

Sir Roger Bradshaigh  
of Haigh, knight and Baronet  
1628-1684

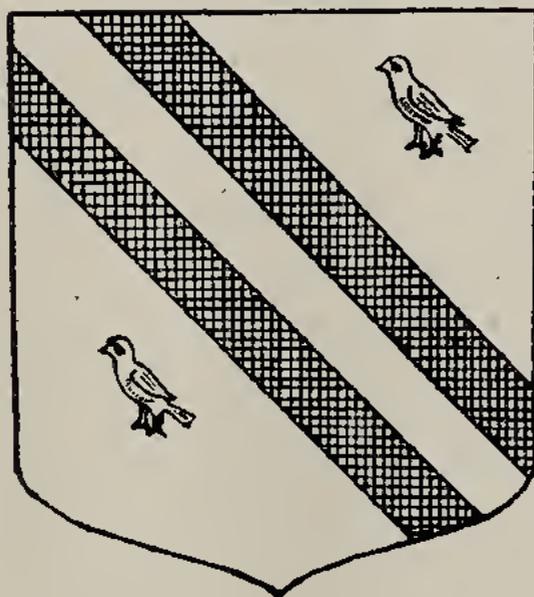
WITH NOTES OF HIS IMMEDIATE  
FORBEARS

BY

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*Chart in back pocket*



MANCHESTER

PRINTED FOR THE LANCASHIRE & CHESHIRE  
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

1945

# CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
FOREWORD . . . . .	vi
I. ANCESTRY . . . . .	1
II. SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S EARLY YEARS . . . . .	8
III. THE GREAT SOUGH . . . . .	13
IV. DEPUTY LIEUTENANT AND CAPTAIN OF HORSE . . . . .	21
V. PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES AND RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY . . . . .	35
VI. LATER YEARS. HIGH SHERIFF — BARONETCY — PERSONAL CHARACTER . . . . .	51

## APPENDICES

I. ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF ROGER BRADSHAIGH, GRANDFATHER OF THE FIRST BARONET . . . . .	60
II. ABSTRACT OF THE MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT ON ROGER THE SECOND BARONET AND MARY MURRAY . . . . .	61
III. TEXT OF THE LOYAL ADDRESS FROM THE LANCASHIRE LIEUTENANCY FOLLOWING THE RYE HOUSE PLOT . . . . .	64
INDEX . . . . .	65

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# ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE	TO FACE PAGE
I. PEDIGREE CHART . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
II. SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH, 1ST BARONET . . . . .	10
III. ELIZABETH, LADY BRADSHAIGH . . . . .	11
IV. CHARLES, EARL OF DERBY . . . . .	24
V. FACSIMILE OF SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S LETTER TO LORD DERBY, 1665 . . . . .	33
VI. FACSIMILE OF PORTION OF SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S LETTER TO HIS SON, 1679 . . . . .	53
VII. SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH, 2ND BARONET . . . . .	54
VIII. MARY, LADY BRADSHAIGH . . . . .	55
BRADSHAIGH ARMS . . . . .	<i>on Title-page</i>

## FOREWORD

THIS short monograph on the life and work of Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, the first Baronet, is an expansion of a paper presented as the President's inaugural lecture to the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society in January, 1944. I had long been impressed with the importance of this man in Lancashire affairs and much surprised at the entire absence of any proper notice of him in any work of reference. Indeed, the only obituary notice which indicates his public stature is the one to be found in the 1727 edition of Thomas Wotton's *English Baronets*. The brief notice in G. E. Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage* is marred by singular inaccuracies. There is no mention of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, yet he is much more worthy of inclusion than many who have gained admission to its honourable pages. It is noticed that a number who achieved real eminence in technology and practical affairs, even quite notable inventors, are omitted. The omission of Bradshaigh has been remarked upon by Lancashire scholars on several occasions and I had contemplated writing an account of his career for some time, but it was not till September, 1943, that I settled down to the task. Unfortunately the War has prevented me from examining several manuscript sources which would, no doubt, have supplied additional information about his personal life and his parliamentary activities. Nevertheless, I hope the ensuing pages will be favourably regarded as doing belated justice to the memory of a Lancastrian who attained a real distinction in civil affairs, gained a high reputation for noble qualities of personality, and was universally beloved by his neighbours and contemporaries.

*The Portraits.* Owing to various war-time difficulties good photographs of the portraits illustrating this Memoir were not obtainable, and apologies are tendered to Lord Crawford, whose pictures are here reproduced.

I most cordially thank the Earl of Crawford for placing his muniments at my free disposal and granting me permission to make full extracts from the documents, copyright in which belongs to him. I also thank Mr. Charles Nowell, the City Librarian of Manchester, for the facility which enabled me to make such considerable use of the Bradshaigh Letter Book, so largely quoted in the ensuing pages.

A. J. H.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ANCESTRY

THE Bradshaighs of Haigh were an important Lancashire family. A glance at the family pedigree will show that its members were thoroughbred Lancashire. Although the name is spelled Bradshaigh, or earlier Bradeshaghe, they derive ultimately from the Bradshaws of Bradshaw near Bolton, and are, I believe, supposed to be of genuine English pre-Conquest origin. Coming to the other end of the chart we find they are the ancestors of that most eminent succession of men, the last four or five Earls of Crawford, through a marriage with the Bradshaigh heiress in the eighteenth century. The Lindsays have always been a distinguished family, numbering among their Scottish ancestors famous statesmen and soldiers, noted scholars, and one of the greatest of Scotch poets; but it seems not unlikely that the scientific talent displayed by recent generations of the family may derive in some measure from the Bradshaigh stem.

The present owner of Haigh, the 28th Earl of Crawford and 5th Baron Wigan, holds the Manor by family inheritance from the earliest known lord of Haigh, Hugh le Norreys, who was in possession in the year 1193. Although the name of the family changed from Norreys to Bradshaigh about 1290, and from Bradshaigh to Lindsay in 1780, through the lack of a male heir, this unbroken descent by inheritance for 750 years is itself an unusual and remarkable record. The Bradshaighs in the male line held the manor for nearly 600 years. During this long period many members of the family received the honour of knighthood, some adorned the Church, others have been members of Parliament, one became Attorney-General to Henry VIII, and at least one other has been described as "a great scholar and a fine poet". They have taken a leading part in local government, six or seven being at different times Mayors of Wigan, each on several occasions. But the family's most important achievement, their most important contribution to the welfare of society, was their discovery and energetic exploitation of the coal seams on their Haigh estate. It is in this connection that Sir Roger Bradshaigh, the first baronet, possesses his greatest claim to memory.

The coal of Haigh was mostly that remarkable and valuable variety known as "cannel", the mines being usually referred to as cannel mines. The name cannel-coal is said to be a corruption of "candle-coal" because, owing to its high gaseous content, it burns like a candle. But I am inclined to think this is a piece of folk-etymology with no real foundation, for I have failed to find any genuine early use of the

compound term candle- or cannel-coal, it is simply termed cannel (canell) as far back as can be traced. It is hard, compact, and lustrous, and capable of being carved into medallions, bowls, trinkets, and even portrait busts. The late Lord Crawford has described it <sup>1</sup> as possessing the smoothness of marble, the texture of porcelain, the glossiness of bronze, the lightness of jet, and the cleanliness of glass—in fact all the æsthetic virtues. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a considerable curio trade was carried on in these objects in Wigan. Lord Crawford possesses a number of them which were carved in the eighteenth century by Robert Town, the father of Charles Town, the Wigan-born animal painter known as “Charles Town of Liverpool”. The earliest known reference to this use of cannel was a piece of “cannel plate” which in 1634 the then Roger Bradshaigh, grandfather of the first baronet, presented to three travellers from Norwich.<sup>2</sup> For more than 100 years, and surviving until the middle of the nineteenth century there was a summer-house at Haigh cut from “cannel” coal which, it is said, was so well polished that it made no mark on the whitest of garments.

The earliest published reference to the Haigh mines occurs in John Leland's *Itinerary*. He visited Wigan about 1538 and records that “Mr. Bradshaw hath a place callid Hawe, a myle from Wigan, he hath found much canel like sea-coole in his grounde, very profitable to him”. This would be the William Bradshaigh who was Mayor of Wigan in 1531 and 1533. The late Lord Crawford informed me that there were records of mining at Haigh at least 200 years earlier than this; and the mention of cannel under the name of “fyre-stone” occurs in a local deed of 1350 preserved in the Wigan Library.<sup>3</sup> The earliest documents at Haigh that I have seen dealing with the cannel mines are the sixteenth-century Court Rolls of the Manor. Lord Crawford has kindly given me permission to quote them. At the Court held on Saturday, 12th October, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary [1556] certain Orders were made. The fourth to seventh Orders read:

Yt ys Ordered at this Courte that Every of the Lorde hys tenants which shall have or get any canell in the towne pytte of Haghe shall declare unto the Lorde how many Wayne Loades of Canell they woll yerely get in the same towne pitte. And the same to be Entred in the Boke. And Every of them to beare and be dated & taxed towards the Charge to be Susteyned & Bestowed aswell for makeng new towne pittes as also for Reparacons thereof & otherwise when occacon of charge shall be sougning the same towne pitts According to the nombre of loads whiche every of them shall get And non otherwise.

That all the saide tenants and Every of them shall get theyre Canell or Fuell

<sup>1</sup> Lord Crawford, *Haigh Cannel* (1923), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Lansdowne MSS., Brit. Mus., No. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Standish Deeds, No. 63; the early record at Haigh has not come to light, but the reference may have been to deeds which have not been examined.

in the saide Towne pyt of Haghe Betwene the Feast of the Invencon of the Holye Crosse and Lammas Daye and at noone other tyme or tymes of the yere.

That the Basketts of the saide towne pitte shall be looked upon by the Lord & iiij of the tenants and such of them as be not sufficient to be amended by theyre destrucon and soo to contynue from then forthe.

That an awdytof shalbe yerely apoynted by the Lorde with iiij of the saidé tenants who shall yerely contynue att the saide towne pytte duryng the tyme of gettingyng Canell there.

From these and subsequent Orders it seems clear that the tenants obtained free cannel for use in their tenements except that they had to bear a proportion of the costs in boring and maintenance. Indeed in 1554 the then Roger Bradshaigh stated in court pleadings that his tenants had been accustomed to get cannel from time out of mind for which they paid by boons, presents, and averages.<sup>1</sup> The profit from the mines was derived from customers outside the Manor. Appended to the record of the Court held on 18th December 10 Elizabeth [1567] there is a list of

The Names of the Lordes tenants wch be lycenced & apoynted by the Lorde at his Courte to get Canell in the Towne pytt yerely accordinge to their owne requests

comprising 58 names (a few of which have been struck out, presumably deceased) with the loads of cannel they are licensed to get, which vary from ten loads to twenty-six. From another source we learn that ten baskets make a load. Certain friends of the lord are also licensed, for at the foot of the list there are these additions :

That Mr. Rygbie shall have yerely at the sayde town pytt xx lodes of canell & to beare accordynglie as the sayde tenants doo towards the makinge of new pitts & all other chargis towardinge the saide towne pytt, and he also to yelde & paye yerely to the lorde one capon. That Gylbert Hindle shall have . . . xx lodes of canell in lykemaner yeldinge & painge yearlie to the lorde ii heres ii capons.

Apparently there had been some abuses, for in 1576 it is " Ordered to be observede and Kept at the towne pitt "

Imprimis the Heuers shall not take passinge iid ob [ $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ ] for the hewing of one lode

Item the Drawers not passinge 1*d.* one lode

Item the Winders ob qr. ( $\frac{3}{4}d.$ ) one lode

Item everye one which be namede in the towne booke for the number of there lodes shall first gett the halfe of them untill they all be served onste over and then begine agagne, and everye one shall gett the halfe of those [lodes] that remayne untill albe served agagne, and then goe agagne untill theye have gotten the whole number of there lodes if the tyme will serve there to.

A sixteenth-century example of the fuel queue, evidently. But they are to be allowed an extra fortnight (" forknote ") for this year.

The Roger Bradshaigh of the Court Roll died 20 February, 1598/9 and was succeeded by his grandson, another Roger Bradshaigh born about 1576. He carried on the coal works with enterprise and vigour, though his career was marred by a quarrel with his kinsman and neighbour, Miles Gerard of Aspull, who had begun to develop the cannel deposits on his Aspull estate.<sup>1</sup> In 1632 there was a serious accident in one of the pits at Haigh which collapsed in consequence of the pillars of coal left to support the roof being wrought too slender. This led to an exacting code of rules for the working of the pits being drawn up in 1636 and agreed to between Roger Bradshaigh and his workmen. Reference will be made to this again later. Notwithstanding these difficulties the mining operations at Haigh continued to flourish.

With this preliminary survey of the state of the cannel mines at Haigh I come to the particular period of my subject with a sketch of Sir Roger Bradshaigh's immediate forbears. His father was James Bradshaigh, the eldest son of the Roger Bradshaigh just mentioned, and his wife Anne who was the daughter of Christopher Anderton of Lostock. James, who was born at Haigh about 1596, was a zealous Roman Catholic. He died at the early age of 35 in 1631,<sup>2</sup> in his father's lifetime. He is described in a notice of him published in 1727<sup>3</sup> as "a great scholar, a fine poet, a traveller in most parts of Europe, and spoke well those languages". When I read that I must admit I was more than a little surprised, for I had never heard of any publications by him, and a careful search failed to discover any of his writings, either in prose or verse. Yet such a definite claim by his immediate descendants must have good foundation. The evidence that he was a traveller is preserved at Haigh Hall where his passport dated 22 May, 1612, and signed by four successive ministers and two other crown officials, is yet to be seen. It mentions that he is "desirous to travell in the parts beyond the seas for his better experience and knowledge in the languages". He is prohibited from going to the city of Rome. It is signed by Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, who was Lord Chamberlain in 1612; William, third Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded Suffolk as Lord Chamberlain in 1614; William, Lord Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury, who was a Commissioner of the Treasury at the appropriate period; Edward, Lord Wotton who was also a Commissioner of the Treasury; Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Vice-Chamberlain; and Sir Julius Cæsar, who was Master of the Rolls. Although it was customary for several privy councillors to sign documents, it seems unlikely that all these

<sup>1</sup> Lord Crawford, *Haigh Cannel* (1933), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> He died unexpectedly, having lately purchased a small estate, on which he still owed a considerable sum, to the embarrassment of his father.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wotton, *English Baronets*, ii, 572.

signatures were needed on the original passport, and indicates that James Bradshaigh made several successive journeys.<sup>1</sup>

The claim that James was "a fine poet" set me thinking. Could it be that someone else had been given credit for his work, or were his works so completely anonymous that no one had identified them? Then I remembered a rare book of religious verse that had been variously attributed, more especially to his brother Edward Bradshaigh and to his cousin Laurence Anderton, and the book was signed I.B. I, myself, was responsible for the Anderton attribution and put up such a good case that in the new edition of the British Museum *Catalogue of the Printed Books* (1932) the attribution is accepted without question!

