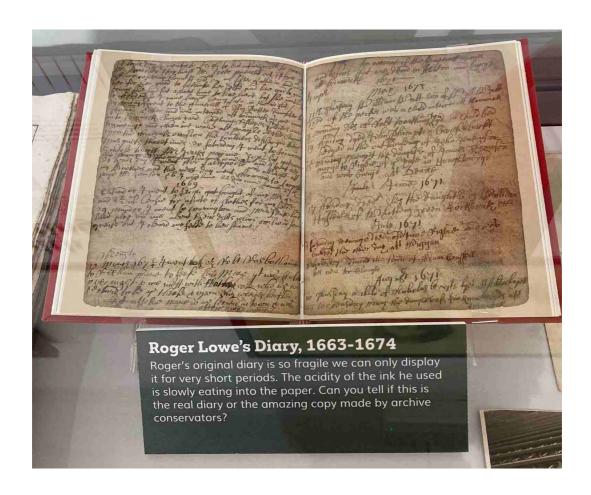
An Illustrated Companion to The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield



WITH SELECTIONS FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT NOW IN PRESERVATION AT WIGAN ARCHIVES

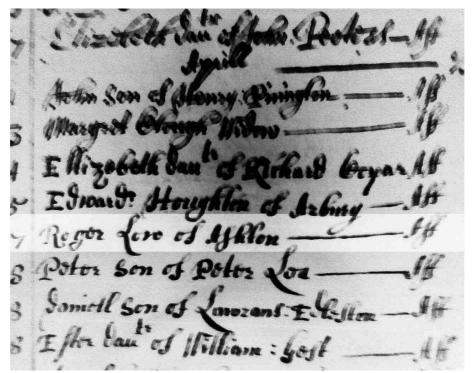
By

The Makerfield Rambler

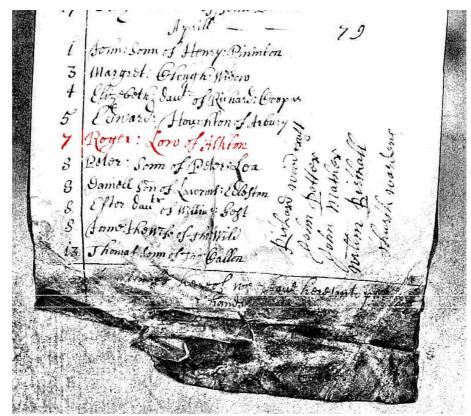
Part 7: The Diary after Roger (This edition: September 2024)

The Death of Roger Lowe

The Winwick parish register records the burial of "Roger Low of Ashton" on 7 April 1679. No cause or date of death is specified, and no stone or other memorial of his passing seems to have survived, but given the typically very short interval between death and burial it may reasonably be assumed that Lowe had died on 5 or 6 April 1679. He would then have been about 37 years old.



Entry in the original Winwick register, at Cheshire Archives ref. P 158/1/2.



Extract from "Bishop's Transcript" of the Winwick register, at Lancashire Archives ref. DRL 2/530.

Evidently Lowe did not leave a will, but an inventory of his possessions and debts owed by him at the time of his death is preserved among the Archdeaconry of Chester Probate Records at Lancashire Archives.



Roger Lowe inventory/wrapper, at Lancashire Archives ref. WCW/Supra/C222/20

This document reads as follows:-

"Roger Lowe late of Ashton husbandman; administration to Emma Lowe widdow, the relict, 5 May 1679.

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.

Imprimis two milke cowes at £6.0.0; one presse in the loft over ye house £0-8-0; one long table in ye said loft £0-10-0; 6 cheeres in ye said loft £0-16-0; one table cloth £0-1-0; 3 chusshions £0-2-0; one bedstead in ye roome over the shop 2 featherbeds 2 feather boulsters one chaffe boulster three feather pillowes 2 coverlids and 2 blankitts at £3-0-0; one arke in ye said roome £0-10-0; one truncke £0-4-0; 3 tresses 2 boxes 2 cowfors and 4 cusshions £0-9-0; one bedstead and bedding in ye chamber as it now stands £1-10-0; one cubboard in ye house £1-0-0; one settle in the howse £0-6-0; one little table 2 cheeres, fall board, backestoole £0-5-0; one clocke weights and case £1-10-0; one close stoole 2 looking glasses £0-3-0; one backestone 2 iron grates and other iron geere £1-0-0; one churne and other treene ware £0-10-0; in earthen vessels £0-2-0; 4 dosin of trenchers £0-3-0; one white plate £0-1-0; in pewter £1-16-0; in brasse £1-11-0; in linnen £2-0-0; two bedsteads and one table £1-6-0; for goods beinge in ye shop £29-3-0; in moneyes oweinge by severall persons in ye debt booke £6-0-0.

Sum tot. £60-6-4.

[Signatures] Matthew Deane. John Potter. Thomas Harrison. Willm. Lowe."

The "arke" was most likely a chest or box with a domed lid for storing meal or bread. A "cowfor", or coffer, was another type of box or chest. A "fall board" was a foldable table. A "backestoole", or "backstow", was a single chair without arms. The "backestone" would have been a large flat stone or iron plate, used for baking over a fire. "Treene ware" was the description given at this time to wooden items, turned rather than sawn and usually of sycamore. "Trenchers" were wooden plates, but the term could also refer to metal as well as to earthenware plates.

