

THE DIARY OF ROGER LOWE¹

JANUARY, 1663

1.—Friday. Ann Barrow sent for me this morning. I went and stayed all day. I was something sickly, yet all day I was fearing the exceptance of love, and at last she vouchsafed a time for consideration. This evening when I came home, I answered an invitation and went to Thomas Heyes', and should have been there all night, but would not. Came home at 1 or 2 o'clock in night.²

2.—Saturday. I was sent for to Robert Rosbotham and was all night and 3 day. Lord's day. We came to chapel. Mr. Maddock preached.³ I was engaged in the alehouse at a wedding of Isabel Hasleden, and promised to go into Rainford with them.⁴

4.—Lord's day. I was invited to go with Thomas Tickle and his wife into Rainford. John Hasleden went with me. We rid of Raphe's 2 mares. The reason of our going was to avince to old Sephton the young couple's marriage. We came thither and the old man seemed to be displeased, but it was a while. The next day

5, Tuesday, We went to chapel to Lawrence Gaskell's,⁵ and spent each man 4d, but old man paid all. Thence we went to Barrington's and did likewise. It began to be late and I desired to go home, and moved John Hasleden to go. Old man played upon me, which made me willing to go, but John would not go, being invited by his uncle to stay. I parted. Came home myself in dark night – a very sad night and as I came in Ashton near Widow Marsh's old James Hanys lived over against and was nearly drowned.

6.—Wednesday. My brother called on me to go with him to take a house

¹ The modern paperback produced by Picks Publishing is the only edition currently available, and it is, unfortunately, a wretchedly poor (and seemingly unproofed!) scan from, I believe, the *Leigh Chronicle* edition of over a century ago. Some portions of text were never included, seemingly arbitrarily, and there are many errors. I have taken this text and also Sachse's edition of 1938 (Yale University Press) to produce this reading version, making corrections as much as I can. I have largely modernised the language for the non-academic reader, and I have standardised spellings of place and personal names. Original footnotes have largely been kept, though some have been discarded – we do not need to be told, surely, that Golborne is in Lancashire? or that by 'Reinford' Lowe means Rainford? Where it has seemed useful to add footnotes, I have done this, but have left them marked in dark blue to show my acceptance of responsibility for error or misunderstanding. Some few places in the text remain obscure, and I have not attempted to explain them. I have not had the chance to compare this version against the manuscript. Tell me, please, if you can provide insight into a dodgy bit.—AG, 5 June 2008.

² Roger Lowe commences his diary with an entry relating to one of his courting expeditions. Love affairs were frequently the subjects which he considered worth noting in his diary, and some of the incidents are as amusing as they are innocent and simple.

³ He had succeeded James Woods at St. Thomas's Chapel in Ashton in 1663; his Christian name seems to be unknown.

⁴ The diarist, it is clear, from almost his first entry was a young man of pious inclinations, but what must strike the reader as very incongruous is the frequent reference in almost the same paragraph to religious matters and the ale-house. Whenever friends met or had any business to transact it might be natural that the ale-house was resorted to, but after divine service, both morning and evening, a visit to the tavern was not uncommon and sometimes the clergy man even accompanied his hearers and had a glass at their expense!

⁵ On the restoration of the Prayer Book services in 1662 the objectors under the ministry of the ejected curate, James Woods, worshipped in a farm-house.

and ground near Risley windmill, but we took none. We met cousin Hugh Lowe. Went to alehouse. I spent 6d and so parted.

7.—Thursday. I went this night to Thomas Heyes' on purpose to read over some writing for him.

11.—Lord's day. John Bradshaw came from Leigh to see me. I was very sad all day, but the Lord is my comfort.

14.—John Battersby, sometime Leigh's school-master, came to town, and I was with him all night and

19. January.—Tuesday. I went into Golborne to James ...mith for to get in some moneys. From thence I went to Ann Barrow's and I supposed she hid herself. At last I parted from house and she came after me, but I returned home with discomfort, though I was very much satisfied, for I went with a purpose to free myself and not to have nothing to do with her.

26.—Tuesday. John Parr of Tyldesley Bangs beyond Leigh came to town and forced me with him to go to alehouse, which I did, and it cost me nothing. I was at this time very sad in spirit.⁶

FEBRUARY, 1663

3.—Wednesday. I was all day endeavouring to rectify some things between old John Jenkins and his son Matthew, who were at suit, the one against the other, and a peace was concluded and all things rectified in and amongst them. We all went to the alehouse together, and I made bond for to pay such a sum of moneys at such a time, and so parted.

Thursday. Roger Taylor and Richard Twiss came, and would have me to go with them to alehouse. I went, and very merry we were. I must not spend a 1d, but yet I did.

5th. Friday. I was much troubled at a business that befell about writing a letter for Ellen Ashton to her son Charles. She related that I writ to have her son come down, that she knew not of – which was a false lie.

6.—Saturday. This morning I went to Ellen Ashton's and spent 2d, and peace was concluded, which was matter of great satisfaction to my mind.

8th.—Monday. I went to Thomas Hollis' and William Chaddock's to buy swine's grass,⁷ which I did, and when I came home I was very pensive and sad in consideration of my poverty, and I sung the 24th psalm, and after I was very hearty. God will comfort and supply the wants of His poor servants, and God at present deny worldly things, yet if in the meanwhile God put comfort into hurt, this is better, and that God that gives ...

MARCH, 1663

1.—Lord's day. At night I, being somewhat sad, resorted to Ashton Town Heath, and there poured out a prayer to God, being aside of a ditch. At my return I found Thomas Smith and he would have me to go to Mr. Woods' which we did, but I stayed not. Mr. Woods lent me a book.⁸

⁶ The local name of Tyldesley-Bongs is foreshadowed in the diary. The descriptive name of Tyldesley Banks had evidently two centuries ago become corrupted into unmeaning words.

⁷ Knot-grass or ragwort is known to herbalists for its ability to hasten the healing of wounds. It was also used to treat ailing pigs, hence the alternative name. Compare the diary entry below for 19th December 1664.

⁸ The diarist's puritanical turn of mind manifests itself throughout the diary, and often in connection with matters and things pious expressions are introduced in almost a

7th.—Saturday. I was sent for to Christopher Bate to Brynn, and I went, and very joyfully. To my joy I was paid the debt owing to me per Mr. Brinkes, and very joyfully I came home.

11.—Wednesday. My Master came to Ashton, and I was half afraid of his anger, but the Lord turned it to best, for he said great deal to me which did very much rejoice me. The Lord's name be magnified.

15.—Lord's day. At after evening prayer there was a few went to Mr. Woods' to spend the remaining part of the day. I repeated sermon and stayed prayer, and then came our way.⁹

17.—Tuesday. I went to the funeral of a child called Margaret Hill, child of Mathew Raphe's wife. When we came to Winwick I went with John Hasleden, James Jenkins, Ann Hasleden, Margaret Tankerfield, Ann Taylor, to Mr. Barker's to hear organs. I never heard any before, and we were very merry. I spent 6d, and so we came home.

22.—Lord's day night. I went to Mr. Woods', stayed prayer, and Edmund Winstanley would have me home with him to supper, and I went with him.

24th.—Tuesday. Went to Leigh.

29.—Lord's day. Went with John Hasleden to Wigan, and when I came home I was scarcely well. We stayed drinking at George Burdekin's house.

APRIL, 1663

5.—Lord's day. I was in a troubled condition in my mind considering my unsettledness, and that God was highly offended with me. Therefore I went into Ashton Heaths and kneeled me down in a ditch side and made my prayer to the Lord.

6.—Monday. Old Mr. Woods went to Chowbent, and I brought him on his way.¹⁰

9.—Thursday. Mr. Woods returned again and called on me, told where he had been and how he had made peace between Mrs. Duckenfield of Bickerstaffe and her son James. He seemed to be very glad. I went to bring him towards home, and he told me he light of a receipt for diseases since he went, and pulled out a paper and lent me to write out. Told him he had made it himself, as I suppose he did. This it was:

An healing receipt for a diseased liver.

First fast and pray, and then take a quart of repentance of Nineveh, and put handfulls of faith in the blood of Christ with as much hope and charity as you can get, and put it into a vessel of a clean conscience. Then boil it on the fire of love so long till you see by the eyes of faith a black scum of the love of this world ... Then scum it off clean with the spoon of

ridiculous manner. Nonsensical and trivial as these entries may appear now, they throw much light on the character of Roger Lowe, and show him to have been deeply imbued with the peculiar religious tone of the time in which he lived.

⁹ The 'Mr. Woods' referred to is the Rev. James Woods, the ejected Nonconformist minister of Ashton. He was the grandfather of 'General Woods' of Chowbent, and the father of the then minister of the Chowbent Presbyterian Chapel.

¹⁰ This is an interesting entry, as it was easy to divine the cause of the old Puritan minister's visit to Chowbent – spelt by the diarist in the old form. No doubt many Chowbent people remembered the visit, and knew the young man from Ashton who 'brought' the old pastor 'on his way.'

faithful prayers. When this is done, put in the powder of patience, then strain all together in the cup of a humble heart, then drink it burning hot next thy heart, and cover thee warm with as many clothes of amendment of life as God shall enable thee to bear, that thou must sweat out all the poison of wantonness, pride, whoredom, idolatry, usury, swearing, lying, with such like, and when thou feelest thyself altered from the aforementioned vices, take the powder of say well and put it upon thy tongue, but drink it with thrice as much of do well daily. Then take the oil of good works and anoint therewith eyes, ears, heart, hands, that thou be ready and nimble to minister to the poor distressed members of Christ. When this is done, then in God's name arise from sin willingly, read in the Bible daily, take up the cross of Christ boldly and stand to it manfully, bear all visitations patiently, pray continually, rest thankfully, and thou shalt live everlastingly and come to the hill of joy quickly, to which place hasten us, good Lord, speedily.¹¹

12.—Lord's day. Being commanded by my Master to come to Leigh I went, and measure was taken on me for a suit of clothes. At noon my Master and I went to see his child, which was nursed at Morley's. From thence we went to John Hindley upon Moss Side¹², for he was sick, but our chief occasion was to see John Chaddock, who lied sick at Mr. Whitehead's in Astley. We stayed awhile, then we came home, and I came to Ashton.¹³

13.—Monday. I went to Warrington to buy commodities.

15.—Wednesday night. I went to Mr. Woods' to be all night. Mr. Woods had a private day of prayer. He would not have had me to have come, but I said I durst not.

23.—Thursday. Mr. Woods came to take leave of every inhabitant, and called upon me I went with him, and with great lamentation at his going, with advice to every family to live well.¹⁴

24.—Friday. John Woods came to shop and gave me these verses following, being made by a minister in prison, a Nonconformist:

Though I am shut from Thy house and my own,
I both enjoy in Thee, my God alone.
First for Thy servant I to prison went,
Now for Thy Son to prison I am sent.
Forbidden prayers was my reason then,
For that was Daniel cast in't lions' den.
The wheel is turned, preaching is now my crime.
Was it not so in the Apostles' time?

¹¹ This receipt is written in a style of overstrained allegory very common to the times, and of which instances may be found in most of the writings of the Puritans, and notably in the 'Pilgrim's Progress' and the other works of John Bunyan.

¹² Sachse footnotes this (wrongly) as being Moss Side near Ashton-under-Lyne. It is plainly rather the Moss Side by the north end of Rindle Road.

¹³ Morley's Hall, in Astley, was the seat of the Leylands in the reign of Henry VIII, and was described by Leyland, the antiquary. It is now merely a farm house.

¹⁴ This is a simple and touching record of the parting of the ejected minister with his old congregation and friends. After Mr. Woods left Ashton he went to reside at Thelwall, near Warrington.

Rejoice, my soul, and be exceeding glad!
 Such measure in old time the prophets had.
 Paul in his hired house in bonds did preach.
 In neither I permitted am to teach.
 Father, blest be Thy name, Thy [kingdom] come,
 Thy will be done, though I remain dumb.
 My bonds e'en preach now, e'en Thy Word be bound,
 Prelate e'en once more falls to the ground
 And never rise again for Thou hast put
 All Thy Son's enemies under Thy foot.
 My Sovereign on His throne I joy to see,
 The Son sacred is by Thy decree.
 My prayer Thou hast heard through Christ and I
 Believe Thou canst not this request deny:
 A wife and children Thou hast given me,
 This wife and children I have left to Thee,
 Children born to Thee, and therefore Thine:
 Thou, Lord, wilt be their God, for Thou art mine.

26.—Lord's day. I went to Mr. Woods' house with Thomas Smith, stayed prayer. It was the last Lord's day night that Mr. Woods stayed in Ashton, he intending to go to Cheshire to live.¹⁵ He preached amongst us out of the 14 psalm, 5 verse: "The Lord is my refuge." Very much affected he was with parting with Ashton. Gave him 12d, bended¹⁶, but he would take no leave of me for he thought to see me often. 1663.

30.—Thursday. I went to Leigh. To my great grief, my Master took on me 3li that I had gotten with writing and had given me where I had lived, as in Warrington, Liverpool. I was sent for to Whitley Green this night to one William Marsh, who lay sick and had several times sent for me to write his will, which I did. John Hasleden went with me in night and William Knowle was there, and I composed the man's will somewhat handsomely.¹⁷

MAY, 1663

3.—Lord's day. At noon Thomas Smith and several young women was assembled together in fields, and I repeated sermon. I was this day somewhat pensive this day by reason of some grievances that were upon my spirit.

5.—Tuesday. Being invited to go to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth, I was going, and was in Roger Naylor's, and word was sent me my Master was passed to shop, so I went after and overtook him, but he was not offended. Afterwards I went to Bamfurlong. At my coming home I called at Roger Naylor's and partly engaged to come bear them company that night. I coming down to shop and stayed awhile, and then went again and privately engaged to Mary to sit up awhile to let us discourse, which she promised, and the main question was because we lived severally, that we would not act so publicly as others, that we might live privately and love firmly, that we might be faithful to each other in our love till the end, all

¹⁵ He went to Thelwall.

¹⁶ I.e. bent his knee or bowed to show respect in leave-taking.

¹⁷ William Marsh was buried at Winwick on 7th May 1663.

which was firmly agreed upon. This was the first night that I ever stayed up a-wooning e'er in my life.

12.—Tuesday. My Master brought me a suit of clothes, which did much comfort me.

14.—Thursday. I was invited to go to the funeral of Edward Calland to Winwick, which I did.¹⁸

17.—I was to go to Wigan with Thomas Smith. Alice Leyland had promised me she would then and there answer my desire either pro or con in a final engagement to Thomas.¹⁹ At this time Mary Naylor and I were solemnly agreed to be faithful to each other.

20.—Wednesday. John Chaddock came to Ashton to help cast up shop, and it answered my expectation. I desired to bless God for it, for the Lord hath been pleased to bless it hitherto in my hands.

30.—Sabbath day. I went to Wigan and should have met John Chaddock, but he came not.

JUNE, 1663

3.—Wednesday. I was invited to go to Mr. Leanders' house and I went. At my coming home I met with Mr. Leanders, and he have me to alehouse.

4.—Thursday. I went to the funeral of old Mrs. Duckenfield, first to Bickershaw, then to Wigan. I thought I should have met with Mr. Hayhurst²⁰ and Mr. Downes, but they were not there. I came considering how one day houses, lands, goods, and friends and all will leave us, as I particularised it to her that was dead.

5.—Friday. I was adopted to be son and twindle with Richard Boardman of Ashton wherein we had a great ...

6.—Saturday. I made 3 bonds for old Jenkins.

8.—Monday. I went to Roger Naylor and Mary cried to me, said she would have nothing to do with me, was highly displeased at me, but in the conclusion she was well pleased, would have me go with her day after to Bamfurlong, and she would go before, and to signify she was before, she would in such a place lay a bough in the way, which accordingly she did, and I found it upon

9, Tuesday, upon my going to Bamfurlong and at house I found her. As we came home we went into a narrow lane and spoke our minds walking to and fro, and engaged to be faithful till death. As we were coming I saw John Chaddock going home, having been at Ashton bringing me a parcel of cloth. I called on him and get him back again.

15.—Monday. A tedious stitch took in my back, so that I was unable to stay shop, and held me very sore till noon, and then the Lord helped me.

16.—Tuesday. I was sent for to Runners field to be all night, but I went not.

17.—I was invited to go with Sarah Jenkins to John Naylor's, of Edge Green.

21.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh, and there Mr. James Woods came into

¹⁸ Winwick register has the name as Edward Callon.

¹⁹ Her decision must have been favourable: Thomas Smith and Alice Leyland were married at Winwick on 9 October 1665.

²⁰ Probably Bradley Hayhurst, Vicar of Leigh, from c. 1646 to c. 1657, when he resigned. In 1661 he was presented to the living of Taxall, Cheshire, where he was probably silenced for nonconformity. In 1661-3 he lived in Manchester; in 1671 he became minister of Macclesfield, resigning in 1682, shortly before he died.

church, was lately married Thursday before and his wife was now with him, and at noon I went into George Norris's, where he was, and sent for him into a chamber where I was, and when he came he sent for his wife, that I should see her. At night I came to Sushey, and there I met with Margaret Wright, Mr. Sorrowcold's maid. She needs would have me with her home. I went and she made much of me. I came from thence to Roger Naylor's and there they were at supper. I went with Mary and other wenches to a well bottom of Town Field.

22.—Monday. I hearing that old Mr. Woods was at John Robinson's, I hastened to go see him, which I did. There we sat and discoursed awhile of the times and they took their leaves of house, and I went with them, they intending to call at New Hall²¹, and there I left them, being grieved in spirit.

24.—Wednesday. I went into Windle to my brother's, and he was gone to Warrington. I went and fished a little time, but catching nothing I came home.

28.—Sabbath day. There was no service at Ashton and I went to Bamfurlong and stayed awhile and came home again. I promised to go unto Ellen Scott Sabbath day after ...

JULY, 1663

5.—Lord's day. After many invitations to go with Ellen Scott to Holland, this day I answered her invitation and went to Bamfurlong where she lived, and get her ready. So we went to Holland together, and when we came there it was before service time. We went into Hugh Worthington's and spent 8d, so went into church. A young lad preached. At noon we went to her mother's in Dalton, stayed dinner. Then Elizabeth Scott lived at Ashurst Hall, and she took us down thither as we were going. We looked up and down, stood upon a hill²² and saw the land round about. It's the pleasantest place that e'er I saw, a most gallant prospect. Came to Ashurst Hall and Elizabeth took us into the chambers, up and down – a most pleasant place and gallant walks. We invited Elizabeth, fellow servant, to go take part of ½ a dozen, which was done. We went together to one Ashcroft's, and as we went we gat whinberry. From thence we parted and came home.

8.—Wednesday. I was in a sad condition in mind, for Roger Naylor was from home, and Mary would not assent to have me come thither, but I went and she was something displeased. She went give calf drink. I followed her and there we speak to either, which was very satisfactory to both, and the other day after she came to shop, and was very glad to see me. Said she, "Am not I a wise wench to engage myself thus?" At those times my affections ran out violently after her, so as that I was never contented one day to an end unless I had seen her, and chiefly my affections were set upon her virtues and womanly qualities.

13.—Monday. I went to Leigh for commodities, and my Dame was brought to bed. She sent for me into parlour for to get her some wine from Ashton. I said I would come again and bring her some, took my leave, and came home. I was sent for to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth to write

²¹ New Hall, an estate in Ashton acquired in the seventeenth century by the Launder or Lander family.

²² Ashurst's Beacon on the Upholland ridge is the prime candidate for this location.

letters to London and Preston, took my leave, and came to Roger Naylor's house, the cabinet that received the choice of my affection. Her father was not at home. She gave me an handkerchief because I was hot, to dry me with. I went and bought wine and set forward to Leigh. When came thither I went to see my sister, and Robert Reynolds went and gave me ½ a dozen, lent me his watch. The other day I came home, and when comen I went to Roger Naylor's, and there Mary was put in fright with her father concerning me, for which she reserved the telling of it till another time, but it was matter of much trouble to me. I was sent for to Bamfurlong and I went, but it was with a sad heart, for I sincerely loved her – and now what a grief is it that such amicable friend as love is, such a friend as is desired everywhere and without which a common weal, nay, a family would not subsist, yet that this friend that we two have made choice above all other, yet that there should be such actors and abettors against it as her father and others! Some cry "Murther O!", others cry "Let him remain silent in the cabinet of our hearts," and indeed that's our resolution till malice and spite have said their worst and best, and then we'll advance this our friend to the highest protection. Till then we will be silent.²³

15.—Wednesday. I sent Thomas Smith underhand to Mary to know all the business, so the business was little. She was put in a fright and sent for me to come the other day.

16.—Thursday. I went and we went into parlour and very sorrowfully we were at some business. We concluded to be more private and keep more faithful.

16.—Thursday. At night James Naylor came and asked me to go with him to Newton, which I did. He wooed Ann Barrow²⁴, and she sent for us to Stirrup's, where we came and get into chamber where she was, and after a while parted.

18.—Saturday. I set forward to go to Thellwall in Cheshire to old Mr. Woods, for I had promised him to come, and as I was going in Warrington I went into Mr. Pickering's shop and stayed awhile, for it rained. I bought a book of Mr. Love's²⁵, being his last sermon. I sat forward, and upon Latchford Heath there was a great company of persons, with 2 drums amongst them. The young men were playing at prison bars²⁶, where I stayed awhile to see them, but concluded it was but vanity. Came to Mr. Woods', where they were glad to see me.

19th.—Lord's day. We went altogether to Lymm church and

20th, Monday, I came home.

22.—Wednesday. Richard Naylor came over and sent for me, so I went, and we went to Leech's. I spent 6d. At night James Naylor asked me to go with him to Newton, as formerly, so I went, and we were sent for to go to Mr. Collier's, so we went and stayed awhile. Anon Mr. Collier comes in

²³ The diarist's courting appears to have been very checkered. The diary commences with a reference to one of his sweethearts, and many entries refer to Mary Naylor. On the 30th August following the above entry, Lowe hints that he was 'prosecuting his service' to a 'lady with means' and after these varied experiences, as the sequel proves, he does not after all marry one of his early sweethearts.

²⁴ They married at Winwick in May or June 1666.

²⁵ Christopher Love [1618-1651] was a Presbyterian preacher beheaded on Tower Hill for allegedly fund-raising for the restoration of the monarchy.

²⁶ The game of prison bars or baseball is an old English game. The one witnessed on Latchford Heath by the diarist appears to have been somewhat of a match, much as friendly games of cricket are played now, with the similar attraction of music to encourage the players and entertain the spectators.

drunk and falls in discourse with James, and James being not able to defend himself, I took hold and answered to the well liking of James.
25.—I rid upon one of Raphe Hasleden's horses to Leigh to our child's christening. He was named Edward.²⁷

AUGUST, 1663

1.—Saturday. I went to Winwick to the funeral of old John Tankerfield. I hasted home and went to see Mary Naylor, for she was scarce well, being troubled with toothache.

2.—Lord's day. Mr. Wood sent for me into Haydock to Nicholas Burscough's, where Thomas Smith and I went and stayed prayer and so came home.

7.—Friday. Old Mr. Woods came to town to me, and Peter Leyland, William Knowles, William Hasleden, Thomas ... were all together in alehouse, very merry.

9.—Lord's day. Matthew Lythgoe, Edward Bradshaw, Robert Reynolds came from Leigh, sent for me to Tankerfield's and had wenches that met them. We were all afternoon in alehouse. The Lord forgive us.

12.—Wednesday night. We were all together in Thomas Leech's, taking leave with Thomas Green having his apprenticeship ended.

18.—Wednesday. Richard Naylor came over out of Yorkshire and Henry Lowe and I were with him very merry, and were adopted brethren.

19.—Wednesday. I was sent for to Bamfurlong to cast up Ann's accounts.

21.—Thursday. I was in alehouse with Roger Naylor when we parted. I was somewhat affected and betook myself solitarily into Town's Field, and there kneeled me down on side of a came butt²⁸ and prayed.

23.—Lord's day. At night Thomas Smith and I went to Robert Rowbotham's to be all night, the other day

24.—Robert got us plums. We hasted away, for there was a race to be run from Golborne Stocks to Ashton town. I got a horse and ran with them.

28.—Friday. I went to Wigan. There was a peddler lived there, one Humphrey Starbotham, who owed me some moneys but I got none.

29.—Thomas Smith and I went to Edward Clarke's to be all night. As soon as we were gotten into house he told us that Alice Leyland was lately dead that evening, a very godly young woman.

30.—Lord's day. Mary Naylor frowned on me all day, and I was very much troubled to know the reason and cause of it, so I went to bring Ann Greensworth towards home, and at my return homeward I went into house and found her alone and willed her to tell me the reason of her frowning, but she would not, but I was very much troubled at it. But I commit all to God for my trust is Him. I had before this time presented my service to Ellen Marsh of Ashton, who had a house and living, and kept a private mediator to intercede for me, from whom and by whom I received answer that she would give me the meeting ere long, only I must be secret, to which I promised I would. The Lord work for me which way may be most for His glory and my comfort and direct me what best to take in hand and order all my affairs.

²⁷ According to the registers, no christenings took place at Leigh Church on the above date, but Edward, son of Thomas Hammond de Westleigh, was baptized July 26. The only other Edward baptized in the same month was Edward, son of Thomas Southern de Bedford, on the 19th.

²⁸ A bank of earth.

SEPTEMBER, 1663

1.—Monday. Roger Naylor was gone to Chester, and I went down and Mary and I went into parlour and talked 2 hours at least, and she cried to me and seemed to be very sad, and the reason was because of fear of her friends, lest they would never respect her, so she would have us part. I was indifferent, though sadly troubled, but ere we parted she was very merry because she had eased her spirit to me. So we parted, but it was with a further resolution of faithful and constant affection.

2d.—Tuesday. Ellen Ashton came to me to write a letter for her which I did. At this present I was very much discomposed in spirit, being troubled in mind in consideration of my poorness in the world, but my trust is in God, for the earth is His and the fullness thereof.

4.—Thursday. It was a very rainy day and I went with William Sixsmith and John Potter to Whitley Green. My intentions were to see some that owed me moneys, to get it and come home again, but we went into Watt's and spent each man 2d and made a set of bowling, for each man 2d in ale.²⁹ I was one to bowl and lost, and came home, shut up windows and went again and found them in house, get money that I had lost and came home. But a sad evening and a sad day of sickness I had afterwards.

6.—Lord's day. My Master came to town and was something displeased I came not to Leigh of a Lord's day, but he was not over much angry, but very well pleased with me. He went to Dock Lane to dinner.³⁰ At night I, being very sad in spirit, went to Town Field and up and down. At last I get to Town Heath, and upon a ditch side I read a psalm and sung part of another and came home being very well satisfied, for the Lord will be a rock to those that trust in Him.

10.—Thursday. I was sent for to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth to write, and it was a very rainy day. This day Hamblett Ashton was at Warrington buried, being Monday before hanged at Chester for murder. The Lord preserve us from such practices and such end. Amen.³¹

13.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh and at noon John Bradshaw and I went into Vicars Field and talked of former things. I was at this time very sad in spirit by reason of myself and seeing my father's and mother's grave and pondering of other deaths, for I went round about church to look at graves of such as I knew.³²

15.—Tuesday. Mr. Woods came to shop to see me and he told me of his sadness for Alice Leyland's death, and he delivered to me a paper of verses that he had made and gave me them to write out, and willed me to come this evening to Bate's in Haydock, he would be there this night, and I

²⁹ Bowling is another ancient English game and is represented in Anglo-Saxon illuminated MSS. The customary 'twopence a game for ale' appears to be a very conservative institution, and the same stake is probably the usual one still played for on the Bowling Greens of Ashton two centuries after Roger Lowe records the sad evening he had in consequence of losing a game, and how he had a 'sad day of sickness' the following morning.

³⁰ I.e. he had dinner at Raphe Hasleden's house. Raphe Hasleden seems to have been something of a local wholesaler.

³¹ In the Warrington Register, under the date of September 10, 1663, occurs the entry; 'Mr. Hamellett Ashton Buried.' It appears that he was hanged for killing a tapster at Nantwich.

³² The Vicarage Fields retain their name, but the graves of the diarist's parents cannot be pointed out in the parish churchyard.

promised I would come to him as soon as I had writ them.

Some verses I composed upon the sad and serious thoughts of Alice Leyland's death:

An epitaph upon the death
of Alice Leyland, maid of Ashton,
who died 29th of August 1663
and was buried 30 August at Ashton chapel,
being Lord's day in the evening, and these
verses were made by Mr. James Woods,
senior, and was given me to write out
by him 15 September 1663.

Dear Alice, though thy portion was but small
In riches, beauty, things terrestrial,
Yet of the inward beauty thou hadst share,
Thy soul adornments were both great and rare.
What others had in outward garb and blee³³
In inward graces was made up to thee.
O blessed saint, though thou wast poor and mean,
Thy life was gracious, conversation clean.
Thou much of heaven hadst, of earth but little,
Thou hadst the solid, wantedst but the brittle.
Of outward wealth and riches thou hadst none,
Like Christ nor house nor harbour of thy own,
Thou scarcely hadst an hole to hide thy head,
Yet wantest not a palace, being dead.
Dead, did I say? That word doth much appal,
My troubled spirits makes my heart to quail.
Methinks thou art not dead, but still I see
Thy lovely visage present to mine eye.
Thy cheerful countenance I still behold,
Which seems to me of more than mortal mold.
Methinks the lovely locks and vigin face,
Thy blessed soul so armed with truth and grace,
So fixed in my thoughts do still remain
They'll never out till I thee see again.
Methinks I still thy gracious words do hear,
Humble confessions mixed with godly fear,
Thy gracious speech without all taunts or nips
Did shew that grace was powered into thy lips.
Thy tongue did still on sacred subjects run,
With them thou ended and with them begun.
Thou hadst a rare and blessed memory,
Of sacred things a well stored treasury.
Thy gifts ware not discerned nor seen of many
And yet, I fear, scarce paralleled by any.
Clear, rare perfections hardly could be seen,
Thine inward worth and virtues lay within.
God's holy Word to thee was very sweet,

³³ Complexion.

When naked Word and naked heart did meet.
The wants of nature grace did much supply,
And all its errors sweetly certify.
Grace made thy life and conversation sweet,
Grace made the chaste, pure, humble and discreet.
The worth and work of grace appeared in thee
And shined forth in great excellency.
Thy heart was humble, thine affections pure,
Thy conscience tender, judgement firm and sure.
Thy smallest slips did seem more great to thee
Then unto others sins of highest degree,
And thou an idle word deplored more
Then others some of lies and oaths a score.
Yea, I have seen thy blubbered eyes to swell
And tears drop down as from a fountain well
When with temptations thou hast been oppressed,
Or sight of sin hath brought thee much unrest.
But O! how full of joy and sweet content
Have I thee seen with mirth and merriment
When faith and hope have got the victory
And thou hast overcome triumphantly.
Of all conditions thou experience had,
And knewest how to joy and to be sad.
Yea, thou with God most sweetly did converse
That it myself surpasseth to express.
How much of heaven did in thee appear
Whilst thou wast here on earth who will declare?
'Twas but awhile that thou didst sojourn here,
But 'twas with reverence and godly fear.
But thou in that same while more work didst do
Then some that twice thy age had lived unto.
Thou madest haste unto thy journey's end,
Longing to meet that loved spouse and friend.
And now thy weary pilgrimage is past
And to thy heaven thou art come at last,
And thou art happy and shall ever be
Perfect and blessed to all eternity.
When I the lives of popes and cardinals
And prelates proud in their pontificals
Do seriously consider and observe
How men of learning, parts, and gifts do swerve,
How many that of precious souls have charge
Are carelss, covetous, and live at large –
Then thee, poor Alice, I often think upon:
That more of God and true religion
Was in the heart of such poor silly babies
Then in the heart of heads of such learned rabbis,
Their formal service and outside devotion,
With little of divine and heavenly motion,
Was far inferior to thy sacred strain,
When with thy prayers, tears did flow amain
And holy, fervent, set thy heart on fire,
That it did kindle such a strong desire

That thou didst seldom from God's presence part
 Till God had heard thy prayers, cheered thy heart.
 Thou seldom partedst from God's presence sad,
 His soul refreshments made thy heart most glad.
 With hidden manna thou didst often meet,
 And God's returns unto thy soul was sweet.
 And though thou nothing hadst yet thou hadst all,
 For thou hadst Christ who was thy all-in-all.
 Thou hadst content in that thy poor estate
 And so wast richer than a potentate.
 Christ was thy portion, Christ thy food and clothing,
 Christ was thy treasure ... nothing.
 Thou diedst rich, though scarce a penny had,
 Thou now art joyful, though here often sad.
 And yet more sad for others than thyself,
 Thou ne'er wast sad for want of worldly pelf.
 In greatest wants thou always had enough,
 Thy way was pleasant, whether smooth or rough.
 Thou fedst on promises in time of want
 And livedst in Christ when other things were scant.
 Thou thy poor calling cheerfully didst follow
 When pining cares did others seem to swallow.
 Thou now triumphant in those joys above,
 Surrounded all about with peace and love.
 Thy warfare now is finished, race is run,
 Thou hast kept the faith, the jubilee begun.
 All tears from thy eyes are wiped away,
 Sorrow nor sadness make no longer stay.
 Thou now art perfect and forever blessed
 Where we thee leave to thy eternal rest.
 Sorry I am I was not at thy death,
 When thou expired thy last and sweetest breath.
 Nor at thy funeral some tears to shed,
 As parents for their children that are dead.
 Yet, to express my true respects to thee
 These verses here a monument shall be,
 Which may perhaps not without tears be read
 When I as well as thou am buried.
 And I do hope that long it will not be
 But I, blessed saint, shall blessed be with thee.