I decided to consider the matter again. The full title of the book is: *Virginalia, or Spirituall Sonnets in prayse of the most Glorious Virgin Marie, upon everie severall Title of her Litanies of Loreto. . . . By I. B. Printed with Licence 1632.* The book is almost certainly printed at the Birchley Hall secret press. Thus I was led to suppose that the initials stood for John Breereley, the pseudonym of Laurence Anderton, the noted Jesuit, who was associated with his cousins in running the press and whose works were frequently printed at Birchley. He wrote a good deal of sacred poetry of considerable merit, including the celebrated hymn "Jerusalem, my happy home", the original manuscript of which, signed J.B.P. [i.e. John Breereley, Priest] is preserved in the British Museum. Joseph Gillow, in the supplement to his *Bibliographical Dictionary*<sup>2</sup> claims to have identified this manuscript as entirely in the handwriting of Laurence Anderton. Only one copy of the *Virginalia* is known. It passed from the Bright collection to the Corser collection, thence to the Huth Library, then to Joseph Gillow, and is now in the library of the British Museum. An early owner has filled out the initials on the title-page as

I. a B. radshaigh

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be one of the earliest passports for foreign travel still extant—if not the earliest. A writer in the *Sphere* for 15 August, 1936, p. 280, states that ". . . letters of safe conduct are first mentioned in England in the time of Henry V when an Act was passed to the effect that: 'In all safe conducts to be granted any persons, their names, the names of their ships, the name of the Master, and the number of marines should be given.' In those days safe conducts were made out in Chancery. It was the Privy Council which issued passports from 1540 to 1685. One of the earliest on record was issued by Charles I to: 'Our trusty and well-beloved servant Captain William Bradshaigh, Esquire'. . . ." No date or other particulars are given; nor is the present whereabouts of this document indicated; yet it is odd that the person to whom this passport was issued is actually the younger brother of the above James. James's passport has an interesting endorsement by the harbour-master: "This James w<sup>th</sup> his man was imbarqued for France the 28th of May 1612. P(er) me William Jones Clerke of the passage."

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Dict. Eng. Cathol.*, v, 204; see also my paper on the "Birchley Hall Secret Press" in *The Library*, 1926, p. 146.

and an early bibliographer has suggested this meant Isabella Bradshaigh,<sup>1</sup> which led to the attribution being entirely disregarded. Gillow,<sup>2</sup> however, ascribed the book to James's brother, Edward Bradshaigh, the Carmelite (of whom more presently) without much reason, yet the ascription was generally accepted. Edward, however, was in France in 1632 and did not return to England till the following year. On the other hand, James died the year before. What more natural than that his mother should hand the manuscript over to her brothers at Birchley for printing. Thus the attribution on the title-page is substantiated: Ia stands for James—not an uncommon abbreviation. If we accept this solution, James Bradshaigh's claim to be "a fine poet" is fully borne out, for the poetic merits of the book are admitted. No doubt James visited Loretto in the course of his European travels.

Roger then had a learned, cultured, and devout father. He also had several uncles who are known to have gained high distinction in scholarship and divinity. James's next younger brother Richard, who was born in 1601, entered the Jesuit Order in 1625 and was Rector of the College at Liège from 1642 to 1655. In the latter year he went to Paris as Procurator of the English Province. In 1656 he was declared Provincial and appointed Rector of the College at St. Omer, both of which posts he occupied till 1666. In 1658 he published anonymously *On the Nullity of Protestant Ordinations* which occasioned an immediate reply from Dr. John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh. His learning was admitted even by his Protestant opponents. He died 13 February, 1669. There is a notice of him in *D.N.B.*

Edward, born in 1606, became a Carmelite Friar and suffered imprisonment for his faith in 1626. He was later released through the intercession of friends, more especially the King of Spain, and banished to France. He returned to England in 1633 and lived the rest of his life at Haigh Hall where he devoted himself to good works. In later life he was relieved of his missionary labours in order to devote himself to the study of English antiquities and religious history. At his death on 25 September, 1652, he had completed two important historical treatises in Latin, one a History of Monasticism in Britain, and the other *The Lives of the British Saints ancient and recent*.<sup>3</sup> The ascription to Edward of *Virginia* I have already fully discussed.

Two other brothers of James also entered the Society of Jesus and were fully "professed" priests, Thomas (1607-63) and Peter (1609-76). Both engaged in the English Mission, the former in London and the latter at St. Aloysius' College in Lancashire. Still another brother, Christopher (born in 1617), became a secular priest after entering the English College at Rome. He, too, officiated in Lancashire, living at

<sup>1</sup> *Book Prices Current*, 1912, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Dict. Eng. Cathol.*, i, 287.

<sup>3</sup> Gillow, *ibid.*, i, 287.

Scarlsbrick Hall with his sister Frances. In 1657 he was imprisoned at Liverpool. All these four brothers assumed the name of Barton (which had previously been adopted by an uncle, Robert) on entering the Order<sup>1</sup>; Edward's name was Elias à Jesu. Three sisters became nuns.

James's third younger brother, William (1607-49), became a soldier. Like many others of his quality he commenced as a foreign legionary, for we first hear of him at the age of 18 or 19 in the service of the Archduchess Isabella. Many on both sides in the Civil War learned the military art in the Netherlands, the Protestants joining the Dutch cause and the Roman Catholics taking the Spanish side.<sup>2</sup> In 1625 a Royal proclamation was issued recalling all gentlemen from foreign service. The letter from Roger Bradshaigh (the elder) to his son William dated 1st December, 1625, informing him of the order is preserved in the P.R.O.<sup>3</sup> In 1626 there is a letter dated 22nd August from Lord Conway, Secretary of State, to Edward Nicholas, Secretary of the Admiralty, recommending William Bradshaigh for employment in the fleet which the city of London was sending to sea.<sup>4</sup> In 1630 he is referred to as Captain Bradshaigh.<sup>5</sup> In 1638 Captain William Bradshaigh and his second wife Margaret are listed as recusants.<sup>6</sup> Between this date and 1643 William was knighted "for his good services" as the family record has it, but the exact date is not known. In his will dated 29 June, 1643, he describes himself as knight. He appears later to have become Colonel.<sup>7</sup> He died on 17 January 1648/9.<sup>8</sup>

The other brother Roger, who was born in 1608, also "followed the wars" but little or nothing is known about him. It is possible he is identical with the Captain Roger Bradshaw who made an affidavit in Henry Shipworth's suit in 1631<sup>9</sup> and was captured at sea; brought prisoner to Liverpool 19 May, 1651, he was charged by the Parliament with "piracie and other treasons".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, i, 227-30.

<sup>2</sup> The Archduke Albert of Austria died in 1621, his wife the Infanta Isabella of Spain (1566-1633) continued the struggle.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408, but the Editor of this volume has erroneously identified this Captain as Roger Bradshaigh; the document refers to the "Capt. Bradshaw that married Lady Butler", that is, William.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1665, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> In the Stanley, Royalist Com. Papers, ii, 54 (*Rec. Soc.*, 24) a codicil to his will is dated 16 Jan. and the will was proved at Chester on 30th of the same month (*Chet. Soc.*, N.S., 3 or 28, p. 9).

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, p. 511.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

## CHAPTER TWO

## SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S EARLY YEARS

SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH, the first baronet, was the third son of James Bradshaigh and his wife Anne, the daughter of Sir William Norreys of Speke.<sup>1</sup> His two elder brothers, Roger and William, both died in infancy. He was born at Haigh 14 January, 1627/8. It is clear from the foregoing relation that the future baronet was brought up in a scholarly, devout, and loyal household, as well as a busy industrial one. His father died when he was four years old and he came under the guardianship of his grandfather, another Roger Bradshaigh, already mentioned. He was probably first educated at home by his uncle Edward who returned home when the boy was about 6 years of age. The atmosphere was intensely Roman Catholic. His grandfather had returned to the Old Faith many years before, and in 1631 refused knighthood, paying a fine of £13 6s. 8d.; his mother and grandmother were both members of strong Roman Catholic families, the latter being sister to the Andertons of Birchley who maintained there a secret press which was carried on for nearly forty years. Yet when the young Roger came to manhood we see him a convinced Protestant.

Naturally we know little of his boyhood, but his young imagination must have been much excited by the great coal works which were continually expanding on the estate, great holes in the earth expanding at the bottom into chambers supported by huge black pillars of shining cannel. Accidents happened; the firedamp exploded.<sup>2</sup> As I have mentioned, there was a collapse of one of these pits in 1632 which led to a strict and detailed code of working rules being drawn up in 1636, to ensure, among other things, a sufficient girth to the pillars left to support the roof. These pillars are all solid masses of coal and the temptation to hewers, who were paid by results, to encroach on them was very great. Fines were frequent—"James Low hath wrought 4 houses to[o] widd and two pilers to litle and 2 eyes to widd." In 1576 the workmen were fined a whole week's wages if they passed beyond the prescribed limits, but by these Orders of 1636 a regular list of small fines was agreed upon according to the nature of the offence. The clue to the incident which occasioned these Orders is found in a much later memorandum. In the course of the work on the Great Sough (which I shall come to later), about 1665, it is noted that: "A

<sup>1</sup> The Norris family of Speke was descended from Alan, a brother of the Hugh le Norreys who held Haigh in 1193, and this is the second alliance with that family made by the male heir of the Bradshaighs.

<sup>2</sup> There are few records at this period, but a typical report by the steward is "The fiery Damp went off twice since I was at Chester but did little hurt". (Shakerley Letters, quoted by Lord Crawford in *Haigh Cannel*, p. 7.)

little below the middle Halcroft there is aboute 30 drifts of Cannell standinge wch was long since left (as is suposed) when that Pitt was over thrown by reason of the slenderness of the pillars about the Pitt Eye, wch caused afterwards these strict Articles wch are now in force in this booke." The great bustle of work going on all day in the Park, accentuated by a disaster of this kind, must have given the boy much to reflect upon.

Roger's grandfather died on 16th May, 1641,<sup>1</sup> and Roger became a ward of the Crown. He was then 13 years of age. By the Court of Wards and Liveries the boy was placed in the guardianship of John Fleetwood of Penwortham and William Radcliffe of Manchester.<sup>2</sup> From a document preserved at Haigh<sup>3</sup> they appear to have divided their trust, Radcliffe taking charge of the estate and Fleetwood assuming the personal custody of the boy. This led to a divided allegiance after the outbreak of the Civil War, for Radcliffe adhered to the cause of Parliament whilst Fleetwood, though a pronounced Protestant, found himself in sympathy with the Royalist side. This curious situation fell out altogether fortunate for the young Roger, as we shall see in a moment. Fleetwood entrusted Roger to the Earl of Derby who undertook his education along with his own son Charles who was about the same age.<sup>4</sup> To this circumstance is ascribed, in great measure, his adoption of the reformed religion.<sup>5</sup> Roger is usually stated to be the first Protestant in his family, but this is not quite accurate. His grandfather's brother Alexander was a decided Protestant. We know this from Thomas Bradshaigh's interrogation on entering the English College at Rome. He enumerated his numerous brothers and uncles, saying they were all Catholics except his uncle Alexander.<sup>6</sup> Roger Bradshaigh the grandfather, too, was a professed Protestant in his youth, but reverted to the Old Faith in 1622;<sup>6</sup> all his children except James, the

<sup>1</sup> For an abstract of his will see the appendix to this paper, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> The original deed covenanting the wardship is preserved at Haigh (Archiva Lindesiana), an indenture on vellum signed "W. Say & Seale", Master of the Court. To this is annexed a valuation of the estate, which shows that in addition to the Manor of Haigh (including one corn water-mill, one slitting mill, and one fulling mill), held of the King for part of a knight's fee, there was considerable property in Wigan, comprising 16 burgages, one corn water-mill, 16 acres of (arable) land, 10 acres of meadow, and 15 acres of pasture, all held of the Rector (lord of the manor) for annual rents totalling 26s. 8d.; also a small estate called Haycroft in Yorkshire. This document gives the date of Roger's birth as 14 Jan. 1627/8.

<sup>3</sup> Archiva Lindesiana; a certificate of protection from the Commissioners for Delinquent Estates.

<sup>4</sup> This is indicated in Richard Wroe's *Funeral Sermon* (1684), p. 17, but I have not been able to confirm it from any other source.

<sup>5</sup> Wroe, *ibid.*, 17; but see also note in *V.C.H. Lancs.*, iv, 117, n. 41, "The Guardianship system was a common and successful way of inducing conformity".

<sup>6</sup> Foley, *Records of the Society of Jesus*, i, 229.

eldest, were christened in the Wigan Parish Church. However, the influence of the Earl of Derby<sup>1</sup> on Roger can be credited when we consider that his son Charles, with whom Roger was educated, also became a staunch Anglican and published in 1669 *The Protestant Religion is a Sure Foundation and Principle of a true Christian . . .* which went into two editions, both now very rare.

The Great Civil War broke out the year after his grandfather's death and for greater safety Roger was sent with the Earl's family to the Isle of Man.<sup>2</sup> Thus obviously remote from the actual conflict and too young to take any part in it, Roger was close behind the scenes in the household of the Earl of Derby and became imbued with the Cavalier spirit. He could not help noting the serene loyalty of the Earl to the King, notwithstanding the many rebuffs he received from him, and he likewise formed a devoted regard for the Royalist cause, which years later was to have unpleasant consequences.

In the meantime Roger's Haigh estate was being carefully looked after by William Radcliffe, whose fidelity to the Parliament enabled him to secure the estate from intrusion. The document preserved at Haigh to which I have already referred is an order to the Parliament forces to respect its integrity. It is signed by Sir Thomas Stanley and Colonel Peter Egerton, Commissioners for Delinquent Estates, and is dated 28 September, 1643. It recites the circumstances of the guardianship and expresses the extreme displeasure of the Parliamentarians at Fleetwood's defection. On the other hand, Radcliffe is described as "an approved friend to the Kinge and Parliamente who by reason of the said Commitment is responsible for the reviewe of the ward's lands and personal estate". At the instance and petition of Radcliffe the Commissioners "Require, charge, and Command all Captaines, Commanders, and Officers . . . and all other agents and friends of the Parliamente . . . to desist and forbear to distraine, attach, plunder, carrie away, or otherwise disturb . . . the capitall messuage called Haigh or any of the desmesne lands", etc.

Arriving at manhood status Roger returned to Haigh and took up the active management of his own affairs. The estate was intact and in good order. In 1647, in the twentieth year of his age, he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Pennington of Muncaster, and entered upon many years of marital felicity.

A few years later the Civil War was resumed. Charles II landed

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Derby in his last letter to his son before his execution (Seacome) warned him against taking into his house either a Jesuit or a Puritan; "next to these the most meddlesome is a musician"!

