

History of the Parish of Rochdale.

CHAPTER I.

General History.



THE original parish of Rochdale was one of the most extensive in the Hundred of Salford. It was bounded on the north and north-west by the portions of the Parish of Whalley comprised in the Forest of Rossendale and the Township of Cliviger; on its south-west was the Parish of Bury; in a southern direction it extended to Middleton and Oldham, and its eastern boundary was the division line between the Counties of York and Lancaster. Saddleworth, for ecclesiastical purposes, was also considered as forming a part of Rochdale; but, as it is entirely in the County of York, and its connection with the parish (except for church purposes) is very slight, its annals will not form a part of this history.

From a very early period Rochdale has consisted of four divisions, viz.:—Hundersfield, Spotland, Castleton, and Butterworth. These have been again divided and sub-divided. The following is the present arrangement, as shown by the Ordnance Survey.

	STATUTE ACRES.			
	CASTLETON.		<i>a. r. p.</i>	
			<i>a.</i>	<i>r. p.</i>
Hamlet of Newbold	- - - - -	- - - - -	309	3 35
„ Lower Lane	- - - - -	- - - - -	285	1 4
„ Buersill	- - - - -	- - - - -	1141	1 17
Hamlet of Marland, including Castleton Glebe	-	-	2075	0 26
			<hr/>	
			3811	3 2

HUNDERSFIELD.

	<i>a.</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>p.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>r.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Township of WUERDLE AND WARDLE.						
Hamlet of Wardle - - - - -	2536	0	31			
" Wuerdle - - - - -	986	3	11			
	<hr/>			3523	0	2
Township of BLATCHINWORTH AND CALDERBROOK.						
Hamlet of Blatchinworth - - - - -	2221	0	30			
" Calderbrook - - - - -	2558	2	17			
	<hr/>			4780	3	7
Township of WARDLEWORTH - - - - -				766	0	14
Township of TODMORDEN AND WALSDEN.						
Hamlet of Todmorden - - - - -	2954	2	17			
" Walsden - - - - -	4052	2	13			
	<hr/>			7007	0	30

SPOTLAND.¹

Hamlet of Brandwood (Higher end) - - - - -	1573	3	16			
" " (Lower end) - - - - -	1293	3	27			
" Whitworth (Higher end) - - - - -	1247	0	37			
" " (Lower end) - - - - -	2894	1	32			
" Catley Lane - - - - -	2701	2	25			
" Wolstenholme and Cheesden - - - - -	2262	1	28			
" Woodhouse Lane - - - - -	262	1	11			
" Healey - - - - -	852	3	27			
" Clay Lane - - - - -	90	2	29			
" Chadwick - - - - -	716	3	10			
" Falinge - - - - -	277	3	16			
	<hr/>			14,174	0	18

BUTTERWORTH.

Hamlet of Clegg - - - - -	1676	3	35			
" Low House - - - - -	1278	0	23			
" Wild House - - - - -	264	1	3			
" Belfield - - - - -	457	3	1			
" Bleakedgate-cum-Roughbank - - - - -	2751	0	17			
" Butterworth Hall - - - - -	738	1	11			
" Haugh - - - - -	599	0	13			
	<hr/>			7765	2	23
				41,828	2	16

¹ Spotland, for rating purposes, is divided into "Spotland Further Side," "Spotland Nearer Side," and "Whitworth and Brandwood."

The total area of the parish is 41,828 statute acres. From the north end of Todmorden to the southern boundary of Buersill is nearly ten miles, and from the west of Cheesden to the eastern extremity of the parish is something over that distance.

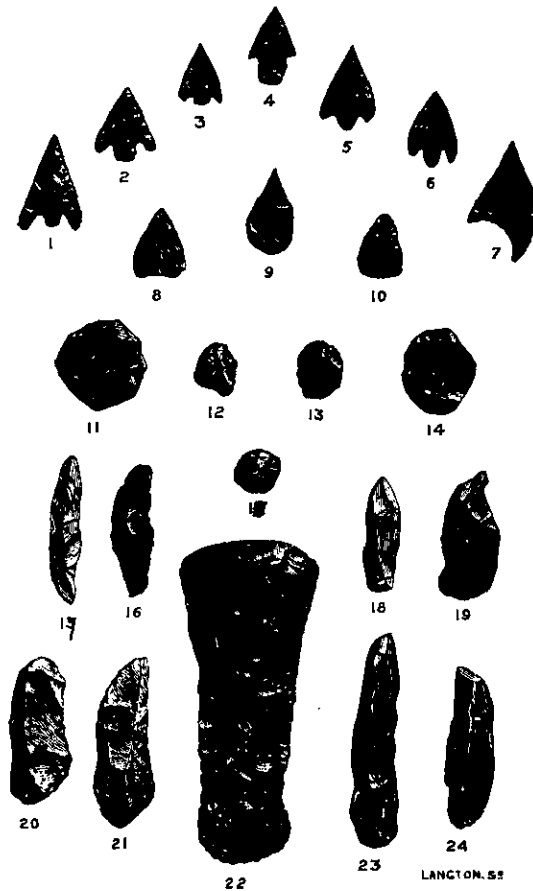
At what period in the world's history the tops of the hills which almost surround Rochdale became the abodes of men is a question more for the geologist than the historian, but that a race of neolithic men did dwell there is placed beyond doubt.

The following is a list of twenty-five places in the parish where, from time to time, numbers of flint implements and chippings have been found, which shows how wide spread was the area in which these early tool-makers dwelt.

Blackstone Edge.		Lower Moor, Todmorden.
Brandwood Moor.		Middle Hill, Wardle.
Brown Wardle Hill.		Ramsden, Walsden.
Cow Heys, } Haugh.		Robin Hood's Bed.
Crow Knoll, }		Rough Hill, } Wardle.
Culvert Clough, Bleakedgate-cum-Roughbank.		Rushy Hill, }
Flower Scar Hill, Todmorden.		Tooter Hill, Brandwood.
Foxton Edge, Bleakedgate-cum-Roughbank.		Trough Edge, Brandwood.
Hades Hill, Hundersfield.		Turnshaw Hill, Catley Lane.
Helpit Edge, Haugh.		Wardle.
Hunger Hill, } Catley Lane.		Wardle Moor.
Knoll Hill, }		Well i'th' Lane
Longden End Moor, Lowhouse.		

These flints have generally been discovered on the neolithic floor which is found about 1300 feet above the sea level, and is covered with a layer of peat, varying from one to ten feet in depth. It is only reasonable to suppose that where the flint worker carried on his vocation he would make for himself some kind of a shelter; it might be a primitive earth dwelling, or simply a hole in the hill side.

The flints which have been found consist of knives, scrapers, arrow-heads, spear-tips, and very small implements, possibly used for boring eyes in bone needles. They are all unpolished.



FLINT IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN ROCHDALE.

BARBED ARROW-HEADS.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1.—Walsden Moor. | 4.—Knoll Hill. |
| 2.—Middle Hill. | 5.—Do. |
| 3.—Hunger Hill. | 6.—Blackstone Edge. |
| | 7.—Foxstone Edge. |

LEAF-SHAPED ARROW-HEADS.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 8.—Tooter Hill. | 9.—Culvert Clough. |
| | 10.—Tooter Hill. |

THUMBSTONES.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 11.—Trough Edge. | 13.—Middle Hill. |
| 12.—Knoll Hill. | 14.—Do. |
| | 15.—Middle Hill. |

KNIVES, OR CUTTING FLAKES.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 16.—Knoll Hill, | 20.—Trough Edge. |
| 17.—Do. | 21.—Knoll Hill. |
| 18.—Middle Hill. | 23.—Do. |
| 19.—Do. | 24.—Do. |

POLISHED CELT.

- 22.—Wardle.

The celt (No. 22) measures exactly $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; in the drawing it is $1\frac{3}{4}$. The others are in the like proportion, viz.:—1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$.¹

The polished celt (No. 22) must not be associated with the other implements, as it was found in river gravel during the excavation of a reservoir. Barbed arrow-heads in the district are of extreme rarity; the one found on Trough Edge a few months ago is therefore of special interest.²



ARROW-HEADS FOUND ON TROUGH EDGE AND HUNGER HILL (1888).

¹ These were found by Mr. Robert Law, Mr. Thomas Horsfall, the Rev. J. Ducker, and Dr. H. C. March; and to the latter I am indebted for the photograph from which the above is taken.

² Found by Dr. March. The above are the exact size of the originals.

Except perhaps in some of the place-names there is little evidence of the existence of a Celtic population in the parish. By some antiquaries it is maintained that to this race we owe the names of the Rivers Roch and Beal. The former was anciently spelt Ratche, or Rach. Other names—such as *dol*, a hill (Doldrum); *cronk*, a hill (Cronkeyshaw); *cwm*, a hollow in the hills (Cowm)—bear out the supposition that in some parts of the district the early Britons were settled. Names of places are of great value as corroborative of evidence, but must be received with great caution as affording positive proof.

In 1832 a very interesting relic was found at Mowroad in Calderbrook. Whilst a workman was stubbing up the root of an oak tree (which was felled thirty-five years before) he came upon a large flag-stone, and on breaking it he found below it a bronze torque. A writer to "Archæologia" at the time thus describes it:



TORQUE FOUND AT MOWROAD.

"One half consisted of a row of nine wreaths of bead-work, having five divisions, similarly indented, except on the inner side, and united together by means of bits of metal like small pulleys; and into each end of this half of the instrument is fixed an iron tooth, made to fit lightly into the socket of the other half, so as to embrace that part of the body which it was intended to ornament or distinguish. The second half is of a more simple form, having the metal squared, and the edges of the inner and outer circumference considerably raised, and the interspaces much tooled and ornamented. At each end of this half there is also one of the wreaths before mentioned raised upon a square or base."¹

It weighs one pound five ounces, and the workmanship of it is exquisite. Mr. John Evans considers it to be a torque of the late Celtic period.²

That a Roman road passed through Rochdale there is no doubt, but the course which it took has never been satisfactorily settled. Whitaker, writing in 1771, asserts³ that a Roman road went through Ancoats, and passed by Street Fold in Moston, Street Bridge in Chadderton, and Street

¹ "Archæologia," xxv. 595.

² "Bronze Implements," 1881. The torque is in possession of the Lord of the Manor.

³ "History of Manchester," Book I., Chap. v., Sec. ii.

Gate in Royton, and "pointed evidently for Littleborough and Ilkley" in Yorkshire. He also adds that about a quarter of a mile from Rochdale, near the road from Oldham, "it was cut through in making a marle pit, and appeared several yards in breadth, and deeply gravelled."

Baines, in his "History of Lancashire,"¹ says that the Roman road "traversed Castleton from the south-west to the north-east in forming the communication between Rochdale and Ilkley." This, of course, does not agree with Whitaker's account. In the absence of more satisfactory evidence than that furnished by Whitaker and Baines, we must consider the course of the road towards Manchester, after leaving Littleborough, as undefined. From time to time various Roman antiquities have been discovered, but the *locale* of these finds only adds to the difficulty of definitely fixing the road's direction.

In 1626 we have undoubted evidence that the highway over Blackstone Edge passed the farm called "The Knoll," near Lydgate (see Lightowlers), and in all probability it then turned slightly to the north. The highway from Littleborough to Yorkshire is referred to by John Ogilby, the King's cosmographer, in 1675. He writes:—"At Battings Inn, at 47 miles 2 [furlongs], ascend Blackstone Edge, a great eminence, at the top whereof you enter Lancashire and descend again 14 furlongs, your way continuing hilly, you cross Windy Bank." On his map the county boundary is marked 48 miles 2 furlongs from York, and Windy Bank at 51 miles, a difference of 22 furlongs; hence the 14 furlongs measure the actual descent, which begins a little to the west of the White House. From the county boundary along the paved or Roman way the distance is 16 furlongs, but between the same points by the old turnpike road it is 22 furlongs, thus proving that the road on Ogilby's map was not what is now known as the Roman road. Sayer's map, printed in 1728, shows two roads; one turning to the north after passing Stormer Hill, and the other (the Roman road) going in a perfectly straight line to the county boundary. This road, he states, extended from Manchester to Aldborough, near Borough Bridge, and was eight yards wide,² and all paved with stone. Warburton, the Somerset Herald, in his map drawn in 1753, also shows the Roman road. [See p. 9.]

From Windy Bank, near Littleborough, to the division line between Lancashire and Yorkshire are more or less distinct traces of what is by the best authorities believed to be the Roman road. The portion which has

¹ First Edition (1836), Vol. ii., p. 639.

² This must have included the ditches.

been best preserved is that which ascends the hill in a perfectly straight line, commencing at about 1600 yards from the summit. A considerable part of this is covered with an overgrowth of heath, but here and there short lengths of it have been cleared. The road is fifteen feet wide, exclusive of a curbstone, paved with squared blocks of stone, and slightly arched, so as to throw the water into a trench which runs on either side. At the top of the hill the road becomes wider for a short distance, after which it resumes its ordinary width, passing the spot marked on the ordnance map as "intrenchments," and so on to Yorkshire. It is scarcely necessary to say that the so-called intrenchments are certainly not of Roman origin; and if they are anything more than disused stone quarries they may have been constructed in the time of the great Civil War.

In the exact centre of the road, where it ascends the hill at a steep gradient (in some part of one in four and a third), is a course of hard millstone grit stones, which have been carefully tooled and set together so as to form a continuous line from the top to the bottom. These blocks of stone are three feet eight inches wide, and in them has been cut (or as some think worn) a trough, about seventeen inches wide at the top and a little over one foot at the bottom, and of a depth of some four inches. The bottom of this trough, wherever it has been uncovered, has always been found to be slightly curved. On either side of the trough are clear marks of wheel tracks, the one nearest the centre of the road being the broadest and deepest. This is not the place to enter into the vexed question of the origin and use of this stone trough. The following theories, *inter alia*, have been promulgated:

That the trough was made for drainage, or to serve as an aqueduct, by the Romans. This idea is untenable; the convexity of the bottom of the trough would alone be fatal to it.

That the stones were placed there in modern times, and were worn by the feet of packhorses. To this may be replied that, given a fairly paved road up the side of a hill, a narrow footway of smooth stone would be utterly useless, if not dangerous.

Dr. H. C. March,¹ who has made this bit of road a special study, maintains that the central stones were placed there by the Romans, the trough being chiselled out by the mason, and that its use was to enable the drivers of waggons and chariots to "skid" the wheels of their vehicles whilst they descended the hill.

¹ See "Transactions of Lanc. and Ches. Ant. Soc., p. 73 *et seq.*"

The late Mr. W. Thompson Watkins, in his "Roman Lancashire,"¹ gives it as his opinion that "the groove was made for the purpose of receiving and steadying the central wheel of a three-wheeled vehicle."

There are many strong arguments adducible in favour of Dr. March's theory, if it is taken for granted that the trough is of Roman origin, but there is one fact against it, viz.:—that the construction of this trough must have been a work requiring much time and expense, and it is questionable if it would not have been quite as easy and effective to have used the "skid" on the pavement already constructed.

It has also been suggested that the trough stones may be of a much more recent date than the road itself; and as they have only been found (with the curved bottoms) where the gradient is very steep, and the line of the road perfectly straight, they may have been used to guide the wheels of small trollies laden with blocks of stone, and let down by a rope (or chain) and a "drum" from the quarries on the top of the hill. In 1824 the *then* old stone quarries on the top of Blackstone Edge were still worked, and large blocks of stone, 22 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 6 inches in depth, were taken from them for the engine bed of a woollen mill at Townhouse; and when these were brought down the hill in a four-wheeled lurry, three or four large stones were put on the ground behind the lurry and fastened to it by a chain, to act as a brake.² These peculiar grooved stones are also found on portions of the Yorkshire side of Blackstone Edge, where the descent is rapid. Coming towards Littleborough the road is lost in the mossy land north of Lydgate, but pieces of it are again visible at Windy Bank. On the ordnance map this road is marked as "the old packhorse road;" but there are also indicated two other roads, the old and the new turnpike. The latter was constructed in accordance with an Act of Parliament passed in 1734, and entitled, "An Act to repair and widen the road from Rochdale leading over a certain craggy mountain called Blackstone Edge."

About the year 1695 Celia Fiennes, sister of the third Viscount Saye and Sele, crossed Blackstone Edge on horseback, and has left the following graphic description of the journey:—"I came to Blackstone Edge, noted all over England for a dismal high precipice and steep in the ascent and descent on either end; it's a very moorish ground all about, and even just at the top, tho' so high that you travel on a causeway, which is very trouble-

¹ P. 60.

² Palatine Note Book, III., 173.

some, as it's a moist ground; so, as is usual on these high hills, they stagnate the aire, and hold mist and raine almost perpetually. As I entered Lancashire the mist began to lessen. and as I descended on this side ye fog more and more went off, and a little raine fell, tho' at a little distance in our view the sun shone on ye vale, wch indeed is of a large extent here, and ye advantage of soe high a hill, wch is at least two mile up, discovers the ground beneath as a fruitfull valley, full of inclosures and cut hedges and trees. That wch adds to the formitableness of Blackstone Edge is that on ye one hand you have a vast precipice almost the whole way, both as one ascends and descends, and in some places the precipice is on either hand."¹

The road here referred to could not possibly be the Roman road, as by no stretch of imagination could the flat moorland on either side of it be described as precipitous.

In 1724 Daniel Defoe went over Blackstone Edge in the midst of a heavy snowstorm, which so terrified him that he had no time to notice the Roman road. It is, however, clear from the description which he gave that after leaving the Knoll he also travelled on what is now known as the old turnpike, and not on the paved Roman road. He writes:—"Here, tho' it was but the middle of August, and in some places the harvest hardly got in, we saw the mountain covered with snow; but we found the people had a way of mixing the warm with the cold together, for the store of good ale which flows plentifully in these mountainous parts of the country seems abundantly to make up for all the inclemencies of the weather." Over Blackstone Edge "we had to travel through trackless drifts of snow. When near the top we talked of returning, but one of the company called out that he could see over the top into Yorkshire," so they went on, but found the way "very frightful narrow and deep, with a hollow precipice on the right. After we had gone a little way this hollow appeared deeper and deeper," and though they led their horses they found it "very troublesome and dangerous."²

As in 1734 the old turnpike road required an Act of Parliament to repair it, it is evident that even at that time the Roman road had long ago fallen into disuse. On the next page is a view of a portion of the road which was uncovered in 1883. It is about half up the steep ascent.

¹ Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary" (1889), p. 186.

² "A Tour through the Island of Great Britain."