Sic finitur lacrimationes
 15 September amicorum Jacobus Woods.
 1663 Rogerus Lowe.

After I had written this I set forward according to my promise to follow him, and at Henry Bate's in Haydock I found him at prayer, for Henry's sister was distempered. As soon as he could leave them we walked 2 field's breadth and parted, both being very sad. I came to old John Robinson; they would have had me to have eaten, but I stayed awhile and then parted, only I let him see 4 verses I made upon his not remembrance of me in a letter to Ashton, which I had intended to have writ in a letter

and sent it to him.³⁴

When I into your letter once did see
And beheld no remembrance of poor me,
Then to myself I said, "Hodge thou'rt forgot,
For he in his letter Lowe remembreth not."

at the reading of which he laughed heartily.

17.—Thursday. I went to bowling alley and lost 12d, at which I was sore grieved, came home, and this evening I went with James Naylor to Newton a-woosing Ann Barrow. She had sent for me to come speak with her. I went to Mr. Collier's to fetch her to us into widow Heapie's, for there we resided. I put off my one hat and put on another, and made also myself as if I were John Naylor's man and was sent to town upon an occasion, and so had something to speak to Ann from her sister. Get her out, and she, with much requesting, promised to come to us after supper, which she did. Desired me to meet her at Winwick, Lord's day after.

17.—Friday. I helped at the desire of old John Jenkins to pick sheaves of barley off cart.

18th.—I was in a great perplexity by reason of Mary Naylor, who was too strange to me in her affections.

19.—Lord's day. I went to Winwick with James Naylor to meet Ann Barrow according to my promise. I went, but she could not come. We came to Heapie's at noon and stayed drinking 8d, then, sent for by her, we went into Mr. Collier's and were taken into the parlour, and I conferred with her awhile to move her to acceptance. After awhile I left her and him to their best discourse.

21.—Monday. John Bradshaw came from Leigh to see me and we went to Gawther's and drunk, and then afterwards went to Brynn to see a race, but it was run before we came, so we came to shop again.

22.—Tuesday. Nicholas Corless of Abram came to town to me, took me to alehouse. I went and brought him a gate towards home, and so parted. This night Mary Naylor came to me and spake kindly to me, to my great satisfaction. This night John Hasleden was pretty merry, and he goes to John Potter's and sends 6d for ale, and sent for me³⁵. It was made in a jelly bowl and I was sent for to the drinking of. At this time I was neither merry nor sad, but in an indifferent state, rather in grief, but the Author of my faith and hope is fixed in God. He can, He will redeem me out of all my fears and griefs. I shall see better times wherein I shall have further occasion to bless the Lord.³⁶

24.—Thursday. Alice Leyland came from Mr. Woods' in Cheshire I brought her towards home, we talked of Alice Leyland's death. In the close of her discourse she desired me to do a message for her to Thomas Smith from Mr. Woods which I promised I would – and because Thomas seldom came to shop and I could not see him, I writ the errand down to him and in bottom of page I made and writ these verses:

³⁴ The Leylands were settled at a very early date in Ashton-in-Makerfield, and an offshoot of the original stock subsequently took root in Abram.

³⁵ September 22 and 23 were the annual fair-days in Ashton.

³⁶ The name originally of the family and township of Abram was Edburgham or Adburgham and the name Richard de Edburgham is found in the Testa de Neville of the thirteenth century. The name at the time of the diarist was variously spelt, Abraham, Abreham and Abram.

Your friendship's like the morning's dew
No sooner come, but bids adieu.
With other objects you are taken
And little Hodge is quite forsaken.
But I'm content, let it be so,
Though friends will ne'er friends them put fro.

This afternoon I went down to Roger Naylor's, and Mary and I talked together. After she and I were parted, James and I went to Leigh, and when I came home there was a direct N and half of M providentially made upon my breeches, plain to view in any man's sight, made of mire with leaping. I looked upon it to be from providence, and foretold something in my apprehension. The smallest of God's providences should not be passed by without observation.³⁷

25.—Friday. I went to Roger Naylor's and Roger was gone to Wigan to a burying, and poor Mary was sick in bed. I went to her and held and stayed awhile. She promised to send Joseph to tell me how she did. I parted, and when I came to shop Raphe Stirrup, my father³⁸, send for me to Gawther's. I went.

26.—Peter Leyland came and I writ Mr. Woods' verses for him. This night there was a robbery done at clay pits. A young man was stricken off his horse very timely in night and his moneys taken off him.

27.—I went to Leigh and gave my Master 5li 10s. At my coming home, Margaret Naylor called of me and enjoined me to come to their house when John Naylor was away. At this time I was somewhat grieved in mind by reason I saw not those smiling providences of God, as others have. But it's good to wait on God.

28.—Monday. John Hasleden and I with some others were in Tankerfield's and were merry. John and I began to bet each with other, which was contrary to custom that we should so act one against another.

29.—James Naylor invited me to their house. I went and found Mary alone and very pleasant. This night I sang in shop by candle the chief verses of the 71 psalm with a lusty and hearty cheerfulness.

OCTOBER, 1663

1.—Thursday. I had goods sent me from Leigh in a cart, being come from Chester fair, and I was in a very hearty condition.

2.—Friday. I went to Roger Naylor's and Mary and I sat together in parlour and discoursed to both our satisfactions. I came to shop and anon John Chaddock came and brought me some commodities, and told me that my Master intended to have me home, and that some of his lads should be set up in Ashton, all which grieved me extremely. But it's best to fly to the help that never fails, and to hold one still waiting on God. He who hath brought me through infancy and youth will not now leave me nor forsake me, for my trust is in Him.

3.—Saturday. I acquainted Mary Naylor with my thoughts about these

³⁷ The 'smallest of God's providences' is probably the most amusing entry in the diary. Lowe, in his love for Mary Naylor, was willing to see not only good, but Providence in everything which seemed to confirm his affection.

³⁸ 'Godfather' should be understood.

former things above said, about my departure from Ashton, at which she was grieved and would have me speak to my Master. I was all this day sad, yea, very sad in heart, but there's a God to comfort a discomfortable soul when we see nothing in ourselves but misery, nor nothing in world but trouble. Then look upwards to God. I will look up unto the Lord. I will wait on the God of my salvation. My God will hear me. I went this evening with James Naylor to Newton to Ann Barrow a-wooing. She had been sick.

4.—Lord's day. My brother came to Ashton. I told him how that my Master intended to take me home. He was sorry in the thing, but hoped all might be for best.

5.—Monday. Mary Naylor sent for me to their house. We talked together concerning our private matters, and this morning she promised never to marry any except myself.

6. day—Tuesday. I was sent for to Thomas Heyes to reckon with them, and they owed me 3s 10d, and I said 2s 10d, but was mistaken.

7.—Wednesday. I sent them word this day. My Master sent little Thomas to me for to teach, which grieved me very sore.

8.—Thursday. William Schofield, a mercer in Warrington, came to Ashton and invited me to go with him to alehouse, where I did, and we talked about trading and how to get wives.

11.—Lord's day. It was rainy day, and I was very negligent in my duty to God, the Lord forgive me.

12.—Monday. I had a pack of candles came from Leigh. I was somewhat merry at this time in consideration of Mary Naylor's love to me, the consideration thereof amidst other griefs. Yet that is comfort to me and much rejoices me spirit in sadness.

13.—Tuesday. I sat in shop all day. Only I went up Green to old parson Lee's³⁹ and John Hasleden and Thomas Rosbotham and we all went together jesting. Thomas Rosbotham and John Hasleden attempted with either of them a good kibbow⁴⁰ to suprise poor parson and I in parson's shop, but we defended ourselves a while, but in conclusion I was glad to creep up into a loft to secure myself, but was taken at last and suffered affliction. I made them to laugh in telling them how once I was harried with a tup on a rope, who coming towards Leigh with tup in field, the tup set upon poor Hodge and so geper knowed me that in the conclusion I cried out, but none heard me, and I, being unacquainted how to act with tup on rope, let him have the length of rope, and tup ran all ways backwards and fell on me, so that I was put in a terrible fright what to do to save me shins. I was almost in a bewailed condition. I laid me down with my head upon my legs, thinking to save me legs, and he gave me such a pat on the head made me turn up white eyes. I thought and was half afraid lest I had gotten Old Nick on the rope. I prayed to God to deliver me from the tup and rope, but in the conclusion my bones ware sore, brains sick, and heart dead with fear what to do with tup. I looked at tup with an angry countenance, but could not tell how to be revenged. Kill him I durst not, then I should have the labour to have carried him, which I could not. Fair words would not pacify him nor angry countenances affright him, but at last I resolved upon a manly resolution thus. "What, Hodge? art in a

³⁹ Possibly William Leigh, Rector of Newchurch, Culcheth ... afterwards in charge of Gorton Chapel, whence he was ejected in 1662. He was a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. According to Calamy he died of the stone in 1664, aged about 50.

⁴⁰ Stick or cudgel.

strait? What's the reason of this fear and grief? A tup. A tup? does that daunt thee? Stand upon thy legs and fight manfully in answer thereunto." I did, and get a kibbow out of hedge, and tup and I fell to it, but the tup o'ercame me. I could do no good, but down on my knees again. I get hold of tup's horns and one of his feet, and cast him. "So now, tup, I intend to be revenged on thee," and smote him on the head. But with great difficulty I get him to Leigh, but I ne'er was in such a puzzle in all my life as I was with that tup. When I saw the tup set on me, so I thought: "What have I gotten on rope? A sheep is a harmless creature they say. What is this, Old Nick?" He did so nick me up that he made me to leap and frisk. I exercised feet, hands, tongue, and all members of my body was exercised about tup head. Sometimes slaked in revenge brains troubled how to be revenged, tongue in uttering most woeful lamentations and sometimes loud hankerings, but since then I have known tups, the very name of tups hath been trouble to me ears. I remember another story which once was to my grief, as well as this which occasions me to remember it, likewise that the world may see what straits I have been in and what troubles I have undergone in my life. When I lived with Mr. Livesey⁴¹, he sent me to High Leigh to Mr. Henry Lee about a minister for his chapel, and going from Budworth to High Leigh without victuals I came just at dinner's time. Mr. Lee was at dinner. I sent letter to him, he sent word I should stay dinner, which I did, and was very hungry. I was set at table with servants. Every servant a great bowlful of pottage, anon a great trencher like a pot lid I and all others had, with a great quantity of pottage. The dishes else were but small and few. I put bread into my pottage thinking to have a spoon, but none came. While I was thus in expectation of that I could not obtain, every man having a horn spoon in their pockets, having done their pottage fell to the other dishes. Thought I, these hungry Amalakites that I am gotten amongst will devour all if I do not set upon a resolution. I, looking towards them to see their nimbleness in the exercise of their hands from dish to their mouth, made me to forget my hunger, but I cast my eyes from them, thinking it were best to bethink myself of my own hungry condition. What would it advantage me though I was sat there to table and not satisfy hunger? I cast an eye to my trencher – there was a whole sea of pottage before. Thought I, what must I do with all these, wished in my heart many times that those hungry rogues had them in their guts, but that would not do, for still they were there before me, and I durst not set them away, though it was manners so to have done. Well, I resolved: "Hodge, if thou will have any victuals here, thou sees how the case is and into whose company thou art fallen into, what a hungry spirit possesses these men. Thou must now resolve upon action," and a speedy dispatch with these pottage accordingly I did, and swepted them as if I would have drunk. Than when I had them in my mouth I was in such a hot fit in my mouth turned meditation into action, but at last, to my lamentation, I was worse then before. I would gladly have given 5s that I had but had the benefit of air or a northern blast. My tongue in my mouth was in a sad condition, help myself I could not, for table was before me and a wall behind me upon my back, a women with her flasket⁴² upon right hand, and a man with his cod piece upon the other, and in this sad condition I sat blothering,

⁴¹ James Livesey (1625?-82) was Vicar of Great Budworth, Cheshire, from 1657 until his death in 1682. His works show him to have been a man of scholarly abilities.

⁴² Shallow basket. [The equivalent of today's handbag, though bigger.](#)

knew not what to do best. Those few pottage I tasted was both dinner and supper. I at last rise from table with a hungry belly but a lamenting heart, and e'er since I have been cautious how to sup pottage, and likewise wary. Nothing worser to a man then over hastiness, especially in hot concernments: hot women, hot pottage, and angry tups beware of and pray to be delivered from.

13.—Tuesday. At night I went to John Hasleden into Haydock. He had a letter come from London, and he went to get a workman to come and help him. It was a very rainy night and filthy gate and very dark.

15.—Thursday. At night old Isabel invited John Hasleden, Dick Asmull, and I to drink with her son in law. We went in night, but before we went I was somewhat disconsolate, and was in shop, and Mary Naylor came into shop and we stayed together, and it did satisfy me very much. She would have me to bring her over bridge, which I did. Afterwards, when I had taken leave of her, I went with some young folks to this man's house, and by virtue of Mary's company it made me as hearty as might be.

16.—Friday. I was sent for to Thomas Heyes'. I went. When I came thither it was but upon shop affairs. I set forward to Bamfurlong. There I stayed and drank bottle ale and common ale and was very merry. Set forward for home. When I was about Roger Naylor's I went in, and Mary was angry with me I had been out of shop, for folks had been there enquiring for me, which angered her very sore, so she was troubled at me.

17.—Saturday. I had a very sickly day, but the Lord instigated the pain. My love was very earnest to Mary at this time. This night was a sad night to me in pain of my head, but the Lord was favourable to me in the morning, for I was in health. I bless God. Weeping may endure for a night, but joy comes in the morning.

18.—Lord's day. I went down to Mary when her father was come up to chapel. She was very respectful to me. I was not hearty this day, but in a sad condition.

19.—Monday. Ann Greensworth came to town to go brew at Lodge. I was glad to see her. Went and brought her to Ellen Ashton, spent 2d on her.

21.—Wednesday. I went to Roger Naylor's. As I came again at Thomas Naylor's I bought a hen and 6 chickens for 6d. Afterwards Ann Barrow sent for me to John Naylor's. I went and we conferred together of time and place, when and where James and I must meet her. But in this discourse I entreated for myself to be the next in succession if in case they two should break off, to which she did not say no, neither yea. When I parted I set forward to Bamfurlong, where Ellen Scott did very joyfully entertain me. After I had gotten refreshments I came home.

22.—Thursday. Roger Naylor and Thomas Unsworth came up town to me and invited me to alehouse, and Roger said it should cost me nothing, so I went, and when we were together we were discoursing of Æsop's fables. I was speaking of the fable of dog and piece of flesh, who, swimming over river, caught shadow and lost substance. Says Roger, "Take [care] of you doing so," which speech did much amaze me, for I was troubled at it very sore. But I made my prayer to the Lord and the Lord relieved. He is my shepherd, He will provide, therefore I fear not. This night James Lowe and I went together to Bamfurlong and stayed there till far in night. There was Ann Marsh there, who he wooed, and Ellen Scott and I talked of other things. I had a great cold that troubled me very sore.

23.—Friday. Roger Naylor went from home, and I went to house and Mary and I sat together in parlour, and it satisfied me very much.

25.—Lord's day. Ann Barrow came to Ashton and gave me a letter to answer for her into Yorkshire to Richard Naylor. This evening old Isabel and John Hasleden and I went to Gawther's and were merry when we parted. We went all together into old John Jenkins', we thought he would have died this night. When I was with him he shook me by the hand, and I conferred with him.⁴³ After a while I parted.

27.—My Master came to town and was very loving to me, wished me to get all the moneys I could against Christmas. Henry Lowe came to town and would have me speak to Elizabeth Hindley for him, which I promised to do this evening. I went with James Naylor into Golborne a-wooing to Ann Barrow. I was at this time very sad in spirit, for I had not seen Mary of a good while.

28.—Wednesday. Mary Naylor went to Warrington and stayed all night at her uncle John Lowe's in Hulme, and upon the

29.—Thursday, I went as far as to Newton to meet her, but I could not light of her and came home again in a sad fit. This night John Hasleden and I went to Bamfurlong and were very welcomely entertained, and as we came home we talked of wenches. He told me that he loved a wench in Ireland. At this time I did love Mary extremely, and was sad I could not see her notwithstanding.

30.—Friday. She came to me and was very loving, which did very much satisfy me.

31.—My brother's wife came and brought me nuts and victualling. This night I went up Green to Mary, but could not have the opportunity to speak to her.

NOVEMBER, 1663

1.—Lord's day. Mr. Woods came to town. He was at William Hasleden at dinner. I went to bring him a pipe of tobacco, but could not stay, for I was engaged into company. Ann Barrow and James Naylor and we were all together at noon in Gawther's. Mr. Woods left word with Isabel that he would go to Robert Rosbotham to be all night, and would have me to come to him, so at night Thomas Smith and I went thither, but we went away by Peter Leyland's. Thomas sent me into house and he stayed of me. When I came to door they were singing psalms. I went in and Peter would have me pray, but I was unfit at that time and so desired excuse. Wenches and we went altogether to Robert Rosbotham. Thomas Smith and I were altogether, and he spoke low and told us he intended a communion Thursday night next at James Lowe's, Newton Common.

2.—Monday. I went down to Roger Naylor's and Mary was not so favourable to me as I conceived she should be, and I was troubled very sore.

3.—Tuesday. It was Ashton Court, and I was to sue John Robinson. He had given his word for Robin Taylor. It was a great trouble to my spirit.⁴⁴ My brother came to me this night and was all night with me. I was up till far in night to hear verdict.

5.—Thursday. At night I went to James Lowe's of Newton Comon. There

⁴³ John Jenkins was to live another year, being buried at Winwick on 2nd October 1664.

⁴⁴ Roger Lowe frequently accepted [and after this incident continued to accept] the hospitality of John Robinson's house in Rainford, where regular meetings of the local nonconformists were held. To sue him as guarantor of a debt is therefore quite an embarrassment. As late as 1836 courts leet and baron were held twice a year at Ashton.

Mr. Woods was and a company of Christians, where we received communion and Mr. Woods preached out of 7 Ecclesiastes 14 verse. Mr. Gregg was at prayer when I came in. It was a joyful night and a sad night.⁴⁵ 7.—Saturday. At night I went with Thomas Rosbotham, James Lee, James Naylor and fount⁴⁶ hunting, but we caught a hedgehog, but nothing else.

8.—Lord's day. At night Richard Wainwright came to me and said he would go to Bamfurlong. I said I would go with him if he would let me ride behind him, which he promised to do. Anon Ellen Scott came riding from Holland, and her mother was on foot waiting at Roger Naylor's. When we met them I would have turned home again, but they would not let me, but set me behind old woman on horseback, so we rid like Irish folks. When we came there we spent night in feasting and discoursing, and at 10 of the clock in night Dick and I took horse and parted.

9.—Monday night. I went with James Naylor to old Barrow's in Golborne to woo Ann. It was very dark and stormy and late in night ere we came home.

12.—Grace Gerard had an ale, called neighbours, went to spend money. I went with them and spent ...d, and I came home to bed and left neighbours and music and all.

13.—Friday. Jane Wright, Mr. Sorrowcold's maid, came to town and we were very merry together. I accommodated her with ale, and so we parted. I was at this time in a very fair way for pleasing my carnal self, for I knew myself acceptable with Emm Potter, notwithstanding my love was entire to Mary Naylor in respect of my vow to her, and I was in hopes that her father countenanced me in the thing.⁴⁷

15.—Lord's day. It was a very rainy day and Mr. Blackburn⁴⁸ came not to chapel, but sent Mr. Barker to read, and I was somewhat troubled. Old Roger Naylor came and sat with me all afternoon.⁴⁹ This day was not well spent, I must confess. The Lord humble me for it.

16.—I kept shop all day and had a fire. Old Roger Naylor came to me and Thomas Smith, and we spent each of us 1d for ale. I was very heartless at this present.

⁴⁵ Mr. Thomas Gregg, who is several times mentioned in the diary, was minister of St. Helens, and was allowed to keep his chapel without conforming. He is described as a very courageous man, 'preaching mostly in the chapel, or openly in houses, in the face of danger, and yet was never imprisoned.' His name is found attached to the humble address and petition [of the ministers of the Gospel in the county palatine of Lancaster] to the King, December, 1660.

⁴⁶ Polecat.

⁴⁷ In the *Manchester Courier* notes on the diary, 'J.E.B.' observes with reference to the numerous passages about 'accommodating' one another with ale, some [particularly teetotallers] may see in the custom more than is really implied by it. The morning draft at the ale-house was merely the draft that accompanied the first meal, and is almost equivalent to our word 'breakfast.' Jeffersons in the 'Book About the Table' cautions readers of old biogRapehies not to attribute tavern-hunting propensities to sober and discrete gentlemen, who, though they always opened the day with drink and gossip at an ale-house, were no wastrels or ill livers [vol. 1, p. 219].

⁴⁸ Possibly Thomas Blackburne, who ministered at St. Peter's Church, Newton-in-Makerfield, from 1650, coming onto then living by the general consent of the chapelry. It may also refer to "Mr. John Blakeburne" mentioned later in the diary.

⁴⁹ The names Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Barker are not given in Baines' lists of the local nonconforming ministers. Mr. Barker, Bowker, or Barkon, of Winwick, or Standish must be added to the list of the Puritan clergy of Lancashire on the authority of Roger Lowe's *Diary*.

18.—Wednesday. I was sent for to Bamfurlong and called at Thomas Heyes' and received 8s for commodities. Then went to Bamfurlong, where I was accommodated with ale, and when I had writ some accounts for Ann I parted and came to Roger Naylor's, where Mary was busy. I had a deal to say to Mary, but could not have the opportunity, so came to shop.

20.—Friday. I was sent for to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth to write a letter to London to her brother, and I went.

22.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh and called of Ann Barrow, and she took me into parlour and gave me spiced beer and we conferred awhile. I spoke much for myself by way of motive that she would except of me, and after awhile parted, being enjoined by her to come at noon back again. I went to Leigh and at noon John and I went to Twiss barn to see all those preparations in readiness to the casting of Leigh great bell and third bell, both which bells lay in steeple.⁵⁰ We came up to Richard Darwell and spent 2d and came into town and so parted. I set forward for home and by the way called on Ann Barrow according to promise, but she was sent for to go into Pemberton, but she left word I must stay till she came, but I would not. But Elizabeth Hart told me that she said that if she thought her father would die soon, he would wait for me, because I had presented my affections to her, and this she said upon better motive to her for me. But yet, the grief of all was behind, for Bett told me how perfidiously and knavishly James Naylor had dealt with me, for he wooing Ann would always have me with him, and I had some affections to his sister, and had spent her several little notes, which she put in her box, and this one evening, the 9th of this present November, and he called for a band and Mary bid him go take one out of her box, so he rifled her box up and took all my letters, which I had sent her at several occasions, and took them in his pocket, and when we came into Golborne to Barrow's I went into parlour to John Hart and he followed Ann into another chamber and let her see my secrets to Mary, and I had writ in one that I wished Mary would be as faithful to me as Ann was to him, and this this stinking rascal betrayed his own sister and me, who I went always with and spent my moneys for his sake and advised him the best I could. Nay, and above all he backbit me, and said it would do well if I could get moneys against my coming out, and said I durst never come in his father's sight, which was a lie. He said as soon as his sister angered him he would tell his father of all – and this is the acting of a seeming pretended friend to me as can be, when in truth is no better than a devilish, malicious, dissembling, knavish rascal. But Ann was displeased at me at first, though carried nobly and lovingly to my face, but Bett Hart told me this that I might know my friends from my foes. And now it's best to get and fear God for a friend, for we see man will fail us and world will fail, but God will not fail those that trust in Him. But this was matter of much grief to me and I was very sad upon it. I took leave from Bett and called at old James Damme's. John, his son, did manifest abundance of love to me, gave me apples, brought me to Edge Green, made me to promise to come at Christmas. So that the Lord will

⁵⁰ The entry respecting the casting of Leigh Bells is particularly interesting, and the locality of Twiss Barn may be readily surmised from the survival of the name in Twist Lane. The bells seen by Roger Lowe are not those now in the church tower. In 1740 six bells – the third to the eighth – were placed in the tower, the eighth bell bearing the inscription – 'William Farrington, Vicar; John Heyes, churchwarden. We were all cast at Gloucester by Abel Rudhall. 1740.' The first and second bells of the present peal were added in 1761, and the priest's bell in 1755.

not leave me friendless in this world.

23.—Tuesday. I went to Roger Naylor's. He was gone to Chester and I told Mary all above writ and all of James' knavery to me and to her, and she was highly offended and was very respectful to me. At night she sent for me. James would have me be all night with him, and she told me what she had said. I did not stay all night, but came to shop to enjoy bed, and as I was coming I met with Richard Worrell of Warrington, apothecary, and John Earle, who took me with them to alehouse.

25.—Tuesday. I kept shop all day, only Ann Barrow and her sister came to go to Peter Kenyon's, and I brought Ann towards that place and spoke my mind to her concerning James' fact against me. I was very much displeased concerning it. When I came to shop I was very sad all day after, but God is my comfort and though I walk in griefs, yea, in the vale of death, yet then God's rod and staff will be matter of comfort to me.

1 DECEMBER, 1663

Tuesday. Being Warrington fair I kept shop all day, being very solemn and sad. Henry Lowe came and we discoursed together about all our affairs and griefs. I went with him to bottom of Town Field and there parted with a joint resolution that what we said each to other should lie dead. This night Richard Naylor came to me, wished me to come down to his father's house, which I did. He was very sad concerning Elizabeth Seddon's acting to him, wished me to compose a letter to her in his name, which I did.

6.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh. John Chaddock's wife was brought to bed at noon.⁵¹ I parted with Leigh and came towards home, and called at Henry Barrow's in Golborne, but Ann Barrow was gone from home, so I came forward to Roger Naylor and stayed supper. Roger forced me to stay. I was very glad to see that respect I see I had from them.

9.—Wednesday. I went to Bamfurlong, was very much made of, took leave and came to Thomas Heyes' and stayed awhile, and then came home.

11.—Friday. At night Henry Lowe came to me for to go with him a-wooing to Thomas Heyes' to Ann Hasleden.⁵² She tended her sister, who was lying in, and Ann had moved me sundry times to get Henry to come and this night we both went, and had spiced drink, and very much made of we were, but it was a very dark night and we stood without great while

...

[Two pages are gone from the diary.]

⁵¹ From the Lancashire Visitation of 1664 it appears that John Chaddock of Chaddock county of Lancaster who died c. 1634, married Emma, daughter of John Potter, of Ashton county of Lancaster and had issue John Chaddock, who died unmarried and Thomas Chaddock of Chaddock. The latter died c. 1644 leaving by his wife, Jane, daughter of Richard Tonge of Tonge county of Lancaster, two sons, Thomas Chaddock of Chaddock aged 24 in September, 1664, and John Chaddock of Leigh aged 22, and then married to Mary daughter of William Tipping of Irlam county of Lancaster. The younger son was probably the one referred to in the diary.

⁵² Nothing eventually came of the romance: Henry Lowe married Ann Massey on 9th November 1665 at Winwick, and Ann Hasleden was to marry Robert Downall on 6th September of the year following, their first child, Mary, being baptised less than three months later on 25th November 1666.

JANUARY, 1664

17.—Saturday. Being invited and leave granted by my Master to go to Hugh Hindley's of Westleigh this day, I went with John Hasleden and were all night, and other day we went to Leigh and then back again to Hugh's. After dinner went forward for Ashton.

FEBRUARY, 1664

1.—Sabbath Day. At night I went to Mr. Woods', and we being some young people that sometimes associated together, and providence seeming to make a breach amongst us, we were sore discomfited, some in their removal far off and I myself in thoughts of being removed out of town.

2.—Monday. We went again, viz., Thomas Smith and I, being invited, intending to have spent the night to the edification of one another. At this time I was sore discouraged in regard John Chaddock, my fellow apprentice, was in going from my Master, and knew not how God would dispose of me, but the Lord is my trust, and in God is my confidence.

5.—Thursday. Before day my fellow apprentice, John Chaddock, called me up with Will Parkinson, John Hindley, and others. He was going to be married, and had stolen his love away from Mr. Whitehead's, and my Master gave assent I should go with them. I got a horse of William Sixsmith and we went all together to Billinge chapel and stayed at Humphrey Cowley's till 2 came again from fetching Mr. Bispham. When they came they brought word we must meet him at Holland at one Thomas Prescot's. We took horse, came thither, got the ceremony overpast, and dined. I was sent afore to Wigan to buy 7 yards ribbon, and they came into Wigan. We each of us had a yard of ribbon of 12d per yard, and so rid through town. I saw them through town and so parted. I was all this while in a sad heart.⁵³

13.—Friday. Thomas Smith came to me to go be all night at Mr. Woods'. I went, and Mr. Woods and I sat till far of night talking about ministers and other things. He said Mr. Callamy⁵⁴, who was put in prison for preaching one Sabbath day had above 500li given him in one week's imprisonment of his beloved people.

15.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh, and as soon as I came there my Master and Dame both said I must have measure taken of me for a suit of clothes and a coat, and tailor came at night to take measure of me. But my Master would let me have nothing but a coat, so I would have none and parted with grief, and as I came I overtook Hugh Hindley and I told him my grief. He bid me fear not, he would go to him the other day and would move him, but the consideration of this moved me to greater lamentation. In my coming home at noon Robert Reynolds took me into George Norris's, and

⁵³ The John Chaddock who was Lowe's fellow-apprentice, and to whose elopement the diarist refers, it is clear could not have been the John Chaddock mentioned in the entry for the 6th of December, 1663, but probably a namesake. The 'Mr. Bispham' who officiated at this wedding may probably be identified with William Bispham, M.A., who was presented in May 22, 1628 to Lymm Church, and was afterwards Prebentary of Chester, rector of Eccleston, county of Chester and also Brindle, county of Lancaster. Walker states that he was ejected in 1642 but restored 1662. He was not, however, restored to the living in Lymm. He died in 1685, aged 80. It is possible, however, that the Mr. Bispham of the diary, who was then residing near Wigan, may have been a relation only of the Rev. William Bispham.

⁵⁴ Edmund Calamy, 1600-1666, Presbyterian preacher.

we 2 with Clarke were merry awhile and then parted. Afterward we went into Robert Fielding's and were with Thomas Naylor, and he would let me pay nothing, so we parted and went to church.

17.—Tuesday. I went to Leigh very early, and so early as I took John Chaddock in bed. He opened shop door and he went to bed again. I sat at bed's feet and we talked of everything, something about his marriage, and about what had happened upon Lord's day about clothes for me. And at this time I expected some anger from my Master, but he said nothing to me, but John told me my Dame was displeased that I should be so hasty. Nevertheless amidst all this my trust is in the Lord.

18.—Wednesday. Widow Lowe came and gave me 1s for a sermon writing.⁵⁵

22.—Thomas Smith and I went to Mr. Woods' and were all night. Mr. Woods was gone to the funeral of his wife's mother, so I repeated sermon. There was four young folks present stayed on purpose to hear repetition.

28.—Saturday. Thomas Smith and I went to Robert Rosbotham in Park Lane, being very welcomely entertained. Our discourse was about these times, and the other morning, being Lord's day, I was exercised to pray, and after we had had prayer with a chapter and psalm with other things, we came towards Ashton chapel, being invited to come again. But this time I was very sad in consideration ... providence towards me ... The greater will in time not deny the lesser, and why should I fear? God's providence is the poor man's inheritance, and God hath enough in store for me, for the earth is the Lord's with the fullness thereof. Therefore it's good to wait and trust in the Lord.

10.—Wednesday. I went to Thomas Heyes' and Bamfurlong to reckon, and at this time Ann Greensworth was persuaded I loved Ellen Scott, and I satisfied her to the contrary. I writ her some letters and so parted.

14.—At evening prayer I went into alehouse with one Roger Lowe and spent 4d, but had a very sickly night and

15.—Monday, I had a very sad, sickly day all day, but the Lord strengthened me.

19.—Friday. I cast up debt books and see how I stood with my Master, and my charge was to my Master that I had in goods from my Master 148li 8s 9d in one year, and his receipt in money from me, and in debts, 135li 5s 1d, and in that year I cleared the shop to my Master within 13li 7s 7d, and this did rejoice my spirit.

21.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh and stayed till noon, and Mr. James Woods was there and invited me to his house all night. I went to him to George Norris's house at after dinner and spent 3d, so parted. Thence I went to see my sister Katherin, gave her 4d, so came to my Master and parted, and intended to Hugh Hindley's, for John Hasleden was there and I was to come to him, but I met Hugh and family towards church, and John was gone for Ashton, so I parted and came myself and called on my sister Ellen and so parted, and as I was coming near Barrow's, Ann Barrow called of me, for we had been out one against the other, so I went to her. She took me into parlour and we rectified all businesses, so I came away.

25.—Thursday. Thomas Atherton was to part with neighbourhood, so I

⁵⁵ Roger Lowe appears to have had plenty of opportunities of earning money in his spare moments by making writings for his neighbours, such as letters, wills, and official documents. This above entry affords evidence of the wide spread practice of taking notes of the heads of sermons, and it appears to have been Roger's custom to report, for his own and friend's edification, the discourses he heard in chapel or church.

was invited amongst neighbours to go to alehouse to drink, and John Potter and I began to discourse concerning the manner of God's worship. He was for Episcopacy and I for Presbytery. The contention had like to have been hot, but the Lord prevented. It was 2 or 3 days ere we speak, and I was afraid lest he should do me some hurt, and I went into house and all anger was removed.⁵⁶

MARCH, 1664

6 day—Lord's day. I was very pensive and sad all day, and I betook myself to solitariness, for I walked down to Town Heath and presented my supplication to the Lord. I prayed to God and showed Him all my trouble and I hope the Lord heard, for I was abundantly comforted in my spirit.

