menny	Whiston		Richard Menny			Prescot Register
Naylor	Rainford		William Naylor			q
			William Naylor			
Ogle	Whiston	/	John Ogle	-1563	/	g i j m
			Edward Ogle	1542-1567	/	
			John Ogle	1558-1606	/	
Pearson	Sutton	/	Miles Pearson	1529-1595		e i j k
			Henry Mileson	-1601		
Pemberton	Whiston	/	George Pemberton	-1553		f g h i m n
			James Pemberton	1526-1535	/	
			James Pemberton	1554-1606	/	
Penketh	Penketh	/	Thomas Penketh	-1551		b c i n
			Richard Penketh	-1610	/	
Penketh	Great Sankey		Nicholas Penketh	1544-1604		i
Plumpton	Widnes		John Plumpton	1526-1537		i
Prescott	Eccleston	/	Robert Prescott	-1561		e f i n
			William Prescott	-1600	/	
			Robert Prescott			
Rigby	Ditton		Roger Rigby			m
			Alexander Rigby	-1605	/	
Rigby	Eccleston		Richard Rigby	-1558		e
			Richard Rigby	-1609		
Rixton	Great Sankey	/	Thomas Rixton	-1563		b i k
			Randle Rixton	1564-1603	/	
Roughley	Sutton		Richard Roughley	-1601		j
			Thomas Roughley	-1644		
Roughley	Windle		Edward Roughley			h
			Robert Roughley	1584-1602		
Sanderson	Ditton		Richard Sanderson	1511-1585		i
			Richard Sanderson	1552-		
Sankey	Great Sankey	/	Thomas Sankey			j n
			Edward Sankey	1564-1603	/	
Standish	Eccleston	/	John Standish	1522-1596		i n
			William Standish	1539-1602	/	
			John Standish	1562-		
Taylor	Great Sankey		Humphrey Taylor			e h
			Thomas Taylor			
Tildesley	Ditton	/	Francis Tildesley	1541-1564		h i
			John Tildesley	-1588		
			Edward Tildesley	1572-	x	
Travers	Whiston	/	Robert Travers	-1560		e h i j m n
			John Travers	-1583		
			John Travers	1560-1586		
			William Travers	-1591		
			Henry Travers	1572-		
Travers	Windle	/	Robert Travers	-1560		i n
			John Travers	-1583		
			Henry Travers	1572-		
Walmough	Sutton	/	Richard Walmough	-1573		c i
			Francis Walmough	1555-1610	/	
Wetherby	Whiston	/	George Wetherby	-1568		e h i n
			Peter Wetherby	1561-1626	/	
Whittle	Great Sankey	/	Thomas Whittle	-1567		p
			William Whittle			Farnworth Register
			Thomas Whittle			
Woodfall	Sutton	/	William Woodfall	-1558		o
			John Woodfall		/	

- a = H.M.C. Salisbury Mss.
- b = Flowers' Visitation 1567.
- c = St. George's Visitation 1613.
- d = Gentlemen of Lancashire 1588, Chet. Soc. Vol. LVII.
- e = Lancashire freeholders 1600, B.L. Harl Mss. 2042.
- f = Liv. R.O., Moore Deeds and Papers, 920H00.
- g = L.R.O., Molyneux Papers, DDM.
- h = P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Bills and Answers, DL 1.
- i = P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Examinations, DL 4.
- j = Inq. P.M. DL 7.
- k = Probate Records.
- l = Liverpool Town Books.
- m = Prescot Records.
- n = P.R.O., STAC 5.
- o = L.R.O., QDD.
- p = B.L. Add. Charters.
- q = Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions.

APPENDIX VII: THE PROBATE VALUATIONS OF FARMERS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1603.

Rank- ing	Name	Age if known	Yeo./ Husb.	Township	Date of Inventory	Valua- tion of Agricultural Equipment	Valua- tion of Animals	Valua- tion of Crops	Valuation of total Inventory, excluding debts
1	John Ashton		Husb.	Penketh	Nov. 1590	2-10	-	1-6	1-19-8
2	Richard Wainwright		Husb.	Halewood	Oct. 1593	-	1-0	10-0	2-3-8
3	Richard Bridge		Husb.	Walton	May 1594	-	1-11-4	7-2	2-11-8
4	James Standish		Husb.	Cuerdley	Aug. 1592	-	-	-	2-18-8
5	Thomas Pyke		Husb.	Eccleston	1579	-	1-6-8	-	2-19-4
6	Nicholas Rigby		Husb.	Walton	March 1603	1-7	-	2-0	3-18-9
7	John Collier		Husb.	Widnes	1594	10	2-1-6	9-0	4-10-1
8	Lawrence Mutch	85	Husb.	Sutton	June 1590	-	2-4	1-18-6	5-3-11
9	Richard Halewood		Husb.	Much Woolton	Jan. 1604	4-2	2-13-4	1-1-0	5-5-7
10	Richard Lonsdale		Husb.	Kirkdale	March 1590	3-4	1-12-4	1-3-0	5-12-7
11	Robert Lyon		Husb.	Much Woolton	May 1594	7-8	4-0	2-13-4	6-0-0
12	Robert Lea		Husb.	Prescot	July 1579	11-8	2-3-0	2-0-0	8-0-6
13	Thomas Gorsuch		Husb.	Huyton	Aug. 1596	-	2-16-2	19-0	8-4-8
14	William Parr	53	Husb.	Windle	1594	-	1-13-4	7-6	9-1-4
15	Thurstan Cowley		Yeo.	Windle	April 1602	-	4-14-8	3-4	9-2-6
16	Henry Kidd		Husb.	Cuerdley	May 1597	-	-	-	9-13-0
17	John Chowmer		Husb.	Huyton	May 1590	-	3-16-8	14-6	10-1-0
18	Thomas Prescott		Husb.	Walton	Dec. 1590	-	5-3-4	3-0	10-10-0
19	Robert Taylor		Husb.	Ditton	Jan. 1582	10-0	6-4-8	1-0-0	11-1-4
20	Hugh Kenyon		Husb.	Ditton	May 1595	3-0	6-6-8	1-8-0	12-1-2
21	Edward Potter		Husb.	Parr	1582	10-0	4-19-4	3-10-0	12-7-8
22	John Bushell		Husb.	Garston	April 1590	5-0	8-6-8	1-0-0	12-13-8
23	John Williamson		Husb.	Tarbock	1593	-	9-0-0	1-6-0	12-16-0
24	Thomas Gill		Yeo.	West Derby	1599	-	6-9-0	-	12-18-4
25	William Webster		Husb.	Ditton	1581	-	6-7-4	2-9-4	13-7-8
26	Robert Bannester		Husb.	Eccleston	Feb. 1603	-	0-16-0	1-5-0	13-8-10
27	Percival Smith		Husb.	Huyton	Oct. 1583	7-0	7-16-4	2-13-4	13-9-8
28	John Tarleton		Yeo.	West Derby	April 1582	-	5-11-6	3-15-0	14-5-4
29	Ralph Hitchmough		Husb.	Much Woolton	March 1602	12-4	-	-	14-15-5
30	William Lea		Husb.	Penketh	1579	6-8	6-9-0	4-6-0	15-5-4
31	John Plumptre		Yeo.	West Derby	1582	14-0	6-3-4	2-17-8	16-0-10
32	Henry Webster		Yeo.	Eccleston	May 1594	-	5-13-8	1-3-8	16-15-4
33	Robert Tyrer	37	Husb.	Sutton	1591	2-1-10	2-1-4	1-17-0	16-18-0
34	Gilbert Leadbeater		Husb.	Halewood	June 1594	3-4	4-16-8	4-5-4	17-12-0
35	Henry Dallon		Husb.	Widnes	April 1591	14-6	2-0-0	-	19-18-2
36	Henry Rothwell		Husb.	Sutton	March 1595	6-0	7-2-8	1-12-0	20-2-4
37	George Tildesley		Husb.	Knowsley	1592	1-0	8-3-1	7-5-0	21-7-9
38	John Rigby		Husb.	West Derby	June 1592	1-4-8	16-10-0	9-0-5	21-17-0
39	Roger Hey		Husb.	Everton	Jan. 1592	13-4	11-19-8	3-0-0	21-18-4
40	Roger Kenyon		Husb.	Ditton	March 1596	(not available)	(not available)	(not available)	22-0-0
41	Humphrey Toxteth		Yeo.	Wavertree	May 1594	10-8	10-1-0	1-8-0	22-13-4
42	William Sanderson		Husb.	Cronton	1603	(not available)	(not available)	(not available)	22-14-2
43	Richard Harper		Husb.	Walton	Oct. 1591	0-0	12-3-0	6-7-6	23-16-8
44	Henry Webster	53	Husb.	Ditton	1603	-	8-3-4	5-0-0	24-0-0
45	John Washington		Husb.	Bootle	March 1592	1-0-0	10-7-0	3-12-0	24-14-0
46	Hanlet Plumptre		Husb.	Cuerdley	Feb. 1583	9-10-0	13-4	6-8	25-1-0
46	Thomas Webster		Husb.	Roby	June 1593	1-10-0	(not available)	2-3-4	25-1-0
48	Robert Molyneux		Husb.	Speke	Jan. 1594	-	8-13-0	4-10-0	25-18-6
49	Henry Batterby		Husb.	Bold	May 1591	7-0	11-5-2	5-2-0	27-18-10
50	John Hey		Yeo.	Eccleston	May 1595	11-0	15-6-8	2-9-4	28-5-0
51	Thomas Hitchmough	57	Yeo.	Liverpool	March 1592	-	1-15-0	-	29-17-2
52	John Woods		Husb.	Simonswood	Oct. 1581	-	7-13-4	2-1-0	29-19-0
53	Richard Atherton		Husb.	Kirkby	March 1602	-	11-10-0	2-14-0	30-0-6
54	Henry Ainsworth		Yeo.	Huyton	Sept. 1587	-	1-11-6	-	31-7-4
55	William Robertson		Husb.	Hale	1593	2-8-8	-	4-4-1	31-11-6
56	Evan Pyke	35	Yeo.	Prescot	April 1602	-	1-2-0	-	31-15-0
57	Edward Griffith		Husb.	Halewood	March 1581	2-11-4	12-9-8	4-10-0	31-17-0
58	John Glover		Husb.	Knowsley	Sept. 1593	-	16-18-8	1-0-0	32-4-11
59	Richard Denton		Husb.	Liverpool	Sept. 1580	1-18-0	9-10-6	-	33-5-2
60	Ralph Mosley		Husb.	Great Sankey	Jan. 1592	1-13-4	14-13-0	10-6-8	34-9-0
61	Thomas Kenyon		Husb.	Eccleston	May 1593	8-0	20-4-4	9-12-0	34-15-4
62	Roger Dey		Husb.	Knowsley	Dec. 1592	10-10	11-11-8	4-11-6	35-6-10
63	Robert Kenyon		Husb.	Ditton	March 1596	8-0	24-13-4	4-4-0	35-13-2
64	John Baxter		Husb.	Garston	March 1589	2-10-0	17-6-8	5-11-6	36-5-6
65	Richard Johnson		Husb.	Speke	Dec. 1593	2-1-8	17-9-2	4-4-8	36-6-6
66	John Edwardson		Husb.	Bold	Feb. 1595	1-0-0	11-18-6	4-0-0	36-10-0
67	Christopher Rathbone		Husb.	Widnes	Feb. 1594	1-14-8	23-11-8	7-6-8	37-6-6
68	Thomas Hawarden		Husb.	Cronton	Dec. 1596	1-6-4	15-0-0	11-10-0	37-7-10
69	John Richardson		Husb.	Halebank	May 1582	1-0-0	21-17-3	6-0-6	38-17-0
70	William Whitfield		Husb.	Little Woolton	April 1594	2-5-0	18-13-0	6-8	39-7-8
71	Peter Sutton		Husb.	Sutton	May 1602	1-12-0	16-2-8	13-10-0	39-14-0
72	William Holland	51	Husb.	Tarbock	Feb. 1594	1-13-4	20-0-8	9-7-8	41-6-2
73	Ellis Bourgh		Husb.	Eccleston	June 1579	5-0-0	24-14-4	2-6-8	41-14-4
74	Richard Appleton		Husb.	Cuerdley	Feb. 1595	13-4	9-6-8	3-5-4	41-17-0
75	John Seddon		Husb.	Widnes	Oct. 1589	-	4-0-0	3-4	42-3-0

76	Henry Garnett		Yeo.	Sutton	Feb. 1583	1- 3- 0	17-14- 0	7- 5- 0	44- 3- 4
77	Richard Tatlock		Yeo.	Simonswood	Aug. 1593	1-10- 3	15- 3-10	8-17- 7	44- 5-10
78	Thomas Marsh		Yeo.	Bitton	1587	13- 4	23- 3- 0	12-10- 8	45- 2- 0
79	Ralph Roughtley		Husb.	Windle	Jan. 1593	1- 0- 0	25-13- 8	4-10- 0	45- 9- 8
80	John Thomason		Husb.	Halebank	Feb. 1595	1-17- 8	18- 1- 4	5-10- 8	45-16- 4
81	Robert Hitchmough		Husb.	Halebank	Nov. 1592	3-10- 0	21-16- 0	7- 8- 4	47-10- 4
82	Richard Catton	32	Yeo.	Halewood	March 1595	1- 0- 8	18-18- 2	9- 2- 8	48- 1- 6
83	William Birchall		Yeo.	Bold	1564	1- 4- 8	22-17- 6	12- 2- 8	48- 7- 0
84	William Edmundson		Husb.	Little Woolton	Dec. 1594	16- 0	15- 0- 0	15- 0- 8	48-10- 0
85	Thomas Welling		Yeo.	Ditton	April 1595	3- 0-11	17-13- 4	4-10- 0	50- 1- 3
86	Thomas Martin		Husb.	Fazakerley	June 1591	1- 6- 4	21-15- 2	14- 8- 4	51- 1- 9
87	Gowther Swift		Husb.	Eccleston	Nov. 1598	7- 0	17-12- 4	17- 0- 0	51-11- 8
88	Edmund Wainwright		Yeo.	Halebank	1574	2- 0- 0	30- 2- 0	6- 0- 0	52- 3- 8
89	Brian Hayward		Husb.	Widnes	1602	3- 6- 8	14-16- 0	13- 1- 4	52- 9- 8
90	William Kenwick		Husb.	Rainhill	1591	1-12- 8	19- 7- 0	21-12- 8	52-11- 7
91	Henry Blundell		Husb.	Whiston	Jan. 1588	1-13- 4	21-16- 0	19- 4- 0	53- 2- 4
92	William Knowle		Husb.	Little Woolton	March 1602	4- 0- 0	19- 4- 0	7- 3- 4	53-13- 4
93	Henry Rogerson		Yeo.	West Derby	August 1593	1-10- 0	27-10- 0	15-11- 8	54- 4- 8
94	Richard Wainwright		Husb.	Halewood	Jan. 1582	17- 8	18-16- 8	9-14- 8	56- 0- 0
95	William Robertson	89	Yeo.	West Derby	Dec. 1591	1-13- 4	22-17- 0	12-12- 0	56- 7- 8
96	William Greene		Yeo.	Prescot	Nov. 1581	3- 6- 8	19-17- 8	7-13- 4	56- 8-10
97	John Lyon		Husb.	Halewood	August 1598	3- 0- 0	20-15- 4	6- 0- 0	56-13- 7
98	John Pyke		Yeo.	Prescot	1581	2- 0- 0	21-14- 4	6- 4- 0	57- 3- 2
99	Ellis Tyrer		Yeo.	Knowsley	Jan. 1597	-	13-13- 4	6- 8	57- 6- 8
100	Henry Tatlock		Yeo.	Simonswood	Sept. 1586	1-13- 4	25-15- 0	14- 2- 0	59- 7- 2
101	Reginald Melling		Yeo.	Liverpool	March 1573	19- 4	12- 8- 4	10-13- 0	60-13- 0
102	Thomas Higginson		Yeo.	Everton	Oct. 1592	2- 9- 6	28- 1- 6	15- 4- 6	62-10- 6
103	William Challenor		Yeo.	Speke	July 1588	3- 0- 0	18- 2- 4	17-12- 8	62-15- 6
104	Richard Wood		Yeo.	Croxteth	April 1595	10- 0	38-11- 2	9- 8- 4	63- 9- 0
105	Ralph Mercer		Yeo.	Walton	Dec. 1597	1-10- 0	27-11-10	21- 0- 0	64- 9- 1
106	Henry Holland		Husb.	Tarbock	Nov. 1587	2-16-10	31-12- 8	14-14- 4	65- 5- 2
107	William Cowper		Yeo.	Eccleston	August 1591	2- 0	-	3- 6- 0	66-15-10
108	John Street		Yeo.	Bold	Dec. 1592	19- 4	21-10- 0	10-14- 0	69- 1- 2
109	Robert Williamson		Yeo.	Tarbock	Nov. 1592	4-17- 0	21- 2- 0	18-14- 0	69- 8- 8
110	Christopher Phipp		Yeo.	Bold	Nov. 1591	2- 0- 0	46- 5- 0	20- 5- 0	71- 3- 4
111	Robert Rathbone		Yeo.	Widnes	Dec. 1572	6- 4	29- 8- 2	18- 7- 8	71-17- 6
112	Thomas Molyneux	65	Yeo.	Garston	Jan. 1593	5-10- 6	27- 9- 8	17-19- 3	72- 7- 8
113	Richard Walker	50	Yeo.	Cuerdley	Oct. 1588	2-13- 4	50- 5- 8	17- 0- 0	73- 2- 8
114	Hugh Hey		Yeo.	Speke	June 1602	4-13- 4	21- 6- 4	9- 9- 4	75-18- 0
115	Edward Twambrooke	76	Husb.	Great Sankey	Nov. 1598	2- 1- 4	27- 3- 0	22- 3- 0	76-15- 3
116	Hugh Pilkington		Yeo.	Speke	June 1603	2- 0- 0	25- 1- 8	10-13- 4	77-12- 0
117	William Lathom		Yeo.	Allerton	Oct. 1594	4- 6- 0	34- 2- 4	22-10- 0	78- 7- 4
118	Baldwin Smith		Yeo.	Widnes	March 1563	4- 0- 0	34- 3- 4	21- 6- 8	78-10- 8
119	Henry Cleast		Husb.	Halewood	Feb. 1592	3-15- 0	21-11- 6	16- 0- 0	81-10-10
120	Hugh Ley	66	Yeo.	Rainhill	July 1592	5- 0	33- 7- 8	21-13- 0	83- 4- 8
121	Hugh Ellison		Yeo.	Wavertree	Nov. 1594	1- 0- 0	36-11- 8	25- 0- 0	84- 1- 0
122	Hugh Greene		Husb.	Rainhill	Dec. 1586	3- 6- 8	26-14- 8	26-19- 4	84- 4- 8
123	Andrew Tyrer		Husb.	Knowsley	May 1602	1-17- 0	37- 0- 8	17-19- 8	85- 0- 8
124	Henry Linaker		Yeo.	Widnes	May 1599	2- 5- 4	27-11- 4	42- 4- 4	85- 3-10
125	Thomas Woods		Husb.	Kirkby	July 1593	2- 0- 0	29-18- 8	16- 6- 4	88-11- 6
126	Richard Lathom	33	Yeo.	Allerton	June 1597	1-19- 2	34- 3- 4	30- 4- 8	89-10- 0
127	Gilbert Fornaby		Yeo.	Liverpool	Feb. 1596	2- 0- 0	48-10- 8	12-10- 0	96- 9- 0
128	Richard Bold	59	Yeo.	Cuerdley	March 1594	2-10- 0	18-16- 6	8-14- 4	97- 1- 6
129	Robert Wyke		Yeo.	Whiston	Dec. 1591	2- 0- 0	44- 1- 0	9-15- 0	98- 5- 8
130	John Hearn		Yeo.	Widnes	1591	2- 0- 0	22-13- 0	18-19- 8	103- 4- 0
131	William Croft		Husb.	Widnes	Dec. 1591	3- 0- 0	35-14- 4	41-14- 4	105-16- 6
132	William Wainwright		Yeo.	Halebank	April 1601	6- 0- 0	58- 3- 4	16- 2- 0	106- 0- 0
133	William Harrison	90	Husb.	Tarbock	Feb. 1603	2-13- 4	30-14- 2	23-18- 0	108- 5- 6
134	John Gerrard		Yeo.	Windle	Oct. 1599	4- 0- 0	40-12- 0	26-10- 0	113-19- 6
135	Edward Barrow		Yeo.	Halewood	Feb. 1595	5- 6- 0	36-14- 0	34-14- 8	117-13- 8
136	Thomas Seddon		Yeo.	Toxteth	March 1591	3-14- 0	56-16- 4	15- 6- 4	118- 7- 8
137	Robert Lea		Husb.	Sutton	Sept. 1586	2- 0- 0	31-10- 0	40- 0- 0	128- 3- 0
138	Hugh Shepley		Yeo.	Cronton	Feb. 1592	5- 1- 8	51- 4- 4	18-16- 8	129- 2- 8
139	John Linaker		Husb.	Cuerdley	Jan. 1593	6- 8-11	59- 1-10	35-19- 4	134-11- 9
140	William Robertson		Yeo.	Ditton	April 1591	4-13- 4	53- 8- 0	32-15- 0	144- 2- 8
141	Robert Sutton		Yeo.	Rainhill	Sept. 1591	8-10- 8	65-10- 0	71- 0- 0	163-15- 4
142	Henry Lawton		Yeo.	Widnes	April 1603	6- 6- 8	145- 2- 4	12- 4- 0	207- 4- 6

(For probate inventory references see Appendix IV).

APPENDIX VIII: LEASES AT SPEKE 1550-1600.

