ALTHOUGH Charles II. was not king de facto until 29th May, 1660, his regnal years were computed from the fatal 30th January which witnessed the martyrdom of his royal father. This was done on the authority of an opinion of the judges, who, perhaps, in coming to this decision had in their mind the old English saying, "The king is dead, long live the king." Availing myself of this judicial edict, the years which will be the boundaries of my subject will be 1649 and 1685.

In the great Civil War which was rapidly drawing to a close (in 1649), Lancashire had taken a prominent part. Blackburn, Liverpool, and Manchester taking up the side of the Parliament, whilst Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington stood true to the King.

Those families—and they were some of the best blood of the county—who as recusants had been deprived of arms, had petitioned the king to be allowed to arm in their own and the royal defence, and had, on their request being granted, joined the ranks of the Cavaliers; on the other hand the Puritans of Bolton (the Geneva of Lancashire) and elsewhere espoused the cause of the Roundheads. The sieges of Manchester, Lancaster, Warrington, and Preston, the attack on Bolton, the taking of Houghton Tower, the destruction of Lathom, and other more or less sanguinary engagements were now matter of history. But the troubles of Lancashire were not yet over. Lord Derby had retired to the Isle of Man; but in August, 1651, bringing with him 700 Manx soldiers, he came to Lancashire, landing on Pressall Sands on the River Wyre, and marching at once to Weeton in
Kirkham. Next day he went to Lathom, and through Upholland to Preston, and this (says Raines in his *Memoir of the Seventh Earl of Derby*) "was the last time he saw his desolate house. "He parted with the old familiar scenes he loved so well when "they were in their greatest beauty, on the evening of a summer's "day. The bright tints of the dark elms, for which Lathom "had been famed, contrasted well with the light green of the "meadows; and there was the ripened grain, lacking hands to "gather in the harvest."

In the meantime the young king, having been acknowledged in Scotland, arrived in Lancashire with an army of 16,000 men. On 12th August he was at Ellel Moor, and lodged at Ashton Hall. At Lancaster he was proclaimed at the cross, and the prisoners at the castle were set free. On the 13th he stayed at Mierscough Hall, near Garstang, being the guest of Sir Thomas Tyldesley; marching from thence to Preston, where he rode through the principal streets, and passed on to Hugh Anderton's house at Euxton; the next day he stayed at Bryn Hall, the seat of Sir William Gerard. On the 16th he was met at Warrington Bridge by a portion of the parliamentary forces under Lambert, and a sharp fight ensued, the victory falling to the royalists, who continued their march toward Worcester. On the 17th August, the Earl of Derby met the king at Northwich, in Cheshire, and receiving instructions to raise troops in Lancashire, immediately proceeded to carry out his orders. Volunteers came in fast, as none were refused, and in a very few days 2000 men were equipped ready for the field, and sent to join the main body, whilst the Earl remained at Preston with about 600 soldiers. Here he was very near being surprised by Colonel Tilburne, who had a troop of horse and some foot at Brindle, between whom and some of his men a sharp skirmish took place—a Butler of Rawcliffe, a Hesketh of Mains, and others being killed. Shortly after this, Derby, in the dead of the night secretly marched his men towards Wigan, that town being loyal to His Majesty. At Wigan Lane they were met by Colonel Tilburne, who had lined the hedges with his foot, who suddenly
Time of Charles II.

opened fire upon the advancing party. Surprised, but not dismayed, the gallant Earl halted his column, formed it into two parties, giving the command of the rear to Major-General Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and himself leading the van. The battle that followed was determined and sanguinary, and resulted in a hard-earned victory to the parliamentary forces. Twice the royalists fought their way through the ranks of the enemy, but attempting it the third time they were defeated with great loss, Sir Thomas Tyldesley and Lord Witherington being amongst the slain. Seacome gives the strength of the Earl's force as 600 men all told, but Tilburne claimed to have routed 1500, and taken prisoners 400. The opposing force has been stated as 3000. The Earl himself had two horses killed under him; and from the saddle of the third he leapt to rush into an open door of a house, which was shut before his pursuers could come up, and from whence he was conveyed to a place of hiding, where he lay for many hours. He had received seven shots on his breastplate and thirteen cuts upon his beaver. After having his wounds dressed he set out the same night towards Worcester. Of so great importance was the battle considered in London, that Parliament ordered "that on the next Lord's day thanks be given to Almighty God by the ministers and all churches and congregations . . . for the great mercies of God to this nation in the great and seasonable defeate of the Earl of "Derbyes forces in the countie of Lancaster."