8.—Tuesday. John Hasleden, James Jenkins, and I walked into fields. John Hasleden had engaged himself to Dick Asmull night before, in a drunken humour, to serve him as apprentice for 4 years, and we contrived how to get him off in the fields. This night I was in a troubled condition, for Sarah Hasleden spoke in a backbiting way of me, and she would tell her brother of me, but all was in a causeless matter, for me spending 2d. But she was handsomely taken up in my behalf by John Potter of Lilly Lane and by her husband, and God only is my defence.

10.—Thursday. Humphrey Harrison came to shop and stayed with me a great while and at last moved me to instruct his son in teaching him to indite letters and to cast account up, which I promised I would do. This night I was invited to go to Gawther Taylor's to drink Braggod, for wife bought her commodities off me, and she said if I would not come, then farewell, so I was constrained to go, but I stayed but for a short time.

11.—Friday. Ann Barrow came to town and moved me to write a letter for her in answer to a love letter from Richard Naylor. I did, and moved her to set her own name. Mr. Maddock and old Roger Naylor were in shop and were very earnest to see letter, but I would not let them. Mr. Maddock and Roger wished me to go to alehouse with them, which I did, and after Mr. Maddock went with Roger home to be all night, and they stayed on me till I had shut up shop, and I went down to Roger's with them and stayed supper and prayer, and so came to bed.⁵⁷

12.—Saturday. Mr. Maddock came with Roger Naylor and invited me to alehouse and as we were drinking James Astley, a Wigan man, came into house and gave me a letter with a lemon, which was a token sent from Richard Naylor from Wakefield in Yorkshire. This night I promised to go to Robert Rosbotham's house, and did, with Thomas Smith with me, and was all night, and they lent me Mr. Gee's book concerning prayer, he was minister at Eccleston. And upon the

15 day, Tuesday, I was reading in his book, and in consideration of the

⁵⁶ The diarist's intercourse with the ejected Presbyterian ministers and his education under the influence of Puritanism appear from many entries to have engendered a love of religious controversy. The record of the contention with John Potter is in point, and either intentionally or as a consequence of careless spelling, the entry contains a happy reference to Presbyterian sternness where he declares that he stood up against his friends and defended 'Presbytery.'

⁵⁷ This Mr. Maddock may have been the minister of Ashton, the successor to the Rev. James Wood on the removal of the latter from the living. An anecdote is told of an old woman, who had heard Mr. Wood's successor on the Sunday after the ejection, and remarked that if Mr. Wood had gone into the pulpit and shook his grey beard, 'it would have done us more good.'

man's person and gravity I was possessed with sadness and composed these verses:

Renowned Gee, thou now enjoyest glory,
Yet thy name shall remain earth's lasting story.
In thought of thee, ah! I can sit and weep
That thou by death shouldst now be laid asleep.
How lovely was thy life, joyful thy death;
Angels received thy soul at latest breath.
I'll say no more, but weep, yet joy to see
Myself in happiness with blessed Gee.
Gee now in joy triumphs, his sorrows past,
And he that place enjoys that aye shall last.
Therefore, blest Gee, this once I'll bid farewell,
Hoping ere long to be there where thou dost dwell.

sic cantat Rogerus Lowe.

His name was Edward Gee, minister of Eccleston Church. He died about or in the year 1660 or 1659 or thereabouts. But the church of God sustained great loss in his death and Mr. Herle's of Winwick and Mr. Johnson's of Hallsall, who all flourished and died about this time aforesaid, in so much as it was the lamentation of Mr. Coleborne, at Leigh exercise in his prayer, that we now wanted our Herles, our Gees, and our Johnsons. This was upon the 25 December, 1660. Old Mr. Woods joined with him.⁵⁸

17.—Thursday. My sister Ellen came to Town of Ashton to buy commodities off me. Her husband was not well. I brought her to Town Heath. I moved at parting to serve God and go to church and labour to instruct her children in the ways of God, and in so doing God would bless her and make them comfortable to her. I was at this time sad in spirit, but God will refresh.

18.—Friday. I was sent for to John Naylor's wife, of Edge Green, and I was in some grief by reason of Cook's wife, a very wrathful, malicious women, had reported that I said such things concerning women's natural infirmities, which I never did, and troubled me extremely. But the Lord will prevent all my fears and will procure respect for me.

20.—Lord's day. Lydia Scott and Joseph Scott and Raphe Bradshaw came out of Dalton beyond Holland, and Lydia came to me for to have me to go with them into Tankerfield's. I did, and at night I went to bring them

⁵⁸ 'J.E.B.' in the *Manchester Courier* notes says;- Edward Gee, the son of a Lancashire man of that name who was beneficed in Devonshire, was a native of Banbury. He was educated at Newton School Lancashire and Brasenose College and was afterwards appointed to some benefice in Lancashire [a curacy at Winwick, as appears in Beamont's History of that Parish] and made chaplain to Dr Parr. Bishop of Sodor and Man, to whose living of Eccleston, near Chorley, Gee succeeded in 1646. He may have derived much of his religious zeal from his birthplace. The associate of Herle he became a strict and unyielding Presbyterian. He took an active part in the establishment of that government in Lancashire, acting for a short time as 'Scribe' or secretary to the Manchester Presbytery. In 1648, as 'Minister to the Gospel at Eccleston' he signed the 'Harmonious Consent' of the Lancashire Ministers, he is called by Martindale 'a great knocker of Disputation.' For two years Nathaniel Heywood was an attendant upon Gee's ministry; but Gee was not present at his ordination. Gee was the author of some other works. One of these, 'A Treatise of Prayer' 1653, 8vo. a book of rarity, is that to which Roger Lowe refers. He died 26th. May, 1660 and was buried in his Parish Church of Eccleston.

towards home, and so parted.

21.—Monday morning. Sarah Hasleden sent to me to come write a letter for her to London, which I did. This day John Hasleden came into shop, and James Jenkins, and I said I had a brass shilling. “Oh,” says John Hasleden, “I have another. Come,” says he, “let’s go to Sarah Batty’s, we can get them off.” It was concluded on, and we all went, and when it came to the effect of the business, John’s 12d she received, but mine she would not, and they were both in the hand of James Jenkins to give her. So John Hasleden bid us go, he thought he could move her to take it in our absence, but it could not be. James and I waited of John’s company home, but he came not. We resolved for home, and when we came home we got our supper. John still came not. I was ill troubled that we had left him. We resolved after supper to set thither and went, and so we met him in the way and came together into town and went to John Jenkins’ and there spent each 2d and were merry in consideration of our actings.

22.—Tuesday. I was sadly sick and had a very sick night, but the Lord restored me in the other morning.

25.—Friday. John Naylor’s wife came to town and wished me to go with her into an alehouse. I went.

27.—Lord’s day. Ann Greensworth came to town and wished to say nothing, and she would let me see a business, and she pulls out a love letter writ in Roman hand with R L in the conclusory, and this was found before gates at Bamfurlong, directed to Ellen Scott. I was something displeased, but the matter was of small value. This day John Grimshey’s prentice came and borrowed of me 3s 6d, and so ran away from his Master. He borrowed it in his Master’s name, and his Master lived in Golborne.

APRIL, 1664

1.—Friday. I was sorely troubled in my mind, for I had given Roger Naylor, senior, great occasion of offence in telling him of a letter being found writ in my name, and the occasion being his, as I supposed, and I particularised the business as if he should be the man, and he was highly offended at me, which was my great grief. But God will help.

2.—Saturday. John Hasleden and I went into his brother’s ground to see coalpits, and this afternoon Thomas Smith and I went to Thelwall to Mr. Woods’ and stayed till Monday, and as soon as we came thither, after a short rest, we went to Grappenhall church to visit one George Clare, who lay sick, and I went into church yard to look at graves, as it is my common custom, and there stayed awhile admiring the common frailty of mankind, how silently now they were lying in dust. It being somewhat late we parted to Mr. Woods’ the next day.

3.—Lord’s day. We went to Lymm, Thomas and I, and heard one Mr. Grimshey out of the 36 psalm, 8 verse. At noon we came home and stayed to hear Mr. Swetnam at Thelwall out 1 James, 12.

4.—Monday. We set for Ashton and at Latchford Heath we met with Roger Naylor and Peter Aspinwall at a little alehouse, we went to them. I spent my 2d with them and so parted to Warrington, where I called at Mr. Schofield’s shop, and John Naylor and he were together. He sent for ale for me. We discoursed awhile and then parted, went into stationer’s shop and Thomas Peake’s shop, and so bid farewell to Town. Came to Ashton, and several had enquired for me.

5.—Tuesday. I writ to Richard Naylor in Wakefield in Yorkshire.

7.—Friday. My Dame sent me 4 new bands which pleased me very well⁵⁹. This night old Peter Leyland came to me, and sit in shop a good while, and at night I went to bring him towards home, and we talked of times and about Mr. Woods. After a while we parted.

9.—Easter day. I went to Leigh and at noon John Chaddock and I went to Lately Common to a house called Sumner's to see Ann Smith who was there in hold, that had drowned her child in Hurst Ground, and she was very much grieved, as she seemed. She sat at chimney's end, hanging down her head, and I spoke to her to move her to repent, told her God was merciful. He pardoned David, who was adulterer and murderer. I came away being very sorrowful for her. Came to Leigh church, and he was at his sermon. Mr. Woods' maid would have had me gone home with him, but I refused.⁶⁰

11.—Monday. I was pensive and sad and went into Town Field and prayed to the Lord, and I hope the Lord heard.

12.—Tuesday. Thomas Naylor sent for me to make a bond between him and Mr. Byrom. I did. He gave me 6d and the neighbourhood of Ashton invited me to go with them to alehouse this evening, which I did, and spent 6d.⁶¹

13.—Wednesday. Ellen Scott came to town, and Roger Naylor did woo her, and there was some difference between him and me, and now he sent for me, and this evening all was in love and I was glad. We see God can make them who sometimes enemies turn to be friends.

15.—Friday. I was invited to go with Ann Taylor and Elizabeth Taylor to William Anderton's in Pemberton, and there was with us John Hasleden, Emm Potter, and others. We stayed till after sun going down and then parted. Came to Goose Green and there stayed in an alehouse, but it was my great trouble to stay or to have gone this gate, only they ware good customers to me and I durst not but go for fear of displeasure.

17.—Lord's day. I began to write sermon this morning. John Potter and wife and John Hasleden invented to affright me in telling me I was cited to Bishop's court for nonconformity to Common Prayer, so at noon John Hasleden and I came together to dinner and he saluted me with this: that I was cited, at the hearing of which I eat no more, but went to Town Heath and prayed to God to deliver me and consulted with myself how to do. But at noon it was found out, and I was glad.

18.—Monday. I writ a letter by the advice of Peter Asmull to John Hasleden from his uncle from Rainford for John Speedie coming to Rainford, and I sent letter down town by a stranger, and upon the other day, being Tuesday, John hasted for Rainford – away he hasted this day. Lee Bowden, Steward at Lodge, and Roger Naylor and I were together in John Jenkins' and old Mr. Woods came to shop and thought much I was in ale, warned me to take heed. I told him I could not trade if at some times I did not spend 2d.

20.—Wednesday. John Jenkins, constable, took John Hasleden and myself to every alehouse with him in night, in answer to a warrant to make private

⁵⁹ A collar, lying flat upon the dress, worn by both men and women.

⁶⁰ Some local names in Bedford township are proved by this entry to date from at least the seventeenth century.

⁶¹ The Byroms of Parr Hall, in the Parish of Prescot, are referred to in Byrom's 'Remains', vol. i 614. The house called and ancient seat of the Byroms of Byrom. [See Baines, Old Ed., Vol iii 713]

search.⁶²

24.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh and I called on my sister Ellen. They gave me a cock chicken. When I came to Leigh young Mr. Woods' wife did very earnestly invite me home with her at noon. John Chaddock and I went into fields, and in a field called Horse Shoe we sat us down by a great pit side and conversed together of our griefs concerning our calling, and at night he brought me to West Leigh Heath and our discourse was the same.

27.—Wednesday. Young John Jenkinson and I went to look bird nests out in fields and my legs were cruelly pricked. I was at this time in great fear because shop was to be cast up and I was afraid it would not answer my Master's expectation. Now the Lord help me through my apprenticeship, that I may be freed from these sad charges of goods I stand indebted with, and am so possessed with such fears by reason of my engagements to my Master, I know not how to rest. The Lord keep me from miscarrying, for the Lord's sake!

MAY, 1664

1.—Lord's day. I was somewhat pensive all day in consideration of my unsettlements in this world, but yet much comforted in trusting in God. They're not so happy as have these worldly enjoyments as those who have God for their Lord. Ann Greensworth very earnestly invited me to Bamfurlong, and I promised to come.

3.—Tuesday. Henry Fielding, an hour-glass maker whom I had hour-glasses off, came, and I was engaged for 1 dozen and ½ of hour-glasses, and this day I payed him and made meat with him and upon

4th May, being Wednesday, I took 30 glasses more, and he intended for Leigh and I writ a letter to John Chaddock to move him to take some off him, and a very honest man he was to me. I had them of the rate of 10s a dozen and sold them after 12, and he gave me 4 ½ hour-glasses and 6d in moneys when I paid him.

6.—Friday. John Chaddock came from Leigh to cast up shop, and afraid I was lest I should not answer my Master's expectation. At after we had cast up shop we went to Heath a-shooting, came to town again, and supped at young John Jenkins', and was there all night. I slept little, expecting to go to Leigh the other morning, which I did betimes in the morning, John and I together. When we came to Leigh I was engaged to my Master 200li and upwards, and it pleased God to bless my endeavours that I had profited my Master 21li 1s 5d. I was glad. Then I boldly spake my grievances, and my Master told me he had bought me a steak and would give me ... of it. I had measure taken for me for a new doublet, and was to have a new hat and a new pair stockings, and my Master told me he intended shop for me and at Michaelmas next I was to go with him to Chester fair. And thus the Lord favoured me and turned my fears into joys. Praise the Lord, O my soul!

8th.—Lord's day. This evening Richard Boardman was very ill. I made his will this night.⁶³

9th.—Monday. I went with Richard Wainwright to Nicholas Burscough's

⁶² A search for vagrants and such petty offenders, carried out by the constables upon the order of the Justices of the Peace.

⁶³ He lived some months more, and was buried at Winwick on 17th September, 1664.

marl pit⁶⁴. Gave marlers ¼ tobacco.

10th.—Tuesday. I went to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth, but stayed not.

11.—Wednesday. I went down to Roger Naylor's. He was from home and I spoke roughly to Mary and she seemed to be very affectionate, but I little mattered it. I called her a false, dissembling-hearted person. She took it heinously.

12.—Thursday. Lawrence Pendlebury was married this day, and he entreated my company. I desired excuse, but this evening I went and spent 6d with them, and parted.

14th.—Saturday. I went to my brother's into Windle and upon the

15th day, being Lord's day, Thomas Smith came to me and we went 2 and 2 together to Cowley Hill to hear Mr. Gregg preach at one Mrs. Harper's, in the parlour. There he preached out 3 Malachi, 15, 16, 17, 18 verses. When sermon was done we came to my brother's. I was not well, but departed from my brother's sick, but the Lord supported me, that ere I gat home I was pretty well.

17.—Tuesday. Ann Greensworth sent for me to Bamfurlong. I writ a letter for her to her brother, then in London. She made much of me. I set down all her accounts at this time. I came away by Roger Naylor's and spoke my mind to Mary Naylor, which was not excepted, though was very favourable to me, and I set her light as she did to me, and so I parted.

19.—Thursday. I went to Billinge chapel to a race and James Darbishire saw me and invited me to go with him into Humphrey Cowley's to spend 2d, he being come from Bolton. So I went, and in the space of 2d, Nicholas Houghton came to as we were in buttery, and he began to give disdainful words out against the art of a grocer or mercer, and so particularized it as to me in so much as I was very angry, in so much as Humphrey Cowley's wife was angry at me in a very furious manner, and I was sadly troubled. Yet the wife went out, and some company as she went out too commended me highly, in so much as she came again and made a recantation for what she had said, and I was better satisfied.

20.—Friday. John Jenkinson and Joshua Naylor and I went together to take a throstle nest, and by chance we met with a piannot⁶⁵ nest. We took [it], everyone had one pie and one we gave to Thomas Winstanley, and so came home. Old Jenkins this day came and paid me for making his will and other things. He paid me 11s 9d, took me to alehouse and spent his 6d on me. This night John Jenkins, constable, and I went together to lay night hooks, but

21.—going there, was nothing found.

22.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan and heard Mr. John Blackburn preach. I dined at Alice Leigh's. John Jenkins and wife were both with me.

24.—Tuesday. John Naylor's wife sent for me to write a letter for her to one Mrs. Shaw in Neston in Wirrall in Cheshire, and I went and she made much of me.

28.—This morning I went betime to Leigh, and was pretty hearty in my return.

30th.—Monday. I went to Billinge and bought ten dozen of scythe stones for to send to Leigh. I was in a pensive condition at this time.

⁶⁴ Marl is a mixture of clay and lime, used as a fertiliser.

⁶⁵ Magpie.

JUNE, 1664

4.—Saturday. Gilbert Naylor came to me to have me to go with him to his sister Margaret's into Houghton. I went with him this evening, and at Castle Hill in Hindley he would have me to go into Astley's, an alehouse, and as we were drinking Robert Reynolds, junior, of Leigh, but now of Blackrod, came in. He was just now set up at Blackrod. He was glad to see me. We stayed drinking of 8d and I paid not a 1d, so we parted and came to Houghton Common and went into William Rycroft's house, and William discoursed and told us many things concerning Dean Church, Mr. Tilsley, and Mr. Angier, who being a conforming man and now being at Dean Church began to quarrel. We parted from thence and went to Hugh Rigby's – that was the place we intended to – and they were in bed. Wife gets up, makes fire, gets us supper, and we go to bed with an intention to go to Dean Church in the morning, but we lay too long in our beds. After dinner we set towards home. When I came to Ashton, Mary Naylor had a sweetheart come, and I was somewhat grieved and went to Town Heath and meditated upon these words: "It's good to hope and quietly to wait." Observation: that hoping and waiting for a possible thing is a Christian's duty in time of difficulty.⁶⁶

13.—Monday. Thomas Jameson was in Jenkins' and sent for me to come to drink with him, and we stayed late in night, and we began a controversy. He, a papist, began to speak revilingly of Luther and Calvin, which I laboured to defend, concerning them to be mere calumnies of the papists because of his revolt from his friarship. We were in love and peace in our discourse.

14.—Tuesday. At night Raphe Hasleden sent for me. His youngest daughter was dead. It was conceived she had eaten arsenic, for Sarah had laid arsenic in meal and in butter, and the child getting to it got that which was laid in butter, and so died, and he entreated me to go to Warrington to Mr. Finch's to get them to come to funeral, which I did, and called at Winwick and bespoke bread and drink, and when I came to the foremost, Mrs Finch would not let me go till the next morning, for it was late. So I stayed and at day I arose and went to saddle horse, and so came home.⁶⁷

15.—Wednesday. My Dame came to the funeral, and sent for me to come and bring all moneys with me I had, to pay funeral expenses with. When we came to Winwick they caused me to set down in cellar to take account

⁶⁶ Mr. John Tinsley, M.A. of Glasgow University was the minister of Dean Church. He was an active member of the Second [Bolton] classis. In 1647-8 he is described in the Manchester parish registers as 'minister of the Word of God at Dean Church but living in Manchester.' Bishop Wilkins after the Bartholomew Act, allowed him to hold a lecturer's place in the church; but he suffered ejection under the two other bishops. He died in Manchester, 1684 and was buried at Dean 16th. Dec. Mr. John Angier, who is probably referred to in his entry, was minister of Denton, a venerable man who had received ordination at the hands of Dr. Lewis Bailey the author of *The Practice of Piety*, a work which is mentioned by Lowe in the diary. So much was Angier respected by the Bishop of Chester and others that he continued to hold his chapel without making any formal profession of conformity, not being, therefore, actually a conformer. His name is not found in 'The Harmonious Consent' of the Lancashire Ministers. As Moderator of the Manchester Presbytery for the time being, his name attached to the Presbyterian arguments at Mossley's 'Excommunicatio Excommunicata, 1658.' He was the author of the remark on long sermons: 'I would rather leave my hearers longing than loathing.'

⁶⁷ Mr. Henry Finch was formerly of Walton, and a preacher in 'the field country' as Calamy calls the Fylde. After the ejection he retired to Warrington, where Lowe saw him. He subsequently settled at Birch Chapel, Manchester.

of flagons drawn. I rid home, and at Thomas Rothwell's we stayed drinking, but the

16th day, Thursday, I lay all day sick, but was much comforted by Emm Potter's care of me.

20.—Monday. I went to Bamfurlong and was much made of, acquainting Ann Greensworth of a servant maid she might have.

21.—Tuesday. Matthew Lowe and I were fallen out a little and he came to shop and we went to alehouse and were reconciled.

23.—Wednesday. I went to Leigh and gave my Dame 9li in moneys. She would have the tailor take measure on me for a pair of breeches, doublet, and coat, and she and I went into shop to look out cloth, and she made me take my choice, so we took two remnants into house and she kept them in her custody. This news sent me joyfully towards Ashton. It was the Lord that moved her. Nay, she was so forward as she would have had the tailor left others' work for to have done my clothes against Sabbath day.

26.—Lord's day. Edmund Winstanley invited me to dinner with him and I went.

JULY, 1664

3.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh. I had a new suit of clothes and a coat. I went to William Gerrard's and we discoursed awhile concerning my time and other things, so I parted. At night my Dame would not let me go till I had supped. I came to Ashton and went to John Jenkins' and anon Mr. James Sorrowcold came into house, and he spent 6d on me. I brought him home, for he took me along with him, and I was all night, and I lay in his chamber.

4.—Monday. Betime in the morning I came from Leigh home, and John Chaddock was come from Leigh and had some odd commodities of me. I brought him a gate towards home.

5.—Tuesday. Very early I went to Leigh.

10.—Lord's day. I was invited per Widow Taylor to ride before her daughter to the funeral of Thomas Taylor of Sankey Hall, and I assented. Raphe Hasleden and his wife and Elizabeth Taylor rid altogether. This evening I was all night at Sankey Hall. There was at Hall a young man, a papist named Robert Kenyon. He and I conversed long together about papistry, and after our discourse he was very loving.

11.—Monday. Early I got up and went to Warrington, and in Mr. Pickering's shop I found parator Dick Tyldesley, and ale he would give me. So I went with him and stayed awhile, and so parted. Came to Mr. Worrell's and paid 3s 6d and so went to Hall; there was wine and biscuits to be had. So about 11 clock he was fetched out and led on a coach to Winwick, and this is the conclusion of this story, by which we may see how that one day friends and world and all here below we must part with: the grave is the parting place. Friends that did much honour this funeral came to attend it to the grave, and there parted. Now the Lord grant us such grace as, though we may part with friends and world, yet we may never part with Christ, and that will be our comfort.

14.—Thursday. I was with Daniel Chaddock and Dr. Naylor in the alehouse, and I was very sick.

15.—Friday. I went to Warrington to buy candles of Richard Nichols. I had but 4 dozen, and I brought them home upon horseback.

17.—Lord's day. I went with Thomas Smith to St. Helen's chapel, and we

called on my brother and refreshed ourselves with victuals, and so went to chapel. It was a very rainy day. Mr. Ambrose preached. We came home at noon, and Mr. Asmull preached at Ashton.⁶⁸

22.—Friday. I went with John Jenkinson to Wigan and I got in that old debt that was owing me per Humphrey Starbotham, a pedlar in Wigan.

24.—Lord's day. I went with Thomas Smith to Wigan, and we heard bishop preach. Dined at Alice Leigh's. Robert Reynolds was in town. He gave 2d in ale to me, and enjoined me to make for him an indenture, because that Wiganers did threaten him. I parted from him, and at after evening prayer Thomas and I came to Peter Leyland's and was all night. The other day, coming home, I met with Thomas Heyes, who said he had been at shop at one, but found me not, so he desired me to go back with him to William Chaddock's to make up some accounts. So I did and they gave me 6d, so I parted.

28.—Thursday. I was entreated per Richard Asmull to go with him and John Hasleden into Hindley. There was a wench had laid a child on him. So we went, and in Mr. Lanckton's fields she was, and she ardently manifested him to be the father of the child in her womb, so we parted. At Platt Bridge he took us into Hugh Platt's and spent 6d on us. As I came home I called at Bamfurlong and Ann was glad to see me.

29.—Saturday. One Mr. Lowe, vicar of Highton, came to town and would have me to come to him, and abundance of affection he pretended to me, but at last we began in disputing about episcopacy and presbytery. He said they were apostolical. "Yea," quoth I, "they are apostolical from the truths of God," and he seemed to be displeased.

AUGUST, 1664

8.—Monday. Being Ashton Wakes, at this time I had a most ardent affection to Emm Potter, and she was in company at Tankerfield's with Henry Kenyon, and it grieved me very much. Henry Lowe came to me and would have me to go to Tankerfield's and spend 2d, so we went to the next chamber to that they were in. At last they came by us and I moved Emm to stay to drink with me, which she did, but would not stay with me, neither there nor nowhere else, would not come to me, though she said she would, and I was in a very sad afflicted estate, and all by reason of her.

10.—Wednesday. Emm went to bring one Peg Lightfoot towards home and I went after her and we spoke to each other, and Ellen Harrison came unto us and took us and was in a great rage against Emm, and this was matter of great grief of heart unto me. But my trust is in God, who will help in trouble. Though the storm be now, yet I have hopes I shall see a calm. This is my hopes and till then I'll wait on God.

14.—Lord's day. I went to Newton and heard Mr. Blackburn, and he enjoined old William Hasleden and I to come to Rothwell's, which we did and had 2 pints of wine, which he would have paid for, but I would not

⁶⁸ This entry gives a clue to the date of the death of the Rev. Isaac Ambrose of Preston which does not appear to have been correctly recorded. The event is said to have occurred in 1663-4, whereas it must have been late in the year. In a later entry on the 28th May, 1666, Lowe notes that upon reaching home he read certain psalms in metre 'in a book of Mr. Ambrose's, late minister of Preston.' The death of Ambrose, who was well known throughout Lancashire, directed greater attention to his works, the pathos and beauty of which were appreciated by the late Rev. Joseph Hunter. Of these works his *Looking unto Jesus* was the most popular.

suffer it. After I came home I went to Elizabeth Rosbotham, and I spoke my mind to her concerning Emm, which I could not do without tears, and she did pity my state. I was very discomfited.

15.—Monday. The sun began to shine, for Elizabeth Rosbotham had told Ellen my grief, and she pitied my condition so as she resolved she would never act against me so. I went to John Rosbotham's and stayed awhile, and both Ellen and Emm came down, and Ellen went her way and Emm and I went into chamber and there we professed each other's loves to each other, so I was abundantly satisfied within myself and I promised this night to come see her in her chamber. God will arise and show pity to his distressed servant.

16.—Old Mr. Woods came to town and was all night at William Hasleden's, and they would have had me to supper, but Mr. Woods engaged me to come to be with him. I was this afternoon with William Chaddock and Thomas Heyes casting up their accounts, and after I had done with them I came to shop and shut it up and went to William Hasleden's. They were at prayer. After prayer Mr. Woods' discourse was concerning wars and troubles that he and old William had been in together, so at far in night I came my way and came to the window that Emm Potter lay in chamber, and I would gladly have come in, but she durst not let me in, but she rise up to the window and we kissed, and so I went to bed.

17.—At night I went to Dock Lane to get Raphe Hasleden to go for me to Leigh to fetch goods. He was not at home, but I spoke to Sarah and bought 2li of wax.

18.—Thursday. This morning we went with cart, and waters were up at Pennington bridge. We got our commodities into cart and so parted Leigh and came well home.

19.—Friday. I borrowed a horse and went to Humphrey Burscough's in Lowton for to buy honey and wax off his sisters, but they were too hard for me.

20.—Saturday. Constables of Haydock and Golborne came to have me write their presentments for assizes, and when I had done I writ: "Poor is provided, highways repaired, these queries answered, and clerk unrewarded," at which they laughed most heartily.

22.—Monday. I was desired by Gawther Taylor's wife to ride before Alice, her daughter, to the funeral of Lucy Taylor of Sankey Hall, and I left my Master's occasions at Ashton to answer their expectation. Went to Sankey Hall, came again with burying to Winwick, and whiles drinking was I got Emm into a place above, where we talked about some things, and in this while Alice Taylor, like an unworthy woman, went and took another to ride before her, so that when I came to take horse there was none for me. I was highly perplexed, yet bore it very patiently. John Moody and I came home together, and as we were coming John Potter and Emm behind him overtook us, and he asked me what I would give him at Newton. I promised him a quart of ale and at Newton he light and we stayed and ware very merry. Anon Dick Naylor comes and falls aquarelling with me, in so much as we fell to it, but John Potter vindicated my cause nobly and poor Emm sticked close to me, so they got Dick away with a deal of shame to his part. So we all came together home, and William Sixsmith would needs have John Moody and I ride behind him, which we did, and so rid into town, but it was night. I took John Potter into alehouse and spent 6d on him.

26.—Friday. I went to Dock Lane to see Raphe this morning, who had

received a hurt by a fall off a horse as he was going to assizes. I was very much troubled in my thoughts by reason of Dr. Naylor's and mine falling out, but especially my grief was because of my great love to Emm, which by reason of my long time could not be perfected. But God is all-sufficient. Trust in the Lord, O my soul, and thou shalt see the event of all to God's glory and thy comfort in the end.

28.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh. My Master was gone to assizes at noon. I was very disconsolate, but I went to John Chaddock's house and met with John Hindley. We went, he and I, to top of steeple and discoursed of former days and passages past and gone. There was buried one Sander Sixes, who had his neck broken in riding between Dean Church and Bent. When we were come from top of steeple, John Chaddock was seeking us, so we went altogether to alehouse and spent each of us 1d, so parted. At night I came home to Ashton and went to see Raphe Hasleden, and parted and came to bed.

29.—Monday. Dr. Naylor came to me and we were in John Jenkins' and made friends and were very merry. The Lord worked graciously for me in many respects. Therefore I bless the Lord.

30.—Tuesday. Young Mr. Woods came with his servant to go to George Markland's and I got a horse and went with him. We dined at Widow Clarke's in Windle. After I came home I went to Robert Rosbotham.⁶⁹

SEPTEMBER, 1664

4.—Lord's day. I was with Mr. Sorrowcold's servants in alehouse, and was merry.

5.—Monday. I went to my father Stirrup's to buy honey and wax, and I gat Ann Taylor to go with me. My father was not at home, so I bargained not.

10.—Saturday. I was invited to go to the funeral of old Asmull at Senely Green. I went with John Hasleden and John Potter to Winwick.

11.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan with John Potter to hear Bishop, but he was gone.⁷⁰ We stayed all afternoon in Alice Leigh's and at night we came home and I went into Thomas Harrison's, and Emm had been with Kenyon, she told me, but it was against her will.

12.—Monday. Mr. [Henry] Gerard of Bamfurlong came to town and invited me to Tankerfield's and gave me the ale and invited me to his house.

16.—Friday. At night between the hours of 7 and 8 departed this life Richard Boardman, in Ashton. I waked most of this night. John Potter and I went to ring bell. He died of a dropsy⁷¹.

17.—I went to Winwick to the interring of the same Boardman.⁷²

18.—I went with John Potter to Wigan to hear Bishop.

19.—Mr. Potter came to town and I made a bond for him and Ann

⁶⁹ Mr. James Woods was minister at Chowbent. He was of the same spirit as his father, and suffered temporary ejection. His marriage is recorded by Roger Lowe in June, 1663. He was followed into the pulpit by his son 'General Woods' of local history.

⁷⁰ At the time of the diarist the Rev. George Hall, Bishop of Chester, was residing in Wigan.

⁷¹ Buried at Winwick the next day.

⁷² The entry of the last burial of Richard Boardman is interesting as an instance of a common sanitary precaution taken by the relatives, more common in the 17th. century than at the present among the people of Lancashire.

Johnson. He received 20li in moneys. I made it in haste. Mr. Henry Gerard came to town and caused me to go with him to Ellen Ashton's. He spent his 6d on me and invited me to come to Bamfurlong.

21.—Wednesday. Dr. Naylor met with me with a young man with him, who entreated me to get his sister out for that young man, so I promised I would do my endeavour. I went to Thomas Naylor and get her leave to go to an ale that old Harvey's wife had, so as soon as I had her out, I conferred her upon the young man. So I went away to home and told Emm what I had done, and she was very angry.

25.—Lord's day. It was a very rainy morning, and I was for to go to Leigh, but was prevented by rain. I went to chapel, and at noon, when I came out, it was fair and I set forward for Leigh, and I overtook John Naylor of Edge Green. He would needs have me to go to dinner, but as I came again he light of me, and supped with him. I did so and came home. I delivered to my Master 12li in moneys.

25.—Monday. Thomas Naylor and Thomas Greenhough came to me to make a bond, and they took me to alehouse and we were merry.

29.—Thursday. Gilbert Naylor came to have me make a bond for him and William Sixsmith.

OCTOBER, 1664

2.—Lord's day. I went to the funeral of old John Jenkins to Winwick, and at after drinking I went with John Potter and Raphe Lowe, church-warden, to Hall Winwick, and went to see chapel, and went to top of house and up and down, and then we parted and I came for home, and when we were come home James Jenkins invited me and John Hasleden to go to his brother's to spend 2d. He had a business to disclose to us and none else. We went, and when we came it was to acquaint us of his company keeping with a young woman who was worth 11li per annum in house and ground, and he moved us to go with him to meet her at Warrington the Lord's day after, and we promised we would.⁷³

5.—Wednesday. I went to my brother's, was all night. His wife was brought to bed, so I was engaged to go with him to Prescott upon Lord's day after. This day the Under Sheriff of Lancashire, Mr. Robert Greensworth, came to town and sent for me. He was friendly with me by reason I write for his mother.