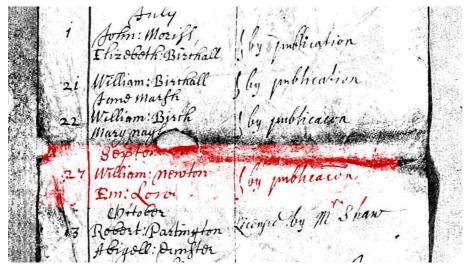
It will be noted that there is no specific mention of the Diary.

Of the four appraisers, Matthew Deane has not been identified. William Lowe and John Potter were, respectively, the diarist's brother and brother-in-law. Thomas Harrison was another close friend who, like John Potter, occurs throughout the Diary.

Custody and Treatment of the Manuscript after 1679

The story of the Diary's survival and preservation after more than three centuries at Wigan Archives is itself an interesting one. It would appear that the Diary was at first retained by Roger Lowe's widow and then, after the death of her second husband, by the Leyland family.

Having mourned Roger's death for a year and a half, Emma Lowe married another Ashton shopkeeper, William Newton, on 27 September 1680.

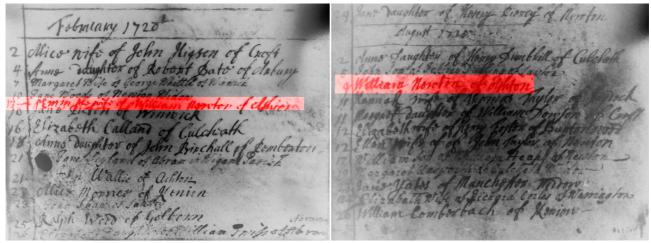


Newton/Lowe marriage in the "Bishop's Transcript" of the Winwick register, at Lancashire Archives ref. DRL 2/530.

Possessed of "a seartaine eastate situated and lying and being in Ashton next to ye Whitlege Green and called by ye name of old Croft house", William Newton was twice related to the Leyland family; first, through his mother's second marriage around 1660 to James Leyland and, second, through the marriage of his sister, Ann. His will is preserved at Lancashire Archives ref. WCW/Supra/C335B/85. The ownership history of Holcroft (or "old Croft") House can be traced through the papers of Messrs Peace & Ellis, Solicitors, at Wigan Archives ref. DDZ A7.

The fate of the diarist's son, John, and brother, William, after 1679 is not known.

The Winwick register records the burials of Emma and William Newton on 13 February 1721 and 9 August 1725 respectively-



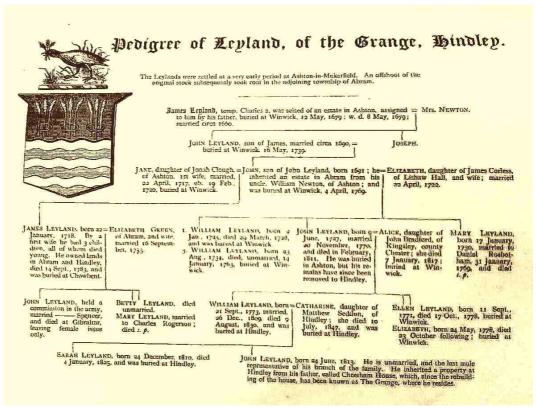
From the original Winwick parish register at Cheshire Archives ref. P 158/1/5

The administration of William's estate was entrusted to John Leyland and Thomas Richardson. This John Leyland (1691-1769), to whom Mr Newton bequeathed other property at Abram, was the eldest son of the deceased's step-brother. Holcroft House was left first to Ann and then to her son, Joseph Leyland, subject to an annual charge during Ann's lifetime of 40 shillings and to a final payment at her death of £40 in favour of the Ashton Coat Stock Charity. A separate bequest of £10 was to be invested for the benefit of the poor of Abram. John Leyland and Thomas Richardson were to act as trustees in this regard and the survivor out of these two was to appoint, as successor to the other, "James Leyland, nephew to John Leyland, Trustee for the saide charity, if he be then living".

Ashton Coat Stock. Thomas Harrison, of Ashton, to provide. for the poor of Ashton, with the Interest			
ings Thomas Harrison, of Ashton, to provide			
	r		
		SIC	1
	50		11
down the Seams with red, and having a			
red Cross on the right Shoulder, gave			
C D. I I CAI	0		
1720 Elizabeth Taylor	2		
1720 William Newton of Ashton	.5	10	
1720 Half of the Stubshaws consisting of two)	57	10	
fields, called the Stubshaws, was purchased.	7		
by the Trustees with			1
	5		
1721 Thomas Potter	5		1
	0		
1728 Elizabeth Arkwright of Ashton	5		
1752 Catherine Wallis, of Ashton, gave a Rem)		h	
Charge of Lino, a Year, upon her Estate			
in Ashton to be laid out in drab woollen			
Cloth for the impotent poor of Ashton		1	
1734 Henry Darbyshire 1746 Reduction of Stock by Money lost	56		V
Peter Smith of Ashton	57	+	
The state of the s	1		1
	+		
the Stubshaws	10	3	
Title Ct. 1 is 1	9	0.0	
1820 Half of the Bakehouse built on the Stubshaws	1	1	
	4	EB	
	1	11	
Stubshaws, from 1207, to this time	-	1	
			V.

Ashton Coat Stock Charity ledger, now preserved in the town's public library, showing donations made by and on behalf of Emma's second husband, William Newton

John Leyland's family came originally from Ashton-in-Makerfield, and had been closely associated with Park Lane Chapel. In 1717, however, John had moved to Abram. In 1779 his second son (also John, 1727-1811) and grandson (William, 1773-1830) moved to Hindley, where they carried on the business of fustian manufacturers and served as trustees of the Presbyterian chapel there. William's son - another John - was born at his mother's family home in Mill Street, Hindley, in 1813. In 1832, following William's death, John Leyland III moved to Cheetham House, Hindley, which he renamed The Grange.