Date	Lessor	Place of Property	Occupation or Name of Lessee	Fine	Rent Per Annum	Length	Reference
1554	William Norris	Garston	husbandman	6-13-4	1- 2- 0	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52512
1567	William Norris	Speke	Robert Thomasson	5- 0-0	1- 1-10	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52538
1570	James Skillington	Little Woolton	Peter Skillington	13- 6-8	6- 8	21 years	B.L. Add. Ch. 52542
1572	Edward Norris	Speke	William Pendleton		1- 2- 6	60 years	B.L. Add. Ch. 52543
1574	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	husbandman	8- 0-0	10- 4	3 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 211
1576	Edward Norris	Halewood	Edward Molyneux		2- 0- 0	3 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 212
1578	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman	7- 0-0	1- 2- 8	60 years	B.L. Add. Ch. 52548
1578	Edward Norris	Speke	Thomas Norris		1-19- 0	1 life	B.L. Add. Ch. 52551
1582	Edward Norris	Ditton	Robert Port		1- 3- 0	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 215
1583	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		1-11- 0	60 years	B.L. Add. Ch. 52567
1583	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	Edward Hunt	26-13-4	1- 5- 8	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 213
1583	Edward Norris	Speke	James Georgeson	45- 0-0	18- 6	16 years	B.L. Add. Ch. 52576
1583	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	-	16- 0-0	14- 6	2 lives	L.R.O. DD Li 253/14
1584	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman		1- 5- 2	1 life	B.L. Add. Ch. 52589
1584	Edward Norris	Garston	George Turner	40- 0-0	1- 0-10	12 years	B.L. Add. Ch. 52590
1584	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		1- 2- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52591
1584	Edward Norris	Garston	William Dowse		6- 8	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52593
1585	Edward Norris	Speke	Richard Cooke		1-14- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52594
1585	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	William Abbot		15- 6	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 216
1585	Edward Norris	Speke	William Norris		2- 2- 3	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52595
1585	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	Edward Pendleton		11- 6	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 217
1585	Edward Norris	Speke	Thomas Bradshaw		18-11	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52597
1585	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman		10- 2	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52598
1585	Edward Norris	Garston	John Baxter		1- 2- 4	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52601
1587	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	husbandman	30- 0-0	15- 6	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 219
1587	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		17-11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52604
1588	Edward Norris	Speke	yeoman	6- 0-0	1- 5- 3	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52605
1588	Edward Norris	Ditton	Robert Port		1- 3- 0	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 220
1588	Edward Norris	Speke	yeoman	40- 0-0	1-11- 4	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52607
1588	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman	40- 0-0	1-14- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52609
1589	Edward Norris	Speke	Edward Hitchmough		1- 1- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52608
1589	Edward Norris	Hale	husbandman		16- 2	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 222
1589	Thomas Webster	Garston	carpenter	6- 8-4	9- 6	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52610
1590	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman	30- 0-0	1- 4- 0	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52611
1590	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		1- 1-10	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52612
1591	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	William Pendleton	18- 0-0	11- 6	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 225
1591	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman		14-10	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52614
1591	Edward Norris	Halewood	William Wood		11- 3	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 227
1591	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman	20- 0-0	1- 6- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52619
1592	Edward Norris	Garston	John Mylner		13- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52622
1593	Edward Norris	Speke	Thomas Cooke	30- 0-0	1-14- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52623
1594	Edward Norris	Speke	John Pendleton		1- 7- 0	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52624
1595	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		1- 3- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52626
1695	Edward Norris	Much Woolton	Edward Tarleton	25- 0-0	1- 2- 6	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 230
1595	Edward Norris	Garston	William Woodward		6- 9	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52627
1595	Edward Norris	Hale	Henry Hitchmough		15-10	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 231
1595	Edward Norris	Speke	yeoman		1- 7- 0	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52628
1596	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		12- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52629
1596	Edward Norris	Speke	tailor		1- 6- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52631
1596	Edward Norris	Garston	blacksmith	20- 0-0	16- 2	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52632
1597	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman		1-17- 2	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52633
1597	Edward Norris	Speke	tailor	30- 0-0	1-13-10	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52635
1598	Edward Norris	Little Woolton	husbandman	16- 0-0	12-10	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52637
1598	Edward Norris	Halewood	Thomas Hunt		13-11	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 232
1598	Edward Norris	Garston	Henry Anott	40- 0-0	1-11- 8	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52642
1598	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman	40- 0-0	1- 4-10	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52644
1598	Edward Norris	Garston	husbandman		1-16- 8	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52645
1598	Edward Norris	Speke	James Molyneux		1- 4- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52646
1599	Edward Norris	Garston	Richard Thomasson		11- 1	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52648
1599	Edward Norris	Ditton	John Gleast		1- 0- 0	2 lives	Univ. Liverpool Norris Deeds 235
1599	Edward Norris	Speke	John Melalle		10- 8	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52649
1599	Edward Norris	Speke	Henry Molyneux	24- 0-0	1- 7- 3	3 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52652
1599	Edward Norris	Little Woolton	-	16- 0-0	12-10	2 lives	L.R.O. DD Li 253/5
1600	Edward Norris	Speke	Edmund Challenor		13- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52661
1600	Edward Norris	Speke	husbandman		12- 7	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52663
1600	Edward Norris	Speke	William Harrison		18- 6	2 lives	B.L. Add. Ch. 52666

APPENDIX IX: LEATHER WORKERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

<u>Tanners.</u>			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Gilbert Georgeson	Halewood	1555- 1595
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	Thomas Lyon(father)	Wolfall	1581- 1606
	William Lyon(son)	Wolfall	1600
	Hamlet Webster	Knowsley	1579-d.1599
	George Webster	Knowsley	1603
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Francis Bold	Bold	b.1524-d.1588
	Richard Bold	Cuerdley	b.1525-d.1594
	William Walker	Cuerdley	1547-d.1590
	Thomas Glover	Rainhill	1590- 1620
	Robert Lea	Sutton	1578-d.1586
	Robert Lyon	Rainford	b.1533- 1599
	Ralph Foster	Windle	b.1533-d.1603
	John Tarbock	Windle	1554-d.1558
	Richard Woods	Windle	1589- 1604
	Robert Cooke	Prescot	1592- 1599
	Richard Shaw	Prescot	1576- 1603
	Richard Worsley	Prescot	1550-d.1601
	John Worsley	Prescot	1581- 1608
<u>Walton Parish</u>	William Prescott	Kirkdale	1563-d.1574
	Hugh Davison	Liverpool	d.1561
	Richard Harrison	Liverpool	1559- 1563
	Alexander Hughson	Liverpool	1590- 1600
	George Lyon	Liverpool	b.1536-d.1606
	Richard Mercer	Liverpool	1555- 1568
	Thomas Mercer	Liverpool	1565- 1596
	Hamlet Nicholson	Liverpool	1594- 1600
	Richard Robinson	Liverpool	1574- 1594
	Gilbert Robinson	Liverpool	1599- 1603
	John Williamson	Liverpool	1570-d.1590
	Hugh Williamson	Liverpool	1565- 1598
	Thomas Williamson	Liverpool	1570
<u>Skinners.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	John Platt	Farnworth	1567- 1605
	Richard Fairhurst	Rainhill	1596- 1603
	John Fairhurst	Rainhill	1600
	Edward Taylor	Windle	1595
	John Ditchfield	Prescot	1579-d.1603
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Edmund Irlam	Liverpool	1565-d.1599
<u>Whitawers.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Evan Blanchard	Sutton	1551- 1569
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Richard Fletcher	Liverpool	1591- 1597
	John Johnson	Liverpool	1600
	John Wilkes	Liverpool	1596

Glovers.Prescot Parish
Walton Parish

Richard Johnson	Sutton	1578-d.1601
Peter Bolton	Liverpool	1591-d.1597
John Smith	Liverpool	1563-d.1591
Ralph Vernam	Liverpool	1568-d.1585
Ralph Vernam	Liverpool	1585-d.1596

Purser.Walton Parish

William Hughson	Liverpool	1551- 1577
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Point Maker.Walton Parish

Edmund Irlam	Liverpool	1565-d.1599
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Saddler.Childwall Parish

John Powell	Hale	d.1600
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Shoemakers.Childwall Parish

Hugh Cropper	Hale	1582
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William Rogerson	Wavertree	1578
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Huyton Parish

Thomas Lunt	Tarbock	1600- 1610
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Prescot Parish

John Orme	Bold	b.1540- 1604
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John Kidd	Cuerdley	1590-d.1601
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John Aspes	Prescot	1592- 1597
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John Davy	Prescot	1584- 1598
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Thomas Ditchfield	Prescot	1591- 1604
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Robert Ewood	Prescot	1583
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Thomas Jackson	Prescot	1579-d.1603
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Nicholas Marshall	Prescot	1588- 1607
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(brothers)

Edward Pyke	Prescot	1582- 1600
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Thomas Pyke	Prescot	1582- 1604
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William Patten	Prescot	1576
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Ralph Stock	Prescot	1576
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Evan Stock	Prescot	1583- 1591
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Robert Woosey	Prescot	1571- 1595
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Walton Parish

Edward Blundell	Liverpool	1590- 1603
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Henry Bridge	Liverpool	1565- 1603
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John Edgecar	Liverpool	b.1576- 1598
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Ralph Edgecar	Liverpool	1590- 1603
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Richard Edgecar	Liverpool	1599- 1603
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William Gardiner	Liverpool	1596- 1603
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Richard Haydock	Liverpool	1561- 1590
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Humphrey Hulgreave	Liverpool	1564- 1573
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Ralph Jamison	Liverpool	1551- 1572
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Roger Kiery	Liverpool	1595
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Roger Knype	Liverpool	1562
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James Melling	Liverpool	1551-d.1603
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Richard Mercer	Liverpool	1572- 1603
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Ralph Mercer	Liverpool	1590- 1603
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John Pemberton	Liverpool	d.1558
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William Pendleton	Liverpool	1563- 1581
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William Randle	Liverpool	1595- 1598
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Richard Sherlock	Liverpool	1586- 1587
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Ralph Thomason	Liverpool	1581- 1596
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Thomas Wade	Liverpool	1566
Edward Wade	Liverpool	1599-1603
James Williamson	Liverpool	1572
William Williamson	Liverpool	1593-1603

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Childwall Churchwardens' Accounts, Prescot Churchwardens' Accounts, Prescot Records.)

APPENDIX X: METAL WORKERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

<u>Blacksmiths.</u>			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	John Whitfield	Little Woolton	1569- 1609
	Henry Whitfield	Little Woolton	b.1575- 1600
	Henry Whitfield	Little Woolton	1559- 1593
	John Whitfield	Little Woolton	1567- 1609
	Henry Baxter	Wavertree	1581- 1584
	William Wiswall	Wavertree	1553- 1569
	Ralph Boardman	Garston	b.1580- 1610
	John Dwerryhouse	Garston	1596-d.1602
	(Richard Woods	Halewood	b.1568- 1610
	(William Woods	Halewood	b.1563- 1598
	Thomas Whitfield	parish	1599
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	Andrew Tyrer	Knowsley	1594-d.1602
	Henry Baxter	Tarbock	1560- 1570
	Edward Edwardson	Tarbock	1589- 1602
	Richard Pendleton	Tarbock	d.1561
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Robert Marsh	Widnes	b.1517- 1557
	Lawrence Marsh	Widnes	1594- 1605
	John Rawson	Ditton	1558-d.1587
	Henry Rawson	Ditton	1591- 1603
	Henry Boardman	Sutton	1579-d.1596
	(Alexander Boardman	Sutton	1595- 1603
	(John Boardman	Sutton	1592- 1610
	John Taylor	Sutton	1570- 1588
	John Standish	Eccleston	b.1527- 1601
	Henry Watmough	Eccleston	1557-d.1572
	Richard Ireland	Windle	1573- 1598
	Thomas Halsall	Prescot	1588-d.1608
	James Taylor	Prescot	1555
	John Taylor	Prescot	1568-d.1588
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Thomas Dawber	Bootle	1560- 1587
	Oliver Bolton	Kirkdale	1565-d.1601
	Richard Southworth	Kirkby	1584
	Folk Barker	West Derby	1597
	Arthur Tyrer	West Derby	d.1595
	Nicholas Abraham	Liverpool	1579
	Thomas Banester	Liverpool	b.1547-d.1598
	William Catton	Liverpool	1591- 1595
	Thomas Inglefield	Liverpool	1555-d.1578
	Hugh Mason	Liverpool	b.1550- 1586
	Henry Mason	Liverpool	b.1563- 1582
	Reginald Melling	Liverpool	1558-d.1572
	Ralph Mercer	Liverpool	1588- 1592
	Henry Radbrook	Liverpool	b.1529- 1590
	Hugh Radbrook	Liverpool	1575- 1600
	Richard Sutch	Liverpool	1583- 1599
	David Whitfield	Liverpool	1551- 1573
<u>Nailers.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	John Bower	Prescot	1550-d.1558
	William Green	Whiston	1569-d.1588

<u>Cutlers.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	John Lurting	Liverpool	1564- 1596
	William Rawson	Liverpool	1588- 1593
	Thomas Wood	Liverpool	1586- 1592
<u>Brazier/Panmaker</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Ralph Prescott	Liverpool	1593
<u>Plumbers.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Evan Dawson	parish	1567- 1568
	Richard Shakestaffe	parish	1584
<u>Goldsmiths.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	George Charlton	Liverpool	1592- 1596
	Edward Holme	Liverpool/ Knowsley	1598- 1610
<u>Clockmakers.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Henry Berry	Prescot	1579
	Richard Berry	Prescot	1578-d.1594
	Antony Gorsuch	Prescot	1602- 1604

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Childwall Churchwardens' Accounts, Prescot Churchwardens' Accounts, Prescot Records.)

APPENDIX XI: POTTERY WORKERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Richard Dobson	Sutton	1550
	James Cropper	Eccleston	1584- 1603
	Robert Webster	Eccleston	1586- 1595
	Thurstan Lassels	Rainford	1565
	George Lyon	Rainford	b.1538-d.1601
	James Ditchfield	Prescot	1562- 1598
	John Ditchfield	Prescot	1599- 1604
	Edward Glover	Prescot	1556-d.1598
	Lawrence Gorsuch	Prescot	1568- 1584

(Sources: Probate Records, Prescot Records, Duchy of Lancaster
Depositions in P.R.O.)

APPENDIX XII: WOOD WORKERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

Carpenters.Childwall Parish

		<u>Known Dates</u>
John Pasmuch	Wavertree	1569- 1604
Richard Pasmuch	Wavertree	1569- 1598
Richard Bolton	Thingwall	1548- 1574
Percival Challinor	Garston	1566-d.1599
Thomas Bolton	Speke	1574-d.1592
Lawrence Carter	Speke	1578- 1596
Edward Johnson	Speke	1589- 1600
Richard Williamson	Speke	1600- 1613
John Fennall	Speke	1605
Edward Griffiths	Halewood	d.1581
Lawrence Sutton	Halewood	1574

Huyton Parish

John Stones	parish	1589- 1602
Randle Williamson	parish	1568- 1590
Hamlet Tyrer'	Huyton	1554- 1555
George Darlington	Roby	d.1561
Wm. Standishstreet	parish	1597- 1601
- Derbyshire	parish	1597

Prescot Parish

Richard Giller	Penketh	b.1539- 1599
John Kinsey	Great Sankey	1603
William Rathbone	Widnes	1562- 1594
Henry Walton	Ditton	b.1505-d.1565
John Walton	Ditton	1572-d.1593
George Garnett	Sutton	1581- 1588
George Garnett	Rainhill	d.1580
James Wainwright	Rainhill	b.1530- 1580
Edward Houghton	Parr	1573- 1603
John Moss	Parr	1593- 1595
John Deane	Whiston	1546- 1561
Edmund Lunt	Eccleston	1567-d.1602
Thomas Foster	Windle	1595
Henry Wesle	Windle	1597- 1602
Edward Betson	Prescot	1580- 1582
Edward Senny	Prescot	1585- 1609
Thomas Halsall	Prescot	1551- 1556
Giles Lyon	Prescot	1578-d.1593
Thomas Baxter	parish	1589
Thomas Green	parish	1559
Richard Green	parish	1589
John Hey	parish	1564
William Hey	parish	1580
John Houghton	parish	1589

Walton Parish

John Bolton	Liverpool	1592- 1594
John Durning	Liverpool	1560- 1565
Thomas Harker	Liverpool	1568- 1595
Michael Lassie	Liverpool	1568- 1569
Henry Milner	Liverpool	1555- 1593

<u>Joiners.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Thomas Houghton	Windle	1595
	Richard Marshall	Prescot	1557- 1600
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Nicholas Bennett	Liverpool	1577- 1589
	Thomas Clapham	Liverpool	d.1566
	Ralph Edgecar	Liverpool	1560-d.1578
	Peter Ireland	Liverpool	d.1580
	Robert Rose	Liverpool	b.1555- 1595
	William Waring	Liverpool	1551- 1556
<u>Ships' Carpenters.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	James Corless	Liverpool	1572- 1586
	Christopher Galloway	Liverpool	1583- 1594
	William Galloway	Liverpool	1584- 1595
	William Lambert	Liverpool	1595
	Richard Smith	Liverpool	1576- 1589
	William Smith	Liverpool	1592- 1603
<u>Coopers.</u>			
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	John Baxter	Garston	1566-d.1589
	Robert Poughton	Hale	1569-d.1602
<u>Walton Parish</u>	John Blackmore	Liverpool	b.1572- 1610
	William Tristram	Liverpool	1581- 1603
	Edward White	Liverpool	1565- 1571
	William Hey	parish	1580-d.1595
<u>Wheelwrights.</u>			
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	William Janion	Halewood	b.1571-d.1601
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Thomas Bushell	Bold/Prescot	1556-d.1590
	Edward Houghton	Prescot	1559- 1598
<u>Walton Parish</u>	George Mercer	West Derby	b.1563-d.1592
	Miles Kirkdale	Liverpool	1574- 1603
<u>Thrower.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Robert Swan	Eccleston	d.1586
<u>Bowyer.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Richard Whitfield	Liverpool	1588- 1595
<u>Fletcher.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Thomas Ellam	Sutton/Windle	1578- 1597

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Prescot Records, Prescot Churchwardens' Accounts, Childwall Churchwardens' Accounts.)

APPENDIX XIII: BUILDING WORKERS
IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Masons.</u>			
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Bartholomew Southworth	Much Woolton	b.1560- 1600
	Henry Woods	Much Woolton	1574- 1595
	William Cooke	parish	1592
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Lawrence Malbon	Cuerdley	1546- 1555
	William Seddon	Sutton	1593- 1600
	Robert Case	Whiston	1555
	Thomas Hardman	Prescot	1585- 1608
<u>Walton Parish</u>	David Rushton	West Derby	d.1602
	John Knowles	Liverpool	1573- 1577
<u>Slaters.</u>			
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Henry Lake	Wavertree	1569- 1604
	Hugh Hey	Speke	1582-d.1602
	Richard Hulme	Speke	1574
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Thomas Sherlock	Rainhill	b.1524-d.1592
	Lawrence Parrett	Whiston	1589- 1603
	George Wakefield	Eccleston	1564-d.1602
	Andrew Barton	Windle	1590- 1594
	John Fairhurst	Rainford	1560-d.1580
	Richard Barton	Prescot	1589
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Robert Davy	Liverpool	1575- 1594
	Thomas Dowse	Liverpool	1576- 1598
	Thomas Gaskin	Liverpool	1573- 1600
	James Gaskin	Liverpool	1588- 1600
	John Wigan	Liverpool	1581- 1599
	Edward Wilson	Liverpool	1557- 1593
	Thomas Woodward	Liverpool	1565- 1581
<u>Quarrier.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Hugh Webster	Prescot	1587- 1602
<u>Roughwaller.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Thomas Kenyon	West Derby	b.1560- 1600
<u>Roughcaster.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Alan Gogney	Liverpool	1575- 1582
<u>Plasterers.</u>			
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	Francis Samson	Knowsley	1589-d.1593
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Gilbert Whitstones	Liverpool	1581- 1605
<u>Painters.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	William Rainford	Ditton	1600- 1610
	Alan Bateman	Windle	1589- 1601
	Edward Sutton	Prescot	1552- 1601

Glaziers.Prescot Parish

Hugh Rainford
 William Brown
 Richard Brown
 Richard Russell
 William Corker

Rainford
 Prescot
 Prescot
 parish
 Liverpool

1610
 1554-1584
 1592-1604
 1555
 1590-1602

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Prescot Records,
Prescot Churchwardens' Accounts, Childwall Churchwardens' Accounts.)

APPENDIX XIV: MILLERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

			<u>Known Dates</u>	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Henry Plumpton	Allerton	1598	
	Ralph Bushell	Much Woolton	1559-d.1595	
	Randle Mosley	Much Woolton	1600	
	Richard Bolton	Wavertree	1589- 1601	
	Edward Justice	Speke	b.1560- 1604	
	Edmund Challiner	Speke	1558-d.1601	
	William Challiner	Speke	1601- 1609	
	<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Richard Walley	Farnworth	1579- 1598
		Martin Stubbs	Penketh	1562- 1590
		Thomas Sankey	Great Sankey	1542- 1572
Henry Archer		Great Sankey	1580	
John Denton		Bold	1563-d.1586	
Hugh Appleton		Bold	1583-d.1591	
Edmund Forster		Rainhill	1553	
Robert Christopherson		Sutton	1602	
Alexander Smith		Parr	1559-d.1578	
John Webster		Prescot	1551-d.1588	
<u>Walton Parish</u>	William Allerton	Prescot	1588-d.1603	
	John Cooke	West Derby	b.1544- 1603	
	John Wigan	West Derby	1573-d.1601	
	Thomas Bank	Liverpool	1556- 1557	
	Ralph Bank	Liverpool	1565- 1597	
	John Bolton	Liverpool	1589	
	Richard Bolton	Liverpool	1598	
	James Forster	Liverpool	1589- 1598	
	John Tarleton	Liverpool	1582- 1595	
	Edward Wilson	Liverpool	1587	
Miles Prescot	Liverpool	d. before 1593		
Thurstan Woodward	Liverpool	1596- 1603		

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Prescot Records,
Norris Deeds, Molyneux of Sefton Papers.)