ROMAN ROAD ON BLACKSTONE EDGE.¹

The Rev. J. Whitaker² appears to have been the originator of the idea that Littleborough was a Roman station, and that the site of the camp was at the place now known as Castle, which is situate about half a mile to the north of the bottom of the steepest part of the Roman road over Blackstone Edge. For this statement there is not the slightest authority, and yet it has been repeated so often that one might almost be tempted to believe it to be true. Whitaker, in his "History of Whalley,"³ calls Castle a subordinate fort; but Baines⁴ does not hesitate to say that "the site of the works rears its lofty front a little to the east of the village, and bears on its summit the ancient mansion of Windy Bank." Notwithstanding this, there is not the slightest trace of either camp or intrenchment, nor has there ever been found so much as a broken pot, or a mutilated coin, to point to either Castle or Windy Bank as the site of Roman occupation. Although the unsupported supposition of the historian of Manchester cannot be accepted as proof of the existence of a station here, we find traces of Roman occupation within a short distance of Littleborough. At Town-

¹ From a photograph taken by the Rev. E. H. Aldridge. This bit of the road was dug out in the presence of Dr. March and myself.—H. F.

² "Hist. of Manchester," I., 232.

³ Vol. I., p. 43, new edition.

⁴ "Hist. of Lanc., I., 507. Edit. 1868.

house (about half a mile to the west of Littleborough Church), early in this century, several Roman coins were dug up, together with some Roman tiles; but, except a solitary coin, all of them have since disappeared.¹

Towards the end of the last century a quantity of Roman coins were found at Castlemere, near the town of Rochdale, some of which were of the time of Claudius. Dr. Whitaker, in his first edition of his "History of Whalley,"² mentions this find, and in this, as well as all of the succeeding editions, Castlemere is stated to be the place where the coins were dug up. Baines repeats this in his first edition of the "History of Lancashire," but in the revised edition of 1868 Castle is substituted for Castlemere.³ The latter is no doubt the correct reading.

In 1804 a small iron box was exhumed at Underwood, in Rochdale, which contained a rouleau of Roman brass coins, folles of the Lower Empire. Some of these Dr. Whitaker saw, and those he described⁴ as being of Constantius Cæsar, Maximian, Dioclesian, and the Emperor Tacitus. The obverse of "apparently a Dioclesian is nearly effaced; the reverse a figure of Moneta, with a balance and cornucopiæ, circumscribed *Moneta. S. avgg. et. Caes.* The legend on the reverse of all the rest is the same:—*Genio. populi. Romani*, the figure a genius, with a patera and cornucopiæ.⁵ The box and its contents were then in the possession of John Crossley, Esq., of Scaitcliffe.⁶

The most interesting *find* in the district was that which was unearthed in 1793 by some workmen in a stone quarry at Tunshill, in the Township of Butterworth. It is all the more interesting from the fact that if the *iter* went direct from Littleborough to Royton it must have passed very near to the place where the discovery was made, which consisted of the right arm and hand of a silver statue of Victory, of undoubted Roman origin. It is nine and a half inches long, and weighs six ounces, and is made of pure silver. The hand is solid, but the arm is hollow. An armlet surrounds the arm above the elbow, and from another on the wrist is suspended a silver plate, upon which is inscribed (by small holes drilled through it)

VICTORIÆ LEG. VI. VIC. VAL. RUFUS V.S.L.M.

¹ The odd coin is in the possession of H. H. Howorth, Esq., M.P.

² Pub. 1801.

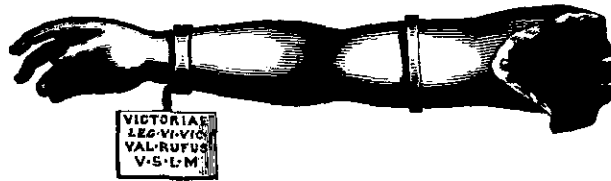
³ Vol. I., p. 507.

⁴ "Hist. of Whalley, 3rd edition, I., 545.

⁵ Mr. W. Thompson Watkin ("Roman Lanc.," p. 234) says that the inscription should probably be *Moneta. S. avgg. et caess. N. N.* In the field, *S. F.* In the exergue, *Itr.* The coin, he adds, would be a second brass.

⁶ Owing to the long absence abroad of the heir of Scaitcliffe, it has not been possible to ascertain if these coins are still there.

"To Victory of the Sixth Legion the victorious Valerius Rufus performs his vow willingly to a deserving object." The complete statue must have been about two feet high. This valuable relic was given to Dr. Whitaker, from whom it descended to his grand-daughter, Mrs. Guthrie, of Trewyn, in Monmouthshire, who is its present possessor.¹



SILVER ARM FOUND AT TUNSHILL.

After the final departure of the Romans, about the year 420, for something like six centuries England was the scene of repeated wars. At one time it was an invasion from without, and at another disruption within. First came the Scots and Picts, against whom the Britons called in the Saxons; who, having driven many of their opponents into Lancashire and Yorkshire, themselves turned against the natives, and ultimately established the Saxon Heptarchy. Then followed repeated wars between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, and finally, in 1066, the Norman conquest.

That in the parish of Rochdale there were settled both Saxons and Danes there can be little doubt; for, as Dr. Johnson puts it, language is "the pedigree of nations," and the place-names of the district furnish many words of Danish, Scandinavian, Norse, and Anglo-Saxon origin. The following are some of the names of places mentioned in very early deeds, mostly of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Centuries, viz.:

Ailwarderod.	Chadwicke.	Gorsichelache.
Bagslate.	Crey.	Hallstude.
Barkelbothehurst.	Dinge.	Hamelstonclogh.
Blacklache.	Donnisbothe.	Horewithres.
Bikeden.	Ealees.	Irefford.
Bradeschagh.	Erridge.	Kirshawe.
Blackestrindheued.	Fagheside.	Kilwardescroft.
Cateshagh.	Feniscoles.	Kumbebrook.
Coppedehurst.	Falinge.	Lefurihebruge.

¹ "Gent. Mag.," 1802, pp. 9, 17, 845. "Hist. of Whalley," 3rd edition, I., 45. "Roman Lanc.," p. 212.

Lightolres.	Okeden.	Thistilirode.
Lomylache.	Prickshaw.	Twofaldhee.
Midelclogh.	Redferne.	Warmhold.
Maxicrofteshore.	Risenhalgh.	Wardle.
Mikelpughill.	Roughslakhull.	Warland.
Merclogh.	Schayueralghes.	Withers.
Nabbe.	Sellfullache.	Ugshutt.
Naden.	Smythecumbesrode.	

This list might be very much extended, and to it added many personal names. The early settlers in the district made clearings out of the forests, which they called "rods;" hence we have Brotherod, Oakenrod, Coptrod. In the sheltered places they took up their abodes and called them "shaws," which gave us Smallshaw, Prickshaw. Reaches of the river they termed "wicks," as in Chadwick. And thus a host of witnesses might be called forth to testify to the character of the races who occupied much of the soil in the parish before the Conquest.

A stone hammer head¹ which probably belongs to this period was found some twenty years ago in the old bed of the Roch, near Oakenrod. It is four inches long, and the hole for the handle is unusually large, being nearly an inch in diameter. The clearly marked ridge which runs on two sides of the stone would seem to indicate that the implement was made in imitation of a cast metal one.



STONE HAMMER HEAD FOUND AT OAKENROD.

Christianity was introduced into these northern parts early in the Seventh Century, and soon afterwards many churches were built, and coeval with them were erected castles, which became the strongholds of Saxon chiefs. It is believed that at least twelve of these castles were in Lancashire, south of the Ribble, and one of them was probably at Rochdale. [See Castleton.]

¹ Now in the author's possession.

In the time of Edward the Confessor [A. D. 1041-1066] most of the land in Rochdale was held under the King by Gamel the Thane;¹ but, as William the Conqueror, at the Battle of Hastings, promised to reward his followers if victorious by gifts of English lands, it followed as a natural sequence that the Saxon would be displaced, and his possessions bestowed elsewhere.

About the year 1068 the Honor of Lancaster, and a large number of manors in Lancashire and elsewhere, were granted by the King to Roger de Poitou; and by some authorities it is held that one of these manors was that of Rochdale. Some colour is given to this supposition by the recorded fact that Gamel the Thane held some of his Rochdale land by the gift of this favourite of the Conqueror. All that the "Domesday Book" records of Rochdale is the following :

Gamel the Thane held under King Edward two hides² of land in Recedham [Rochdale], and had them free from all duties (or customs) but the following six, viz.:—theft, heinfare,³ forestel,⁴ breach of the peace, not keeping the term set by the reeve, and continuing a fight after an oath to the contrary, and not appearing at the day appointed by the proper officer. The fine for these offences was forty shillings. The rest of these lands were free from all customs except danegeld,⁵ and they are partly free from danegeld. Gamel held two carucates of land by the gift of Roger de Poitou.

In Saxon times there were three classes of Thanes, distinguished by the manner in which they held their lands. Those of the highest importance had their manors direct from the King, as was the case with Gamel; to whom, moreover, many valuable privileges appear to have been granted. From the wording of the great Survey it seems clear that under the late King, Gamel had held the manor, and that at the time the survey was made he held two carucates of land under Roger de Poitou, who in all probability had become possessed of a portion of the deposed Saxon chief's estate.

Of the subsequent history of the Gamel family little is known. By deed without date,⁶ John, the son of Gamel, *quit claimed* Thomas, the

¹ Domesday Book.

² A measure of land which is variable and uncertain.

³ A heinfare was a fine for flight for murder, for killing the lord's servant or hind, or for inveigling him away.

⁴ Forestel=assault or obstruction on the King's highway.

⁵ Originally a fee paid to the Danes, but afterwards appropriated by the King.

⁶ Deed in possession of the late J. P. Entwisle, Esq. [Raines, MS., xxxvii. B, 125.]

son of Henry de Botterworth, one acre of land between Stanibroc and Blacklache in Butterworth, subject to the customary annual rent; and doubtless it was the same John whose name appears as a witness to a deed of about the same date, whereby Richard de Garthside granted lands in Butterworth to "D^{no}. Joh. de Buron."¹

It has been suggested that Gamel afterwards took the name of Rachdale,² and that he was the ancestor of Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heiress of Ryshedall, or Rachdale, who married Sir John Saville. Of this there is not the slightest evidence, and it is quite clear that no family of the name of Rachdale ever held the manor.

Amongst the very large number of early charters which have been preserved, referring to the parish, in only one case is there any evidence of the existence of a family called Rachdale. In a deed of Twelfth or early Thirteenth Century, as a witness occurs "Mich. de Rach. and Clement his brother;"³ but this is almost certainly the same man who is frequently at this time found as an attesting witness, and described as Michael Clericus de Clegg. After a very careful and exhaustive search at the College of Arms and elsewhere, the conclusion is forced upon one that the statement so frequently repeated as to the marriage between Saville and Rachdale, and the acquisition of the manor thereby, is entirely untrue. Hunter, in his "South Hallamshire,"⁴ says that before 1400 John Saville married Margaret, the heiress of Rishworth. Flower's "Visitation of Yorkshire" merely states that Saville's wife was one of the co-heiresses of Ryshedall, and gives the arms; whilst Philpot's "Ordinary"⁵ (time of Charles I.), after describing the same coat, adds, "Rachdale, Rishdale." As will subsequently be seen, the Savilles were not Lords of the Manor at any time; and, although their descendants have quartered the arms usually assigned to the Rachdale or Rishdale family, the proof of any connection between that family and this parish is absolutely wanting. It is, however, somewhat curious that these arms and those borne by the Chadwicks of Chadwick should differ only in the tinctures.

At a much later period there was a family called Ratchedalle, one of whom in 1587, was a household servant of Lady Derby; and in the "Stanley Poems," said to have been written in 1562 by Thomas Stanley, Bishop of Sodor and Man, occur the following lines:⁶

¹ "Black Book of Clayton" (Townley MSS.), in possession of Dr. Dean.

² Baines' "Hist. of Lanc.," Whitaker's "Whalley," &c.

³ Couch. Book of Whalley, p. 778 (Chet. Soc.)

⁴ Vol. II., p. 301.

⁵ MS. in College of Arms, p. 26.

⁶ Stanley Papers (Chet. Soc.), Part II., p. 38, 149 and 267.

“At Harden, at Knowsley, made a great reparation,
And one Robert Rachdall was his free mason.”¹



Arms said to have been borne by a family called Ratchdale [? Rishdale], but for which there is no authority. *Sable* an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets, *argent*.²



Arms of Chadwick of Chadwick.
Gules an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets, *argent*.

Roger de Poictou, falling into royal disfavour, was, about the year 1080, deprived of his estates; and some of them, *inter alia* the lordship of Blackburnshire and the Honor of Pontefract, were conferred upon Sir Ilbert de Lacie, and it is more than probable that the bulk of his possessions in this parish passed into the same hands; other portions went to Henry de Saville and the Eland family [see Township History]. In 1178, John de Lascy, Constable of Chester, founded the monastery of Stanlawe, and he certainly at that time held the manor of Rochdale, and had for some time been accustomed to hold his courts there. The following translation of his grant to the freemen of the parish places this beyond all doubt:

“John de Lascy, Constable of Chester, &c. We will acquit the men of Rochdale and their heirs for ever of judgments in the County of Lancaster and in the Wapentake of Salford; moreover, we will grant to them that our pleas in Rochdale shall not be held unless from month to month, which formerly were held from fortnight to fortnight, and that the attorneys of the knights and free men of Rochdale shall receive in the same pleas or whatever shall be fitting for the lord, by the assent of our Steward and Court.

For this acquittance and grant the said knights and free tenants of Rochdale gave to me thirty marks of silver.

I, John de Lascy, and my heirs, will warrant the said acquittance and grant to the said knights and free men of Rochdale for ever.”³

¹ In 1380 a William Rachdale was Rector of Hanley, in Cheshire, and another of the same name was High Sheriff of that County in 1404. In Liverpool, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, there were several Ratchdales. They may have sprung from the Valley of the Roche in Yorkshire, in which stands Roche Abbey. The absence of the name in all records concerning Rochdale is significant.

² James Dearden, soon after he purchased the Manor, assumed these arms, with the field *argent*. The arms of the Borough of Rochdale, granted in 1857, are *Argent* a woolpack encircled by two branches of the cotton tree, flowered and conjoint, proper: a bordure *sable* charged with eight martlets of the field. Motto, “Crede signo.”

³ “Black Book of Clayton.”

John de Lascy was succeeded by his son, Roger de Lascy, surnamed "Hell," on account of his military ferocity; who, towards the close of the century conferred upon Stanlawe the advowson of the church of Rochdale. [See Chapter VI.] Edmund de Lascy (grandson of Roger) had granted to him by royal charter, dated 25 Hen. III. [A. D. 1240-41], a right to hold a weekly market on Wednesdays, at Rachedale, and an annual fair on the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude (28th October).¹

The Earl of Lincoln claimed such authority in Rochdale that, by his bailiff for the manor (Gilbert de Clifton), he resisted the High Sheriff's officers in their attempts to make distresses for debt,² and declared that he would continue to do so *vi et armis*, placing "posse against posse." An inquisition was instituted to enquire into this, on 18th March, 1276, before the sheriff and the keepers of the crown pleas, by Benedict Girnet, Thurstan de Holland, and others. The jury returned a verdict in the King's favour.³

A few years after this (20 Edw. I., A.D. 1291-2) the Earl was required to show by what right he held the market and fair, when he produced the charter already referred to, and admitted that for his lands in Rochdale he owed suit to the County Court of Lancaster and Wapentake of Salford. His claim was allowed to be good.⁴

At this time deer were found in abundance in the forest of Rossendale, and also in many parts of Rochdale, and the unlawful killing of them was a serious offence, as the following instance will illustrate:—Nicholas de Werdhyll having slain a fat buck in the "forest of Rachdale," Laurence de Knoll, Adam de Halshaye [? Balshaw], Andrew de Halgh, and Adam de Grymshawe, keepers of the Earl's forests, came by night, seized him and dragged him to Clitheroe Castle, where he was imprisoned until he paid a fine of four marks. Nicholas de Werdhyll afterwards indicted the keepers, but they were dismissed.⁵

By charter dated at "Ittenhill" [Ightenhill] on the --- day of December, 1 Edw. I. [1272], Henry de Lascy granted and confirmed to Adam de Balshawe the "serjeancy of his frank-court of Rachdam," in exchange for land in Rossendale and "Holkenheved," and for an annual payment of two marks of silver on the Feast-day of St. Michael. This deed was witnessed by John de Biron, Adam de Bury, and others.⁶

¹ Rot. Chart., 35 Hen. III. Memb. 15.

² That is non-payment of rights or services.

³ "County Placita," 4 Edw. I.—Minus Record, Rot. 4, and Major Record, Rot. 8.

⁴ Do., 20 Edw. I., No. 5.

⁵ "Plac. de Quo. War," Edw. I.—Record Office.

⁶ "Black Book of Clayton."

Henry de Lascy, the second and last Earl of Lincoln, died in London in February 1311, and his *Inquis. Post Mort.* shows that he died seised of the Manor of Rochdale, which on the death of his daughter and heiress, Alice, the Countess of Lincoln (who had married in 1310 Thomas Plantagenet, the son of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster), passed through Henry, the Earl of Lancaster,¹ to the Crown. It has been frequently but erroneously stated that John de Eland and John de Lacy of Crumbewellebotham were, towards the end of the Thirteenth Century, joint coparceners as mesne tenants under the Earl of Lincoln. The only authority for this is a Townley MS. quoted by Canon Raines,² the circumstance that they were both parties to the dispute as to the patronage of the Rochdale Church [see Chapter VI.], and that in several old deeds without date it is specified that certain rents and services were to be paid to them both.³

From the two "Compoti"⁴ of the Earl of Lincoln we get some interesting details concerning the Manor.