After the battle of Worcester, the Earl of Derby, having first seen the king in safety, set off for the North, was met by Colonel Edge, who took him and his companions prisoners. Of his trial and martyrdom in the streets of Bolton, it will not be necessary to further allude to, as the details are no doubt more or less familiar to all. The execution took place on 15th October, 1651.

The Civil War, so far as Lancashire was concerned, was now practically at an end. The year following saw Manchester dismantled, its walls thrown down, and its gates carried away. *

But the passing of these troops through the county, the various

* Hollingworth, 124.
Lancashire in the sieges, battles, and skirmishes, must have left a heavy mark behind. Those who had sided with the victorious party might get some recompense—though small and long-a-coming doubtless it would be; but the friends of the conquered were in a dire plight. For example, Richard Mather of Houghton sent up a certificate to London, to the effect that the forces of Colonel Tilburne had been quartered upon him, "to his very great "damage, wherby he had been very much impoverished." An order was made for his relief.*

After the death of Cromwell, a league was formed, having for its object the restoration of Charles II., in which Lancashire took some part. The son of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, being put in command of the county, was supported by the Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Middleton, and others. The forces raised were, however, defeated at Northwich, on 19th August, 1659, after which the fugitives were dispersed—one part in Manchester, and the rest in Liverpool, after a fight in the streets of that town.

The religious aspect of Lancashire in the time of Charles II. is much too extensive a subject to be fully described here; our time will only admit of the briefest outline.

The nine classes into which the county was divided by ordinance of Parliament in 1646 continued to act until the Restoration. The Church Surveys of Lancashire, 1649-50 (recently published by the Record Society), furnish us with many interesting facts. These surveys were made in consequence of an Act passed 8th June, 1649, entitled "An Act for the providing "maintenance of preaching ministers and other pious uses."

This survey was made by a commission, which sat sixteen times, holding three inquisitions at Manchester, six at Wigan, three at Lancaster, three at Preston, and one at Blackburn. From their report we find that Lancashire had then 64 parish churches and 118 chapels, of which 38 were without minister, for want of maintenance. Taking Burnley as a sample of this survey, it was reported that it was a parochial chapel, in Whalley

* Col. State Paper Dom. xxiii., 112.
Parish, and in its three townships then 300 families, their minister being Mr. Henry Morris, an able and orthodox divine, who had for his salary £11:10:0 per annum from the farm of the rectory, and out of the Duchy lands £4:8:2 per annum, and by order of the Committee of the County £24:1:11; being a total of £40, upon which it is hoped he felt himself "passing rich." The inhabitants of Burnley desired to be made a parish. Holmes Chapel had no maintenance, and consequently no minister. Padiham contained 1106 persons, their minister John Brears, M.A., having £39:19:2 a-year. The composite character of the men who held the various livings is apparent from the description here given. Many of them are said to be "painful preachers," "able and orthodox," "good preaching minister, and conformable to the present government," "of good conversation," "of civil carriage," and the like; whilst others are "scandalous in life, and negligent in their callings," "at present suspended," or, although good and able men, they had neglected to observe Thursday, the 13th June, 1650, as a day of humiliation; in other words, they refused to pray for the Commonwealth. Amongst these latter was Charles Herle, of Winwick.