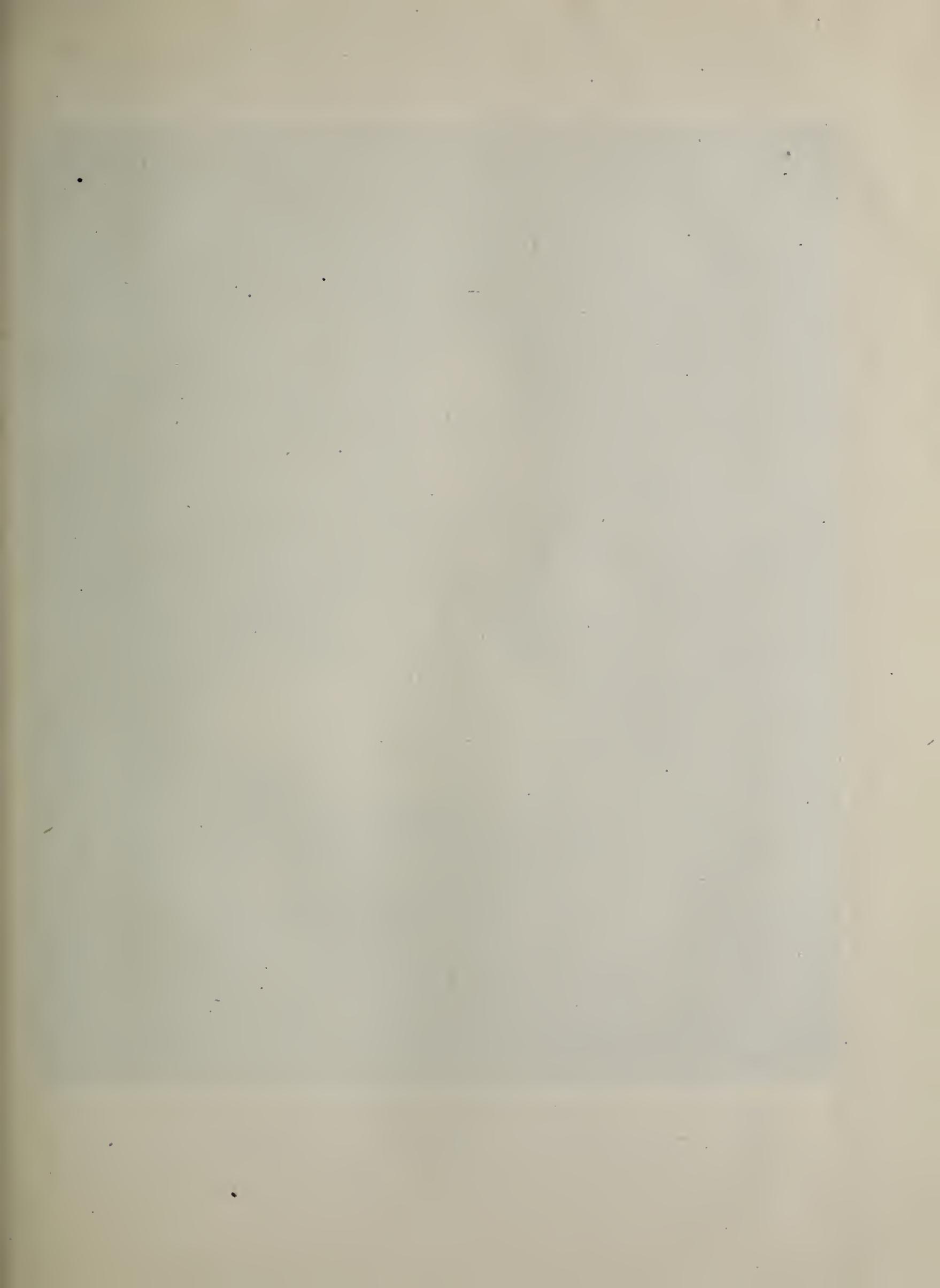
<sup>2</sup> This also is on the authority of Wroe (*Sermon*, p. 18), but it is known that the Earl's children (or some of them) were with their mother at Lathom House during the first siege, and Charles was in England later. (See Seacome, *Hist. of the Stanley Family*.)



SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH, KNT. AND BART., M.P., D.L., J.P.

*(From the portrait at Haigh Hall ; artist unknown.)*







ELIZABETH, LADY BRADSHAIGH.  
(From the portrait at Haigh Hall ; artist unknown.)

in Scotland in June, 1650, and early in 1651 several people suspected of provoking a Royalist rebellion were arrested. Roger Bradshaigh may have been among these, for in March we find him imprisoned in Chester Castle. His arrest, however, is more likely to have followed his petition to the County Commissioners in respect of his uncle William's property in Kent and some land in Lancashire formerly in the possession of Christopher Anderton, which Roger claimed to have purchased from Sir William Brereton, the petition being dated 21 February, 1650/1. As already stated, Sir William Bradshaigh was a Colonel in the King's Army as well as a recorded recusant, and Christopher Anderton's lands were sequestered for the same offences of delinquency and recusancy. Exactly when Roger was arrested is not known, but on 8 April he was granted parole on giving a written undertaking which is preserved at Haigh. The text of the document may interest the reader:

I under writen doe engage my selfe (by the word of a gentleman) to bee a true prisoner unto Colonell Robert Dukinfield Governor of Chester, and not to stirr out of the sayd garrison of Chester without leave or by order from the sayd governor or his deputy. Neither will I act anythinge prejudiciall to the state, in witnes whearof I have hearunto put my hand April 8, 1651

ROGER BRADSHAIGH

I doe verily beleeve & undertake that Mr. Bradshawe will performe this engagement in all points. 8 April 1651

SAM. ROWE

On 13 June he was discharged from imprisonment and the discharge is also preserved at Haigh:

Accordinge to an order of the Councell of State bearinge date the third of June instant These are to certify all those whom it may concerne that the bearer hereof Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh in the County of Lanctr Esqre is hereby Discharged from his present imprison<sup>t</sup>. (he havinge given security w<sup>th</sup> sufficient sureties accordinge to the direcons of the sayd order) And all officers and souldiers and all others are hereby requested quietly and peaceably to p'mitt and suffer the sayd Mr. Bradshaigh to passe to Haigh in the sayd county of Lanc<sup>tr</sup> and to negotiate his affayres where his occasions require without interuption or molestacion, he actinge nothinge prejudicall to the Parliament or this present Governm<sup>t</sup>. Dated at Chester the thirteenth daye of June 1651

ROBERT DUKENFIELD.

To all officers and souldiers and to all others whom it may concern.

Presumably the sureties he gave precluded his adherence to the forces of the Earl of Derby when the Earl landed on Preesall Sands on the following 10 August and endeavoured to raise Lancashire on behalf of Charles II, who had already reached Warrington after sleeping the night of the 14th at Bryn near Wigan. On the evening of the 16th August the Earl's forces encamped at Upholland on the other side of Wigan to Haigh Hall. After proceeding to Chorley the Earl turned back with the intention of occupying Wigan, but before he could reach the town

he was intercepted by the Parliament's forces under Lilburne and the Battle of Wigan Lane ensued on the morning of 25th August, 1651. This was fought on the confines of Roger Bradshaigh's estate. As I have already given a full account of it elsewhere<sup>1</sup> I will not repeat it here except to note that the main fighting took place on the Wigan end of the Haigh Park. Roger Bradshaigh was a passive spectator of Derby's fight and eventual defeat. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when the carnage was over Bradshaigh and his servants went among those left for dead and found Sir William Throgmorton still alive and had him conveyed to the Hall, where he eventually recovered.

As is well known, Lord Derby, who was several times wounded, made a spectacular escape and eventually joined the King at Worcester where, following Charles's final defeat, he was taken prisoner. After a brief trial at Chester he was beheaded in Bolton on 6 October, 1651. The body was immediately placed in a coffin and taken by his son Charles to Ormskirk for burial, but rested the first night at Haigh Hall.<sup>2</sup> There is preserved at Haigh a very faded contemporary copy of the Earl's last letter to his wife, written on the morning of his departure from Chester for Bolton. As those who have read it will know, it is a beautiful letter.<sup>3</sup> As the copy is in the handwriting of Roger Bradshaigh it seems not unlikely it was made during the halt in the sad progress to Ormskirk.

Immediately after this Roger Bradshaigh went to London, on what business is not known, quite possibly to secure some amelioration of the persecution of the late Earl's family. He interviewed Cromwell and on the 25th secured from him a safe-conduct back to Wigan. This document, with a fine signature of the Protector, is also preserved at Haigh. It is addressed "To all Officers & Souldiers under my Command" and reads:

These are to require you to permit & suffer ye Bearer hereof Roger Bradshaw of Haigh in the County of Lancashire Esq<sup>re</sup> with his servant, horses, & accessories, quietly to passe from London to his dwelling att Haigh aforesaid without any molestation. Given under my hand and seale ye 25 day of October 1651.

O. CROMWELL.

During the next two or three years Bradshaigh was much occupied in proceedings with the Lancashire Commissioners for Sequestered Estates. His petitions on behalf of one person or another were numerous, and they were not confined to his own family interests, though some of them were. He was executor to his uncle Sir William Bradshaigh,

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. L. & C. Antiq. Soc.*, xlvii.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Broxap, *Great Civil War in Lancs.*, 203-4; Seacome does not mention this incident, but Wm. Pollard in his *Stanley of Knowsley* quotes Edward Robinson's *Discourse*, giving the place as "Wiggan", thus filling in a blank in Wm. Beamont's edition of that work (*Chet. Soc.*, O.S., No. 62, p. 85).

<sup>3</sup> Printed in full by Seacome.

who died possessed of lands in Kent sequestered for delinquency.<sup>1</sup> He was related to the Andertons of Birchley<sup>2</sup> and Lostock.<sup>3</sup> Frances, the widow of Edward Scarisbrick, was his father's sister;<sup>4</sup> as also was Dorothy, the widow of Hamlet Massey.<sup>5</sup> He was guardian of Frances, the infant daughter of the late William Lathom,<sup>6</sup> and one of the guardians of Edward, the infant son of Sir Thomas Tyldesley<sup>7</sup> who was killed in the battle of Wigan Lane. He also claimed lands in Popplewell, Yorkshire,<sup>8</sup> and he claimed to be the lessee of certain lands of Sir William Gerard of Bryn,<sup>9</sup> and one of the trustees of the latter's marriage settlement. Frances Lathom he had taken into his own home to be brought up with his own children. In the end the sequestration of the Lathom estates was discharged and Roger Bradshaigh confirmed in the custody and guardianship of the child, but the County Committee was ordered to see that Frances was reared a Protestant.

### CHAPTER THREE

## THE GREAT SOUGH

NOTWITHSTANDING all the intimate associations with recusants and delinquents indicated in Chapter Two, Roger Bradshaigh was permitted henceforth to enjoy his estates in peace. All these troubles were settled one way or another, mostly in his favour, by 1655. He was then about 28. In that year he settled down in earnest to pursue a task which he had commenced several years earlier, which has been described by the late Lord Crawford as "one of the outstanding engineering feats of the seventeenth century".<sup>10</sup> He had been carefully developing the cannel mines at Haigh, as is shown by memoranda which still survive. In these early mining operations water was drained from the pits by means of "soughs"—open channels with occasional short lengths of tunnelling. The word was also applied to the adit or eye of the pit, whence it was used as a verb, the coal brought out through the eye being described as "soughed out". These soughs or drains were often the cause of quarrels between neighbours, as readers of Mrs. Bankes's paper on *Mining in Winstanley*<sup>11</sup> will have noticed. In land where seams of coal

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Stanning, *Roy. Comp. Papers*, i, 228 (Rec. Soc., 24).    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>3</sup> J. Brownbill, *Roy. Comp. Papers*, v, 72 (Rec. Soc., 72).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 50 (Rec. Soc., 95).    <sup>5</sup> Stanning, *ibid.*, iv, 124 (Rec. Soc., 36).

<sup>6</sup> Stanning, *ibid.*, iv, 64; v, 195.    <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 177.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 233; vi, 43; these Yorkshire lands are included in the survey of the estate attached to Deed of Wardship (see note 2, p. 9).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 232; iii, 67; *Cal. of the Comm. for Compounding*, 1643-60 (P.R.O.), iii, 1722.

<sup>10</sup> *Haigh Cannel*, 6.    <sup>11</sup> *Transactions of the Lancs. & Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, liv.

are found at various levels the problem of drainage in the early days was more than most owners could cope with, so that pits were limited in size and range. At Haigh the ground rises steeply to a high level in the neighbourhood of Haigh and Aspull where the rich seams of coal were worked in patches. The "Town Pit" to which reference has been made in Chapter One is on the high level. Coal was also reached at various levels of the rising ground commencing at an outcrop at the Wigan Lane end of the Park just above the east bank of the river Douglas. The great Haigh Fault throws the cannel down 500 yards on one side of the estate.

Inspired no doubt by the difficulties experienced in his boyhood, Roger Bradshaigh early conceived the idea of driving a tunnel straight down from the high level to the river Douglas, or rather into a little brook (known locally to-day as the "yellow stream" on account of the colour of the water) in Bottling Wood, which runs a few yards farther on into the Douglas. In this way all danger of the water from the Haigh mines endangering those at Aspull would be removed—a generous-minded and bold undertaking requiring considerable skill and precision in measurement. It was commenced in or about 1652 when Bradshaigh was 25, and completed in 1670 after seventeen years' continuous work. It was immediately called the Great Sough. As finished in 1670 it is more than two-thirds of a mile in length, often very deep, 6 feet wide, and 4 feet high. It is ventilated by ten air-shafts 9 feet in diameter, the deepest being 49 yards, these shafts being originally used for extracting the rock hewn from the tunnel. The greatness of the enterprise will be sufficiently appreciated when the reader is reminded that practically nothing was known of the stratification and faulting, no underground surveys existed, and there were no proper maps even of the surface.

Bradshaigh has left a record of the work in his own handwriting in a quaint and much treasured manuscript known as the "Haigh Colliery Orders, 1635-1690". It consists of 74 leaves of paper bound in a piece of vellum originally part of a fifteenth-century missal. The entries are made from both ends, and 45 leaves in the middle are blank. In addition to the account of the Great Sough it contains the "Orders" drawn up by Roger's grandfather in 1636 for the safer working of the coal, to which reference has already been made; revised Orders drawn up by Peter Shakerley in 1687, then guardian to the third baronet; and many records of fines imposed on the miners for transgressions against the Orders; and many signed contracts between the workmen and the proprietors covering the whole period. These miscellaneous memoranda, of great value historically, are fully dealt with by the late Lord Crawford in his brochure on *Haigh Cannel* published in 1933. Our immediate interest is with the description of the Great Sough.

The description appears to have been written following a survey of the completed work and is headed (by way of an afterthought) :

An Account of the condition of the Great Sough from the Brooke neare Botling Wood to the Maine Delph of Cannell, being in all 7 score Roods and one yard, at eight yds. to the Rood, and for the soughing [of] wch theare hath been 10 Pitts suncken ; one with another being 3 yds wide ; and the depth one with another coming to 300 yards, and two foote, wch I have sunck, besyde the charge of Timber, workmanship, & setting & alsoe boaring, winding the water, maintaining the workmens Tooles, workmanship & setting Timber in many parts of the sough as by al . . . all shall apeare. With observations wheare the [more] dangerous faults in the sough and Pitts are wch ought to be lookit into once a quarter at least ; alsoe observations for (my posterity) what . . . ted Cannell Delfes there are (never before discovered) and what Cannell may be gott in ould Pitts and places laid drye by virtue of the great and chargeable Sough (after above 17 yeares Labor, Charge, and Patience) by the blessing of God finisht, for the good of my Posterity. By me

Roger Bradshaghe

8 Oct. 1670 Aetate sua 42.

Only small extracts have hitherto been printed and with the permission of the Earl of Crawford I now give the record *in extenso*. It is of interest from several angles. Psychologically it is revealing : one can almost see the author's mind working. The close attention to detail and exact measurement is notable. In the absence of geological knowledge the method of trial and experiment is adopted ; and in the course of the work he is learning the nature of dips and faults. It is interesting, too, for the geological information recorded. In the margin throughout are admonitions to those who will follow him, such as " This trench ought to be lookit into onece a yeer at least " ; " Note how this cannell may be gotten " ; " Good Coale " ; etc. The more important are included in the text which follows. Strikes of coal are indicated by a pointing finger. The " account " is as follows :

From the Brooke neere Botling Wood wheere the hedge parts a Park and Partingtons Wood, Great Sough begins with an open trench uncluted over with Stone for 4 roods & a half, (*marginal note* : This trench ought to be lookit into onece a yeer at least) then the first entry in begins under ground wch is to the first [entry] 5 roods and 2 yards. From the entrance under ground to the first pitt is 5 roods and 2 yards, the Pitt beinge 7 yards and 2 foot depe. Note that from the entrance under ground to the first Pitt the sough is all posted and paived with Timber on one syde wch must bee often looked at. From the first to the second Pitt is 14 Roods, the Pitt beinge 16 yards deepe, the sough betwixt beinge All posted and paived wth Timber upon one syde and the earth cast below.

Take care often.