COMPOTUS, A.D. 1295-6.—RACHDALE.		£	s.	d.
Rents on 11 Nov.—Burghers, 6s.; divers tenants, 52s. 2d.; Hugh de Elaunde,				
159s. 9½d. - - - - -		10	17	11½
One-eighth part of the Mill - - - - -		0	5	0
Rent of the Abbot of Whalley, for 6 bovates, 6s.; of the tenency formerly John				
de Byrun's, 42s. 9½d.; of the same for a tenement in Butterworth, 2s.		2	10	9½
Tolls of Fairs and Markets there, and Stallage - - - - -		2	13	8
Adam de Balgschae's heir, for the bedelry - - - - -		1	16	8
Fines of lands, 43s. 2d.; Court fees, 84s. 4d. - - - - -		6	7	6
Reliefs of Henry son of Richard, son of Henry, for his father's land - - -		0	0	8
Revenue of the lands formerly Henry son of Patrick's, now in the Earl's hand				
by the felony of Ranulph son and heir of the same Henry - - -		0	2	0
	Total of Receipts ⁵	£24	0	11

COMPOTI, A.D. 1305.—RACHEDALE.		£	s.	d.
Eighth part of the Mill at Rachdale - - - - -		0	5	0
Three acres one rood of land approved this year for the first time - - - -		0	1	1
Rent of the heir of Adam de Balschaghe for the Beadelry - - - - -		1	6	8
Toll for the Fair and Market, and Stallage there - - - - -		2	13	4
Fines on entering lands there - - - - -		1	7	10
Fees of the Court there - - - - -		4	12	0
	Total of Receipts	£10	5	11

¹ "Abbrev. Rot. Orig. Lanc." Rot. 1, and "Inq. Post Mort., Henry, Duke of Lanc." (1262-3.)—Record Office.

² "Not. Cest., ii., 121.

³ See Oakenrod [Chap. XIX.]

⁴ Printed by Chet. Soc., cxii.

⁵ Addition wrong in original.

EXPENSES, 1295-6.

	£	s.	d.
Wages to the Keeper of the Marches of the Forests of Rachedam and Bernoldswyk	1	6	0

1305.

Loss of the rent of one Burgage which William Galle held	0	1	0
Loss of the rent of Adam Marchaunt	0	0	6

The great De Lacy Inquisition, taken 16th February, 1311,¹ gives a slightly different account:

	£	s.	d.
The Earl held there the fourth part of a Watermill yearly worth, payable at the Feast of St. Martin [11th November]	0	4	0
A Weekly Market on Wednesday, which together with the Stallage and Tolls, is yearly worth	1	0	0
A Fair on the Feast of St. Simon and Jude [28th October] yearly is worth	0	10	0
There is a Three Weeks Court worth yearly by estimation	1	6	8
There are certain Free Tenants who hold of the said Earl divers Tenements by certain yearly rents, payable at the Feast of St. Martin in the winter [11th November].			
John de Balschagh for service of Rachdale, Fee per annum	1	6	8
John de Eland for one carucate in Hundresfield, the homage and service of	3	0	0
Henry de Lacy, of Crombywelbotham, for half a carucate in Spotland, the homage of	1	0	0
The Abbot of Whalley for one oxgang of land in Castleton	0	6	0
John de Byron for six acres of land in Butterworth, the homage and service of	0	2	0
In Castleton there are six messuages lying waste, each yearly worth	0	1	7

From the evidence afforded by the above it is evident that neither the Elands nor the Lacys of Cromebywelbotham held moieties of the Manor, although they held lands for which they paid homage and service to the Chief Lord.

The connection of the Elands with the parish goes back to a very early date. The names of Hugh de Eland and Henry de Eland appear as witnesses to a charter of Adam de Spotland [see Chap. III.] of the Eleventh Century, and on 28th October, 1202, a fine was made at Lancaster between Thomas, the son of Jordan, and Hugh de Eland, concerning two bovates of land in Hundresfield, which it was acknowledged were held from Hugh and his heirs by service and payment of a yearly rent of 2s. 8d., and for this recognition Thomas paid to Hugh one silver mark.²

A Henry de Eland is said to have married a daughter and heiress of Whitworth,³ but the proof is lacking; the above-named Hugh

¹ See Chet. Soc., lxxiv., p. 20.² List of Fines, Lanc. Islm., No. 21.³ "Coucher Book of Whalley," p. 641.

may have been his son; the latter was living in the middle of the Thirteenth Century, when his name appears as a witness to several Rochdale charters.¹

About the year 1238 John de Eland, of "Hallstedes" in Whitworth, gave all his lands in the "vil" of Whitworth to the Monastery of Stanlawe.² Hugh de Eland (son of Henry de Eland) had three children—Hugh, of whom presently; Nicholas, who had a son, Hugh; and a daughter, Wymarka, who married Jordan de Mitton, receiving as dower two bovates of land in Wardleworth and a like quantity in Heley.³

Hugh de Eland (the son of Hugh) was succeeded by his son, Hugh de Eland, who was living about the middle of the Thirteenth Century; he had issue Hugh de Eland, who had two children—John de Eland (of whom presently) and Margery, who married Gilbert de Notton,⁴ receiving as her marriage portion certain lands in Naden, in Spotland.⁵

John de Eland (son of Hugh) was living in 1250, and was succeeded by Sir Hugh de Eland, who married Johanna, the daughter and heiress of Sir Richard de Tankersley. Sir Hugh died about 3 Edw. II. [1309-10]. He had issue (1) Sir John, of whom hereafter; (2) Richard, died S.P.; (3) Margery, who married for her first husband John Lacy de Cromwelbotham. Sir John de Eland (son of Sir Hugh) was one of those who joined the Earl of Lancaster against the King, 11th November, 1322;⁶ he married (1) Alice, the daughter of Sir Robert Lathom; (2) Anne, daughter of Regate; and (3) Olivia. By his first wife he had several children,⁷ one of whom, Thomas de Eland, had issue a daughter and heiress, Isabell, who married Sir John Saville, who was High Sheriff of Yorkshire 3 Henry IV. [1401-2]. The arms of the Elands were Gules, two bars, argent between eight martlets of the last, three, two and one.

From the "Inquis. Post Mort." of Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, taken in 36 Edw. III. [1362-3], we find that he died seised of vast Lancashire estates, and amongst them was the Manor of Rachedale.

John de Balschagh, probably the son or grandson of the John de Balshawe to whom the serjeancy was conveyed in 1272 [see p. 17], by charter dated at Whalley 18th November, 15 Edw. III. [1341], sold to John de Radcliffe, of Ordshall, his interest in the bailiwick of the serjeancy of Rochdale, with all its rights to be held of the Chief Lord of the fee,

¹ "Coucher Book of Whalley," pp. 126, 728, &c.

² Do., p. 641.

³ Do., p. 682.

⁴ He afterwards took the name of Barton.

⁵ "Coucher Book of Whalley," p. 646.

⁶ Close Roll, 16 Edw. II.

⁷ By his third wife he had a son, Thomas, who left male issue.

by accustomed service; this was witnessed by Richard Radcliffe, Robert Radcliffe, John de Clitherhowe, and Richard de ffyshwycke,¹ clerk. Richard Radcliffe, the son of the above, died 19th July, 1380, seised of the bailiwick, which he held of the Duke of Lancaster by military service and the payment of 26s. 8d. a year. His son and heir was John Radcliffe, then aged 27 years² (afterwards Sir John), who died 10th June, 1422, when it was found that his Rochdale bailiwick was worth nothing, as the outgoings exceeded the receipts. He was succeeded by his son and heir, John de Radcliffe, then aged 40,³ and to whom the Escheator was directed to give *livery* of the lands in Ordsall and the "bailiwick of Rachedale."⁴ This John de Radcliffe sold his interest in the "bailiwick and serjeancy of Rachdam alias Rachdale" to Sir John Byron, 1st March, 1430.⁵

In 1446 Richard Earl of Sarum was Steward of the manor for the Duke of Lancaster.⁶ The Byrons, who for something like a hundred years had held a considerable part of the Township of Butterworth from the Duke, now turned their attention to the manor, and to Sir Nicholas Byron, Knt., a lease of the manor was granted for his life, dated 23rd April, 2 Edw. IV. [1462], at a rental of £18 6s. 8d.;⁷ and in 1498 his son was called upon to show his right of free service of the Rachdale manor, and he produced a charter whereby the Earl of Lincoln had conferred this privilege upon his ancestor John Byron.⁸ In 1477 the office of Steward [under Byron] was held by Sir John Pilkington, Knt.⁹

From the evidence now adduced it is clear that from the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1311, to the end of the fifteenth century, the manor was held by the Dukes of Lancaster and by the Crown, although from time to time leased for a term. Baines and Whitaker¹⁰ are therefore both wrong in asserting that the manor passed from the Ellands to the Saviles, and from the latter in 1538 to the Crown. By letters patent, dated 2nd July, 1519,¹¹ Henry VIII. granted to Sir John Byron of Collywyke in Nottinghamshire, Knt., the office of Stewardship of the Lordship of Rochdale, with all its members, together with the "conducton of all the King's men and tenants," and to hold the same office from the

¹ Black Book of Clayton.

² Inq. Post Mort., 4 Ric. II.—See Chet. Soc., xcv., 8.

³ Inq. Post Mort., 10 Hen. V.—Chet. Soc., xcv., 148.

⁴ Duchy Records, Chap. xxv., A.S.—Record Office.

⁵ Black Book of Clayton.

⁶ Case of William Lord Byron touching the Manor, &c., 26th Oct., 1680.—Raines' Lanc. MSS., ii., 63.

⁷ Duchy Records, xxv., x., 1A, No. 1.

⁸ Harl. MS.; 2063, f. 88B.

⁹ Case of William Byron.

¹⁰ Baines' Hist. of Lanc, I., 483 (2nd Ed.) Hist. of Whalley, II., 440 (4th Ed.)

¹¹ Pleading Duchy Records, xi., 34 Hen. VIII., B. 4 (1505).

"Feast of St. Michael the Archangel [8th May] last past for his life;" this was confirmed by other letters patent in 1543-4, when it is distinctly stated that Byron was to govern the tenants not only of Rochdale but "all its hamlets."

At the Hilary Term 34 Henry VIII. [A.D. 1543] Sir John Byron appeared in the Duchy Court against Thomas Holt, Esq., and others, when he complained that one of the conditions of his stewardship was that he was to furnish and put in readiness to serve the King all the men he could; and in order to do this effectually he went personally to Rochdale, where he was met by Robert Holt of Stubble, Esq., who declared that none of his freeholders or tenants, or any of the King's freeholders, should serve under him. Afterwards, Robert Holt and Thomas Holt took with them towards Scotland divers freeholders and tenants from the stewardship of Rochdale; Edward Radcliffe, Esq., a freeholder, also refused to go to the wars under Byron. Sir John Byron further alleged that the King had been accustomed to hold a "Court of lete" at Rochdale, where all the farmers, &c., ought to do suit, yet Thomas Holt of late had taken upon himself to keep a "Court of lete" without authority, and had taken five or six stray sheep and kept them for his own use, and had much impaired the King's Court. Thomas Holt replied to the complaint of Sir John Byron that he held the manor of Spotland from the King [see Chap. III.], and that he had a right to take the sheep, two of which were claimed, one died, and two he still had; as to the military service, he had commanded one John Wolstynholme and Edmund Entwisill, who were servants of his household, to be ready to go to the wars. He denies that he had held a Court Leet. Sir John Byron answers the defendant by denying that Wolstenholme and Entwisill were of the household or servants of Thomas Holt, who had not given them "linen or wages," and prays that he (defendant) may have "condign punishment for refusing to serve the King in his wars." Edward Radclyff, Esq., said that at the last "viage" to Scotland he was unable to go, but that he put in readiness Charles Radclyff his son, Richard Exley, Edward Felden, John Speke, and Henry Bayliff, his tenants, who then and there served the King under the Rt. Hon. Sir William Fitz-Wylliams, Knt., then Earl of Southampton and Chancellor of the Duchy.

There is conflicting evidence as to the interest in the manor which the Saviles had in the early part of the sixteenth century. On the one hand it appears clear that it was held by Byron from the Crown; yet three

defendants in the Duchy Court¹—viz., Nicholas Kirshawe, Oliver Kirshawe, and Edmund Kirshawe—assert that, “as they have heard,” Sir Robert Savile, Knt., was seised of the manor of Rochdale, and being so seised died, and the manor descended to John Savile, Esq., his son and heir, who entered upon the same and about the year 1584-5 conveyed it to Sir John Byron, Knt. The fact is that although Sir Robert Savile had at the time large possessions in the parish, he was not actually owner or lessee of the manor itself [see p. 21]. In 3 Elizabeth [1560-61] Sir John Byron held the “Bailiwick or Serjeantcy of Rachdale,” which descended to him from his ancestor, who, he alleged, had from time immemorial collected Her Majesty’s rents.² On 24th February, 1586, he had another grant from Queen Elizabeth. [See Chap. XV.] In 37 Elizabeth [1594-5] Sir John Byron, Knt., “Queen’s Farmor of the Manor,” appears as Complainant *versus* David Holt and others, the matter in dispute being “wastes and commons called Trough, Monstonedge, Cronkayshawe, and rescue of cattle distrained,”³ and he showed the Court that the Queen had by letters patent bearing date 20th February, 26 Elizabeth [1584], let the manor to farm to John Davet,⁴ with all its perquisites of Courts (marriage and wardships excepted), from the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary then next following, for twenty-one years. Whereupon the charterers and freeholders of Rochdale requested Sir John Byron to compound with the said John Davit for his interest, and to take a new lease in his own name; and at the same time they promised to pay the costs of the transaction, provided that he (Sir John Byron) would not “deale to make any improvement of the wastes and commons during his term.” Sir John Byron carried out his part of this bargain, and by letters patent dated 17th May, 1585, he obtained a lease from the Crown to himself for thirty-one years; the costs amounted to £200, which the charterers and freeholders refused to pay, alleging that their undertenants, who had the greatest interest in the wastes, would not contribute their share, whereupon he applied to the Chancellor of the Duchy for permission to improve so much of the wastes and commons as “conveniently might be improved.” The freeholders requested that inasmuch as a large portion of the land was “craggy and stony, and moss ground,” there should be allowed to every acre eight

¹ Record Office, Vol. 108, 30 Eliz., T. 12.

² Record Office, Duchy Pleadings, iv., 3 Eliz., B. 2.

³ Record Office, clxix., B. 56. In the printed calendar (“Duc. Lanc.”) Sir *Richard* Byron is wrongly named as the plaintiff.

⁴ John Davet, “gent,” appears as witness for the Attorney General in Duchy Court, 29th Jan., 1584-5. See Chap. XVIII. (Bottomley.)

yards to the rood or pole. Upon this appeal the Chancellor declared that he was informed that great advantage would accrue to the Queen, and also to the county, by bringing into tillage these waste places, and he at once granted a Commission to empower the Lord of the manor and the tenants to divide the wastes into two equal parts, according to the custom of the manor; the former to have the right to grant to whom he pleased portions of the wastes and commons, only reserving to Her Majesty a yearly rental of 4d. per acre; all the coal mines already opened were to be demised to Sir John Byron. This Commission was dated 17th February, 1588. Some of the freeholders were not satisfied with the terms of the Commission, and in order to hinder its execution they requested John Savile, Esq. (who had some forty charterers in the parish) to set up a claim to be chief lord of the greater portion of the wastes and commons; and to this he assented, and so far established his claim that Sir John Byron was forced to purchase from him all his rights at a cost of £1000, and having done so he set about improving the wastes. In the year following, however, he was again disturbed by one William Hallowes, a cutler, who sent to the Duchy Court with a petition for enquiry as to whether Shore Moor, in Spotland, was equally divided, but his application did not succeed. Shortly afterwards, however, Abraham Hallowes (who changed his name to Abraham Hollie) assembled some of Francis Holt's tenants in Whitworth and Rossendale, and told them that if they would give him £40 he would prevent any improvements being made. It does not appear that the £40 was forthcoming, but about the season of Lent in 1595 Abraham Hallowes confederated with Richard Okes (the constable of Rochdale), Otewell Smith, and Laurence Booth, and broke down divers inclosures and pulled up the fences, whereupon Hallowes was arrested, but Okes allowed him to escape; subsequently (on 30th May, 1595) Gabriell Gartsyde, servant of Sir John Byron, went with Alexander Butterworth, Edward Hamer, Richard Entwistle, gentlemen, Thomas Shore, Edmund Butterworth, and others, freeholders and undertenants, to the wastes, to drive therefrom strangers' cattle, and finding there a great number of sheep they distrained the same and proceeded to drive them to the Queen's fold, when David Holte, Thomas Holte, James Brereley, Raph Holte, and others, being assembled in the market place of Rochdale, violently assaulted them with swords, rapiers, and daggers, whereupon Gabriell Gartsyde and his companions were obliged to give up the sheep, being "further persuaded thereto by the Steward of the town for the

preservation of the peace."¹ Another Duchy case which was heard 26 Elizabeth [1583-4] furnishes a few details of interest. Thomas Warburton was the plaintiff and John Clough, deputy to Sir John Byron, was the defendant. In the answer of John Clough he states that he thinks the bill of complaint was lodged against him for speaking of the bad behaviour of the plaintiff before Sir John Byron in the January preceding, when Warburton was charged by Charles Lord with "sundry heinous crimes, viz.:—taking up waifs and strays, keeping them secretly, selling them or converting them to his own use without making proclamation, concealing felons, taking their goods and allowing the felons to go, extortion and bribery, clipping sheep and putting his mark on them before they were estrays." With this long list of charges it is not to be wondered at that Sir John Byron discharged him from his office of bailiff of Rochdale. The defendant further states that Sir John Byron and his ancestors had long held, by themselves or their deputies, the bailiwick of Rochdale, and to them belonged all "waifs, strays, and felons' goods" in the parish, and that Sir John had granted to him the office of bailiff, and that he was to enjoy such "profits and comodities" as Nicholas Grymshawe, the late bailiff, had enjoyed."² The bailiwick of Rochdale could only have been held by Grymshawe for a very short time; in 1558 he owned "The Holt," in Butterworth. [See Chap. XVII.] Certain portions of the possessions of the Duchy were not leased with the Manor; for example, certain lands, houses, mines of coal, &c., in Todmorden, Cheesden, Hundersfield, and Heyley, which had been "collected for Her Majesty," were granted by letters patent [12th February, 1580] for twenty-one years to John Blackway, at a rental of £9 19s. About these lands, &c., in 29 Elizabeth [1586-7] it was reported to the Duchy Court that between the freeholders and free tenants and William Barcrofte of "The Lodge," in the County of Lancaster, gentleman (the assignee of Blackway), a controversy had arisen; upon which Charles Holt of Stubley, Esq., and William Asheton of Rochdale, gent., two of the freeholders having compounded with Barcrofte in the name of the remainder of the freeholders, and it was agreed that the case should be decided by a suit at law, the point at issue being—did the wastes and commons belong to the Queen or to the freeholders? The suit, however, had not been prosecuted, and Barcrofte prayed the Court to compel the freeholders to pay the accustomed rents.³

¹ Record Office.—Duchy Pleading, clxix., 37 Eliz., B. 56.

² Do., xci., 26 Eliz., W. 13.

³ Duchy Pleadings, ci., 29 Eliz., B. 18.