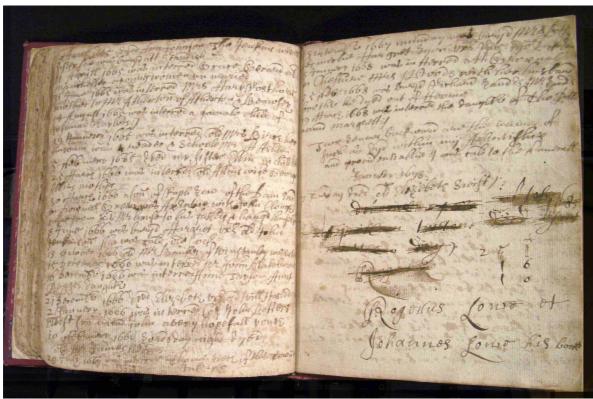


From J Foster's "Pedigrees of The County Families of England, Vol. 1: Lancashire" (1873)

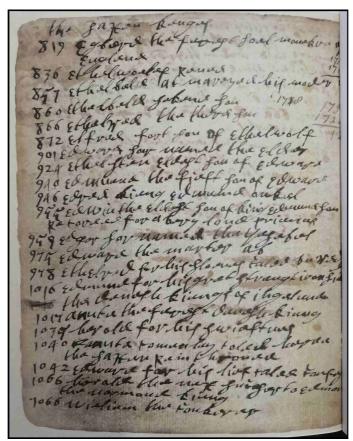


John Leyland III, photographed outside "The Grange", Hindley, in 1872

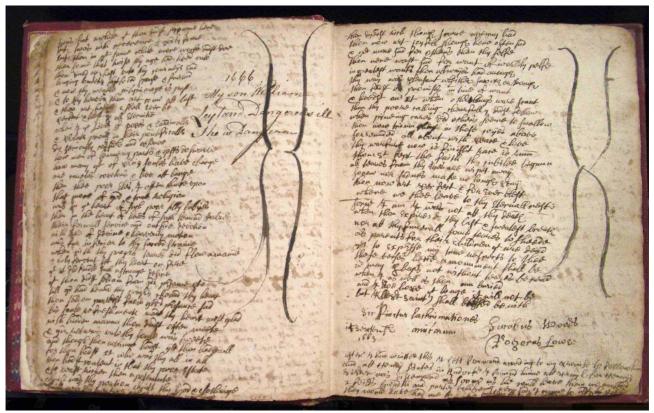
The manuscript itself bears some evidence of the identities of those through whose hands it passed after 1679.



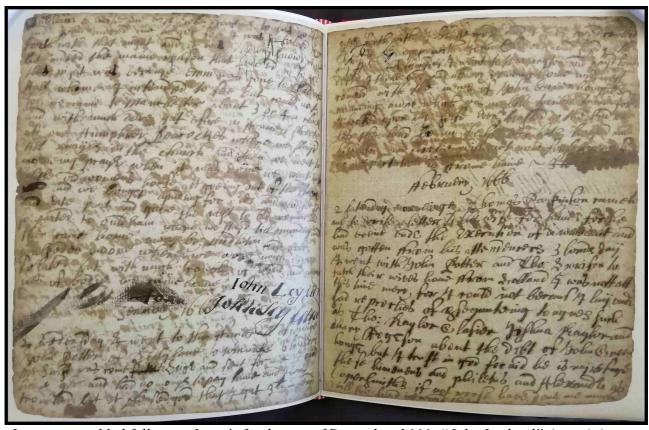
Deletions and inscriptions ("Rogerus Lowe +"\"Johannes Lowe his booke") in the space following the diarist's record of the death of Elizabeth Swift; possibly the work of John Lowe.



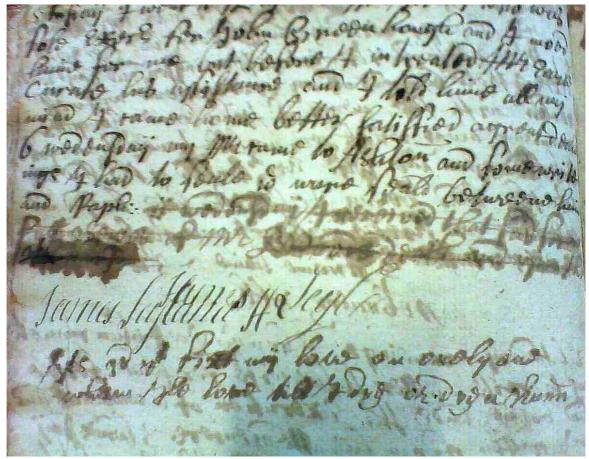
John Lowe may also have been responsible for the list of Saxon kings on the very last page of the manuscript (image from facsimile).