The manner in which some of the ministers had been appointed is worthy of notice. Some were men who, being imbued with the spirit of the Vicar of Bray, had turned with the tide, gone with the stream, changed with the Government; in short, had held to their cures with a tenacity which was a credit to their perseverance, if it said little for their faith. Some (and amongst these were some of the leaders of the puritan party) who had begun life as episcopalian, but became honest converts to the presbyterian polity, had, of course, held their own, or obtained promotion. Others relinquished their livings, or were sequestered. Some of the vacancies thus created (and from other causes) were filled up under the authority of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; but this was by no means the only channel. The minister at Windle "came in by the free choyce and election of the inhabitants." At Standish the same course was
Lancashire in the

taken. At Liverpool the Mayor and Common Council elected. At Euxton an order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers appointed. At Garstang the vicar was said to have been (during the time of Charles I.) put in by some soldiers, and remained there ever since.*

Upon the restoration of the Stuarts, presbyterian government became unpopular here, as in the rest of England, and in 1662 the passing of the Act of Uniformity once more put the clergy to the test; sixty-seven Lancashire ministers refused to conform, and were therefore ejected. The Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act, together with the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the county, pressed very hard upon Dissenters, and the amount of persecution and suffering which followed was extreme. Perhaps no religious body at this time received greater abuse than the "Quakers." Lancaster Castle was full of them, fifty at a time being within its walls. Justices of the peace appear to have had their hands full—one of them, Edward Rigby of Preston, declaring that he will "root the quakers out of the "Hundred, and that the laws against them were too short, and "he would be of the first that should move a law to have them "tied to and dragged at either a horse's or a cart's tail." George Fox and James Naylor were accused by "several justices "of peace, ministers of the Gospel, and people of Lancashire "of having "broached opinions tending to the destruction of the "relation of subjects to their magistrates, wives to their husbands, "children to their parents, servants to their masters, congregations "to their ministers, and of a people to their God." The head

and front of their offending was that they refused to take the oath of allegiance, would not go to church nor pay tithes, nor in any way contribute to the maintenance of what they called "steeple "houses." The following extract from a warrant, signed by Nicholas Formby and Thomas Braddyl, justices of the peace, may serve as a specimen. It bears date 15th November, 1681.

"Whereas it appeareth unto us that upon the 16th October last,

† Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of Quakers, p. 321.
‡ Ibid., p. 301.
"being Sunday, there was a numerous meeting or conventicle " under colour or pretence of religious worship in other manner " than according to the Liturgy, at the house of George Hargreaves " in Pendle, Clothier and by and with his consent at which said " meeting or conventicle were many more than five persons, when " and where George Hargreaves did wittingly and wilfully suffer " Isaac Ashton of Clitheroe to pray, preach and teach but did not " read the Book of Common Prayer. These are therefore to " command you to demand of the said George Hargreaves the " sum of £20 which if he refuse to pay you are forthwith to levy " the same upon his goods and chattels."

The pamphlet literature of this period contains several highly interesting examples of the doings and sufferings of the founders of the Society of Friends in Lancashire. General Worsley (a Lancashire man) who, under Cromwell, was appointed to act as vicegerent in the administration of public affairs, in December, 1655, asked permission to occupy Liverpool Castle with a company of soldiers, as he found that Lancashire contained a good many papist delinquents who were beginning to fill the prisons; and he adds—"We are much trobled with them that are called quakers: "they troble the markets, and get into private houses up and "downe in every towne." Another difficulty he had to contend with was the alehouses. On the one hand he did not wish to "weaken the revenew," and yet, he says, "it is too visible that "they are the very bane of the countys." In the Hundred of Blackburn he ordered "200 alehouses to be thrown down." General Worsley died in 1656, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A tale is told to the effect that Roger Kenion, M.P. for Clitheroe, who was a zealous royalist, wrote on his tombstone the words—"where never worse lay."

In 1650, "Drunken Barnaby" made his "four journeys to the "North of England." Of Lancashire he simply notes—

First place where I first was known a,
Was brave John a' Gant's old town a [rch]

* State Papers, iv., p. 450.
A seat anciently renowned
But with a store of beggars crowned
For a gaoler ripe and mellow
The world has not such a fellow.
Then to Ashton [near Lancaster] good as may be
Was the wine, brave knight, bright lady;
All I saw was comely specious,
Seemly gracious, neatly precious.
My Muse with Bacchus so long traded
When I walk'd my legs deny'd it.
Whence to Garstang, pray you heark it
Ent'ring there a great beast market,
As I jogged on the street
Twas my fortune for to meet
A young heifer, who before her
Took me up and threw me o'er her.
Thence to Preston I was led a,
To brave Banister! to bed a.

Seven days were there assigned
Oft I supped but never dined.