From the second to the 3d Pitt wch is in Partingtons Wood neare the way is 9 Roods and 3 yards, the Pitt beinge 26 yds and 1 ftte deepe. There is a Row of Posts all through the sough betwixt these Pitts with planks over the head to keepe the topp from fallinge (and must be often lookt at).

Note

That 14 yards from the topp of this Pitt there is a (coale) about 5 qtrs of a yard thicke.

From the third Pitt to the fourth Pitt, wch is in Partingtons field in the Corner next the Gate that parts a park & Partingtons wood, is 11 Roods and 6 yards, the Pitt beinge 28 yards deepe.

Note

That this pitt is covered over with timber layd upon the fast, aboute 4 yards from the Topp and from thence filld up with earth to the Topp. Least that covering should faile with the weight it is necessary to sough it aboute. Now sought about.

From the fourth to the 5th Pitt, wch is in the Parke Hooke next the Gildfords Close, is 14 Roods, and wch Pitt is 29 yards deepe.

Note

That 14 yards from the topp of this Pitt thear is a coale three qtrs of a yard thick, and about two Roods above this pitt in the sough wee weare forced to leave a yard and a halfe to avoyed an extreame stone.

From the 5th to the 6th pitt, which is the first pit in the Gildfords Close, is 14 Roods, and it is 32 yards deepe; this pitt is soughd about and filld upp, from the bottom, but theare should bee about half a dozen baskets of stone sent down to secure the mouth of the sough downwards least the earth shoot too farr under downwards and stopp the water. This is now done.

From the 6th to the 7th pitt, which is the second pitt in the Gildfords Cloase, is 15 Roods, and 7 yards, and which pitt is 35 yards deepe.

Note

That a yard and a halfe above the sough in this pitt there is a coale a yard thick.

Note allsoe

that three Roods in the sough downwards from this pitt theare is a faulte of 28 yards length, all timbered, and 3 yards below that again there is another faulte, or softe metle, wch is 2 yards in length and timbered. This must bee often lookit at to preserve and repayre any decay. About two Roods and a half downwards in the sough from this pitt James Glassbrooke did discover a (Cannell) waste, and found Canell in the working above a decayde place of the sough in firmer mettel, it was equal with the bottom of the sough and did ryse towards the lane, wch certainlie leads to Cannell wch wee board unto, in the new earth over against it.

From the 7th to the 8th pitt, which is in Pickhurst, is in length 15 Roods and 5 yards and wch pitt is 38 yards and a half deepe; this pitt is sough about and filled up. Yet it ought to be secured at the mouth below downwards with a few stones to prevent wrecking downrds.

From the 8th to the 9th pitt, being the first Pitt in the two Acre medow, is 14 Roods, and the depth of the maine sough is 42 yards and a halfe. The reason why wee left the direct line of the sough to come to this place, was because we weare assured of an upper or mounted delfe of Cannell, but 16 yards from the Topp; soe wee planckt it over and gott Cannell there severall years, and went on with the sough at the bottom also (keeping our fall).

Note

That 5 yards above this pitt is a coale waste, two yards broad wch is timbered. And six Roods and a half above that again there is another fault of soft mettel 3 yards long, but it is timbered with 5 payre of posts. Look often to this.

From the 9th to the 10th pitt, wch is the 2nd in the two Acre Medow, is 13 Roods, 5 yards and a half, and the depth to the maine levell is in all 48 yeards, that is 32 yeards to the levell of the mayne Cannell delfe, and from thence to the sough 16 yeards. See that wee have 16 yeards fall to spare or to make use of as necessity to my posterity shall require. (*Marginal note*: The last sough pitt). Note that this pitt is planckd over at 32 yeards deep and a counter sough driven from thence to the maine delfe which is 4 Roods 2 yeards and a halfe, and from there in the Cannell is a stager hole. Neare the Merle Pitt the maine sough is driven 9 yeards above the last Pitt but the Damp would not suffer us to go to the Cannell. Theare

is another stager hole board to the Cannell a litle on the Right hand from the last Close by the Hooke of the Copy, neare the Ditch wheare theare is an Axle sticke up. Betweene the Sough Hey and the Kilne Medow, neare a young Ash tree wch growes in the hedge, theare is an end wough or wal of Cannell, which bends down towards the copy wood, and theare is an ould Pitt in the Sough Hey, in or against the ould Copy Pitt.

Note

That this wall of Cannell may be drawne dry by fetching or making an ould Gutter deeper from the hard end of this wough of Cannell a little below the yong Ash downwards towards the maine Gutter that leads from the Kilne Medow Pit. (on the topp of the West Hill), or ells to make search if it can bee drawne into the ould work in the Sough Hey. (*Marginal note* : I have gotten Cannell for my owne use & may get more.)

Memorandum the 2nd

Neare a place wheare may be perceived a Canell Pitt hath beene at the Topp of the Kilne Medow, a litle below the midle Holecroft, theare is aboute 30 Driftes of Cannell standinge wch was long since left (as is suposed) when that Pitt was over thrown by reason of the slendernes of the Pillars aboute the Pitt Eye, wch caused afterwards these strict Articles wch are now in force in this booke. This Canell may be worth the sincking of a Pitt upon, but (to bee sure it may bee tryed by) working through into the ould Hollowes, and see how it spreads, and what length it is.

Theare is a Delfe of Cannell neare a place calld the Lundy-hole aboute 5 Roods from a litle ebb Pitt in the slack in the heres copy neare the long hurst, it sumps aboute halfe a yarde, and dibbs very much and spreads forward towards the Cow Hey. This is all layd drye by virtue of the Sough.

Theare is a wough of Cannell in the two Acre Medow, at the higher end of the Round Acre neare the turning in the Kilne Lane, and shootes into the Cow Hey as wee suppose. And about 4 Roods below the geatte in the new earth the Cannell was board to at 8 yards deepe. And aboute 3 Roods below a Hollin tree in the Cross Ki ne Lane Hedge in the new earth the Cannell was board to at 11 yards, at the end next the Pickhurst. Aboute 3 Roods below an ould Pitt that is in the Lower house ground, next feild to the Gilfords Close, calld Dickinsons Pitt, toward the lower (Kilne ?) Medow theare is a hanging Delfe of Cannell that lyeth all in water and sumps extremely downwards. It is believed it leads to a considerable delfe of Cannell, but if it ever bee draind it must be soughd from the Brooke in Marklands Clough, wch is my land, and there will be noe danger of drayning my neighbor, the dibb goeing towards there ; see that theare can not bee fall enough any further.

From the first Pitt in the two Acre Medow, wheare wee gott Cannell at 16 yards deepe, about 2 Roods from the Cross Lane neare a place calld Jewins Pitt, Robert Glassbrooke wrought one day through a Sump towards the new earth and found a Cannell, but was beaten out with water. It sumped soe that the topp of it was equall with the bottom of the Delfe in the Pitt above writen. Robert Glassbrooke, an experienced workman, sayth that hee veryly beleeves theare is Cannell in the Dingle wch lyeth at the bottom of the Hard Feild . . . because of a buss that apeard in wch hee made a litle tryall, but wanted leasure. Let that be enquired into and tryed.

In the 10th Sough Pitt wch is the 2nd Pitt in the two Acre Medow, aboute 4 yards below the Cannell floare & 25 yards from the Topp of the Pitt, is a Delfe of good Coale a yard and a halfe thick except six inches of Wind earth that is in the midle.

It is apparent from the satisfaction expressed in the paragraph about

the "wough of cannell" that there was no longer any danger of the water draining into his neighbour's pits, that one of Roger's primary incentives to the boring of the Great Sough was to remove a source of dispute with his Aspull competitor. Though incidentally the work greatly facilitated the exploitation of his own property, the good-will motive redounds much to Bradshaigh's credit. Recognizing, too, that the Great Sough is still in working order after 275 years of use, that the safety of the Aspull mines still depends upon its effectiveness, you will realize that Roger's constant thoughts for his posterity were not in vain. His final admonition is: "Let thear all wayes be care taken to apoynt some persone to goe quite through the Mayne Sough every two Months at least to prevent Decaise in tyme that the benefitt of my 16 years Labor, charge, and patience (which it pleased God to crowne w<sup>th</sup> success for me and my posteritie) may not bee lost by Neglect." That periodic inspection is still carried out, for if the Great Sough (with its later extensions) were to break down the whole works on the lower level would be quickly flooded.

But the seventeen years' labour is not the end of the story. Annexed to the "Account" are a number of memoranda recording extensions with dates and costs. Here are one or two examples: "I suncke the Wheele Pitt in 2 Acre Meadow 1673 to the Cannell and board downe to the Mayne Sough just 23 ft. The great work of the Pitt house was 167 yards wch. at 4½*d.* per yeard came to 3*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*" "I suncke the Pitt in West Hill 1674, and built the wheele and house over it 1675; the sincking cost £24-12*s.*-8*d.*". Other incidental costs are then enumerated. Again: "Decemb. the 28th 1674 Richard Jepson measured the difference in the fall of the ground & depth of the Pitts betwixt the oulde deepe Pitt in great Stone Low and the Wheele Pitt in the Two Acre Medow which was as followeth: from the top of the Great Stone Low Pitt to the top of the Pitt in the Two Acre Medow [the Wheel Pit] is 54 yards, 2 foot and two inches; the Stone Low Pitt is 62 yards deepe, and the Pitt in 2 acre medow is 35 and a halfe [yards] deepe. Soe that theare is 28 yards and a halfe difference betwixt the dibb of the Cannell in the Stone Low and two acre meadow Pitt" [i.e. the Wheel Pit]. It might be mentioned that the Stony Low Pit was one of Roger's earliest enterprises. It was sunk in 1649 and cost £320 before any profit accrued.<sup>1</sup> It is now a cattle pond. Roger Bradshaigh put every shilling he could lay his hands on into his works so that his comparatively early death and the very early death of his son two years later, left the family's finances a little strained.

None of the drawings or calculations of this work seem to have survived, except one stray sketch plan dated 1677 which shows that the extension of the Great Sough was still going on. The memorandum on

<sup>1</sup> Lord Crawford, *Haigh Cannel*, p. 8; Haigh Colliery Orders, fo. 12*r.*

the back in Roger Bradshaigh's handwriting says: "This is the Plott how the Ground lyes wheare a sough must be brought up, if ever any considerable scale of Cannell be gotne in Aspul. Observed and taken by my Sone Roger Oct<sup>br</sup> the 16th 1677." On the plan itself it is recorded: "By Computation ye best way they can bring ye Sough up through Kindsleys & Lathoms Ground will be 150 Roods, but 200 Roods and more ye other way".<sup>1</sup> Which shows that at the age of 28 Roger the younger was an apt pupil to his father.

The late Lord Crawford several times publicly expressed his opinion that this undertaking was "the greatest engineering achievement in England down to the building of the Eddystone Lighthouse", a judgment to which most readers will be inclined to assent.

The mining operations led to other developments. Roger Bradshaigh may take some small credit in John Dwight's invention of porcelain, for it was at his invitation that Dwight conducted his experiments at Haigh with the clays turned out from the pits. John Dwight, afterwards famous as the Fulham potter, was in his early years "scribe" or secretary to successive bishops of Chester who were also rectors of Wigan. He lived in Millgate, Wigan, from 1663 till after 1687, though he resigned his post of bishop's secretary in 1670 when Bishop John Wilkins brought an action against him for having, as he alleged, injured the income of the rectors of Wigan. The making of pottery ware was one of the industries of Wigan at this time and the ingenious mind of Dwight considered methods of improving the product. His experiments led to his taking out two patents (in 1671 and 1684) for "transparent porcellane and opacous redd and darke-coloured porcellaine". Where these experiments were conducted has long been a matter of speculation, though his residence in Wigan during the appropriate period leaves the locality in little doubt.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, there is contemporary testimony. Dr. Charles Leigh in his *Natural History of Lancashire, etc.* published in 1700 records: "The most noted clays in these parts are potters-clay, tobacco-pipe-clay, and sope-stone, as the miners call it. The potters-clay is usually blew or yellowish, or a dove or coushant-colour, as the workmen term it; after it is moulded into pots, it is burned in a circular oven, and it is glazed with a slurry, and lead-ore finely powder'd. This slurry is made of a different clay to what the pot is; it is usually reddish, and will run to a glass. . . . I was informed by my ever honour'd friend Sr Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, that it was upon a whitish yellowish earth, in a field near the Cannell-Pits at Haigh, that Mr. Dwight made his first discovery of his most incomparable metal."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archiva Lindesiana.

<sup>2</sup> See an article by Francis Fidler ("Romance of Lancashire and Cheshire Ceramic Art") in *Trans. L. & C. Antiq. Soc.*, lii, pp. 67-71.

<sup>3</sup> Pages 56-7; this must have been before 1671.

It will be noticed that Leigh mentions a clay that "will run to a glass", so it is not surprising that in 1678 a new enterprise was in prospect—the manufacture of glass. Bradshaigh, it is clear, was anxious to turn the waste products of his mining operations to economic advantage, and the conjunction of glass-making clay with an abundant fuel supply presented an inducement to John Blackburne of Westby to establish "glass-houses" at Haigh. Draft articles of agreement between him and Sir Roger Bradshaigh survive<sup>1</sup> according to which he was to have a parcel of land near one of the pits on an eleven-years lease with the option of renewal. He was to be allowed to dig as much clay as he required in erecting his glass-houses. He was to have all the coal from the adjoining pit "to be used and spent in the glass-house or glass-houses to keep on foote the said works of making glass if the said coleworkes shall so long last and continue, or may with any demonstration of clear profitt be continued". Roger covenants not to sell any coal from this particular pit to anyone else and Blackburne undertakes to buy no other coal. The price was "one peny for every baskett of Cole according to the common measure now used at the Colepitts in Haigh", the coal "to bee layd upon the Banck only". That the enterprise was considered experimental is indicated by a clause which permits Blackburne to claim and remove all his buildings and equipment at the end of the lease. This may be the reason no trace of the works now remains.

These mining and commercial operations did not engross either the mental or physical activities of Roger Bradshaigh. He was also an enterprising agriculturalist and personally supervised the tilling of his estate, the planting of orchards, trees, and flower gardens. His efficiency in these arts is attested from several independent records. William Blundell of Crosby, in his journal, notes in 1660 "Sir Roger Bradshaigh limed the hall croft with lime from Clitheroe, which cost about 8*l.* per acre, each horse-load being 1*s.* 10*d.* It hath yielded very good corn since that time, which is now about twelve years since, and is like to continue. One year barley, one year fallow, and one year wheat for the most part."<sup>2</sup> In a diary kept by Roger's son in 1680 there is a memorandum of his work in planting and grafting fruit trees, at the same time noting those which his father had previously set and dealt with similarly.<sup>3</sup> In the appraisal of his estate after his death "corn in the ground" is valued at £97 10*s.*, and "cattle of all sorts" at £365 10*s.*

<sup>1</sup> Archiva Lindesiana.    <sup>2</sup> William Blundell, *A Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Archiva Lindesiana.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## DEPUTY LIEUTENANT AND CAPTAIN OF HORSE

WITH the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 Roger Bradshaigh became one of the most important men in Lancashire and entered the field of national politics. He was elected "Royalist" M.P. for the County in the election preceding the Restoration—the Convention or "healing" Parliament which assembled on 25 April, 1660—his fellow-member being another "Royalist", Sir Robert Bindloss, Baronet. He was one of the first to receive the honour of knighthood on Charles's arrival in London. When Charles was informed at Breda that he was to be restored to the throne he drew up a list of ninety-three persons, mostly those concerned in the act of Restoration, and conferred the honour of Knighthood upon them on varying dates between 8 May, 1660, and 17 June.<sup>1</sup> These knights are known as Breda Knights. The day after the last Breda knighthoods were conferred, 18 June, he conferred four other knighthoods in London. One of these four was Roger Bradshaigh.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh was promptly appointed a Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Lancashire, and many busy years in county administration followed. The administration had to be readjusted to the newly re-established royal government and everything had to be changed. Officers had to abjure the oaths taken to the Commonwealth and take new oaths to the King. Persons refusing to comply were discharged from their offices and successors had to be found and sworn, and when the Militia Act<sup>2</sup> was passed early in 1662 the swearing had to be done over again. The kind of procedure this entailed may be illustrated from the Letter Book of William Bankes of Winstanley<sup>3</sup>; "10 October 1662, Thomas Rushton for refusing the oaths and subscriptions . . . is removed and displaced, and Miles Atkinson haveing taken the severall oaths and subscribed the Declaration . . . is restored to place according to his seniority and is now declared the first Capitall Burgess" [of Lancaster]. And again: "Ordered by the Comm<sup>rs</sup> for the well governing and regulating of Corporations in the County Palatine of Lancaster

<sup>1</sup> On 8 May a proclamation was made in London and many influential people went to Breda. He embarked on the 22nd, sailed on the 24th, arrived at Dover on the 26th, and reached London late on the evening of 29 May.