APPENDIX XV: MALTSTERS.SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1500-1600.

			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Thomas Plombe	Much Woolton	1601- 1608
	Richard Barrow	Halewood	1572- 1609
	William Gleast	Halewood	b.1569- 1617
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Christopher Appleton	Cuerdley	b.1539-d.1608
	Henry Blundell	Bold	1573- 1579
	William Turner	Parr	1584- 1601
	Thomas Lyon	Rainford	1590- 1603
	George Kendrick	Prescot	1576-d.1579

(Sources: Prescot Records, ed. Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions.)

APPENDIX XVI: BUTCHERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

		<u>Known Dates</u>	
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	John Plumpton	Halewood	b.1566- 1609
	<u>Huyton Parish</u>	William Lunt	Huyton
	George Plumpton	Huyton	1588- 1609
	John Tildesley	Huyton	1582- 1608
	Hamlet Ley	Knowsley	1591-d.1600
	John Skillington	Tarbock	b.1541-d.1594
	William Smith	Tarbock	b.1545- 1603
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Hugh Forster	Ditton	1593- 1610
	Hugh Grease	Cronton	b.1569-d.1600
	Thomas Lyon	Whiston	1578- 1603
	Robert Wyke	Whiston	b.1532-d.1591
	Peter ¹ Wyke	Whiston	b.1570- 1606
	John Lea	Rainhill	1564
	Wm. Rutterforth	Eccleston	1533- 1581
	Roger Hayward	Parr	1564- 1600
	Lawrence Hayward	Parr	1591- 1595
	Richard Mathewson	Parr	1588- 1606
	alias Wilcock		
	Edward Parr	Parr	b.1543- 1595
Edward Angsdall	Prescot	1578- 1608	
Roger Parr	Prescot	1586	
John Webster	Prescot	1578- 1603	
<u>Walton Parish</u>	John Harper	Kirkdale	1592- 1603
	Robert Higginson	Kirkdale	1595- 1603
	Richard Bolton	Liverpool	1588-d.1592
	Hugh Brodhead	Liverpool	1548-d.1572
	Thomas Cooke	Liverpool	1589- 1603
	John Cooke	Liverpool	1599- 1603
	Thomas Fairclough	Liverpool	1558- 1570
	Thomas Fletcher	Liverpool	1591- 1603
	John Gleast	Liverpool	1594- 1600
	William Hey	Liverpool	1595
	John Lea	Liverpool	1591- 1592
	Humphrey Mason	Liverpool	1603
	Richard Molyneux	Liverpool	1603
	Robert Mooney	Liverpool	1591- 1599
	William Nicholson	Liverpool	1603
	Richard Robinson	Liverpool	1565- 1597
	John Robinson Jnr.	Liverpool	1592- 1603
	Christopher Rochdale	Liverpool	1585- 1597
	Roger Rose	Liverpool	1562- 1602
	Richard Rose Senior	Liverpool	1590- 1603
Edmund Rose	Liverpool	1590- 1603	
John Tarleton	Liverpool	1583- 1596	
Thomas Webster	Liverpool	1603	
George Wilcock	Liverpool	1592- 1595	
<u>Salter.</u>	Gilbert Cropper	Whiston	1578-d.1591

Tallow Chandlers.

Henry Harker	Liverpool	1574
Richard Smith	Liverpool	1572-1573

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Prescot Records.)

APPENDIX XVII: LIVERPOOL MARINERS, 1550-1600.

<u>Literate.</u>	<u>Known Dates.</u>		<u>Alternative Employment.</u>
	Robert Ainsdale	1559- 1580	Water St.
	Richard Ainsdale	1577- 1581	Dale St.
	William Ainsdale	1573- 1577	
	William Allwood	1557- 1569	Dale St.
/	Robert Ball	1565- 1600	Water St.
	Roger Banester	1581	Dale St.
	John Banester	1581- 1602	Dale St.
	Adam Bank	1598	
	John Benne	1562- 1566	Dale St.
x	William Blundell	1607	
	Arthur Bolton	1591	
	Peter Bolton	1591-d.1597	
	John Bootle	1565	Juggler St.
	John Brown	1591	
	Nicholas Braye	d.1558	
	Richard Clark	1576- 1581	
	John Corbet	1573- 1600	
	(Robert Crosbie	1565- 1581	Water St.
x	(Thomas Crosbie	1576- 1584	Chapel St.
	Roger Crook	1584	
	Robert Flint	1567	
	John Gill	1580- 1600	Chapel St. Castle St.
x	William Gillam	1584- 1592	
	Richard Hodgson	1594- 1603	
	Thomas Holrobin	d.1594	
	Thomas Hubberstay	1595- 1603	
	John Hyne	1565- 1575	More St.
	Richard Hyne	1589- 1597	
	William Jamison	1579- 1588	
	William Junpe	1591	
	William Johnson	1588- 1607	
x	William Kelly	1577- 1582	Juggler St.
/	Robert Kettle	1572- 1592	
	Hugh Kettle	1565-d.1581	Milne St.
	John Kettle	1562	Castle St.
	Thomas Knype	1592	
x	John Lambert	1586- 1588	
/	Edmund Lawrence	1563-d.1574	
/	Cuthbert Lawrence	1592- 1594	
	Robert Lawrence	1573- 1584	
x	John Maddock	1582- 1584	
	Hugh Mason	1563- 1566	
/	John Mercer	1602	
	Thomas Mercer	1566- 1588	Dale St.
x	Henry Moneley	1586-d.1607	
x	John Moneley	1607	
	Thomas Nelson	1591- 1600	
x	Robert Nicholson	1587- 1594	
x	Edward Nicholson	1568- 1584	
	Thomas Pendleton	1583- 1595	
	John Poole	1602- 1603	

	Henry Quaile	1581-	1588	Dale St.	
x	Giles Ratcliffe	1574-	1583		
x	William Richardson	1573-	1603	Castle St.	
/	Alexander Rimmer		1579		
	Richard Rimmer	1560-	1578		
/	John Rimmer	1565-	1582		alehouse
	John Robinson	1566-	1586		alehouse
/	John Rose	1562-	1594	Juggler St. Water St.	
/	John Rose Junior	1594-	1601		tailor
	Peter Ryder	1580-	1586	Water St.	
	Henry Shaw		1590		
/	Henry Stevenson	1568-	1581	Water St.	
	John Strange		1577		
	John Tickle	1579-d.	1584	Juggler St.	
	William Walker		d.1584		
/	Edward Walker		1584		
	Robert Walker	1577-	1578		
x	John Williamson	1568-	1586		
	Lawrence Williamson	1598-	1603		
	Henry Wirrall	1565-	1569	More St.	labourer
	John Winstanley		1559		
	John Young	b.1559-	1597		

x = unable to sign name
/ = able to write own signature

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records.)

APPENDIX XVIII: LIVERPOOL FERRYMEN, 1550-1600.

1558	Thomas Corbet	
1559		
1560		
1561		
1562		
1563		
1564		
1565	Peter Gregory	Ralph Oliver
1566		
1567	Cicely Gregory widow	Blanche Oliver widow
1568		
1569		Robert Maurie
1570		↓
1571	John Gregory (brother of Peter)	
1572		
1573		
1574	Robert Corbet	
1575	↓	
1576		
1577		William Jumpe (b.1546)
1578		↓
1579	Evan Richardson	
1580	Nicholas Edwardson	
1581	↓	
1582		
1583		
1584	↓	
1585		William Leech
1586	Thomas Corbet	↓
1587	↓	
1588		Donald Corinell
1589		Henry Walsh
1590	Thomas Scott alias Lorimer	
1591	↓	
1592		John Jumpe (b.1566)
1593		↓
1594		
1595		
1596		
1597		
1598		
1599		
1600		

(Source: Liverpool Town Books.)

APPENDIX XIX: ALEHOUSEKEEPERS
IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	John Hawksey	Little Woolton	1584
	Luke Hurst	Little Woolton	1601-d.1603
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	Henry Harrington	Huyton	1603
	George Justice	Huyton	1591-d.1598
	Hugh Tyrer	Knowsley	1592- 1599
	Thomas Edwardson	Tarbock	1592- 1593
	John Hide	Tarbock	1589
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Hugh Wainwright	Ditton	1591- 1592
	John Houghton	Cronton	1595- 1607
	Evan Blanchard	Sutton	1556
	Gilbert Holme	Sutton	1604
	Robert Prescott	Eccleston	1556
	Henry Pye	Eccleston	1589- 1602
	Richard Mathewson	Parr	1592- 1604
	Henry Gudicar	Rainford	1592- 1602
	Robert Preston	Windle	1592
	Oliver Trigge	Windle	1592
	Isabel Angsdale	Prescot	1556- 1565
	James Atherton	Prescot	1583
	Thomas Beasley	Prescot	1578- 1604
	Richard Berry	Prescot	1582-d.1594
	Humphrey Blackhurst	Prescot	1604
	Henry Blundell	Prescot	1594- 1604
	Richard Bower	Prescot	1561-d.1576
	Robert Bane	Prescot	1562
	widow Edmund Bolton	Prescot	1562
	Margery Bailey widow	Prescot	1562
	John Bower	Prescot	1556
	Edmund Bolton	Prescot	1556
	John Crosbie	Prescot	1562
	John Corbet	Prescot	1571- 1583
	Edward Chaddock	Prescot	1571- 1583
	Margaret Cowper	Prescot	1556
	Henry Coney	Prescot	1556
	Percival Croston	Prescot	1562
	Arthur Chaddock	Prescot	1592- 1598
	Thomas Ditchfield	Prescot	1591- 1604
	Richard Ditchfield	Prescot	1590-d.1593
	John Ditchfield	Prescot	1579-d.1603
	James Ditchfield	Prescot	1571- 1603
	John Ditchfield	Prescot	1583- 1604
	Alice Dicconson	Prescot	1562
	widow Brian Dyke	Prescot	1562- 1571
	John Exham	Prescot	1556
	Robert Ewde	Prescot	1585
	Brian Fells	Prescot	1573- 1583
	Ferdinando Fells	Prescot	1597- 1604
	Oliver Frodsham	Prescot	1571- 1585
	Catherine Frodsham	Prescot	1592
	Evan Garnett	Prescot	1550-d.1569
	Evan Gleast	Prescot	1546-d.1573

Richard Gleast	Prescot	1598-	1604
widow Garnett	Prescot		1562
Richard Guye	Prescot		1562
Ellen Gudicar widow	Prescot		1556
Edward Garnett	Prescot		1556
Edward Glover	Prescot		1562
Thomas Halsall	Prescot	1551-	1556
Thomas Halsall	Prescot	1588-d.	1608
James Houghton	Prescot	1555-	1561
Edward Holland	Prescot	1550-d.	1577
William Hornby	Prescot	1576-	1604
Henry Hunt	Prescot	1583-d.	1592
John Hey	Prescot		1562
Thomas Jackson	Prescot		1598
John Knowles	Prescot		1562
John Litherland	Prescot		1604
Giles Lyon	Prescot	1578-d.	1593
Richard Leadbeater	Prescot		1562
William Leadbeater	Prescot		1562
Elizabeth Lathom	Prescot		1556
widow Hugh Lathom	Prescot		1562
Nicholas Marshall	Prescot	1592-	1607
Adam Orton	Prescot		1571
Oliver Orrell	Prescot		1575
Edward Parker	Prescot	1587-d.	1595
Anthony Patten	Prescot	1574-	1599
George Plumpton	Prescot	1500-d.	1558
Thomas Potter	Prescot	1558-	1607
William Price	Prescot		1562
Robert Plumpton	Prescot		1573
Robert Poughton	Prescot		1585
Henry Pendleton	Prescot		1562
Evan Pyke	Prescot	1550-d.	1564
Thomas Pyke	Prescot	1582-	1604
John Rainford	Prescot	1551-d.	1575
Anne Rochdale	Prescot	1556-	1562
Eleanor Scott widow	Prescot		1556
wife of John Smith	Prescot		1579
Ralph Stock	Prescot		1562
wife of Ralph Stock	Prescot		1583
Anne Stock widow	Prescot		1556
Evan Stock	Prescot	1566-	1604
James Sales	Prescot		1604
Robert Sutton	Prescot	1562-	1577
James Taylor	Prescot	1550-d.	1558
widow James Taylor	Prescot		1562
James Taylor	Prescot	1587-	1604
Henry Taylor	Prescot		1573
widow Henry Taylor	Prescot		1592
Edmund Turner	Prescot	1562-	1600
George Tapley	Prescot		1583
Robert Wainwright	Prescot		1577
William Wakefield	Prescot		1562
Margaret Walley	Prescot		1562
John Walls	Prescot	1572-	1607
Richard Warburton	Prescot	1581-	1609
George Washington	Prescot	1571-	1575
George Webster	Prescot		1562

Walton Parish

Evan Webster	Prescot	1575-	1583
Robert Webster	Prescot	1550-d.	1558
John Webster	Prescot	1551-d.	1588
Alexander Webster	Prescot		1562
Henry Woods	Prescot	1550-d.	1567
Robert Woosey	Prescot	1577-	1585
Robert Worsley	Prescot		1556
Richard Worsley	Prescot		1556
John Worsley	Prescot	1581-	1608
Richard Longworth	West Derby		1590
Ellen Longworth	West Derby	1590-d.	1594
Richard Higginson	West Derby		1561
William Pele	West Derby		1561
Margery Plombe	West Derby		1561
Edward Pott	West Derby		1561
Isabel Woods	West Derby		1561
James Adlington	Liverpool		1565
Thomas Anslow	Liverpool		1565
Peter Ainsdale	Liverpool	1571-	1576
Thomas Anderton	Liverpool		1574
William Anderton	Liverpool		1578
Nicholas Bennett	Liverpool		1576
Robert Benson	Liverpool	1578-	1580
William Bishop	Liverpool		1577
Robert Blundell	Liverpool		1590
Richard Bolton	Liverpool	1586-	1587
Lawrence Bolton	Liverpool		1587
Robert Bolton	Liverpool	1589-	1590
Thomas Bolton	Liverpool		1590
Robert Bowden	Liverpool		1581
Elizabeth Brettergh	Liverpool		1587
John Cappe	Liverpool		1561
Robert Challinor	Liverpool		1580
Richard Clarke	Liverpool	1574-	1580
Janet Clarke	Liverpool		1581
Thomas Cooke	Liverpool		1588
James Corless	Liverpool		1572
Richard Cropper	Liverpool		1561
Robert Crosbie	Liverpool	1563-	1567
Thomas Crosbie	Liverpool		1574
John Corbett	Liverpool		1586
William Diall	Liverpool	1568-	1571
Catherine Diall widow	Liverpool	1574-	1576
Richard Dobbe	Liverpool		1561
Margery Dobbe	Liverpool	1584-	1585
Catherine Drinkwater	Liverpool		1577
Henry Fazakerley	Liverpool		1589
Gilbert Formby	Liverpool		1571
Morgan Foster	Liverpool	1563-	1567
Andrew Fyret	Liverpool		1571
Alice Gardener	Liverpool		1586
Alice Garnett	Liverpool		1587
John Gifford	Liverpool		1580
wife of John Gifford	Liverpool	1589-	1590
Janet Gorsuch	Liverpool		1581
Richard Greaves	Liverpool	1561-	1568
John Hale	Liverpool		1580
Thomas Harrison	Liverpool		1573

William Moughton	Liverpool	1580
John Hewett	Liverpool	1563
Peter Hey	Liverpool	1573- 1581
William Hey	Liverpool	1580
Henry Hill	Liverpool	1567- 1568
William Holland	Liverpool	1588
wife of Rowland Houghton	Liverpool	1590
William Hughson	Liverpool	1561- 1566
widow William Hughson	Liverpool	1571
Richard Hyne	Liverpool	1580- 1590
James Ireland	Liverpool	1561
Ralph Jamison	Liverpool	1563
John Jetter	Liverpool	1567- 1568
Robert Johnson	Liverpool	1574- 1576
William Johnson	Liverpool	1587
John Jumpe	Liverpool	1590
William Kelly	Liverpool	1576
Hugh Kettle	Liverpool	1563
Robert Kettle	Liverpool	1567- 1568
Michael Lassie	Liverpool	1567- 1568
Edmund Laurence	Liverpool	1567- 1568
Cuthbert Laurence	Liverpool	1568
Margaret Lassie widow	Liverpool	1574
John Lambert	Liverpool	1587
William Leech	Liverpool	1576
William Lewis	Liverpool	1584
Hugh Mason	Liverpool	1574
Alice Mathews	Liverpool	1566
Robert Maurie	Liverpool	1568
widow Maurie	Liverpool	1576
wife of Patrick Moneley	Liverpool	1591
Elizabeth Mooney	Liverpool	1576- 1584
Hugh Morrell	Liverpool	1578- 1580
Thomas Moston	Liverpool	1565
William Parr	Liverpool	1580
William Pendleton	Liverpool	1574- 1577
Thomas Pendleton	Liverpool	1576- 1586
wife of Thomas Pendleton	Liverpool	1590
Robert Plymmer	Liverpool	1574- 1576
Alice Postles widow	Liverpool	1565
Thomas Postles	Liverpool	1586
Robert Pyke	Liverpool	1565- 1567
Henry Quaile	Liverpool	1587
John Qyurrie	Liverpool	1565
Peter Ramsbottom	Liverpool	1587- 1588
William Rawson	Liverpool	1587
Nicholas Rimmer	Liverpool	1568- 1571
John Robinson	Liverpool	1563- 1585
Widow Robinson	Liverpool	1568
Thomas Rose	Liverpool	1561
Robet Rose	Liverpool	1588
Elizabeth Roughley	Liverpool	1574
Jane Royden	Liverpool	1578
Widow Sharpe	Liverpool	1581
William Sherlock	Liverpool	1565
Richard Smith	Liverpool	1567- 1588
Roger Smith	Liverpool	1590
John Tarleton	Liverpool	1573

William Tatlock	Liverpool	1587
wife of William Tokyn	Liverpool	1571
Laurence Twisse	Liverpool	1561-1568
Emma Turisse widow	Liverpool	1574
Ellen Vernan	Liverpool	1567-1571
William Walker	Liverpool	1563
Richard Warton	Liverpool	1581-1585
Alice Warton widow	Liverpool	1587-1588
Alice Wem	Liverpool	1578
Edward White	Liverpool	1571
Richard Whitfield	Liverpool	1587
John Williamson	Liverpool	1577
wife of Thomas Winstanley	Liverpool	1590
Thomas Wood	Liverpool	1585
Thomas Woodward	Liverpool	1567
Thomas Wright	Liverpool	1590
northern woman in		
Robert Wytter's house	Liverpool	1588

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Prescot Records,
West Derby Court Rolls, Star Chamber Records.)

APPENDIX XX: USE OF COAL IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1603, FROM PROBATE EVIDENCE.

	1550's	1560's	1570's	1580's	1590's	1600's
Huyton Parish (1/36 inventories)					Wm. Holland 1593 Tarbock 1-4	
Childwall Parish (17/74 inventories)				Richard Wainwright 1582 Halewood 6-8	Cuthbert Lathom 1592 Allerton 1-1-0 Richard Cooke 1592 Little Woolton 12-0 Wm. Robertson 1593 Hale 11-0 Richard Wainwright 1593 Halewood 2-8 John Thomason 1594 Halebank 2-0-0 William Lathom 1594 Allerton 12-0 John Bushell 1595 Halewood 7-0 Edward Barrow 1595 Halewood 1-6-0 John Lyon 1595 Halewood 1-10-0	Agnes Richardson 1601 Garston 13-4 William Knowles 1601 Little Woolton 16-0 John Plumpton 1602 Halewood 4-0 Alice Pendleton 1603 Halewood 3-0 Hugh Pilkington 1603 Speke 10-0 Hugh Hey 1603 Speke 13-0 Richard Halewood 1603 Much Woolton 1-11
Walton Parish (14/73 inventories)				Anne More 1589 Liverpool 1-10-0	Thomas Hitchnough 1591 Liverpool 4-0 John Mercer 1591 West Derby 6-0 Thos. Higginson 1591 Everton 1-4-0 Roger Hey 1591 Everton 4-0 John Washington 1591 Bootle 5-0 Richard Harper 1591 Walton 10-0 Arthur Tyrer 1593 West Derby 1-0 Henry Rogerson 1593 West Derby 1-0-0 Gilbert Formby 1595 Liverpool 1-0-0 Richard Bird 1595 Liverpool 1-10-0 Peter Ackers 1595 West Derby 1-3-0	David Rushton 1602 West Derby 1-0-0 Anne Tarleton 1602 Kirkdale 1-8
Prescot Parish (30/196 inventories)	Thomas Marsh 1557 Ditton 16-8	Baldwin Smith 1562 Widnes 6-8 Wm. Birchall 1564 Bold 13-4 Wm. Ditchfield 1567 Ditton 13-4	Robert Lawrence 1575 Farnworth 2-10-0 Nicholas Cartwright 1579 Ditton 4-0 Robert Leigh 1579 Prescot 5-0	Oliver Hey 1581 Eccleston 13-4 Ralph Sanderson 1582 Bold 7-0 Henry Blundell 1587 Whiston 1-0-0 Robert Lee 1588 Sutton 10-0 Thos. Winstanley 1588 Widnes 3-4	William Cowper 1590 Eccleston 4-0 Naud Gudicar 1590 Ditton 9-0 Lawrence Mutch 1590 Sutton 2-8 William Croft 1591 Widnes 1-13-4 John Lawton 1591 Ditton 4-0-0 Hugh Lea 1592 Rainhill 13-4	John Denton 1600 Widnes 1-19-0 William Prescott 1600 Eccleston 13-4 Thomas Fox 1602 Windle 1-10-0 Brian Hayward 1602 Widnes 6

John Linaker
1593 Cuedley 11-4
John Collier
1594 Widnes 1-4
Christopher Rathbone
1594 Widnes 8-0
John Edwardson
1595 Bold 2-0
Henry Boardman
1597 Sutton 3-4
Robert Hitchmough
1598 Bold 1-0-0
Edward Twambrook
1598 Great Sankey
8-0
John Gerard
1599 Windle 8-0

APPENDIX XXI: COLLIERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

			<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	George Ackers	Tarbock	1592- 1595
	William Holland	Tarbock	1593
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Edward Chaddock	Rainhill	1583
	William Kendrick	Rainhill	1582
	George Wainwright	Rainhill	1589
	Thomas Mercer	Sutton	1591
	Thomas Taylor	Parr	1585- 1600
	John Booth	Penketh	1592
	Thomas Rigby	Penketh	1592
	William Edwardson	Whiston	1581- 1591
	Richard Edwardson	Whiston	1591
	Richard Halsall	Whiston	d.1557
	Andrew Hey	Whiston	1578- 1600
	William Litherland	Whiston	d.1582
	Robert Lowe	Whiston	1595
	Robert Sutton	Whiston	1577
	Ralph Fletcher	Prescot	1583
	John Livesey	Prescot	1579- 1583
	Wm. Leadbeater Jnr.	Prescot	1589
	Edward Leadbeater	Prescot	1591- 1600
	Robert Orrell	Prescot	1585
	Hamley Hey	parish	1592

(Sources: Probate Records, Prescot Records, Recusant Rolls.)