Thence to Warrington, banks o'erflowed,
Travellers to the town were rowed!
Where supposing it much better
To be drowned on land than water
Sweetly neatly I sojourned
Till the flood thence returned.

A writer in 1682, says that the temperature of the air of Lancashire "is thin and piercing, and not troubled with gross mists or fogs. The people are comely, strong, healthful, long lived, "and not subject to novel diseases." Evidently neuralgia, dyspepsy, diphtheria, and other novel ailments, were unknown to our ancestors, and consequently they needed no careful town councils to inflict them with medical officers and trapped drains. The Lancashire folks were also "of honest carriage and good "housekeepers." The soil is described as "not very fruitful, yet "breeds a great number of cattle, having goodly heads and large "spread horns. The chief commodities being cole, cattel, fowl, "fish, and flax."

The county at this time had twelve borough members and two

* England's Remarques, 1682.
knights of the shire. The boroughs returning members were Lancaster, Preston, Newton, Wigan, Clitheroe, and Liverpool. [And in 1651 Manchester returned one member.] There were then twenty-six market towns.

Liverpool, in the 16th century, had been correctly described as a "decayed town," and it was not until towards the close of the reign of Charles II. that it commenced that rapid improvement in trade and commerce which was destined to make it the first town in England. Blome, writing in 1673, gives to Liverpool a bold and safe harbour, in which ships at low water could "ride at 4 fathoms, and at high water "10 fathoms." He adds that lamprey and smelts were so plentiful that they were sold at twenty for a penny. The town itself was so much enlarged that its church, or chapel as it was then called, was not large enough; and amongst the inhabitants were many eminent merchants and tradesmen, whose commerce with the West Indies even then made it famous. The Town Hall, then recently erected, was described as "placed on pillars "and arches of hewn stone," having underneath an exchange for merchants.

We have, however, a plan of Liverpool in 1650, which enables us to form a good idea of the dimensions of the town in that year. At the bottom of Water Street were the Tower and the Custom House, which stood alone, only the upper end of the street being built on. Dale Street had buildings on each side for a considerable distance. At the point where Dale Street, Castle Street, and Water Street met was the "High Cross." Chapel Street and Tithebarn Street were also lined with houses. The only other streets properly formed were Oldhall Street, Jaggler's Street (which ran between Castle Street and Tithebarn Street), and Castle Street; at the south end of the latter stood the castle.

In 1654 the streets of Liverpool were first lighted, the order on the town books being—"that two lanthorns, with two candles "burning every night in the dark moon, be set out at the High

* "The Moore Rental," Chetham Society, xii.
"Cross and at the White Cross, and places prepared to set them in, every night till eight of the clock."

The following opinion of the character of the Liverpool people of that day is amusing, if not flattering. It is given by Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Moore, of Bank Hall, in 1667:

"I know (he writes) by experience, that they are the most perfidious knaves to their landlords in all England; therefore I charge you, in the name of God, never to trust them, for their is no such thing as truth or honesty in such mercenary fellows, but what tends to their own ends, for such a nest of rogues were never educated in one town of that bigness."

In fairness to the gentlemen of Liverpool, I must add, that Moore was at the time very unpopular there, and much of the feeling expressed above was mutual. Of the Mayor of Liverpool (1665) he says, "he is one of the lurkinest knaves in all the town, he is worse than any pen can express;" and he adds, rather significantly, "he is one of the leading men underhand against me, in all votes either for Parliament or Mayor."

This Edward Moore owned a very large portion of the land upon which Liverpool now stands, and appears to have been one of that kind of landlords which the quaker George Fox had in his eye, when, on being asked at the Lancaster assizes if he did not honour his landlord, he replied, "yes, I honour him when I pay him his rent." Whilst he looked to the "main chance," he wished withal to preserve an odour of sanctity. Of this his Rental, compiled for the information of his son, affords many examples, as well as furnishing many details concerning old Liverpool not to be found elsewhere. A few examples only will our space allow. The Rental is arranged in streets, under each tenant's name.

"CHAPEL STREET.

"Mrs. Owen, an old house. . . . Reserve 20/s rent with three hens." (Boon or rent hens were then a common payment.)