Sir John Byron held a Court in 1586 and in 1591, and in the records of the latter he is described as "farmour of Her Majesty's royal Manour of Rachdale for a terme of years." His Steward was Henry Radcliffe; in 1597 his Steward was William Assheton, gentleman. [See Chap. XV.]

There were three Sir John Byrons in succession, who had assigned to them the respective *sobriquets* of "Sir John with the great beard," "Sir John with the peaked beard," and "Swearing Sir John." The Byrons at the close of the sixteenth century lived chiefly at Newstead, but at the same time retaining, and occasionally occupying, Royton Hall near Oldham, which had been for a long period the family residence.

The Sir John Byron above referred to was knighted in 1579, and was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1572 and 1581. On 19th November, 1588, he addressed a letter to the Justices of Salford as to the payment of money for the furnishing of soldiers, which he dated from "Rytoun,"¹ and from "Ryton" he sent in his "declaration of accompts," as one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County, in 1589.² He died in 1603, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, writing to his son, Sir John Byron [1st May, 1603], having referred to the "grievous loss of so vertuous kynd and deare friend, who truely honoured and feared God all his lyffe," he advises him to reduce his establishment at Newstead and for a time live in Lancashire, for, he adds, "withall I take it you are in great debttts, and have many children to provide for, so as unless you take some present and speedy course to free yourself of debttts wch will eate into your state lyke a mothe in your garment."³ This Sir John Byron died in 1625, and the lease granted in 1585 for thirty-one years having expired, the manor reverted to the Crown. In 1625 Sir Richard Mollineux, Knt., was the Steward of the Courts of the manor, and John Nuttall was his deputy. [See Chap. XV.]

Charles I. in the first year of his reign [1625] conveyed the manor to Edward and Robert Ramsay, Esquires, in trust for the Earl of Holderness, who shortly afterwards sold it to Sir Robert Heath, then Attorney General, who in the following year had a very elaborate survey taken of the manor.⁴ Sir Robert Heath having first mortgaged the manor to

¹ Lanc. Lieut., Chet. Soc., i., 215.

² Local Gleanings, x. of Lanc. and Chesh., i., 144.

³ Lodge's Illust. Personages, p. 156.

⁴ In this Survey he describes the Manor of Rachdale as "part of the possessions of the right worsh^l Sir Robert Heath, Knt., Her Majesty's Attorney General." This Survey will be frequently referred to in the following pages as "Manor Survey, 1626." The original MS. is in the possession of W. Law, Esq., a copy is in the Raines "Lanc. MSS.," and I have also a copy of it.—H. F.

Sir John Byron, he finally, on 28th June, 1638, sold it to him in fee for £2,500. This John Byron was the eldest son of Sir John Byron, K.B., by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Mollineux of Sefton in Lancashire. He sat in the last Parliament of James I., and in the first of Charles I., as Member for the Borough, and in 1627-8 for the County of Nottingham, having in the meantime been knighted. In 1634 he was High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire, amongst his other offices he was Lieutenant of the Tower, but it was as a soldier in the Civil War that he was most distinguished. On the breaking out of the Civil War Byron joined the King's forces at York; he took a prominent part in the siege of Worcester and the battle of Edgehill, at the first battle of Newbury he commanded the horse of the right wing. As a reward for his services the King, by letters patent dated at Oxford, 24th October, 1643, created him a Baron of England by the title of Baron Byron of Rochdale, the title to be limited to his issue, or to that of his six brothers. Byron continued to take a leading part in the war until May, 1646, when by the King's orders he surrendered Carnarvon Castle. Subsequently he joined the Queen's Court at Paris, where he was appointed superintendent-general of the house and family of the Duke of York in 1651. At this time he was one of the seven "rebels" who, Parliament declared, were to expect no pardon; he died in exile in 1652, leaving no issue. He was twice married:—first to Cecilia, daughter of the Earl of Delaware and widow of Sir Francis Bindloss, Knt.; and second to Eleanor,¹ daughter of Robert Needham, Viscount Kilmurrey, Ireland, and widow of Peter Warburton of Arley, Cheshire.² The possessions of Byron became confiscated to the Commonwealth, probably in 1649, certainly before 10th October, 1650, when Edward Butterworth, Esq., was farmer of the manor for a term of years, Andrew Holden being his Steward.³

On 9th November, 1652, Sir Thomas Alcock, Knt., of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, held a Court of "his Manor of Rochdale;" and on 5th August, 1653, he appointed Simon Keble of Chancery Lane, London, gentleman, or his attorney, to collect all payments and rents of his "Lordship or Manor," and to act as Steward for keeping "three weeks Cortes, the Corte Leete and Corte Baron," and in the January following

¹ Pepys in his Diary (26th April, 1670) says that Byron's second wife was "the King's seventeenth mistress abroad."

² Dictionary of National Biography. Harleian MSS., 2135, Clarendon's Rebellion.

³ Court Roll.

Keble appointed Gabriel Gartside, gentleman, to act as his deputy.¹ In 1654 and 1656 William Wilkinson was steward.² By indenture dated 4th July, 1658, the manor was conveyed by Rowland Alcocke of London, merchant, to Christopher Cratford of Covent Garden, London, gent., and who the same day leased it for eleven years to Richard Byron of Newstead, who was to pay for the first seven years of the term £80 annually in "the common dining hall in the Middle Temple, London," and afterwards one peppercorn on 6th July, if demanded.³ In 1658 Gabriel Gartside was again acting as steward, and held the office for several years.

Before the expiration of the eleven years' lease the Restoration took place, and we find from the Court Roll of 9th October, 1661, that Richard, Lord Byron, held the manor; he was brother of the first Lord Byron and succeeded to the title, and like his predecessor had distinguished himself as a Royalist in the Civil War. In 1643 he was Governor of Newark;⁴ he was twice married:—first to Elizabeth, daughter of George Rossel; and second to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Booth; and died 4th October, 1679, aged 79. He was succeeded by his son William, the third Lord Byron, who died in 1695, and the title passed to his son, William, the fourth Lord Byron, who died 8th August, 1736, and his son William succeeded. William, the fifth Lord Byron, was the hero of the well-known Chaworth duel; he was tried and found guilty of manslaughter, but obtained his discharge under the statute of Edward VI.; he died 19th May, 1798, without surviving issue. The fifth Lord Byron was succeeded by George Gordon Byron the poet, who was the only son of the Hon. Captain John Byron, son of Vice-Admiral John Byron, brother to the late lord.

There were thus six Lord Byrons held the manor of Rochdale, but the connexion between the parish and the illustrious family which had existed for so many centuries was soon to be severed. A Bill was filed in the Court of Chancery, 4th May, 1791,⁵ William, Lord Byron, *versus* Simon Dearden of Rochdale, gentleman, and John Lomax of Tunncliffe, coal miner, lessees of William, Lord Byron, and Henry Barlow of Rochdale, yeoman, John Lord of Cowme in Spotland, yeoman, and John Lord of High Yate in Spotland, chapman, lessees and assignees of the said Dearden and Lomax. The Bill recites that Lord Byron, as lord of the

¹ Raines' Lanc. MS., viii., 38 (Manor Deeds).

² Do. " 43 "

³ Court Records.

⁴ See Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson.

⁵ Amended 31st May, 1791, and again 30th Oct., 1792.—Raines' Lanc. MSS., V. 129.

manor, is entitled to all the coal mines under the copyhold and demesne lands in the several hamlets named; and that by indenture dated 24th August, 1784, he had leased to Simon Dearden and John Lomax, all the coal under the waste land at Middle Hill, Hendon Yate in Spotland, and Hades Hill, Middle Hill, Whitehill, Shore Moor, Trough Edge, Little Deyne, and Tooter Hill in Hundersfield, for twenty-one years, at an annual rental of £60. Dearden and Lomax, by indenture 18th December, 1787, sub-let the said mines for eighteen years to the said Henry Barton and John Lord, except those under Middle Hill, Hendon Yate, and copyhold lands in Whitworth, at a yearly rent of £42, and one half the clear profits which arose from the sale of the coals. The defendant, on 31st March, 1790, opened mines in divers places and got coal for sale to the value of £250, and out of Barlow and Lord's mines another £250. Other people had got coal, pretending that they were freeholders and entitled to get such coal; this the plaintiff admits, so far as relates to coal got out of waste lands adjoining their respective freeholds, and to be used for their families. The plaintiff asks that the defendant be by injunction stopped from getting the coals.

Thirty years pass away and plaintiff and defendant are both dead, but their descendants are still at law about the coals and manorial rights. The following letter from Lord Byron shows that he at all events was tired of the law's interminable delays; and, moreover, he was often in want of money, whilst the defendant went on quietly getting the coals and out of the profits paying his costs.

Sir,

Genoa, 9^{bre} 18, 1822.

You and I have now been eighteen years at law with various success. I succeeded in two decisions and you in one. The appeal is now before the House of Lords. Of the original occasion of this suit I have no great knowledge, since I inherited it and was a child when it began, and for ought I know may arrive at second childhood before it terminates. But I write to you to enquire whether an accommodation might not be at least attempted, and I have not consulted with my lawyers, because they of course would advise the contrary—as your own very probably—but I despatch my letter through the medium of the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, my personal friend—as well as trustee—a man of honour and business—who will either meet yourself or any friend to discuss the subject. I have no particular proposition to make, but am willing to adjust the business on what may be deemed an equitable basis, either by arbitration or a mutual agreement. My motives for this are simply that I think it would spare anxiety to both sides, and I am neither instigated by avidity nor necessity. My expenses for the suit are paid up to the present period—so that if I loose I should be but where I was, whereas if you loose the loss will be considerable, since the litigated property has been and still is in your present occupation. I should be

willing to part also with the undisputed part of the Rochdale manor, because I wish to invest the produce of that as well as other monies, and have thought of permanently settling either in Italy or elsewhere.

Perhaps, therefore, a mode might be found of combining the two, viz., the adjustment of our lawsuit and the sale of the remainder of the manor, which might not be to your disadvantage. I repeat (as a little enquiry will inform you) that I am not actuated by avidity or necessity, but by the natural wish to terminate a long lawsuit with its uncertainties. My debts have long been liquidated by the sale of Newstead, and the purchase money settled and invested, and early in the winter of 1822 I acquired a considerable concession of income by the demise of the mother of Lady Byron.

If you accept this propposal [*sic*] for the conference, either in person or by proxy, with the Honourable Mr. Kinnaird or Mr. Crabtree (agent of Sir Francis Burdett and of me at Kirkby Mallory), acting for him and me, you can write to Mr. Kinnaird in answer to this, as I am too remote for immediate correspondence, or if not things are but where they were. In either case I bear you no enmity whatever on account of your long litigation, which you can hardly regret more than I do.

I have the honour to be yr obed. serv^t,

To J. Dearden, Esq.

NOEL BYRON.¹

P.S.—I give you my honour that I have not consulted with my lawyer on this point, nor made anyone acquainted with the propposition [*sic*]. I have, however, no objection to your advising with your own on the subject.²

In a second letter, dated 22nd January, 1823, Byron repeats his former offer, and adds that if the matter is not settled before the spring he would come to England and meet Mr. Dearden. In this year [1823] Lord Byron sold the manor of Rochdale to James Dearden, Esq., whose grandson, James Griffith Dearden, Esq., is the present owner. [Manor Records, see Chap. XV.]

The manor of Rochdale had by this time become a possession of much less importance than formerly, a great portion of the land having become alienated or disfranchised. The formation of the Court of Request in 1839, and the County Court in 1847, deprived the Manor Court of what was left of its ancient power. Manor Courts are still held periodically.

Lord Byron, probably when treating with the Deardens about the manor, stayed some days at Hopwood Hall. Mr. Hopwood was from home, but it is said that the poet "made himself very acceptable to the ladies, who took care to let him know that they regarded him as a lion. He was, however, reserved and silent on the last day of his visit, being

¹ In a letter to Mr. Moore, 8th June, 1822, Lord Byron writes, "You see the great advantage of my new signature—it may stand for 'Nota bene' or 'Noel Byron.'"

² This letter is or was preserved amongst the papers of the late James Dearden, Esq. See Raines' Lanc. MSS. xxi., 85.

the day on which Mr. Hopwood arrived at home, Lord Byron abstained from all animal food, and showed a remarkable predilection for pickles and vegetables. At this time his hands were so attenuated and fair as to be almost transparent.”¹

Having traced the history of the manor to the present time, we must turn back to the records affecting the parish in general. Before the close of the eleventh century the De Lacy family settled at Clitheroe castle, which became the seat of local authority, and it was not until then that Lancashire began to fully realise the effects of the Norman conquest. Lands which had been held under Saxon chiefs would now pass into other hands, and be held on different terms. The existing charters of the twelfth century show how gradually the lands in Rochdale were becoming, even at that earlier period, granted for various terms, and with divers reservations, rents and services, to the individuals who were then living on the soil. The history of the church will be found in Chapter VI.; it will be sufficient to say here that it certainly existed at this time. The old Saxon castle [see Chap. II.] was in ruins, and doubtless the statement made by the Abbot of Stanlawe in 1296 was correct, viz., that “Rachedal” was neither a borough nor a town, and that the church was called the church of Castleton in Rochdale, and not the church of Rochdale.² A brief description of the parish about this time has been preserved:—“Rachedale, of old called Rachedam, is a certain district more than twelve miles long and more than ten miles broad, and worth £400 a year, and contains four villages and several hamlets, with many large wastes and pastures in the same villages and hamlets, viz., Hondresfeld, Spoddenland, Buckworth [Butterworth], and Castleton.”³

The monastery of Stanlawe was founded in 1178, and not only did its founder endow it with Rochdale land, but many who were landowners here followed his example, so that this religious house, and afterwards that of Whalley, acquired large portions of the parish.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the population of Rochdale must have been small, and scattered about in various parts of its four divisions, but it would naturally follow that near the church and the site where the fairs and markets were held would be formed the nucleus of the future town.

In the year 1332 (6 Edward III.) the laity of the county were

¹ Raines' Lanc. MSS.

² Ass. Lanc. 20, Edw. I., m. 31, *in dorso*.

³ Harl. MSS., 1830, fo. 18B.

taxed to the fifteenths and tenths granted to the King by Parliament for the Scotch wars. This Subsidy Roll gives us the names of the people who were worth taxing. In the entire parish there were thirty-three rate-payers, and the total rate raised was £4 15s. The following is the complete list; it will be noticed that Rochdale is not named.

SUBSIDY 6 EDWARD III. [1332.]—WAPENTAKE OF SALFORDSHIRE.

BUTTERWORTH.—De Ricardo de Byronn	- - - - -	v. s.	vij. d.	oḡ.
De Adam de Belfeld	- - - - -	v. s.	vij. d.	oḡ.
De Adam de Turnagh	- - - - -	ij. s.		
De Willelmo le Wilde	- - - - -		xij. d.	
De Henrico de Belfeld	- - - - -		ix. d.	
De Henrico de Butterworth	- - - - -	ij. s.		
Summa	- - -		xvij. s.	ii. d.

SPOTLAND.—De Ricardo de Baumford	- - - - -	iiij. s.		
De Galfrido le Hayward	- - - - -		xvj. d.	
De Roberto de Heghlegħ	- - - - -	iiij. s.		
De Johanne de Wolstonholm	- - - - -	iiij. s.		
De Willelmo le Wolfe	- - - - -	ix. s.	iiij. d.	
De Roberto le Haiward	- - - - -	ij. s.	j. d.	
De Galfrido de Heghlegħ	- - - - -	v. s.		
De Adam de Bradelegħ	- - - - -	iiij. s.	iiij. d.	
De Willelmo de Craweshagh	- - - - -	iiij. s.		
Summa	- - -		xxxiiij. s.	

HUNRESFELD.—De Henrico de Wordhull	- - - - -	iiij. s.	v. d.	qa
De Adam de Birdeshull	- - - - -	iiij. s.	vj. d.	qa
De Willelmo del Shore	- - - - -	iiij. s.	vij. d.	
De Matheo de Kirkeshagh	- - - - -	iiij. s.	ij. d.	qa
De Cristiano de Bukkelegħ	- - - - -	iiij. s.	ij. d.	qa
De Henrico Tyrry	- - - - -	iiij. s.	vj. d.	
De Henrico de Slaveden	- - - - -		xij. d.	
De Adam de Heghlegħ	- - - - -		xvij. d.	
De Rogero de [D']Ernelegħ	- - - - -		xij. d.	
De Willelmo Omy	- - - - -		xij. d.	
Summa	- - -		xxx. s.	

CASTLETON.—De Nicholas del Slak	- - - - -	ij. s.	j. d.	oḡ.
De Rogero de Birdeshull	- - - - -		xx. d.	qa
De Henrico del Slak	- - - - -		xx. d.	qa
De Johanne de Kirkdale	- - - - -	iiij. s.		

De Johanne de Birdeshull - - - - -	x. d. 05
De Johanne de Holden - - - - -	x. d. 05
De Nicholas de Castleton - - - - -	x. d. 05
De Willelmo le Mercer - - . - -	x. d. 05
Summa - - -	xij. s. ¹

A very early Court Roll, 9 and 10 Edward III. [1335-6], has been preserved, which furnishes some interesting particulars of that period; the items refer to the Court fees. About a score of cases appear to have been dealt with at each Court, and include the sale of bad beer, the selling of flesh without license, bread against the assize, false claims, and breaking the peace; we find mention of the miller, the tunwright, the dyer, the smith, and other tradesmen. [See Chap. XV.]

It has been frequently asserted that in the time of Edward III. a great influx of Flemish emigrants settled in Rochdale; this is utterly without foundation, and that such was not the case is borne out by the names found in the records of the period, and by the fact that even as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century the parish registers show an almost entire absence of foreign names.² A competent authority on this subject gives it as his opinion that in the register for 1582 to 1616 there is scarcely a single Dutch or Flemish name.

In February, 1340, King Edward, returning from France, asked his Parliament for means to enable him to carry on the war; to this appeal the House of Commons made a grant of the ninth fleece of wool and the ninth sheaf of corn for the next two years, as well as the ninth of all the goods and chattels of boroughs and cities. The return for Rochdale was, "Ancient tax xxxv. marks, the ninths of sheaves, wool and lambs, with Saddleworth, which is in Yorkshire, are worth £10, of which Hundersfield is worth lxxij. s. iiij. d., and Spotland, Bottreworth and Castleton lordships xxvi. s. viii. d." ³ Comparing this with Poulton-le-Fylde, a parish of about one-half the acreage of Rochdale, it will be seen that the quantity of corn, wool and sheep was much less in the latter than in the former. The tax for Poulton amounted to twenty marks, *i. e.*, £13 7s. 8d. At this time and for long afterwards large portions of the parish were entirely uncultivated, and in some part

¹ Record Office, 6 Edw. III., No. 130—6.