APPENDIX XXII: COAL DISTRIBUTORS
IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

		<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Henry Blundell	Prescot 1594-1604
	Henry Case	Whiston 1602 to Hale
	Wm. Ditchfield	Ditton 1567
	John Ditchfield	Ditton 1582 to Ditton, Sutton, Widnes.
	Margaret Ditchfield	Sutton 1594 to Sutton, Widnes, Bold, Cuerdley.
	Robert Halsall	Sutton 1582-1595 to Ditton.
	George Tapley	Prescot 1566-1584 to Prescot, Ditton, Halewood, Wavertree.
	Margaret Tildesley	Ditton 1586 to Whiston.

(Sources: Probate Records, Prescot Accounts.)

APPENDIX XXIII: CLOTH WORKERS
IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

<u>Weavers.</u>		<u>Known Dates</u>
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	Thomas Almond	Allerton 1565- 1609
L	John Wainwright	Allerton 1590- 1595
	William Halewood	b.1560- 1609
L	Wm. Hitchmough	Little Woolton 1593
	William Plombe	Much Woolton 1559- 1599
	James Johnson	Wavertree 1566-d.1591
	James Pendleton	Wavertree 1545-d.1591
	William Amott	Garston 1591- 1604
	Thomas Hastie	Garston 1567- 1604
	William Hayward	Garston 1593- 1595
	John Miller	Garston 1592- 1600
L	John Hulgreave	Speke 1600
	Richard Orme	Speke 1600- 1610
	John Part	Hale d.1590
	John Thomason	Halebank 1557-d.1594
	John Gill	Halewood 1598-d.1602
L	Edward Wainwright	Halewood 1590
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	John Hutchen	Huyton 1581-d.1582
	Hugh Rycroft	Huyton 1581-d.1590
	William Fletcher	Roby b.1547- 1587
	Henry Milner	Wolfall d.1581
	Henry Tyrer	Knowsley 1593- 1597
	Henry Halsall	Tarbock 1582- 1610
	Henry Holland	Tarbock d.1587
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	John Part	Widnes d.1577
	Miles Slack	Farnworth 1571- 1593
	Hugh Wainwright	Ditton 1591- 1592
	Thurstan Kersley	Cuerdley b.1530-d.1592
	Hugh Appleton	Bold 1583-d.1590
	Thomas Blundell	Bold 1564-d.1583
	John Derbyshire	Bold 1581- 1591
	John Tyrer	Sutton 1595- 1599
	Henry Blundell	Whiston 1582-d.1587
	William Birchall	Parr 1576-d.1581
	Brian Hayward	Parr 1564-d.1577
	John Lea	Parr 1591- 1606
	Ralph Sherlock	Parr 1592-d.1603
	John Cowper	Eccleston 1578-d.1588
	Robert Gellibrand	Eccleston 1564- 1600
	John Lee	Eccleston 1591- 1609
	Robert Webster	Eccleston 1500- 1558
L	John Birchall	Prescot 1592- 1604
	Nicholas Gorsuch	Prescot 1579-d.1586
	William Hayward	Prescot 1575- 1576
	Robert Sutton	Prescot 1562- 1587
	Thomas Taylor	Prescot 1563-d.1589
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Thomas Mercer	Bootle 1582-d.1596
	Thomas Higginson	Kirkdale d.1596
	Richard Atherton	Kirkby d.1602
	John Plumpton	West Derby d.1582
	Robert Ainsdale	Liverpool 1578- 1587

	Robert Blackmore	Liverpool	1572-d.1583
L	Thomas Fisher	Liverpool	1583- 1603
L	John Gower	Liverpool	1557-d.1594
	Roger Higginson	Liverpool	1581- 1586
	Thomas Johnson	Liverpool	1577- 1600
L	Miles Liptrotte	Liverpool	1577- 1578
	Robert Maudesley	Liverpool	1591- 1595
	Robert Plumpton	Liverpool	1579- 1581
	Thomas Plumpton	Liverpool	1598- 1603
L	Edward Postle	Liverpool	1585- 1589
	Peter Parr	Liverpool	1582
	Edward Rushton	Liverpool	1588- 1604
	William Tatlock	Liverpool	1563-d.1574
	James Woodward	Liverpool	1598- 1603
	Richard Wright	Liverpool	1596
<u>Shearmen/Clothworkers.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Henry Fairhurst	Eccleston	1578- 1591
	Antony Jackson	Prescot	1569- 1602
<u>Walton Parish</u>	John Twiss	Liverpool	1575- 1581
<u>Dyers.</u>			
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Henry Barton	Prescot	1600- 1605
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Nicholas Houghton	Liverpool	1580
	Richard Lea	Liverpool	1550- 1556
	Thomas Wignall	Liverpool	1563- 1588
<u>Tailors.</u>			
<u>Childwall Parish</u>	William Anson	Much Woolton	1600
	Thomas Plombe	Much Woolton	b.1563- 1604
	Robert Johnson	Wavertree	1563- 1600
	John Brooks	Speke	1596- 1597
	John Gleast	Speke	1600
	William Williamson	Speke	1592
	Peter Leadbeater	Hale	1582
	John Gill	Halewood	1598- 1603
	Thomas Pendleton	Halewood	1581
<u>Huyton Parish</u>	John Rycroft	Huyton	1582- 1590
	John Bibby	Tarbock	1599- 1610
	John Woods	Tarbock	1582- 1595
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	William Woods	Widnes	1598
	William Penketh	Penketh	b.1551- 1603
	Robert Walker	Cuerdley	1566-d.1596
	Thomas Austin	Sutton	1592
	Alexander Justice	Sutton	1583- 1592
	William Lee	Sutton	1595- 1600
	Thomas Lee	Sutton	1600- 1609
	John Chaddock	Eccleston	1595
	Henry Prescott	Eccleston	1593- 1609
	Richard Windle	Eccleston	1597- 1609
	Roger Whitfield	Whiston	1595
	Peter Bannester	Prescot	1599
	Percy Bannester	Prescot	1599- 1600
	Richard Leadbeater	Prescot	1561-d.1597
	Richard Webster	Prescot	1588-d.1599

<u>Walton Parish</u>	Peter Ackers	West Derby	b.1547-d.1598
	Robert Ball	Liverpool	1565- 1600
	Antony Berry	Liverpool	1587- 1598
	William Chaddock	Liverpool	1579
	Oliver Garnet	Liverpool	1558- 1591
	Richard Gaskin	Liverpool	1579
	Thomas Halewood	Liverpool	1595- 1596
	Henry Harker	Liverpool	1559- 1589
	Humphrey Henshaw	Liverpool	1594
	Robert Holrobbin	Liverpool	1567- 1588
	Humphrey Leadbeater	Liverpool	1537- 1593
	Brian Mercer	Liverpool	1591-d.1595
	John Pemberton	Liverpool	1559- 1577
	John Rose Junior	Liverpool	1594- 1601
	Ellis Rycroft	Liverpool	1577- 1582
	Ralph Smith	Liverpool	1555- 1559
	Richard Wade	Liverpool	1581- 1603
	John Wakefield	Liverpool	1565- 1603
	John Wood	Liverpool	1558- 1566
	William Woodburn	Liverpool	1590- 1603
	John Wright	Liverpool	1567- 1603
<u>Felt Makers.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Peter Bolton	Liverpool	1596- 1603
	Robert Clare	Liverpool	1579
<u>Hat Makers.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Thomas Bolton	Liverpool	1590-d.1597
	Thomas Bolton	Liverpool	1591
<u>Rope Makers.</u>			
<u>Walton Parish</u>	Robert Mooney	Liverpool	1592- 1598
	John Sandiford	Liverpool	1584- 1603

L = Linen weaver.

(Sources: Liverpool Town Books, Probate Records, Prescot Records.)

APPENDIX XXIV: MERCHANTS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Literacy</u>	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Known dates</u>	<u>Sources</u>
<u>Prescot Parish</u>	Edward Bower	Prescot		Grocer	1597- 1605	d
	John Bower	Prescot		Merger	1556- 1590	d
	Miles Fellis	Prescot		Merchant	1570- 1593	a e
	William Lymc	Prescot		Merger	1587-d.1603	c d
	Oliver Lymc	Prescot		Merger	1600- 1608	d
	Thomas Potter	Prescot		Merger/drapcr	1550- 1607	d
	John Tarbock	Prescot		Drapcr	1556	d
	Henry Taylor	Prescot		Merger	1558-d.1590	d
	Richard Taylor	Prescot		Merger/yeoman	1602- 1605	d
	James Taylor	Prescot	/	Merger/innkeeper	1587- 1604	d
	Lawrence Waddington	Prescot		Merger	1581- 1588	a
	Arthur Wilson	Prescot		Chapman	1600	d
	Robert Hitchmough	Bold		Merchant	1550-d.1597	b c
	Richard Bold	Cuerdley		Merchant	1550-d.1573	n
	<u>Walton Parish</u>	Robert Wolfall	West Derby		Linen draper	1550-d.1578
Richard Abraham		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1582- 1594	e
Nicholas Abraham		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1563-d.1576	a e f h
George Ashton		Liverpool	/	Merchant/master	1557- 1575	a a
Richard Aspinwall		Liverpool	/	Wool draper	1573- 1581	a a
Ralph Bailey		Liverpool	x	Merchant	1550-d.1559	a
Roger Bailey		Liverpool		Merchant	1555	a
Alexander Bailey		Liverpool		Merchant	1572- 1573	a e
John Bailey		Liverpool		Merchant	1554- 1556	a a
Richard Bailey		Liverpool		Merchant	1582-d.1592	a
Adam Bank		Liverpool		Merchant/mariner	1585- 1599	a
William Bannester		Liverpool	/	Merchant/tailor	1592- 1607	a
Thomas Bannester		Liverpool		Merchant/blacksmith	1584-d.1598	a e
John Bannester		Liverpool		Merchant	1581- 1602	a
Roger Bannester		Liverpool		Merchant	1581	a
John Barker		Liverpool		Merchant	1552-d.1557	a
Richard Barker		Liverpool		Merchant	1557- 1571	a
Thomas Bastwell		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550- 1581	a e h
Thomas Bavand		Liverpool		Merchant	1564-d.1588	a c e f m
Robert Berry		Liverpool	/	Merchant/tailor	1581- 1601	a
John Bird		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1574- 1601	a e
Richard Bird		Liverpool		Merchant	1590-d.1595	a c e
William Blackmore		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1581- 1593	a e
Robert Blundell		Liverpool		Merchant/yeoman	1550- 1598	a e
Thomas Bolton		Liverpool		Merchant	1550-d.1559	a
Thomas Bolton		Liverpool	x	Merchant	1565-d.1597	a c e
Henry Bolton		Liverpool		Merchant	1580	
Thomas Bradshaw		Liverpool	/	Merchant/master	1557- 1585	a
Giles Brooke		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1574- 1603	a c
Humphrey Brooke		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1586- 1591	a e
Ralph Burscough		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1559- 1588	a e f
Christopher Burscough		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1603	
James Chambers		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1572-d.1580	a e
Walter Chambers		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1587- 1603	a e i
Robert Corbet		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-d.1572	a b e f h i
John Corbet		Liverpool		Pedlar	1573- 1600	a e
Roger Crook		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1584- 1587	u e
William Crook		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1584	
John Crosse		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-d.1575	a c e h k
Christopher Crosse		Liverpool		Merchant	1558- 1594	a h
John Crosse		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1558- 1601	a h
William Dalton		Liverpool		Chapman	1588- 1594	a
Thomas Fisher		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1557-d.1575	a c
Thomas Fletcher		Liverpool		Merchant	1581- 1582	e
Gilbert Fornaby		Liverpool	x	Merchant/yeoman	1582-d.1594	a c
Alexander Garnet		Liverpool	/	Merchant/drapcr	1550- 1568	a e f
John Gellibrand		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1566- 1581	a e
William Golborne		Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550- 1602	a b e
William Halewood		Liverpool		Merchant/master	1557- 1569	a u
John Hewett		Liverpool	/	Merchant/yeoman	1550- 1607	a f
Edward Heyes		Liverpool		Merchant	1570-d.1601	a b c e f
Thomas Hitchmough		Liverpool	/	Merger/drapcr	1550-d.1591	a
Thomas Hitchmough		Liverpool	/	Merger/yeoman	1593- 1609	a c
Richard Hitchmough		Liverpool		Merger	1568-d.1575	a c f
Richard Hodgson	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1575-d.1596	a c e	
Robert Holden	Liverpool	x	Merchant	1552- 1567	u	
Christopher Holden	Liverpool	/	Merchant/mariner	1556-d.1598	a c e	
Thomas Hubberstay	Liverpool		Merchant	1595- 1603	e	
Roger Hughson	Liverpool		Merchant	1580	c	
Robert Johnson	Liverpool		Merchant	1562- 1569	a b	
Richard Johnson	Liverpool		Merchant	1577- 1586	a e	
Edward Johnson	Liverpool	x	Merchant	d.1601	c	
Robert Kettle	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1568- 1603	a e	
Thomas Kaype	Liverpool		Merchant	1588-d.1594	a e i	

William Lawrence	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1555-	1578	a
Cuthbert Lawrence	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1569-	1599	a e
Nicholas Lettie	Liverpool	/	Draper	1559		a
John Mainwaring	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1557-	1589	a e h l
Hugh Mason	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1575-	1580	a
Thomas Mason	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1563-	1586	a e
Richard Mather	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1579-	1603	a e f g l
Richard Mather	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1570-	1602	a
Henry Moneley	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1586-	1603	a e
John Moneley	Liverpool	x	Merchant/mariner	1590-	1603	a e
Thomas More	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-d.	1580	a f k
(Antony More	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1571-	1603	a e k
(Robert More	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1578-	1603	a e k
Edward Nicholson	Liverpool	x	Merchant/master	1557-	1603	a e
John Nicholson	Liverpool		Merchant	1564		a
Robert Pemberton	Liverpool		Merchant	1586-	1600	a
Richard Pope	Liverpool		Merchant/master	1603		e
Richard Rainford	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-	1563	a
George Rainford	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1563-	1584	a e j k
Nicholas Richardson	Liverpool	x	Merchant/master	1565-	1581	a
Edward Richardson	Liverpool		Merchant/master	1593		e
William Rimmer	Liverpool		Merchant/master	1602-	1603	e
John Robinson	Liverpool		Merchant/master	1565-	1603	a
Thomas Rose	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-	1581	a c e f
William Scarisbrick	Liverpool	/	Mercer/chapman	1574-	1603	a b g
(William Secum	Liverpool	/	Cloth merchant	1555-d.	1592	a c e h l
(Thomas Secum	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-	1589	a f h
Ralph Secum	Liverpool		Merchant	1581-d.	1593	a e h
Ralph Sekerston	Liverpool	/	Draper	1550-d.	1580	a e f
Thomas Sekerston	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1561-d.	1572	a e f
Henry Shaw	Liverpool		Merchant	1586-d.	1594	a e
Richard Smith	Liverpool	x	Mercer/tallow chandler	1551-	1575	a
Peter Starkey	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1565-	1603	a e
Richard Starkey	Liverpool		Merchant	1551		a
John Strange	Liverpool		Merchant/master	1577-	1586	a
William Sutch	Liverpool		Petty pyker	1592-	1603	a
Edward Tarleton	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1551-	1556	a
Thomas Tarleton	Liverpool		Merchant	1594-	1601	a e
William Thomasson	Liverpool		Merchant	1575-	1599	a e
Evan Thomasson	Liverpool		Merchant	1573-	1603	a e
William Towers	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1591-	1599	a e
Austin Turner	Liverpool		Merchant	1566-	1579	a e
Thomas Uttyn	Liverpool		Merchant/master	1558-	1583	a e
Koger Walker	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-d.	1558	a
William Walker	Liverpool	x	Merchant/master	1550-d.	1576	a e
Thomas Walker	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1550-	1593	a
Lancelot Walker	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1583-	1603	a e
Thomas Wickstead	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1581-	1592	a c
Thomas Wignall	Liverpool	x	Merchant/dyer	1563-	1588	a e
John Williamson	Liverpool	x	Merchant/master	1565-	1591	a e
Thomas Winstanley	Liverpool		Merchant	1559-	1582	a e
John Winstanley	Liverpool	x	Merchant/master	1554-	1569	a e
Ralph Winstanley	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1566-	1600	a e
Robert Wytter	Liverpool	/	Merchant	1565-d.	1595	a e l

Sources.

- a = Liverpool Town Books.
b = L.R.O., Blundell of Little Crosby, DD 81.
c = Probate Records.
d = Prescot Records.
e = Liverpool Port Books.
f = P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings and Examinations, DL 1.
g = P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster Depositions, DL 4.
h = L.R.O., Crosse of Shaw Hill, DD Sh.
i = L.R.O., Derby Muniments, DDK.
j = L.R.O., Recognizance Books, QSB.
k = Liv. R.O., Moore Deeds and Papers, 920 100.
l = P.R.O., High Court of Admiralty, HCA 1.
m = P.R.O., State Papers Ireland, SP 63.
n = P.R.O., Star Chamber, STAC 5.

APPENDIX XXV: LIVERPOOL SHIPS KNOWN TO HAVE OPERATED 1550-1600.