7.—Friday. I went to Wigan to have a desk made me of James Leythect [Lightfoot? Liptrot?], but it was not made. He gave Joshua Naylor and me 6d in ale, and he would procure a wife for me: Robert Winstanley's daughter. John Hampson was in town and spent 4d on me. Our discourse was concerning his son, to be bound to my Master. When I came to Ashton I heard of a stirke that my Master had sent me, but it was not according to my mind. I was this night with townsmen of Ashton in alehouse.

9.—Lord's day. This morning I went to my brother's into Windle. He had a child to be christened at Prescott, so I was engaged to be the one godfather and Raphe Falster [?], near Carr Mill, was the other, and my cousin, Ann Shey, was godmother. We went to Prescott and drunk at Edward Darbyshire's, clerk of church, and Raphe Falster and I went to top of steeple and into church. There was sextons making a grave for one Jack or

⁷³ Winwick Hall is now the rectory house attached to the parish living, and is the residence of the Rev. Canon Hopwood, Rector of Winwick.

George Massey, a runner, who was buried this day at after evening prayer. We went into Darbyshire's house again and stayed and drunk. It cost Raphe Falster and me, either of us, 15d, 2s and 6d in all, and we paid it jointly. I had intended to have come home, but the lateness of night prevented me, so came to my brother's and stayed all night.

16.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh. Mr. Hamner preached at noon. John Hampson, John Chaddock, and I went to Jane Mull's and had 3 quarts discoursing about John Hampson's son, who should be my Master's prentice. At night William Knowles went home with me to Ashton. As I came, I overtook sister Ellen and Mr. Battersby, whom I wished to speak to my Master concerning me. I thought it sad for me to be engaged 9 years to stay in Ashton to sell my Master's ware off and get no knowledge, so he promised to speak to Hugh Hindley of it, and they two would go together to my Master and speak my grievances.

31.—Monday. I went to Wigan and bought 1 dozen and ½ of twist for coats for Raphe Jenkins, and stuff for a cap. I rid. At this time I was somewhat troubled in my thoughts concerning my affairs in the world. This night I was with John Potter with his friends that were come from Winwick, in John Jenkins'. I spent 10d and at far in night I went to bed.

NOVEMBER, 1664

3.—Wednesday. Ellen Scott came from Bamfurlong, and Richard Wainwright and I and Peter Buxton were all at Tankerfield's taking leave of her. We had a wassail.

11, 12, 13 days.—I was in an afflicted state in my body by reason of cold, in so much as I could scarcely go.

14.—Monday. Raphe Hasleden sent for me to come to dinner. His child was christened the day before, and I went.⁷⁴

20.—Lord's day. Thomas Smith and I went to Robert Rosbotham's and stayed till far in the night and then came home.

27.—Lord's day. Henry Lowe, Dr. Naylor, James Naylor, and I had a 12d sent from York from Henry Giles to be drunk amongst us, and this night we were together to spend this 12d. Afterwards I went into Thomas Harrison's, and Thomas' wife was not well, and if I would spend 2d he would spend 3d, so we sent for drink, and I was very earnest to have John Potter there, and went and fetched him. So he and John Hasleden and I, we spent each 2d apiece.

31.—St. Andrew's day. I went to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth to cast up her accounts. She made very much of me, so I came home.⁷⁵

DECEMBER, 1664

3.—Saturday. My Master sent little Thomas to me with commodities, and I thought he had overcharged them, and it troubled me very much.

8.—Thursday. William Hey came to me to have me go with him to Wigan to cast up some accounts between him and Mr. Totty about the buying and selling of beasts, so I promised to go in the evening, because I could not defer my Master's service, but I should do it at night. So this afternoon I

⁷⁴ 13 November 1664, Sarah, daughter of Raphe Hasleden, christened at Winwick.

⁷⁵ It will be frequently noted that strict Puritan as Lowe was, he frequently attaches the names of saints' days to the entries of his diary.

went to Bamfurlong and called of him, and we went together and were most part of night, and in the other morning came my way, but there was some differences between them, and we did nothing to purpose.

9.—And when I was come home Friday, Mrs. Finch sent for me to Raphe Hasleden and entreated me to bring her home at night, which I promised to do.

18.—Lord's day. I went to the funeral⁷⁶ of Henry Ashton, son of William de Whitley Green. At coming home there was Thomas Harrison, John Potter, and some others, and we called at Heapie's and spent 2d apiece. So came home, and at John Jenkins' we did as so before we parted, and so bid farewell to one another when twopenny flagon was concluded.

19.—Monday. Robert Nelson came into shop and through my importunacy was prevailed with to let me understand the words were used in staunching blood, which is privately used amongst country persons, and not publicly known, and the words are to be seriously said 3 times together, and so hath been used to staunch blood, said 3 times together:

There was a babe in Bethlem born,
And christianed in the water of flem Jordan.
The water it was both wild and wood,
The child it was both meek and good—
Staunch blood in God's name.

Say three times together.⁷⁷

21.—Wednesday. I was with John Potter and Thomas Harrison at Tankerfield's with the hearthman⁷⁸ that came to view hearths in Ashton, and spent 4d.

24.—I was this night with Matthew Raphes and John Hasleden in Joshua Naylor's on purpose to take house for Joshua and we did take a house of Mathew Raphes'. On this night I saw a comet in the air, a star with a train along with it.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ At Winwick.

⁷⁷ In the *Gentleman Magazine* for July, 1835, will be found a somewhat similar charm for staunchblood taken from an old book of medical recipes written in 1610. This runs as follows:-

To staunch blood.

There were three Marys over the flood;
The one did stand, the other stente blood:
Then bespoke Mary that Jesus Christ bore,
Defend God's forbod thou shoudest bleed any more.

The three Marys here named were probably the Virgin Mary, the Egyptian Mary, and Mary Magdalene. Whether these words are to be spoken as an exorcism or worn as a charm is mentioned. Similar 'charms' are quoted in Harland and Wilkinson's *Folk Lore*, page 77.

⁷⁸ The inspector who would calculate a household's liability for Hearth Tax.

⁷⁹ This comet will be found referred to in Martindale's *Diary* [page 179]: 'There was a dreadful comet' [some thought two or more: See Wing's *Computatio Catholica*] in November and December 1664. John Evelyn, in his diary, notes the appearance of a comet in the year 1680:- 'This evening looking out of my chamber window towards the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this may portend God only knows: but such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the Trial of the Great Earl of Strafford, preceding our bloody Rebellion. I pray avert his judgements. We had had several comets, of late which though I believe appear from natural causes and of themselves operate not yet I cannot despise them. They may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of his animadversions. After many days and many nights

28.—Wednesday. I was invited to supper to Roger Naylor's and went.
29.—Thursday. At night I went with William Hasleden to be all night at Thomas Heyes', and in the other morning I came home.

JANUARY, 1665

1.—I went to Leigh, and school master had gotten me leave to go with him to Mr. Woods' to be all night, but I refused to go for this time. At noon my sister Ellen came to me in the church yard and we went, both of us, to see my father and mother's grave and stayed awhile, and both wept. Went to my sister's, Katherin's, and we had 2d in ale and so parted. I went into church and there was some christenings, and I went out again, for my Master's son was to come home with me, and days were short, so I resolved to come home.

2.—Monday. I went to the funeral of Jane Potter, John Potter's daughter, of Lilly Lane, who was this day interred at Winwick, and at our coming home I was with John Potter of Ashton and James Lowe and some others, and we went together into a house called Spoiler's, in Newton. Spent 4d, and so came home. When I came home, Thomas Tickle was come out of Rainford with John Hasleden, and was at John Jenkins' drinking. They sent for me and I went, but it cost me nothing, for Raphe and John spent either of them 12d.

6.—Friday. I went to Bamfurlong, and John Jenkins' wife with me.

8.—Lord's day. At noon I went home with Robert Rosbotham to dinner, and this night Thomas Smith and I went together to John Taylor's in Golborne and heard Mr. Woods preach, and we had a sacrament. We came home this night.

9.—Monday. I was sent to the funeral of my brother's child, called Raphe. [He] died at Thomas Gerard's house in Windle, and was buried at St. Helens this same day.

10.—Tuesday. Thomas Tickle came to me out of Rainford to go with him to old Mr. Woods, who was at John Robinson's. He would receive sacrament. I went with him, but all was done before we came, and we stayed all night there.

14.—Saturday. Thomas Smith and I went to young Mr. Woods' in Atherton, where he lived with his wife in Giles Green's house. As we went we called of John Hampson in Hindley, who brought us to Mr. Woods' house. After I had been in house, John and I went to Bent, where Mr. Woods was, and John and I stayed awhile, then parted.⁸⁰

15th.—We all went to Houghton chapel and heard Mr. Lever preach. At noon John Hampson took me home with him to dinner. The next day we intended home, but Mr. Woods would not suffer us, but all afternoon we shuffled at table⁸¹ in Bent. There was Thomas Moxon and I and Peter Twiss played with Mr. Woods and his partners. We beat them. The other day we came home. Ann Woods and Mr. Woods' maid came with us, and at Ashton we took them into alehouse and promised them to come to them at Widow Clarke's in Windle, but I could not.

29.—Lord's day. Henry Gerard sent for me to procure him a man to go to Lancaster and thence to London, which I did. I get John Jenkinson and this

of snow, cloudy and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted.'

⁸⁰ The residence of Rev. James Wood, the minister of the old Chowbent Chapel is exactly given in this interesting entry by Roger Lowe.

⁸¹ They played 'shove ha'penny' all of that dreary winter afternoon.

afternoon I went with him to Bamfurlong, but Henry Gerard was not at home, and it was supposed he had gotten one.

FEBRUARY, 1665

8.—Wednesday. John Naylor's wife of Edge Green sent for me thither. They had buried a lad called Joseph day before.⁸²

9.—Thursday. I went to Blackley Hurst to the funeral of Mr. Thomas Blackburn, who was buried at Winwick.

10.—Friday. Emm Potter and I fell out, and

11.—Saturday, Being in a sad fit, I composed these verses following, on thought of something her sister should speak against me on Shrove Tuesday night at John Jenkinson's, upon which Emm and I parted:

Well, I'm content, though fortune on me frown,
God will me raise, though the world would cast me down,
And I with patience will their malice bear
Who seek to defame me – nay, do curse and swear
And lie in opposition what they've said.
But vengeance will at last light on their head.
Let world say best and worst, all's one to me,
In time my quarrel will revenged be.
Till then I'll wait and only seek to God
That He'll be pleased to remove this flicting rod,
And I do hope that I shall live to see
Myself enlarged and freed from calumny.
And they are that are the actors of my grief
May they cry out and yet find no relief.
But this I wish not: O that they might be
Preserved from all such kind of misery.

This day my old father Stirrup came to town and moved me to go along with him to Gawther's. I did. He spent his 6d on me.

15.—Wednesday. I went to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth to set down accounts for her.

19.—Lord's day. I went to Winwick to see John Hasleden's love.

26.—Lord's day. I went to Winwick. There was no preaching at Ashton.

27.—Monday. Mr. Robert Greensworth came from London and called on me and forced me to go with him to Bamfurlong, so I gat him to gat John Jenkins to come with me, because it was night, and I would come. So John and I went and stayed till 12 clock in night drinking, and afterwards we came home, and

28.—Tuesday, I was sick all day, but ere night the Lord restored me.

MARCH, 1665

2.—Thursday. Henry Houghton came to me to have me make a lease for him of his house, between Mr. Byrom de Byrom and him.

3.—Friday. I went to his house to buy a heifer in calf, and I bought her for 39s, and he was to keep her a month.

⁸² Lowe's entry is the only witness for the name of this child. The Winwick register lists him simply as 'a child of John Naylor'.

14th.—Tuesday. Henry Houghton came to me and William Crouchley and had me to go with them to Parr Hall to seal lease to Mr. Byrom. He sealed it, and Mr. Edward Byrom and his two brothers that were distracted went and brought us to an alehouse, where we sat drinking a good while. Then we passed for home, and at Ashton I met with some Leigh people that engaged me to be with them, and I was with them.

24th.—Friday. My Master came to town, and he had told me that he had heard many things of me and wished me for my good to be cautious. He spoke very lovingly to me, and I was afraid before he came, lest he would have been angry.

26.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh, and John Chaddock and I walked after the brook side in Slatefields at noon, discoursing about my affairs and my Master. At our return into town I went into George Norris's house to old Mr. Woods, who was there, and stayed awhile. Then went into church, and Mr. Crompton preached and I was glad of it.⁸³

28.—Tuesday. I was invited and went to John Hasleden's marriage at Winwick. Was his man.⁸⁴

APRIL, 1665

2.—Lord's day. John Hasleden and I went to the Lees beyond Holland to hear Mr. Baldwin⁸⁵ preach, and at Hugh Worthington's in Holland we were to meet Thomas Tickle and other Rainford men, which we did and stayed drinking of 8d, and so went to one Mr. Lawrence Halliwell's⁸⁶, where Mr. Baldwin was, and preached in the forenoon and intended to preach in the afternoon, but we were prevented with some women that came into house, and some of them were papists, so we were forced to come home before later sermon was preached, and at Holland we stayed drinking of 12d and then parted home, but Thomas Tickle paid it.⁸⁷

3.—Monday. Mr. Banister de Bank came through Ashton, being slain at Forest of Delamere, being accompanied with store of gentry.⁸⁸ At sun setting this evening Ann Johnson departed this life.

5.—Wednesday. I went to Standish to the funeral of Ann Johnson, and I came into the church when Mr. Bowker was preaching, for it was a day of

⁸³ The Rev. Thomas Crompton was minister of Astley Chapel from 1631 to 1691. He is described as 'a very honest minister [only he kept not the last fast].'

⁸⁴ The bride was Grace Woodcroft.

⁸⁵ Roger Baldwin, minister to the nonconformists at Eccles.

⁸⁶ Upholland parish registers demonstrate Lawrence Halliwell's social standing, though without giving a profession: we find the title 'Mr.' several times, and at one point, in 1661, the funeral of a servant is recorded.

⁸⁷ Richard Baldwin was returned in the Church Survey of 1649 as minister of Holland, near Wigan, which had been made into a separate parish by order of Parliament. He was described as 'a very able minister of honest life.'

⁸⁸ Mr. J. P. Earwaker writes of this entry in the diary: - In the obituary, under the same date, there is more information given, to the effect that 'Mr. Henry Banister was drawn on a litter dead through the town being slain by Colket at Sir Philip Edgerton at a race on Forest of Delamere.' These entries are exceedingly interesting as they confirm the account of the death of Henry Banister as given in the Banister pedigree and correct in the detail where it is stated that he was slain in the Isle of Man. Henry Banister of Bank Esq. who is here referred to was the son of Henry Banaster of Bank, Esq. [who died 1641] he married Dorothy daughter of Roger Nowell of Read, Esq. She survived her husband and was living in 1676. He was buried April 11, 1665 leaving no issue. His murderer Colket or Colcoth was condemned and executed at Chester for the murder.

humiliation for the King's navy⁸⁹. Set out at after she was interred and was come into house, where we drank and saw how they intended to serve us who were come out of Ashton, with every one a loaf. John Potter and I were somewhat hungry and angry.⁹⁰ We took flight to Wigan to Alice Leigh's house and there refreshed ourselves.

11.—Tuesday. I went to the funeral of Grace Gerard to Winwick, who was there interred.

16.—Saturday. I went with John Hasleden and his wife to Rainford to Henry Sephton, and

18.—Monday, we came home together.

23.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh.

28.—Friday. I was in grief all day in consideration of my charge, for fear shop should not answer my Master's expectation, being now to be cast up. But my trust is in the Lord, who never fails those who trust in him.

29.—Saturday. Peter Leyland came to town and wished me to go bring him towards home, and in William Knowe's field called Horse Head under bank, we sat down, and he told me his trouble in regard of his daughter's distemper, who was falling sickness⁹¹, and his two sons, that the one was void of a calling and the other weak and infirm, and amidst our talk we both fell fast asleep.

30.—Lord's day. Mr. Pilkington, parson of Croston, preached here, and at night I went down to him. He was at Thomas Naylor's and invited him to take a flagon. We went to Thomas Leech's and stayed awhile, and so parted.⁹²

MAY, 1665

1.—Monday. This morning I went with Thomas Harrison with a stirk to Lodge to have her scored⁹³.

2.—Tuesday. My brother with his wife came with his beasts, removing out of Windle into Houghton to Daisy Hillock to Peter Ryland's house, he that was the sequestrator, and I brought them towards Houghton, and I was exceedingly troubled in my mind for my poor brother.

7.—Lord's day. Mr. Byrom came to town. Mr. Bowker preached, and at night John Jenkinson and I went with Mr. Byrom to bring him towards home.

11th.—May. My Master came to Ashton and told me I must come home and bid me to set all things in order. This was sad news, but it's good to submit to God in His various providences.

15.—Monday night. I went to be all night at John Robinson's. There was old Mr. Woods and Mr. Martindale.

16.—Tuesday. I went to Bamfurlong, and this night I was in a sad condition by reason of Ann Taylor's coming to Ellen Harrison and telling her stories of me, in so much as Emm Potter being at Halsall, I was almost

⁸⁹ The 'Kings Navy' was then engaged in war with the Dutch. The occasion is noticed by Pepys and Evelyn, the latter stating in his diary that it was the day of humiliation 'for success of this terrible war begun doubtless at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States and Protestant interest. Prodigious preparations on both sides.'

⁹⁰ Lowe's tone is understandably peeved: after walking some miles, they expect more than just a loaf – at least cheese to go with it was customary at the time, so this funeral is being catered for on the cheap.

⁹¹ Epilepsy.

⁹² Mr. James Pilkington was rector of Croston at the time of the diarist.

⁹³ He is having his heifer neutered.

intending to have gone in night. I was sadly troubled and was at this time very vehement in affection towards her.

17.—Wednesday. I went about twelve o'clock at noon to meet her, and upon the brow this side Orrell Moor, short of the barn that stands by itself in the valley, there in a ditch I sat where I might see all the moor over, desiring to see my wished sight. It rained, and after I was almost tired in waiting, I resolved to go down brow towards barn, and in going I met with David Pendlebury, an Ashton man, homewards, so I asked him whether he would go spend this 1d at Skenning John's, who said he would. We were no sooner gotten into house and had a flagon, but Mr. Leigh, schoolmaster of Ashton, came in. It was a rainy day and my expectations was frustrate. That troubled me much, so we stayed 2 or 3 flagons and then parted, and I came home and she was come before me and was undressed, but notwithstanding Taylor had done her endeavour to incense her against me, yet it was in vain and I was very glad to see her.

28.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh and had a little hare for children. At noon I went to John Chaddock's and he and I went a-walking and discoursing about me, what I should do in answer to myself, between me and my Master. At night my dame would have me take mare home with me, and little Thomas behind me, so we did. Little Thomas was troubled with sores, and they would have me go with him to Markland's the other morning, which we did, and left mare we rid off at widow Clarke's till we returned back from Markland's. So at our return to Ashton I went to see how he could ride, and brought him to further end of Town Green, and so left him.

JUNE, 1665

1.—Thursday. I went with Sarah Jenkinson's brotherley and brother to Henry Frances in Pemberton to see the burning well, and we had 2 eggs, which was so done by no material fire⁹⁴. We returned back to Watt's of Whitley Green, and there I had information that Robert Pendlebury had sent for ribboning to marl pit, which caused my haste to shop, and thence to Robert's.

3.—Saturday night. James Jenkins and I went all up and down to find John Jenkins, who was supposed to be drowned, but at 12 clock in night we found him fast asleep amidst Town Field.

5.—Monday. Daniel Chaddock was come to town to meet Mr. Taylor, who was come over and gone to his uncle Stirrup. We went, Daniel Chaddock, John Jenkinson, and I, to Golborne Cop, and sent to Mr. Taylor to have him come thither, and when he came we went to the alley and played at bowls, and anon Mr. Potter came, and Mr. Widdows, John Jenkins, and I beat Mr. Potter, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Chaddock in each of

⁹⁴ The Burning Well near Pemberton no longer exists. It was caused by a temporary escape of carburetted hydrogen gas. It is described in Baines [vol. ii, 189, new ed.], who quotes the following from an old geography:— 'At Antcliffe two miles from Wigan, is a very rare phenomenon much visited by curious travellers, which is called the Burning Well. 'Tis cold and hath no smell, yet so strong a vapour of sulphur issues out with its water that upon putting a lighted candle to it it instantly catches the flame like spirits, which last several hours, and sometimes a day in calm weather, with a heat fierce enough to make pot boil, though the water itself remains cold, and will not burn when taken out of the well any more than the mud of it.' A similar well existed in Derby Lane about a mile from Hindley Hall which has long since been buried beneath cartloads of rubbish. — [Leyland's *Memorials of Hindley*.]

them 4d in ale.

6.—Tuesday. I went to Warrington to buy some wares I wanted and to pay some money, and Mr. Worrell was very respectful to me, and comforted me very much for days to come, and so did Mr. Schofield.

7.—Wednesday. I was sent for to Bamfurlong to Ann Greensworth, and went.

11.—Lord's day. In the afternoon I went to Newton to hear Mr. Taylor preach. I was very pensive and sad at this time in consideration of my condition in this world, but God is the rock to which I hold, and the waters of consolation is still distilled from Him, amidst the greatest discouragements.

13.—Tuesday. I was sent for to Bamfurlong, and I went.

18.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan and heard Mr. Kenyon, pastor of Prestwich, most excellently preach.

19.—I went to Leigh and was ill wet.

22.—Thursday. I went to Leigh and had borrowed six pound for my Master against Chester Fair.

24.—Saturday. In the afternoon Mr. Leanders came and willed me go to Golborne Cop to bowl, and I see a game or two bowled and came home again.

25.—Lord's day. Mr. Taylor preached at Ashton. I went to Bamfurlong this night to make straight Ann's accounts, for she was afraid her brother would come from London.

27.—Tuesday. I went to John Robinson's, for his daughter, widow Jackson, had invited me upon a private account to acquaint me of some private business, and this afternoon I had spent with Mr. Bowker, vicar of Standish, and Mr. Leanders. And after I had parted with them I went towards John Robinson's and it was a very rainy evening. I went to Simon Marsh's and bought 1 dozen of scythes, and so returned to John Robinson's and was all night, and the matter she had to acquaint me was that if I were lief, Mr. Martindale had and could provide a good wife for me, a woman in Chester, his one sisterly, Major Jolley's fil, hath 120li to her portion. I was glad of the business and had some hopes of freedom from my Master.⁹⁵

28.—Wednesday. Betime in the morning I came home, and Mr. Bowker sent for me, and we were together a certain time.

29th.—Thursday. I was with the whitesmiths of Ashton, and made an agreement for them to go to counsel with about their trade. This night I went to Robert Rosbotham's and was there all night, and Richard Orme asked me to make a pair of indentures and two bonds, and he gave me directions about them. I was at this time sadly troubled concerning Mrs. Rawsthorne's death, who died at Bold Hall, where she was born, and then carried to Lodge in Chowbent, and upon the 31th June was interred at

⁹⁵ The writer of the note in the *Manchester Courier* says that both these passages [15th. May and the above date] refer to that period of Adam Martindale's life when he was finding 'good employment both ministerial and mathematical.' The first reference is explained by a passage in Martindale's *Diary* page 177, from which it appears that after Christmas, 1664, he was received as tutor to the family of Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton Tower. Martindale's presence in Roger Lowe's neighbourhood is due to its being the home of his sister Margaret, who, in the year 1665 'died in Ashton-in-Makerfield and was there buried' [page 179]. The second reference made by Lowe to Martindale finds confirmation at page 234 of the *Diary* of the latter where the writer speaks of lodging at 'my brother [Nathan] Jollie's house in Chester.' Jollie was brother in half blood to Mrs. Martindale.

Leigh. She was carried dead from Bold to Atherton in a horse litter.⁹⁶

JULY, 1665

1.—Lord's day. Mr. Hamner preached at Ashton, and at night Thomas Smith and I went to old John Robinson's and there repeated both sermons.

6.—Friday. Ann Barrow sent for me. She lived with her sister, Margaret Naylor, on Edge Green, and there I repeated Mr. Hamner's sermons.

11.—Wednesday. I went to Leigh.

30.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan. Joshua Naylor and John Hasleden went along with me, and when we came to Alice Leigh's we stayed and had each a cup of ale, and then I left them drinking and I went into church, and at noon when I came out they were gone homewards. I was all this time in expectation of my Master to come cast up shop, and he came not, which troubled me very much.

AUGUST, 1665

6.—Lord's day. Edmund Hayhurst, junior, of Chowbent sent for me this morning and wished me to go with him to Denton Green. He wooed Thomas Holland's daughter, and I promised him I would. He hired me a horse and we went to Denton Green to one Darbyshire's alehouse, and sent for her, but she was gone to church and the wife sent for us, so we went and stayed there till she came home and were much made of, but we had a rainy evening home.⁹⁷

8.—Tuesday. Richard Orme came, and I went with him and John Potter into Windle to seal indentures I had made for to bind Henry Orme prentice to Josiah Clarke, saddler. When he was bound, we rid up to Denton Green, for John Potter, I thank him, let me ride behind him, and at Denton Green we stayed and played three games of bowls and spent each 2d. And so we parted and were ill wet.

12.—I went with Mr. Launderers to Golborne Cop and played at bowls.

13.—Lord's day. Edmund Hayhurst came and enjoined me to go to Mr. Sorrowcold to move him to go act the business for him for a marriage.

14.—Betime this morning I went to Mr. Sorrowcold upon that business.

⁹⁶ John Atherton of Atherton Esquire married Mary daughter of Richard Bold of Bold, Esquire [by Ann his wife, daughter of Peter Legh of Lyme, Knight]. According to Dugdales Vistitation entry in the diary his widow appears to have married ... Rawsthorne, esquire. The 'Mr. Atherton of Atherton and Bewsey' whom the diarist calls the son of Mrs. Rawsthorne was Richard Atherton Esquire who succeeded to Atherton on the death of his father and inherited Bewsey from Dame Margaret Ireland who died 1675. He was born 22 September 1656, and on 27th November 1676 married at Warrington Isabel daughter of Robert Holt of Castleton and Stubbleby by whom he had John Atherton his successor and other issue. He married secondly Agnes daughter of Miles Dodding of Cornishead Esq., by whom he had no issue. In 1671 Mr. Atherton was elected M.P. for Liverpool but was unseated on petition: he was Mayor of that town in 1684. On 22nd John 1684, he was knighted at Windsor by the King. Sir Richard's grandson Richard Atherton of Atherton and Bewsey Esq. dying on the 14th November, 1726, left an only child Elizabeth who was married to Robert Gwilym of Walford co. Hereford Esq. in whose family the estates remained until the marriage in 1764 of Henrietta Maria Gwillam [heiress to her brother Atherton Leigh Gwilliam who died s.p.] to the Hon. Thomas Powys afterwards Lord Lilford, father by her son of Lord Lilford and of the present Bishop of Sodor and Man. — *Manchester Courier* Notes.

⁹⁷ The wooing was successful as we see a few days later in Lowe's *Diary*: Winwick register shows that Edmond Heyhurst married Jane Holland on 8th September 1665.

At my coming home I went to Winwick to the funeral of a child of Josiah Naylor, and John Potter and I went with Thomas Lyon to Hoornes Green, where ere we parted there was some difference between Thomas Lyon and Darbyshire, who were engaged in a game of bowls and could not agree, and in parlour, where we were, was Mr. Mather, an attorney that defended Thomas Lyon's case and provoked us to much passion. But John Potter and I were for peace, and this Mather puts us all in one and intends to sue us.

23 day.—I went to Warrington and John Potter, too, on purpose to know his pleasure, and at home at Thomas Kerfoot's I called. He and his wife had spoke much for me, so I got them to go along with me, which they did, and Mather said he would be civil with me – that was all. I went to seek John Potter and found him not till I was just parting with town, where I found him in Mather's sister's house, so went to his hot house and spent 2d, and he let me ride behind him home, and we were both exceedingly hungry, and we called at Heapie's in Newton and whiles we were eating and drinking we had almost fallen out about presbytery and episcopacy.

20.—Lord's day. I was with young Mr. Woods at old John Robinson's, and I was all night. Mr. Woods preached and he would not let me pass home, and the other day he came to town with me.

27.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan, Thomas Smith with me, and we called of Robert Rosbotham, and he and his wife went along with us. I told Thomas Smith my grievances about Emm and me falling out, and her sister, so we cast that Thomas should come on Thursday after to Tankerfield's and send for Emm, and there conclude a peace. At night Robert and wife were gone home and Thomas and I followed, and we called at Adamson's of Goose Green, and spent 3d. So we parted to Robert's, where they were at supper. We stayed supper, and so came home.

30.—Wednesday. I received a letter from Thomas Johnson of Liverpool and a lad with a horse, where he desired me to go with the lad and pay James Boydeell for carriage of wine and receive it for Thomas, which I did, and when I was upon Lowton Common I took horse and went to Leigh and got some goods, and so passed away back again.

SEPTEMBER, 1665

3.—Lord's day. I went to Billinge chapel in the afternoon with John Potter and others, and we went and called on Henry Birchall in the fields, and spent each 2d, and so went to chapel. When evening service was done Mr. Blackburn invited me into house, but I could not go, but desired excuse. We came back again to Henry Birchall and stayed awhile and so came for home.

12.—Tuesday. In the afternoon I went to John Robinson's. There was a private day and a sacrament. Old Mr. Woods preached. I came as he was preaching, and I received the sacrament, the Lord sanctify it unto me. There was Mary Barker there, to whom I had some thoughts, too, and intended to send Thomas Smith to speak my business. This night Thomas Smith was made up to Alice Leyland in old John Robinson's chamber.

23.—Wednesday. My Master had sent me a very shrewd message by Peter Higson, and I framed a letter and got Thomas Smith to go speak my business. He went on St. Mathew's day and my Master was sore

displeased.⁹⁸

29.—Friday. I went with Edmund Hayhurst to Denton Green. He hired me a horse.

OCTOBER, 1665

8.—Lord's day night. Thomas Smith asked me to go with him to Peter Leyland's, which I did. Sarah Hasleden asked me to come to their house, which I did, and there was a roasted goose and I ate my supper.

9.—Monday. I went with Thomas Smith to Winwick to his marriage with Alice Leyland. At night I was invited per old Peter to go home with them, which I did, and stayed supper.

13.—Friday night. I went with old William Hasleden and his horses with two strangers to Liverpool within night, merely out of my own mind.

23.—Monday. I went into Haydock to several houses to get moneys, but I got none.

30th.—Tuesday. I went with John Potter, Richard Asmull, John Darbyshire to Winwick to meet Mr. Mather, one that threatened to sue us and for which I was under great trouble, but when we came thither he was at Newton at Rothell's, so we all went thither and sent for him. But his demands was so extraordinary that we all came home very sad.

NOVEMBER, 1665

1.—Wednesday. I went to Leigh, and when I came into town I found Raphe Jenkins in the stocks and a fire upon the cross by him. He had been all night there. At my coming home I got a horse and resolved to go to Winstanley to speak and move Mr. Blackburn to be my friend about Mather's business. We came down to Humphrey Atherton's, sat in the parlour by the fire, and talked a great while, of everything something, and he showed very great respect, and he would do what lay in him to do for me.

7.—Tuesday night. I went to Thomas Smith's. He lived at Cook's house near to Robert Rosbotham's house. I was there all night with him. The other morning Thomas and I went to his fatherley's, Peter Leyland, to get him to go to Watt's house to see if he could take it for them.⁹⁹

14.—Tuesday. My Master came and I was in a sad sorrowful estate for fear of being underhand. My Master proffered to let me have goods and to free me.

17.—Friday. I rid before Sarah Hasleden to Leigh to see my accounts. I was charged with 205li and I had profited 48li. I was glad then. I went with Sarah to Hugh Hindley's, for his daughter was lying in. At our return again my Master was proffering shop to me, and I accepted of it, and I was to pay in such time. So I was made free, though I was very sorrowful, yet my trust is in God.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ This is another instance of the occasional reference to saints' days, although the diarist was a staunch Puritan.

⁹⁹ The expression 'fatherleys' is used for father-in-law, Thomas Smith having married Alice Leyland in the previous month. In another entry the word 'brotherleys' occurs as brother-in-law.

¹⁰⁰ Roger records this day his unexpected freedom from his apprenticeship. The diarist is now an Ashton tradesman in business on his own account, bound only to his old master for the goods he owed.

20th.—Monday. I went to Warrington and bought currants and other commodities.

24.—My Master came and cast up shop and thought I had been far behind hand, but on the 17th day I and Sarah Hasleden went to Leigh, and I went to perfect all accounts, and I had gained my Master 48li in a year and a half, and I was very glad. I went with Sarah to Hugh Hindley's, for his daughter was lying in, but when I came to Leigh again, my Master proffered me to trust me for the goods in Ashton, and to give me my time, which I expected of. God hath been with me hitherto: His name be glorified.

DECEMBER, 1665

20.—I went to Leigh and gat my Master to let me have some commodities I wanted, which he did, and sent his son to bring them me. I was at this time sadly troubled for fear of miscarrying, and knew not how to get cloth and things. Yet God raised up friends for me, for a Yorkshireman came through town and proffered to let me have cloth for three months.

21.—I went to Warrington and Thomas Peak was very earnest with me to have me be a journeyman for him in Liverpool, which I denied. I bought some commodities upon trust of Mr. Worrell, so came home.