² Mardyke and Dunkirk, in the town of Rochdale, have been thought to mark a Flemish settlement, but these names are comparatively modern, and are said to have been given by the Smiths (who had in the last century their dye-works there) in honour of two places with which they did a good trade.

³ Nonarum Inquis., Record Office.

abounded in deer and game of various kinds; so much so that Henry, the Duke of Lancaster, had certain justices assigned to try malefactors for trespass in his "free chaces" of Bowland, Pendle, Trowden, Rossendale, Romsgreave, and Rochdale; this order was dated 4th March, 1361.¹

In the last year of Edward III. [1377] Parliament granted a subsidy of a groat a head for every man or woman of fourteen years and upwards, "except real beggars," but in 1379 the older form was again taken up, *i. e.*, the ratepayers were charged according to their rank and possessions, and it was the abandonment of this system and the re-introduction of the poll tax which led to the well-known Wat Tyler's rebellion. One of these lay subsidies, or poll taxes, levied in 4 Richard II. [1380-81], furnishes most interesting details concerning this parish, for on this occasion every male (except the clergy) and female, married or single, over the age of fifteen years was to pay three groats. Doubtless some of the poorest of the people escaped taxation, but nevertheless the roll gives an almost complete local directory. There were 146 paid the shilling, so the total collected was £7 6s. In towns and cities the aggregate amount was to be divided amongst the inhabitants as they were able, no one to pay less than one groat nor more than sixty; Rochdale was, however, not dealt with in this way.

LAY SUBSIDY 4 RICHARD II. [1380-81.]

SPOTLAND.

Ada ^o schewynd - - - -	xij. d.
Thom. fauside - - - -	xij. d.
Mergret de Clegge - - -	xij. d.
Rob ^o de byrkyl - - - -	xij. d.
Rob ^o fil ^o Ade - - - -	xij. d.
Galfri fil ^o Cecilie - - -	xij. d.
Maria de Derden - - - -	xij. d.
Wittms de Crauschagh - -	xij. d.
Galfri le Haywart - - -	xij. d.
Nicol le Coke v ^o eius - -	ij. s.
Rob ^o le Coup v ^o eius - -	ij. s.
Ri ^o le Haywart v ^o eius - -	ij. s.
Henr ^o le Haywart v ^o eius -	ij. s.
Ad ^o Hanson v ^o eius - - -	ij. s.
Will ^o fil ^o Henr ^o v ^o eius -	ij. s.
Ad ^o Mansele v ^o eius - - -	ij. s.
Alex ^o de Roclyffe v ^o eius -	ij. s.

Jo ^o es fil ^o Mergetson v ^o eius	ij. s.
Wittms de byrkyl v ^o eius -	ij. s.
Henr ^o fil ^o Galfri v ^o eius -	ij. s.
Witt del Greue v ^o eius - -	ij. s.
Witt de Chadwyck v ^o eius -	ij. s.
Henr ^o de Wolstan ^o v ^o eius	ij. s.
Henr ^o de Chadwyck v ^o eius	ij. s.
Summa personarum -	xxxix.
Summa denar ^o - - -	xxxix. s.

CASTULTON.

Henr ^o de Holden v ^o eius -	ij. s.
Galfri Newbolt v ^o eius - -	ij. s.
Thomas le Haywart v ^o eius	ij. s.
Thomas de Crompton v ^o eius	ij. s.
Ad ^o Nichou ^o v ^o eius - - -	ij. s.
Jo ^o es Gepsou ^o v ^o eius - - -	ij. s.
Rob ^o le Haywart v ^o eius -	ij. s.

¹ Record Office, Class xxv., A. 3.

Henr ^o le fisher v ^x eius - -	ij. s.
Jo ^h es Haysou ^o vx eius - -	ij. s.
Ad ^o Wordol - - - - -	xij. d.
Alic ^o S ^o le weker [sic] - -	xij. d.
Summa personarum -	xx.
Summa denar ^o - - -	xx. s.

HUNRESFELT.

Ri ^o del Milnehous v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Nicol de v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Rob ^o le Coup v ^x eiusdem -	ij. s.
Mabol le Clerk - - - -	ij. s.
Alic ^o le lister - - - - -	xij. d.
Alic ^o fil eius - - - - -	xij. d.
Rob ^o le lister - - - - -	xij. d.
Jo ^h es [B ?]uckley v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Henr ^o de Haworth v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Jo ^h del Stok v ^x eius - -	ij. s.
Rog ^o de Clegg vx eiusdem -	ij. s.
Rob ^o de Hamer vx eius -	ij. s.

[Here a piece of the roll has been
torn off.]

Thomas v ^x eius	
Ric ^o de Haworth - - - -	xij. d.
Jo ^h es de Haworth - - - -	xij. d.
Witt de Genur [?] v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Witt de Haworth v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Thomas de Haw v ^x eius - - -	ij. s.
Rob ^o de Haworth v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Jo ^h es Badde v ^x eius - - -	ij. s.
Ad ^o del Hull ¹ v ^x eius - -	ij. s.
Jo ^h es de trual v ^x eius - -	ij. s.
Jo ^h es Milictmon v ^x eius -	ij. s.

Witt de Stanringges v ^x eius	ij. s.
Galfri del Hull ¹ - - - -	ij. s.
.
. v ^x eius -	ij. s.
Jo ^h es de Sale v ^x eius - -	ij. s.
Summa personarum -	liiij.
Summa denar ^o - - -	liiij. s.

BOTRWORTH.

Jo ^h es del Schofelt v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Witts de Hull ¹ v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Ric ^o de belfilt v ^x eiusdem -	ij. s.
Ad ^o de Quake [?] v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Ric ^o de belfelt sen ^o v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Ad ^o le Taleor v ^x eius - -	ij. s.
Ad ^o de Clegg - - - - -	xij. d.
Witts del Milne - - - -	xij. d.
Alex ^o de Botrworth v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Rob ^o de Crompton v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Ro ^o de Bo ^l worth - - - -	xii. d.
Galfri de bucley vx eiusdem	ij. s.
Ri ^o de Bo ^l worth v ^x eiusdem	ij. s.
Jo ^h es v ^x eiusdem -	ij. s.
Thomas Scholfelt - - - -	xij. d.
Jo ^h es de Scholfelt - - - -	xij. d.
Thom ^o de bucley - - - - -	xij. d.
Jo ^h es de Schor - - - - -	xij. d.
Magot del Sikes - - - -	xij. d.
Agn ^o relicta Rogeri - - -	xij. d.
Jo ^h es del sikes - - - - -	xij. d.
Johna de Bo ^l worth - - -	xij. d.
Summa personarum -	xxxiiij.
Summa denar ^o - - -	xxxiii. s.

During the greater part of the fifteenth century raged the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, and as a natural consequence the public records are extremely scarce—especially those of a purely local character. During this period we find, however, occasional charters showing that houses and barns were being built and lands enclosed from the commons

¹ In the original this is clearly written Hull. Occasionally in early records Hull is written for Hill. No family of the former name is known to have lived here, but there was a family called Hill.

and wastes, and we may infer that the population was slowly increasing. The chapels of Butterworth (afterwards called Milnrow), Littleborough and Todmorden were now founded. The occupation of the people was purely an agricultural one, the staple trade (if it may be so called) being the growth of wool. Sheep were kept in considerable quantities, and here and there, as in Brandwood, herds of cattle found pasture. Although in some parts of England a kind of coarse woollen cloth was made at a very early period, for the most part the wool growers sold their wool and the cloth was manufactured abroad. In the fifteenth century almost all our articles of domestic use were imported, we received cloth from Flanders, lace from Mechlin, damask from Damascus, glass from Venice, cordovan leather from Cordova; but, as a writer quaintly puts it, "the ribs of all people throughout the world were kept warm with English wool."¹ In the early part of the sixteenth century the demand for wool for exportation was so great that large quantities of arable land in England were converted into pasture, and no doubt to some extent this was done in this parish. Sheep, which a few years before could be bought for three shillings, now sold for at least six shillings.²

From a subsidy levied to meet the expenses of the war with France in 1523 it appears that only fifty-three people in the entire parish were rateable, and although the tax was a shilling in the pound on land and sixpence in the pound on goods, the amount paid was but a little over £12.

LAY SUBSIDY, 1523.³

PAROCHIA DE RACHDALE.	VALUE.	TAX.
Robt Holte in lands - - - -	xx. li.	xx. s.
Charles Radcliff in lands - - -	xx. li.	xx. s.
John Thomson in lands - - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
John Crosseley in lands - - - -	iiij. li. vj. s. viij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
John Laurte in lands - - - -	iiij. li. vj. s. viiiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Jamys Grenewodde in lands - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
Edward Scolfelde in lands - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
Roger Lightollers in lands - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
Laurence Nevall in lands - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
Gefferey Kyrshawe in lands - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
Edmunde Whitehede in lands - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.
Jamys fletcher in lands - - - -	iiij. li.	iiij. s.

¹ Matthew Paris.² Act of Parl., 25 Hen. VIII., C. 13.³ Record Office Exchequer, No. $\frac{130}{70}$ 1523.

Edmunde Haworthe in lands	- -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Gilbt Holte in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.	vj. s. viij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Berten Hamor in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Rauffe Schowre in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Edmund Entwissell in lands	- -	iiij. li.	vj. s. viij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Jamys Bulkey in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Henr. Holte de fyldehouse in lands		iiij. li.	vj. s. viij. d.	iiij. s. viij. d.
Thom. Butterworthe in lands	- -		xxxiiij. s. iiij. d.	xx. d.
Ric. Mylne in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Adam Belfeld in lands [£6 13s. 4d.]		x markes		vj. s. viij. d.
Thom. Hyll in lands	- - - - -		xxxiiij. s. iiij. d.	xx. d.
John Scolfeld in lands	- - - - -		xl. s.	ij. s.
Rauffe Clegge in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Thomas Warberton in lands	- -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
John Tailor in lands	- - - - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Robt Butterworthe in lands	- - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
John Wolstaneholme in lands	- -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Thom. Chadwike in lands	- - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Robt Hoppewodde in lands	- - -		xxxiiij. s. iiij. d.	xx. d.
Olyver Chadwik in lands	- - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Roger Gartese in lands	- - -	iiij. li.		iiij. s.
Adam Holte in lands	- - - - -		xl. s.	ij. s.
Richard Schepperd in goods	- -	xxij. li.		xjs. s.
Peter Butterworthe in goods	- -	vj. li.	xiiij. s. iiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Jamys Clegge in goods	- - - - -	vj. li.		iiij. s.
Ric. Grenerawde in goods	- - -	xv. li.		xx. s.
Alex. Kyrshawe in goods	- - -	vj. li.	xiii. s. iiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Wittm. Mylne in goods	- - - - -	vj. li.	xiiij. s. iiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Jamys ffylden in goods	- - - - -	vj. li.	xiiij. s. iiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Randill Smyth in goods	- - - - -	xiiij. li.	vj. s. viij. d.	vj. s. viij. d.
Thom. Nelson in goods	- - - - -	xiiij. li.	vj. s. viij. d.	vj. s. viij. d.
Alan Hill in goods	- - - - -	viiij. li.		iiij. s.
Edmunde Haworth in goods	- -	viiij. li.	xiiij. s. iiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Jamys Walsden in goods	- - -	viiij. li.		iiij. s.
Randill Haworthe in goods	- - -	vj. li.	xiiij. s. iiij. d.	iiij. s. iiij. d.
Laurence Chadwik in goods	- -	vj. li.		iiij. s.
Ellys Chadwik in goods	- - - - -	vj. li.		iiij. s.
Jamys Breerley sen. in goods	- -	x. li.		v. s.
Wittm Asshetan in goods	- - -	x. li.		v. s.
Jamys Breerly jun. in goods	- -	x. li.		v. s.
Hugh Wolstoneholme in goods	-	vj. li.		iiij. s.

Summa totalis paroch de Rachedale predict^o - xij. li. viij. d.

In a little short of twenty years after this another subsidy was made, when the rate from Rochdale yielded £15 11s. 6d., which was paid by

twenty-five ratepayers. This tax, like the one in 1523, was one shilling in the pound on land and sixpence on goods. It is difficult to account for the absence of several names in the later roll which appear in the former. In some cases the value of the land held is considerably increased, Robert Holt's being exactly double.

LAY SUBSIDY, 1541.¹

HONERSFELD.

Robart Holte Squyer one of the Comyssyoners for xl. li. in lands	- xl. s.
Edward Radcliffe for xx. li. in lands	- - - - - xx. s.
Rychard Sheparde for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
John Kershawe of Henshawe for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Rychard Greneroude for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
John Hallywell for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
James Stott for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Roger Gartsyde for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Arthur Assheton for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Rychard Hyll for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.

SPOTLAND.

James Gartside for xxij. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Thomas Chadwycke for xlij. li. in goods	- - - - - xl. s.
Robart Houarth for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
James Assheworth for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
James Clegge the Elder for xxi. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s. vi. d.
Rondull Howarth for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Ellys Chadwyck the Elder for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
James Butterworth for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.

BUTTERWORTH.

Robart Butterworth for xx. li. in lands	- - - - - xx. s.
Laurance Hopwood for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Alexander Clegg for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Robart Brereley of Bynnes for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.

CASTYLTON.

Adam Holte for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.
Robert Chadwyck of Warmhole for xl. li. in goods	- - - - - xx. s.
James Buckley for xx. li. in goods	- - - - - x. s.

¹ Record Office, No. $\frac{130}{114}$ 38 Hen. VIII. See also Record Soc. of Lanc. and Ches., xii. There is a slight difference between the two copies; the above is the official record.

The growing importance of Rochdale market may be inferred from the fact that the rector of Bury (Richard Johnes) by his will dated 15th June, 1568, bequeathed to one hundred of the poorest housekeepers of Bury, "to every one of them half a hope of ote mele or money to bye yt withall as the pryce is in Rachedale marketh."¹

The manor Court Rolls for 1466 [see Chap. XV.] furnish some interesting details of the events of the day, such as the playing of unlawful games, allowing gambling in the public houses, the harbouring of "vagabonds and valient bedgers," "sleting"² men's cattle, opening unlawful ways, obstructing old ones, and, of course, selling ale without a license. In 1584-5 James Belfeld was the bear-ward of the parish, and two church-reves, Thomas Buckley and James Hallywell, charged him and Robert Butterworth the younger with keeping "twoe typlynge innes," to which resorted "dyvers wylful and unrulye" people, not only to "typle" but to do other unlawful acts, on the Sunday and other festival days. Nor was this all the indictment; it was further alleged that they refused "to heare sarmones or sarvice," and that they did not attend the "chatechysinges or godly exercises" in the parish church, and to add to their offences they "spake evill and contemptus wordes agaynst Master Mydgelaye," the vicar.³

Some idea of the relative position of Rochdale as compared with the other parishes in the immediate neighbourhood may be formed from the assessment made in 1574 for military equipment. Rochdale was rated for £9 5s., Oldham (*i. e.*, Prestwich and Oldham) £5, Middleton £5, and Ashton £4 10s.⁴ In 1562 the Rochdale Grammar School was founded. [See Chap. XIV.]

The woollen trade had now become of considerable importance in Lancashire. Very early in the century Manchester was doing a good business in the making of linen and woollen cloths; amongst the latter were a coarse kind of woollens known as "coatings," or "cottons." Leland reported in 1538 that Bolton "market stondith most by cottons, and divers villages in the moores about Bolton do make cottons." We have no evidence that woollen manufacture was yet established in Rochdale. Camden, writing in 1582, says that Manchester "excels the towns immediately around it in woollen manufacture," but of Rochdale he merely records that there was here a "market of no small resort," but we have abundant proof that the inhabitants of the parish were alive to the

¹ Chet. Soc., li., 224.

² To slete or slate = to set a dog at, to bait.

³ Chest Reg. Chet., Misc., v., 46.

⁴ Lanc. Lieut., Chet. Soc., xlix., 65.

importance of the rapidly developing industry, and that if they did not themselves manufacture they were giving their attention to the buying and selling of the goods fabricated. In 8 Elizabeth [1565-6] Thomas Leigh, who was the Queen's Alnager,¹ commenced proceedings in the Duchy Court against his deputies for counterfeiting his seal and delivering pieces of wax impressed with the same to certain persons in Manchester, Rochdale, Salford, Bolton and Bury, to affix to "cottons, frizes and ruggs," contrary to the statute.² In 1568 Arthur Heyley [Healey] of Rochdale complained that one Edmund Heyward of the same place, about St. George's day, 10 Elizabeth [23rd April, 1568], desired him (he being accustomed to buy and sell cottons and other cloths) to obtain in his own name, but for their joint use, eight pieces of cloth commonly called cotton from James Heyward, brother of the said Edmund, at such a price and on such terms of payment as could be agreed upon. The two were to be "partners in the said cottons, as well in the loss as in the commodity which might grow by such bargains." The eight pieces were purchased for £10 8s., payable on certain days, and the plaintiff became bound by deed for the due payment thereof, and subsequently he purchased six more pieces of cottons of one Rauf Smith, for £7 16s., upon the same conditions. Having done this he caused the fourteen pieces to be done up into two "packs," and together with a letter to Roger Heyley (living in London), authorising him to sell the goods, he dispatched the same by John Fletcher, a carrier, to the metropolis; the cost of the carriage amounted to 11s. 4d. The goods were sold in London for £20, to be paid for in two months; before the expiration of this time the purchaser became bankrupt, whereupon Edmund Heyward, seeing there was no chance of a profit being made, denied the partnership and refused to pay his share of the loss.³

Paying by bill appears to have been at this time customary. John Wilkinson of Elland, in the parish of Halifax, clothier, lodged a complaint in the Duchy Court against Alexander Chadwick of Rochdale, the substance of which was that about the year 1574 he delivered to Alexander Chadwick certain woollen cloths and "other woollen wares and merchandises," of the value of twenty marks [£13 6s. 8d.], for the payment of which Chadwick became bound "by his bill obligatory at certain daies and

¹ An officer appointed to inspect and measure woollen cloths. In 1566 he was allowed a deputy in Rochdale (8 Eliz., Cap. 12).

² Record Office Pleadings, xxvii., L. 3.