Name	Tonnage	Destination	Operational Dates	Owners	Masters	Source
Ann	14	NI	1597-99		1597 Robert Strange 1597 Robert Bell	a
Antony	20	I	1591		1591 Robert Pemberton	a
Bartholomew	16	I	1565-1578	1565-78 Wm. Lawrence	1565-68 Wm. Lawrence 1573 Nicholas Bond	a b c
Bartholomew	10	I	1592-1603		1592 Thomas Winstanley 1592 Gilbert Formby 1592-4 Peter Ainsdale 1598 Herbert Bolton 1603 Gilbert Jump 1603 John Browne 1603 Richard Warton	a
Bee	8	NI	1577-1585		1579 Richard Rimmer 1580 John Rimmer 1580-82 Wm. Blackmore 1582 Peter Ainsdale	a c
Butterfly	40	I	1592-1593	1592 Lancelot Walker	1592-3 Richard Hinde	a
Christopher	30	I	1602-1603		1603 William Johnson	a
Eagle	40	ISF	1565-1594	1565-73 Robert Corbet 1582 Giles Brooke(4)	1565 Nicholas Richardson 1565-6 William Halewood 1566 Morgan Forster 1582 Paul Whitehead 1582-4 Richard Hodgson	a b c
Eagle	16		1573-1584		1573-82 John Tickle 1584 Ellis Warton	a f
Eagle	200		1590			f
Edward	72		1582			f
Edward	35	IS	1573-1578		1573 Thomas Byles 1578 Robert Walker	a
Edward	10	NI	1577-1590		1590 William Blackmore	a c c
Elizabeth	36	NI	1595-1603	1600 Robert Pemberton 1601-03 John Moneley	1595-1603 Robert Kettle 1600-1603 John Moneley	a b f
Elizabeth	20	I	1600-1603	1600-1603 John Young	1600 John Young 1603 Thomas Hill	a
Elizabeth	14	I	1565-1581	1565-81 Nicholas Richardson	1565 David Allen 1566 Richard Bolton 1573 Thomas Bastwell	a c
Elizabeth	7		1584-1593		1584 Henry Moneley 1586-92 Edward Nicholson 1593 Richard Ainsdale	a
Ellen	32	I	1593-1603	1593 Giles Brooke 1600 Thos. Hubberstay	1593-4 Thomas Knype 1593 Lancelot Walker 1593-97 Robert Kettle 1602 Henry Moneley	a b
Ellen	20	NIS	1572-1585	1582 Wm. Thomasson(4)	1572-84 Thomas Mason 1580 Roger Crook 1582 John Gill	a f g
Ellen	12	I	1592-1594 (wrecked)	1593-4 Thomas Knype	1592-4 Thomas Knype	a
Ellen	8	I	1591-1603	1593 Cuthbert Lawrence	1591-2 Robert Bell 1591-3 Cuthbert Lawrence 1603 William Rimmer	a
Falcon	16	I	1565-1575	1565-75 George Ashton	1565-75 George Ashton	a b c
Flower de Luz	30	IS	1573-1576		1573 William Moneley 1575 John Hynes	a
George	36	I F	1554-1574	1554-1569 John Winstanley(4) 1559-1582 Thomas Winstanley(4)	1554-1569 John Winstanley 1570-1573 Thomas Winstanley 1573 John Hynes	a c
George	26	I	1592-1603	1593 Edward Nicholson(4)	1593 Robert Hill 1593 Edward Nicholson 1597 Nicholas Abraham 1603 William Blundell	a b

Cift of God (1585 Marigold)	16	ISF	1584-1603	1592 Richard Bird(½) 1593 Henry Moneley(½) 1595-1603 Evan Thomason(½)	1584 John Jones 1584 Humphrey Brooke 1585-97 Henry Moneley 1592-1603 Robert Kettle 1600 John Mercer	a d g
Good Luck	6		1565-1585	1565-85 Thos. Bradshaw	1565 Thomas Bradshaw 1573 Robert Lawrence	a c
Henry	26	S P	1565-1566		1565-6 Henry Hill 1566 Thomas Bailey	a
Henry	20	HI	1593-1603		1593 Robert Gill 1603 William Jump	a b
Hope	30	ISF	1572-1602	1582 William Kelly 1595-1602 Thos. Tarleton	1575-82 William Kelly 1584 Brian Bland 1586 Robert Lawrence 1600 Thomas Hill 1603 Thomas Tarleton	a f g
Hopewell	30	I	1595-1603	1595-1603 Walter Chambers(½)	1599 Cuthbert Lawrence 1602-3 Edward Williamson	a g
James	20	I	1578-1585	1580 Thomas Bolton	1578 Nicholas Rimmer 1579-80 John Brown 1580-82 Thomas Bolton	a c
James	15	I	1558-1569	1558 Thomas More		a c
James	16	I	1599-1603	1602 Richard Mather	1602-3 Thomas Nelson 1603 Herbert Bolton	a
James	8		1592		1592 Herbert Bolton 1592 William Jump	a c
Jesus	6		1581-1585	1581 Elizabeth Warton	1585 John Gill	c
John	26	I	1594	1594 Richard Mather	1594 Richard Mather	a
John	16	I	1581-1583	1581-3 Robert Wytter	1582 William Blackmore 1582 William Rice	a e
John Baptist	20	I	1569-1570		1569-70 William Halewood	a
Lantern	26	MISF	1575-1583		1575 John Robinson 1578 Henry Stevenson 1579 Giles Brooke 1580 Brian Bland 1582 John Hyne	a f
Luke			1573		1573 John Corbet	c
Margaret	16	I	1603	1603 John Robinson	1603 John Robinson	a
Margaret	12	I	1570-1585		1570 Edmund Lawrence 1577 Richard Johnson 1584 Robert Lawrence 1584 Henry Moneley	a
Margaret	9	I	1584-1594	1594 Henry Shaw	1584-94 Henry Shaw 1584 William Jump	a c
Mary	8	HI	1569-1579		1569-70 Hugh Kettle 1578 Francis Byron 1579 John Rose	a
Mary George	16	I	1565-1575	1565-75 Thos. Fisher(½) 1565-72 Richard Barber(½)	1565-6 Thomas Fisher 1570-72 Richard Barber 1573 Robert Kettle	a b c
Mathew	10	I	1590-1592	1592 Antony More	1590 Henry Moneley 1590-92 Nicholas Rimmer	a
Michael	50	IS	1579-1585		1585 John Williamson	a
Michael	36	ISF	1565-1582	1565-80 Edward Nicholson(½) 1565 John Williamson(½)	1565-80 Edward Nicholson 1573 John Colles 1580 Thomas Bailey 1582 John Lambert 1582 John Gill 1582 John Williamson	a c f
Michael	20	I	1592-1603	1592-1600 Wm. Thomasson	1597 Robert Kettle 1600 John Thomasson 1602-3 John Barker	a b
Michael	16	ISF	1572-1585		1572 James Robinson 1580-2 Peter Ainsdale	a
Michael	16	I	1579-1585		1579-84 Richard Johnson	a
Michael	12	I	1593-1594	1593 Thomas Tarleton	1593 Thomas Tarleton 1593 William Blackmore 1594 William Jump	a
Michael	0	I	1578-1581 (seized in Scotland)	1578-81 Robert Wytter	1579 Peter Ainsdale	a c f

Peter	14	I	1565-1584	1565-69 Peter Starkey 1580 James Johnson	1565 William Rice 1565 John Hyne 1568-70 Roger Bridge 1572 John Benne 1579 Ellis Warton 1579-84 James Johnson	a c f
Phoenix	26	I	1597-1600		1597 William Thomason 1597 William Rice 1598 Robert Kettle 1600 Robert Pickman	a b
Samuel	8		1593		1593 William Halewood	a
Saviour	35	I	1553-1585	1558-1582 Thomas Uttyn	1568-85 Thomas Uttyn	a b c
Saviour	24				1565-6 Thomas Martindale	a
Speedwell	14	I	1592-1594	1592 Henry Shaw 1593 Thos. Williamson	1592-3 Thomas Williamson	a
Steven	26	I	1597-1600		1597 Richard Hyne 1597 John Young 1600 William Johnson	a b
Strange	24	I	1580-1597	1580-86 John Strange 1592 Richard Mather(4)	1586 John Strange 1590 Richard Hyne 1593 Richard Mather 1593 Nicholas Abraham 1597 Thomas Nelson	a c
Sunday	24	I	1565-1576		1570-75 William Walker	a
Sunday	14	I	1565-1586	1565-76 Wm. Walker(4) 1565-86 Thomas Mason	1565-69 William Walker 1569-70 Thomas Mason	a c
Swallow	8		1565-1581	1565-81 Thos. Bastwell		a c
Swan	10	I	1573-1574 (wrecked off Ireland)	1574 John and Thomas Winstanley	1573 Edmund Lawrence	a c
Toby	13	I	1582		1582 Cuthbert Lawrence	a
Trinity	16	I	1592-1594	1593 John Gill	1592-3 John Gill	a
Trinity			1573		1573 Thomas Crosbie	c
Valentine	26	I	1598-1603	1615 Silvester Starkey	1598 Richard Mather 1600 Thomas Nelson 1603 Robert Bickerstaffe	a b
William	25	I	1563-1566		1562-66 William Halewood	a

M = Isle of Man
I = Ireland
S = Spain
F = France
P = Portugal

Sources.

- a) Port Books.
- b) Manuscripts of the City of Chester.
- c) Liverpool Town Books.
- d) Liverpool Deeds, Liverpool R.O.
- e) High Court of Admiralty, P.R.O. HCA.
- f) State Papers Domestic SP12.
- g) State Papers Ireland SP6J.

APPENDIX XXVI: APPRENTICES IN LIVERPOOL, 1555-1602.

Year	Name	From	Master	Occupation	Age	Length of Service	Became Freeman
1555	Edmund Barrow		Thomas Secun	merchant			1555
1556	Edward Nicholson		Robert Holden	merchant			1556
1557	Richard Barker						1557
1557	Thomas Hitchmough			merchant			1557
1557	Roger Jepson						1557
1558	Ralph Burscough		Thomas More	merchant			1558
1558	Giles Brooke	Horwich, Lancs.	George Rainford	merchant			1565
1558	John Tarleton		Ralph Sekerston	merchant			1558
1561	Richard Cropper						1561
1562	Roger Rose			butcher			
1562	Henry Radbrook						
1563	Edward Pendleton	Liverpool	John Pemberton	tailor		7	
1565	Richard Mosse		Christopher Drinkwater				
1565	Thomas Garnett	Liverpool	Thomas Inglefield	blacksmith		8	
1565	William Bootle		Oliver Garnett	tailor		12	
1566	Ralph Davie	Isle of Man	Edward Wilson	slater		6	
1567	Henry Bridge						1567
1568	Edward Pendleton	Liverpool	Edward Nicholson & John Williamson	mariner		7	
1572	Robert Harrison	Cockerham, Lancs.	William Walker	mariner	13	10	
1574	Giles Radcliffe	Isle of Man	Edward Nicholson & John Williamson	mariner		7	
1574	Ralph Alan	Sutton	Thomas Gaskill	slater	13	7	
1574	John Bird		Thomas Bavand	merchant			
1574	John Corbet	Liverpool	Robert Corbet	merchant			1574
1575	William Griffith	Ruthin	Hugh Radbrook	blacksmith		10	
1575	George Fisher	Liverpool	Robert Blundell	mariner	14	7	
1576	Richard Maddock		Richard Haydock				
1576	Robert Harrison	Cockerham, Lancs.	widow Walker			6	
1576	Richard Gill	Wallasey	Richard Smith	ship's carpenter		4	
1577	Dorothy Poolford	Holt, Denbighs.	Robert Corbet	domestic servant	12	10	
1577	Robert Twiss	Liverpool	Robert Wytter	merchant	16	8	
1578	John Burtonwood	Rainhill	Ellis Kycroft	tailor	11		
1578	William Fowler	Hawarden, Flints.	Richard Aspinwall	draper		7	
1579	Alexander Rimmer	Liverpool	Henry Stevenson	mariner		4	
1581	Ralph Crosbie	Liverpool	Peter Starkey	merchant	19	3	
1582	Thomas Johnson	Liverpool	William Kelly	mariner		6	
1582	Nicholas Ridgate			labourer			1582
1583	Nicholas Abraham						1583
1583	Humphrey Brooke		Giles Brooke	merchant			1583
1583	Lancelot Walker		James Chambers				1583
1584	Edward Walker	Liverpool	Edward Nicholson	mariner	16	7	
1584	Richard Crosbie	Liverpool	John Williamson	mariner	17	8	
1584	John Hughson	Liverpool	Edward Nicholson	mariner		13	
1584	William Gillan	Isle of Man	John Williamson	mariner		7	1592
1584	Thomas Hughson	Liverpool	William Galloway	ship's carpenter		8	
1585	Thomas Nelson	Isle of Man					
1585	Ralph Vernam	Liverpool	Thomas Bavand	merchant		9	
1585	Austin Twisse	Liverpool	Thomas Bavand	merchant		7	
1585	Edward Postle		John Gore	weaver			1585
1586	Christopher Galloway		James Corless	ship's carpenter			1586
1586	Edward Dieconson	Ravenglass, Cumb.	Thomas Bavand	merchant		5	
1586	Reginald Sutch	Liverpool	Anthony More	merchant		9	
1589	Dorothy Helling	Ormskirk	Robert More	domestic servant	14	15	
1590	William Radbrook	Walton	Ralph Mercer	blacksmith		7	
1591	Any Hurdeson	Leeds, Yorks.	Richard Hodgson	domestic servant		12	
1591	William Blackmore	Liverpool	Robert Williamson	mariner		7	
1591	Robert Jumpe	Liverpool	Robert Gill	mariner		8	
1591	William Towers		John Bird	merchant			1591
1592	William Pilkington	Hawarden, Flints.	Cuthbert Lawrence	mariner		5	
1592	Thomas Kettle	Liverpool	John Bird	merchant		7	
1592	Margaret Griffith	Liverpool	Robert More	domestic servant		15	
1592	William Sutch	Liverpool	William Catton	blacksmith		4	
1593	Anne Prescott	Liverpool	Robert Barker	yeoman		7	
1594	Michael Heland		Richard Hodgson	merchant		7	
1594	Katherine Horobbin	Liverpool	Robert Berry	domestic servant		10	
1595	Thomas Wytter	Liverpool	John Rose	tailor		7	
1595	Giles Mercer	Liverpool	William Woodburne	tailor		7	
1596	George Vernam	Liverpool	William Woodburne	tailor		7	
1601	Anne Coker	Liverpool	Robert Berry	domestic servant		5	
1602	Robert Bridge	Liverpool	John Mercer	mariner		5	
1602	Peter Williamson	Liverpool	William Blundell	mariner		9	
1602	Thomas Potter	Liverpool	Henry Honeley	mariner		7	

APPENDIX XXVII: INDIVIDUALS NAMING THEIR 'MASTERS' AS OVERSEERS OF WILLS, 1550-1603.

Parish	Total	Named 'Master'	Testator		
Huyton Parish	-				
Walton Parish	7	John Holyneux Esq. William More Esq. " " " Edward Norris Esq. John Ogle gent. Edward Sutton gent. William Classeur Esq.	Thomas Bolton Richard Lonsdale Jane Nicholson Reginald Melling Peter Ackers Thomas Woods Henry Bedford	Liverpool Kirkdale Liverpool Liverpool West Derby Kirkby Liverpool	1597 1590 1593 1572 1598 1593 1568
Childwall Parish	14	Richard Bold Esq. William Brettergh gent. Henry Coney gent. " " " George Ireland Esq. " " " " " " Richard Lathom Esq. Thomas Lathom Esq. " " " Edward Norris Esq. " " " " " " Robert Ireland gent.	Cuthbert Lathom William Edmundson Edmund Wainwright Margaret Knoll John Richardson Griffith ap Edward Robert Ireland James Amott William Lathom Richard Lathom Richard Cooke Thomas Molyneux Edward Barrow James Ireland	Allerton Little Woolton Halebank Little Woolton Halebank Halewood Halewood Childwall Allerton Allerton Little Woolton Garston Halewood Hale	1592 1592 1573 1579 1582 1583 1591 1564 1594 1597 1592 1592 1594 1587
Prescot Parish	19	John Ashton gent. " " " Richard Bold Esq. Thomas Curran gent. John Ditchfield gent. " " " Thomas Eccleston gent. " " " Henry Eccleston Esq. Thomas Fox gent. " " " Alexander Holland gent. " " " Edward Lathom gent. John Ogle gent. Edward Sutton gent. Edward Tarbock Esq. Mathew Travers gent. Peter Wetherby gent.	William Lea Nicholas Williamson John Leigh Henry Blundell Robert Kenyon Thomas Welling William Birchall John Hey Oliver Hey Henry Rothwell Peter Sutton John Lea Robert Whitlow James Lyon Evan Pyke Ellis Bourgh Jane Taylor Henry Garnett Robert Wyke	Penketh Bold Widnes Whiston Ditton Ditton Parr Eccleston Eccleston Sutton Sutton Sutton Sutton Rainford Prescot Eccleston Prescot Sutton Whiston	1579 1594 1592 1587 1595 1595 1581 1595 1581 1595 1601 1575 1579 1592 1602 1579 1597 1582 1591

APPENDIX XXVIII: SERVANTS IN SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

<u>Huyton Parish.</u>		<u>known dates</u>		
Huyton	Thomas Buttery	1590-1603	to Harrington family	woodward
"	Jane Ireland	-1607	to Roger Devias, vicar	
Wolfull	Alice Fleetwood	1592	to Thomas Lyon, tanner	
Knowsley	Thomas Bootle	1579	to Edward Stanley	
"	Jane Jackson	1597	to Ellis Tyrer, yeoman	
"	Thomas Rylance	1592	to Roger Day, husbandman	
"	Mary Molyneux	1603	to Antony Stockley, yeoman	
"	John Wainwright	1579	to Edward Stanley	
"	Henry Whitaker	1579-99	to Edward Stanley	College servant
Tarbock	Jane Ackers	1592	to Robert Williamson	
"	Edmund Allott	1566	to Lady Jane Tarbock	
"	William Hayward	1557-1582	to William Tarbock Esq.	
"	William Hutchen	1592	to Robert Williamson	
"	Margaret Ireland	1557	to William Tarbock Esq.	
"	Richard Moreton	1557-1610	to William Tarbock Esq.	cook
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>				
Much Woolton	Margery Farrer	bp1553-1600	to Ralph Hitchmough, husb.	
Carston	William Charles	bp1565-1607	at Pemberton's house	labourer
"	George Turner	1566-1591	to Edward Norris Esq.	
Speke	William Barley	1594	to Edward Norris Esq.	
"	Richard Brombell	1602-1606	to Edward Norris Esq.	
"	Roger Bury	1599	to Edward Norris Esq.	household cook
"	John Cutler	1606	to Edward Norris Esq.	
"	Nicholas Green	1556-1586	to Wm. & Edward Norris	
"	Thomas Percival	1611	to Sir William Norris	
"	John Rose	1602-1610	to Edward Norris Esq.	head cook
"	Richard Whitfield	1584-1592	to Edward Norris Esq.	
"	Thomas Hulme	1599	to Edward Norris Esq.	
Hale	Alice Williamsdaughter	1593-1595	to John Johnson, husb.	
Halewood	Margaret Barow	1581-1584		
"	Robert Cowdell	bp1514-1555	to George Ireland Esq.	
"	Jane Grease	1588		
"	Oliver Moliner	1592	to George Ireland Esq.	cook
<u>Walton Parish.</u>				
Croxteth	Thomas Dutton	1600	to Sir Richard Molyneux	clerk
"	Thomas Valentine	1601	to Sir Richard Molyneux	trumpeter
Bootle	John Fleetwood	1588-1593	to William More Esq.	
Linacre	Ralph Pemberton	1588-1601	to William More Esq.	
"	Anne Pemberton	1588	to William More Esq.	
Kirkdale	William Butler	1588	to William More Esq.	
<u>Prescot Parish.</u>				
Prescot	Margaret Lancaster	1597		
"	Thomas Lawrenson	1603	at Prescot Hall	
"	William Sadler	1603	at Prescot Hall	
"	Margery Smith	1603	at Prescot Hall	
Rainhill	Hugh Greene	1587	to Nicholas Rigby	
Sutton	Alexander Fenny	1589-1591	to Alexander Holland, gent.	
"	James Mason	bp1576-1600	to Thomas Eltonhead, gent.	
"	Ralph Pierpoint	1592-1594	to Margaret Ditchfield	
Parr	Alice Westley	1577		
Whiston	Catherine Blundell	1562-1587		
"	John Ditchfield	1562-1582		
"	Margaret More	1600		
"	Elizabeth Webster	1562		
Eccleston	Ellen Tarbock	1579		
Rainford	Elizabeth Finch	1595	to Mr. Lathom	
Windle	John Burton	1588	to Thomas Winstanley	
"	Jane Hindle	1583	to Henry Lyon	
"	George Plombe	1580	to Henry Lathom, gent.	
Ditton	Lawrence Cock	1564-1599	to William Birchall, yeoman	
Cuerdley	Francis Fletcher	bp1575-1605	to James Lawton	
Penketh	Leonard Dixon	1598	to John Ashton, gent.	
"	?	1580	to Martin Shibbs, miller	
Widnes	John Flitcroft	1579-1603	to Richard Bold	
"	Humphrey Laithwaite	1596		
Bold	John Bank	bp1538-1578	to William Birchall, yeoman	
"	John Bold	1597	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	Jane Dyke	bp1550-1582	to Richard Bold Esq.	dey woman
"	John Gill	1587	to Francis Bold, gent.	
"	Robert Harrison	1587-1597	to Francis Bold, gent.	
"	William Hart	1578	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	William Heaton	1587-1590	to Francis Bold, gent.	
"	Ellen Holland	1595	to Thomas Barrow	
"	William Jameson	bp1572-1604	to Thomas Barrow	

Bold	Margery Jameson	1604	to John Worsley	
"	Richard Ley	bp1540-1598	to Francis Bold, gent.	
"	Ellis March	1592		
"	Henry Hoss	1581	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	Thomas Nelson	1556-1584	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	Roger Ogdeyne	1582	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	Nicholas Smith	1580-1591		
"	Nicholas Williamson	1594	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	John Wilson	1579	to Richard Bold Esq.	
"	William Woods	1564-1601	to Richard Bold Esq.	serving man
"	Margaret Winstanley	1596		
Kirkdale	Ellen Chaddock	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Elizabeth Jolly	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Robert Pendleton	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	John Pendleton	1593	to Robert More, gent.	
"	John Stanley	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Alice Tarleton	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Edward Wilson	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Anne Taylor	1588	to William More Esq.	
West Derby	William Bushell	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Margaret Crawshaw	1590		
"	Richard Johnson	bp1518-1568		
"	Thomas Rice	1592		labourer
Liverpool	Thomas Anderton	1573-81	to Thomas Bavand, merchant	
"	Cicely Bailey	1603	to Richard Mather	
"	Elizabeth Barker	1594	to Ralph Challenor	
"	John Bennett	1568-1578		
"	Ellen Bird	1603		
"	Alice Carr	1584		
"	Margaret Cooke	1590		
"	Peter Crosbie	1584		
"	Ralph Crosse	1594	to Thomas Gardener, gent.	
"	Ellen Dawbie	1586	to Thomas Bavand, merchant	
"	John Dickson	1584		
"	Peter Hey	1573-1582	to John Crosse Esq.	
"	Philip Johns	1588		
"	Thomas Lan,tree	1572	to Thomas More, gent.	
"	Alice Luikin	1584	to Thomas Bavand, merchant	
"	Richard Haddock	1576	to Richard Haydock	
"	John Parr	1588	to William More Esq.	
"	Alice Plumpton	1600-1603	to John Robinson	
"	Edward Prescott	1573-1586	to John Crosse Esq.	
"	William Rose	1589-1603	to Richard Bailey	
"	Anne Rushton	1594	to John Gifford, gent.	house maid
"	Anne Shepherd	1586	to Thomas Bavand, merchant	
"	William Thomasson	1575-1599	to Thomas Secun	
"	William Towers	1591-1599	to John Bird, merchant	
"	Anne Walker	1590		
"	Anne Williamson	1590		
"	Anne Woodward	1577-1586		
"	Ellen Youn,	1576	to Thomas Bavand, merchant	