26.—Tuesday. I went with John Potter and Thomas Harrison to Manchester. We were up very early and gat to Boothstown by day, came [to] Irlam's [o'th'Heights] and spent each 2d apiece, for I begun to be very feeble. And then we came to Manchester, and in the first place we went to church and looked about us, and anon the choristers came and we stayed morning prayer. I was exceedingly taken with the melody.¹⁰¹ Then we three, having each several business to do, and going to get John Potter's business done first, I showed Thomas Harrison Mr. Sandiforth's, where he was to do his business, and he had and I went and enquired for him. As soon as he see me very kindly took me in and would not let me pass till I had dined with him, and so did Thomas, too. But this while we had lost John Potter, and made much labour to find him, and whiles we were a-finding him I gat business perfected with Mr. Howham. But when we had found John Potter he was very angry at us. Then we went altogether to a house John Jenkins brought us to, where we were troubled with foul sheets all night. But all this day we could not perfect nothing of John Potter's business, which was to be done with one Robert Johnson, a draper, who was out of town. But in far of night we went to his house, when we heard of his coming home by John Hopwood, to whom we ware engaged much to, and gat his business done.

27.—We set out of Manchester, and John Potter was not well, and besides, he over went Thomas and me to Irlam's [o'th'Heights] and never gave us word, all which troubled me exceedingly in my mind. But we came to Irlams [o'th'Heights] and there we were merry, and thence we came to Leigh and at widow Raniker's we stayed and spent each of us 2d apiece. From thence we came home, but by the way had a little unhappy discourses about religion, as too of we have been overtaken with too much

¹⁰¹ The diarist on several occasions records his curiosity to hear 'organs' and music [Winwick 17th. March, 1662-3; Manchester, 22nd. December, 1665. the above date; and at Chester. 28th. June 1666]. These entries may illustrate the rigor with which music had been shut out during the Commonwealth. The church visited in Manchester was St. Peter's Collegiate Church now the cathedral of the diocese.

passion, for each of us were of different judgements and each would vindicate his own way, and many times fall into an exceeding passion, though it never occasioned us to love the less, which I often marked as a providence of God, for I received so many singular favours from them as caused me to love them entirely. At our coming into Thomas Harrison's we found an old man and his wife, that Thomas was engaged to. We went to alehouse and were very merry together.

30.—Saturday. Robert Rosbotham sent for me. Mr. Woods was come to his house, and I went, and Mr. Woods preached. I lay at Thomas Smith's, who lived then at Cook's house.

JANUARY, 1666

1.—Monday. I went to Nicholas Croft to bid him fetch the cow.

2.—Tuesday. I went a-hunting, and the hare took into rabbit's holes, and I was exceedingly wearied.

3.—Wednesday. I went to Leigh to speak to Mr. Swift, who was come and gone again. I was sadly troubled. I came away by my sister Ellen's and stayed awhile, and so came to Richard Orme's, for I should have stayed there all night. Richard was not at home, and so I came home.

4.—Thursday. I got Thomas Harrison to go along with me to Peter Leyland's, Haydock Wood, to look at a chest for me, which I was to buy.

10.—Wednesday. I went a-hunting awhile, and then came home.

15.—Monday. I hired Thomas Leech's horse and rid to Standish on purpose to buy a suit of brown shag, but there was none. I came back to Wigan and stayed to speak with Mr. Pilkington about money that a servant of his owed my Master. I had the company of one Hugh Topping of Warrington, who told me there was the head of some Christian lay bare to public view above ground, and that it was charity to bury it, which I said I would do.

16.—Tuesday. I went to bury it. It lay in the high lane as one goes to Barleyman's, just at the cross causeway. I carried it in my hands to the dungeon's slift of the Town Field and there buried it. I digged the hole with my fingers. It was supposed to have been a Scot, and there slain when Duke Hamilton invaded England.¹⁰²

17.—Wednesday. I went to Warrington and paid Richard Worrell all that I owed him. I bought me a new hat and stockings. Came to Newton and there spent 4d.

19.—Friday. I went to the funeral of old Mrs. Birch, being invited by John Jenkins.

23.—John Jenkinson desired me to go with his child to Winwick to stand as a godfather. Mr. Bowker had failed and could not come, so he entreated me to go with him, which I did, and we went into Clarke's at after the christening and spent 3s. Then we went to widow Barker's and we spent other 3s. But it was very rugged night and dark, yet John and I came home.

FEBRUARY, 1666

2.—Friday. I went with John Potter and his wife to his wife's sister's, who lived at a place called Lawnes, and we were much made of. At after dinner

¹⁰² Given its location, the head could also have been that of a straggler from General Baillie's Scots Royalists, pursued from Wigan to Winwick by Cromwell and Pride.

we went up to Holland to Thomas Prescot's and were merry, and then to Humphrey Naylor's and stayed awhile, and so came to Lawnes again, where we all of us supped, and then John Potter and I came home, and honest Thomas Birchall would not leave us, but came home with us. But James Lowe stayed all night there and left us, which was not well taken. At this time there was one Gaskell, who owned Tower Hill house above the Lawnes, had hanged himself.

3.—Saturday. Emm and I were exceedingly fallen out, which grieved me sore, and she was gone with Ann Taylor towards Golborne Cop, and I got Mathew Turton to go with me, and we went and took them in the Cop house. I sat down with them, but she would not be moved. I spent 12d and was more grieved than before.

4.—Lord's day. I went with John Potter to Billinge chapel, and at noon we came to Henry Birchall's to dinner, where we stayed all afternoon and drunk.

5.—Monday. I was sent for to my sister Ellen, who was brought to bed and was likely for death, and when I came to her she was speechless, which grieved me sore. I stayed all the afternoon and at night, after sun go down, I parted and came home, and about 8 of clock in night when I was gone she died.

6.—Tuesday. I went to the funeral of my dear sister, and her child was christened the same day she was buried at Winwick, per Mr. Potter. Mr. Watt came to the funeral to accompany me, which I was engaged for. My sister's child was named Roger.

10.—Saturday. Mr. Bowker came to Ashton, and I went to bring him to Nicholas Burscoe's house, for there he was all night, and in the way we fell out extremely about religion but on

11th.—Lord's day, in the morning, when he came to Ashton back again, he sent for me and we were friends.

18.—Lord's day. I went to Winwick with John Potter. We came home at noon. Mr. Potter would have me to dinner.

19.—Monday. I was sadly troubled in my thoughts by reason of the debts I did owe and for fear lest I should miscarry. Now the Lord help me and be my helper till death and at death, now the Lord bring me out of these troubles in His good time.

MARCH, 1666

6.—Tuesday. At night I went to Robert Rosbotham's and was there all night.

7.—Wednesday. I went to John Robinson's and was all night.

8.—Thursday. I went to Mr. John Blackburn to Winstanley to treat with him about Mather's business, who had sent to him, so he sent to me to have me come to him, and concerning this business I was much engaged to honest Mr. Blackburn. I invited Mr. Blackburn down to Humphrey Winstanley's, we went. I told him they had assessed me in Ashton for a personal estate, and I had none, so he told me what course to take, which I did. After we had drunk awhile I parted. At my coming to Ashton I resolved to set forward to Leigh and from thence to Light Oaks, but when I came to Leigh, Sir Henry Slater was in town. I got my Master to go with me to him, and so acquainted him with my business. He moved me to come the day ensuing, and it should be done. I parted and went from Leigh to Mr. James Woods' house, who lived then at James Dawson's in

Atherton and was in a weak condition. We were a little merry the other day. I stayed till noon reading in the *Book of Martyrs*, and then departed to my brother's, who lived at Ryland's house at Daisy Hillock, and stayed awhile there, and so went to Leigh, where I found Sir Henry Slater and Mr. Rosthorne at Robinson's, and Thomas Naylor, who was Sir Henry's clerk, made great professions of love to me, writ me an order and caused it to be signed by the two justices, and would have nothing for his labour, so I came home. I found the Lord a helper of me in my distress. His Holy name be praised.

12.—Monday. I was advised to give this order I had gotten from the justices to the constable, which I did, and went with the constable to Thomas Naylor's, because he had caused me to be laid.

14.—Wednesday. I went to Warrington to pay some moneys I owed to Schofield.

18—Lord's day. Emm and I fell out this evening. I went to old John Robinson's, was all night. Old Mr. Woods was there and preached, and there was Mary Barton there all night, and I intended to send to her, which I did. Edmund Winstanley's wife the other day ...

25 March 1666. I went, being Lord's day, to the funeral of old Allin's wife, who was interred at Winwick.¹⁰³ I was with John Potter and Thomas Harrison with some others, we spent 3d apiece at after the funeral, and thence came to Rothwell's in Newton, and spent each other 3d beside, and so we parted home. I was ill all night, but the Lord had mercy on me the other morning.

27.—Tuesday. I went to Liverpool to buy commodities. I light of Mr. Reynolds, Sir William's steward, who enjoined me to come to Mr. Christian's to him. We spent most of the afternoon in drinking. I parted and came to Mr. Johnson's shop, where I got some business done, and in the doing of my affairs I met with Mr. Swift, whom I intended to go to. He lived in Chester. He was a Bristol merchant and traded in Bristol goods. I was to go to him the next morning, which I did, and went up to his chamber where he lied and he caused a pottle¹⁰⁴ of butt end ale to come up, so I got my business done and then set forward for Ashton, and made Huyton my way. Called of Mr. Lowe, the vicar, and we went to the Clarke's house and were merry awhile, and then I came home.

30.—Friday night. I was all night at Robert Rosbotham's. This night Raphe Lowe, son of Dam End, hanged himself in shippon before beasts.

APRIL, 1666

13th.—Good Friday. John Hasleden's wife was under the pangs of childbirth, and they sent for me to pray by her, which I did. At this time I was in great sadness, not knowing what to do.

16.—Monday. I went to Leigh to pay some moneys to my Master, and he was out town. William Downall was in town about his daughter's marriage with Mr. Chaddock. He sent for me and I rid behind him home. The remainder of this month to the 14th May I was sadly afflicted with pains, but the Lord restored me.

MAY, 1666

¹⁰³ She is given as 'An Annils' in the Winwick register.

¹⁰⁴ A half-gallon jug.

14.—Monday. I went to Robert Rosbotham's and was all night.

28.—Monday, was the first day I could say I was well, so that it pleased God to afflict me for 5 weeks just. The last day of this month I was but weak and I went with Joshua Naylor to Whitley Green on purpose to recreate myself, and Watt's wife made much over me. Mr. Sorrowcold's man came for me. At my coming home I had a book of Mr. Ambrose's, late minister of Preston, who at the end of his book had these psalms in meter:

Psalm 100

All men of mortal birth
That dwell in all the earth,
O make a noise to God with joys
and serve the Lord with mirth.

O come before His throne
With singing every one,
For certainly the Lord most high,
Even He is God alone.

He made us and not we,
Not we our selves, but He;
His folk and flock and pasture stock
He made us for to be.

With praise come to His gate
And to His courts relate
His laud and fame, and bless His name
His honour celebrate.

For God is good for ever,
His mercy faileth never;
His truth doth last all ages past
And constant doth persever.

Psa. 108, 1 part

O God, I fix my heart,
My glory bears apart,
And as my tongue, so shall my song
Praise Thee with music's art.

Wake, harp and psaltery,
Right early wake will I;
Thy praises, Lord, will I record,
The people standing by.

I'll praise Thee with my song
The nations all among;
To heavens high, to clouds of sky
His truth and mercies throng.

Exalted be Thy name
Above the heavens' frame;
Let earth below the trumpet blow
Of Thy renowned fame.

Psal. 150

Praise ye the Lord most high
Within His sanctuary;
In topmost tower of His great power
With praise Him magnify.

Praise Him for acts renowned
With excellency crowned;
According to His greatness do
Praise Him with trumpet sound.

O praise Him cheerfully
With harp and psaltery,
And let the dance His praise advance,
And timbrals melody.

Praise Him with joint consents
Of stringed instruments;
The organs bring, loud cymbals ring:
Each one His praise presents.

High-sounding cymbals ring,
Let every breathing thing
The praise record of this great Lord
And hallelujah sing.¹⁰⁵

JUNE, 1666

1.—Friday and Saturday. Both these day I was in a saddened condition in my thoughts by reason of my great debts, but my hope is in God that He will help me out.

3.—Lord's day. I went to Billinge chapel to hear Mr. Blackburn, and he

¹⁰⁵ The psalms copied by the diarist are taken from the last page of the *Media: The Middle Things*, 4to. 1659 [page 576] and were put there for the purpose of provoking cheerfulness amongst Christians. They are not the composition of Ambrose, but are described as having been 'translated by Mr. W. B.' It is noticeable that in his book, which it appears Lowe was familiar, there is a section on commendation of the keeping of diaries – a matter which was then regarded as a characteristic of reflective Christians. The chapter is headed 'Of the time of Self-trial' [i.e. self-examination]. After discussing the subject he adds: 'To this purpose were read of many ancients that were accustomed to keep Diaries or Day Books of their actions and out of them to take an account of their lives. Such a Register of God's dealings towards him and his dealing towards God in main things the Lord put into a poor creature's heart [i.e. into his own heart] to keep in the year 1641, ever since which time he hath continued it, and once a year purposes by God's grace to examine himself by it. In his chapter on 'Experiences' [vi., and v, pages 176 seq], he advises that there should be three heads in a Diary for Experiences, Texts and Dispositions to be prayed for.

was glad to see me recovered. He took me into Humphrey Cowley's and spent 6d on me, and then I walked down to Blackley Hurst, and so parted. 8.—Friday. I went to bring John Jenkins' wife old cock toward Winwick. I intended to go to Winwick, but I found myself unable and so returned home.

14.—Thursday. I went to Whitley Green with John Potter and Thomas Harrison and lost 2d at bowls, and so came home.

20th.—Wednesday. At night I went to old John Robinson's and was there all night, and widow Jackson promised me her horse to go to Chester on.

24.—Lord's day. I went at noon into Abram to Ann Taylor's, and Emm Potter was there, but she would not admit me to speak to her, so I had Thomas Hesketh with me and we went to the Brynn and called at Bamfurlong of young Mr. Gerard, and he accommodated us with drink, so returning thanks we parted and came to Brynn to see some work tools that he had hid, and so we came home.

28.—Thursday. I set forwards for Chester. Widow Jackson lent me her horse, and near Frodsham bridge the horse halted extremely. I alighted off and pulled a single spike out of his foot and the horse did a little halt. I gat well to Chester by God's help, went to Mr. Swift to whom I paid ten pound. I lay at Dragon. I went to hear organs and the choristers, and I was so weary as I went in the middle of their service.

29.—Friday. I sat homewards, having, as I thought, well done my business, and at Warrington I lighted and stayed awhile and so came home, but withall met in the way Mr. John Potter, ill tippled, who I did not leave till I came home.

JULY, 1666

1.—Lord's day. The schoolmaster of Ashton came and entreated me to go with him to Standish to speak to Mr. Bowker to be his friend for the obtaining of a school near Preston. I went with him, being bound in charity. It rained. Notwithstanding, we went, and when we came to Standish he was in one Thomas Smith's, and he sent for me. We went to him and at noon we dined with him at Thomas Taylor's, in the brick house, and he promised to do what in him did lie.

2.—Monday. Mr. Hopwood and his wife were at John Jenkinson's and sent for me. I went and spent me 4d, which was contrary to Mr. Hopwood's mind.

3.—Tuesday. Emm Potter had acquainted me that she was told that my mother bore me a bastard. I conceived who had spoken it for to be Elizabeth Potter, and she was at this present in town, so I sifted it out and found she was the woman, and she told me that William Morris had expressed it. I resolved for Leigh and intended to be the death of William and intended to call for my brother and have him with me, but I was prevented, for I called at Heapie's, and there was John Chaddock came by and Mr. Holecroft. I rid behind John Chaddock to Lowton Smithy's and so came to Leigh to Isabel Grundy's, called for a chamber and sent for William Morris. He came, and Thomas Insworth with him. I wished him to give place awhile, when he was gone I to Will and buffeted him very merry. Nicholas Mather came up and was very vehement against me. We parted that house and went to widow Ranicar's. I spent me 12d, so came and did lie with Clarke. The other morning I went to do some business with my Master, and I told him my case. He was ill troubled at it, and

counselled me for my good, so I came home with a sad spirit and I called of my brotherly, Henry Houghton, and he was gone to be married, so I parted.

16.—Monday. I went with John Potter and Joshua Naylor to Henry Birchall's to see a cock to fight. I was ill troubled in my mind that I went.

28.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan on purpose to hear the Bishop, for I was somewhat discomposed in mind by reason of Emm Potter and me falling out, and I went to shake it off me, and I heard the Bishop. He preached against atheisticalness.

AUGUST, 1666

1.—Wednesday. I went to Newton fair in the afternoon and met with my Master.

5.—Lord's day. I went to Billinge chapel to hear Mr. Blackburn. I went in the afternoon.

9th.—Thursday. I went to Warrington and paid 52 shillings, where I owed it up and down.

13.—I went to Wigan, but came too late to hear the Bishop preach.

15.—I went to Prescot, being Wednesday, and I went upon an idle occasion. God forgive me.

16.—I was pensive and sad all day by reason I had heard something of Emm's unfaithfulness to me, and it grieved me very sore.

26.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan to hear the Bishop preach. I dined with John Naylor at Alice Leigh's. There was buried behind the great church door, within the church, one Sergeant Lanchshaw. He lived in the Scholes¹⁰⁶.

24th.—Friday. Being Bartholomew day I hired a horse and went with Thomas Leech to Croston. Mr. Pilkington was parson and one Will Harris lived with him, and he owed I moneys, and we went to get it, but found him not at home. We found Thomas Naylor there and through him and his son's persuasion we went with them to Chorley. It was the fair. I was no sooner gotten into the town but I met with Robert Reynolds, and when I was alight he and I went to see a show concerning the lives of man from his infancy to old age. We parted, and when I came to receive my horse I wanted a shoe. All I spent was 2d, so I came easily homewards, and amidst Chorley Moor I got a shoe. Came homewards, and in Wigan Mr. Bowker invited me to Ann Cason's, gave me a part of a bottle or two of raspberry ale, and so I came home.

31.—Thursday. I went to Warrington and at my coming home I was not well, yet got home.

SEPTEMBER, 1666

2.—Lord's day. I went with John Potter to Wigan to hear the bishop, but he was gone to Knowsley, and he had burned 4 or 5 bay of stabling and shipening this morning by the carelessness of the groom, who let the candle burn at his bed's head, and he fell asleep.

4.—Tuesday night. I went to old John Robinson's, was all night. O how comfortable is the communion of saints!

18.—Friday. I went with John Potter to Winwick, and Mr. Potter invited

¹⁰⁶ A district in Wigan.

me to dinner, and at after prayers – for it was St. Mathew’s day – he went with us into the Spring and we spent 4d, and at night, as we came home, we overtook Emm and Kenyon together, and I was ill troubled.

19.—Saturday. I went to my brother’s into Burtonwood, and on Lord’s day morning we came for Ashton and called to see Bradley Hall, which I admired to see so goodly a fabric lying waste¹⁰⁷.

OCTOBER, 1666

13th.—Friday. I went with Raphe Winstanley and John Potter to the funeral of old Mr. Banks of Winstanley, who was interred at Wigan. Mr. Blackburn preached.¹⁰⁸

16.—Monday. Mr. Blackburn wished me to go with John Naylor and William Chaddock to see what people would give towards the relief of such needy persons as had sustained loss by the great fire in London, and to set their names down, which we did over the one half of Ashton.¹⁰⁹

29.—I went to Robert Rosbotham’s and was all night.

NOVEMBER, 1666

3d.—Lord’s day. I went with John Potter to Winwick, and Mr. Potter invited me to dinner and I went.

27.—Tuesday. I went to Leigh and made all things straight with my Master and turned over John Greenhough and Thomas Greenhough to discharge the debt I owed, which my Master assented to. He would have fain concluded me with ... the debt, but I would not, so he took Thomas Greenhough’s bond with his son John Greenhough’s bond for all the debt I owed to him, so he cleared me before John Chaddock in his own shop and before John Greenhough, who came with me home and at Joshua Naylor’s spent either 6d.

30.—Friday—St. Andrew’s day. I went to Garswood about Widow Taylor’s business of exchanging the lease, and Sir William made a promise per the way between hall and kitchen that he would speak to his son, for it was he that must do that business.

DECEMBER, 1666

2.—Lord’s day. John Potter and I went to Billinge chapel. Mr. Blackburn preached. It was a cold day and at noon Humphrey Cowley’s house was so thronged that we could not attain a fire to sit by, but we sacrificed ourselves o’er the twopenny flagon in a cold chamber. At noon there was Henry Birchall with us, the younger. We had each of us a mess a pottage. We spent 3d apiece.

15.—Saturday. I went to the doleful funeral of the reverend Mr. John Blackburn at Winwick. Mr. Potter preached in a very pathetical manner

¹⁰⁷ It had been destroyed by fire some years before and was never restored. The farmhouse currently on the site is a more recent structure.

¹⁰⁸ The Mr. Banks referred to would be William Banks of Winstanley Esq., son of James Banks Esq., who at his death would be about thirty-two years of age.

¹⁰⁹ The Great Fire of London had broken out on the 2nd. September before and many old church registers and parish records contain references to public collections on behalf of the sufferers similar to that for which the Diarist canvassed half Ashton.

out of the 14 Revelations, 1 part of the 13 verse: “Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.” He in the close of his sermon spoke excellently truly, though mournfully, in commendation of Mr. John, and indeed the neighbourhood sustains great loss by his death.¹¹⁰

16.—Lord’s day. I went to the funeral of Ann Taylor, who was married to Raphe Ashton in Abram, and I went fasting from home, so at noon, when we had buried the corpse and expected according to custom to have some refreshment and were a company of neighbours sat together round about a table, as John Potter, Thomas Harrison, and others, the Doctor comes and prohibits the filling of any drink till after prayers. So I came home with Thomas Harrison and we expected to have called at Newton, but here we were disappointed. But at last with much vexation I got to Ashton with a hungry belly, and honest Thomas Harrison and right true hearted Ellen, though hasty, yet all love, did much refresh my hungry palate with a big cup once full, an after that ½ full again of good pottage.

11.—Tuesday. I went to Leigh and got my bonds in from my Master.

21.—Friday night. I went into old William Hasleden’s in Ashton. His wife was sick and I read in the *Practice of Piety*,¹¹¹ and as I was reading she gave up the ghost.

23.—Lord’s day. I went to Wigan, being much disconsolate. Yet the Lord encouraged me, for my hope is in Him.

27.—Old Thomas Harrison was come over out of Halsall, and his son and others, amongst whom I was one, went to Jenkins’ to drink, and Mr. Hopwood had seen a letter out of Oldham to invite me with John Jenkins to his house, and John moved me to go, so I was resolved to go forthwith that night, and it was a hoary, snowy night. But, indeed, the main reason that moved me to go this night was because Emm was gone to Chaddock Hall, whom I intended to see, but could not. So we came to Manchester about 3 or 4 o’clock and with much ado got a fire in Fennel Street at one Humphrey Peacock’s, where we stayed till prayers in the church, and then we went to morning prayer. When it was done we went into a little old woman’s house at going out of the church, and we bought a pudding for 1d and a loaf 1d, and eat part and gave rest to old woman, and so parted to Oldham, where we stayed till Monday, and then came home away by Middleton and over Walkden moor, where we were much disconsolate. But with much trouble of mind and weariness of body we came home.¹¹²

JANUARY, 1666

2.—Wednesday. I went to the funeral of young John Potter of Lilly Lane, to Winwick.¹¹³

6.—Lord’s day. Mr. Swift was come to Leigh and sent for me. I owed him 9li and had no moneys to pay him, and I was troubled. But it pleased God that I got 3li in readiness forthwith, I bless God, and it gave good content. I was at night with John Chaddock and supped with my Master.

24.—Thursday. I went to Warrington and paid some debts I there owed,

¹¹⁰ The Winwick registers contain the corroborative entry:- ‘1666. Dec. 15 Mr. John Blackborne of Blackley Hurst.’

¹¹¹ Lewis Bayly’s *The Practice of Piety* [1611], a puritan devotional manual.

¹¹² Walkden Moor at the time Roger Lowe crossed it in winter was an inhospitable district. The Eccles Register for about this date contains an entry of the burial of a man who had perished in crossing it.

¹¹³ John, son of John Potter.

and at my coming home was welcomed with the news of John Greenhough's running away, which was no little trouble to me, for I looked upon myself even as blasted in the bud, unless the Lord be my help, Who hath helped me hitherto and surely will not now forsake me, for my expectations is from him 3li.

FEBRUARY, 1666

2.—Saturday morning. Thomas Parkinson came to me to write a letter to his wife for him, for he had been under the execution of a warrant, and was gotten for his attendencers.

3.—Lord's day. I went with John Potter and Thomas Harrison to fetch their wives home from Holland. I was not at this time merry, for I could not, because I lay under sad reproaches of persecuting tongues such as Thomas Naylor, Glasier, Joshua Naylor, and Mary Rogerson, about the debt of John Greenhough. But I trust in God for aid, He is my refuge. These Hymenaeus and Philetus and Alexander the Coppersmith¹¹⁴ if not worse, have done me much evil, the Lord reward them.

5.—Tuesday. I went to Wigan to Mr. Jollie, who was sole executor for John Greenhough, and I moved him for me, but before I entreated Mr. Earle, curate, his assistance, and I told him all my mind. I came home better satisfied a great deal.

6.—Wednesday. My Master came to Ashton and some writings I had to seal which were sealed between him and Raphe.

11.—Wednesday. I received that sad sorrowful news of Mr. Woods' death, and upon the¹¹⁵

MARCH, 1667

28.—Thursday. I went with constable of Ashton to help him to gather the Poll money. I was at this time in a sad, sorrowful estate by reason of my fear of poverty, but O, my soul, cast thy burden upon the Lord, He will sustain thee. Many be the miseries of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver. Does not Christ call, hark: "Come unto me all ye that are weary, and I will give you rest"? Indeed, I must confess I have a proud envious spirit, seeing and thinking of others in their prosperity, and am apt to censure God for hard measure unto me. Yet grudge not to see wicked men prosperous: it's but awhile they shall flourish thus, prosperity will be hard pennyworth for them. Wait thou on God, O my soul, and keep His way. O labour to be content with thy present condition, God sees it good, it should so be. O do thou so too labour, O my soul, to bring thy desires to thy

¹¹⁴ The reference is to the words of the Apostle Paul in 1 Timothy, where he accuses them of having made shipwreck of faith.

¹¹⁵ The diary here unfortunately is imperfect. The last entry is crossed through, and the remainder of the page is free from any entries excepting the lines as follows:-

It's Gods that fixed my love on only one

Whom I'll love till I die or die a nun.

The Rev. James Woods has been before referred to. In the obituary at the end of the *Diary*, the old Puritan minister is given as 10th February 1666-7 and this would make the entry in the date of the *Diary* to be about the 13th. The Rev. James Woods was buried at Grappenhall near Thelwall where he resided after leaving Ashton. The Grappenhall registers contain the following entries relating to Mr. Woods and his wife:- '1666-7 Feb. 12. Buried Mr. James Woods of Thelwall minister.' '1668-9 Jan. 12. Buried Mrs. Alice wife of Mr. James Wood of Thelwall.'

condition, and not thy condition to thy desires.

30.—Lord's day. I went to Winwick with John Potter and dined at Mr. Potter's house.

APRIL, 1667

1.—I went this morning to Warrington to buy some commodities.

7.—Lord's day. I went to Sarah Hasleden to Wigan and heard Bishop preach ...¹¹⁶

8.—Monday. I was sent for to Leigh by my Master who had a child interred on this day. Raphe Hasleden lent me a horse.¹¹⁷

14.—Saturday. I was sadly unfavoured in my thoughts this morning through fear of world, and therefore took pen in hand and made these verses following:

The griefs are many i'th' world, I forsee;
Ah Lord, when wilt Thou come to pity poor me?
I'm so beset with griefs I cannot tell
Not how to live i'th' world, nor where to dwell.
But this I'm sure: my hope is fixed in Thee,
And this joys me in greatest extremity.
Thou wilt not suffer me long to live in woe;
Sure, Lord, Thou'll come to visit Thy poor Lowe.
Amen.

even so come Lord Jesus in mercy and not in justice to me Thy servant.

22.—Lord's day. I went with Thomas Smith and little John Smith to hear Mr. Gregg, who preached at John Sutton's, and when we were at Parr Bridge, by reason it was a rainy day, we went to hear Mr. Aspinall. It was nearer and we all run home very wet, but John Smith had lost his gloves, and turned again from Parr Hall and found them.

23.—Monday night. I went to John Robinson's and was all night. After this time I was sadly troubled in my thoughts, but the Lord is my support.

29th.—Lord's day. I went to hear Mr. Gregg preach at William Turner's in Parr. At afternoon I came home and there was some Leigh persons at chapel, and I engaged them into Tankerfield's, where I spent 6d. But after their parting a sad disaster befell me, viz., a falling out between Henry Kenyon and me. The after days I made it the lamentation of my private thoughts.

MAY, 1667

¹¹⁶ This would be the bishop's sermon for Easter Sunday.

¹¹⁷ This entry may give a clue to the name of Roger Lowe's master, the Leigh tradesman, who is so often referred to but never by name. In July 25th. 1663 the *Diarist* says he was in Leigh at 'our child's christening, he was named Edward.' Roger Lowe no doubt was speaking of one of his master's children as on the 13th. of the same month he records his 'dame's' confinement. In the Leigh register no christenings are entered on the 25th, but Edward, son of Thomas Hammond de Westleigh was baptized on the following day – the 26th. The interment of the child mentioned in the above entry took place between the 7th. and the 14th. March, 1667, for the date and day prefixed to the entry is indistinct in the *Diary* though it appears to be the 8th., on which day the Leigh registers contain the entry of the baptism of Martha, daughter of Thomas Hammond de Westleigh. The inference is very probable that a mistake had been made in either the *Diary* or the church records.

1.—Wednesday. Henry Kenyon came to Tankerfield's and sent for me and we were both reconciled, and I was somewhat joyful.

2.—Thursday. I went to Warrington and paid some money I there owed. As I came home I intended to call on Mr. Potter, merely out of love, but he would not go to take part of 2d in beer, but seemed as if he were angry, which troubled me very sore. I came home very pensive and sad and not very well.¹¹⁸

17.—Friday. I went to Warrington and sold Josephus, a book so called *Concerning Jewish Wars*. I was at this time partly engaged to go to Mr. Harwood, who lived in Shrewsbury, to live with him, and he had engaged one Edward Bowker de Warrington to enquire of my disposition. It troubled me sore.¹¹⁹

19.—Lord's day. I went with William Knowles, William Hasleden, and others into Windle to Cowley Hill to Mrs. Harper's house, and heard Mr. Gregg preach out of these words: "Try all things, but hold all fast that which is good."

JUNE, 1667

2.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan and dined at James Astley's, for he would have me to dinner.

9.—Lord's day. I went to one Tickle's house in Sutton with William Knowles and little John Smith, and heard Mr. Gregg out of these words: "Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy."

23.—Lord's day. I sat forward with James Jenkins for Chester fair, and when I came there I was scarcely well, yet it pleased God to enable me so as I did my business very well.

25th.—Tuesday. I came home.

28.—Friday. I went with William Naylor to Croston to Mr. Pilkington's man, who owed me Master 3s, but I could not get it. Emm Potter and Alice Taylor was at Halsall, therefore I hastened thither on the

29th day, Saturday, which was 8 miles; came to Halsall and sent for them, and they stayed rather too long, that I went myself down to old Thomas Harrison's, who made much of me and constrained me to stay all night. We went all together to the alehouse and were merry, and the next day I came home.

JULY, 1667

9.—Lord's day. I went to James Lowe's on Newton Common, where Mr. Baldwin preached.

10.—Monday. I went to Warrington fair and met Mr. Swift.

15.—Monday. I went to Halsall for to fetch Alice Taylor home, but she could not come with me, so I lost my labour. At Ormskirk I stayed and spent 2d and went into church and looked in Earl Derby's tomb, and so came home, only I called at Holland at one Corless' house and gave my

¹¹⁸ Mr. Thomas Potter so often referred to in the diary was curate of Winwick and his burial is thus entered in the Winwick registers: '1671 Nov. 12 buried Mr. Thomas Potter, curate.'

¹¹⁹ Roger Lowe is evidently in business difficulties. The later portion of his diary contains frequent references to his unfortunate want of success as an independent shopkeeper and his determination to give up business and return to his old position as a servant.

horse 4d in ale.¹²⁰

18.—Thursday. I went to Prescot for to receive 5li 10s off John Walls for Henry Fielding, but received none. I came away by my brother's, who lived at one Travis' house near Windleshey chapel. Stayed dinner and so came home, and at the gate that enters into the further end of Town Field, coming from Dock Lane, I found a shoe with a silver clasp in the highway.

20.—Saturday. I went to Halsall to fetch home Alice Taylor, and met her at Ormskirk.

28.—Monday. I went to Warrington in company with John Potter to Winwick, who was exceedingly troubled with toothache, and James Corless in pulling it out broke it. At my coming from Warrington I went to Mr. Potter's, and John Potter was laid down, so I went to the school and Mr. Jones¹²¹ and I went to the Spring and sent for John Potter, who came. As we came home we called at Heapie's and there had a hot rye loaf and butter, and I had some sugar and nutmeg given me at Warrington. I would have a flagon burnt for John, and had.

29.—Tuesday. I went to the funeral of Thomas Leech, innkeeper.¹²²

AUGUST, 1667

2.—Tuesday. I went to Newton fair and to the race with John Potter, but stayed not long nor was not very merry.¹²³

4.—Lord's day. I went with John Jenkins to Standish church and heard Mr. Bowker preach and dined with him.