* Picton's Memorials of Liverpool. † Chetham Society, xii.
; Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of Quakers, p. 303. ‡ Chetham Society, xii.
"Remember Thomas Assbrocke hath an old thatched house, and that there is another . . wherein Crompton now lives. If you could buy these you might make a street out of Water Street into Chapel Street . . . and one half of one side must be all your own"—and he piously adds, "God bless it. Amen."

"CASTLE STREET.

"Henry Corless is a knave of knaves; one that in all elections both for parliament man and mayor was against me." The site of his house in Castle Street "is the only place in all Liverpool to build a good house on, it standing just in the heart of the market. He pays three hens at Christmas, three days shearing and old rent £1 : 6 : 8."

"Baly Johnson, 'one of the hardest men in town.' Has a house in Castle Street, to which there belongs a great close of land lying in the Dale Street, which runs down to the pool. If ever the pool shall be cut so as shipping shall come up on the back of the town, then this will be a most especial place to make a street."

"Widow Bridge, 'a poor old woman.' Her sister being arraigned for a witch confessed she was one. When she dies put her daughter out, for she is one of the most wicked, drunken, swearing and cursing women of England. This (a house in Castle Street) is a brave place to build a gallant house. You may have £1 a year rent, 3 rent hens, and three days shearing."

"DALE STREET.

"Nicholas Banks, a very knave; a great hunter of coneys in my warren. Remember if the pool should be made navigable "if this may not be built."

"William Gardiner, a very honest man; but his wife is an odd kind of woman; will never pay rent or hens, but hath several times cozened me. Therefore make her pay the rent at the day, otherwise she will swear she hath paid you."

"Sugar House Close.—I call it so because one Mr. Smith, a great sugar baker at London, as report says worth £40,000,
Lancashire in the

came from London on purpose to treat with me. He is to
build all the front, 27 yards, a stately good house of hewn stone
4 storeys high, and at the back a house for boiling sugar. If
this is done it will bring a trade of at least £40,000 a year
from Barbadoes.”

Moore had a horse mill and a wind mill, and is careful to
impress upon his son that no more mills can be built in Liverpool,
as his mills are the king’s mills, to whom he pays rent.

In 1671-2, an order was sent to the Justices of Peace for a list
of names and ages of all the seamen in the kingdom. In the
return sent in, Liverpool appeared as furnishing 49. The whole
Hundred of West Derby had 65 ships, of six tons burthen and
upwards.*

Manchester, in 1650, was a large and populous town, and was
celebrated for its linen and woollen cloths and also for its fustians.
It had about a dozen streets, the three principal ones—being
Long Millgate, Market Stead Lane (now Market Street), and
Deansgate—extended like three arms (with the church as a
centre) far into the green fields.† Kuerden describes the town as “fayre and spacious, adorned with many streets and a spacious
market place, and more city like than any other town or borow
in the county.” The close of the century witnessed a great
and rapid improvement in the trade of Manchester and of Lan-
cashire generally, and it was then that the old houses of wood
and plaster began to be replaced by houses of brick and stone.
At this time, the goods made in Manchester could only be con-
voyed on pack horses, a gang of which were used by chapmen,
who sold the manufactured articles to the shopmen. In 1662,
the exports of the whole country amounted to something over
£2,000,000, which, in 1669, rose to nearly £7,000,000.‡

Dr. Aiken§ states (but gives no authority) that eminent mer-
chants, at the end of the 17th century, used to be in their
warehouses before six in the morning, accompanied by their

* Gregson’s Portfolio, p. 159. † Map, 1650.
‡ Davenant’s Report to the Commissioners of Accounts.
§ Forty Miles Round Manchester.
apprentices and children. At seven, they all met at breakfast, which consisted of one large dish of water pottage. At the side was a bason of milk, and the master and apprentices, each with a wooden spoon in his hand, dipped into the same dish, and thence into the milk pan; and as soon as it was finished they returned to their work. Thomas Cogan, who was for some years High Master of the Manchester Grammar School, in his Haven of Health, (published in 1612) writes, that "oates first dried and "after lightly shaled being boiled in water with salt, make a kind "of meate which they call water-pottage, and in ale, ale-pottage, "meates very wholesome and temperate and light of digestion; "and if any man be desirous to have a taste of them, let him use "the advice of some Lankashire woman."