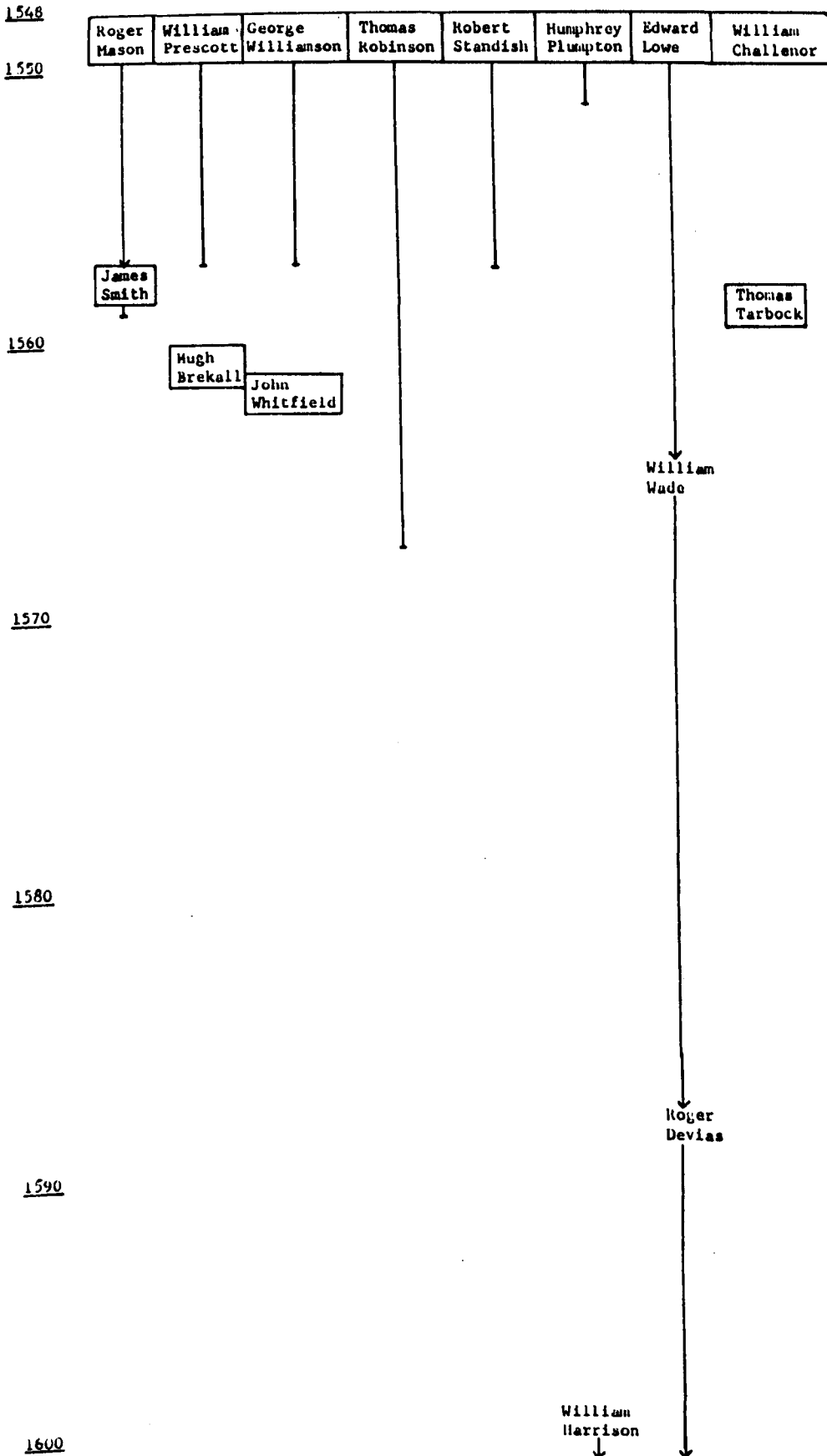
(Sources: Probate Records, Prescot Records, Liverpool Town Books, B.L., Additional Charters, Liv. R.O., 920 MOO, P.R.O., STAC 5.)

APPENDIX XXIX: LABOURERS IN
SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE, 1550-1600.

<u>Huyton Parish.</u>			
Huyton	John Mutch	1595	/husbandman
Knowsley	George Wright	1588-1601	
Tarbock	George Ackers	1591-1592	1595 collier
<u>Childwall Parish.</u>			
Much Woolton	John Allenson	1595	
"	Henry Challinor	1595	
"	Humphrey Walley	1600	
Allerton	William Fazakerley	1568-1595	
"	Robert Taylor	1599-1600	
"	Thomas Taylor	bp1570-1602	
Wavertree	Christopher Ellow	1594	
"	William Sadler	1595	
Garston	William Charles	bp1565-1607	/servant
"	Thomas Hitchmough	1600-1609	
Speke	John Brown	1600	
"	John Hulgreave	1600	son of husbandman
"	Robert Johnson	1600	
"	Henry Moones	1593-1601	/husbandman
"	James Pilkington	1595-1613	/husbandman
"	Robert Plomba	1600	
"	Peter Wainwright	1597	
"	Henry Wainwright	1600-1613	/husbandman
"	William Whitfield	bp1580-1600	
"	John Williamson	1600	/husbandman
"	Thomas Williamson	1600	
"	Richard Tyrer	bp1573-1603	
"	Thomas Ashbrooke	1600	/husbandman
Hale	Robert Bolton	1604	
Halewood	John Williamson	1584-1595	
<u>Walton Parish.</u>			
Walton	Richard Bridge	1591-1602	
Kirkdale	John Cowper	1590-1603	
Fazakerley	Thomas Dunnett	1591	
West Derby	Thomas Rice	1592	/servant
Kirkby	Edward Mercer	1591	
Liverpool	Peter Ainsdale	1571-1581	
"	Richard Ainsdale	1577-1581	/sailor
"	Richard Blackburn	1588-1589	
"	Henry Fazakerley	1590	
"	Thomas Glover	1579-1581	
"	John Griffith	1592	
"	Nicholas Jameson	1588-1589	
"	Robert Johnson	1576-1603	/husbandman
"	William Leach	1577-1589	/ferryman

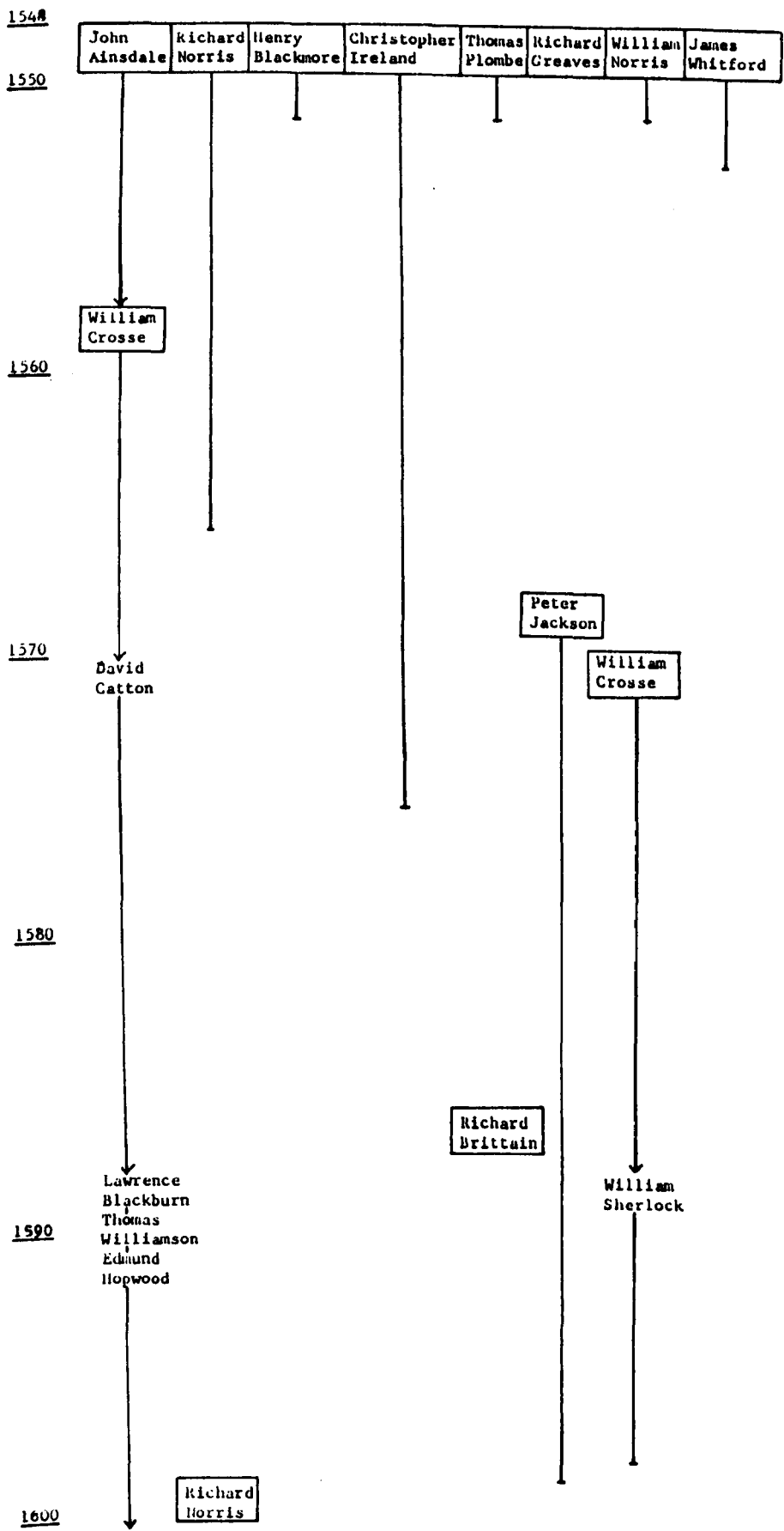
Liverpool	William Newall	1594	
"	John Page	1594-1602	
"	Thomas Pemberton	1594-1603	
"	William Pendleton	1595-1603	
"	John Pendleton	1596-1599	
"	Peter Rawling	1596-1604	/yeoman
"	Nicholas Ridgate	1575-1596	
"	Richard Shaw	1577-1603	
"	Gilbert Whitstones	1581-1605	/hayward/plasterer
"	Henry Wirrall	1565-1569	/sailor
<u>Prescot</u>			
<u>Parish.</u>			
Prescot	Jeremy Bower	1576-1577	
"	Thomas Forshaw	1551-1597	
"	John Hey	1586-1603	
"	James Sales	1604	/innkeeper
"	George Washington	1572-1603	
"	Alexander Wittington	1585-1600	
"	Thomas Greaves	1569	
Rainhill	Robert Gudicar	1597-1600	
Sutton	Thomas Mercer	1591	
"	William Spray	1629	
Eccleston	Thomas Derbyshire	bp1521-1609	
Rainford	Henry Canner	1593-1605	
"	Alexander Cartwright	1601	
Windle	Henry Markland	bp1521-1561	
"	Edmund Orphard	1585-1595	
"	William Parr	bp1541-1594	/husbandman
"	Edward Taylor	1595-1597	
Ditton	Francis Rawson	bp1563-1607	/husbandman/yeoman
Cronton	Ralph Carter	bp1578-1606	
Penketh	Thomas Barrow	1591	
"	John Penketh	bp1575-1606	
Bold	Henry Ashcroft	1579-1591	
"	Henry Parker	bp1565-1603	son of yeoman

(Sources: Probate Records, Prescot Records, Liverpool Town Books, P.R.O. STAC 5, Tait, Lancashire Quarter Sessions.)



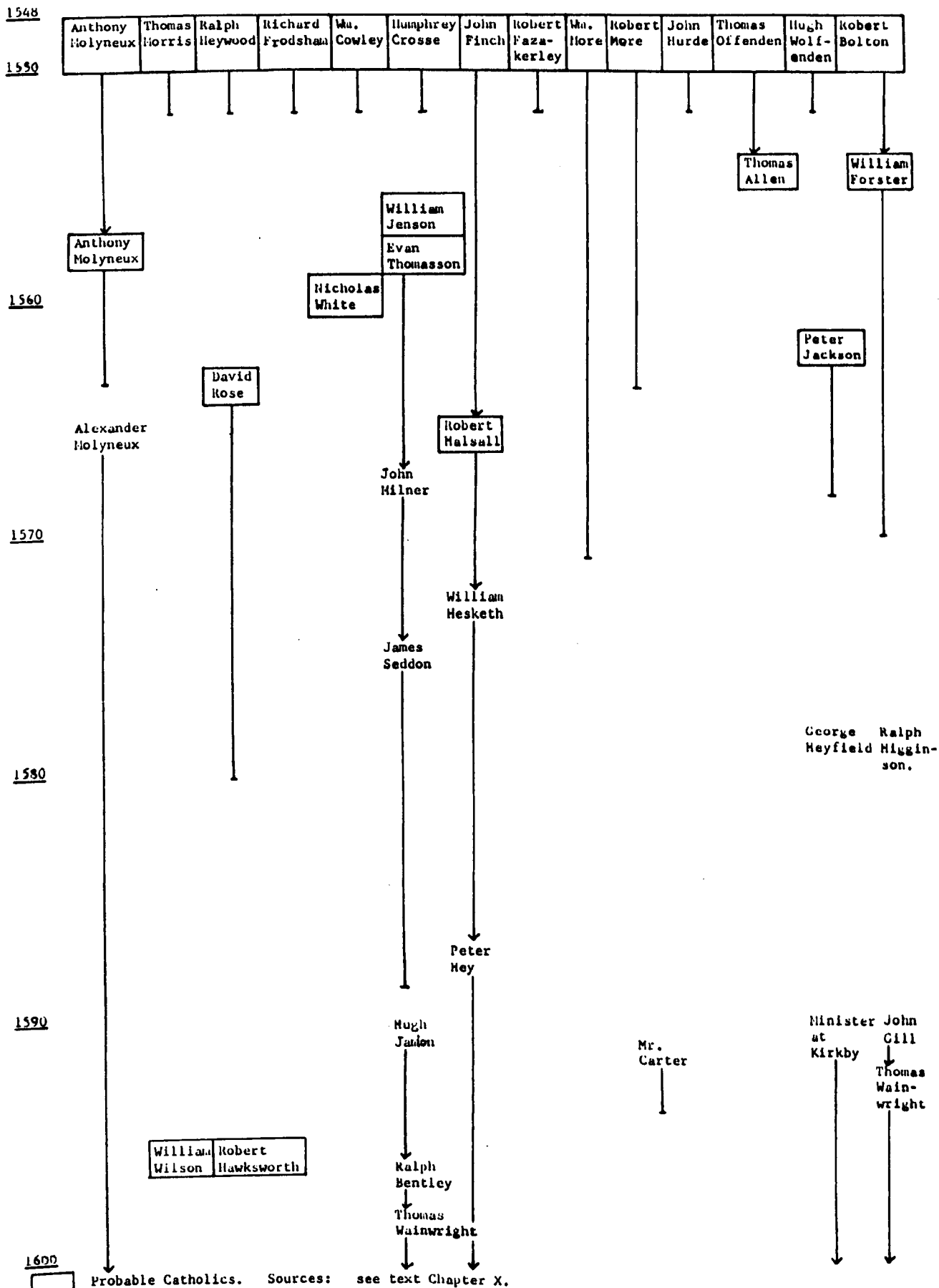
Probable Catholics. Sources: See text Chapter X.

APPENDIX XXXI: CLERGYMEN IN CHILDWALL PARISH, 1548-1600.



Probable Catholics. Sources: see text Chapter X.

APPENDIX XXXII: CLERGYMEN IN WALTON PARISH, 1548-1600.



Anthony Molyneux Thomas Morris Ralph Heywood Richard Frodsham Ma. Cowley Humphrey Crosse John Finch Robert Fazakerley Ma. More Robert More John Hurde Thomas Offenden Hugh Wolfenden Robert Bolton

Anthony Molyneux
 William Jenson
 Evan Thomasson
 Nicholas White
 Thomas Allen
 William Forster

David Rose
 Robert Malsall
 Peter Jackson

Alexander Molyneux
 John Hilner
 William Hesketh

James Seddon
 Peter Hey

Hugh Janson
 Ralph Bentley
 Thomas Wainwright

William Wilson Robert Hawksworth
 Mr. Carter
 Minister at Kirkby
 John Gill
 Thomas Wainwright

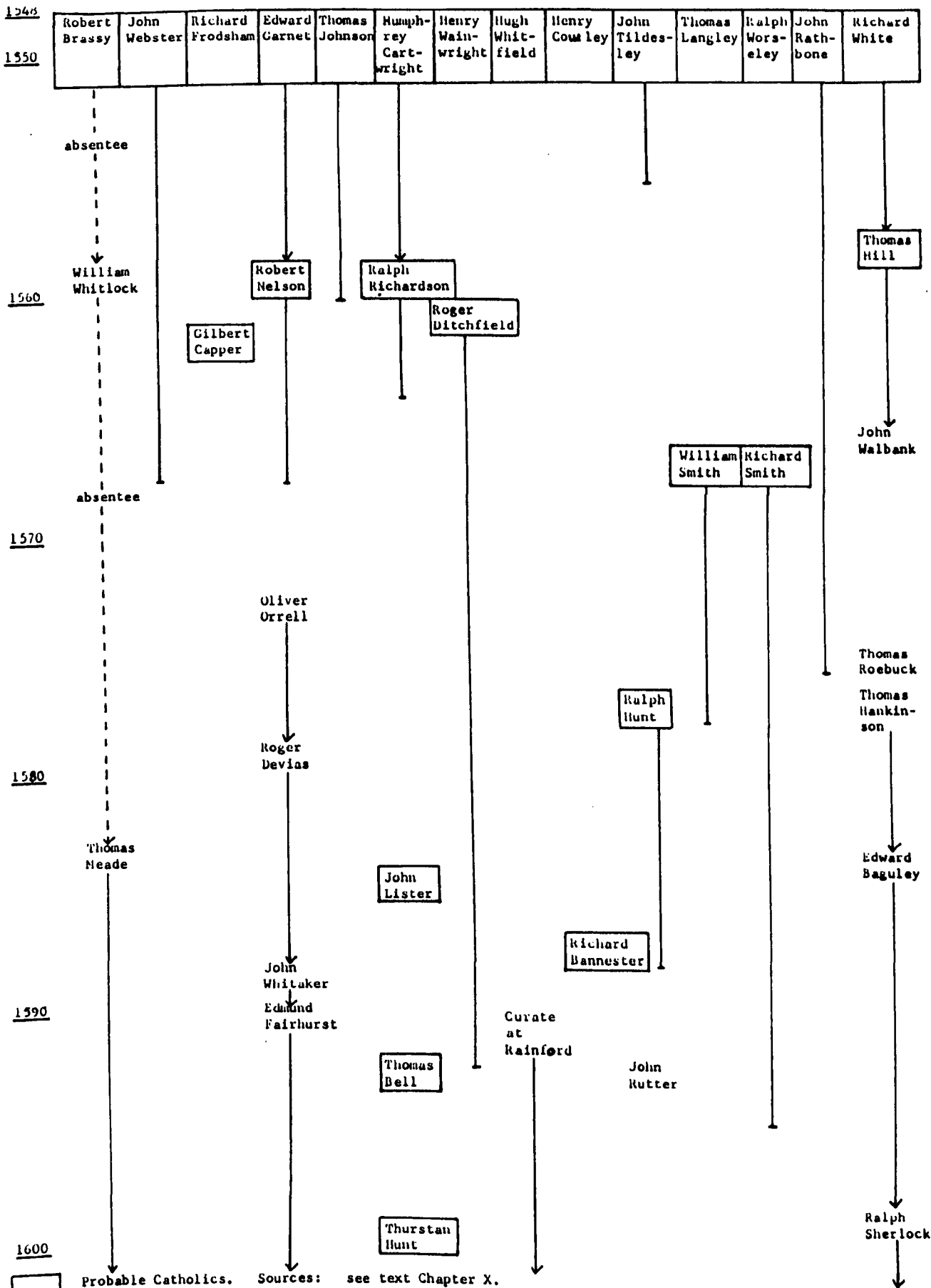
George Ralph Heyfield Higginson.

George Ralph Heyfield Higginson.

George Ralph Heyfield Higginson.

George Ralph Heyfield Higginson.

APPENDIX XXXIII: CLERGYMEN IN PRESCOT PARISH, 1548-1600.