6.—Tuesday. I went with William Hasleden to Wigan to speak to Mr. Earle to marry him.

15.—Thursday. I went to Mr. Walls' in Prescot, but did not gat no moneys.

18.—Lord's day. I went to see Tom Birchall, who was sick.

27.—Tuesday. I went to Prescot again to Mr. Walls', but he was not at home.

SEPTEMBER, 1667

8.—Monday. I went to Winwick to Mrs. Potter's funeral¹²⁴ and Elizabeth

¹²⁰ The Derby chapel and vault in Ormskirk Church were constructed by Edward the third Earl of Derby. The last Stanley buried in the vault when the diarist visited Ormskirk was the seventh Earl, whose execution in Bolton in October, 1651, must have taken place within the recollection of Roger Lowe.

¹²¹ Mr. Jones was master of Winwick Grammar School and succeeded Raphe Gorse M.A. who is stated by Mr. Beamont to have left Winwick to take the headmastership of Macclesfield School in 1667. In the entry for 6th. February, 1668-9, Mr. Jones is distinctly called 'Winwick schoolmaster.' The name must be added to the list of the masters of this school solely on the evidence of the diary.

¹²² The Winwick register has this funeral on the 30th and provides also the surname 'Leigh' as a correction. Since the last 30th July in 1667 fell on a Tuesday, Lowe has probably simply entered the date wrong and got the day right.

¹²³ The confirmation to the barons of Newton of an early charter obtained in the 29th. Ed. I [1300], expressly granted three days' fairs on the eves, days and morrows of St. John ante portam Latinam [6th. May] and St. Germanus the Confessor [31st. July]. The diarist is very careless in these dates but the autumn fair which he attended was evidently held on or about the proper charter day. The later Newton fair is now held on the 11th August the result of the change of style in the last century the originally day and not the date having been almost superstitiously respected by the country people.

¹²⁴ The burial of the wife of the curate of Winwick is recorded in the Winwick registers but the date given is two days later than that of the diarist; '1667, Sept. 10 buried

Taylor rid behind me.

10.—Wednesday. I went to Warrington. John Plumpton took his leave of Ashton this day, and I parted with him at Warrington bridge very dolefully. Thomas Peake would gladly hire me.

13.—Friday. I went to Prescot to Mr. Walls'. John Hampson went with me, both about one and the same occasion, but he would not be seen.

18.—Wednesday. I went to Warrington and I promised Peake to serve him for three years for 20li.

22.—Lord's day. I went to Wigan, having no occasion, but merely to put off a troubled mind.

23.—Monday. According to my promise I went to Warrington to meet Thomas Peake.

29.—Lord's day. I went to John Robinson's and was all night, for they lent me a horse to Chester fair. A very rugged night it was. The other morning I hasted away, and it was a very tempestuous morning, and in Warrington George Chapman gave me 2d in ale, and behind Frodsham Hammond overtook me. I got to Chester and paid the Londoners, for my intentions was to buy nothing, and I went to the castle to see a man condemned to die – a pretty young man he was and very sorry I was. I gave a man 2d in ale to let me admittance into the castle yard, and he took me up and down. The soldiers was most of them all drunk, and glad I was when I was gotten out of the gates from amongst them.

OCTOBER, 1667

1.—Tuesday. I came home, I bless God, very well, but it was a very stormy and rainy day.

28.—I quitted myself of all shop affairs in Ashton, and resigned them over to Thomas Hammond, and engaged myself in Thomas Peake's service. After I came to him I found his wife of so cross a disposition that it put me in a troubled condition, and occasioned me to write these verses following:

Into what strange region am I posted now –
So hot a climate as I know not how
To enjoy myself, much more to live in peace,
Unless Jehovah move their tongues to cease.
The Lord of Hosts, that rules in heaven high,
Look down and help Thy servant mightily;
Show me such favour as the world may know
That Thou esteemeth of Thy servant Lowe,
That such as have no reason, nor yet faith
May learn to live in peace and not in wrath.
Lord, if Thou please to show Thyself my friend
I matter not this would for to offend;
My Saviour dear, in griefs I'll come to Thee:
There's safe protection in necessity.
I live in griefs; I know not where to go;
I come to Thee, Lord; shelter Thy poor Lowe.
Deliverance, I hope, will come ere long,

Margaret, ux of Mr. Thomas Potter curate.' 8th September in 1667 in any case fell on a Sunday and 10th on a Tuesday.

And I shall sing not long the mourner's song.
 Providence sees it good I tossed should be
 Upon the waves of worldly misery,
 And though I be thus fettered in world's grief,
 Providence will at last yield me relief.
 And this I'm sure: my faults have caused this;
 Require then not – God doth nothing amiss.
 My soul, fret not, be patient but awhile;
 That face now frowns will ere long on thee smile
 And though He suffer thee in Kedar to dwell
 Amongst such black mouths as do yawn like hell,
 Yet be assured, God will preserve thee so
 They may thee scare, they shall not hurt poor Lowe.
 Trust then in God – He'll comfort thee in trouble
 And answer all thy griefs with care joys double.
 Wait on the Lord, live upright in God's way;
 He'll rescue out of grief's, He'll not long stay.
 Take patiently the world's affronts – for why?
 Because it loves its own, none will deny;
 Approve thyself a stranger to the world's friends,
 For heaven at last to such will make amends.

I had made a piece of promise to stay three years with Mr. Peake, but I found his wife of such pestilential nature that I was weary in a few weeks. In December it pleased God sorely to visit me with a sad affliction, and long for the space of nine weeks, after which it pleased God to recover me, and I went again to Mr. Peake's, after many invitations; in which time I sent to Emm my designs and thoughts, enclosed in letters, and in short time made a conclusion of my overtired thoughts, and upon the 23 March 1668, we consummated our grand design of marriage at Warrington, done by Mr. Ward, minister of Warrington, at my cousin Beckinson's house. William Eccleston was my good friend. I brought Emm to Newton, and she was turned off from her sister and knew not where to lodge all night. It was her pleasure I should turn back again to Warrington, which I did with William Eccleston and Henry Higginbotham, who accompanied us to Newton.¹²⁵

[The diary breaks off here]

FEBRUARY, 1669

1.—Monday. I did nothing, but stayed at home, but was angered in my mind at Martha Knowles, who had undermined me and gotten a book out of my hands.

2.—Tuesday. I went with Thomas Harrison to Halsall to seal 2 indentures betwixt Thomas Harrison and Thomas Neale, his apprentice. I went before Thomas, and at Ormskirk I stayed on him. We stayed till Thursday and so came home.

¹²⁵ The above entry confirms the supposition that the master to whom the diarist was apprenticed was Thomas Hammond de Westleigh. Roger Lowe records that the business was the one he originally managed for his master and which the latter turned over to him. The business not prospering it is evident that the diarist resigned it back to his master and returned to service as a shopman.

6.—Saturday. William Eccleston came into town and he gave me a quart of ale and enjoined me to go the Lord's day following to Broad Oak and give Mr. Harris' daughter a note. This day Mr. Jones, Winwick schoolmaster, sent for me to come to Winwick upon Monday following, for his patron, Mr. Leigh, would come and he would make a speech.¹²⁶

7.—Lord's day. I went to Broad Oak. Mr. Gregg preached out 2 Philip. 9, 10.

8.—I went to Winwick and heard Mr. Jones make his speech to Mr. Leigh. I went to Hall Winwick and dined there. After I came with Mr. Watt to the Clarke's house, and cousin Potter had given Mr. Watt 1d to spend and I laid another 2d to it, and when that was drunk I parted.

9.—Tuesday. Richard Orme came to Ashton, and I was with John Potter and him late in alehouse – which the Lord forgive.

10.—Wednesday. I went to Nicholas Croft's to get in a debt, but gat nothing.

11.—Thursday. I went to Seneley Green to get a debt owing me by Mr. Gerard, schoolmaster. At my return home I met with Mr. James Woods coming out of his uncle's, Raphe Lowe's, so he asked me to go with them to the alehouse, and I went with them to Tom Hasleden's and Mr. Woods was hearty and healthful. I spent 2d.¹²⁷

5.—Lord's day. I received some piece of disgrace in the chapel from Mr. Atkinson by reason I did not with others stand up at the reading of the Gospel, but as to the public it was little noted. But I took it heinously in my own thoughts by reason I had bespoke my thoughts to him before: that I could not conform to any such forms, but at after evening prayer I went to him at Ellen Ashton's and I told him my mind to the full: that standing at Gospel, with other ceremonies now in use, was a mere Romish foppery and I should never do it, but sith I could not come to the public ordinances without public disturbance for a ceremonial failing, I should thenceforward betake myself to such receptacles where I could, to my poor ability, serve God without disturbance. Raphe Winstanley, Atkinson's disciple of the black tribe of Gad, came in and spoke his venom in a very arrogant manner, but I fly to God for refuge.¹²⁸

16.—Monday. I went to Edge Green to get some money owing to me by Nicholas Cronker, but got none. Called at Thomas Whittle's, took a pipe of tobacco, and then went and bought off cooper some ash wood to be two

¹²⁶ Mr. Jones's patron 'Mr. Leigh' was Piers Legh Esq. of Lymm. Winwick Grammar School was founded about 1553 by Gowther Legh, son of Sir Peter Legh, knight and priest whose monumental brass is still to be seen in Winwick Church. Sir Peter Legh, knight, grand nephew of Gowther, built the schoolhouse in 1618.

¹²⁷ A whole page of the diary is left blank here.

¹²⁸ 'J.E.B.' says in the *Manchester Courier* notes that 'the piece of disgrace' which Roger received at Ashton chapel for not standing up at the reading of the Gospel perhaps took the form of a public reproof from the minister, Mr. Atkinson. Roger had stated his view of the matter. There appears to be no rubric in the Prayer Book urging a standing posture, but it was named in the Scotch Prayer Book. The custom was however already established in the time of Chrysostom; and it was adopted in England. [See Campion and Beamont's *Interleaved Prayer Book*, pp. 83, 85]. Bp. Buckeridge in a sermon 1618 has the remark that it was the customary to stand at the Creed and reading of the Gospel and to sit at the reading of the Psalms and Chapters. The matter before the Civil War formed a subject of enquiry in the Bishop's Visitations one of Bishop William's questions being whether the Minister 'called upon' the people to stand at any other time than at the Creed and Gospel. On the other hand in the London Petition against Bishops 1640 standing up at Gloria Patri, and at the reading of the Gospel was enumerated among some of the Bishop's innovations; and Prynne made the same complaint in regard to Hereford Cathedral.

chairs, and brought a piece home with me.

18.—Wednesday. Emm and I went to Warrington and bought some odd things and came home, and was in night. It was a very stormy night. John Lowe, blacksmith, let her ride behind him.

25.—Thursday. I went to Winwick to the funeral of Dick Landers. Mr. Potter preached out of 10 Job, 20 verse.

MARCH, 1669

1.—Monday. I went to John Lowe's smithy to get some odd things made and I went to old John Robinson to bespeak John Marsh's thoughts to widow Jackson, old John's daughter, being desired by John Marsh, and she consented he should come Thursday come sevenight after.

7.—Lord's day. I went to my cousin Robert Rosbotham and heard Mr. Baldwin preach out 8 Romans, 25, 26 verses.

11.—Thursday. Honest Mr. Hayhurst came to town to see me and I was glad to see him.

14.—Lord's day. I went to Leigh to bid a farewell to poor Mr. Bradley Hayhurst¹²⁹. Mr. Lever preached out 14 Pro., 9 verse. At my coming home I called on my sister Katherin and advised her for her good to bethink herself and live godly, considering she had but a short time to live here, but she was highly offended, so I came home, being late in the night.

18.—Friday. I went to the funeral of Ellen Potter, daughter to Thomas Potter, and was interred at Winwick¹³⁰. As we came into Winwick churchyard, Captain Risley's¹³¹ soldiers ware in training, and when we were at prayers in the church upon the funeral's occasion, the soldiers discharged their muskets three times.

20.—Saturday. I went to Winwick school to get Mr. Jones to pay me 30s, but I got none. This evening old Thomas Harrison was come over and I spent 2d.

21.—Lord's day. I went for Liverpool, was all night at my brother's, and the next day went forward to Liverpool. Paid Mr. Johnson 5li I owed him. 22 day.—Came home.

27.—Saturday. I went to Leigh. Bought of my Master 9 yards and a ½ of Kersey¹³² for a suit of clothes for myself.

¹²⁹ Of Mr. Bradley [or Braydley as he often writes himself] Hayhurst's early life much is not known. He was Presbyterian minister of Leigh Parish Church during the Commonwealth. His name as 'preacher of the word' at Leigh is suscribed to the 'Harmonious Consent' of the Ministers of Lancashire. After his ejection after the Act of Uniformity he was presented to Taxal Church in Cheshire [on the borders of Derbyshire], by Edmund and Reginald Downes where however he appears to have remained for about two years only. We next meet with him for about 1670 when he was presented to Macclesfield Church and it is probable that on his taking of this living that Roger Lowe records his leave taking in Ashton in March 1669. He remained in Macclesfield for 10 to 12 years and is said to have died in 1682-3 but there is no entry of his burial in the Macclesfield registers. His connection with Macclesfield ceased and he may possibly have died at or near Ashton or Winwick.

¹³⁰ The Winwick register gives the date of this burial as 10th, not 18th. Neither date is in any case a Friday.

¹³¹ There were two Risleys living at the time either of whom might have been the captain John Risley, of Risley, Esquire who was buried at Winwick 19 July, 1682 and John Risley his son and heir apparent who was buried at Winwick as John son of John Risley Esq. 30th. March. 1676. The latter was the father of Captain John Risley of Risley, [born 1675 and died 1702] the last of that family.

¹³² A kind of coarse narrow woollen cloth, usually ribbed.

29.—Monday. I went to Warrington, and Mrs. Peake had said a lie on me about their debts, which occasioned some grief, but I cleared myself to her shame.

[MARCH, 1674]

12 March, 1674. I went to cousin Robert Rosbotham to Wrexham fair to seek his mare that was stolen over night, and we met with Mathew Cook, who we conjectured to be the thief, and upon our words he fled and left a stolen mare, which we secured in town and was afterwards owned.

[THE DIARY ENDS HERE.]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND PERSONS THAT ARE DEAD IN ASHTON AND BURIED AT WINWICK 1671.

IMPR. MAY, 1671

11th.—Thursday. William Watt, son of Will Watt, died of the pox. Was a child interred at Winwick.

8.—Monday. Alice, uxor Robert Worthington, died in childbed.

19.—Friday. Died John Plumpton, crook-backed, he died in the outhousing of John Jenkinson.

15.—Monday. Margaret, the daughter of James Thomason, married to Rigby of the yate in Houghton, died, and was buried at Deane.

JUNE, 1671

1.—Friday. Died Alice, the daughter of William Hasleden of Whitley Green, locksmith.

JULY, 1671

1.—Saturday evening. Died old Jane Rigby and was buried the other day at Wigan.

8.—Lord's day. Edmond the son of Adam Gaskell, lies near Dr. Clough.

AUGUST, 1671

10.—Thursday. A child Nicholas Croft's lies at Ashton chapel.

25.—Wednesday. Mary, the daughter of Lin Knowles, lies at Winwick.

23. August. A child of Henry Houghton of Haydock was nursed with ff... Lowe lies at chapel.

28.—Tuesday. A wench of James Hasleden de Gladden Hey and buried at Winwick.

SEPTEMBER, 1671

5.—Tuesday. A young women, sister to Henry Naylor, being lame, and a child of Gilbert Cookson buried at Winwick.¹³³

¹³³ Margaret Naylor. The child's burial is not recorded in the Winwick register.

OCTOBER, 1671

- 16.—Monday. A child of Dr. Clough's interred Winwick.¹³⁴
17.—Tuesday. Thomas Kellitt lies at Ashton chapel.
20.—Friday. This afternoon died Alice¹³⁵ Manchester of ... and on Saturday was buried at Winwick; about this time a child of William Hope's interred at Ashton ...

NOVEMBER, 1671

- 11.—Saturday, between the hours of 4 and 5 in the morning died Mr. Potter, vicar of Winwick.¹³⁶ He heard Thomas Gefford passing peal on his dying bed and asked who was dead, and he lived about half an hour after. He was buried on the Lord's day in the chancel at noon and his wife's coffin was bared all over and he laid top of her.
27.—Wednesday. A son of Richard Clough's interred at Winwick.

DECEMBER, 1671

- 12th.—A child of Robert Worthington that the wife died of before and it was buried at Winwick.
14.—Thursday. In the morning Adam Gaskell that lives over against Dr. Clough's hanged himself, but the reason is not yet known, only there is a common report that the inhabitants of Bitter Hoot's Estate are haunted by spirits, but the rather is to be believed is that Mr. Banks of Winstanley deprived him of his inheritance he was heir to. He was buried at Ashton chapel. A child of Edward Dusworth buried at Winwick.
15.—Friday. About 7 or 8 of the clock in the evening died Robert Pendlebury, called Marquess, and was buried on Monday the 18th day at Winwick.
19.—Tuesday. The wife of Thomas Hart died in childbed and was buried at Ashton chapel.
23.—Saturday. About the hour of 9 o'clock in the ... died John Hasleden a very old man born ... house at the mill in Golborne was ... on Sunday the 24th at Winwick.

JANUARY, 1672

- 1.—Monday. Died Thomas Littler and old ... was interred at Winwick.

FEBRUARY, 1672

- 5.—Monday. Died a child of ... he was a lad and interred ...¹³⁷
6.—Tuesday. Died old George¹³⁸ ... and was interred at ... A bastard child of Ellen C.
7.—Wednesday evening. Died old Alice Marsh, wife to old John Marsh, blindman, of Whithip Green and was interred at Winwick.

¹³⁴ Phillip, son of Jervas Clough.

¹³⁵ The Winwick register has Alice Gerard.

¹³⁶ As already mentioned in a previous note, Thomas Potter was curate of Winwick, and not the vicar.

¹³⁷ James, son of James Kenyon is likely from the Winwick register.

¹³⁸ George Shaw was buried at Winwick on 8th February 1671.

9.—Friday. A child of James Winstanley, lives at old Lowbrook's, was interred at Winwick. Also about 3 of the clock this evening died William Birchall alias Crossman. He married the younger daughter of Edward Clarke and he was interred at Winwick on Saturday the 10th of this February.

11.—Monday. Died William Darbyshire. He lived and ... out of Mr. Landers' house in Windy Bank Lane ... interred at Winwick the 12th day.

22.—Died Elizabeth, the wife of George Lowe, ... land. Was interred at Winwick.

—died Ellen, the wife of Robert Green, Legh ... of a dropsy. Was buried ... at Winwick.

MARCH, 1672

26.—Tuesday. Died a child basely gotten of the body of Katherine Shaylor and fathered upon Thomas Greenhough and was interred at chapel. It was a wench.

28.—Thursday night, about ten of the clock, died Isabel the wife of Henry Birchall of Teand brend [?]. Was interred the 29th at Winwick.

APRIL, 1672

16.—Wednesday. Died Thomas, son of John Knowles, mason, was interred at Winwick.

16.—Wednesday. In the afternoon died Ann, the wife of Robert Downall. Was interred at Winwick.

18.—Friday. Died Mary, the mother of Thomas Gerard of Hollin Hey. Was interred the 19 at Winwick.

20.—Saturday. Died Susan, the wife of Samuel Darbyshire, and was buried on Sunday the 21th of April at Holland. She came to John Darbyshire's, Samuel her husband's father's, on pleasure and was there delivered of a child and was visited with a distemper called creaze and of it died.

25.—Died William, the son of Samuel Darbyshire, was interred at Holland the Friday being 26th day. That day fortnight he was born that same day fortnight and was buried.

29.—Monday. A bastard child of Jane Crouchley's, who is now at house of correction, died and was nursed with John Howe's wife called Frims and was interred at chapel. It was a man child.

In all 43.

MAY, 1672

3.—Thursday. Died Ellen, the wife of John Robinson, was above 80 years of age. Was interred the 5th, being Saturday, at Ashton chapel.

6.—Monday. Died Humphrey Markland at Locker and was interred the other day at Winwick.

12.—Lord's day. James Abram, who was a caterer to the priests at Brynn, went and bathed in the middle dam as we go o'er the head of to Wigan, and was drowned between 2 and 3 of clock. I was by when they took him out of water, which was with thrusting a pikill into his body, and so lifted him up and dragged him to the side per Thomas Worthington.

JUNE, 1672

4.—Tuesday. In the afternoon died James Turton.

12.—Wednesday. Was killed a lad called Birchall. He was drawing coals in Lower Lane and a coal fell on his neck and so killed him. Buried at Ashton chapel.¹³⁹

25 June. Died Margaret Birchall, sister to King the shoemaker. Was interred at Winwick.

JULY, 1672

3.—Wednesday. Died Richard Ashton, auditor of coal-pit. Died about 8 of the clock in the morning. Buried at Winwick.

9th.—Tuesday. This morning, about 7 of the clock, died Mary Wallis, daughter to John Wallis, in town, to the great grief and lamentation of the neighbourhood. Was interred the day after at Winwick.

10.—Wednesday. Died from Ince Hall Mr. John Gerard, Sir William Gerard his youngest son. He was married to Mr. Gerard's daughter of Ince Hall and there died, and the day after Esqr. Gerard, his eldest brother, caused him to be fatched in the bottom of relune [?] and brought to Winwick, and he was interred in the tomb under the great stone in Sir William his chapel.¹⁴⁰

13.—Saturday. Before day died a child of John Shame's in town.

20.—Saturday evening. Died one Francis, sister to Henry France. She died from Richard Wainwright's house on Whitley Green. She was a widow to a man that formerly made glass in Pemberton and was interred at Ashton chapel.

28.—Lord's Day night. Died John Fletcher's wife¹⁴¹. Was interred the 30th at Winwick, being Tuesday.

AUGUST, 1672

3.—Saturday. Died Robert, son and heir to David Pendlebury, was interred the Lord's day after at Winwick.

16.—Friday. Died Ann Ashton, driver's wife, was interred at Wigan.

19.—Monday night, died a little child, being a wench of Mathew Chaddock's, was buried at chapel.

¹³⁹ This and other entries show that too common cause of pit accidents, that known by colliers as 'fall of dirt' was two centuries ago one of the dangers of mining in Lancashire, although little coal was then raised and the mineral wealth of the county was scarcely known of. Until the reign of Henry III, the great coal mines of Lancashire were undisturbed and their full extent was not realised until the last century, when the agency of steam was practically applied to machinery, and deep mining was rendered possible and remunerative.

¹⁴⁰ The Gerards of Brynn are an old Lancashire Roman Catholic Family, the present representative being Lord Gerard, of Garswood Hall, raised to the peerage by the present government in 1875, formerly Sir Robert Tolver Gerard, Baronet. The baronage was conferred on Sir Thomas Gerard in the 9th James I. The ancient family of the Gerards is descended from Walter Fitzother, castellan of Windsor, in the time of William the Conqueror. William, the eldest son of William Fitzother took the name from Windsor and was ancestor to the Lords of Windsor and from the younger son of William Gerard, brother of William the Gerards of Brynn are literally descended. [Baines] Several of the Gerards are buried at Winwick where the chapel on the north side of the nave of the church is the old chapel of the family.

¹⁴¹ Ann Fletcher [from the Winwick register].

SEPTEMBER, 1672

- 6.—Friday. Died Jane, the wife of Thomas Harrison. She was Lyth's goddaughter. Was interred at Winwick on Saturday.
- 14.—Saturday. Was buried at Ashton chapel a bastard wench called Crouchley.
- 29.—Lord's day. was buried at chapel a still born child of John Raphe's. October 1672.
- 15.—Tuesday. Was interred at Ashton chapel a child of Charles Gerard's.
- 21.—Monday. Died Margaret Birchall, daughter to Thomas King, was interred at chapel.

NOVEMBER, 1672

- 20.—Thursday. Died old Isabel Chaddock.
- 21.—Friday. A still-born child of Jeffrey Birchall. Another child was also born at this time who also died and were both buried. A child of Bead Bower's was buried at Ashton chapel.

DECEMBER, 1672

- 3.—Tuesday. Was buried at Winwick Thomas Houghton, bitter foot's son.
- 8.—Lord's day. Died Joyce, the wife of Henry Banks.¹⁴²
- 15.—Lord's day. John Lowe, called white knight, died.¹⁴³
- 23.—Monday. Died John Clough, the youngest son to Dr. Jarvis Clough.¹⁴⁴
- 31.—Died a wench basely begotten of the body of Ann Gerard called Buckestones.

JANUARY, 1673

- 18.—Saturday. About midnight died William Knowles, barley man,
- 21.—Monday, was buried. On which day my little John was christened.¹⁴⁵
- 21.—Monday died Josiah Maddock, a lusty young man, apprentice to Thomas Collands.

FEBRUARY, 1673

- 15.—Saturday. Died old Richard Worthington out of Park Lane, who had lived a long time in extreme pain.¹⁴⁶
- 19.—Wednesday. About midnight died old William Marsh, was interred Friday the 21st at Winwick.

MARCH, 1672

¹⁴² And was buried at Winwick.

¹⁴³ And was buried at Winwick.

¹⁴⁴ And was buried at Winwick.

¹⁴⁵ The Winwick register gives the date of John Lowe's christening as 17th, and Friday is written against the entry. Roger Lowe is described as a Grocer. The Winwick register has William Knowles' burial as having been on 20th.

¹⁴⁶ And buried at Winwick.

- 1.—Saturday. Died Elizabeth, the wife of George Allins, being his 4th wife; she died about midnight.
- 7.—Friday night. Died Captain Sorrowcold, an old cannibal that hath o'erthrown many families, but hath now arrived at his one place. Abundance of gold and silver was found under his hands.¹⁴⁷
- 9.—Lord's day. Died a child of Roger Naylor, junior, a young Papist.
- 13.—Died a daughter of John Leyland, buried at chapel.
- 17.—Monday. Died Thomas Gaskell, called Sparse. Was buried at chapel.

APRIL, 1673

- 1.—Tuesday. Died Ann Gerard, daughter to Will Gerard, at Manchester, aged 5 weeks.
- 9.—Wednesday night. Died a child of Will Crompton's.
- 12.—Saturday. Died Thomas Darbyshire, an apprentice to John Lowe, blacksmith, and son to Will Darbyshire, nailor.
27. Lord's day night. Died William Ashton of the Cross. Was buried on Tuesday after at Winwick.
- 29.—Tuesday. Was buried at chapel a child of Ned Poole's. At same time died James Lowe, lived in Lower Lane, a collier.¹⁴⁸
- From 1 May 1672 to 1 May 1673 are dead and buried within Ashton quarter in all 44.*

MAY, 1673

- 18.—Lord's day morning. Was found dead in the bed a child of Henry Lowe's, called Gib Cat [= Gilbert?].
- 25.—Lord's day. In the afternoon died Simon Marsh, was buried at Wigan.
- 29.—Died a child of Henry Chaddock's wife, begotten basely by young Slynhead, and poor Henry was cuckolded.

JUNE, 1673

- 25.—Wednesday night. Died a child of William Apston.
- 26.—A child of young John Leyland's died. This evening died the wife of Roger Hasleden, called Shortarm, was buried on the 27 being Friday at Winwick.¹⁴⁹

JULY, 1673

- 21.—Monday. Was buried at chapel a child of Raphe Fairhurst.
- 23.—Wednesday. Died a child of Nicholas Cronke's.¹⁵⁰

AUGUST, 1673

- 1.—Friday. In the morning died a child from Thomas Raphe's who was basely begotten of Elizabeth Leyland de Haydock per Thomas Barrow.

¹⁴⁷ Of the family of Sorrowcoals little is known. The burial is recorded in the Winwick register under the date of March 10th as 'Mr. John Sorrowcold.'

¹⁴⁸ This latter was buried at Winwick.

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth Hasleden [from the Winwick register].

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Cronke, son of Nicholas [from the Winwick register], was buried on 25th.

31.—Lord's day. Died William Harvey called Nuttoo. He lived with Dr. Sherlock at Winwick, but came to Ashton and there died. He was basely conceived of the body of Ellen Harvey, uxor to Roger Lowe senior, and begotten by one Marsh.

SEPTEMBER, 1673

1.—Monday A poor woman had a child died from John Chaddock's in the Flower Lane and buried it at chapel and had none to accompany her to the funeral but God and herself.

At the same time died old Marjory Warton. She was mother to Dick that is Esquire Gerard's huntsman.

OCTOBER, 1673

15.—Wednesday. Died a child of Thomas Houghton's was interred at chapel.

18.—Saturday. Was interred two children at Winwick. The one was James and the other Thomas Clough, being brethren and sons of old Thomas Clough, who was formerly Sir William Gerard's huntsman. This night about 12 o'clock died old John Robinson, was buried at chapel.

About this time was buried a child of Richard Clough's.

29. Thursday night. Died one Thomas Hope, who some weeks before his death was drinking in Joshua Naylor's and there had a quarrel with someone who was supposed gave him the blow, which proved fatal, for he never looked up, but was upon Friday the 30th October buried at chapel. A lusty young chap he was.

NOVEMBER, 1673

17.—Monday. About midnight died Margaret Orrell, widow, in the Long Lane, one that [was] well spoken of for a good neighbour, was buried on Wednesday the 19th at Winwick.

22.—Saturday night. Died Thomas Birchall called King, a shoemaker. Was buried the other day at Winwick.

DECEMBER, 1673

14.—Lord's day. Died half an hour past 12 at noon old Mr. John Launders at Winwick.¹⁵¹

JANUARY, 1674

3.—Saturday night. Died a wench of Henry Knowles, mason.

10.—Lord's day. Was buried a stillborn child of William Hasleden in town and also the like stillborn child of George Lowe de Lower Lane.

14.—Thursday. A wench of Thomas Hart's.

FEBRUARY, 1674

¹⁵¹ The Launders of Winwick, were an old local family, to which there are many entries referring in the Winwick registers. In the visitation of Lancashire, 1664-5, the marriage of Mr. Arthur Burton, of Warrington, to the daughter of Mr. John Launder, of Winwick, is mentioned.

14.—Saturday. Was buried a lad of Thomas Birchall's of the Near Heyes.¹⁵²

MARCH, 1674

7.—Lord's day. Two children of young Roger Lowe's, a twindle.

11.—Wednesday. A child of one Cowley's.

16.—Monday. Died John Naylor, son of Humphrey Naylor¹⁵³. The same day a child of Roger Lowe's, a twindle. About the same time was buried a child stillborn of Gilbert Cookson, was brought in a basket.

30.—Monday. Died uxor James Lowe de Lower Lane.¹⁵⁴

31.—Tuesday. Died Emme Darbyshire, uxor John Darbyshire. She was my Emm's midwife of little Jack. A very courteous good woman, and her death was much lamented by Emm and me.

APRIL, 1674

1.—Wednesday. Died uxor of Matthew Lowe. Her name was Margaret and she was sister to old Emm, and as Emm was going towards her grave, honest Humphrey Harrison was sent for back again and as it after proved, it was to the death of his sister.

3d.—Friday. She was buried and Humphrey occasioned her to be set down before his field gate, and there was a doleful and lamentable parting so as did affect most that were present.

This day died suddenly Raphe Croft, son to Lawrence.

12.—April. About one o'clock died Joshua Naylor.

18.—Saturday. Was buried at Wigan Robert Nelson.

19.—Lord's day. Was buried widow Dusworth's daughter. She was married towards Lostock and died a childbed. *The whole is 39.*

MAY, 1674

5.—Tuesday. Died old John Marsh, very aged and blind.¹⁵⁵

6.—Wednesday night. Died old William Darbyshire, a nailor.¹⁵⁶

7.—Thursday. There came a lad to the coal pit with a horse for coals and in looking into the Ginn pit, fell down and so was killed. It was not the Ginn pit. He was son to Thomas Arrowsmith of Lowton Common.

24.—Lord's day. Was buried at chapel old Jane Lythgoe, wife of Westleigh, and was mother to John Leyland. His wife came to tend her daughter lying in, and here died.

29.—Friday. Was buried a twindle of John Leyland's.

30.—Saturday. Thomas Calland and wife fled for debt to Ireland and the town, to assist that speedy expedition, gave them one fifteen, and when they came to Liverpool this morning, their youngest child died and like an hour after its death was buried, and they forthwith took shipping after.

31.—Lord's day. Was buried the other twindle of John Leyland's.

¹⁵² Samuel Birchall, buried at Winwick.

¹⁵³ And buried at Winwick.

¹⁵⁴ 31st March 1673-4, Margaret Lowe, widow, was buried at Winwick.

¹⁵⁵ And buried at Winwick.

¹⁵⁶ And buried at Winwick.

JUNE, 1674

- 3.—Wednesday. Was buried a bastard child of John Hasleden called Fist [?], begotten of one of Throp's daughters.
21.—Lord's day. Was interred at chapel a daughter of William Gerard's.
30.—Tuesday. Died Thomas Greenhough, son of John Greenhough in the Park Lane. A lusty, fresh young man.¹⁵⁷
13.—Monday. Was interred a little child of John Hurst's.

AUGUST, 1674

- 7.—Friday night. Being our wakes, a child of John Turton's.
8.—Saturday. In the afternoon, Elizabeth Hey, daughter to Thomas Hey de Lilly Lane, in the pit in the backside of the house was drowned.
12.—Wednesday. Was interred at chapel Crofts Cubb, an old woman, so called for her right name I know not.
29.—Saturday. Was interred a child new born of John Rapheson, who lived an hour and a half after birth and then died.