One of the Manchester merchants of this age was Humphrey Chetham, who, by his will, founded the Chetham Hospital, and established the first free library in England.

In 1654, Oliver Cromwell rewarded Manchester for its fidelity to the Commonwealth by empowering its burgesses (those of them who had an estate worth £200 a year) to return a member of Parliament. Major-General Charles Worsley, of Platt, was elected. This parliament being dissolved in 1655, Richard Ratcliffe, of Manchester, succeeded to the representation. At the Restoration, Manchester was disfranchised, and did not again possess the elective power until the passing of the Reform Bill.

The manner in which the coronation of Charles II. was observed in Manchester was recorded by William Heawood, who graphically describes how the trainbands, under John Byrom, and the auxiliary band of Nicholas Mosley, together consisting of 360 men, assembled in the Field, on 22nd April, 1661, "in "great gallantrie and rich scarffes, expressing themselves with "manie great acclamations of joy;" from thence they marched to the parish church, preceded by 40 boys of about the age of seven, "all cloathed in white stuffe, plumes of feathers in their "hatts, blew scarffes, armed with little swords hanging in black "belts, and short pikes shouldered."

The church was filled with a large "concourse of people, who
Lancashire in the
"civilly and soberly demeaned themselves all the whole day, the
"like never seen in this nor the like place."

Richard Heyrick, warden of the College, preached the sermon
(which was afterwards printed), after which a civic procession was
formed of the borough reeves, constables, &c., which paraded the
streets, "with the town music playing before them upon loud
"instruments," until they came to the conduit (which then stood
near the entrance to St. Ann's Square), here there was a long
halt, as the "gentlemen and officers drunk his Majesties health
"in claret, running forth at three streams of the conduit." This
stream of claret was afterwards "freely drunk by all that could,
"and it continued to run until after sunset." Bonfires were
lighted in all the streets, and "some fireworks running upon
"cords the length of one hundred yards and so backwards, with
"crackers in the ayre," but rain coming on "the spectators
"were much disappointed." The burgesses of "time-honoured
"Lancaster," took a more practical method of showing their
loyalty, and one which, if less demonstrative, was probably more
acceptable; they presented to the king "their small mite, as a
"token of their joy at his restoration, by surrender of their fee
"farm rents of £13 : 6 : 8, which they purchased of the late
"powers."

Lancaster was a quiet, sleepy town, its inhabitants being
neither numerous nor wealthy.

Preston was minutely described by Kuerden about the year
1682, and from this we find that it was "adorned with a large
"square or market place;" its streets were "so spacious from
"one end thereof unto the other, that few of the corporations of
"England" exceeded it. In the centre of the town was "an
"ample, antient, and yet well-beautifyed gylde hall," under which
were "ranged two rows of butcher's shops." On Saturdays, "as
"soon as light appeared," was held a market for linen cloth,
yarn, fish, butter, and cheese; there were separate markets for
pigs, sheep, cattle, corn, and other grain. The streets were
"here and there interwoven with stately fabrics of brickbuilding,
"after the modish manner extraordinarily addorning the streets."
Time of Charles II.

The building formerly occupied by the Grey Friars was then used for the shelter and "reforming of vagabonds, sturdy beggars, and other people wanting good behaviour." Preston had its workhouse, public alms-houses, and school.

In the reign of Charles the Second two guilds were celebrated, which Kuerden describes at considerable length, the processions, the feasting, and the ceremony at the grand ball, where as many as 200 ladies assembled and danced "corantes, galliards, sarabands, with their castinetts, French and country dances, with great delight to the spectators, and glorious reputation to the deserved actors coming hither from all parts of the county."

The population of Preston was now about 6,000, at which figure it remained for something like a century; not a single building, it is said, being erected on a new site during the whole of that time. In 1684, Preston had the honour (if it was one) of entertaining the notorious Judge Jeffreys.

In 1661, the Corporation set up a claim to nominate and elect the members of parliament for the borough, but on the question being referred to the Committee of Privileges, the power of election was declared to be vested in the inhabitants, and Dr. Fife, of Wedacre Hall, in Garstang, the nominee of the Corporation, was unseated.