<sup>2</sup> "An Act for The Ordering of the Forces in the Several Counties of this Kingdom."

<sup>3</sup> A manuscript preserved among the muniments at Winstanley Hall, described as "Letters, Orders, and Other Transactions of the Militia of Lancashire, 1662–1676" sm.fo., 143 leaves, bound in the original vellum; wholly in the handwriting of William Bankes. Referred to in later footnotes as Bankes L. B.

that Miles Atkinson be declared Town Clerk of Lancaster, and that Mr. Thomas Johnson be removed from the said place." At Preston, 23 October, 1662, the officials and burgesses made the Declaration :

I doe declare, I hold that there is noe obligacion on me, or any other person, from the oath commonly called the Solemn League or Covenant, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the Known Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome. Wm. Banaster, Mayor. Tho. Hodkinson, John Kellet, Baliffs. Ed. Rigbye, Steward. [23 Burgesses]. Sworn and subscribed before us C. Derby, Will. Stanley, Roger Bradshaigh, Ro. Nowell, Alex. Osbaldston, Tho. Bradill, P. Legh, Ed. Rigbie, Will. Bankes, Rob. Fife.

The Militia had to be reorganized, and perhaps this was a more exacting task than any. The whole of this work of readjustment fell upon the Lord-Lieutenant and his Deputy-Lieutenants who met at frequent intervals. Sir Roger was again elected a Member of Parliament for the County in 1661, his fellow member on this occasion being Edward Stanley, brother of Charles, Earl of Derby.<sup>1</sup> In October the same year he was elected Mayor of Wigan and was largely responsible for securing the greatly enlarged new Borough Charter which was granted by King Charles in May 1662,<sup>2</sup> in connection with which the King presented a Sword of Honour to the Borough "for its loyalty to Us" in the Civil Wars, to be carried before the Mayor. The sword, still in use, bears the royal arms on one side and the Bradshaigh arms on the other.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh also received a commission as Captain to raise and command a Troop of Horse and we find him as energetic in his military as in his civil duties. Indeed, in view of the great enterprises on his estate, which we have already considered, one wonders how he found time for it all. One is not surprised to find him writing to Williamson in December 1663<sup>3</sup> that "the militia is now so well settled that there is leisure for recreation". Bradshaigh was fully equal to his new responsibilities, which he took very seriously, too seriously if the views of some commentators are to be accepted.

That he early had the ear and favour of the King seems evident from the complaint of Charles, Earl of Derby, that Bradshaigh had been endeavouring to secure the appointment of Lord Gerard of Brandon<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the authority of Pink and Beavan ; acc. to Burke's *Peerage* Charles was an only son. Edward Stanley died 1664.

<sup>2</sup> The 16th May, not the 29th, which would have been singularly appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 1663, p. 346 ; Sir Joseph Williamson was at this time secretary to Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards 1st Earl of Arlington), who had become Secretary of State on the retirement of Sir Edward Nicholas, and was a regular correspondent of Sir Roger's, keeping him informed of what went on in London, whilst Sir Roger reported affairs in Lancashire.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Gerard of Halsall, Lancs. (c. 1613-18 Jan. 1693/4) created Baron Gerard of Brandon (co. Suffolk) 1645 ; created Earl of Macclesfield 1679 ; a brave and successful soldier, but a man of uncertain loyalties. He was a grandson

to the Lord-Lieutenancy of the county, which Derby regarded as the hereditary privilege of his line. In a letter dated from Lathom 22 October, 1662, Lord Derby wrote to Mr. Secretary Bennet expressing the hope that "through him he might be better understood by the King, who is led to believe that Sir Roger Bradshaigh and Colonel Kirkby<sup>1</sup> have great influence in the county and because they speak against him". Derby "thinks their opposition arises because in 1660 they tried to make Lord Gerard of Brandon Lord-Lieutenant". Three months earlier the Earl gently rebuked Bradshaigh for communicating direct with the Secretary of State. Sir Roger had written a long letter to Sir Edward Nicholas enclosing information against certain persons suspected of sedition. Ascertaining that Lord Derby was going to London he asked him to deliver it. Nicholas passed the enclosures to the Earl who subsequently wrote to Bradshaigh as follows:<sup>2</sup>

SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH: Mr. Secretary Nicholas having read your informations advised me to acquaint my Deputy Leutenants of Lancashire therewith, which accordingly I have done, and to [tell] you that he conceaves you will doe well to binde over to the sizes those that are guilty. What further you know I hope you will acquaint my Deputy Leutenants therewith. And hereafter you neede not be soe shie as to conceale the arguments of such letters as you make me messenger, if not to send them mee with a flying seale, which will be more mannerly and truly as discreete. However, I thank you for your zeale you express to his Majesties service, which I doe conjecture might bee the occasion for the irregularitie. This is all from your affte. friend

C. Derby.

Derby House [? London] 3d of July 1662.  
For Sir Roger Bradshaigh at Haigh in Lanc.

No doubt this incident was the immediate cause of Lord Derby's desire to deprive Sir Roger of his Deputancy, which in turn was the cause of the King's displeasure with the Earl, for annexed to the Earl's letter to Bennet above quoted is a "Statement of the case in dispute between the King and the Earl of Derby relative to the choice of deputy lieutenants for Lancashire. The Earl wishes for Sir Edward Moseley,

(*D.N.B.* says g.-g.-s.) of Sir Gilbert Gerard (of Ince, Wigan) Master of the Rolls and M.P. for Wigan; he was a friend of Sir Roger's uncle, Sir William Bradshaigh, they having served together in the Netherlands, returning to England to join the Royalist army. He rode (as Colonel) at the head of the 1st Troop of Horse Guards on the entry of Charles II into London 29 May, 1660, and performed the same service for William III; he espoused the cause of the Duke of Monmouth and was eventually dismissed from the King's service. It seems that Charles did well not to make him Lord-Lieutenant, his name appears several times in lieutenancy records for not fulfilling his militia obligations. Lord Derby was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire in August, 1660.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Kirkby of Kirkby, M.P. for Lancaster 1661-85, a kinsman and close friend of Sir Roger.

<sup>2</sup> *B.L.B.*, 259; both letters are pr. in *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.* lxiii, 132-3.

Mr. Preston, and Mr. Banks,<sup>1</sup> whome the King refuses for reasons named by His Majesty; and his lordship refuses Sir Roger Bradshaigh and Col. Kirkby named by his Majesty”.

The King summoned the Earl to his presence in London, which he much resented when he was so immersed in the affairs of the Militia.<sup>2</sup> However, the Earl's animosity to Bradshaigh eventually dissipated, for soon after we find the Earl writing to him in very friendly terms. The Militia Act of 1662<sup>3</sup> provided for the appointment of Lord-Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants charged with the duty of putting the Act into execution. Derby's renewed commission as Lord-Lieutenant, dated 7 July 1662, was followed ten days later with “Instructions” wherein the King “hath thought fit to accompany our Commission to you in that behalfe with these severall instructions . . .” which occupy 3½ pages of foolscap. Bradshaigh's renewed commission as D.L. from Lord Derby is dated 3 December 1662<sup>4</sup> and later in the same month he received a letter from the Earl dated from Lathom 29 December, 1662 :<sup>5</sup>

SIR. Yesterday I receaved his Majestyes command for a speedy puttinge in execution of a particular Authority contened in the Stat. for the Militia in order to wch. I hope to have your Company at Lathom upon Fryday morning next; beinge desyrus of your convenience in everything relating to his Majestyes service your compliance hearin will not only express your affection to his Majesty but alsoe your respects and kindness to

Yours very affectionate friend  
C. Derby

For the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Kt.  
One of my Deputy Leiutenants for the  
County Palatine of Lancs.

The correspondence between the two continues in this friendly vein, and as far as his fellow Deputies are concerned Sir Roger seems to have been regarded as their leader.

Much information concerning Sir Roger's judicial and military duties is contained in a manuscript now in the possession of the Manchester City Libraries Committee known as “Sir Roger Bradshaigh's Letter Book, 1660-1676”.<sup>6</sup> A perusal of it makes it clear that Bradshaigh

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Preston of Holker, M.P. for Lancs. 1664-79; Preston had been a D.L. from 1660. His son Thomas married Sir Roger's daughter Elizabeth, so that it is not likely that R. B. objected. William Bankes of Winstanley (1631-76), M.P. for Newton, 1660, and Liverpool, 1675; he also was a kinsman of R. B. and a close neighbour and friend. The full list of Deputies eventually chosen omits all three names, but both Preston and Bankes were added in the following April; Moseley was not commissioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1662, p. 553.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 2 on p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> B.L.B., 136.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Designated in these footnotes as “B.L.B.”. It contains copies of letters received and written by Sir Roger Bradshaigh in the performance of his duties as D.L.,

took his duties very seriously, especially the duty of suppressing sedition, whether it appeared in a directly anti-Royalist form or in a religious guise in opposition to the Act of Uniformity; but it is equally clear that he was guided by a loyalty to the Crown rather than by any particular animus against the nonconformists. The details of the raising and equipment of the Militia as revealed in the Letter Book have been fully set forth in the article in the Historic Society's *Transactions*<sup>1</sup> and it is unnecessary to repeat them here, but Bradshaigh's own part in the activities of the Militia and defence can be more adequately indicated.

As already stated, he was commissioned as Captain in October, 1660, to raise and command a Troop of Horse.<sup>2</sup> Numerous meetings of the Lord- and Deputy Lieutenants were held in various places from 1660 to 1663 to settle the assessments and levies upon the freeholders, and the quotas of men each was liable to provide. Bradshaigh appears to have attended most if not all the meetings and to have taken an active part in the compilation of the assessments and in hearing appeals, which were numerous. On 18 February 1660/61 he was ordered by Derby to take proceedings against defaulters, the warrant reading: "Whereas you are appoynted by the Commissioners to putt in execution the Statute concerninge Musters and manie defaulters have been made. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Eleven names are appended to the warrant, all Roman Catholics or Dissenters: Lord Molyneux, Henry Blundell, the Parsons of Wigan, Ashton, and Halsall, Gilbert and Henry Ogle, Francis Anderton,

with memoranda of meetings, etc., and covers much the same ground as the Bankes Letter Book (note 3, p. 21) as far as military matters are concerned; in this respect, however, the Bankes book has some additional matter. The Bradshaigh book is a small folio of 468 pages bound up from sheets with little regard for chronological order; now in a blue morocco binding lettered on the back "Military History of Lancashire, 1660-1676". It is in the handwriting of several clerks (occasionally Sir Roger himself), but it is by no means a complete collection of the letters occasioned by his office. In the early nineteenth century it was in the possession of Matthew Gregson; on 15 April, 1850, it was sold by Pattick & Simpson for £51 and passed into the ownership of Sir Thomas Phillips and later was acquired by Dr. William Farrer. It was purchased for the Manchester Reference Library along with the other Farrer papers in 1935. Whilst it was in the possession of Farrer a selection of the contents was printed with a commentary in the *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.* lxxviii (1911), pp. 120-73. The contributor's name is not revealed, but it is presumed to be the late Mr. John Brownbill who was then Editor of the *Transactions* and joint editor with Farrer of the *V.C.H. Lancs.* The purpose of the publication is the suggestion that Bradshaigh was an intolerant man who used his position of D.L. to persecute the nonconformists.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> The first Commission from the Earl of Derby is dated Oct. 1660 (B.L.B., 131); it was renewed under the Militia Act 8 Jan. 1662/3 (B.L.B., 135), and again by the Earl of Bridgewater 7 March 1672/3 (B.L.B., 362).

<sup>3</sup> B.L.B., 200.

Sir Ralph Ashton, Bart., Richard Shuttleworth, and Richard Walmesley. The persons concerned, it will be seen, are not confined to Bradshaigh's "division".

Bradshaigh's Troop was ready for duty early in 1661, and January and February (1660/61) seem to have been very busy months for Sir Roger. In January we find him engaged in examining reports and witnesses concerning an alleged seditious plot.<sup>1</sup> In dealing with these activities against sedition the anonymous Historic Society's writer describes his actions as "forward" and overbearing, and allows it to be inferred that Bradshaigh proceeded in these matters from his own inclination. In printing the documents of the 29 January the writer neglects to notice the King's orders to the Lord-Lieutenant dated 19 December, 1660, and the earlier orders of November and December from the Deputy Lieutenants Committee addressed to Capt. Sir Roger Bradshaigh to take action "by reason of the Plott".<sup>2</sup> Quite obviously Bradshaigh's authority is derived from these orders.

On 16 February 1660/61 Bradshaigh was requested by Derby to appoint a Corporal and nine soldiers of his Troop to guard the transport of £1,050 being sent to Carlisle "for his Majesties occasions".<sup>3</sup> Four days later in pursuance of an order from Lord Derby dated the previous day (18 Feb. 1660/1) he issued warrants to "the severall High Constables within my division for callinge my horse to Ormschurch March 1st 1660" [1661]. The persons listed in the warrant were "to send their men and able horses well armed to apeare at Ormschurch by twelve of the clocke upon Fryday next and bring with them eight days pay and theare to remaine till further order". A squadron of his own Troop under Corporal Rigby was to be at Ormskirk at ten o'clock and he was to make a list of those that appeared and "to suffer none to go home without leave". The occasion for this general muster is not stated, but presumably it was a check on the zeal of the levies. The arms each was to bear is given by Bankes<sup>4</sup> as: "every pikeman a pike of ash not under 16 foot in length, with a back, breast, and head-piece, and a sword; every musketeer a musket the barrel whereof is not to be under 3 foot in length and the gauge of the bore to be for 12 bullets to the pound, a bandaleer, and a sword; every horseman to have a back, breast, and pott, the breast and pott to be pistol proof, a sword, and a case of pistols the barrels whereof are not to be under 14 inches in length; the horse furniture to be a great saddle with a holster and necessary straps, a bit, and a bridle". A similar general muster was ordered at Lancaster for the 2nd September, 1661. They were to remain "for three days or more if we see cause . . . for exercise, and alsoe to performe other such duty and services as shall be required".

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 198, etc. *Trans. Hist. Soc., L. & C.* lxiii, 129-30.

<sup>2</sup> B.L.B., 19, 204-8, 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>4</sup> Bankes L.B., 18.