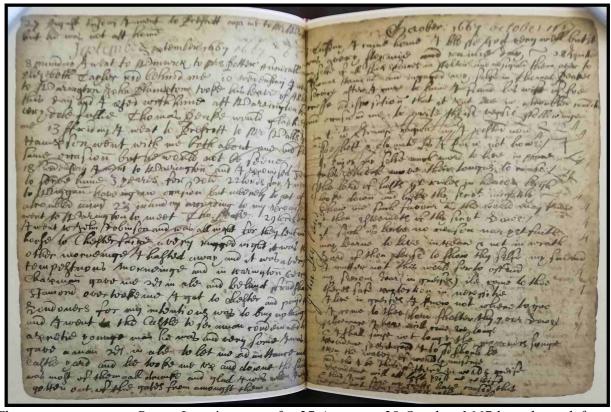
Inscription alongside Lowe's transcript of the epitaph composed by James Wood in September 1663: "1666 My son William Leyland Dangerous ill He is Dangerous"



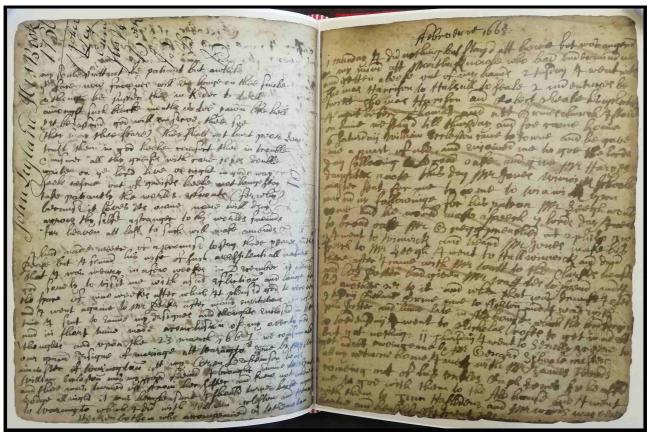
Inscription added following Lowe's final entry of December 1666: "John Leyland" (twice) (image from facsimile)



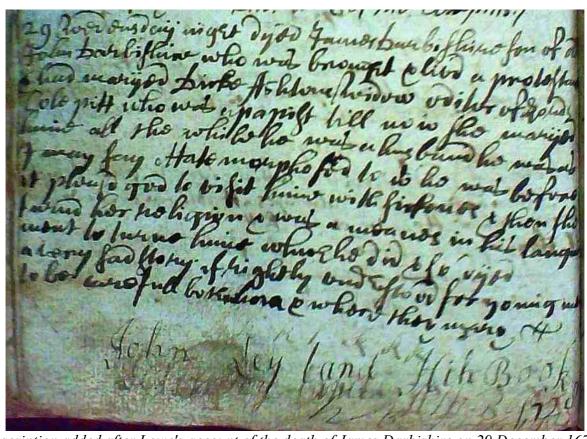
Inscription added to an entry of February 1667 recording the diarist's receipt of "that sad sorrowfull newes of Mr Woods death": "James Leyland" (twice).



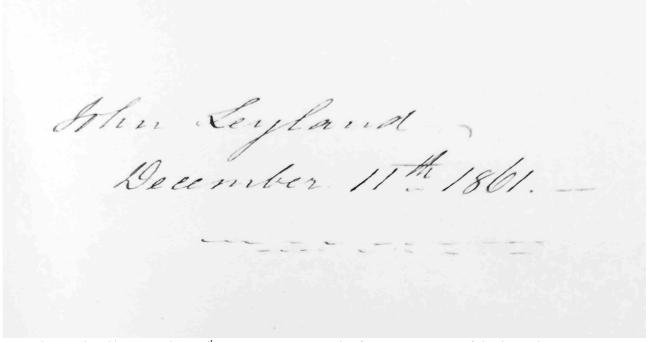
The pages containing Roger Lowe's entries for 27 August to 28 October 1667 have been defaced; "John Leyland" is written vertically alongside the first part of Lowe's poem about his Warrington experiences (image from facsimile)



"John Leyland His Book 1736" is twice written vertically, first alongside and secondly above the remainder of Lowe's October 1667 poem (image from facsimile)

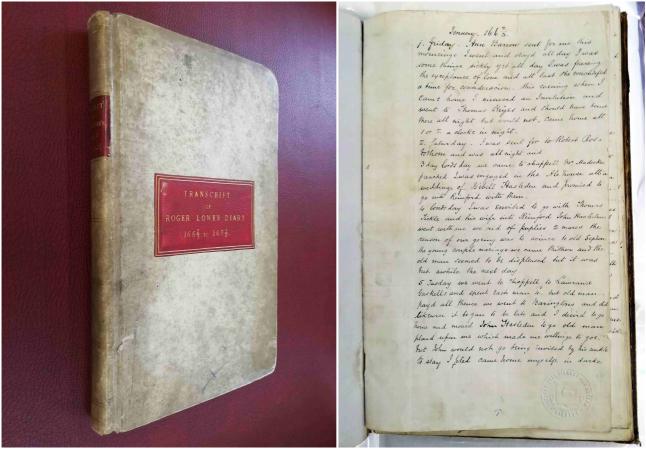


Inscription added after Lowe's account of the death of James Darbishire on 29 December 1675: "John Leyland His Book. 1728"



"John Leyland \ December 11th 1861" written on the first inner page of the bound manuscript as currently preserved at Wigan Archives (image from facsimile)

In or about 1876 John Leyland III made or commissioned a transcript of the Diary "so far as it can be deciphered" which he then offered to The Manchester Courier and other local newspapers for publication.



Undated and uncatalogued "Transcript of Roger Lowe's Diary", Archives: Wigan and Leigh Acc. 2012/11(13). The provenance of this item is not entirely certain but I infer from the contents that it is in fact the transcript made available to newspaper editors by John Leyland III in and after 1876.

A stamped and addressed label bears the particulars of Manchester Courier editor J P Earwaker. Labels on the inner front cover state that the Leyland Free Library acquired it via Manchester bookseller Joseph Mitchell from a "Hindley House Sale" in 1911. A photostat copy had been received into the Archives at an earlier date: Acc. 1972.