What may be called the birth of the staple trade of Lancashire, was not long in producing its effect on the smaller towns. Rochdale had several fulling mills, or as they were then called walk mills, (hence the name Walker,) and it has a considerable market for cloth and stockings. Bolton had become famous for its fustians. Wigan was known as a coal and cannel producer, whilst some of its inhabitants were weavers of rugs, coverlets and ticking, and others were braziers, pewterers, and dyers. Warrington, described by Blome as "a fine and large town," had a market resorted to by Welshmen, and famous for its lampreys. Colne, Burnley, Garstang, and a few others, held weekly markets, but chiefly for cattle and provisions. Blackburn (the same writer says) had a weekly meeting, by "some called a market;" and Bury he calls a town of "no great account."
The means of communication in Lancashire still continued in a very unsatisfactory state, many places being only accessible on foot or on horseback. Henry Newcome enters in his Diary, as if it were an almost every day occurrence, that, 22nd July, 1658, the Vicar of Preston's wife's mother was in the coach (going from Preston to Newcastle) when it was overturned in a very dirty place; she was so hurt that she died in two days. The carriage of letters was likewise in a very incomplete and unsatisfactory state, and it might with truth be said in those days that "one half the world did not know what the other did." In 1653 a proposal was made to the Government by three merchants (two Londoners and one Cornishman) to undertake the management of the inland and foreign letter office, and in addition to the existing stages, they proposed to establish one between Lancaster and Carlisle. The postage of a single letter, over 80 miles from London, to be 3d.* Probably the negotiation fell through; as there were circumlocution offices in those days, no doubt.

During the early part of the reign of Charles II. the small coinage of the country became very scarce, and tokens, as they were called, were struck off, not only by corporations, but by private tradesmen. The cabinets of collectors contain a large number of tokens so coined and issued; scarcely a town or village which did not contribute one or more specimens. In 1672 the issuing of tokens was suppressed by Act of Parliament. This want of small change had, however, another effect—it induced men to become false coiners; and I regret to add that, in 1652, Lancashire was infested with the followers of this art. Sir Robert Stone, in a letter preserved amongst the State Papers,† contributes the following particulars:—"The late king," he writes, "went squirting" (whatever that may mean) "up and down with his mints, at Bristol, Shrewsbury, York, and many other places; and when these garrisons were surrendered, the "irons were carelessly neglected and came into the hands of "knaves who fell first to coining of a great quantity of money

* Coll. State Papers, Dom., xxxvii., 449. † Ibid., xxiv., 261.
in Lancashire and the materials they wrought on was only the "clippings of English silver and pewter dishes, and some of them were executed, but to this day the State does not know the "hundreth man in that county (Lancashire) that are clippers and "counterfeiters."

Towards the close of the century the schools in Lancashire were considerably increased, and Lancashire found considerable work for the London printers. With the exception of one book, which was (on the authority of Ford, a famous Manchester bookseller), printed at Smithy Door, Manchester, in 1664,* no evidence of the existence of a 17th century Lancashire press has been discovered. The number of authors who hailed from this county was considerable. Amongst the divines were Isaac Ambrose, vicar of Preston and Garstang; John Angier, pastor of Denton; Nehemiah Barnet, minister at Lancaster; William Bell, minister at Huyton; Seth Bushell, vicar of Preston; Charles Earl of Derby; Edward Gee, minister at Eccleston; John Harrison, minister of Ashton-under-Lyne; William Leigh, vicar of Standish; Charles Herle, vicar of Winwick; Richard Hollingworth, a Fellow of Manchester College; Henry Newcome, rector of Gawsworth; Henry Pigott, rector of Brindle and vicar of Rochdale; Richard Sherlock, vicar of Winwick; and Richard Wroe, warden of Manchester. To these may be added a number of writers for and against quakers.