SEPTEMBER, 1674

- 5.—Saturday. Was interred a boy of John Leyland's. Death took him in his foot. He was buried at chapel.
7.—Monday. Died William Cox. He was a collier and a very honest man.
26.—Saturday. Died Ann Kerrison of the Town Heath, and who had many winters, there habitated her only self and was very frequent in her discourses with her cattle, as beasts, dogs and cats.
29.—Tuesday. Died George Kellitt. He was apprentice to Thomas Whittle on Edge Green.

OCTOBER, 1674

- 10.—Saturday. Was interred Ann Davies, sister to old Littler's wife.¹⁵⁸

NOVEMBER, 1674

- 1.—Lord's day. Died Ellen Coupe and gave all her goods to John Hunt, gardener at Garswood, all short of expectations.¹⁵⁹
14.—Saturday. Died Nicholas Croft, a webster that worked with Thomas Whittle, and was buried this evening.
25.—Tuesday. Was interred a child of John Lowe's called Prime. It was his eldest daughter.

DECEMBER, 1674

- 6.—Lord's day. Died old Jane Whittle¹⁶⁰, mother to Thomas Whittle de Edge Green. It's reported that the Spode playing upon Edge Green, she had a mind to sit in a chair to hear him play and Alice Shaw dance not many weeks before her death. And she was 84 years of age, and upwards.

¹⁵⁷ And buried at Winwick.

¹⁵⁸ And buried at Winwick.

¹⁵⁹ And buried at Winwick.

¹⁶⁰ And buried at Winwick.

JANUARY, 1675

6.—Wednesday. Being twelfth day in Christmas died the wife of Roger Hasleden in the Park Lane.¹⁶¹

7.—Thursday. Died a child of Thomas Summe's, was buried at chapel.

13.—Tuesday. Died a child of John Lowe's called Frime.

22.—Tuesday. Died Rachel Lyon¹⁶² at Bispham Hall, who was the housekeeper there, and it was reported that she left Mr. Bispham all she had was 120li. A very proud young woman she was, as I myself can witness, for being in Holland church one Lord's day at the funeral of Samuel Darbyshire's wife¹⁶³, I sat in the pew with her. She could not sit without derision of a poor old man that sat with us and laughed so heartily as I judged little devotion in her.

24.—Lord's day. Died a man that lived on Houghton Hillock, called Bitter Foot: a strip-hedge, an arrant thief, and had sometimes been stocked, and was supposed walked up and down doing acts of thievery, especially stripping hedges¹⁶⁴, and would have come to his son in law's Dick a Birchall and there have drunken away his reason in six penny flagon of those stolen goods, and so hoped Mall Dixon round he came to be buried as they ware taking Rachel Lyon from the horse litter bottom to the bier. On this same day was drowned in the Brynn dam a lad of [Edward?] Kitts'. There was Robert Naylor and one Walkden and this lad, noted all three for wicked lads, and went into an old boat that there remained since James Abram was there drowned upon a Lord's day too, and as was supposed the gogling of the boat put them in fear so much that the two lads leapt out and the boat being overwhelmed. He stretched out his hand for assistance, cried help to this Robert Naylor, who is son to Henry Naylor in the Long Lane, but he was not able to pull him out. He sunk and was not found till Tuesday in the afternoon.

FEBRUARY, 1675

6.—Saturday. We had news per Preston post that Thomas Rosbotham, eldest son to Elizabeth Kenyon, was drowned at Wyre water and he had been in Ireland certain years and was now come home because employment failed, and stayed with his mother some months and wanted a place. At last he was proffered to Daniel Chaddock in Preston and was occupied in his service, as in riding about for the preferment of his sale in wines. At this prfam [?] he was occupied in getting wines to shore at Wyre or in seeing it arrived, but he was drowned and 3 more. He swam the longest of them all and was buried at Pooton.

9.—Tuesday. Was buried a child that died from Roger Lowe, junior, a poor orphan and the constable being John Clough charged people to go to the funeral. It was covered in some poor linen, but it was brought to the grave without any covering as a very ghostly sight. It was supposed to be born in or about Standish.

¹⁶¹ Ellen Hasleden was buried at Winwick the next day.

¹⁶² And buried at Winwick.

¹⁶³ This was Susan Darbyshire, buried at Upholland on Sunday, 21st April 1672. Samuel Darbyshire was to bury his son William also, just over three weeks later.

¹⁶⁴ Washed clothes were draped over hedges and left to dry. 'Bitter Foot' is an opportunistic petty thief of unattended clothing.

- 26.—Friday. Was buried old Roger Hasleden, called Short Arm.
27.—Saturday. Was buried old Peter Birchall's wife of Edge Green.

MARCH, 1675

- 6.—Saturday. Died Thomas Ashton out of Long Lane.¹⁶⁵
23.—Tuesday. Was buried at Winwick Thomas Lyon, a young man owned Crumbery Lee in the Park Lane, and was involved in such debts as his land was supposed would not redeem and had nothing to live on but what his sister Alice in Cheshire where he died from did relieve. He was very unfortunate in his life.
24.—Wednesday Died a child of Thomas Whittle's de Edge Green.¹⁶⁶
31.—Tuesday. Died a child of John Calland's, blacksmith.

APRIL, 1675

- 3.—Saturday. Died a child of Raphe Cunley, collier.
21.—Wednesday. Was interred at chapel William, the son of Gilbert Cookson.
28.—Wednesday. Was buried at chapel a child of William Taylor, collier.
42 in all.

MAY, 1675

- 1.—Saturday. Came through the town William Bradshaw born in Newton and died at Brimscald [?] ... death and was to be. He died at his father's house in Newton and so buried at Winwick.¹⁶⁷
20.—Thursday. Cousin Robert Rosbotham had his Benjamin, the youngest, taken from him by the fateful hand of death aged about 15 months.¹⁶⁸
29.—Saturday. Died uxor John Houghton, Bawbally [= Bamfurlong?].¹⁶⁹

JUNE, 1675

- 6.—Lord's day. In the morning about sun rising died Mary Knowles, Thomas Knowles' barley man and and his eldest sister¹⁷⁰, whose death was much bewailed. A very hopeful young woman and is now without question arrived at her wished haven of rest. She writ down with her own hand the text to be preached at her funeral, which was 120 ps. 5 'Woe is me, that I sojourn in Mesech?' the consideration of which makes her the more bewailed now dead. She forethought her death in the time of her health and is now in bliss.
7.—Monday. Died Robert Leyland, blacksmith.¹⁷¹
9.—Wednesday. Was buried at chapel a child of widow Hope's.
16.—Wednesday. About half an hour past 2 of the clock this afternoon

¹⁶⁵ Son of William Ashton, and buried at Winwick.

¹⁶⁶ The child was also called Thomas, and was buried at Winwick.

¹⁶⁷ His father was Henry Bradshaw, according to the Winwick register.

¹⁶⁸ The Winwick register lists the burial of an unnamed daughter of Robert Rosbotham for the subsequent day.

¹⁶⁹ Elizabeth Houghton was buried at Winwick on 30th May 1675.

¹⁷⁰ Daughter of William Knowles, buried at Winwick on 7th June 1675.

¹⁷¹ Buried at Winwick on 8th June 1675.

died old Oliver Potter. He was a shoemaker by trade, very diligent in his calling, a constant keeper of his shop. No sooner had old age rendered him useless in his shop, but he took it so to heart as never looked up after it.¹⁷²

23.—Wednesday. Died Mr. James Sorrowcold of Eyebridge.¹⁷³

24.—Thursday. Died Richard Talbot de Park Lane.¹⁷⁴

25.—Friday. Died Alexander Potter¹⁷⁵, 3d son to cousin John Potter de Lilly Lane, who in his lifetime was never supposed to have any genius, a mere child, yet now at his death called father and mother and prayed forgiveness of his faults in cheating them of a half penny, and wished them to live in peace and that his sister Ellen would leave off swearing and so died and without question is now at rest.

JULY, 1675

11.—Lord's day. Died old Humphrey Naylor de Park Lane.¹⁷⁶

this same Lord's day Edward Dusworth his son was drowned in a pit with bathing his name was Jack.

27.—Tuesday night, died James Hasleden de Gladdin Hey Brow, locksmith. He was very deformed in body like beansheaf.¹⁷⁷

AUGUST, 1675

15.—Lord's day. Died a female child and the first born of Thomas Harrison, skinner.

18.—Wednesday. About 10 of the clock died Mr. Coe at Eyebridge. He was schoolmaster there to Mr. Sorrowcold's child and one that Mr. Sorrowcold reposed great trust in the tutoring of his son, and left him 10li per annum and his diet till his sons came of age. Physick not working till after death made him wiser [?].

About the 4th of August died a chambermaid from Garswood.

25.—Wednesday. Died Alice or Margaret Tickle. She was housekeeper at Eyebridge and so left per Mr. Sorrowcold and there died. This is the 3d that is dead from thence in a few weeks. All died in a hot fever.

30.—About 1 o'clock in the night died uxor Thomas Clough.¹⁷⁸

31.—Tuesday. Died Jane Harvey, one who too early in her prime of her years assented to lust's temptations by committing fornication with Raphe Johnson, by whom she had 3 or 4 children and was never married to him, being overcome by his too eager solicitations, which proved the impoverishment of herself and parents. Yet, notwithstanding, she kept sole from any other and only lived to carry the badge of Raphe Johnsons' concubine, that her laudableness and so the reproach justly redounds to Raphe, the too luxurious luster.

SEPTEMBER, 1675

¹⁷² Buried at Winwick on 17th June 1675.

¹⁷³ Buried at Winwick on 25th June 1675.

¹⁷⁴ Buried at Winwick on 26th June 1675.

¹⁷⁵ Buried at Winwick on 26th June 1675.

¹⁷⁶ Buried at Winwick on 12th July 1675.

¹⁷⁷ Buried at Winwick on 29th July 1675.

¹⁷⁸ Alice Clough was buried at Winwick on 1st September 1675.

12.—Lord's day. Died Izibell Whittle¹⁷⁹, sister to Thomas Whittle. A melancholy woman, always at seldom or never seen abroad either at church or market.

17.—Friday. Was interred a child of the Miller's of the Brynn.

26.—Lord's day. Died Ellen, uxor James Worthington.¹⁸⁰

OCTOBER, 1675

5.—Tuesday. About 2 of the clock this afternoon died Mr. Cuthbert Clifton, the great and profane monster of Jesuitical impiety. His abode was and had been long at Brynn & Garswood where he died.¹⁸¹

16.—Saturday. Died Mary Harper in Long Lane, daughter to James Harper.¹⁸²

19.—Tuesday. On Wigan Fair day died Henry Kenyon of the hole. He hath an estate in Lower Lane.¹⁸³

NOVEMBER, 1675

Elezebeth Naylor, mother to Thomas Naylor de Gladdin Hey, died this day.¹⁸⁴

22.—Tuesday. Was interred at chapel old Gabriel, wife of a poor woman that had received 4s per month out of Town Leigh [? leye].

DECEMBER, 1675

7.—Tuesday. Died Katherine, the wife of James Hasleden, locksmith, de Seneley Green, who died unexpectedly and suddenly though old, yet well and dead in one day.

16.—Thursday. Died old Thomas Leech of the coalpits.¹⁸⁵

29.—Wednesday night. Died James Darbyshire¹⁸⁶, who was brought and lived a protestant, and had married Dick Ashton's widow, auditor of Loud's coal pit, who was a papist, till now she married him. All the while he was a husband he was, as I may say, metamorphosed: to wit, he was before it pleased God to visit him with sickness and then she turned her religion and was a means in his languishment to turn him, which he did and so died.

A very sad story, if rightly understood, for young men to be careful both whom and where they marry.

[Note here: – John Leyland his book. 1728.]

JANUARY, 1676

3.—Monday. Died Richard Marsh¹⁸⁷. He worked with cousin Robert at

¹⁷⁹ Sisley Whittell junior was buried at Winwick on 13th September 1675.

¹⁸⁰ Buried at Winwick on 27th September 1675.

¹⁸¹ Buried at Winwick on 6th October 1675.

¹⁸² On 17th October 1675, Mary Harrison, daughter of James Harrison, was buried at Winwick.

¹⁸³ Buried at Winwick on 20th October 1675.

¹⁸⁴ And wife of James Naylor. She was buried at Winwick on 22nd November 1675.

¹⁸⁵ Buried at Winwick on 17th December 1675.

¹⁸⁶ Buried at Winwick on 31st December 1675.

¹⁸⁷ Buried at Winwick on 4th March 1675-6.

the whitesmith's trade.

6.—Thursday night. About 6 of the clock died John Darbyshire, father to the aforesaid James, who expressed before his death that sons being perverted by papists had burst his heart.

21.—Friday night. About 6 o'clock a lad of Roger Naylor's, maltman, died.¹⁸⁸

FEBRUARY, 1676

4.—Friday. News was brought to this town per Henry Percy's man that Thomas Jenkins, second son to John Jenkins, landed man, was dead at Sturbridge, who was invited thither per his elder brother, which brother thither for fornication.

6.—Lord's day. Margaret, the wife of David Pendlebury de Lowbank, was delivered of two twindles and the one died and was buried at chapel.

About 17 or 17th day died a child of Henry Wright's.

MARCH, 1676

3.—Friday. About 5 o'clock in the morning died that mirror of providence & house keeper Alice, wife of Peter Leyland.¹⁸⁹

Also about the same time departed that monster of extravagancy & gluttony, Margaret Greenhough¹⁹⁰. This day notice is given that young Slynehead who had committed folly with Chaddock's wife de Sendeley Green in Chaddock's absence was dead at Sturbridge.

6.—Monday morning. Died uxor of Henry Wright de Long Lane.¹⁹¹

And old Katherin Edleston¹⁹², mother to Laurence de Cro... She was well on Saturday.

10.—Friday. Died a girl of Mathew Chaddock in the Town.

28.—Tuesday. In Easter week died Henry Hart [civil to all men]. If any thing intemperate or immodestly was as to the first to himself as to the 2dy in his superfluous talk, but ever of a generous disposition & of the vulge well beloved. My lad John went to his funeral, his uncle Thomas Harrison carry him to the bells & up steeple & the night after he dreamed of a long steeple. This was the first time he was at Winwick or at a burial.

APRIL, 1676

8.—Saturday. Mr. Peter Bradshaw, the popish priest at Brynn Hall, was this day interred at Wigan. He was uncle to Sir Roger Bradshaw of Hay.

12.—Wednesday. Was married James Lowe to Katherin Seddon of Ince.¹⁹³

18.—Tuesday. Slept in Jesus that incomparable practitioner of Christianity, cousin Robert Rosbotham¹⁹⁴, who lived desired of all and died lamented of all. Very useful in this place, a loving & dear husband, a tender hailed father, a right good neighbour, and a very pious Christian

¹⁸⁸ William Naylor was buried at Winwick on 24th January 1675-6.

¹⁸⁹ Buried at Winwick on 4th March 1675-6.

¹⁹⁰ Buried at Winwick on 4th March 1675-6.

¹⁹¹ Elizabeth Wright was buried at Winwick on 8th March 1675-6.

¹⁹² Buried at Winwick on 9th March 1675-6.

¹⁹³ At Winwick by licence.

¹⁹⁴ Buried at Winwick on 20 April 1676.

one, who lived justly to his neighbour, soberly to himself, piously to God, so that if a man would take Compendium, or deliver it upon sacred scripture to show which a one a Christian ought to be [this only unparalleled man's life was, or held out the whole volume of sacred writ] the like parallel I do not know in all the world. A first table & a second table Christian not one in profession & another in conversation, but as was his profession, so was his practice: holy, just, and gracious in all his proceedings, so that if a man would to the life study what a one a Christian ought to be in a Gospel, since he needed not to repair scarcely anywhere else but to the life of this eminent saint, this holy man St. Robert – now departed, but the only wise God thought the earth not worthy such a jewel should long sojourn here. And as if the seraphims & blessed saints above were restless till the holy man were invested with themselves in glory on purpose to make their heavenly melody more harmonious, the same God called him to his rest to the participation of His heavenly joys about two of the clock this same Tuesday, which day he had called God's people together for humiliation, & that God appointed for his day of exaltation, his fight being fought, his warfare accomplished, because he had kept the faith and now hath received the crown at his age of 46. He had in diverse things the serpent's wisdom with the sweet mixture of the dove's innocence. He was a right Abraham in his household government & amidst differences, a right Joshua for courage & for uprightness & faith, a very David whose faith was builded on the promises, a sincere Hezekiah and indeed a true hearted Nathaniel in whom was no guile, & for that Christian grace of self-denial, his ordinary course & practice was rather to injure himself than commit a sin or lie to get gain, as proved in those suits he had with Rothwell though the Lord helped him out of all & gave such a testimony of His liking that he prospered in all his desires.

[*Since 1 May 1675 to May 1676 died 44.*]

MAY, 1676

- 3.—Wednesday. Was interred at chapel a poor woman's child.
 7.—Monday. Died old Littler's wife de Seneley Green.¹⁹⁵
 16.—Whitsunday Tuesday. Died Nicholas Houghton's wife.¹⁹⁶
 18.—Thursday. Died John Lowe de Dam End.¹⁹⁷
 19.—Friday. A son of Edward Houghton's.¹⁹⁸
 22.—Monday. Was interred at Standish Mr. John Booth, my loving friend. A very fat man, he had been at Dean's Court at Chorley & got a fall which proved his death.
 24.—Notice was come that Barker that married Peg Widows was dead in Ireland – not dead.
 28.—Lord's day. Was interred uxor Will Withington de Park Lane.¹⁹⁹

JUNE, 1676

- 9.—Friday. This morning died Margaret Winterbothom and Thomas

¹⁹⁵ Elizabeth Littler, buried at Winwick on 9th May 1676.

¹⁹⁶ Alice Houghton, buried at Winwick on 16th May 1676.

¹⁹⁷ John, son of Raphe Lowe, was buried at Winwick on 16th May 1676.

¹⁹⁸ John Houghton was buried at Winwick on 20th May 1676.

¹⁹⁹ Elizabeth Withington was buried at Winwick on 28th May 1676.

Knowles, barleyman.²⁰⁰ I went with him about February into Coppull beyond Standish to view a young woman and, staying over late and coming home in the night, we saw in the field next beyond Brynn dam an apparition. He saw it first & then I: in likeness to a coffin upright and moving at first towards us then forward us in the same way we went, and at bridge went down & vanished, but we were both frightened.

17.—Saturday. Thomas Shaw²⁰¹, one that worked in Mr. Jameson's marl pit, was well & dead in one hour's time. It is supposed he was sweleted [?].

20.—Tuesday. A child new born of Thomas Fox's.

28.—Tuesday. Died uxor John Hasleden de Gladdin Hey.²⁰²

29.—Wednesday. Died uxor Lawrence Croft de Town.

JULY, 1676

12.—Wednesday. About noon died old Thomas Lee de Whitley Green, never married.

29.—Wednesday. Died James Harris, a young man.²⁰³

18.—Tuesday. Thomas Birchall, had one eye, was speechless a week.

20.—Thursday. A child of Esqr. Gerard.²⁰⁴

AUGUST, 1676

1.—Monday night. Died Emme Lowe de Seneley Green, a fresh, lusty young woman.

2.—Tuesday. This morning was found dead in bed old Cardman als Richardson. The two relieved him [?]. A nasty though a sad spectacle to behold during his weakness.

SEPTEMBER, 1676

28.—Thursday. Was interred a young born child of Henry Hart.

OCTOBER, 1676

24.—Tuesday. Was interred the wife of John Strange, formerly the wife of David Pendlebury, whitesmith.

30th.—Monday. Died Nicholas Cronke of Edge Green.²⁰⁵

NOVEMBER, 1676

2.—Thursday. Being our Court day was buried one Bett Morris.

6.—Monday. Died that sycophant Edward Stockley, whose policy and natural endowments tended to the subversion of the poor tenants, being steward at Garswood & is now dead & hath received the reward of his deserts like a dissembling knave as he was.

²⁰⁰ Both were buried at Winwick on 10th June 1676. The Winwick register notes that Thomas was son of William Knowles.

²⁰¹ Thomas Shaw of Abram was buried at Winwick on 18th June 1676.

²⁰² Katherine Hasleden was buried at Winwick on 28th June 1676.

²⁰³ James Harris was buried at Winwick on 20th July 1676.

²⁰⁴ Winifride, daughter of William Gerard, was buried at Winwick on 20th July 1676.

²⁰⁵ Buried at Winwick on 31st October 1676.

20.—Monday night. Between the hours of 12 and 1 of the clock departed this life Madam Gerard, Esq. Gerard's wife, who was sister to Sir Thomas Preston. A very charitable woman.²⁰⁶

26.—Lord's day. Elizabeth Pendlebury, mother to David, went on this day to enquire after a brother in Billinge, was conceived to be concerned in drink, came late to Thomas Simm's and, by reason of the darkness of the night and most through advice of Dick Pemberton, went to Thomas Hasleden's, who lived on Seneley Green, & that barbarous base woman refused to rise to let her in, & so she made homewards and between Thomas Stang's and Thomas Leech's in Lane went into a ditch – a deep one – and was sudlin dabled and with foundering to get the skin of her arms was ... off & there remained till 4 o'clock the other morning, and 2 lads coming to their work found her state a copp betwixt Thomas Leech's & the lane that leads to John Clarke's house. Upon information thereof to Lawrence Pendlebury, who got assistance & brought her home, & in half an hour after she came to the fire she died. An excellent woman for hospitality.

29.—Wednesday. Was interred a daughter of Robert Greenough's, who was dead & well at an instant.

DECEMBER, 1676

1.—Friday. A daughter of William Darbyshire's.

7.—Thursday. Died uxor John Greenough de Park Lane.²⁰⁷

24.—John Jenkinson, landed man, came from Sturbridge and brought the news of young Swinehead who was interred Thursday sevenight before.

27.—Wednesday. Died Dammeris Naylor.²⁰⁸

JANUARY, 1677

13.—Saturday night. James, the eldest son of Lawrence Edleston²⁰⁹, died of a pain in his knee. It was supposed to be the evil. A very courteous and hopeful young man, & without controversy is now in heaven.

23.—Thursday Was brought to bed John Shaw's wife & had a wench still born.

At this time a child of John Wooten.

22.—Monday. Was dead William, the first born of James Lowe de Town, about 4 days old.²¹⁰

25.—Thursday. Was interred at chapel Susan, the wife of Robert Taylor.

FEBRUARY, 1677

8.—Thursday. About the hours of 9 & 10 of the clock in the evening died Elin Rigby, one who had been in great extremity a good while and had lived to see the death of her husband and children. She was sadly afflicted with the evil in so much as Thomas Harrison her elbow bone took out, being rot from the rest.

²⁰⁶ Ann Gerard was buried at Winwick on 23rd November 1676.

²⁰⁷ 'Mary Grinnoe' [= Mary Greenhough] was buried at Winwick on 8th December 1676.

²⁰⁸ Damaris Naylor was buried at Winwick on 29th December 1676.

²⁰⁹ The Winwick register has this as Jane, daughter of Lawrence Edlestone, buried at Winwick on 15th January 1677.

²¹⁰ Buried at Winwick on 23rd January 1676-7.

26.—Monday. Died Raphe Lowe Dams End. An honest poor man.²¹¹

MARCH, 1677

5.—Monday. This morning was found dead Ellen Lowe of the Town Green, a harmless quiet neighbour.

7.—Wednesday. Was buried old Dill a [= Delilah?] Leyland & Beadlom's son's child had by Morris' daughter.

18.—Lord's day. Died prattling John Fletcher de Lower Lane²¹². He was observed to be a very proud man both in gate and apparel and one that gloried in his own discourse.

APRIL, 1677

6.—Friday. Was interred Joseph, the son of Jeffery Birchall. He was leprous, about 2 years of age, and he grew from the middle upward. Had a head as big as 3.

16.—Monday. Was interred a child of James Byrom's.

20.—Friday. Died my good friend Peter Lowe de Edge Green, and also a child of David Pendlebury's²¹³. This evening died an old woman called Maggie Calland. All these were buried on Saturday, the first being Peter Lowe,²¹⁴ having a colt that had been cut & with farcie & cutting was so low as was not able to go out of the house, and yet the night before its death got out of the housing and walked up & down in the Lane itself. [They] conceived this to be an omen or a presage of Peter's death, as it behoved afterwards and the death of the colt was some trouble to Peter on his death bed.

21.—Saturday. Died David Pendlebury a little before sunsetting when we were home from his child's funeral. It was supposed that drinking hurt him.²¹⁵

25.—Friday. Died Thomas Gerard de Hollin Hey²¹⁶. On the Monday before he was on horseback in tending to the funeral of David Pendlebury, but sickness at that juncture surprised him, and he was constrained to retreat. He was a man of a sober temperament and very solid judicious nature, and a very useful man in the affairs of the town. All his failance that ever I could discern was he was a little too curious in pricing too high above the stars of an astronomical nature foretelling future events, but in the close of his days I think he was much reformed and I think he was a good man, though he did busy himself too much in the planetary orb and starry constellation, but whiles he kept amongst us in this world out of the planets below the torrid zone, he was a good neighbour and would have argued very well. Just in his dealings and in all respects very well accomplished with good moral parts – *in all* 48.

MAY, 1677

26.—Saturday. Mrs. Jane Langton died. Was well at 6 o'clock in the

²¹¹ Buried at Winwick on 27th February 1676-7.

²¹² Buried at Winwick on 19th March 1676-7.

²¹³ David Pendlebury was buried at Winwick on 23rd April 1677.

²¹⁴ Buried at Winwick on 21st April 1677.

²¹⁵ Buried at Winwick on 23rd April 1677.

²¹⁶ Buried at Winwick on 28th April 1677.

evening & dead ... She was sadly possessed of Satan in a corporal sense as it was expressed that Satan would speak to her & she to him.

28.—Monday. Was interred Roger Lowe junior de Pennybrook.

JUNE, 1677

6.—Thursday. Ellen, the widow of Thomas Keighley, came to live in the house where James Langton died out of, and the day after she came she died. They lived & died on Edge Green at Crocks.²¹⁷

16.—Saturday. Died Ellen, uxor Bawin Atherton, and on this day was buried Mrs. Moss' mother.

JULY, 1677

6.—Friday. About day died John Ashton²¹⁸ of the Cross. He lived and died from Raphe Hasleden's house of the Dock Lane. Left 7 children behind him and from his own estate was newly elected overseer of the highway, and in that office died. He was a meek, quiet-natured man & a good neighbour.

14.—Saturday. Was interred 2 newborn twindles of James Chaddock's of Whitley Green.

28.—Peter Hart.²¹⁹

AUGUST, 1677

1.—Wednesday. Was interred Thomas Leyland, Robert's son.

17.—Friday. A little wench of Raphe Fairhurst.

SEPTEMBER, 1677

1.—Saturday. A child of Richard Birchall's that.

12.—Wednesday. Was well & dead at an instant Peter Aspinall.

21.—A child of Henry Raphenson was interred at chapel.

OCTOBER, 1677

19.—Friday a still born child of John Rapheson.

23.—Tuesday. A child of John Gooding's. This same day before 6 of the clock in the evening departed Robert Naylor of the Long Lane²²⁰, who hath remained in a languishing state as in the conceived ever since little Kitt's drowning in the mill dam, he being in the company.

24.—Wednesday night. Died William Hasleden junior²²¹, whose greatest fault was to be too observant of his father's commandments [which] were two: [1] do no good, do not communicate thy goods to beggars [the] world is full [of them] and the [2] was: trust thee nobody, lending nothing, all the world is knaves. And by this may be guessed what a useless man he was at his age, either to the neighbour or to the poor, a man that lived secure, would neither borrow nor lend, nor in no respect upon no account

²¹⁷ Buried at Winwick on 9th June 1677.

²¹⁸ Buried at Winwick on 7th July 1677.

²¹⁹ Buried at Winwick on the same day.

²²⁰ Buried at Winwick on 24th October 1677, son of Henry Naylor.

²²¹ Buried at Winwick on 26th October 1677.

would accommodate any neighbour with the least good, however necessity for any one in his general conversation to conceit the world patched up of nothing but beggars and knaves in a great piece policy to retain what a man hath, but a disgrace to Christianity, for as the former keeps him from charity, so the other keeps him in distrust not to do good or to be a public instrument for good in the place he lives in, when the necessity of one's neighbour calls for it, denotes a man worsen in some feases than heathens.

31.—Wednesday. Died old William Hasleden²²². He rid to Winwick Friday before to his son's interment. Worldly-minded caitiff he was in all concerns, as may prove sufficiently by the former relation.

NOVEMBER, 1677

13.—Monday. Died a little child of Henry Lowe's de Low Bank.

22.—Thursday. Died Alice, the second wife to Bryan Sixsmith²²³. She was sister to Humphrey Carter. A careful industrious woman.

DECEMBER, 1677

8.—Saturday. Was interred Jeffrey Cookson, idiot.

15.—Saturday. Died Mary, uxor James Leyland. She was sister to John Pendlebury.²²⁴

20.—Thursday. Died old Edward Clarke, collier, de Lower Lane, an old professor.

24.—Monday night. Died Henry Birchall called 'Noser Harry'.

27.—Thursday. Died old Bryan Lowe de Lower Lane.²²⁵

27.—Died a son of Lawrence Edleston de Cross.²²⁶

31.—Monday. Died the only daughter & child of Ellen Lowe, widow, de Rummer's Field.²²⁷

JANUARY, 1678

16.—Wednesday. Died John Houghton²²⁸ about noon, a most sad terrible swearer & drinker, & the same day died Ellen Calland.²²⁹

26.—Saturday. Was interred Mr. Farrington, a priest at Brynn, that there had lived 16 years and was the housekeeper there or caterer for the priest.

FEBRUARY, 1678

1.—Friday. Died Alice Lyon, married to John Ashbrook in Helsby in Cheshire, and from thence brought to Winwick and there interred. Died of an impost.²³⁰

²²² Buried at Winwick on 2nd November 1677. William Hasleden junior was indeed buried at Winwick on 26th October, 1677, the Friday before his father.

²²³ Buried at Winwick on 23rd November 1677.

²²⁴ Buried at Winwick on 17th December 1677.

²²⁵ Buried at Winwick on 27th December 1677.

²²⁶ Thomas Edleston was buried at Winwick on 31st December 1677.

²²⁷ Elizabeth Lowe, daughter of Henry Lowe, was buried on 2nd January 1677-8.

²²⁸ Buried at Winwick on 18th January 1678.

²²⁹ Wife of Edward Callon, buried at Winwick on 17th January 1678.

²³⁰ Buried at Winwick on 4th February 1678. An 'impost' is a former term for an abscess [so she died of septicaemia].

4.—Monday. Died uxor Peter Williams from Edge Green.

MARCH, 1678

1.—Friday. Died John Rosbotham de Cross, whitesmith.²³¹

9.—Saturday. Was interred Robert Leyland's widow.

12.—Tuesday. Died Alice Harvey, had a cancer in her breast. She lived with old Dr. Clough's widow.

15.—Friday. Died Mary Lashley, a servant at Garswood.²³²

APRIL, 1678

17.—Wednesday. Was interred a child of Henry Hodgson. *in all 38.*

MAY, 1678

5.—Lord's day. Died uxor of William Crompton in childbed. She was Robert Worthington's daughter.²³³

10.—Friday. Died John Jackson, eldest son to Thomas Jackson, who had been a considerable time lame and was very impotent.

AUGUST, 1678

1.—Thursday. Died William Woorston, shoemaker. He was old Dr. Woorston's brother, an honest, poor man.²³⁴

27.—Tuesday. Died Elizabeth Knowles, & Sefton, wife.²³⁵

SEPTEMBER, 1678

1.—Lord's day night. Died Roger Hasleden de Park Lane, yeoman.²³⁶

19.—Friday. About 10 o'clock in the afternoon died old Thomas Winstanley of the Town Yate.²³⁷

29.—Lord's day. Was interred a child of Joseph Gerard.

OCTOBER, 1678

2.—Wednesday night. Died Alice, uxor John Smith.

15.—Tuesday. A child of Joseph Knowles'.

NOVEMBER, 1678

2.—Saturday. Was interred a child of George Durdom's.

5.—Tuesday. Died a child of John Cronke's.

11.—Monday. Died John Chaddock's son of Will Chaddock, Whitley Green.²³⁸

²³¹ Buried at Winwick on 2nd March 1678.

²³² Buried at Winwick on 16th March 1678.

²³³ Buried at Winwick on 6th May 1678.

²³⁴ William Worthington was buried at Winwick on 2nd August 1678.

²³⁵ Buried at Winwick on 28th August 1678.

²³⁶ Buried at Winwick on 3rd August 1678.

²³⁷ Buried at Winwick on 21st September 1678.

²³⁸ Buried at Winwick on 12th November 1678.

- 14.—Thursday. Edward Marsh went to the funeral of old John Orford de Haydock & his child was drowned in hole.²³⁹
 24.—Lord's day. A child of Raphe Fewhurst's [= Fairhurst's?].

DECEMBER, 1678

- 30.—Lord's day. A boy of Lawrence Seddon died through his mother's tabling in another house and leaving her children in her house, was sadly burnt to death.²⁴⁰

[The last portion of the obituary is a mere record of burials from 1661 to 1669 at which Roger Lowe was present. The list is interesting from the many local names and references. On the last page of the book in which the diary is writted is a list of kings of the Saxon Heptarchy evidently written out by the diarist.]