John Leyland III died on 28 June 1883, leaving the bulk of his estate to his friend Nathaniel Eckersley. As later reported by The Wigan Observer, Mr Leyland had "for some time before his death ... nursed many projects for the benefit of Hindley (notably the formation of a public park and constitution of a free public library and museum)". With his demise it was left to Mr Eckersley to bring these plans to fruition, and the Leyland Free Library and Museum at Hindley was duly completed and presented to the township by him in 1887. A dedicated bookcase within the Library's reading room housed the late benefactor's personal collection of nearly 500 books and manuscripts, including the original manuscript Diary of Roger Lowe and a private printing of the Leyland transcript as published by The Leigh Chronicle in 1877.



Lowe (ROGER).

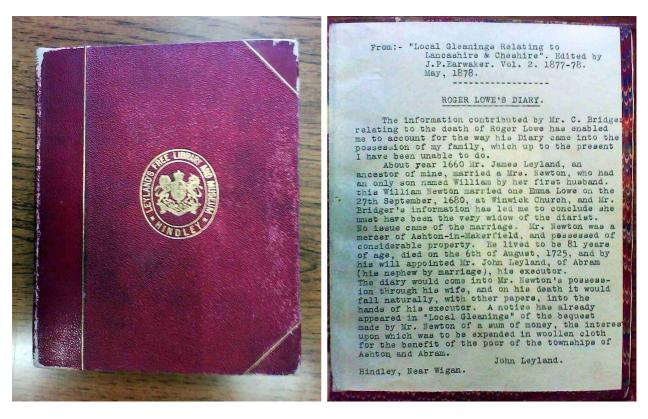
Diary, 1673-1678. [The original manuscript, 150 pp. sm. 4to.]

— [Not published]. The Diary of Roger Lowe, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663-1678. (Reprinted from "The Leigh Chronicle.") sm. 4to. Leigh, 1877.

Large paper copy.

From "Catalogue of the Books and Manuscripts belonging the late John Leyland Esquire JP of The Grange, Hindley, preserved in The Leyland Bookcase at the Leyland Free Library and Museum, Hindley", Henry T Folkard FSA, 1896

At or soon after its deposit in the Leyland Free Library, the Diary was re-bound and a copy of John Leyland III's account of how it had come into his possession (as originally published in the Courier's "Local Gleanings..." column on 24 May 1878) was pasted onto the inner front cover. In course of this operation a run of entries covering the period from 12 March 1664 to 28 May 1665 inclusive was reinserted out of sequence.

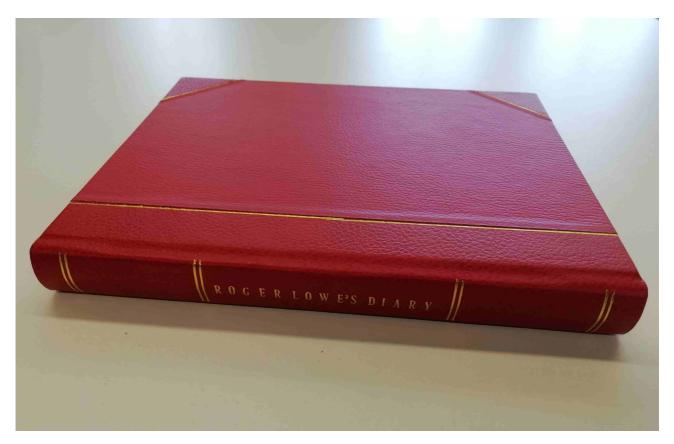


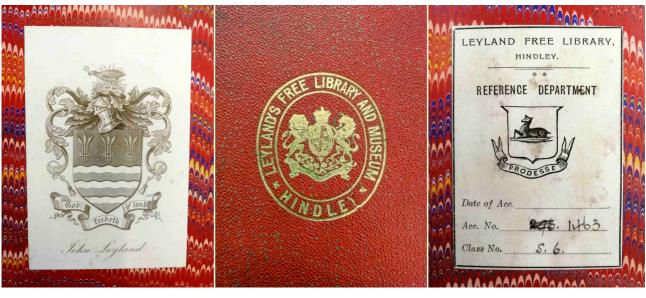


The pages on which Lowe records the events of early March 1664 and June 1665 now face each other, his entries for the intervening period having been inserted elsewhere in the volume.

Eventually the public library at Hindley moved to new premises and the Leyland Collection was dispersed. Several volumes from the Collection can now be found at "Wigan Local Studies" in the former Wigan Reference Library but most of the items were transferred to "Archives: Wigan and Leigh" which is based in the Town Hall at Leigh. The Diary manuscript was received into the Archives – "Wigan Record Office", as it then was - on 14 October 1981 (Acc. 2112). Subsequently it was catalogued as "Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield" and allocated a reference no. D/DZ A58.

Owing to the fragility of the original, a facsimile of the Diary has been produced by conservators. This enables public display and study of Lowe's text without risk of further damage to the physical manuscript. The facsimile is a faithful copy of the original in the condition in which it was received into the Archives in 1981 except that the "Leyland's Free Library and Museum" emblem does not appear on the outer front cover.