APPENDIX XXXIV: LIVERPOOL MAYORS, 1550-1603.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Numbers of times mayor</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Literacy</u>	<u>Residence</u>
1550-1	Ralph Sekerston		merchant	/	Water Street
1551-2	Thomas More		merchant	/	
1552-3	Ralph Bailey		merchant	x	Water Street
1553-4	Roger Walker		merchant	/	
1554-5	Sir William Norris		knight	/	(Speke Hall, Speke)
1555-6	Thomas More	2	merchant	/	
1556-7	John More		esquire	/	(Bank Hall, Kirkdale)
1557-8	Thomas More	3	merchant	/	
1558-9	Robert Corbet		merchant	/	Water Street
1559-60	Alexander Garnet		merchant	/	Water Street
1560-1	Ralph Sekerston	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1561-2	Robert Corbet	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1562-3	Thomas Secum		merchant	/	Dale Street
1563-4	Robert Corbet	3	merchant	/	Water Street
1564-5	Alexander Garnet	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1565-6	John Crosse		esquire	/	Dale Street
1566-7	Robert Corbet	4	merchant	/	Water Street
1567-8	William Secum		merchant	/	Castle Street
1568-9	Sir Thomas Stanley		knight	/	(Knowsley Hall, Knowsley)
1569-70	Henry Stanley, Lord Strange		knight	/	(Knowsley Hall, Knowsley)
1570-1	Ralph Burscough		merchant	/	Dale Street
1571-2	Thomas Bavard		merchant	/	Water Street
1572-3	John Crosse	2	esquire	/	Dale Street
1573-4	Robert Corbet	5	merchant	/	Water Street
1574-5	John Mainwaring		merchant	/	Water Street
1575-6	William Secum	2	merchant	/	Castle Street
1576-7	Thomas Bavand	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1577-8	Sir William Hesketh		knight	/	(Rufford Hall, Rufford)
1578-9	William More		esquire	/	(Bank Hall, Kirkdale)
1579-80	Edward Halsall		esquire	/	
1580-1	Robert More		merchant	/	Water Street
1581-2	John Crosse		esquire	/	Dale Street
1582-3	William Secum	3	merchant	/	Water Street
1583-4	Ralph Burscough	2	merchant	/	Dale Street
1584-5	Thomas Bavand	3	merchant	/	Water Street
1585-6	Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange		knight	/	(Knowsley Hall, Knowsley)
1586-7	Edward Halsall	2	esquire	/	
1587-8	William More	2	esquire	/	(Bank Hall, Kirkdale)
1588-9	Sir Richard Molyneux		knight	/	(Croxteth Hall, Croxteth)
1589-90	Thomas Wickstead		merchant	/	Water Street
1590-1	John Bird		merchant	/	Water Street
1591-2	Robert More	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1592-3	Giles Brooke		merchant	/	Dale Street
1593-4	Robert Berry		merchant	/	Water Street
1594-5	John Bird	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1595-6	Robert More	3	merchant	/	
1596-7	William More	3	esquire	/	
1597-8	Richard Hodgson		merchant	/	Castle Street
1598-9	William Dixon			/	
1599-1600	Robert More	4	merchant	/	Water Street
1600-1	John Bird	3	merchant	/	Water Street
1601-2	Giles Brooke	2	merchant	/	Water Street
1602-3	Ralph Secum		merchant	/	Water Street

L.T.B. I pp. 580-1, pp. 436-445, pp. 446-459,
L.T.B. II, pp. 817-841,
and information from Appendix XXIV.

APPENDIX XXXV: LIVERPOOL BAILIFFS, 1555-1603.

Mayor's Bailiff.				People's Bailiff.			
1555-6	Ralph Barlow			Thomas Bolton		merchant	
1556-7	Thomas Bastwell		merchant /	William Lawrence		merchant	/
1557-8	Peter Rimmer			George Ashton		merchant	/
1558-9	George Ashton	2	merchant /	William Secum		merchant	/
1559-60	Ralph Burscough		merchant /	Humphrey Webster			
1560-1	William Rose			John Mainwaring		merchant	/
1561-2	Thomas Bastwell	2	merchant /	Richard Abraham		merchant	/
1562-3	Ralph Jamison			Thomas Rowe		merchant	/
1563-4	Reginald Melling			Thomas Uttyn		merchant	
1564-5	Thomas Bavand		merchant /	Thomas Wignall		merchant	x
1565-6	William Secum		merchant /	Thomas Inglefield			
1566-7	Humphrey Webster	2		Robert Johnson		merchant	
1567-8	Reginald Melling	2		George Rainford		merchant	/
1568-9	Thomas Rowe	2	merchant /	Robert Burscough	2	merchant	/
1569-70	John Crosse		esquire /	Thomas Sekerston		merchant	/
1570-1	John Gellibrand			John Williamson		merchant	/
1571-2	Thomas Inglefield	2		Edward Nicholson		merchant	x
1572-3	James Chambers		merchant /	Augustine Turner		merchant	
1573-4	Thomas Bastwell	3	merchant /	Robert Wytter		merchant	/
1574-5	Thomas Mason		merchant /	William Golborne		merchant	/
1575-6	James Chambers	2	merchant /	Robert Wytter	2	merchant	/
1576-7	Robert Ball		yeoman	Roger Rose		yeoman	
1577-8	Robert More		merchant /	James Chambers	3	merchant	/
1578-9	Antony More		merchant /	William Golborne	2	merchant	/
1579-80	John Bird		merchant /	Peter Starkey		merchant	/
1580-1	Roger Rose	2	yeoman	Thomas Bannester		merchant	/
1581-2	Edward Nicholson	2	merchant x	Alan Gogrey		merchant	
1582-3	William Golborne	3	merchant /	John Gore			
1583-4	Thomas Rose Jun.			John Bird	2	merchant	/
1584-5	Giles Brooke		merchant /	Edmund Irlam		pointmaker	
1585-6	Richard Hodgson		merchant	Thomas Wickstead		merchant	/
1586-7	William Parr			Robert Berry		merchant	/
1587-8	John Smith			William Golborne	4	merchant	/
1588-9	Roger Rose	3	yeoman	Robert Ball	2	yeoman	
1589-90	Thomas Hitchmough		merchant	Richard Bailey		merchant	/
1590-1	Robert Ball	3	yeoman	Gilbert Forby		merchant	
1591-2	John Wakefield		yeoman	Evan Richardson		yeoman	
1592-3	Cuthbert Lawrence		merchant /	John Sandford			
1593-4	Robert Ball	3	yeoman	Richard Bird		merchant	
1594-5	Richard Hodgson	2	merchant	Gilbert Forby	2	merchant	
1595-6	William Dixon			William Richardson			
1596-7	Christopher Holden		merchant /	Thomas Tarleton		merchant	
1597-8	Ralph Secum		merchant /	Thomas Hubberstay		merchant	
1598-9	Thomas Johnson		yeoman	Evan Richardson	2		
1599-1600	William Bannester		merchant /	Henry Moneley		merchant	
1600-1	Richard Rose Jun.			William Williamson		shoemaker	
1601-2	Richard Mather Jun.		merchant /	Thomas Richardson			
1602-3	William Formby			Roger Hey			

L.T.B. I and II - burgesses recorded annually and information from Appendix XXIV.

APPENDIX XXXVI: THE 'EIGHT' MEN OF THE PARISH OF PRESCOT, 1564-1602.

	Prescot	Eccleston	Whiston	Parr	Windle	Rainford	Rainhill	Sutton
1564	Thomas Potter, mercer	Robert Gellibrand, yeoman	Thomas Garnett	Evan Gleast	Robert Wolfall	Hugh Parr	Henry Coney, gent.	Richard Watmough, gent.
1565	↓	↓	↓	↓	Mathew Traves, gent.	↓	↓	↓
1566								
1567	Henry Taylor, mercer	Robert Cowper	Andrew Latham	Brian Hayward, yeoman	Edward Roughley, yeoman	William Tunstall	Peter Lancaster, yeoman	Ralph Hayward
1568	Edward Holland, inn-keeper	Henry Watmough	Thomas Brown	Mathew Ellum	Robert Ball	Hugh Sefton	Simon Garnett, gent.	Thomas Fox, gent.
1569								
1570								
1571								
1572	Edmund Turner, inn-keeper	Robert Cowper	Thomas Garnett	John Knowles	Thomas Winstanley	Hugh Parr	Hugh Lea, yeoman	Richard Holland, gent
1573	Richard Worsley, tanner	Hugh Webster, yeoman	James Ackers senior, yeoman	Thomas Tickle, yeoman	Edmund Lyon	Wm. Roby	James Wainwright, carpenter	John Lea
1574	Thomas Potter, mercer	John Standish, blacksmith	↓	William Turner, yeoman	Peter Lyon	John Naylor	Henry Ackers	John Dyke
1575	Henry Taylor, mercer	Hugh Webster, yeoman	Thomas Garnett	John Knowles	Thomas Winstanley	Henry Roby	Hugh Lea, yeoman	Richard Houghton, yeoman
1576	Thomas Potter, mercer	John Denton senior	James Ackers, yeoman	William Birchall, webster	Peter Tarbock, husb.	William Tunstall	William Potter	Richard Ackers
1577	Henry Taylor, mercer	Ellis Gleast		Edward Harrison	Richard Travers	Wm. Parr, gent.	James Wainwright, carpenter	Adam Hayward, yeoman
1578	John Pyke, yeoman	Richard Bower	James Ackers, yeoman	John Knowles	Thomas Winstanley	John Taylor	Henry Ackers	Henry Garnett, yeoman
1579	Edmund Turner, inn-keeper	Edmund Lunt, carpenter	William Thomasson	Brian Martin	Henry Gerrard	James Lyon	Peter Lancaster, yeoman	Robert Lea junior, yeoman
1580	John Taylor, blacksmith	William Cowper, yeoman	Alexander France	Edward Harrison	Peter Tarbock, husb.	Hugh Breck	James Wainwright, carpenter	William Hawarden
1581	James Ditchfield, potter	Hugh Webster, yeoman	Thomas Garnett	William Turner, yeoman	Edward Cowper, husb.	Hugh Sefton	Hugh Lea, yeoman	Henry Roughley, yeoman
1582	James Atherton	William Cowper, yeoman	William Sutton	Edward Johnson	Peter Tarbock, husb.	William Tunstall	Peter Lancaster, yeoman	John Dyke
1583	Richard Worsley, tanner	John Alcock, yeoman	Richard Hawarden, yeoman	John Knowles	Gilbert Croft, husb.	Robert Parr, yeoman	Hugh Green, husb.	Thomas Eltonhead, gent.
1584	Thomas Potter, mercer	William Cowper, yeoman	Thomas Garnett	Thomas Tickle, yeoman	Thomas Winstanley	Edward Faishurst	Hugh Lea, yeoman	John Eltonhead, gent.
1585	James Atherton	John Standish, blacksmith	James Ackers, yeoman	Brian Hayward, yeoman	William Pennington	↓	Peter Lancaster, yeoman	Richard Houghton, gent.
1586	Richard Shaw, tanner	Hugh Webster, yeoman	Henry Ashton	Thomas Tickle, yeoman	Edward Roughley, yeoman	John Naylor	Thomas Sherlock slater	Roger Hayward, yeoman

1587								
1588								
1589	Richard Shaw, tanner	Thomas Tarbock, yeoman	Robert Wyke, yeoman	John Knowles	Robert Turner	William Tunstall	Baldwin Potter, husb.	John Dobson
1590	Richard Bury, clock-maker	Thomas Tarbock, yeoman	Ralph Houghton	William Turner, yeoman	Brian Lyon	Edward Fairhurst	William Ackers	Henry Sutton
1591								
1592	James Ditchfield, potter	Edmund Lunt, carpenter	Robert Garnett	William Webster			George Lyon	
1593	Edward Stockley, yeoman	Thomas Tarbock, yeoman	Henry Ashton	William Arrowsmith junior	Henry Gerrard	Robert Roby	Richard Green, yeoman	John Dobson
1594								
1595	Edward Stockley, yeoman	Edmund Lunt, carpenter	Thomas Woods	William Turner, yeoman	John Gerrard	William Farr	Richard Green, yeoman	Thomas Worsley
1596								
1597	Thomas Potter, mercer	Edmund Lyon, yeoman	Henry Ashton	Brian Martin	John Gerrard	Robert Roby	Christopher Kanwick	Thomas Worsley
1598	James Ditchfield, potter	Edmund Lunt, carpenter	John Lyon, husb.	William Arrowsmith	Richard Wood, tanner	Edward Fairhurst	Thomas Glover, tanner	Hugh Barnes
1599	James Taylor, mercer	Thomas Webster	James Ackers, yeoman	Thomas Tickle, yeoman	Henry Gerard	Thomas Lyon, malt maker	Edward Deane	Richard Roughley, yeoman
1600	Thomas Halsall, blacksmith	John Standish, blacksmith	Thomas Woods	William Turner, yeoman	Richard Wood, tanner	Robert Roby	Thomas Glover, tanner	Henry Wessle
1601	John Worsley, tanner	George Lyon, tanner	Henry Lathom, yeoman	Brian Tickle	Henry Gowden, yeoman	Robert Farr, yeoman	Richard Green, yeoman	John Dobson
1602	Richard Shaw, tanner	Edmund Lyon, yeoman	↓	Mathew Tickle, husb.	Gerrard Potter, yeoman	William Naylor	↓	Richard Lea, yeoman

APPENDIX XXXVII: CHILDWALL CHURCHWARDENS, 1572-1604.

1572	Richard Bolton	Thingwall		William Woodward	Much Woolton	yeoman
1573				↓	↓	↓
1574	Henry Dweryhouse			Thomas Orme Junior	Little Woolton	gentleman
1575	↓			↓	↓	↓
1576	William Atherton	Wavertree	husbandman	Thomas Orme (son of above)	Little Woolton	gentleman
1577	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
1578				John Williamson		
1579				Robert Lyon		
1580				William Halewood	Little Woolton	
1581				↓	↓	↓
1582				John Pearson	Much Woolton	yeoman
1583	Robert Griffiths	Wavertree		↓	↓	↓
1584	↓	↓		John Whitfield	Little Woolton	blacksmith
1585				↓	↓	↓
1586				Richard Orme	Little Woolton	
1587	Edward Barrow			Thomas Plombe Junior	Much Woolton	malt maker
1588	↓			Richard Knowles	Little Woolton	husbandman
1589	Richard Orme	Little Woolton		↓	↓	↓
1590	↓	↓				
1591						
1592						
1593						
1594						
1595	John Pasmuch	Wavertree	carpenter			
1596	↓	↓	↓			
1597						
1598						
1599						
1600						
1601						
1602	William Ellison	Wavertree	yeoman			
1603	↓	↓	↓			
1604	Henry Darnett	Wavertree	yeoman			

APPENDIX XXVIII: PRESCOT CHURCHWARDENS, 1550-1603.

1550	Peter Eccleston			Robert Worsley			John Kenwright			Robert Webster
1551										
1552										
1553	James Watmough			Roger Cowley			Ralph Houghton			Evan Pyke
1554										
1555				Thomas Garnett	Whiston		Brian Ley			Thomas Cowper
1556							John Tarbock			Richard Denton
1557	Evan Pyke						Thomas Justice	Sutton	yeoman	
1558	Henry Coney	Rainhill	gent.	Thomas Ashton			Edward Holland	Prescot	innkpr.	John Rutherford
1559	Robert Prescot			Richard Bower	Eccleston		Hugh Green	Rainhill	husb.	Edward Cowper
1560	John Leadbeater			Edmund Cowley			Hugh Parr	Rainford		George Bower
1561										
1562										
1563	John Leadbeater			Henry Roughley	Sutton	yeoman	Hugh Green	Rainhill	husb.	Wm. Cowper
1564	Edward Stockley	Prescot		Brian Hayward			John Rigby			Henry Garnett
1565										
1566	Brian Arrowsmith			Edward Holland	Prescot	innkpr.	Thomas Sherlock	Rainhill	slater	John Naylor
1567										
1568	Richard Worsley	Prescot	tanner	Robert Walfall	Windle		John Parr			Lawrence Marsh
1569	William Turner	Parr	yeoman	Robert Wyke	Whiston	yeoman	Peter Birchall			John Pyke
1570										
1571										
1572										
1573	Edward Holland	Prescot	innkpr.	John Williamson			Edmund Lunt	Eccleston	carpenter	Ralph Fenny
1574	Brian Hayward			Hugh Green	Rainhill	husb.	William Tunstall	Rainford		Thomas Justice
1575	John Pyke	Prescot	yeoman	Robert Kenwick			Richard Travers			John Dyke
1576	William Green			William Hawarden	Sutton		Edward Lyon			Nicholas Eilam
1577	Hugh Webster	Eccleston	yeoman	William Sutton	Sutton		John Glover			Robert Billing
1578	Hugh Sefton	Rainford		Thomas Tickle	Parr	yeoman	Henry Sutton	Sutton		George Kenwick
1579	Thomas Justice	Sutton	yeoman	Henry Brown			Henry Lyon			Thomas Tarbock
1580	Thomas Sherlock	Rainhill	slater	Richard Houghton	Sutton	yeoman	John Sefton			Edward Fairhurst

1581	Edmund Turner	Prescot	inn- kpr.	Thomas Garnett	Whiston	Roger Hayward	Sutton	yeo- man	Edmund Moas		
1582	Alexander France	Whiston		John Maylor	Rainford	Hugh Barnes	Sutton		Brian Martin	Parr	
1583	James Wainwright	Rainhill	car- pen- ter	Lawrence Webster	Rainhill	Richard Ackers			Miles Cowley		
1584	William Green			John Barnes	Sutton	Edward Houghton			Edmund Barnes	Sutton	
1585	George Rochdale			Robert Lea Jun.	Sutton	yeo- man	Robert Turner	Windle	John Alcock	Eccleston yeo- man	
1586	Christopher Kenwick			William Webster	Sutton		Nicholas Ellam		Robert Parr	Rainford	
1587	James Atherton	Prescot		Thomas Webster	Eccleston yeo-		Thomas Winstanley	Windle	Roger Johnson	Sutton	
1588	John Sefton			Thomas Tarleton			Hugh Green	Rainhill	husb.	↓	
1589	Richard Houghton	Sutton	yeo- man	Richard Green	Rainhill	yeo- man	Thomas Garnett	Whiston	Humphrey Stanley	↓	
1590	William Hornby			John Tarbock	Sutton	husb.	Thomas Ticcle	Parr	yeo-	Thomas Lyon	Rainford
1591	Thomas Woods	Whiston		Henry Rothwell	Sutton	husb.	Edward Cowper			James Gleast	
1592	Baldwin Potter	Rainhill	husb.	Richard Roughley	Sutton	yeo- man	William Turner	Parr	yeo- man	Richard Lyon	
1593	James Taylor	Prescot	mer- cer	Peter Sutton	Sutton	husb.	Jeffrey Travers			Hugh Ascroft	
1594											
1595	William Webster			Gilbert Barton			George Wainwright				
1596	Evan Pyke			Hugh Barnes	Sutton		William Arrowmith Jun.	Parr		Ralph Tunstall	
1597	Henry Latham	Whiston	yeo-	Evan Jamison			Brian Lyon			Edward Justice	
1598	Christopher Lea			Roger Wood	Sutton		William Turner	Parr	yeo- man	Robert Breck	
1599	Thomas Beasley			Richard Wright	Sutton		Robert Billing	Windle		John Alcock	Eccleston yeo- man
1600	Robert Garnett			Thomas Worsley	Sutton		Brian Martin	Parr		Robert Rainford	
1601	Lawrence Lea			Ralph Croft	Sutton		Henry Gerrard	Windle		Richard Kenwick	
1602	Peter Kenwick			Henry Westley	Sutton		William Wakefield			Edmund Barnes	
1603	Thomas Lyon	Whiston	but- cher	Thomas Lyon	Windle		James Cropper			Richard Tarbock	

APPENDIX XXXIX: CONSTABLES AND BURLEYMEN AT PRESCOT, 1550-1600.

	<u>Constables</u>		<u>Burleymen</u>	
1550	-	-	Edward Wainwright	William Carter
1551	Ralph Houghton	George Plumpton	Henry Woods	Robert Webster
1552	Robert Bower	Robert Worsley	Ralph Fletcher	Henry Washington
1553	Edward Holland	James Taylor	Henry Woods	Evan Gleast
1554	-	-	-	-
1555	-	-	-	-
1556	-	-	-	-
1557	Robert Webster	Evan Gleast	William Carter	George Webster
1558	Richard Worsley	Edward Holland	Thomas Bushell	Ralph Fletcher
1559	Thomas Potter	Evan Garnett	John Webster	Edward Cowper
1560	Henry Taylor	Edward Stockley	Robert Plumpton	Thomas Potter
1561	-	-	-	-
1562	Edward Wainwright	Edmund Turner	Henry Pendleton	William Carter
1563	Ralph Fletcher	Robert Plumpton	John Webster	Edward Cowper
1564	Edward Holland	Richard Worsley	John Webster	John Leadbeater
1565	Richard Stockley	Ralph Stock	Robert Sutton	John Thomasson
1566	Richard Stockley	Ralph Stock	Robert Sutton	John Thomasson
1567	-	-	-	-
1568	James Ditchfield	Edward Birchall	Hugh Webster	John Knowles
1569	Thomas Potter	John Pyke	Robert Wainwright	John Webster
1570	-	-	-	-
1571	Henry Taylor	Edward Stockley	Robert Lea	Edward Birchall
1572	Ralph Stock	Robert Cowley	John Gudicar	John Knowles
1573	Edward Chaddock	George Webster	Henry Pendleton	John Thomasson
1574	Edmund Turner	John Webster	William Price	James Ditchfield
1575	Thomas Potter	Brian Jackson	Edward Birchall	John Knowles
1576	John Gudicar	James Ditchfield	Ralph Fletcher	William Carter
1577	Henry Taylor	George Kenwright	John Webster	Robert Wainwright
1578	Robert Plumpton	Edmund Turner	William Leadbeater	William Carter
1579	Thomas Beasley	William Leadbeater	Ralph Fletcher	Henry Pendleton
1580	John Webster	Richard Marshall	Richard Marshall	Edmund Turner
1581	John Worsley	John Taylor	George Webster	Edmund Turner
1582	-	-	-	-
1583	John Corbet	Edward Birchall	Edward Houghton	William Green
1584	-	-	-	-
1585	Lawrence Webster	Ralph Fletcher	Evan Stock	Henry Gudicar
1586	John Webster	William Hornby	Edward Scarisbrick	Edmund Turner
1587	John Ditchfield	James Ditchfield	Edward Houghton	Richard Marshall
1588	Thomas Beasley	James Taylor	Ralph Fletcher	Richard Shaw
1589	Richard Marshall	Thomas Beasley	Henry Gudicar	Edward Houghton
1590	Thomas Woods	John Davy	Edmund Turner	John Plombe
1591	John Worsley	Thomas Beasley	Henry Hunt	Richard Marshall
1592	Edward Stockley	James Taylor	Robert Plumpton	Richard Marshall
1593	Thomas Ditchfield	Henry Gudicar	Richard Warburton	Edward Houghton
1594	Richard Warburton	Evan Pyke	Thomas Carter	Robert Plumpton
1595	Nicholas Marshall	James Ditchfield	Ralph Fletcher	Richard Marshall
1596	-	-	-	-
1597	Henry Blundell	Thomas Pyke	John Webster	James Ditchfield
1598	John Webster	John Davy	Richard Shaw	Edward Stockley
1599	Thomas Beasley	Evan Pyke	John Houghton	Thomas Halsall

Source: Prescot Records.