In 1664-5 Sir William Dugdale made his visitation of the county, which was the last ever made. From it we find that many of the old families of the time of Elizabeth have entirely died out, and others have sprung up in their places. I should hesitate to say that the "Norroy King of Arms" was less careful than his predecessors, or that the aspirants to the honour of pedigrees were less willing or able to furnish the necessary information; but certain it is that many of the genealogies are at once erroneous and incomplete. In more than one case I have found the recorder of the pedigree neglecting to give such a simple detail

* A Guide to Heaven from the Word, (The Lancashire Library, p. 157.)
as the maiden name of his mother or grandmother; whilst for dates the word "circa" appears to have been found so much more convenient than the day and year, that it was frequently adopted. We can easily understand how an indignant father, who intended to cut off his rebellious son with a shilling, might refuse to insert his name in the family tree; but we might fairly expect that a whole generation should not be omitted, or that the ladies should have been treated exactly in the spirit which inspired the youth who, on being asked how many children there were, replied—"Well, if you count the girls, there are seven; but if you only reckon the men—why, there's me."

The days of the "merry monarch" were not characterised by quite so rank a superstition as the witch-burning age which preceded it. The witches of Pendle, the demoniacs of Surrey had passed away; but credulity and ignorance still went hand in hand. Another form of superstition was extant, which traced every passing event to a special or miraculous interposition of Providence. Many examples of this might be given—one or two will suffice. Nicholas Bray, the vicar of St. Michael's-on-the-Wyre, on receiving the order to pull down the Royal Arms in his church, was so keen in his disloyalty (he had formerly been an episcopalian), that he must do the work himself, and carry the timber into his house to make a door of it. Well, the result was—"It pleased the Lord to strike him with a sudden and violent sickness, whereof he presently died, and [this is the pith of the tale] "these very boards were made into his coffin."*

Humphrey Briscoe, the Vicar of Chipping, gravely tells his friend Henry Newcome, that a certain stout party went out a hunting, and said to another, equally corpulent, "If thou and I "should die to-night, the devil would have a notable breakfast."† The man died that night—how the devil fared is not recorded.

The autobiography of William Stout, of Lancaster, affords many striking examples of life in Lancashire at this period; but time will only permit of one extract, throwing light upon an old

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* Vicar's Dagon Demolished; also History of Garstang, p. 204.
† Newcome, Autobiography, p. 88.
Time of Charles II.

north-country funeral custom. “I went (he writes) to Preston “fair to buy cheese; the market for cheese being mostly at Gar-“stang and Preston fairs. At this time we sold much cheese to “funerals in the country, from 30lbs. to 100lbs. weight, as the “deceased was of ability; which was shrived into two or three “(slices or pieces) in the lb., and one with a penny manchet “given to all attendants. And then it was customary at Lancaster “to give one or two long, called Naples, biscuits, to each atten-“dant, by which from 20 to 100lbs. was given. I think they “were near 1/s a lb.”

Funeral reform was wanted even then, as the following items of expense will show. They were incurred at the funeral of Sarah Worsley, daughter of Charles Worsley, of Platt, near Manchester, in 1661:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For sugar and other spices and bread</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making grave 1/ for coffin 5/</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two scarfs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two cloaks</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 pair of gloves</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the poor on the day of burial</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end of the reign of Charles II. Lancashire had begun to settle down, after its many and violent disturbances; but its turbulent spirit was not quite allayed, and some few outbreaks were yet to come, before it was ready for the advent of the next century, which Carlyle describes as “a remarkably peaceful indi-“vidual, who took down his turrets, and made his guardroom into “the dairy, and the dungeon into wine and beer cellars. He also “introduced straight walks into his gardens, turned the moat into “a fish pond, and cut all his trees into shapes of men, peacocks “and elephants, and other objects of natural history. He dis-“charged his warder, and paid for protection by a subscription to “the county police. He was a snug, careful, pushing fellow, and
"laid out more money on his warehouse than on his private
dwelling, for he began to smell from afar the spices of India,
and the cotton fields of America, and the commerce of the
world, and the empire of the seas."
The good old County Palatine had fought hard for Parliament
and King; it had upset and set up again its old established
Church; it had tolerated, and it had persecuted;—but a better
day was coming, nay, had almost come, when the sturdy spirit,
the honest thrift, and the daring enterprise of its inhabitants, were
to give an impetus to the trade and commerce of England, which
was to make her the richest nation of the earth.