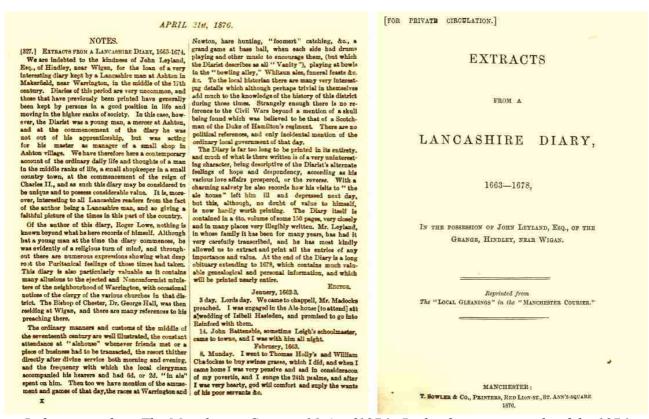




The Diary in Print

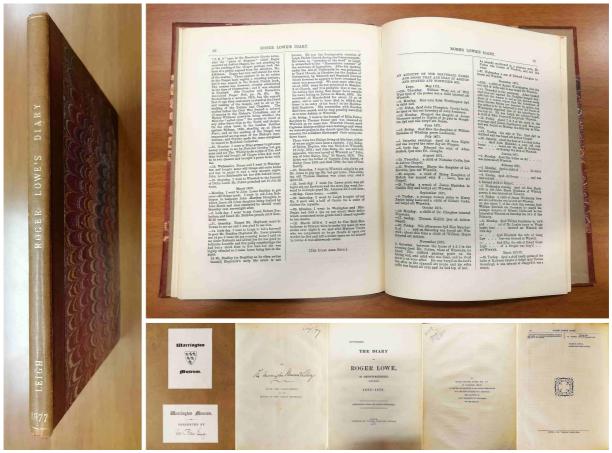
Several versions of the Diary of Roger Lowe have appeared in print.

Beginning on 21 April 1876 and continuing over a period of several months, extracts from the transcript made by or on behalf of John Leyland were first published in the "Local Gleanings" column of The Manchester Courier. The material aroused considerable interest, and served to elicit additional information from readers of the column concerning the events, personalities and locations mentioned by Lowe. Shortly thereafter the Courier extracts and edited readers' contributions were reprinted in a stand-alone volume, "Extracts from a Lancashire Diary, 1663-1678".



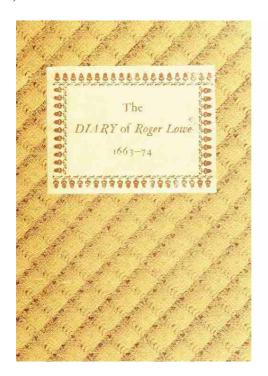
Left: extract from The Manchester Courier, 21 April1876. Right: from an example of the 1876 Manchester Courier reprint at Wigan Local Studies ref. 942.736

Soon after this The Leigh Chronicle began serialising the entirety of the Leyland transcript in its own "Scrap Book" column. Chronicle editor Josiah Rose then once again followed the Manchester Courier's example by arranging the private printing of a stand-alone volume, "The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire. 1663-1678", but distinguished his approach by stating that "Although many of the entries are trivial and valueless, it was deemed better to print all lest, in leaving out, something of importance might be omitted. The Diary was therefore for the first time published in extenso in the 'Chronicle Scrap Book'". The preface to the 1877 reprint further explained that, in course of production, "some manifest errors and blunders" in the Leyland transcript had been "corrected by comparison with the original": "It should be understood that the reprint is from the newspaper type, as it appeared week by week in the Chronicle during the autumn of 1876... No pretence is made of editorial work; and an acknowledgement is due for some of the explanatory notes to the Editor of the 'Local Gleanings" of 'The Manchester Courier" and his contributors...". The reprint was dedicated to Thomas Travers Hayes (1850-1893), one-time treasurer of the Leigh Union and "a valued contributor to the Leigh Chronicle for the past quarter of a century".



An example of the 1877 Leigh Chronicle reprint at Warrington Heritage Hub ref. W5209. A handwritten and signed dedication to "The Warrington Museum & Library" by "Jos. Rose Esq." is dated August 1877.

At the prompting of Professor Wallace Notestein, then Sterling Professor of English History at Yale University, an entirely new transcript of the Diary was made from the original by his colleague Dr William L Sachse, afterwards Associate Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin. This transcript was published in 1938 by Yale University Press in New Haven, USA, and elsewhere by Longmans, Green & Co.



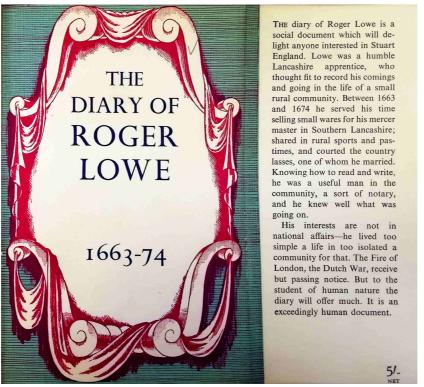
THE DIARY OF ROGER LOWE

of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire 1663-74

Edited by
WILLIAM L. SACHSE
B.Litt., Ph.D.