³ Record Office Pleadings, xxxii., 9 Eliz., II. 25. This document is almost obliterated.

times" then past. The plaintiff was a "bachelor and a yonge man unmaryed, and dwelling in the house of Robert Wilkinson, his father, in Elland," and it appears that he left Chadwick's "bill obligatory" at home and went "abrode in the south contrye about his affairs," and that during his absence Robert Wilkinson, by his "synister practyse and lewde dealynges," got possession of the bill and refused to pay, although the plaintiff had at sundry times in the "most gentle manner and friendly order" requested him to do so.¹ The defendant's reply has not been preserved. We have here an instance of a Rochdale man buying his goods from Halifax, where they had probably been manufactured.

The sale of cottons in the parish must now have become considerable. In 29 Elizabeth [1586-7], Ralph Sorowcolde of Manchester, merchant, appeared as plaintiff, and John Warberton and Henry Breereley mercers of Rochdale, as defendants, the matter in dispute being a debt or bond for Lancashire cottons. The plaintiff alleged that the defendants, at Chester on 5th July, 1584, acknowledged that they owed him £800 for cotton cloths, &c., which was to be paid the Michaelmas following, and to secure such payment they became bound in "all the goods and chattels, lands, &c., which they had within the realm of England." As no part of the money had been paid he had obtained from the High Court on 15th November, 1586, a process to be directed to the Sheriff of Lancashire, to enquire what were the possessions of Warberton and Breereley. Accordingly a jury had been impanelled at Manchester, 4th June, 1587, and found that John Warberton and Henry Breereley possessed goods and chattels in Rochdale worth £150, and were seised of a messuage called a clothehouse, a dwelling-house, divers shops, with certain lands and tenements which they held for their lives, and the life of Jane Warberton, wife of John Warberton, and Jane Breereley, wife of Henry Breereley. These premises had been extended to satisfy the debt of £800, and possession had been given to the plaintiff, who had allowed the goods and chattels to remain in the shops and houses, and had afterwards brought there some of his own wares, and had put Roger Persevell, one of his apprentices, in charge of the same. For some time the defendants absented themselves for fear of arrest, and remained "in a place unknown" until 26th September, 1588, when they returned, and with Ellis Ainsworth of Bolton, gentleman, and divers other persons they forcibly entered the house and shop where the plaintiff's servant was, and by force carried away not only

¹ Record Office Pleadings, lxviii., 20 Eliz., W. 5.

the goods which were extended but also those belonging to the plaintiff, to the value of £400, and refused to deliver up the same. The reply of the defendants was to the effect that about July, 1584, they had become bound to the plaintiff in the sum of £800, in consideration of Lancashire cottons worth £500, which should have been delivered before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, but at that time only £230 worth had been received. It was further agreed that the £500 was to be paid by weekly instalments; they also say that the non-delivery of the cottons had greatly inconvenienced them, as they had in consequence had to forfeit certain bonds and became indebted to their creditors for £2075 10s. 9d., and were obliged to compound with them for eight shillings in the pound, to be paid in seven years. The defendant retained the bond of £800 (which should have been cancelled) and promised never to use it, nevertheless he "most unconscionably" obtained execution upon it. Ellis Ainsworth replied that John Warberton's goods were of far less value than had been stated, and that he was outlawed in London "by virtue of a process" out of the Court of Common Pleas, whereby his goods had become the property of Christopher Anderton, Esq., the Queen's farmer of the goods of outlaws in Lancashire, who long ago had sold them to Thomas Warberton and Henry Brearley, who caused them to be removed to his (Ainsworth's) house in Bolton.¹ Ralph Sorowcolde died, and the dispute was taken up by Katherine, his widow and executrix, who alleged that Francis Holt of Gristlehurst and Thomas his son, or one of them, was seised in fee of a house, gardens, barns, a shop, and other buildings called Underwood, Tentercrofte, Barnecrofte and Marled Earth, in the townships of Hundersfield and Spotland, then or late in occupation of John Warberton; and being so seised, about the 8th January, 25 Elizabeth [1583], he had granted the same to John Warberton for his life and the life of Jane, his wife, and of Henry Breareley, all of whom were then alive; John Warberton had assigned these premises as security for £800 due to her late husband; the debt was still unpaid, but after the death of Ralph Sorowcolde, Warberton had re-entered into the premises, and Thomas Holt, having got hold of the original lease, had become "confederate with one Edmund Leigh," to the "utter undoing of her poor children, being two in number and otherwise totally unprovided for," and she prays the Court to give her remedy.²

Another evidence of the growth of the parish is the development

¹ Record Office, Duchy Pleadings, C. 29 Eliz., S. 28.

² Duchy Court, Record Office, Pleadings, 36 Eliz., cxxvi., S. 20.

of the mines of coal and minerals, some of which were near to the surface and thus easily got. In 19 Elizabeth [1576-7] an action was commenced between Ralph Holt and Richard Lynney, and Arthur Smith and Ralph Hallowes, respecting a coal mine in Falinge;¹ and in 22 Elizabeth [1580] the Attorney General of the Duchy informed the Court that whereas the Queen in the right of the Duchy was seised of, *inter alia*, several parcels of land in Todmorden, a parcel of land in Cheesden, "certeyne mynes of slate" in the wastes of Hundersfeild, called "Browne Wardle Hill and Myddle Hill," then in the occupation of Edward Wofenden [Wolfenden], "one myne of coales in the waste called Shore More," then in the holding of Laurence Etonfield and John Crossley, and also "divers mynes of mylstones, gryndlestones, and ridginge stone in a place called Blackstone Edge," then in the occupation of Geoffry and Robert Butterworth. Being so seised, the Queen, by letters patent dated 10th February, 1580, leased the same for several years to John Blackwaye, who had, however, been "expulsed therefrom by John Kyppas of Marsden and others."² In the same year Laurence Etonfield appears (on behalf of the inhabitants) as defendant, as to rights of turbary on Shore More, otherwise "Feathersteane."³ Coal pits, no doubt, such as are now known as "breast-highs" (*i. e.*, worked by a passage cut into the side of the hill) were now at work in various parts of the parish; for example, in 1581 John Wiese of Eckringe, co. Notts., sold to Ottywell Wolfenden of Spotland, husbandman, ten acres of land at Stoneyheys in Hundersfield, "lying between Cronkayshaw and the coles pittes upon the east and the land of Thomas Heley, gent., on the west."⁴ These coal pits would be somewhere not far from the site of the present Hamer Pasture reservoir; the forty yard mine and the foot mine are both in that district near the surface.

Previous to 1563 practically all the knives and other articles of domestic cutlery in England were of Flemish make, but in that year an Act was passed forbidding the importation of knives from Flanders, and Sheffield then became the great market for these articles. In 1588 William Hallowes, a cutler, was settled in Rochdale and carried on his business. [See p. 24.] More than twenty years before this [in 1561] John Ashworth of Greens had a house in the northern end of Brandwood,

¹ Record Office Pleadings, lxiv., H. 8, 19 Eliz.

² Do. ,, lxxix., A. 11, 22 Eliz.

³ Do. ,, lxxix., A. 30, 22 Eliz.

⁴ Wolfenden Deeds.—Raines' MSS., ix., 206.

and was described as a cutler, as was also his son. Near to Greens is a place still known as Cutler's Green, and tradition says that these Ashworths came from Sheffield in the fifteenth century. [See Fair-well, Chap. XIX.] One of this family some fifteen years ago (he being then nearly eighty years of age) related that he well remembered the large amount of "scoriæ" to be found in the neighbourhood where the ancient "bloomery" was supposed to have been at work.¹ There were several of these furnaces in Rossendale, and traces of an ancient "bloomery" have also been found in Ramsden Wood near Todmorden. The iron ore was found in the district and smelted as early as the fourteenth century. [See Chap. III.]

The making of hats was one of the early trades of Rochdale, and probably "one David a hatter dwelling at Facyde" [Facit], whose two children were buried 7th March, 1586-7,² may have been one of its pioneers.

The roads at this date were of a very primitive character, and any undue interference with them was a matter of much importance; hence the numerous cases of this kind which claimed the attention of the manor Courts. In 1598 the vicar of Rochdale and others appeared against Thomas Healey of Healey, and charged him with obstructing various roads, viz.—from Lower Gap to the common on Monston Edge, from Lower Gap to Stoney Heys, and from Lower Gap to the mill of Buckley. Charles Stott was at the same time charged with obstructing a road at Stidslacke (near Stid Fold in Wardle), which road it was alleged was intended "for corpse, weddinge, and all things needful to the church and village of Rachedale." James Redferne of Wolstenholme, in 1597, reported that John Wolstenholme senior and John Wolstenholme junior had stopped up a cart and carriage way at Knowl Moor. Richard Crossley of Scaitcliffe was cited, 30th September, 1592, for stopping a "bridle way between Sketecliff and Truckley-hebble, to the damage of Sir Henry Radcliffe."

Concerning the sports and pastimes in the parish during the sixteenth century there is very scant information obtainable, but one popular amusement was foot-racing. The following details are from a bill of complaint lodged at the Duchy Court in 1576. Henry Orrell, about the 10th August in that year, arranged with Robert Clegg, John Brigges, and Francis Holt, gentlemen, Ralph Holt, Thomas Cleyton *alias* Chetham,

¹ Lanc. and Chesh. Hist. Soc., xxiv., 64.

² Church Registers.

Raffe Shepard, John Chadwicke and John Buckley, that he and John Brigges should run a match, "running at twelve score," at St. Bartholomew's Day [24th August]¹ next, for twenty nobles [£6 13s. 4d.] a side. The money was deposited, the twenty nobles by Brigges' backers being paid to John Buckley, and the like on Orrell's behalf to Ralphe Holte and others. The race was run, and Orrell was the winner "by the judgment of all present," nevertheless the holders of the stakes denied this and would not give him the money; he therefore pleads that as the parties are dwelling in Lancashire and are of "great kinred," and he is only "a poor young man living in Cheshire," they may be commanded to appear at Westminster to show cause why the money should not be given to him.²

The register of the parish church commences in October, 1582. Taking the first four years we get the following result, which will give some idea as to the then population:

	CHRISTENINGS.	BURIALS.	WEDDINGS.
1583	- - - - 152	- - - - 96	- - - - 45
1584	- - - - 149	- - - - 146	- - - - 35
1585	- - - - 168	- - - - 153	- - - - 45
1586	- - - - 156	- - - - 159	- - - - 39
	Totals - 625	554	164

The population of the parish (exclusive of Saddleworth) would now be between 7000 and 8000. In 1561 the vicar of Rochdale stated, in giving evidence in a trial about the stipends of the ministers of Milnrow and Saddleworth, that in the entire parish, including Saddleworth, there were 2000 "howseling" (*i. e.*, communicants), this would make the population (including Saddleworth) about 10,000 souls.

In the 39th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign there were several subsidies levied, of which the following is one. It appears to have been a very heavy tax, and it was apparently paid by the richer portion of the inhabitants only.

¹ Whitworth church was dedicated to St. Bartholomew, so probably this race was run at the Whitworth Wakes or Rushbearing.

² Record Office, Duchy Pleadings, lxi., O. 4, 18 Eliz.

LAY SUBSIDY 39 ELIZABETH [1596].¹

HUNDERSFIELD.

John Hoult and Marie his mother in landes - - - - -	x. li.	x. s.
Henry Radcliffe in landes - - - - -	vj. li.	xxiiij. s.
Willm Ashton in landes - - - - -	v. li.	xx. s.
Roſte Buckley and Ellen Bannester his grandmother and Grace wyef of Josephe Midgeley his mother in landes	iiij.	xvj. s.
Roſte Haworthe in landes - - - - -	iiij. li.	xij. s.
Roſte Butterworthe in goodes - - - - -	vj. li.	xvj. s.
Thoms. Shore in goodes - - - - -	vj. li.	xvj. s.
Edmund Kyrshawe in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	viiij. s.
Raphe Hamore in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	viiij. s.
Summa - - -		viiij. li.

BUTTERWORTH.

Willm Ashton esqr. in landes - - - - -	iiij. li.	xvj. s.
Alexander Butterworth in landes - - - - -	v. li.	xx. s.
Cudbert Scofield in landes - - - - -	xl. s.	viiij. s.
Roſte Butterworth in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	x. s. viij. d.
Raphe Butterworth in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	viiij. s.
Mathew Butterworth in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	xs. s. viij. d.
George Milne in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	viiij. s.
Summa - - -	iiij. li.	xvj. d.

SPOTLAND.

John Chadwicke in landes - - - - -	xl. s.	viiij. s.
John Wolstenholme in landes - - - - -	xx. s.	iiij. s.
Roger Chadwicke in landes - - - - -	xx. s.	iiij. s.
Thoms. Redfearne in landes - - - - -	xx. s.	iiij. s.
Roſte Whittacar in landes - - - - -	xx. s.	iiij. s.
Thoms. Healey in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li. x. s.	ix. s. iiij. d.
James Clegge in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li. x. s.	ix. s. iiij. d.
Thoms. Hamerre in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li. x. s.	ix. s. iiij. d.
James Hardman in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li. x. s.	ix. s. iiij. d.
Summa - - -	iiij. li.	xvj. d.

CASTLETON.

Adam Hoult in landes - - - - -	xl. s.	viiij. s.
Henry Hardman in goodes - - - - -	v. li.	xiiij. s. iiij. d.
James Tailier in goodes - - - - -	iiij. li.	x. s. viij. d.
Summa - - -		xxxij. s.

¹ Record Office, 39 Eliz., No. $\frac{131}{263}$

The boundaries of the parish at this time were almost exactly the same as they are now, as appears from an Inquisition taken at Rochdale 13th November, 1610¹ (the authenticity of which there is no reason to doubt), which thus defines the parish:—"Begins at Cold Greave, in the township of Butterworth; from thence eastward to a hill called Dobbin, and from Dobbin to Little Clough, called Littlemere Clough Head; from thence to Redmires; and from thence northward to the Middle Greave in Linygreave, and from thence to Black Gate Foot northward from Bow or Rowkin Stone, from thence to Slacks on the Moss standing upon Walsden Edge; from thence to Cowlaghton; from Cowlaghton northward to Dovelaw; from Dovelaw to Stoney Edge, from Stoney Edge northward to Salter Rake; and from thence following between greater and lesser Swineshead to a brook called Todmorden water, and so descending the said water to a close called Steaners, and so following the south-east part of the Steaners to a close called Mytholm² in Todmorden, and from thence to a river called Calder; and so descending the river Calder to a place called Roodilee,³ to Hollingrake Holme,⁴ and following the south part of Hollingrake Holme to Calder aforesaid; and ascending the river Calder to Beaten Clough Foot;⁵ from thence to Beaten Clough Head; and from thence to Sherneyford, and from there to a hedge or fence sometimes on one side of the water and sometimes on the other to Greave Clough; and from thence to Baycop; and from Baycop to Roekcliffe Lumme; and from thence following the river to Brandwood; from thence to Carrgate; and from Carrgate to Cowap [Cowpe] brook, ascending the same to its head, and from thence to the Moss; and from thence to Archinbutt, from Archinbutt to Jump Holes; from thence to the west ground of Cheesden; and from thence following Cheesden brook to Cheesden Lumn; from thence to White Ditch in Coldshaw [Codshaw], and so following the water of Naden to the Wolf Stone in Naden Water; from the Wolf Stone following the Naden Water to a ditch in Bagslate shore; and from thence to Jowkin's Well; and from thence following the old ditch to Calf Hey in Bagslate; and from thence descending the parish to the east side of Naigh Maigh; from thence to Pinfold in Bagslate aforesaid; and thence following Dowlas Brook to the river Roch; and

¹ Tim Bobbin, MSS. as quoted by Baines.

² The site of the Board School was called Mythomes.

³ Reddy Lees is where the National School stands.

⁴ The Holme is near the Hare and Hounds Inn, on road to Portsmouth.

⁵ Beaten Clough, near Portsmouth.

so descending the river Roch to Heywood, and so ascending Heywood to Heeden Brook; from Heeden Brook to the Hamlet of Hopwood; thence following the Irke brook to the hamlet of Thornham to Heather-shaw Deane; and from thence following the top of Brunedge to Knot Booth Yate; and from thence following the township of Crompton, crossing the water of Beyle to Helpet Edge; and from Helpet Edge following Ogden Edge to the Cold Greave, being the first boundary or mere.

From this description Baines¹ concluded that since 1610 the parish has been extended, and as he puts it, "instead of the Naden serving as the western limit, the boundary of Spotland Further Side now extends over the summit of Cheesden and abuts upon Walmersley." This is entirely a mistake. Cheesden Brook is now, as it was in 1610, the north-western boundary, whilst Naden Brook is the south-western limit.

It will be convenient here, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, to look at the town as it then stood. In most English villages the church forms the central figure, from which radiate the streets; this was not, however, the case in Rochdale, where the houses presented the appearance of running away from the church. The vicarage stood very near its present site, and just outside the churchyard (which was surrounded with a thorn fence) was the Grammar School, from which began the steep street then, as now, called Church Lane.² This was all glebe land. The houses would be small and of rude construction, with thatched roofs. From the school another lane (now School Lane) led to the Vicar's Moss and on to the highroad to Milnrow; and from the church stile (which gave its name to the road) a lane led to Milkstone, past Deeplish and on to Lowerplace, from whence across Buersill Moor to Oldham. From the church stile a road to the west passed Goose Lane, and so on to the "High Street to Manchester." From the bottom of Church Lane the road ran along the river side to the end of the "Packer" (now Packer Street), in which were a few houses and shops, and adjoining it was "Packer Meadows," where the drivers of pack horses were accustomed to turn in their "galloways" and horses. At the top of the street was a narrow passage called then, as now, "The Gank," which led to Church Lane. There is reason to believe that the "church steps" were in some form now existent, as in the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1660 appears

¹ Hist. of Lanc. (1868), I., 489 (this is repeated in the other editions).