APPENDIX XL: STUDENTS FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE ATTENDING CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY, 1550-1603.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>	<u>Age at Admission</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Occupation of Father</u>
1552	Nicholas Ogle	Trinity			Whiston	gentleman
1560	Michael Halsall	King's	B.A. 1565	18	Prescot	
1562	Richard Tarbock	King's			Tarbock	esquire
1562	Robert Wolfall	King's		17	Huyton	gentleman
1562	Robert Orme	Trinity			Childwall parish	
1562	Richard Percival	Trinity			Childwall parish	
1565	Edward Heyes	King's	B.A. 1571	15	Liverpool	yeoman/gentleman
1570	Richard Bancroft	Christ's	B.A. M.A. B.D. D.D.		Farnworth	
1571	Robert More	Trinity	B.A. M.A. 1570 1579		Kirkdale	esquire
1571	William Crosse	Trinity			Liverpool	esquire
1572	Alexander Molyneux	Queen's	B.A. 1578		Croxteth	knight
1576	Anthony Eltonhead	Trinity			Sutton	gentleman
1586	Alexander More	Trinity			Kirkdale	esquire
1586	Thomas Lancaster	King's	B.A. M.A. B.D. 1591 1594 1601	18	Rainhill	esquire
1587	John Lancaster	King's	B.A. M.A. 1592 1595	17	Rainhill	esquire
1589	Richard Lancaster	King's	B.A. M.A. B.D. D.D. 1594 1597 1605 1616	17	Rainhill	esquire
1593	William More	Trinity	B.A. 1596		Kirkdale	esquire
1596	Richard More	Trinity			Kirkdale	esquire
1599	Thomas Eltonhead	Peterhouse	(died of plague at Cambridge 1603)		Sutton	gentleman
1602	John Eltonhead	Christ's	B.A. 1606		Sutton	gentleman
1603	John Bold	Trinity	B.A. 1603			

From: J. & J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge 1922.
 J. Peile, Biographical Register of Christ's College Cambridge, Cambridge 1910.
 J. Venn, Biographical Register of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge 1897.
 T. A. Walker, Biographical Register of Peterhouse Men, Cambridge 1930.
 W. W. R. Ball & J. A. Venn, Admissions to Trinity College Cambridge, London 1916.

APPENDIX XLI: STUDENTS FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE ATTENDING OXFORD UNIVERSITY, 1550-1603.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>	<u>Age at Admission</u>	<u>Township</u>	<u>Occupation of father</u>
1552	William Holbrooke	Brasenose	B.A. 1556			
1552	Thomas Taylor	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1559 1562		Widnes	
1553	John More	Brasenose	B.A. 1556			
1553	William More	Brasenose			Kirkdale	esquire
1553	Edward Ogle	Brasenose			Whiston	gentleman
1554	Cuthbert Stockley	Brasenose			Prescot	yeoman
1554	Anthony Molyneux	Corpus Christi	B.A. 1558			
1555	Hamlet Harrington	Brasenose				
1555	George Pendleton	Brasenose				
1556	Nicholas Gellibrand	Brasenose				
1556	Edward Kenyon	Brasenose				
1556	William Winstanley	Brasenose				
1556	Thomas Ashbrook	Brasenose			Widnes	
1556	James Charnock	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1559 1562			
1556	William Haworth	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1559 1563			
1557	George Atherton	Brasenose				
1557	Thomas Harrison	Brasenose			Windle	
1557	Robert Marsh	Brasenose			Sutton	
1557	James Whitacres	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1560 1564			
1559	Thomas Hitchmough	Brasenose				
1559	Ralph Whitehead	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1559 1563			
1559	Thomas Arrowsmith	Brasenose				
1559	Alexander Grenacres	Brasenose			Prescot	
1559	Thomas Harrison	Brasenose			Windle	
1560	William Sutton	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1567 1570			
1564	James Cowper	Brasenose				
1564	Robert More	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. Lincoln 1566 1570 College		Kirkdale	esquire
1564	William More	Brasenose	B.A. 1565			
1564	John Wyke	Brasenose			Widnes	husbandman
1565	Richard Winstanley	Brasenose				
1565	John Bold	Brasenose			Bold	
1565	William Gellibrand	Brasenose	B.A. 1569		Eccleston	
1565	Henry Latham	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1566 1588		Rainford	gentleman

1565	John Latham	Brasenose	B.A. 1560		Rainford	gentleman
1565	Edward Stanley	Brasenose	B.A. 1568			
1566	Alexander Aspinwall	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1574 1578			
1567	Christopher Appleton	Brasenose			Cronton	
1568	Edward Rushton	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. Douai 1572			
1569	Thomas Knowles	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1570 1573			
1569	Henry Latham	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1569 1571		Whiston	yeoman
1570	Lawrence Johnson	Brasenose	B.A. Douai 1572			
1572	Richard Holland	Brasenose	B.A. 1572			
1572	Ferdinando Stanley	St. John's	M.A. 1589	12	Knowsley	
1572	William Stanley	St. John's		11	Knowsley	
1573	James Green	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1573 1577			
1574	Richard Finch	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1575 1581		Eccleston	
1575	Edward Bridge	Brasenose	B.A. 1578		Sutton	
1577	Richard Molyneux	University		18	Croxteth	
1577	James Gardiner	Brasenose		20		
1577	William Whittle	Brasenose		19	Great Sankey	
1578	Gilbert Ireland	Brasenose		15	Halewood	
1578	John Molyneux	Brasenose		15		
1578	Robert Lowe	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1580 1582	18	Whiston	
1578	Miles Phaere	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1583 1585	20	Bold	
1578	Richard Taylor	Brasenose		18		
1578	Richard Welling	Brasenose		21	Widnes	
1579	Edward Norris	Trinity	B.A. 1582	14	Speke	esquire
1579	Edward Stanley	Brasenose		16	Knowsley	
1579	Thomas Bootle	Brasenose				
1579	(Thomas) Ireland	Brasenose		15	Halewood	gentleman
1579	John Wainwright	Brasenose				
1579	Henry Whitacres	Brasenose				
1579	Thomas Robinson	Brasenose	B.A. 1583	19	Whiston	
1581	Thomas Lowe	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1585 1591			
1581	Lancelot Plumpton	Brasenose		16	Cuerdley	husbandman
1582	Thomas Bold	Brasenose		14	Bold	esquire
1583	Thomas Hunt	Brasenose	B.A. 1586		Rainford	gentleman
1583	John Hunt	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1587 1589	22		

1583	Richard Taylor	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. B.D. 1587 1591 1600	14		
1584	Robert Kenwick	Brasenose		17		
1584	Robert Hitchmough	Brasenose	B.A. 1588	14	Bold	mercier
1584	Henry Whitacre	Brasenose				
1585	Ellis Sanderson	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1588 1592	18	Ditton	
1585	Henry Whittle	Brasenose	B.A. 1588	18	Great Sankey	gentleman
1585	Edward Aspinwall	Brasenose		15	Toxteth	yeoman
1585	Roger Smith	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1589 1592	16	Sutton	yeoman
1586	Richard Halsall	Brasenose		19		gentleman
1587	Richard Blundell	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. B.D. 1591 1596 1606	16	Bold	
1587	John Wirrall	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1590 1591	16	West Derby	
1587	Edward Standish	Brasenose	B.A. 1591	18	Eccleston	gentleman
1589	William Norris	Brasenose		11	Speke	esquire
1589	James Fairclough	Brasenose	B.A. 1593	17	Eccleston	
1589	John Harrison	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1592 1605	16	Bold	
1589	William Smith	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1593 1602	17	Sutton	
1592	Robert Bolton	Lincoln Brasenose 1596	M.A. B.D. 1602 1609		Prescot	
1593	Thomas Sefton	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1597 1600	17		
1593	Henry Mason	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. B.D. 1596 1603 1610	16	Sutton	
1594	Thomas Molyneux	Lincoln		15	West Derby	esquire
1594	Richard More	Lincoln	B.A. 1598	15	Kirkdale	esquire
1594	John Blundell	Brasenose		18	Bold	
1594	William Knowles	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1598 1602	17		
1595	George Houghton	Brasenose	B.A. 1599	18		
1598	Richard Robinson	Brasenose		18		
1598	Henry Hey	Brasenose		15	Eccleston	
1599	Ralph Ashton	Brasenose		17	Penketh	esquire
1599	Francis Hawarden	Brasenose	B.A. 1603	18	Widnes	gentleman
1600	Edmund Leigh	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1604 1611	15	Sutton	
1600	Henry Holland	Brasenose	B.A. 1604	16	Prescot	
1601	Alexander Aspinwall	Brasenose	B.A. 1605	18		
1601	Ralph Richardson	Brasenose	B.A. M.A. 1604 1608	17	Rainhill	
1603	Henry Ogle	Brasenose		16	Whiston	gentleman

APPENDIX XLII: HOLDERS OF THE OGLE AND NOWELL SCHOLARSHIPS AT
BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, WHO CAME FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE.

	Ogle Scholarship			Nowell Scholarship		
1552	Thomas Taylor	Widnes				
1553	Edward Ogle	Whiston	father gentleman			
1554						
1555						
1556	Thomas Ashbrook	Widnes				
1557	Thomas Harrison	Windle				
1558	Robert Marsh	Sutton				
1559	Thomas Harrison Alexander Grenacres	Windle Prescot				
1560						
1561						
1562						
1563						
1564	John Wyke	Widnes	father husbandman			
1565						
1566	John Bold	Bold				
1567	Christopher Appleton	Cronton				
1568						
1569						
1570						
1571						
1572						
1573						
1574	Richard Finch	Eccleston				
1575	Edward Bridge	Sutton				
1576						
1577	William Whittle	Great Sankey				
1578	Miles Phaere	Bold				
1579	Thomas Robinson	Whiston				
1580						
1581				Lancelot Plumpton	Cuerdley	father husbandman
1582						
1583	Thomas Hunt	Rainford				
1584						
1585				Roger Smith	Sutton	father yeoman
1586						
1587	Edward Standish	Eccleston	father gentleman			
1588						
1589	William Smith	Sutton		John Harrison Richard Blundell	Bold Bold	

1590			James Fairclough	Eccleston	
1591	John Harrison	Bold			
1592			William Smith	Sutton	
1593	Henry Mason Thomas Sefton	Sutton Great Sankey			
1594					
1595	John Blundell	Bold	Henry Mason	Sutton	
1596			John Blundell	Bold	
1597			Robert Bolton	Prescot	
1598			Henry Hey	Eccleston	
1600			Francis Hewarden	Widnes	father gentleman
1601	Ralph Richardson	Rainhill	Henry Holland Edmund Leigh	Prescot Sutton	
1602					
1603			Ralph Richardson	Rainhill	

From Brasenose College Register, Oxford Historical Society, Vol. LV, 1910.

APPENDIX XLIII: STUDENTS FROM SOUTH-WEST LANCASHIRE ADMITTED TO THE INNS OF COURT, 1550-1600.

Date	Name	Inn	Township	Age at Admission	Occupation of father
1551	Hugh Travers	Gray's Inn	Whiston		gentleman
1551	Edward Sutton	Gray's Inn	Knowsley		gentleman
1552	Thomas Stanley	Gray's Inn	Knowsley		earl(2nd son of Earl of Derby)
1552	George Ireland	Gray's Inn	Halewood		esquire(elder son Thomas Ireland)
1555	William Molyneux	Gray's Inn	Croxteth		knight(elder son Sir Richard Molyneux)
1556	Henry Eccleston	Inner Temple	Eccleston	15	esquire(elder son Thomas Eccleston)
1556	Richard Molyneux	Middle Temple	Croxteth		knight(2nd son Sir Richard Molyneux)
1557	Richard More	Gray's Inn	Kirkdale		esquire(son John More)
1561	Henry Stanley	Gray's Inn	Knowsley	30	earl(elder son of Earl of Derby)
1564	John Lancaster	Gray's Inn	Rainhill		gentleman
1569	Thomas Lancaster	Gray's Inn	Rainhill	27	esquire(son of Richard Lancaster)
1571	Robert More	Gray's Inn	Kirkdale		esquire(son John More)
1573	Thomas Layton	Gray's Inn	Prescot		gentleman
1574	Thomas Molyneux	Gray's Inn	Croxteth		gentleman(son Richard Molyneux)
1574	Edward Molyneux	Gray's Inn	Croxteth		gentleman " " "
1575	William Cooke	Gray's Inn	Little Woolton		gentleman
1576	John Ireland	Gray's Inn	Halewood	18	esquire(elder son George Ireland)
1578	Thomas Molyneux	Gray's Inn	Speke		gentleman
1578	William Norris	Gray's Inn	Speke		esquire(elder son Edward Norris)
1580	John Molyneux	Gray's Inn	Croxteth		knight(2nd son Sir William Molyneux)
1580	Francis More	Middle Temple	Kirkdale		esquire(son William More)
1583	Edward Norris	Gray's Inn	Speke	18	esquire(2nd son Edward Norris)
1584	John Sankey	Gray's Inn	Great Sankey		gentleman
1585	Richard Bold	Gray's Inn	Bold		knight(son Sir Richard Bold)
1588	Philip Layton	Inner Temple	Prescot	22	gentleman
1589	Thomas Molyneux	Gray's Inn	Croxteth		knight(3rd son Sir William Molyneux)
1589	Edward Stanley	Gray's Inn	Knowsley		earl(son of Earl of Derby)
1589	Robert Crosse	Gray's Inn	Liverpool		esquire(3rd son John Crosse)
1594	William Stanley	Lincoln's Inn	Knowsley		earl(son of Earl of Derby)
1594	Richard Bold	Gray's Inn	Bold	19	gentleman
1595	Richard More	Gray's Inn	Kirkdale	16	esquire(son William More)
1595	Thomas Molyneux	Gray's Inn	West Derby	16	esquire(son John Molyneux)

From: W. H. Cooke, Students admitted to the Inner Temple, London 1877.
 J. Foster, Registers of Admissions to Gray's Inn, London, 1889.
 J. Foster, Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn, London, 1896.
 H. A. C. Sturgess, Middle Temple Admissions, London 1949.

160 140 120 100 80 60 40 20

20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160

Thomas Gill	WD
David Rushton	WD
Reginald Melling	Liv
Ann Hughson	Liv
John Smith	Liv
John Gore	Liv
James Melling	Liv
Robert Leigh	Pres
William Green	Pres
Humphrey Ascroft	Pres
Evan Pyke	Pres
Ellis Bourgh	Ecc
Henry Hey	Ecc
Oliver Hey	Ecc
Margaret Rigby	Ecc
Oliver Cowley	Ecc
Thomas Kenyon	Ecc
Henry Webster	Ecc
John Hey	Ecc
Margaret Dronning	Ecc
Cowther Swift	Ecc
Robert Bannester	Ecc
Robert Lathom	R'ford
Hugh Breck	R'ford
James Lyon	R'ford
Henry Mercer	R'ford
Thomas Winstanley	Wind
Margaret Denton	Wind
William Parr	Wind
John Gerard	Wind
Elizabeth Markland	Wind
William Birchall	Parr
Edward Potter	Parr
Mathew Ellan	Parr
John Knowles	Parr
Richard Boardman	Parr
Roger Farr	Parr
Robert Lea	Sut
Robert Tyrer	Sut
Margaret Ditchfield	Sut
Henry Rothwell	Sut
Henry Boardman	Sut
Thomas Crawford	Sut

160 140 120 100 80 60 40 20

20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160

	Henry Myleson	Sut	
	Edward Dean	R'hill	
	Ellen Ackers	R'hill	
	Humphrey Wainwright	R'hill	
	William Litherland	Whist	
	Henry Ditchfield	Whist	
	William Birchall	Bold	
	John Denton	Bold	
	Ralph Sanderson	Bold	
	Thomas Blundell	Bold	
	William Smith	Bold	
	Henry Ascroft	Bold	
	Nicholas Smith	Bold	→
	Hugh Appleton	Bold	
	Thomas Barrow	Bold	
	John Edwardson	Bold	
	William Ditchfield	Dit	
	John Ditchfield	Dit	
	Maud Gudicar	Dit	
	Henry Coney(1593)	Dit	
	William Robertson	Dit	
	Robert Kenyon	Dit	
	Henry Coney(1598)	Dit	
	William Burgess	Cron	
	Miles Slack	Farn	
	Robert Rathbone	Farn	
	John Holme	Wid	
	Hamlet Plumpton	Cuerd	
	Richard Walker	Cuerd	
	Richard Bold	Cuerd	→
	Richard Appleton	Cuerd	
	Margaret Ashbrook	Cuerd	
	William Lea	Penk	

Huy = Huyton
 Tar = Tarbock
 Know = Knowsley
 Child = Childwall
 LW = Little Woolton
 MW = Much Woolton
 All = Allerton
 Wav = Wavertree

HW = Halewood
HB = Halebank
Wal = Walton
Kirk = Kirkdale
Faz = Fazakerley
Tox = Toxteth
WD = West Derby
Liv = Liverpool
Pres = Prescot
Ecc = Eccleston
R'ford = Rainford
Wind = Windle
Sut = Sutton
R'hill = Rainhill
Whist = Whiston
Dit = Ditton
Cron = Cronton
Farn = Farnworth
Wid = Widnes
Cuerd = Cuerdley
Penk = Penketh

(Individuals have been included only where both debt and credit items were recorded in their probate records.
See Appendix IV for details of these probate records.)

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- DL 4 Depositions.
- DL 7 Inquisitions Post Mortem.
- DL 14 Colleges and Chantries.
- DL 30 Court Rolls.
- DL 42 Miscellaneous Books.
- DL 44 Special Commissions.

Exchequer.

- E 122 Queen's Remembrancer: Customs Accounts.
- E 134 Queen's Remembrancer: Special Commissions.
- E 178 Queen's Remembrancer: Special Commissions.
- E 179 Queen's Remembrancer: Subsidy Rolls.
- E 190 Queen's Remembrancer: Port Books.

High Court of Admiralty.

- HCA 1 Oyer and Terminer Records.
- HCA 3 Acts of Instance and Prize Courts.

Records of the Court of Requests.

- REQ 2 Proceedings.

Records of the Court of Star Chamber.

STAC 5 Proceedings.

Records of the Court of Wards.

WARDS 5 Feodaries Surveys.

Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

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SP 12 Elizabeth I, Domestic.

SP 15 Addenda.

SP 63 Elizabeth I, Ireland.

Maps.

MPC 67.

MPC MR 11 No. 73.

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Ms. Carte.

Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York (B.I.Y.).

R.VI.A. Visitation Act Books.

Cheshire County Record Office, Chester (C.R.O.).

DBN Brooke of Norton Collection.

EDA 1 Institution Act Books and Ordination Registers.

EDA 2 Bishops' Registers.

EDA 12 Proceedings of the Royal Commissioners.

EDC 2 Consistory Deposition Papers.

EDV 1 Visitation Correction Books.

EDV 2 Visitation Call Books.

Chester City Record Office.

M/MP Mayors' Military Papers.
 M/L Mayors' Great Letter Books.
 CHB/2 Pentice Cartulary.
 M/Ap/B Mayors' Records, Apprentice Books.

Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.

CP Cecil Papers.
 Petitions.

Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

EL Ellesmere Manuscripts.

King's College Library, Cambridge University.

Prescot Records.

Lancashire County Record Office, Preston (L.R.O.).

DDB1 Blundell of Little Crosby Papers.
 DDC1 Clifton of Lytham Papers.
 DDCr Stanley of Crosse Hall Papers.
 DDCs H. Cross & Co., Prescott, Solicitors Accumulations.
 DDF Farrington of Worden Papers.
 DDGe Gerard of Ashton in Makerfield Papers.
 DDHe Hesketh of Rufford Papers.
 DDHo De Hoghton of Hoghton Papers.
 DDHu Hulton of Hulton Deeds.
 DDib Ireland Blackburne Papers.
 DDK Derby Muniments.
 DDLi Lilford of Bank Hall Papers.
 DDM Molyneux of Sefton Papers.
 DDSc Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick Papers.

DDSh	Crosse of Shaw Hall Deeds.
DDWi	Willis of Halsnead Papers.
DDWw	Witham Weld & Co. Papers.
DDX	Miscellaneous Depositions.
DP	Documents Purchased.
QDD	Deeds Enrolled of Bargain and Sale.
QSB	Recognisance Books.
QSC	Commissions of the Peace.
QSR	Sessions Rolls.
WCW	Probate Records.

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920 LAN	Lancashire Deeds.
920 LIV	Liverpool Deeds.
920 MOO	Moore Deeds and Papers.
920 NOR	Norris Deeds.
920 NOR 2	Norris Papers.
920 SAL	Salisbury Papers.

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