This order was at the instance of the Privy Council and is signed by three Deputies. Bradshaigh, apparently, was presumed to be in London attending Parliament, for it is addressed to him at Haigh "or in his absence to Lieut. Oldfield". Later, on the 18th of the same month, another general muster for exercise was held at Preston; and again on the 24th October a four-day exercise commenced at Preston. Although addressed as before, Bradshaigh was at Haigh on the 4th September when he issued his own orders to the Constables.<sup>1</sup>

It was not long before his Troop was doing ceremonial duty, for on 30 October, 1662, Lord Derby issued an order to him to escort the new Bishop of Chester from Warrington to Wigan, where he was to be inducted as Rector.<sup>2</sup> A meeting of the lieutenants had been held at Upholland on that day and the order recites: "Forasmuch as the intent of this daies meetinge . . . was that you and the officers and soldiers under your command should have accompanied and conducted the . . . Bishop of Chester from Warrington to his court in Wigan, and thereby to express and show your affection to the Church of England and his Lordship's function & person; And beinge yesterday informed that his Lordships arrival at Warrington will bee the tenth day of November next, Therefore I command you upon sight hereof to all and every the officers and souldiers under your command that they . . . personally appeare at Warrington . . . the tenth day of November . . . with theare horses and arms and ammunitiion. . . ." <sup>3</sup> Whether a volley was fired in honour of the bishop is not stated.

This kind of thing went on for several years. Musters were frequent and police work against persons suspected of sedition was continuous, in which Bradshaigh and his Troop took a leading part.<sup>4</sup> Col. Richard Kirkby wrote to "Honoured Sir Roger" on 15 July, 1662, mentioning a reported rebellion in Lancashire: ". . . yours of the 11th instant reached me in season, for this Towne [London ?] did ringe soe of a Rysinge and Rebellion in Lancashire [that] many friends of mine look't strangely on mee. I would give them no account . . . [except to] assure them noe light matter would seize you, and that you had taken care to bind over the parties suspected and the . . . <sup>5</sup> to prosecute, though I never heard what they weare or for what suspected." <sup>6</sup>

It is almost certain that at least one of the reports of plots was a

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 96-9.

<sup>2</sup> George Hall was consecrated Bishop of Chester 11 May, 1662, and was presented by Sir Orlando Bridgeman to the Rectory of Wigan in September, vacant by the ejection of Charles Hotham (see p. 40 n.).

<sup>3</sup> B.L.B., 110.

<sup>4</sup> The copious citations in *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.* will give a full though somewhat distorted picture of these activities.

<sup>5</sup> The clerk, unable to read the words of the letter, left a blank space here.

<sup>6</sup> B.L.B., 265.

hoax. The date is November, 1662. Lord Derby in Chester communicates to the Deputies an anonymous letter found in the street in Preston and sent to him by the Mayor, Mr. Banister. The writer says he is a traveller and overheard a conversation in a public-house to the effect that the Papists had plotted to murder all Protestants, and that St. Andrew's Day was the appointed day. He says he deliberately joined the plotters to get his information and then wrote it out and placed the letter in the street in order that it might be found, as a warning to the Protestants to be on their guard. "I desire that whoever finds this letter that they doe not conceale it but make it knowne." Though Lord Derby instructed the Deputies to take such action as they thought reasonable, he treats it rather contemptuously. What seems to be a similar hoax consists of two letters without date signed Ann Ba and A.B. which someone had interpreted as Anne Bradshaw.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is said as to how the letters came into the hands of the Deputies. The text of the first is :

Mr. Spary. I have rec'd your ltr & find you very desyrous y<sup>t</sup> [that] we should proceed, but you must send in money, for y<sup>t</sup> wee doe want most. You know what my husband had, for our desynge must have money. Our company are increased 300 since I heard from you ; I have sent to Hereford, Gloster, & Wooster ; be sure to speak with Mr. Blande & Mr. Baxter. Captain Yarrington was at my House and hee will tell you all ; feare not the Bearer ; Shrewsbury hath noticed the day ; Capt. Yarrington will tell you who is sworn as well as us. Any of us, wee shall see mery days, I hope the business will be suddenly done. Burne this ltr. I and my husband. Yrs to the last dropp of Blood

Ann Ba

To her dear friend Mr. Spary  
Pastor of Mortley, give this with expedition.

The other letter is addressed to Capt. Yarrington and is in the same tenor. It looks as if someone wanted to get Pastor Spary into trouble. But hoax or no, the existence of such propoganda indicates an inflammable condition of society and is justification for the attitude of extreme alertness by those in authority.

At the end of July, 1663, there was much excitement concerning a projected rising in Yorkshire which had been brewing for some time. On 1 August Col. Roger Nowell wrote to Sir Roger Bradshaigh an urgent note enclosing evidences and indicating the precautions he had taken in the Hundred of Blackburn. The bearer was instructed to wait for the return of the enclosures and Sir Roger's comments. About the same time he received a letter from Col. Kirkby<sup>2</sup> in which he tells him how he had agreed with a certain "Maister Compton" to allow him to compound for his Militia service for £10 a year and requesting Bradshaigh's "resolutions herein per next post". The letter goes on "I presume you have heard how the Deputy Lieutenants at Preston (after

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 384-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

you left us there) ordered one fourth of a month's assessment to be collected beside the moiety that then appeared. We designed all Respects to my Lord [Derby] but I heard hee is offended. I have writt to him. Pray write what you knowe of this per next, with the occurrences of this county. This Towne [? London] affords nothing but the talke of our Northern Plott and the Turcks success. For the Plott, be assured you will heare that many will suffer, though I have lesse credit than others because I beleve none in our part of Lancashire are concerned. I neede not invite you to bee active your selfe and importune our friends to be inquisitive. So reeste my Brother, Yours most faithful Richard Kirkby." Bradshaigh appears to have called an emergency meeting of nearby Deputies, who met at Bolton 5 August<sup>1</sup> and issued an order ". . . that you forthwith send out your warrants to the High Constables within the severall hundreds and divisions wherein your Horse are raysted that they forthwith issue their warrants commanding all persons charged with horse, men, and armes that they fayle not to have their men, horses, and armes . . . to be in Readiness at one dayes warning if occasion shall require; and that this notice shall leave them without any excuse upon those faylinge herein . . ." This order is signed by Roger Bradshaigh, Robert Holt, and Roger Nowell—three Deputies being a statutory quorum.

The warnings of the alleged plot from these ordinary sources were reinforced a few days later by a personal letter from the Duke of York to Lord Derby<sup>2</sup> which the Earl circulated to the Deputies ("to be transmitted from one to another") with his order 14 August, 1663, for the Militia to be in readiness to be called out "with a very short notice". Bradshaigh's corresponding order is dated next day. If Derby made any comment on Bradshaigh's earlier action it is not recorded. The excitement continued for some months. A group of rebels was reported near Blackburn 3 November and Lieut. Oldfield, the chief commissioned officer of Bradshaigh's Troop, was ordered to get a squadron together and "goe to Capt. Parker of Entwistle and enquire of him and others which way the party of Rebels lately seene at Kighley [Yorks.] are marched, and then to seize upon and disperse them", to which a post-script is added: "In case it is required you may take the rest of Sir Roger Bradshaigh's Troop and call others to your assistance."<sup>3</sup> Col. Thomas Birch (not to be confused with Col. John Birch, M.P.), who was regarded as the ringleader, was arrested in Lancashire towards the end of October and sent by Bradshaigh to the Earl of Derby at Preston. On 4 November Derby commanded Quartermaster Wearden and three troopers of Bradshaigh's Command to convey him to York to appear before the Duke of Buckingham.<sup>3</sup> Other suspected persons were arrested both in Lancashire and Yorkshire and several were brought before

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 239-40.

Bradshaigh in December.<sup>1</sup> The commotion died down soon after and the affair seems to have fizzled out. Other alleged plots, however, came to light during the next two years and Bradshaigh's Troop was kept busy searching for arms and making arrests.

With the outbreak of the Dutch War in March, 1665, the military responsibilities of the Lord-Lieutenant and his Deputies greatly increased, especially as the event coincided with a serious development in sedition. The King, in a long letter to the Lord-Lieutenant dated 4 May, 1665, complains of "the plotts and conspiracies of some unquiet spirits who [since the Restoration] had designed the subversion of the government, and observing to our great greife of minde that notwithstanding all our former pardons and indulgences their yet remains the same restless seditious spirit amongst some watchinge and fomentinge all occasions to throwe the Kingdome into new troubles, and observeinge they now more particularly flatter themselves and their parties with hopes thereof, when they see us ingaged in dispute with our neighbours abroad . . ."<sup>2</sup> The letter goes on to give detailed and precise directions for the raising of revenue according to the Statute, its custody, and the payment of the troops. A copy of this letter was sent to the Deputy-Lieutenants "to bee transmitted from one to another with Expedition".

A letter from the Lieutenancy addressed to Sir Roger Bradshaigh "or his chief commissioned officer of his troop" makes it obvious that sedition had reached disquieting dimensions.<sup>3</sup> It is dated 6 August, 1665, and reads: "Whereas we are given to understand that very many persons of restless and never to be satisfied minds within this county of Lancashire are busie and active in conceiving, Plotting, and broaching a new warre wch. threatens much to the Ruine and destruction of his Majestie and all his loyall subjects, Wee therefore strictly require you upon sight hereof to seize and secure the Persons whose names are hereunto annexed within the Hundreds of Leyland and Amounderness, searching theire houses for Armes, Amunition, seditious papers & Pamphletts, and then bring them before us at Lancaster upon Thursday 31 inst. And likewise that you informe yourselves of all other persons. . . ." More than sixty names are appended, mostly Papists and Dissenters, but including other hostile persons such as "John Massy of Warrington late servant to the late Traytor Lacky or Blood". This seems to have been a sort of round up of potential "quislings" and arrests went on till December. Far from Derby being lukewarm in supporting these prosecutions, as the anonymous Historic Society writer suggests, he wrote to Robert Holt, 28 December, 1665,<sup>4</sup> expressing

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 258.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-6; the spelling, of course, is that of Bradshaigh's Clerk, not necessarily of the original document.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

satisfaction for his zeal: "I do very well approve of the way you have proposed touching the security of the persons now in custody, desiring you to be very watchful over all others that you conceive notoriously disaffected and when anything of moment comes to your knowledge to communicate the same speedily to" the Earl. Two days later Holt was sending fresh informations to Sir Roger, asking him to set his signature and seal to a search warrant which he (Holt) had "made bould to draw".<sup>1</sup>

One had supposed that the Defence Regulation whereby a person may be charged with causing alarm and despondency was an invention of our own times; it is therefore amusing to find such a charge being made in 1665. Alex. Johnson, a Justice of the Peace, writes to Bradshaigh<sup>2</sup> "concerning one who had reported false newes, August '65": "In pursuance of your desire I have called before me Robert Barwicke who was charged with Reporting false newes (to wit) that his Majesties Royall Navye had engaged with the Dutch and was totally Routed." It appeared from the examination that one Richard Leigh told Mr. Edward Walmesley that Barwick had given him the information. "And Leigh denyinge that to his Remembrance hee ever spoke the words, or if hee did hee was then druncke & could not tell what he said" Johnson suggested that the best course would be to punish Leigh "according to law" for being drunk as he did not think the major charge could be sustained, but he was prepared to proceed against Barwick and Leigh on the original charge if Bradshaigh considered it desirable. What Bradshaigh decided is, unfortunately, not recorded.

In May, 1666, the King was hard pressed for money to prosecute the war and the Deputies were charged with the duty of securing early or advance payment of the monthly apportionments. What success accrued to their efforts is not clear, but the people were tardy and Bradshaigh was several times urged "to stir them up" to a proper sense of their patriotic duty. Before this was actually accomplished came the invasion scare. For the next two or three months Bradshaigh, like the rest, was engrossed in military musters and exercises. Lord Derby wrote to Bradshaigh 7 June, 1665, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

In regard that probably there will be very suddenly an occasion to drawe the Militia into a body, I therefore give you timely notice thereof, desireinge you to take care that your Troop may be in Readiness upon very short warning, beinge experienced in your diligence in affayres of that nature.

I remaine Your very aff<sup>te</sup> Friend

C. Derby

The King's letter requesting the county to prepare against invasion is dated 27 June and the Lord-Lieutenant called a general meeting of the gentry of the county at Preston for the 19th July. At a prior meeting

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 381.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

of the Deputies (6 July) at Preston<sup>1</sup> a most exacting survey was instituted to ensure that every person liable paid his proper contribution and furnished the horses and men, etc., due from them. The necessary munitions were ordered, a census taken of armourers' stocks, and a complete list of the Militia was to be drawn up. Captains Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Henry Houghton, and Greenhalgh were ordered to appear at Wigan with their Troops fully armed on the 12th July and with pay for one month. A fourth part of each Troop to be drawn out to be sent away to Northampton. In case of actual invasion warning by the firing of beacons Col. Kirkby's Regiment of Foot and Bradshaigh's Troop of Horse to proceed forthwith to Lancaster; other units to prescribed places. At the Wigan meeting on the 12th 35 troopers besides officers were sent to Northampton in charge of Capt. Houghton "and it was difficult to keep the rest from going".<sup>2</sup> At the meeting of the gentry at Preston on the 19th it was agreed that volunteer regiments of horse and foot be raised in each Hundred, Bradshaigh being made responsible for the Derby Hundred. He was to meet the gentry at Wigan on the 27th and enlist all those offering their service, but they were only to be mobilized in case of actual invasion. By the Earl's invitation on 1st August Bradshaigh was to fill the vacancies in his Troop (occasioned by the contingent sent to Northampton) with volunteers. He had lost twelve troopers, but by 11 September he had enlisted forty local men of good standing to serve with his Troop, including Mr. Christopher Bradshaigh, Mr. Molyneux of Hawkley, Mr. Roger Anderton, Mr. Pennington, the Wigan Recorder, and Mr. Barrow, a Wigan alderman.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime (17 July) the King sent another communication to the Lord-Lieutenant which has an odd ring of recent events: "Wee have already on different occasions signified unto you the reasons wee had to suspect an Invation . . . by our enemys from abroad . . . the greatest ground for which wee found to have beene a beleefe and expectation they weare led into by some malicious fugitives of our owne subjects of public distractions and insurrections that would breake out amongst us heare at home in which wee hope they will find themselves far disapoynted . . ." Consequently he goes on to urge a careful round-up of all dangerous persons and a diligent search for arms. This command also gave Sir Roger much to do and kept units of his Troop continuously occupied. Among the particular orders he received from the Earl was a command to search the house of his former ward "Ned Tildesley" who had previously been in trouble for indifference in fulfilling his militia obligations.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 153-63; Bankes L.B., 35-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 546. <sup>3</sup> B.L.B., 267-9.

<sup>4</sup> Bradshaigh must have been most disappointed in his ward, for when it was proposed to withdraw a prosecution against him in January 1675/6 he wrote to

My Lord

The enclosed is what sense I received by Fryday Post by  
 your hand, your Honor what Troops are to be raised, and  
 how are the Comrades by so I hope you will have a better  
 opinion of Charles Doyles, then to Judge, we should report  
<sup>thing</sup> a designe against the Kings person, I am not sure we have  
 not too much occasion to make use of such, I hope the private  
 Gentle Jurisist Ned: Tooke and Mr: Sheriff, will not see  
 a sufficient cause to Judge of it by his late life Phantoms  
 they were otherwise esteemed in the late Wars, and as well a  
 good opinion of their faithful service, and they are in some  
 other Countries of our Kingdom better esteemed, and not ill  
 by the Ministry, My Lord, notwithstanding what I write on their  
 behalfes, I am willing to be in their faith regarding they  
 dissent from us, nor as they are generally of 200 hundred is  
 I can not helpe, but I have the faith to believe, out of the  
 conversation I have amongst them, and the experience I have  
 had of their service, and sufferings for the King, that they will be  
 as ready as ever either in Sea or Kingdom, against any foreign  
 power whatsoever, nor I have heard frequently from them, of  
 many serious, asseverations, that though the Pope should  
 strike out a way to invade, they would be as ready with a sword  
 in his Gutch as any enemy whatsoever, I should be glad to  
 have done for this purpose, in proceeds from what hath been  
 the other day concerning them, as I was not so willing to declare  
 my selfe in them, though I have done it in the Parliament house,  
 when they had like to have been expelled out of the Kingdom  
 we with our honorable duty proposed, I rest.