² In 1625 there were only six dwelling houses in "Church Street" [Lane] on the glebe estate.

an item of £1 4s., paid for eight loads of "great stones from Blackstone Edge ffor the steps." Between the church and the river there were no buildings except the "Wood," and the Roch was crossed by a bridge at about the same place as it is now crossed, and standing on this bridge the river on the right and left would be seen wending its way between green fields and meadows, with here and there a farm building. North of the river began the High Street (subsequently called the Broad Street and now Yorkshire Street), on the one side of which was "The Butts," and on the other the "Great House" (now Amen Corner) with its gardens sloping down to the river. On the west of the Broad Street there were a few houses and shops, and the Bell Inn (or Blue Bell), opposite to which was the Eagle Inn.¹ A few yards further and there was the market place with its cross; near the market was also the Bull Inn and the King's Arms; the latter, with sundry houses near it, in 1626 was claimed by Robert Holt, Esq., but the manorial survey of that date contains a memorandum to the effect that "he hath noe deeds for anie of these houses, and it is vulgarly reported that all are built within these fourscore years upon a waste peice of ground being open to the street and formerly called the new market place, and where the market was kept." Another Inn, called the White Hart, was kept by James Pares; no doubt there was also an Inn near the church, which would be the Royal Oak. The remainder of the Broad Street between the market and the Cheetham Street of to-day was made up of small shops and houses, many of them being half-timbered and thatched with straw. The other streets were the steep ascents of Blackwater and Toad Lane. From the place now known as Mount Pleasant to the river ran a small stream called the Lortburne; this has long been arched over. From the memorandum just referred to, it appears that the site of the market had at that time been more than once altered. Probably the markets in very early times were held in Church Stile (where the cattle fairs were held until quite recently), near to where the two stone pillars of the stocks now stand. One of the tenements near the King's Arms was occupied by Bonaventure Walkden, and in 1639 the owner of the property was accused of making an encroachment on to the street by building a porch and a "pent-house," under which stalls were

¹ The Eagle Inn stood on the site now occupied by Mr. Best's shop. It was a lofty building, in part lath and plaster style, with high pointed gables, and having a public stair in front as an approach to the upper rooms.

erected for the use of strangers on market days; at the same time it was reported that several other houses had galleries reached by stairs, which were not encroachments.¹ Many of these galleries were still standing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Near to the market on the south-west side was a house occupied by Thomas Holme, which was reputed to have been the ancient "Milne House"² where the lord of the manor ground the corn for his tenants. Possibly it was to replace this mill that a license was granted in 16 James [1618-19] to erect a mill in the town of "Ratchdale for the King's tenants to grind at the same."³

Of the position of the landlords of the Rochdale inns at this time something may be gleaned from the will of one of their number. James Whitehead, innkeeper of Rochdale, died in March, 1636, and his will was proved at Chester. He left everything to his wife Ann, except certain legacies: amongst others, £40 to his daughter Elizabeth, to be paid to her by Edward Whitehead of Birchanlee and Edward Butterworth of Windibanke, yeomen; to his godson, Alexander Scolefield, xx. d.; to his goddaughter, Ann Whitehead, 2s.; to the sons of his brother-in-law, William Leigh, vi. d. each. The inventory of his effects furnishes the following details:

INVENTORY.		£	s.	d.
9	Swyne	5	0	0
1	Cowe	2	10	0
	In the chamber over the parlour one bed and cloathes thereunto belonging	1	10	0
	Two boards and 4 chests	2	0	0
	In the little parlor one bed with cloathes, one board one chest and one cupboard	5	10	0
	In the chamber over the Buttery two beds with furniture to the same	1	6	0
	One table in the house and one little board in the little parlor	0	12	0
	One bed and bed cloathes in the buttery	1	13	4
	Pewter and Brass	8	0	0
	One table in the out parlor	0	13	4
	Chair & cushions	1	10	0
	Wooden vessels	4	10	0
	Beef & bacon	1	10	0
	One spade, shovell, one saw & other things	1	0	0
	Linen	3	0	0
	Trenchers, potts & glasses	0	10	0
	His apparell	4	0	0
	Debts due to the deceased	92	12	0

¹ Inquis. re manor right, Raines' Lanc. MSS., xiii., 74.

² Manor Survey, 1626.

³ Duchy Records.—Decrees and Orders, Lib. ii., 16 Jac., fol. 934.

Amongst the shopkeepers at this time were several well-to-do woollen drapers, one of whom was Abel Brereley, the parish clerk. He died in March or April, 1637, and from his will¹ it appears that he had an interest in a farm at Oldham, which he bequeathed to his nephews Thomas and Abraham, sons of his brother Thomas. He left the lease of his shop to his sister Mary, the wife of Gabriel Gartside, the son and heir of Gilbert Gartside of Oakenrod. To the Vicar of Rochdale he gave 10s., and a like sum to the curate, Mr. Johnson. Our parish clerk must have done a good trade, as at the time of his decease the "woollen cloaths" in his shops were valued at £160 13s., and he had in "redie money" £147 4s. His house was well furnished—he had a bed with curtains and vallance worth £2; he also possessed three "throne chairs," and silver plate to the value of £7 6s. 8d. It is also noticeable that in one of the rooms he had a carpet, which at that time was certainly a luxury.

Another of this class was John Street, who was father-in-law of Abel Brereley. His will was proved 6th July, 1632. He held leases of a messuage and tenement in Oldham and of his house and shop in Rochdale. The following items from the inventory are of interest:

	£	s.	d.
Woollen cloath	132	4	0
one pair of vallances	0	14	0
one pack saddle	0	4	0
21 ounces of plate, at 5s. per oz.	7	15	0
192 lbs. of fether bed and bouldsters	4	16	0
7 blankets	0	11	0
1 white cadoe ²	0	5	0
a woven cadoe	0	13	0
a coverlet	0	8	0
60 lbs. of pewter, at 10d. per li.	2	11	8
1 posnet	0	1	3

The total valuation, together with debts due to the testator, amounted to the large sum of £458 12s.

The clothier in the seventeenth century often employed a large number of persons, who received from him the wool and returned it to him as cloth, the manufacturing being done at their own homes. Early in this century this form of woollen manufacture became extensively carried on

¹ Proved at Chester, 1637.

² Cadoe = mackadows, a kind of woollen stuff.

in this parish; princely fortunes were made by many of the clothiers, and the demand for labour rapidly increased the population and position of the town; old families died out or became impoverished, their places being taken by industrious and enterprising men who began life in the lowest ranks. Many of the wealthy clothiers commenced as woollen weavers, and having acquired experience they employed others to weave whilst they sold the cloth. Not only in the town itself arose this race of clothiers, but also in the outlying districts, particularly in Todmorden. In the Court Rolls, Wills, and other contemporaneous records we now find frequent mention made of "loomhouses," "bleechouses," "woolmen," and "clothmakers."

The history of the wool trade in this century by no means shows a uniform rate of progress. In 1613 there was a serious decline in it, to remedy which a Royal Commission was appointed, and subsequently Acts of Parliament were passed removing certain imposts on cloth which had been put on by "The Merchant Adventurars' Company," who were at the same time deprived of their monopoly to dye cloth. Before 1622 wool was 33s. a tod (28 lbs.), or 1s. 2d. a lb.; in 1622 it fell to 18s. a tod, or 8d. a lb.; in 1641 it had again risen to 24s. a tod. In Shakespere's time eleven wethers produced a tod of wool, [See "A Winter's Tale," iv., 2.] The establishment of a free trade in dyeing brought several dyers to Rochdale, one of whom was Thomas Howse, whose "Inventory," preserved at Chester, is dated 7th October, 1634, from which it appears that at the time of his death he was possessed of

	£	s.	d.
2 Loades, 1 fatt of leade, 1 Load of wood with tubbs and implements for Dye house - - - - -	20	0	0
Allome, Logwoode - - - - -	2	17	8
3 standing beds and 1 Truckle bed - - - - -	1	7	0
1 feather bed with furniture - - - - -	4	16	8
1 " " - - - - -	2	14	0
1 chaff bed with other cloathes - - - - -	0	8	0
Pewter - - - - -	2	2	7
Linen - - - - -	4	11	0
1 Muskett with Implement - - - - -	0	10	0
1 Byble - - - - -	0	8	0
Cushions - - - - -	0	8	8
Chares & buffet stooles - - - - -	0	8	0
1 pair of scales - - - - -	0	8	0
Apparel - - - - -	6	2	5

In 1626 there were several fulling mills, or walk-mills as they were then called; Robert Heyward had one of them in Falinge, Robert Holt another called the Hill House, adjoining the river in Chadwick; and a third, on the "river of Spotland," was owned by John Chadwick; this was probably a corn mill, as was also the mill called Oakenrod mill.¹

With the increasing prosperity of the parish, coals, stone and flags all got an increased value, and we find the Court Leet jury constantly presenting tenants for getting and selling these without license.

As in these times everyone who travelled far rode on horseback, a saddler or two would be required in the town. One of these was Abraham Leigh, whose will was proved in 1623. The inventory gives a very large stock of saddle-trees, saddles, bridles, bits, spurs, pillions, collars, and the like; and the list of debts owing to the deceased shows that his was by no means a ready-money business. Some of the native tradesmen were dignified by the name of "merchants," as was one Philip Watson, who in 1619 gave evidence in London in the cause of "Lady Lake and her daughters."²

That archery was in the early part of this century still popular in Rochdale is shown by the will of one John Dewhurst (proved at Chester in 1636), who is described as of Half-acre in Spotland, Fletcher.³ He left one half of his goods to his wife Sisley, and the rest, except certain legacies, to his brothers Thomas and Robert. From the inventory of his effects (in which the testator is described as of "Chadwick in Rachdale") it appears that *inter alia* he died possessed of

	£	s.	d.
2 Kyne	6	13	4
Bedding	11	14	8
Bedstead	4	0	0
Bedstocks	1	0	0
Lynnen	2	15	0
Cupboard	0	15	0
Wool	8	10	0
Table and buffets	0	17	0
one forme	0	1	0
Wooden vessels	1	7	0
Earthen pots	0	4	0
two payre of loomes	1	3	0
Combs, wheeles, cards, one payre of Stack cards	0	7	0

¹ Manor Survey, 1621.

² State Papers, Dom. 1619.

³ Fletcher = an arrow maker; hence the surname Fletcher.

Chairs and stools	- - - - -	o 4 o
Cushions	- - - - -	o 13 o
Arrow wood and bowes	- - - - -	o 12 o
Arrow heads	- - - - -	o 5 o
Work loomes	- - - - -	o 3 o
Meale and groates	- - - - -	4 o o
beefe and suit	- - - - -	o 13 4
yarne and wool	- - - - -	o 13 4
Butter and cheese	- - - - -	o 16 o
Cheese press	- - - - -	o 2 o
in huslem't ¹ and other things	- - - - -	o 3 o
Apparel	- - - - -	3 o o

From this list it would appear that arrow making was on the decline, and the "fletcher" added to his trade a little farming and weaving, The place where the archers practised still goes by the name of "The Butts."

As the town of Rochdale progressed, gradually the villages of Todmorden, Milnrow, Littleborough, Whitworth and Facit developed, and we find at the close of the century woollen weaving was carried on in all these places.

The parish registers for 1620 to 1622 give the following details:

	CHRISTENINGS.	BURIALS.	WEDDINGS.
1620	- - - - 243	- - - - 188	- - - - 46
1621	- - - - 277	- - - - 208	- - - - 54
1622	- - - - 215	- - - - 201	- - - - 35

The population of the entire parish (exclusive of Saddleworth) would at this time be about 10,000. In 1623 a great plague visited the parish; it was no doubt what was known as the sweating sickness. During the year no less than 587 people were buried at the parish church, of whom close upon 500 died between 1st July and the end of February. Early in 1624 the sickness left the district; the burials in that year were only 150.

William Lord Byron in 1680 described "Ratchdale" as an "auncient market town of great resort, and haveing markatts there weekly kept and ffayres att usual times, and tolls are and have been paid by fforreigners and straungers only, tyme out of mynd."²

As early and probably much earlier than 1634 Rochdale had its

¹ Hustlement = odds and ends.

² Case of Lord Byron re Tolls.—Raines' Lanc. MSS., xi., 63.

petty sessions, and the justices regularly forwarded returns respecting vagrant offences, binding of apprentices, and the like.¹

In the civil war Rochdale did not take a very prominent part. In July 1642 the Earl of Newcastle, advancing from Yorkshire towards Lancashire, was met by Colonel Rosworm's troops, sent from Manchester, when the latter were defeated at Wisket Hall in Yorkshire and driven back into Lancashire. Colonel Rosworm² reported that when he received this intelligence and informed himself of "the nature of the passes by which the enemy most easily could come in upon us, and finding them capable of sudden fortification" he decided "to help nature with art," and to strengthen Blackstone Edge and Blackegate by "manning them with soldiers," to prevent the Earl of Newcastle's approach; the result of which was that, "being diverted like an angry storm, with a gust he went to the siege of Hull." The parliamentary version is that there was a "strong guard kepte by the Lancashire forces at a passage into both counties at a place called Blakston Edge," and that this guard was kept there all winter.³ From another source we learn that the guard on Blackstone Edge consisted of 800 men and two pieces of ordnance, and was supported by a garrison of 1200 men in Rochdale.⁴ Richard Holland the governor of Manchester, Thomas Stanley and Robert Hyde wrote to Richard Shuttleworth, Esq., on 8th November, 1642, to the effect that "they have sent Captain Birche and his companye to marche to Rochdale" that night, and that they "will he readie to march towards Padiham, with the assistance of some forces from about Rochdale." The inhabitants of the parish were not, however, all on the King's side, as Colonel Ralph Ashton of Middleton, a well-known parliamentary commander, being in want of the sinews of war, "called upon the country about him to Rachdale, made known unto them his condition how he wanted money to supply his soldiers withall, which the country people furnished him with all speed.⁵ At the Lancaster assizes in March, 1650, it was reported that there had been "very foul riots and disturbances" in Manchester, Rochdale and other places, where great numbers of people had resisted the sheriff and his officers, whilst proclaiming the Act of Parliament; whereupon Colonel Birch was instructed to apprehend and commit to

¹ Cal. State Papers, Dom., Vol. 253, No. 24, &c., &c.

² An Hist. Relation of Eight Years' services for King and Parliament done in and about Manchester.

³ Discourse of the Warr in Lanc.—Chet. Soc., lxii., 43.

⁴ Civil War Tracts.—Chet. Soc., ii., 146.

⁵ Do. " " " " lxvi., 31.

prison the offenders.¹ The Liverpool town records furnish the names of William Haighton, captain of a foot regiment, and his ensign, Edward Wilson, both of Rochdale; they were admitted as free burgesses of that town 8th March, 1642. In 1663 an official letter was addressed to Robert Holt of Castleton, a Deputy Lieutenant of the county, informing him that "the Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyterians and many soldiers" would rise the 12th October next, and that he was to be ready to "prevent their horrid designs, for they will destroy all who do not come to their assistance."² This appears to have been a false alarm.

After the Restoration the manufacture of fustian and other cotton goods, which had mostly been confined to Manchester and Bolton, began to be carried on in other towns, but there is no evidence to prove that in the seventeenth century Rochdale had taken it up. In the early days of the cotton trade the processes of spinning and weaving were carried on in the same cottage, and it often happened that the weaver was unable to keep himself supplied with weft, and not unfrequently he had to walk many miles in a day to collect the required quantity. To record the later development of the cotton trade in Rochdale, if the materials were procurable (which they are not), would be to write a history of that trade, which is not within the province of this work; but it may be safely said that as the various improvements which now rapidly followed one another came into general use, so step by step the weaving and spinning of cotton obtained a firmer footing in the parish. It was not until 1795 that a cotton mill was built in Rochdale; this was called the Hanging Road factory (and is still known by that name), and was erected by Mr. Holmes. It was to this mill that Jacob Bright, the father of John Bright, came in 1802; he commenced as a weaver, but was afterwards book-keeper and salesman for Messrs. J. and T. Holmes. He subsequently took an old mill called Greenbank, which formed the foundation of the firm of John Bright and Brothers. Very shortly after the building of Hanging Road factory (in 1804) another mill was erected in Collinge Street, by Mr. J. Pilling; the machinery was turned by a horse. About the same time a factory was built at Clough in Walsden, and in other parts of the parish.

At the end of the seventeenth century a stranger passing through Rochdale described it as a "pretty neate town built all of stone."³

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were, according to

¹ State Papers (Record Office, 7 Dom., I. 95).

² Chet. Soc., lix., 123.

³ Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary.

A Plan of the Vicarage of Rochdale belonging to the Rev Nath Softer D. D.



THIS PLAN OF THE ROCHDALE GLEBE IN 1754-57 IS FROM A MAP NOW IN POSSESSION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS.

Bishop Gastrell,¹ 130 houses in two of the best streets in Rochdale, and they belonged to the glebe; these were Church Lane and the Packer. The plan of the glebe estate taken in or about 1755 supports this statement. This map has also another point of interest, as it shows at a glance the way in which the course of the river has been altered; assuming, as we well may do, that the original northern boundary of the glebe was the water of the Roch. In 1783 there were on the church's land 200 houses, mostly on lease for 99 years.²

Defoe's journey over Blackstone Edge has already been referred to [p. 9]. He described Rochdale as "a good market town, and of late much improved in the woollen manufacture, as are also the villages in its neighbourhood, it is a more populous town than Bury."

Dr. Richard Pococke, the learned eastern traveller, has left on record a description of the town of Rochdale in 1751, which forms a strong contrast to its present appearance. He writes: "It is situated on both sides of the river, and to the south very pleasantly up the side of a hill, where the situation of the church and parsonage are most beautiful. Dr. Tonsall [Dunster], near ninety, has built a handsome house and improved the charming situation of the garden on a heighth; and there is a mount over the river in such a manner as to make it one of the most delightful parsonage houses in England. They have a large manufacture here of blankets, baies and shaloons."³

The rebellion of 1745 does not appear to have disturbed the peace of this parish, although it is true that a very small detachment of the rebels passed through the town, they did not receive either sympathy or support. There is a tradition, however, that they found one recruit, named Valentine Holt, who, having joined the main body at Manchester, went on to Scotland, and on 28th October, 1746, was executed with six others at Penrith.⁴ An exact account of the visit to Rochdale of the followers of the Pretender has fortunately been preserved in an official letter written by Thomas Ferrand, and dated Rochdale, 31st November [1st December], 1745. He wrote (evidently to some person in office):

"Your emissaries are here and can give you no farther acc^t of the Scotch than that 23 of 'em on horseback came to the town yesterday [30th November, 1745] and staid ab^t three hours. They made no demand for anything but arms, and have left orders with our Constables to produce them all the militia arms ag^t this day at noon. They behaved

¹ Chet. Soc., lix., 123.

² Church Terrier.

³ Dr. Pococke's Travels through England, 1751.—Surtees Soc., xlii., 205.

⁴ Rochdale in 1745 and 1746, by an old Inhabitant [Samuel Brierley].—Rochdale, 1874.

well, payd for what they called for, and did not plunder any body, only one of 'em took a horse from Robinson the L^d Lord, but upon his application to one of their chiefs it was restored. The whole body of 'em is at Manchester, and there's no certainty when or which way they design to march. The Chevalier went thro' the town of Manchester yesterday in public. A good many of the townsmen have joined 'em. I am,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS FERRAND.¹

This visit to Rochdale was on a Sunday (St. Andrew's Day), and that same evening the Prince's forces commenced their march towards Macclesfield, so Rochdale saw no more of them.