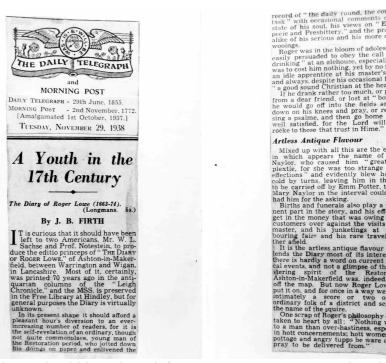
Foreword by
PROFESSOR WALLACE NOTESTEIN

NEW HAVEN
YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1938



Insert from the Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd edition, 1938

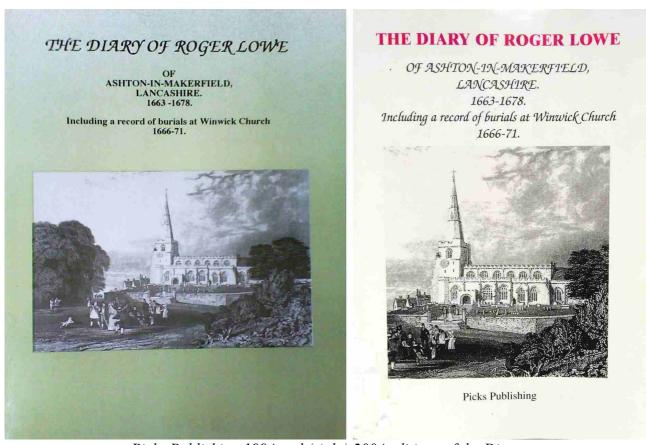
The Sachse transcript as published includes the passages that were left out of the Leigh Chronicle printing of 1877 but omits the lists of "the seaveral names and persons that are dead in Ashton and buryed att Winwicke" and "such as dyd within My Aprentiship and providentiallie I was cald to the funerall". In terms of style "the irregular and inconsistent spelling has been preserved in the hope that a certain archaic charm and indescribable bygone atmosphere might not be dulled" but capital letters and punctuation are introduced "where usage requires them". Introductions by Professor Notestein and by Dr Sachse himself help to place the Diary in its historical context. The 1938 editions are completed by a transcript of the 1679 probate inventory, end-notes and an index.



"It is curious that it should have been left to two Americans..." - Daily Telegraph review of the Longmans edition, 29 November 1938

In 1994 the Diary became once more accessible to the public in the form of a reprint of the Leigh Chronicle edition. "The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663-1678. Including a record of burials at Winwick Church 1666-71" by Picks Publishing is a faithful reproduction of the 1876/7 text - with all of the latter's omissions and other imperfections. It does however include the original preface of 1877 by Chronicle editor Josiah Rose and, as indicated by the title, Roger Lowe's lists of "the seaveral names and persons that are dead in Ashton" etc. Completing the 1994 edition is a short "Publishers Note" by Picks Publishing's founder and proprietor Ian Winstanley and – although not identified as such here – a reprint of the chapter on Roger Lowe from Professor Wallace Notestein's "English Folk: A Book of Characters" (originally Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York, 1938).

A further – and, to date, final - edition of the Diary was published by Picks Publishing in 2004. The content of the 2004 edition is identical with that of its predecessor except that the March 1994 "Publisher's Note" is omitted from the later version, and the order in which the Josiah Rose preface and the (still uncredited) Wallace Notestein essay appear is reversed.



Picks Publishing 1994 and (right) 2004 editions of the Diary

The Diary in Academic Literature

"Social history" or "history from below" came into vogue as a legitimate focus for serious study in the middle decades of the 20th century. The development was a reaction against the orthodox view that the human story could be adequately told through the lives of those – usually men – who wielded the greatest political, economic or military power and influence.

English Folk		
	Characters	
A Book of Characters	FREDERICK BETTESWORTH, 1837 (circa) - 1905	3
22 Deck of Chamber	LUCY LYTTELTON (Lady Frederick Cavendish), 1841-1925	23
BY WALLACE NOTESTEIN	THOMAS COKE OF HOLKHAM (finally Earl of Leicester), 1754-1842	51
	THOMAS BEWICK, 1753 - 1828	73
	PARSON WOODFORDE AND NANCY, 1740 - 1803	93
	THOMAS TYLDESLEY, 1657-1715	125
There is a history in all men's lives, Figuring the nature of the times deceased.	ALICE THORNTON, 1626-1707	143
MLN. IV, PT. II, ACT III, SC. 1.	LEONARD WHEATCROFT, 1627-1706	163
	ROGER LOWE, 1643 (probably) - 1679	175
	ADAM EYRE, 1614-1661	203
	BRILLIANA LADY HARLEY, 1598-1643	227
HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY	NICHOLAS ASSHETON, 1590-1625	265
NEW YORK	HENRY LORD BERKELEY, Elizabethan period	283

In the vanguard of this movement, and among the first to recognise Roger Lowe's Diary as a valuable source of information about the lives of "ordinary" people in the 17th century, was Professor Wallace Notestein, then Sterling Professor of English History at Yale University. It was at his suggestion that a new transcript of the Diary was made and edited for publication by his colleague Dr William Sachse in 1938. Published almost simultaneously with the Sachse edition was a collection of pen-portraits or "essays" by Professor Notestein of thirteen individuals, three of whom – including Roger Lowe – belonged to "the lower class". As he explains in his introduction to "English Folk: A Book of Characters" (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co, 1938), Professor Notestein started from the premise that "the story is subordinate to the study of a character as part of his time and class":

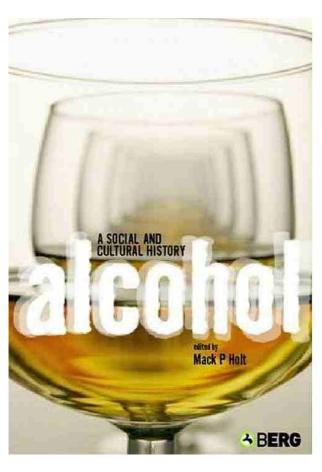
"We are less interested in what happened than in certain kinds of English people, what they thought and believed, what was right and wrong to them, what was "done" and not done, how they lived with fellows of their own class and other classes, how they looked upon those other classes and on themselves in relation to others. Their immediate circles and the boundaries of those circles are matters of import".