Wright  
 July the 5  
 1655

I am with loyalty, and  
 very honorable service  
 Roger Bradshaigh

FACSIMILE OF SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S LETTER TO CHARLES, EARL OF DERBY, CONCERNING THE ENLISTMENT OF RECUSANTS.

Although the muster at Lancaster was only to take place in the event of actual invasion, when this did not eventuate as expected a sudden trial muster was arranged at Preston. Bradshaigh was informed 16 October that Lord Derby had ordered that "you should immediately raise your Troope of horse, and be at Preston tomorrow with Col. Kirkby's regiment of Foote, which marched hither yesterday at night. Wee doubt not you will use all possible diligence. . . ." Bradshaigh sent a hasty command to the Constables and his officers, and though there is no record in either Letter Book of the rendezvous at Preston, one may be certain that he was there on time.

Exercises of different Regiments and Troops for a period of four to eight days were continuous, and at the end of November the King ordered all Papist recusants to be disarmed to remove any suspicion that they were a source of danger. This caused further military activities, and about the same time Mr. Radley<sup>1</sup> wrote to Bradshaigh: "If Sir Roger Bradshaigh thinks good, if the County must be listed to be in readiness, I would try the Moorish men, who are most dissenting and dangerous, by moveinge who would voluntarily engage, and take notice of the dissenters. I would undergoe that charge if injoynd; all betwixt 60 and 16 should be summoned if thought good."

In June, 1667, the invasion scare was revived. The Privy Council wrote to the Lord Lieutenant on the 11th warning him that a speedy call-out of the forces may be necessary at any moment to repel invasion as "the Enemy already appeareth with a fleet of ships upon the Coast". He was also ordered to send by the next post a full return of the several troops and companies of militia in the county and a complete list of the names of the commissioned officers. This communication was passed to the Deputies on the 14th for "speedy execution". In addition to warning his regular Troop Bradshaigh despatched a personal letter to all his volunteers on 15 June as follows:

Sir, Since you were pleased to offer yourselfe to serve his Majestie as a volunteer to joyne with the Troop under my command . . . these are therefore to desire you that you will so sudaynly provide yourselfe with such horse and armes as may bee fitt for his Majesties service, and to your and my credit, to . . . bee in Readiness (in case I desire your appearance) about the 24th inst. In the meantyme I rest, your Loveinge freind

Roger Bradshaigh.

Haigh, June the 15th, 1667.

On the 16th, however, Lord Derby issued an order to him to appear at Ormskirk with his "Trayned and Volunteer Troopes" at 3 o'clock on

Williamson agreeing that the *nolle prosequi* should be withdrawn, "for I affirm that he is no conformist notwithstanding his former suggestions" (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1675-6, p. 518).

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 162; probably William Radley of the Hall on the Hill, Heath Charnock.

Thursday the 20th, fully armed and with specified ammunition and pay for eight days. Bradshaigh evidently considered the notice too short and sent the following notice to his volunteers making the rendezvous at 9 o'clock on Friday morning :

Gentlemen, These are to desire your appearance with mee at Ormschurch upon Fryday next by nine of the clocke, being the 21st inst., and to bee Ready at the sound of the Trumpet where my Troope will allsoe bee.

I am your loving freind  
Roger Bradshaigh

At the meeting 21 June at Ormskirk a further communication from the Privy Council, dated the 13th, was read informing the Lieutenancy " that before this comes to you it will not be unknowne to you that his Majesties enemies have actually invaded his Majesties Kingdome and burned many houses of his Majesties subjects and destroyed some of his Majesties shippes ", and ordering a general mobilization forthwith, adding : " Wee hope it will not be necessary to continue this trouble longe to the Country." The meeting decided upon certain military dispositions and it was ordered " That Sir Bradshaighs Troope doe forthwith march towards Manchester and there lye till further Order ". A few days later a further communication (dated 25 June) was received from the Privy Council stating " that apprehension of danger being for the present somewhat allayed you are to dismiss and send home the Trayned Bands, Horse, and Volunteers ". Derby ordered a meeting at Wigan 2 July of all Deputies and commands. Derby not being present Bradshaigh reported to the Earl that the troops had been dismissed accordingly.<sup>1</sup> Peace was proclaimed 24 August, 1667.

That seems to have ended the intense military activity for the time being—until 1672 when circumstances again called for a general mobilization. But as the King wrote on 3 July " the speedy Raysing of a considerable army " cannot " bee performed without good somes of money " being expended, and the Lieutenants were requested to use their " utmost endeavours to dispose and quicken all our loyal subjects . . . in a capacity of lending to make a volunterie liberall advance of what somes of money they can afford by way of a loane . . . to bee repayed againe out of the twelve monthly assessment in Course . . ." The meeting to consider this was held in Wigan and another later in the month at Preston and arrangements were made for a personal canvass to secure " his majestie's expectations in a plentiful manner".<sup>2</sup> The Constable of Rixton refused to execute the warrant in this connection and Bradshaigh ordered his arrest. He was brought before the next Quarter Sessions at Wigan.

B.L.B., 269-76 ; Bankes L.B., 48.

<sup>2</sup> B.L.B., 277-81.

## CHAPTER FIVE

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PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES AND RELIGIOUS  
CONTROVERSY

AFTER all the exertion traversed in the last chapter one is not surprised to find Bradshaigh pleading in October<sup>1</sup> "urgent occasions" in the county as well as "some distemper" as an excuse for not attending Parliament, which was then sitting, having opened 10 October. He "must run the hazard of his house ere he can come". However, he went to London soon after Christmas. In February, March, and April he several times appeared before the Court of Judicature inquiring into titles to property destroyed in the Great Fire. First as one of the Trustees of property belonging to Heskin Grammar School, and later with two other Wigan Aldermen in respect of property forming part of Roger Bullock's benefaction to the Wigan Grammar School.<sup>2</sup> He attended Parliament at the same time and remained to the end of the session, 8 May, 1668. He was back at Haigh on the 26th May, when he wrote to Williamson:<sup>3</sup> "Having come home I beg a continuance of our correspondence till his Majesty's commands call us together again." That he should have been so punctilious in his Parliamentary duties is rather astonishing in view of his exacting duties in the county, not forgetting that the work on the Great Sough at Haigh was still in progress. Although I can only find the record of two speeches that he made in the House there are frequent references to his journeys to London. He was present at the several sittings of the first session 1661-2 and made a speech during the debate on the Act of Oblivion and secured the rejection of the clause which would have excluded the Roman Catholics from the benefits of the Act.<sup>4</sup> He was certainly in London during the latter part of the second session 1663; in a letter to Mr. Secretary Bennet 11 November, 1664<sup>5</sup> he thanks him for his letters and "gives him a writ of ease whilst Parliament sits" as he is coming up to London—the session opened 24 November. October, 1665, is a blank month in the Letter Book and it may be assumed he was then attending the fifth session. He was on his way to London 18 September, 1666,<sup>6</sup> for the sixth session which opened on the 21st of that month. The session of 1667-8 has already been noted. He was attending the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1667, p. 540.

<sup>2</sup> *Chet Soc.*, O.S., 22, p. 374; and O.S., 21, p. 251; see also G. C. Chambres, *Hist. of Wigan Free Gr. Sch.*, pp. 27, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1667-8, p. 408.

<sup>4</sup> See letter quoted on page 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1664, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> B.L.B., 179.

ninth session which opened 14 February, 1669/70, as there are several letters addressed to him there. One from William Bankes of Winstanley (18th Feb.) addressed "For his ever Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir Roger Bradshaigh Knt, member of Parliament, at the Parliament Door, these" concerns decisions taken at a meeting of Deputies about the Militia; and another from Bankes (15 March) similarly addressed reports a subsequent meeting also mainly dealing with Militia business. Bradshaigh is asked to find out what is the practice in other counties in regard to supplying new coats, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection it is amusing to find that an abuse by Civil Defence personnel in the present war, which led to the order that uniforms were not to be worn except on duty, is anticipated in the seventeenth century. Having received Bradshaigh's reply respecting coats the Deputies record, 18 April, 1670, "That the said soldiers doe wear the said coats frequently at their daily work and soe especially wear them out and call at their polls for new ones".<sup>2</sup> It was ordered that every private soldier should be provided with a blue coat "for greater decency and ornament" to be worn at musters or on service and on no other occasion, and that in future the coats were to be left at the Polls [enlistment quarters] when the men are not on service.

It was in this session that Bradshaigh made the second speech of which I have found a note. As those who have read the article in the Historic Society's *Transactions* might expect it was in the debate on the Conventicles Bill.<sup>3</sup> Bradshaigh was a strong Episcopalian and had been active against the nonconformists when explicit evidence of disloyal sentiments was forthcoming. There was a good deal of opposition to the Bill, but it was the speech of Col. John Birch which provoked Bradshaigh. He wrote to Roger Kenyon, Clerk of the Peace at Wigan, 3 March:<sup>4</sup>

"Yours came into my hands in the House of Commons at the same time we weare nearly upon the debate for the second reading of the Bill against Conventicles, and for the commitment of it, my contriman (Black Birch) having newly excused the meetings of such conscientious people, as living farre from the other church, their

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 80-1.

<sup>2</sup> Bankes L.B., 72-3.

<sup>3</sup> The "Bill for Suppressing Conventicles" was read a second time on 2 March. The substance of the Bill was that if more than five persons above 16 years of age (in addition to those of the household) should be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting under colour or practice of any exercise of religion other than according to the forms of the Church of England each was to be fined 5s. (10s. for a second offence), the preachers £20 and £40, the householder £20. According to Marvell the bill was forced upon the King by influential gentry as the price of financial support. (See Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*, iv, 444.)

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, xlix, 84; *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, lxiii, 151.

chappells not being provided ; and particularly instanced the several chappells in Manchester parish, and further added that there could not bee one instance produced that any such meetings had produced any insurrection, or that any treason, scisme, or other contrivance or disturbance to the government, had beene hatched. This made my modestye mooved to speake, and such instances, as I had formerly observed and in my memory had retained, I layd open to the House, with the necessitie for a Bill of restraynt, and what ways to meete with their subtile evasions. And theise I affirmed to carry the reputation of Presbyterians in our contry. This made the House to look upon my contriman as sufficiently contradicted in his [Birch's] positive affirmation ; but [it] was at last committed, and is at present under consideration of the Committee now sitting by mee ; indeed the bill will be much more rigid than formerly, and we must be furnisht with more instances to induce the passing of it when it comes to the House. Soe I would desyre you, that you would gather mee what instances you can of insolencys, of scisme, of dangerous words spoken, or any other thing that hath happened, since the Act of Oblivion, worthy taking notice of, to object against them, and I shall not fayle to urge them when time servse. In the meantime, I pray, let the further examination of the business at Gorton Chappell bee taken ; and send mee word what you know of the Chappell called Birch Chapell and their meetings. You shall not need to be named in anything. This I desyre may be done as soone as may, before the Bill come back into the House."

When the Bill passed the Commons on 8 March the petition to the King requested that he would likewise give leave for a Bill to be brought in to put the same penalties upon Popish Recusants "in which vote the Lords unanimously joined". The suggestion of the writer in the Historic Society's *Transactions* that in prosecuting the nonconformists "Sir Roger Bradshaigh was acting on his own initiative" is not borne out by the orders to the Deputy-Lieutenants which appear in the Letter Book but are omitted from the printed selection. One brief letter from Lord Derby is quoted<sup>1</sup> to suggest that Derby was not in sympathy with the prosecutions, whereas a number of earlier orders calling for speed, diligence, and precision in such matters, sufficiently disposes of the imputation. The footnote giving a quotation from Halley's *Lancashire Puritanism*<sup>2</sup> citing the authority of Newcome's *Diary* for a story that when Bradshaigh complained to Derby of the conventicles near St. Helens the Earl replied "that if he was compelled to enforce the

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, lxiii, 160 ; the year of this letter is not printed, but the enclosure shows it to have been 1669.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, lxiii.

laws against the Presbyterians he must enforce them with equal severity against the Papists, whome Sir Roger protects", has nothing to support it. It does not occur in the printed portion of the *Diary* (1661-3)<sup>1</sup> and the only references to the Earl in this and the *Autobiography*<sup>2</sup> are of an extremely contemptuous character.

On the other hand, it is admitted that Earl Charles (as also his son William) was aggressively anti-Romanist, and it can be accepted that he considered Bradshaigh too tolerant to the recusants. They had some discussion about it in 1666 when Sir Roger was raising volunteers to repel the expected invasion. Bradshaigh could see no reason why professed Roman Catholics should not be enlisted in the King's service. The Earl, however, was obdurately opposed to the idea. The upshot was that Sir Roger wrote Derby a considered letter on the subject, a copy of which in his own handwriting, is preserved at Haigh.<sup>3</sup> In the course of it he writes :

I hope the private peeke betwixt Ned Tyldesley and Mr. Sheriff will not be a sufficient cause to judge all of his Faith like Phanaticks [i.e. Quakers and extreme dissenters]; they weare otherways esteemed in the late Warr and accrewd a good opinion by their faythfull servise, and they are in some other countys to my knowledge better esteem'd, and not ill by his Majestie. My Lord, notwithstanding what I write on their behalves, I have nothinge to doe with their Fayth, whearin they dissent from us; nor as theye are generally of my Kindred, which I cannot helpe; but I have the fayth to beleeve, out of conversations I have had amongst them, and the experience I have had of their servise and sufferinge for the King, that they will be as ready as ever, either for the King or Kingdom, against any forraigne power whatever.

Nay, I have heard it frequently from them, with many serious conversations, that though the Pope himselfe should endeavour to invade, they would be as ready to sheath a sword in his gutts as any enemy whatever. I humbly beg your Lordships pardon for this bouldnes, which proceeds from what past between us the other day concerning them, which I was not so willing to declare myselfe in then, though I have done it in the Parliament House, when they had like to have been excepted out of the Act of Oblivion.

In support of this there is a letter written to him some years later by his kinsman William Blundell of Crosby, in the course of which he says : "When France and Rome itself (upon any civil account or national quarrel) shall chance to be enemies to England, I shall hold myself obleeged, and all other English subjects according to our several capacities, to pay, to pray, and to fight most heartily against them."<sup>4</sup>

Bradshaigh was aware that his attitude in this matter was miscon-

<sup>1</sup> *Chet. Soc.*, O.S., 18 (1849).

<sup>2</sup> *Chet. Soc.*, O.S., 26, 27 (1852).

<sup>3</sup> Archiva Lindesiana; it is dated 8 July, 1666, and is addressed to the Earl at Knowsley; the letter is an exact copy, even to the address on the outside, below which is the memorandum "A copy of my letter to my lord conc'g his opinions of Recusants in Tyme of Invation by the French."