Formerly there was a considerable amount of land in the parish on which oats were grown; in 1794 there were 889 acres, and in the year following 925 acres thus used.²

The following descriptions of the town may be taken to be generally correct, and to furnish a picture of it as it then was.

1777.

"We soon arrived [coming from Halifax] at a very lofty ridge of the most desolate and forlorn appearance, called Blackstone Edge, continuing for several miles. The road level, hard and straight, and on that score pleasant; the land waste and of russet hue, covered with furze; not a tree, shrub, plant, hedge or wall to be seen. From thence we descended into the low grounds, well inhabited and improved. In one respect this part of England is more pleasant than the others; the grounds are covered with houses, and each manufacturer having a small farm or parcel of land besides his trade to depend on, there being more freeholders³ or owners of small farms and plantations here than in any county of the kingdom. We arrived at Rochdale about two o'clock, engaged dinner and took a ramble. The church stands on a hill to which the ascent is by a hundred stone steps. This town is remarkable for many wealthy merchants; it has a large woollen market, the merchants from Halifax, &c., repairing hither weekly; the neighbourhood abounds in clothiers."

The diary of Samuel Curwen, an American refugee, furnishes ^{the above} ~~another~~ description.⁴

1778.

"This place is famous for its manufactories of cloth, kerseys, and shalloons [woollen goods]. Every considerable house is a manufactory, and is supplied with a rivulet or little stream, without which the business cannot be carried on. The water, tinged with the dregs of the dyeing fat, with the oil, soap, tallow or other ingredients used by the clothiers, enriches the land through which it passes beyond imagination. The place seems to have been designed by Providence for the very purpose to which it is allotted, viz., the carrying

¹ Raines' MS., xxxiv., 80.

² Vicar Hay's MSS. (Rochdale Vicarage).

³ Many of these were merely copyholders.

⁴ Journal, &c., of the late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, &c., an American refugee in England, from 1775 to 1786, by G. A. Ward.—New York, 1842.

on a manufacture which can no where be so well supplied with the conveniences necessary to it. The women and children are all employed here, not a beggar or idle person being to be seen.¹

The Hon. Mrs. Murray, in her "Companion to the Lakes," published in 1799, writes :

"There are no great beauties in Rochdale, and the town (most part of it) is very dirty and the streets very narrow ; but from experience I know some of the inhabitants to be very kind, hospitable and truly friendly ; and besides the Rochdale women are in general handsome. Avoid passing through Rochdale on Mondays ; it is market day, and you may be detained in the streets without being able to pass through the crowd for an hour or two. From Rochdale to Manchester thirteen miles, a rough road of broken pavement."

The streets are certainly not so dirty nor so narrow as they then were, but the women are as handsome as ever.

Anciently the market day was Wednesday, but in the time of George III. it was changed to Monday. The annual cattle fairs on 14th May and 7th November were greatly resorted to. There is now a cattle market every fortnight.

In 1788 the canal between Rochdale and Sowerby Bridge was opened, but it was not continued to Manchester until 1804.

The first stage coach, the "High Flyer," commenced to run from Rochdale to Manchester in 1790.

From the diary² of a bookseller (Josiah Lancashire), who had his shop near the Butts, we get a short account of the Volunteer Corps raised in 1794. "28 May (1794).—Found shop just opened, the cows gone. The volunteers returned through the Butts ; some had great coats ; saw them dismissed at the Cross. 30 May.—The Corps of the Royal Rochdale Volunteers is complete. It consists of 4 companys, 50 rank and file each. The following gentlemen have commissions :—John Entwistle, Esq., col.-commandant ; John Walmsley, junr., of Castle Hill ; James Hamer, of Hamer ; Royds, of nr. Rochdale, captains ; Lodge, of Oakenrod, Esq., lieutenant ; Thomas Drake, D.D., chaplain. One half of the corps equip themselves at their own cost."

Notwithstanding the evidence of the worthy diarist, the corps had not at this time obtained its full complement of volunteers, as is proved by the following placard :

¹ Beauties of England, 4th Edition, 1778.

² Now in possession of J. H. Lancashire, Esq.

G. R.

ROCHDALE INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS.

Such persons of the parish of Rochdale who are willing to serve in the above corps, and can produce proofs of good character for loyalty, honesty and sobriety (and under forty years of age), may apply to the officers appointed by the King for the command of the said corps; those who are approved are not to receive pay, but they will be furnished at the expence of a subscription with a hat, black stock, scarlet coat, faced with blue, and gold lace button holes, blue jacket, two waistcoats, two pairs of breeches and two pairs of stockings, with gaitors, arms, and other accoutrements. To contradict a report that the Volunteers may be ordered to serve as soldiers in any part of the kingdom, where government shall order them, it is necessary to subjoin an abstract from a paper on the subject, received from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State: "Not to be removed more than five miles from home, unless ordered by His Majesty on the appearance of an invasion, when they are to be called out and paid like other militia, but not to be removed out of the county." God preserve the King and our glorious constitution. Success to the publick and private undertakings of the Volunteers.

JUNE 20, 1794.

HARROP, PRINTER, MANCHESTER.

The earliest record of a printing press in Rochdale is in 1796, when "Mr. Nield, Blackwater street," appears as printer of a broadside containing the "articles to be observed" by a sick and burial society which met at the "Tim Bobbin" Inn at Milnrow, kept by John Sutcliffe. A copy of this very scarce specimen of the first Rochdale press is in the local Free Library. [See Chap. XX.]

During the eighteenth century not only did the woollen and cotton trades become rapidly developed, other industries following in their train, but churches, chapels, schools, and other public buildings sprung up all over the parish. A subscription library was opened as was also a theatre. [See Chap. XX.]

From the beginning of the present century (except during 1826 when there was a great depression in the woollen trade and in the time of the cotton famine) the commercial prosperity of the town and parish has been very great; mills and workshops of every description having been built in every part of the district. Todmorden, Milnrow, Littleborough, Smallbridge, Whitworth, Facit, Shawforth, Castleton, Norden, and other smaller villages all sharing in the onward progress. In 1832 the steam engines within the parish were of the aggregate horse power—in Butterworth, 104; Spotland, 461; Castleton, 689; and Hundersfield, 929; total, 2186. The following exhibits the amount of horse power

(steam and water) in the various departments of factories and works within the Rochdale Union, in November, 1867:¹

TOWNSHIP.	COTTON.	WOOLLEN AND FULLING.	WATER—PART WOOLLEN & COTTON.	MACHINE AND OTHER WORKS.	TOTAL.
Blatchinworth and Calderbrook - } Butterworth - -	429 -	229 -	131 -	97 -	886
Castleton - - -	2328 -	214 -	50 -	932 -	3524
Spotland - - -	4307 -	672 -	565 -	540 -	6084
Wardleworth - -	776 -	337 -	30 -	284 -	1427
Wuerdle & Wardle	635 -	321 -	180 -	30 -	1166
	<u>8796</u>	<u>2072</u>	<u>1168</u>	<u>2225</u>	<u>14,261</u>

Connected with the trade of the town riots took place in 1808 and 1829, on both occasions the military being called out. The increase of manufacturing industry led to the extensive opening of coal mines and stone quarries. The mountain mine, yard mine, and forty yard mine were got wherever they could be reached, not unfrequently pits of 126 to 130 yards deep being sunk. The stone quarries of Facit, Todmorden, Walsden, and other parts of the parish furnish stone of superior quality for building.

Previous to 1837 the poor law was administered by the vestries and overseers, but in this year the Rochdale Union was formed, which comprises in its district the whole of the old parish of Rochdale, except Todmorden and Walsden.

In 1838 the Manchester and Leeds railway was opened as far as Littleborough.

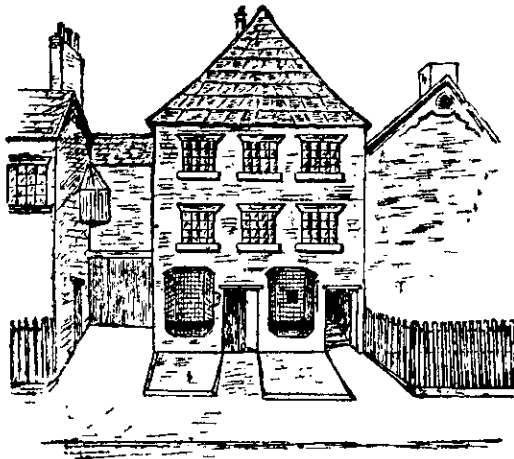
During the last fifty years very great improvements have been made in the town of Rochdale—notably the pulling down of the west side of “The Packer” and the erection of the town hall on the adjoining land, the erection of two bridges over the river, the opening of the park, baths, free library,² and cemetery.

In 1844 the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society was established, and commenced business in humble premises in Toad Lane, with 28 members; it is now one of the most flourishing institutions in the north of England. An idea of the rapid development of this society may be

¹ Baines' Hist. Lanc., 1868, Vol. I., 502. (This does not include Todmorden and Walsden.)

² The “Public Libraries Act” was adopted in 1870. The library was first opened in the town hall, but after the fire there the present building was erected. The library contains over 41,000 volumes.

formed from the following details: in 1845 the society numbered 74 members, having £181 capital, the business done amounting to £710, which had resulted in a profit of £22; in 1888 there were 11,278 members, with funds amounting to £344,669, the business for the year representing £267,726, which (including interest) made a profit of £47,119. In addition to the central store the society has branch shops all over the parish; it has also a central reading room, seventeen branch newsrooms, and a reference and lending library.



SHOP 31, TOAD LANE, THE ORIGINAL
"STORES," 1844.¹



CENTRAL STORE, BUILT
IN 1867.²

By an Act of Parliament passed in 1825 the town of Rochdale was defined by a circle with a radius of three-quarters of a mile from the old market place, and under this Act the Commissioners of Police managed most of the affairs of the town; previously the town was governed by the magistrates, parish constables, and the manor court. By an Act of 1844 the Commissioners became an elected body (by the £10 householders), and the chairman was styled the High Constable. In this year the gas works were purchased for the town. In 1760 the only water reserve was a small reservoir in Leyland Brow, near the Church Steps, which was in private hands and quite inadequate to the wants of the place; this led to the formation of a water works company, which purchased this small reservoir and in 1809 obtained parliamentary powers to make other reservoirs to supply the town. The Rochdale Corporation purchased the

¹ From a block supplied by the Proprietors of the "Rochdale Star."

² From a block lent by the Pioneers' Society.

water works in 1866, and have since constructed Spring Mill and Cown reservoirs.

By the Reform Act of 1832 Rochdale was created a borough, and obtained the privilege of returning a member to the House of Commons. The following are the results of the elections since 1832 :

1832 Dec.	John Fenton (L) 277	1859 April	Richard Cobden (L)
	John Entwisle (c) 246		[No contest.]
	James Taylor (L) 109	1865 April	T. B. Potter (L) 646
1835 June	John Entwisle (c) 369		W. B. Brett (c) 496
	John Fenton (L) 326	1865 July	T. B. Potter (L)
1837 April	John Fenton (L) 383		[No contest.]
	Clement Royds (c) 339	1868 Nov.	T. B. Potter (L) 4455
1837 July	John Fenton (L) 374		W.W.Schofield (c) 3270
	Capt. A. Ramsay (c) 349	1874 Feb.	T. B. Potter (L) 4498
1841 July	W. S. Crawford (L) 399		R. W. Gamble (c) 3998
	James Fenton (c) 338	1880	T. B. Potter (L) 5614
1847 June	W. S. Crawford (L)		R. W. Gamble (c) 3716
	[No contest.]	1885	T. B. Potter (L) 5552
1852 July	Edward Miall (L) 529		E. Lees (c) 4417
	Capt. A. Ramsay (c) 375	1886	T. B. Potter (L) 4738
1857 Mar.	Sir A. Ramsay (c) 534		J. B. Marriott (c) 3481
	Edward Miall (L) 486		

The Market Company was formed in 1822, and obtained an Act of Parliament 23rd May, 1823, and by virtue thereof acquired from Lord Byron for £500 the old market, and "the bell used by the cryer or bellman and the profits thereof." The old stalls in the streets, which were said to be dangerous to the public, were then done away with. Under this Act the lord of the manor reserved the right to hold fairs, &c., and as late as 1872 the horse fair was held in Cheetham Street; the right was then purchased by the Corporation, who have provided ground for fairs and cattle markets.

On 9th September, 1856, the town received a charter of incorporation, under which the town council was to consist of forty burgesses who were to elect ten aldermen. In 1871 the borough was extended, whereby the borough boundary became co-terminous with the parliamentary borough and it was made to consist of ten wards. It is now a county borough. The following is a list of mayors from the time of the incorporation :

Jacob Bright - - -	1856-7	Samuel Tweedale - -	1874-5
Robert Taylor Heape	1857-8	J. S. Littlewood - -	1875-6
Andrew Stewart - -	1858-9	Robert Taylor Heape	1876-7
Thomas Ashworth -	1859-60	James Tweedale - -	1877-8
Joseph Hamilton Moore	1860-1	W. J. Petrie - - -	1878-9
John Thompson Pagan	1861-2	Thomas Schofield - -	1879-80
Geo. Leach Ashworth	1862-3	William Baron - - -	1880-1
Samuel Stott - - -	1863-4	William Baron - - -	1881-2
John Tatham - - -	1864-5	John Harley - - -	1882
Samuel Stott - - -	1865-6	to March, 1883	
John Robinson - - -	1866-7	William Baron - - -	1883
Charles Whitaker - -	1867-8	Thomas Schofield - -	1883-4
George Mansell - -	1868-9	J. S. Hudson - - -	1884-5
T. B. Willans - - -	1869-70	J. R. Heape - - -	1885-6
G. L. Ashworth - -	1870-1	J. R. Heape - - -	1886-7
W. T. Shawcross - -	1871-2	J. E. Petrie - - -	1887-8
W. T. Shawcross - -	1872-3	J. E. Petrie - - -	1888-9
Charles Whitaker - -	1873-4		

As illustrating the growth of the district in three hundred years the following comparison is interesting :

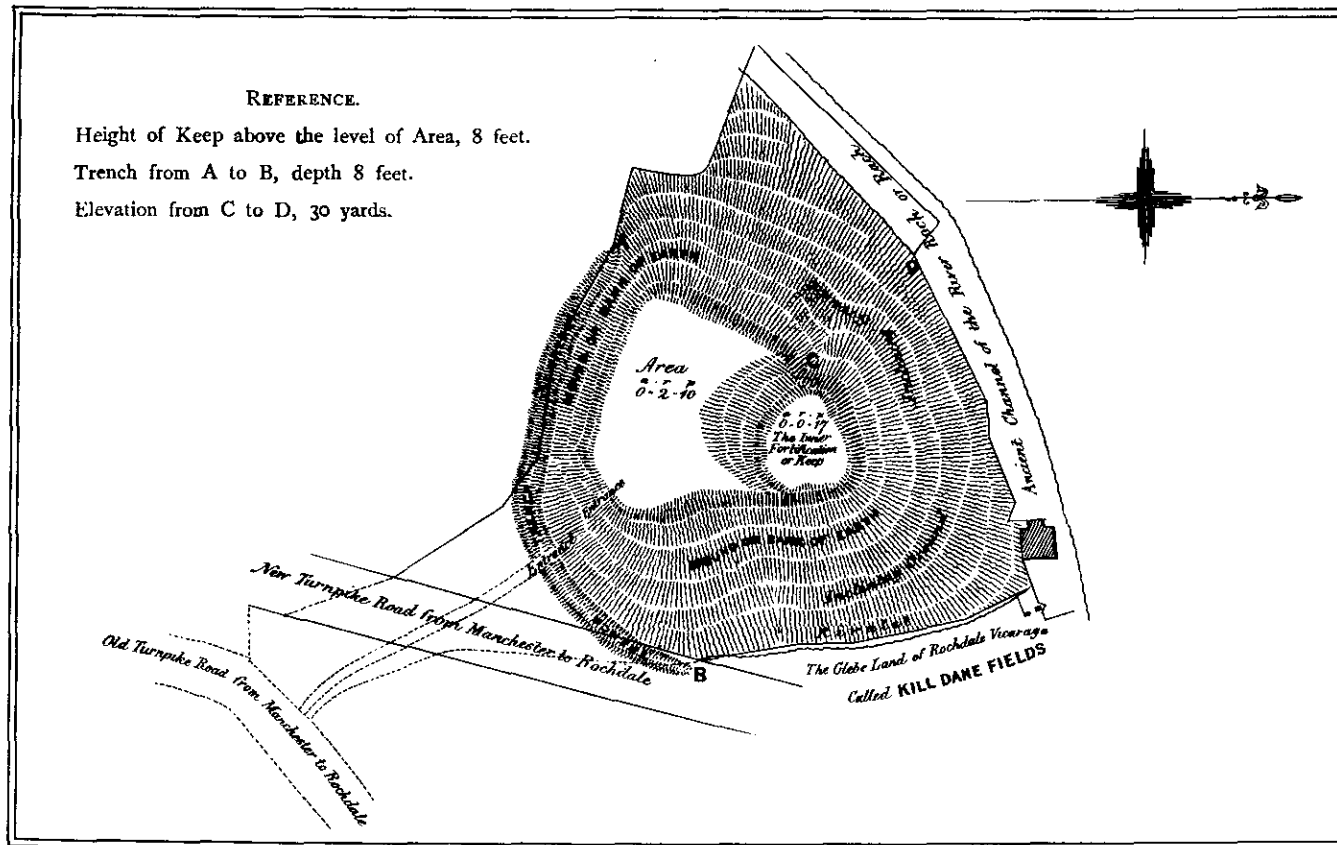
	BIRTHS.	MARRIAGES.	DEATHS.
1583 - -	152 - -	45 - -	96
1883 - -	3478 - -	869 - -	2381

The figures for 1583 represent the christenings, weddings and burials at the parish church and therefore included the entire parish; the 1883 figures refer only to the Rochdale Union and do not include Todmorden and Walsden.

POPULATION OF THE TOWNSHIP IN 1841 AND 1881.

	1841.	1881.
Butterworth - - - - -	5088	8410
Blatchinworth and Calderbrook - - -	4466	7891
Castleton - - - - -	14,279	35,272
Spotland - - - - -	18,469	40,139
Wardleworth - - - - -	11,400	19,711
Wuerdle and Wardle - - - - -	6875	10,487
Todmorden and Walsden - - - - -	7297	9235
Totals - - - - -	67,874	131,145

The population of the borough in 1881 was 68,865 who lived in 16,808 houses.



PLAN OF CASTLE HILL AS IT WAS IN 1823. FROM ACTUAL SURVEY.