In the Diary, Lowe "managed to give away all that was in his peasant soul and also to furnish us with an intimate record of village goings-on. A nonconformist youth with convictions that demanded utterance, he was at his best in a prayer-meeting or in theological controversy but no less happy in the alehouse or on the bowling green. He was always in and out of love and so affords us many a hint as to the peasant formulae for courtship. So trusting was he and so expansive that he

must have been laughed at for miles around. But his friends laughed with him, too, and went out of their way to spend an evening in his company."

Others, following Professor Notestein's lead, have similarly found in the Diary a treasury of information about provincial practices, habits and concerns during the Restoration era and its immediate aftermath.

Like many of his contemporaries Roger Lowe spent a good deal of time in the alehouse, both transacting or facilitating business and enjoying the company of friends and neighbours. The Diary has accordingly attracted the attention of one my former tutors and now Emeritus Professor of History at Warwick University, Dr Bernard Capp, and Professor A Lynn Martin, founder and former director of the University of Adelaide's Research Centre for the History of Food and Drink. Dr Capp's "Gender and the culture of the English alehouse in late Stuart England" in COLLeGIUM: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 2., Vol. 2 (2007), references Lowe's female drinking companions and also his use of a private room in a Leigh alehouse in which to discuss matters of a personal nature. Professor Martin's "Drinking and Alehouses in the Diary of an English Mercer's Apprentice, 1663-1674" in Mack P Holt's "Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History" (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2006) considers the themes explored by Dr Capp in more detail, noting that 47 separate drinking establishments are mentioned in the Diary of which 25 were in Ashton itself and six were run by women.



Intre	oduction	1
Par	t I Morality and Health	9
1	To Your Health: Wine as Food and Medicine in Mid-sixteenth- century Italy Ken Albala	11
2	Europe Divided: Wine, Beer, and the Reformation in Sixteenth- century Europe Mack P. Holt	25
3	In the Public Sphere: Efforts to Curb the Consumption of Rum in Connecticut, 1760–1820 David W. Conroy	41
4	In Vino Veritas: The Construction of Alcoholic Disease in Liberal Italy, 1880–1914 Paul A. Garfinkel	61
5	Mon docteur le vin; Wine and Health in France, 1900–1950 Kim Munholland	77
Par	t II Sociability	91
6	Drinking and Alehouses in the Diary of an English Mercer's Apprentice, 1663–1674 A. Lynn Martin	93
7	Taverns and the Public Sphere in the French Revolution Thomas Breman	107
8	Drink, Sociability, and Social Class in France, 1789–1945: The Emergence of a Proletarian Public Sphere W. Scott Haine	121

Amanda Flather's "Gender, Space and Place: The Experience of Servants in Rural Households 1550-1750" in "Mundo Agrario" Vol. 18/No. 39 (September-December 2017) briefly considers the relationship between Roger Lowe and his master, Thomas Hammond. She also instances Lowe's dining with the servants at the home of Henry Lee, deducing that his "obvious horror at what he experienced suggests that mealtimes in middling households may often have followed more orderly rules".

Steven King and Lindsay M Klodt both found the Diary to be a rich source of evidence about how those of modest means went about finding a marriage partner. King's "Chance Encounters? Paths to Household Formation in Early Modern England" in "International Review of Social History" No. 44 (1999) examines the diarist's "turbulent" love life and his three-and-a-half year courtship of Emma Potter, concluding that Lowe's decision to marry Emma in 1668 was "hardly a decision at all, but merely the favourable outcome of a route which [he] had found blocked by rigidities [of convention] on previous occasions". In "Courtship and Marriage Rituals in Seventeenth Century England" (2008 PhD thesis at http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view? acc_num=akron1207872854) Klodt cites the Diary as evidence that free-choice relationships, even when sexually intimate, "did not necessarily end up in a marriage" at this time: "The details of Roger Lowe's several courtships show us that not only was there freedom to choose whom one wanted to court, but also that it was not uncommon for a middle-class man or woman to have several failed courtship attempts before finally entering into marriage. Furthermore, ... there is very little discussion of parents, and no discussion of money or property transactions. Instead, it appears Roger chose his companion based on personal traits and romantic inclinations".

Finally and perhaps most obviously, the Diary demonstrates the impact of rising rates of literacy as a driver of social change at this time. Brodie Waddell's ""Verses of My Owne Making": literacy, work and social identity in Early Modern England" in Journal of Social History Vol. 54/Issue 1 (2020) demonstrates "how tradesmen and others of similar rank used reading and writing to create a powerful identity that cut across some of the sharpening divisions in wealth from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries" and "reveals a broad literary culture that was emerging in provincial towns at this time". Roger Lowe is of course an examplar of both these phenomena. Waddell sees the Diary as, first and foremost, "a providential narrative that could both explain [the writer's] current circumstances and set out the prospect of a divine remedy". Additionally, however, he sees Lowe using his literacy and numeracy to further not just his own economic interest but also that of others within his community:

"The tradesmen of township of Ashton-in-Makerfield, which lacked any official corporate structure in this period, nonetheless participated in the apprenticeship system by having their indentures written up and sealed, often by the shopkeeper Roger Lowe. The 'white smiths' there went further, meeting with Lowe in 1665 to have him write up 'an agreement For them to goe to councell with about their trade', suggesting that these artisans wanted a formal document to support their collective legal position".