2. October 1660.—Henry Boardman died, Nell's son, a child.
 14. October 1660.—John Jenkinson, son of Mathew, buried at Farnworth.
 21. February 1660.—Was interred at St. Helens Josiah Churle.
 24. March 1660.—Died young George Bradshaw, clerk, of Leigh.
 3. July 1661.—Died Mr. Charnley, Ashton's schoolmaster.²⁴¹
 2. August 1661.—Died William Byrom of Downall Green.
 30. December 1661.—Died Dr. Richard Gerard.
 21. February 1661.—Friday night died William Crain.
 14. March 1661.—Friday about cock's crow or before died Gawther Taylor.²⁴²
 10. April Thursday 1662.—Was interred²⁴³ James Jolley, had been a courtier.
 1662. 12 April.—Was interred old Dr. Clough.²⁴⁴
 31. May 1662.—Paul Houghton falling from his harl [?] cart in Dock Lane broke his neck.²⁴⁵

JUNE, 1662

- June 12.—Thomas, the eldest son of Raphe Hasleden, died at Hugh Hindley's in Westleigh of the pox.²⁴⁶
 19. June 1662.—Died Ann, daughter of Hugh Hindley, of the pox.
 23.—Was buried Bryan Lowe's last wife.²⁴⁷

JULY, 1662

1. July 1662.—Died Elizabeth Higginson, she was sister to Roger Naylor, glazier.
 25. July 1662.—Was buried²⁴⁸ John Pendlebury, eldest of Robert

²³⁹ John Orford was buried at Winwick on 14th November 1678, Hanna Marsh on 16th.

²⁴⁰ The Winwick register has this burial on 9th December 1678.

²⁴¹ Thomas Charnley of Newton was buried at Winwick on 4th July 1661.

²⁴² Buried at Winwick on 15th March 1661.

²⁴³ At Winwick.

²⁴⁴ Jarvis Clough was buried at Winwick on 14th April 1662.

²⁴⁵ Perhaps the same as John Houghton of Haydock, buried at Winwick on 1st June 1662?

²⁴⁶ Buried at Winwick on 11th June 1662.

²⁴⁷ Jane Lowe.

²⁴⁸ At Winwick.

Pendlebury.

5. November 1662.—Peter Burscoe.

8. November.—Was buried old John Maddock de Crow Lane and Thomas Burscoe, they both being pious folks met at the further end of Newton and went to the church together.²⁴⁹

2. January 1663.—Died William Stanley²⁵⁰ from Bryan Lowe's & left his estate to Emme, uxor Peter Aspinwall; William Marsh died Whitley Green.

5. Feb. 1663.—John Chaddock, fellow apprentice, was married.

17. March 1663.—Died Margaret Hill, daughter to Ellen, uxor Mathew Raphe's.

14. May 1663.—Edward Calland of Cross was buried.²⁵¹

4. June 1663.—Old, rich Mrs. Duckenfield of Bickerstaffe was buried. She was aged.

1. August 1663.—Saturday was interred old John Tankerfield at Winwick.

29. August 1663.—Died Alice Leyland, Jarvis' sister, a good woman.

7. September, Monday 1663.—Hamblett Ashton was hanged at Chester for killing a tapster in Nantwich in Cheshire.

3. January 1663.—Old James Harris went out of the house being a dark night, & plunged into the pit & was drowned. He lived at James Birchall's near Jeand [?] barn.

14. June 1664.—A daughter of Raphe Hasleden, very young, of the Dock Lane was a suddenly dead. Her mother had laid rotten meat for mice & the girl had received it through her mother's carelessness in laying it.

11. July 1664.—Was buried²⁵² Thomas Taylor de Sankey. He was Gawthers Taylor's brother.

22. August 1664.—Lucy, the wife of the aforesaid named Thomas Taylor, was buried²⁵³. They were both buried on a Sunday & left great riches, no man knew how.

10. September 1664.—Was buried old Asmull of Seneley Green, Dick's father.

16. September 1664.—Died Richard Boardman.²⁵⁴

2. October 1664.—Was buried²⁵⁵ old John Jenkins, the flower of that generation.

13. December 1664.—Was buried Henry, the eldest son of William Ashton de Whitley Green.²⁵⁶

2. January 1664.—Was buried²⁵⁷ Jane Potter, cousin John's daughter.

9. January 1664.—My brother William's son called Raphe was buried at St. Helens chapel.

7. February 1664.—Tuesday. Was buried Joseph Naylor de Edge Green.²⁵⁸

9. February. 1664.—Thursday. Was buried²⁵⁹ Mr. Thomas Blackburn of Blackley Hurst.

²⁴⁹ Both buried at Winwick.

²⁵⁰ Buried at Winwick on 3rd January 1662-3.

²⁵¹ The Winwick register gives the surname as Callon.

²⁵² At Winwick.

²⁵³ At Winwick.

²⁵⁴ Buried at Winwick on 17th September 1664.

²⁵⁵ At Winwick.

²⁵⁶ Buried at Winwick on 18th December 1664.

²⁵⁷ At Winwick.

²⁵⁸ The Winwick register describes him as 'a child of John Naylor'.

²⁵⁹ At Winwick.

3. April 1665.—Mr. Henry Banister was drawn on a litter dead through this town, being slain by Colket at Sir Philip Edgerton at a race on Forest of De la Mare.
3. April 1665.—Died Ann Johnson, Thomas Jenkins' wife's sister, was buried at Standish.
11. April 1665.—Was interred Grace Gerard at Manchester, a young woman, unmarried.
31. June 1665.—Was interred Mrs. Mary Rosthorne, mother to Mr. Atherton of Atherton and Bewsey.
14. August 1665.—Was interred a female child of Joshua Naylor's.
19. January 1665.—Was interred old Mrs. Birch, her husband was a reader & schoolmaster at Ashton.²⁶⁰
5. February 1665.—Died my sister Ellen in childbed.
25. March 1666.—Was interred old Allin's wife, George Allin's mother.²⁶¹
- 30 March 1666.—A son of Raphe Lowe of the Dane end in Downall Green, was apprentice with John Clough, came from his master's house to his father's, and hanged himself.
8. June 1666.—Was buried²⁶² Margaret, uxor old John Jenkinson. She was called 'Old Cock'.
13. October 1666.—Old Mr. Banks of Winstanley was interred.
15. December 1666.—Was interred Mr. John Blackburn.²⁶³
16. December 1666.—Was interred Ann Taylor, Aunt Peg's daughter.
21. December 1666.—Died Elizabeth, uxor old Will Hasleden.²⁶⁴
2. January 1667.—Was interred²⁶⁵ cousin John Potter's eldest son, named John, a very hopeful youth.
21. February 1667.—Lord's day night died old Mr. James Woods.
20. July 1667.—Was interred Thomas Leech of the Town, innkeeper.²⁶⁶
8. September 1667.—Monday. Was buried Mr. Potter, formerly Margaret Lyons, uxor Richard Lyon, Park Lane.²⁶⁷
13. January 1668.—Was interred at Grapnall in Cheshire Mrs. Woods with her husband.
25. February 1668.—Was buried Richard Landers, Mr. Landers brother. He died out of Hulme.
19. March 1668.—Was interred the daughter of Thomas Potter, named Margaret.

Two leaves backward are the names of such as died within my apprenticeship and providentially I was called to the funeral.²⁶⁸

APPENDIX I – Inventory of Roger Lowe's estate²⁶⁹

²⁶⁰ The Winwick register gives her surname as Birchall.

²⁶¹ For this date the Winwick register has 'An Annis'.

²⁶² At Winwick.

²⁶³ 'Of Blackley Hurst' [Winwick register].

²⁶⁴ 'An uxor William Hasleden' was buried at Winwick on 24th December 1666.

²⁶⁵ At Winwick.

²⁶⁶ Buried at Winwick on 30th July 1667.

²⁶⁷ Margaret, wife of Thomas Potter, curate, was buried at Winwick on 10th September 1667.

²⁶⁸ On the last page of the book in which the diary is written is a list of kings of the Saxon heptarchy evidently written out by the diarist.

²⁶⁹ This inventory is preserved by the Probate Court at Chester. It seems the diarist died intestate.

Roger Lowe, late of Ashton, husbandman; administration to Emma Lowe, widow, the relict, 5 May 1679.²⁷⁰

The 22 Aprill 1679. A true and perfect inventory of all the goods, cattels, chattels, debts, and rights of Roger Lowe, late of Ashton, late deceased, apprised and valued by us, Matthew Deane, John Potter, Thomas Harrison, and Willm Lowe.

	li.	s.	d.
Imprimis, two milke coves at	6	0	0
Item, one presse in the loft over the house	0	8	0
Item, one long table in the said loft	0	10	0
Item, 6 cheeres in the said loft	0	16	0
Item, one table cloth	0	1	0
Item, 3 chusshions	0	2	0
Item, one bedstead in the roome over the shop, 2 featherbeds, 2 feather bouldsters, one chaffe boulder, three feather pillows, 2 coverlids, and 2 blankitts, at	3	0	0
Item, one arke in the said roome	0	10	0
Item, one truncke	0	4	0
Item, 3 tresses, 2 boxes, 2 cowfors, and 4 chusshions	0	9	0
Item, one bedstead and bedding in the chamber as it now stands	1	10	0
Item, one cubboard in the house	1	0	0
Item, one settle in the house	0	6	0
Item, one little table, 2 cheeres, fall board, backestoole	0	5	0
Item, one clocke weights and case	1	10	0
Item, one close stoole, 2 looking glasses	0	3	0
Item, one backestone, 2 iron grates, and other iron geere	1	0	0
Item, one churme and other treene ware	0	10	0
Item, in earthen vessels	0	2	0
Item, 4 dosin of trenchers	0	3	0
Item, one white plate	0	1	0
Item, in pewter	1	16	0
Item, in brasse	1	11	0
Item, in linen	2	0	0
Item, two bedsteads and one table	1	6	0
Item, for goods beinge in the shop	29	3	0
Item, in moneyes oweinge by severall persons in the debt booke	6	0	0
Suma tot	60	6	4 ²⁷¹

Apprised by
Matthew Deane

²⁷⁰ Roger Lowe was buried at Winwick on 7th April 1679.

²⁷¹ My own mathematics makes it unclear whence this additional fourpence has come.

John Potter
Thomas Harrison
Willm. Lowe

APPENDIX II – Frontmatter to the academic edition of the *Diary*²⁷²

FOREWORD

WE have had so many diaries and autobiographies of country gentlemen and gentlewomen that it is not hard to reconstruct their daily round of activities at a given time, or to gather something of their outlook upon life and of their attitudes towards their fellows in other classes. About clergymen, too, we know a good deal and something of well-to-do business men in country towns. What we do not know about is the lesser folk in villages. Of servants and farm labourers we have only occasional mentions in the diaries and letters of their superiors. Joseph Lister is the only servant in the seventeenth century whose account of himself I can recall, and there are not many in the centuries following. How such men and women lived, what they feared and hoped, remain in most cases unknown. Sometimes a playwright gives us a clue, occasionally a man from the fields walks unobtrusively into the letters of the lady of the manor. But such instances are rare.

That is why Roger Lowe's record of his daily comings and goings is worth attention. Had we made a midsummer-eve's wish for a diary of a common man, we could not have asked for one better than that of this shopkeeper. He was at the centre of village life. He knew everyone in the country round about and had dealings with most of them.

Moreover, he happened to be a young man who drew others to him and went out to meet them. The farmers and farm labourers came to his shop to buy and stayed to talk. They lured him off with them to their club, the alehouse. They went with him to all the alehouses in the parishes around as well as to the chapels. He was up and down the country. Horses could be borrowed sometimes, and if they were not as fleet as motor-cars to-day, they did get over the ground. When horses were not available Roger and his friends took to their feet and walked seven or eight miles and back again.

The young women seem to have been almost as good walkers, a vigorous lot, who did their full share of the work of the community. But they missed little that was going on. They were not shy, they really knew their worth, and seldom waited on male initiative; apparently they were not expected to do so. Yet they were, so far as I can judge, a fairly well-behaved lot and rarely fell into that frailty common to the housemaids of English diaries. There will be those to doubt this opinion and to read more into Roger's narratives of his episodes with young women than I have done.

We can read more, of another kind. Roger had an amusing way of talking,

²⁷² Ed. William L. Sachse (foreword by Professor Wallace Notestein), *The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire 1663-74*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938.

and his friends liked nothing more than to draw him out. He was willing to oblige, and even with stories against himself. Two of these stories he had embodied in the diary, one about leading a recalcitrant ram and the other about eating hot porridge at the servants' table. These relations are as delightful examples of rollicking peasant humour as are to be found in the plays or prose of the seventeenth century. The makers of source books and anthologies will include them; the students of humour will refer to them.

Nothing is more interesting about Roger than his militant conformity. It is a fashion nowadays to sing low about nonconformity. In some way the notion has been conveyed to the public that everything unlovely and middle-class was connected with puritanism and especially with nonconformity. Yet it is puritanism more than any other one factor that has differentiated the English in character from their Continental neighbours. It is nonconformity that has given them much of their particular quality. Those who would interpret the English should spend less words upon country houses, parish churches, bellringers and cricket—those aspects of Englishry dear to *The Times*—and more upon nonconformity in its many phases. What a lot of English thought and movement is concerned with Quakers and Unitarians and Congregationalists! Who can talk about the English village and leave out the Wesleyan chapel?

Roger's nonconformity was not of the loveliest type. He wished to make the best of this world and the next. His expressive piety was a kind of servility towards that Providence who would, he trusted, facilitate his pursuit of the main chance. He was Anglo-Saxon to the core. From the days of Richard Hakluyt who wished to see the English develop colonies in order to foster trade and spread Christianity to the days of Franklin Roosevelt who mixes social idealism and political tie-ups with the underworlds of the great cities, the Anglo-Saxons have known how to do good to others and to do well by themselves.

Yet the reader cannot but like Roger. His lively personality appears in every paragraph. We are as glad to hear him talk as were the men and women of Ashton. We can understand his anxiety for the end of the funeral and the beginning of the feast. He loved food as much as any—a roast goose by preference. He liked to look across the chapel at pretty wenches and to meet them on the town heath. He was not a Samuel Pepys, he lived in a smaller world, but he was not less human.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN

PREFACE

THE Diary of Roger Lowe is preserved in the Leyland Free Library and Museum, in Hindley, Lancashire. Extracts first appeared in the "Local Gleanings" columns of *The Manchester Courier*, beginning on April 21, 1876, and were reprinted in the first volume of *Local Gleanings Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*, edited by J. P. Earwaker. In the autumn of 1876 the diary was printed in the antiquarian columns entitled the "Chronicle Scrap Book" in *The Leigh Chronicle*, of Leigh, Lancashire.

The following year it was reprinted, with a brief introduction and notes, by the *Chronicle*, as a separate publication. This edition omitted a number of passages, however, which have been included here.

I wish to thank Mr. Herbert H. Smith, Librarian and Secretary of the Leyland Free Library and Museum, and his Committee, for their permission to publish the diary; Professor Wallace Notestein, of Yale University, for introducing me to Roger Lowe; and Mr. John Espey, of Merton College, Oxford, for a memorable trip to Lancashire and eyes quick to detect the editor's errors.

W. L. S.

June 5, 1938.

New Haven.

INTRODUCTION

WITH the sole exception of letter-writing, diary-keeping is the single form of literary achievement to which all may attain. We readily grant professional status to the essayist, the novelist, the poet: but who has ever heard of the professional diarist? Every man and woman, of high and low estate, of adventurous or monotonous daily life, has one story to tell, and who can tell it better? "No kind of reading," wrote Macaulay, "is so delightful, so fascinating, as this minute history of a man's self." And for the student of history or of society no document is more revealing. Kept under lock and key by the author, no writing is less influenced by self-consciousness or promoted by self-interest; there is no confessional more secluded.

Unfortunately for students of bygone days the keys to many diaries have been lost forever. Particularly is this true of those kept by persons of humble estate. It is only comparatively recently that Clio, occupied with the annals of kings and war-lords, has considered the butcher and baker and candlestick-maker worthy of her attention. Diarian entries not relating to public events or to persons listed in *Who's Who* have been rigorously blue-pencilled by the most scholarly of editors, and deposited in the wastebaskets of many a publisher. The incentive of preservation is thus gone, and the means, too: for the cottager has no muniment-room or library in which to file his papers with those of his forefathers.

A diary of a seventeenth-century apprentice, such as is presented here, can therefore be regarded as an historical document of considerable rarity and importance. Roger Lowe was an apprentice to a south-Lancashire mercer, a dealer in small wares, and resided in Ashton-in-Makerfield, a small town of some importance because of its situation midway between Wigan and Warrington. Here, between 1663 and 1674, he kept a diary which fills, in manuscript form, one hundred and fifty closely-written pages. Lowe was not a faithful diarist: his entries are very irregular, and as time goes on the gaps between dates become wider and wider.

What induced Roger Lowe to keep a diary at all? The answer to this question must be conjectural, for Lowe himself offers us no explanation. Different persons keep diaries for different reasons: egotism, addiction to

habit, the “itch to record,” as Lord Ponsonby calls it, a philosophical urge to survey life, an introspective nature—all these motivations and more must be reckoned with. Lowe lived in a period which Joseph Hunter, in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, has called “peculiarly the age of diaries.” The keeping of diaries, universal as it was to become, cannot be traced in England with any certainty before the sixteenth century; but by the close of the seventeenth courtiers and country gentlemen, clergymen and barristers, soldiers and travellers had all tried their hands at daily autobiography, Pepys and Evelyn had written their classic lines, and diaries were common literary opera.

The chief impetus given to diary-writing in the seventeenth century came from the nonconformists. Puritanical writers of devout manuals advocated the daily recording of thoughts as a means to cultivate a holy life by the discipline of self-examination and self-revelation. Isaac Ambrose, in his *Media: The Middle Things*, first published in 1650, has a section in commendation of diary-keeping, the uses of which he outlines:

“1. Hereby he (the diarist) observes something of God to his soul, and of his soul to God. 2. Upon occasion he pours out his soul to God in prayer accordingly, and either is humbled or thankful. 3. He considers how it is with him in respect of time past, and if he have profited, in grace, to find out the means whereby he hath profited, that he may make more constant use of such means; or wherein he hath decayed, to observe by what temptation he was overcome, that his former errors may make him more wary for the future.”²⁷³

Now Ambrose’s works were extremely popular in Lancashire, where his reputation was considerable. Angier, Newcome, Martindale, Meek, Heywood, and many other nonconformist clergymen practised what they preached and kept journals. And Roger Lowe, a staunch Presbyterian, was very likely influenced by the very passage just cited, for his diary attests his familiarity with the work. But Roger Lowe’s diary is not, fortunately, just a religious exercise. It goes beyond the Puritan and gives us the man. Lowe does not write of events other than those which figure in his daily life and in the lives of those with whom he associates. Living in what had been but a few years before one of the theatres of the Civil Wars, the young apprentice makes but one fleeting reference to the Duke of Hamilton’s invasion. A zealous Presbyterian in a time when Church and State were applying legislative screws to the propagators of that faith, Lowe does not once mention the Conventicle Act or the Five-Mile Act, made law even as he wrote. The Dutch War, which extended from 1665 to 1667, is noticed but once—and then because of patriotic services in the local churches. A lone reference is made to the Fire of London, six weeks later, because philanthropical Ashtonians were passing the hat to help the stricken city. The Plague of 1665, the Portuguese marriage of the King, the downfall of Clarendon: all occurred while Lowe diarized, but he used no ink on them. Not once is the recently restored Charles mentioned.

Living far from the national capital and never venturing, so far as we can

²⁷³ Isaac Ambrose, *Prima, the First Things, in Reference to the Middle and Last Things, etc.* (London, 1674), 118.

learn from the diary, beyond the confines of Lancashire and Cheshire, Lowe knew little and perhaps cared less about national events. He was content to write of births and christenings, of wedding festivities and funeral refreshments, of “trading and how to get wives,” of nonconformists’ “private days of prayer,” of wakes and fairs and ales, of sets of bowling and nights of wooing and visits to neighbouring country-house and manor—in short, to paint a word picture, crude and sketchy in places but drawn from life, of seventeenth-century rural Lancashire. And Lowe, with wide acquaintance, was eminently qualified to do this.

For, humble apprentice though he was, he was a comparatively big fish in the small pond of Ashton. His is a role seldom noticed, because inconspicuous, on the stage of English social history. Historian, ballad-monger, and novelist have, often enough, introduced us to the duarchy of the English village: clergyman and squire, the Church and State of the British countryman. Lowe, raised above his fellow-townsmen and regarded as somewhat of a scholar because of his ability to read, write, and reckon, was the unofficial notary of his rustic community. A hundred clerkly duties devolved upon him in an age when the mother of the Under-Sheriff of Lancashire required his services when she wished to write to her son. The general illiteracy of the time should not be forgotten. A lass wishes to write a love-letter: Lowe acts as amanuensis and will not show it to two curious old codgers in the alehouse. A sick man wishes to make his will: Lowe drafts it “somewhat handsomely.” The petty constables are preparing their presentments: Lowe indicts them. Many an apprentice was indentured by Lowe, many an account he reckoned up. Occasionally he is prevailed upon to instruct the young “to endite letters and to cast account up,” a task which he seems to accept without enthusiasm. He is recognized universally as a very useful person; he knows all and is known by all, from Mr. Greensworth, the Under-Sheriff, and such local aristocrats as the Byroms and the Gerards, to John Chaddock, his fellow-apprentice.

Although, like Martindale, Lowe seems to have pocketed some recompense for his duties as public secretary, the score was probably more frequently evened by a tankard at the alehouse, and his income from this source amounted to little more than pin-money. To keep body and soul together he tended shop, buying and selling all sorts of small wares for his master. He had been apprenticed—at what age we know not—for nine years. Of his birth and rearing he tells us nothing; his parents, according to the entry of September 13, 1663, both lay buried in the Vicarage Fields in Leigh. His brothers and sisters, occasionally mentioned in the diary, were evidently older than Roger, and had families of their own. Like many other country lads who did not drift to the cities or take to the sea, Lowe may have apprenticed himself as much to find a temporary home as to insure for himself a future livelihood. He does not seem to have wasted any affection on his trade: “I thought it sad,” he writes, “for me to be ingagd 9 yeares to stay in Ashton to sell my Master’s ware of[f] and get no knowledge.” He harps continually on his commercial “greefes,” and his unsuccessful career as an independent trader after his graduation from apprenticeship reveals an incompatibility with the life of a shopkeeper.

Lowe’s master, although held in considerable respect by the young apprentice, seems to have used him well, and the diary records not a single

complaint against him. His identity can only be conjectured. Apprentices' indentures meant a contractual relationship between the master and the apprentice, the former promising meat, drink, and lodging, and often articles of clothing and other necessities, plus instruction in a trade, and the latter pledging to abide by the regulations laid down by his master—all for a stipulated length of time. These regulations concerned not only the trade which the apprentice was striving to master, but his personal and moral conduct as well. The master was, in theory, the guardian of his apprentice, and it was the master's duty, to quote a Caroline indenture, "in due and decent manner to chastise and correct him his said servant." Although Lowe's master did not fall short in this particular, the relations between the pair seem to have been ideal. "My Master came to towne," writes Lowe (March 24, 1665), "and he had told me that he had heard many things of me and wishd me for my good to be cautious. He spoke very lovingly to me, and I was efraid before he came, lest he would have beene angry." It is obvious that Roger stood in the good graces of his master's wife, who on one occasion, when equipping him with a new wardrobe, "was so forward as she would have had the tailor left others' worke for to have done my clothes against Sabbath day." His master, moreover, seems to have hearkened to his complaint about his nine-years servitude, for a year later, when Lowe's books showed a profit, he "proffered" him the shop, gave him his freedom, and granted him time in which to pay for the goods on the shelves. Lowe was sorry to leave him, and wrote: "So I was made free; tho I was very sorowfulle, yet my trust is in God."

Lowe's accommodations in the Ashton shop were apparently preferable to living in his master's house, for he calls a summons to come home "sad news." It is easy enough to see why. He enjoyed considerable freedom in Ashton. He was in and out of his shop so much that even Mary Naylor, one of the principal inducements to leave it, was angered at his negligence—"folkes had beene there enquireing for me ... soe shee was troubled att me." But Roger was young and unmarried (during most of this period, at least) and sociable; he enjoyed good times, and no imported sophistication hindered him from seeking and finding them in Ashton and the neighbouring countryside. Let him who clings to the traditional belief that the Puritan philosophy of life represented the complete negation of everything that is fun spend a day or two with Roger Lowe, bowling for two shillings a set on Golborne Cop, accompanying him to Brynn to see a race, and watching him ride in one from Golborne stocks to Ashton town, witnessing a cock-fight—and solacing his uneasy conscience afterward—hunting fowmarts and fishing and robbing magpies' nests. He will discover that many of Roger's evening hours are passed in courting various Lancashire lasses, who seem to have considered him a presentable swain, for they persistently "make much" of him. He will find that the young apprentice did not go to bed with the chickens—and late hours, especially without one's own doors, were a rarity in the seventeenth century, when dark, unpaved country roads made one's safe arrival home a gambling proposition, and candles flickered one to sleep. As far as we can tell from the diary he will not find Lowe dancing or playing cards, but should he lose track of Roger he had better look in the alehouse.

Here Lowe spent nearly as much time as in his shop, and his diary casts a

good deal of light on the social functions of the country alehouse. The alehouse of this period, as the public house is today, was the poor man's club, and the poor woman's, too, if we may believe the diary. Here villagers and local farmers would gather to "accomodate" one another to a drink or two of ale, the seal of approval, perhaps, on some mutual transaction, or the reward of a victory at bowls, or just a friendly treat to be gossiped over. The frequent resort to alehouses in a Puritan community such as Ashton reminds us that a generation which was to regard moral conduct and abstinence as synonymous had not yet come into being. Nor should we by any means attribute beer-guzzling propensities to those who began the day with drink and a chat at the alehouse, Jefferson cautions us in his *Book about the Table*. The morning draught of ale in the seventeenth century was practically the counterpart of the modern cup of breakfast coffee; the custom bears a close resemblance to the German *zweite Frühstück*. Indeed, the frequent recourse to morning draughts presages a correspondingly consistent moderation on the previous evening, if seventeenth-century constitutions reacted as do those of our own day.

Lowe's visits to the alehouse were not always characterized by such moderation, and many a sickly night and dreary morning are naïvely confessed in the pages of his diary. But it was necessary to be a good fellow. Many a tankard of ale he lays to the exigencies of trade: he had gone to the alehouse because "they ware good customers to me and I durst not but goe for fear of displeasure." As he told the reproachful Reverend Mr. Woods: "I could not trade if att some times I did not spend 2d." But drunkenness and rowdyism revolted him; after a visit to Chester Castle yard he wrote: "The souldiers was most of them all drunke, and glad I was when I was gotten out of the gates from amongst them."

The alehouse as well as the church stood open on Sundays, and Lowe and his companions, including clergymen, patronized them impartially: Ellen Scott and he, we read, "went into Hugh Worthington's and spent 8d; so went into church." On another Sunday he writes: "We ware all afternoone in Ale house. The Lord forgive us." Here, indeed, as in a few other Sunday entries, such as: "This day was not well spent, I must confesse. The Lord humble me for it," we have a hint of Sabbatarian scruples, but they do not seem to have amounted to a deterrent force. We find no mention of Sunday bowling or hunting or horse-racing, it is true, but, besides the alehouse merriment we read of fittings by the tailor, journeys as far afield as to Liverpool and to Chester fair, reckoning of accounts, and sociable intercourse with his friends. For Lowe Sunday was a day when he need not rush back to his counter when a friend tipped him off that his master was in town, a weekly holiday to do with as he would, after he had performed his devotions.

For it was also the "Lord's Day." And for Lowe the regular attendance of religious services was a part of his Puritan training and weekly routine. Church attendance was to him an obligation to God: when he skips Sunday he writes: "It was a rainy day, and I was very negligent in my duty to God. The Lord forgive me." His Presbyterian convictions were very real. Because, for instance, he felt that "standing att Gospelle, with other ceremonies now in use, was a meere Romish foperie," he refused to do it, and when reproached declared his intention to betake himself "to such

recepticles where I could, to my poor abilitie, serve God without disturbance.”

Many a nonconforming clergyman had, in 1662, followed Lowe’s example, and of these men we read much in his diary. In 1662 Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity, which provided that after the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew’s Day, all clergymen refusing to subscribe to the newly revised Prayer Book, or whose holy orders had not been confirmed by episcopal ordination, would be deprived of their livings. Rather than comply with the “Bartholomew Act,” as it came to be known, about 1,200 clergymen relinquished their benefices. Further repressive legislation followed: in 1664 the Conventicle Act forbade, under pain of imprisonment and for a third offence, of transportation, the assembly of five or more persons not of the same family for religious observances where the forms of the Established Church were not used. Next year appeared the Five-Mile Act, which barred nonconformist ministers from teaching school, or from coming within five miles of a corporate town or city, unless they swore to the illegality of bearing arms against the King and pledged themselves not to “endeavor the alteration of government in Church and State.”

These measures naturally drove Presbyterianism underground. The ejected clergy usually continued their ministrations in private, and Lowe’s diary records many a “private day of prayer,” conducted by some ejected clergyman in the home of a staunch nonconformist, and attended by the young apprentice. The diary gives us some idea of the confraternal spirit, intensified by persecution, which existed between the nonconformist ministers and laymen, and hints, to those willing to read between the lines, that then as now the social attraction of group meetings helped to fill the empty pews. With many of the ejected clergy Lowe was personally acquainted, and his diary, bristling with references to these men in the obscure post-ejectment period, should be of interest to the successors of Baines and Calamy. These clergymen, conscious of Lowe’s zeal and ability, found in him a willing adjutant, reading the *Practice of Piety* at the bedside of a dying woman, praying with another, repeating a sermon, tolling the church-bell.

Presbyterianism was the strongest force in his life. His reading, according to the diary, was confined to devotional works, such as Ambrose’s *Media* and Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*. His ventures in verse—for he was an amateur poet, and occasionally inserts an opus into his diary—are frequently concerned with religion and morality. To him God was a very near and real Being, and his own unworthiness a very disconcerting problem: the same man who spends one night over a jelly-bowl of wine in the alehouse may spend the next kneeling in solitary prayer by a ditch on Ashton Heath, oppressed with his “unsettledness” and a sense that God was “highly offended” with him. The man who can write so racily about his adventures with a ram can also periodically express his feelings, whether downcast or fearful or jubilant, in passages of a semi-Biblical style, introspective enough in character, but so stereotyped as to minimize their value to any psychologist who might try to reconstruct Lowe’s mind. But hackneyed as these entries are, they ring with an unmistakable earnestness.

The seriousness with which Lowe took his religion involved him in many a verbal fray with the adherents of Canterbury and Rome. Yet he did not permit his religious ardour to turn him into a fanatic; hot as the disputation waxed the contestants usually departed friends, and even when theological rancour sent them off in anger, a reconciliation was generally effected in short order. As Lowe has it: “each of us ware of differant judgments and each would vindicate his one way, and many times fall into an exceedinge passion, tho it never occasiond us to love the lesse, which I often marked as a providence of God.” Staunch Presbyterian as he was, the charge of bigotry cannot be hurled at him. He counted conforming clergymen among his acquaintances—he was married by Joseph Ward, the Rector of Warrington. He made several expeditions to Wigan to hear Dr. George Hall, the Rector there, and Bishop of Chester. He often dates his diary by saints’ days.

There is another characteristic of Roger Lowe’s which does not fit in with the traditional portrait of the seventeenth-century Puritan. This is his love for music. The effectiveness with which church-organs had been suppressed during the Interregnum is forcibly brought to our attention by the entry: “When we came to Winwicke I went ... to heare Organes. I never heard any before.” Lowe apparently lost no opportunity to hear them thereafter. On a visit to Manchester he went to church, heard the choristers, and was “exceedinglie taken with the mellodie.” Likewise at Chester he heard the “organs and quiristers.” “Right glad am I,” wrote a music-lover in 1662, “that when Musick was lately shut out of our Churches, on what default of hers I dare not to enquire, it hath since been harboured and welcomed in the Halls ... of the primest persons of this Nation. ... Thanks be to God I have lived to see Musick come into request ... and begin to flourish in our Churches and elsewhere.” To this Roger Lowe would have said amen.

But it is time to let Roger speak for himself. Outside of the pages of this diary, and an official document or two, there is nothing to be learned about him: time has erased or hidden what records of his birth, parentage, and upbringing ever existed. That he was dead before April 22, 1679 is proved by “a true and perfect inventory of all the goods, cattels, chattels, debts and rights of Roger Lowe, late of Ashton, late deceased,” which bears that date. He died intestate and the administration of his estate was granted to his widow, Emma Lowe—the “Emm” of the diary. He evidently remained a trader all his days: the largest single item in the inventory is labelled “goods beinge in the shop,” and amounts to £29 3s. of the £60 6s. 4d. total appraised value of the estate. The Act Book of Chester describes him as a “husbandman,” but this means a man of lower rank than a yeoman, not an agriculturist.

Appended to the manuscript diary is an obituary list, entitled “An Account of the Seaverall Names and Persons that are dead in Ashton and buried at Winwicke,” extending from 1671 to 1678, a list of burials between 1661 and 1669, and, on the last page, a list of the kings of the Saxon Heptarchy. But these passages tell us nothing of Lowe, except than he maintained his residence in Ashton, and we have not included them here.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ I have added them from the Picks edition.

“No editor can be trusted not to spoil a diary,” says Lord Ponsonby. I have tried not to spoil this one. It is presented in its entirety—poetry, receipts for diseased livers, and all. The irregular and inconsistent spelling has been preserved in the hope that a certain archaic charm and indescribable bygone atmosphere might not be dulled.²⁷⁵ The student of the Lancashire dialect, at least, should be grateful for this. I have, however, taken the liberty to provide capitals uniformly where usage requires them, to introduce punctuation, and to apostrophize when necessary, even to the point of adding an occasional “’s”. This has been done with the object of rendering Lowe’s style more readily comprehensible to the reader. Lastly, I have employed the New Style of dating throughout the diary.

²⁷⁵ I have ‘modernised’ it to make the text better accessible to a non-academic audience.