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Blundell, *Cavalier: Letters of William Blundell*, Longmans, 1933, p. 185.

ceived or deliberately distorted by his political opponents, hence his reluctance on this and other occasions to speak his mind. Yet on reflection his conscience and his loyalty would not allow him to keep silence. Apparently Derby remained unconvinced, for nine days later (17 July) Bradshaigh wrote to Williamson reporting the forwardness of military preparations, and asked "whether Papists may be enlisted without offence, or have commissions in case of invasion. Those in Lancashire have been as faithful sufferers for his Majesty as any other." <sup>1</sup> There are many evidences that Bradshaigh was abused with charges of sympathy for the Papists, yet the testimony of his Anglican as well as his Romanist friends leaves no doubt that he was a sound Church of England man. The most emphatic statement is that of Dr. Richard Wroe, Warden of Manchester Collegiate Church: "His religion was true Protestant; not that of late falsely so called, but that which is by law established, the Religion of the Church of England. . . . Nor did he only take up his religion upon trust, but understood the constitution of it, and acquainted himself with its principles, and studied to defend it, and was zealous to maintain it, and was true to it. So false was that slander (which had no other ground but spite and ignorance) that he was a Church-Papist, a calumny as black as their malice that forged it, and believed onely by them that knew him not. . . . But (God be thanked) the calumnie's long since blown off; there remains nothing of it except shame in them that were so much imposed on as to believe or report it." <sup>2</sup>

Now for a Romanist opinion. William Blundell, writing to his son Nicholas (who was in London, recently returned from abroad), says: "I do write to Sir Roger Bradshaigh, who is now (in town as) a member of Parliament, to let him know of your being in or near unto London, desiring to understand his pleasure whether he will admit you, and I shall acquaint you with his answer. His own religion is such that he is no friend at all to ours. Yet to me and all mine he hath ever been incomparably faithful and loving." <sup>3</sup>

His religious conviction is confirmed by the few surviving books that bear his signature, two of which are preserved in the Wigan Reference Library. Also by his conflict with Charles Hotham, the Presbyterian Rector of Wigan, when Bradshaigh was Mayor of Wigan in 1661. In April of that year Sir Roger received from Charles Hotham a notice "By virtue of a mandate from the . . . Bishop of Chester brought to me this day" (18 April, 1661) that "I doe warne you [and] the Church Wardens . . . that some time beffore the 23 day of this present Aprill you place and settle the Pulpit and Reading pue. . . . Likewise the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 546.

<sup>2</sup> Wroe, *Bradshaigh's Funeral Sermon*, 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Blundell, *op. cit.*, 183.

Communion Table and Font in the places where they weare anciently placed . . ." etc. The order was complied with, but the "ancient places" decided upon were not the places the Rector had in mind. This seems to have led to some friction between Roger Bradshaigh, the Burgesses, and the Parson, for there are two letters from Nicholas Pennington to Sir Roger indicating a serious controversy.<sup>1</sup> The earlier, dated 30 April, begins: "Honourable Sir, Since yr. leaving the Countie wee have had very strange passages concerninge the Parson, whoe goes all the indecent courses that can be to take away all the Rights and Customs belonginge both to the Towne and Parish; the Dean Ruralls Court was kept att Wigan upon Munday last, before whom he made his complaint, but it tendinge to soe litle profit, that were he not the sonn of his father, he would make no further protestation against us, but tomorrow wee goe to Chester to have a new hearing, and from thence he intends for London, to worck his devices with the Bishopp . . ." Sir Roger is asked to see the Bishop and scotch his plan. The second is dated 7 May and informs Sir Roger that the Parson is now on his way to London, having written "to the Bishopp that the Pulpitt was removed; there is noe such thinge, but as you left it soe it stands, and the parish hath caused a certificate to be drawne with about a 1000 hands to it of the necessitie of it standing there, and the reasons alsoe. . . ."

Some ground for the charges of Romanist inclinations may be found in the fact that his uncle Edward, the Carmelite, lived at Haigh till his death in 1652, and pursued his pastoral activities therefrom; that many of his relatives for whom he had financial obligations were devout Roman Catholics; and from his odd decision in the case of Augustine Heneage, a supposed priest, brought before him in March 1664 on a charge of sedition, and dismissed on the ground that his letter had "no danger in it to the government"<sup>2</sup> His encouragement to the recusants to volunteer for military service in 1666 I have already mentioned.

That Bradshaigh's toleration of the Papists was well known is further shown by a letter to Lord Arlington from Douai, 27 April, 1671, Bradshaigh being the intermediary. Henry (Sanders) Pedley wrote to Sir Roger "at his lodging, the Flying Horse, near the Maypole in the Strand", mentioning his knowledge of Bradshaigh's "well wishes towards the King's good Catholic subjects" and requesting him to present a petition "for his Majesties royal approbation before its presenta-

<sup>1</sup> All three documents are preserved at Haigh, Archiva Lindesiana. Hotham was to have been displaced 29 Sept., 1660, but managed to retain his benefice; refusing, however, to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity he was ejected in 1662 (see G. T. O. Bridgeman, *Hist. of the Church and Manor of Wigan*, pt. III, 474-6) (Chet. Soc., N.S., 17.)

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1664, pp. 511-12.

tion to Parliament". The petition was a request that Pedley might be permitted to return to England. Sir Roger was diffident about sending it on to Lord Arlington.<sup>1</sup>

There is also his intimate friendship with Lord Molyneux, whom he visited frequently ;<sup>2</sup> and his equally intimate friendship with William Blundell of Crosby. T. C. Gibson states that "he was throughout his life devotedly attached to his cousin Mr. Blundell, and performed for him all the kind offices (and they were very many) which a friendly Protestant could do for one lying constantly under the pressure of the penal laws".<sup>3</sup> One of these services was the loan of a large sum of money for the repurchase of the Crosby estate which had been forfeited under the Commonwealth for recusancy and delinquency. "The total amount paid for the repurchase of the estate was £2277-2s.-6½d., to which the formidable sum £34-10s.-2d. was added for costs" writes Margaret Blundell.<sup>4</sup> This large sum was found by "two staunch friends". "These friends were his Protestant cousin, Sir Roger Bradshaigh, and a Protestant lawyer, Mr. Gilbert Crouch". She goes on to explain that they negotiated the business in their own names "and they remained the ostensible owners of the estate until the Restoration of the Monarchy took place seven years later." When or how the loans were repaid is not revealed.

Nor was Sir Roger's son free from similar suspicions, for in a letter to Wroe 11 November, 1680, he complains that he is "strangely alarmed with reports" that he was a Papist sympathizer because during his term of office as Mayor of Wigan he had assisted in making "4 Popish burgesses"—"the suggestion is a lye all over".<sup>5</sup> This rather confirms the imputation that the charges had their origin in "spite and malice". Zachary Taylor, who was the Bishop's curate at Wigan from 1685-1704, and held very Protestant views, considered that Bradshaigh's steadfastness to the Church of England, which "he had made by his choice not by his Chance" was aided by the zealous piety of his wife, whose "unshaken resolution" helped to prevent many a shock, with which the friends of his person but adversaries of his faith would otherwise have assaulted him".<sup>6</sup>

Returning to Bradshaigh's Parliamentary activities we find that he did not attend the adjourned 9th session which began 10 January, 1670/1, and his absence had rather amusing results. He was both busy

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1671, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, vi, 10.

<sup>3</sup> T. E. Gibson, *A Cavalier's Note Book*, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Blundell, *Cavalier*, p. 41; see also T. E. Gibson, *Crosby Records* (Chet. Soc., N.S., xii, 1887), pp. 89-104.

<sup>5</sup> *Archiva Lindesiana*; Dr. Richard Wroe was the Bishop's curate at Wigan at this time (1679-81).

<sup>6</sup> Z. Taylor, *Lady Bradshaigh's Funeral Sermon*, 22.

at home and somewhat tired. He appears to have discussed the matter with his friend Col. Kirkby, for on 11 February, 1670/1, the Colonel wrote to him as follows: <sup>1</sup>

“ A copy of a lte from Coll. Kirkby concg the apprehending of several persons, by his Mat<sup>ties</sup> Comands.

February the 11th (1670) [1671]

Honorable Sir,

I rec<sup>d</sup> yours for which I thank you. I tould you in my last there would be noe greate danger for your non appearance [at Parliament], But the House will be called on Tuesday next, and fynes at least to double tax will be imposed. I had noe Excuse for you, But have found one I hope will excuse you. You may prove by the Inclosed I have a dantie Excuse for you. I pray peruse the Inclosed & keepe it to your selfe. You have power enough to apprehend the persons menconed therein in your owne County (if you can take them or any of them). In any other County this will be your warrant to secure them in the County Gaole. If you have any doubts or desires to be Resolved, write to Sir Wm. Morten at his lodging in Serjants Inn in Chancery Lane, he will Resolve you. You can doe the Kinge, perhaps, and your country litle beter service. It will require your best prudence, diligence, and industry to take them, not onely for the causes in the warrant, But as the Attempters of my Lord of Ormond, who deserves every worthy persons respects and service. Theres more in it than I can now write. I pray therefore imploy good spys and intelligences to find them out. Holcroft or thereabouts they may be found. You knowe their relation (I meane Blouds) to that family, and be sure you lay out spyes for such persons as travell often betwixt Lancashire and Yorkshire; bid them learne what they can, and informe you. But let them concurr and seeme to bee rebelliously inclyned as those [who] frequent these journeys. Be assured I trust you onely by hia Mat<sup>ties</sup> Comand who will kindly accept and acknowledge your service herein. And wish you the honour onely of taking all or any of these Villains. Nay, it may concerne your own safety in the first place. Theres more danger then I dare say. Once more be Dilligent & watchfull and observe the motion of the phanatiques, I pray you if you receive information write to Sir William Morten or me what you observe, & you will from tyme to tyme receive directions. I pray god you may catch some of these Rouges if not all, which will be for your honour & advantage and the greater satisfaction of

Deare Sir Roger

Thy owne

Rich. Kirkby.

Feb. 11 1670/1

For love Duty & service you  
knowe what to say and to  
Whome. God Bless my Betty

Sir William Morten Knt. one of his Mat<sup>ties</sup>

Justices of the Court of Kinges Bencher

To all Sherrifes, Mayors Bailliffes Constables head boroughes  
Tythingmen & others his Mat<sup>ties</sup> Officers as well within Libertys  
as without to Whome these shall or may come & concerne

---

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 444-7; Taylor is usually given as Curate at Wigan from 1694, but he occurs much earlier though he held several benefices elsewhere; he was a local man, being born at Bolton 1653, son of Zachary Taylor, master of Bolton Grammar School.

Anglia R.

Whereas I am Credibly informed that Marke Bloud Thomas Bloud and William Moore stand outlawed for high Treason in Ireland and doe lurke up and downe in this Kingdome of England, These are therefore to will & require you & in his Mat<sup>ies</sup> name to Charge & Command you & every one of you upon sight hereof to make diligent search & Inquiry in all suspected places within your severall presincts where the sd. persons may bee found, and use your uttmost Endeavours for the Apprehension of the afforesd. M.B. . . . etc. And them to bringe before me or some other of his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Justices of the peace neare the place where they or any of them shall be taken, To the End they or any of them yt shall be soe apprehended & taken may bee committed to his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Gaole for the County where they . . . shall bee soe taken there to remaine in stricte safe custody without Bayle And speedy notice thereof to be given unto me at my Chambers in Serjants Inn (in Chancery Lane, London) And hereof fayle not at your perills. Given under my hand and seale this 10th February in the xxiii yeare of the Raigne of . . . Charles the 2nd Anno Dom. 1670 [i.e. 1671]

Will. Morten.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir

This day was the House called one [on], and all those who have absented themselves, or departed without the lycence of the house Ordered to be incerted in the Clause in this subsidiary Act to be doubly assessed. I did answer, you were detayned in the County by a particular service to the Kinge, of which my last with the inclosed gave you an Account, soe you weare Excused. But not without particular thankes due from the Speaker, to whome I expect you will write and give him your acknowledgements. My excuse for you was generally admired att. But passed at last without a question, which was singular.<sup>1</sup>

Hon. Sir, I desire you to use your uttmost endeavours to find out these Blouds, and Moore, mencioned in my last, or some of them, and this I have Commission to assure you, though you promise a good reward to them or him, [who] shall apprehend them, My Lord of Ormond will make it good & pay it. I pray be noe lesse dilligente to gett spys of those which travell often betwixt Lancashire and Cheshire and to learne what possible they can, for there is new mischiefe Brewing there then perhapps you imagine, have a care whom you trust, and trust such onely as you may safely. If you prove fortunate in apprehension or discovery of these aforesaid persons, or the design in hand in your parts, twill bee for your honor (and I hope advantage), as for the Kinges service.

Sir my assurance of your eminent Loyalty & particular friendshippe, threw this trouble upon you, knowing your willingness to serve the Kinge and destroy his enemys, soe malicious; besides this gave mee opportunity onely to rescue your name from amongst those who will be stigmatized upon Record for Breach of ther trust of ther County. My service to my Lady, Cosen Betty, & blessinge to Betty.<sup>2</sup> I hope to see you ere long; to Standish, Wrightington, &., My service.

Thine

Rich. Kirkby.

From your sonns Chamber

Feb. 14 1671/2.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir, Yours of the 24th I thanke you for, and have enclosed a description of Bloud which I did allsoe on this day seven-night. My Cosen Roger<sup>3</sup> read your lres as I was with him to see him take Coach at Puttney, he dined with a greate many Cheshire and Lancashire Gents uppon A Invitation of Doctor Smalwood who gave us a noble treatte yesterday. Meane tyme aboute 3 of the clocke in the

afternoone the Dutches of Yorke dyed. This day his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is Expected in towne from Newmarkett. The house is now upon the Law bill, And I beleeve we shall rise within this fortnight, since his Ma<sup>tie</sup> sent to us to make a recesse on this day senight. I hope to see you soone after our risinge of the House and therefore defer what I have to say till I see you. My Lord Ormond thankes you for your Care, & desires your continuance. Mr. Vice Chancellor gave you an account of what passed concerninge Tyldesley, I shall say noe more, but you may be very well satisfyd with his Ma<sup>ties</sup> good opinion of you. My service to your good Lady, Cosen Betty and all my good friends, to Betty my Blessinge, Bro: and Sister Errington present there service to you and are glad you seald your pte. God will reward you for your care of your Betty and her Brothers. Brother Farley doath much obstruct them. I am sory things are not soe fairely carryd amongst soe neare relattions. I thought it a poore satisfaction for my Children, better then to have longe Suite to greate hazard and cost,

Deare Sir I am  
Yours  
R. Kirkby

London Aprill 1 1671

The House sitt morninge and afternoone and I am called downe into the House

Mr. Blood is a slender man some what inclininge to tallness, a Long leane pale face with pocke holes in it. Small grey eyes and hollow, with a light Browne straight haire.

[Footnote added later in another hand]

This Mr. Blood and his Sone, and Mr. " Moore " weare the persons who attempted to steale the Kinges Crowne out of the Tower and had got it to the 2nd gate. They weare the persons allsoe suspected that assaulted James Duke of Ormond in his Coach and had taken him out to have murderd him.

Owing to the serious pitch of affairs as a result of the resumed Dutch War Parliament did not meet from May, 1671, to the end of 1672, and Bradshaigh was much occupied in matters of defence, including the impressment of seamen. An interesting point in connection with naval affairs is worthy of notice. On 23 April, 1672, Derby gave a general order to the Deputies and Justices which included " To take an exact account of all Shippes, Barges, and Boats, whether at home or abroad, belonging to the severall Ports, Creeks, and Waters within the County Palatine " <sup>1</sup> with their names, burdens, crews, and owners. It is to be assumed this embraced inland as well as coastal waters.

During his presence in London in February of the following year Sir Roger was admitted a member of Gray's Inn. Presumably this admission, which is dated 2 February, 1672/3, was honorific as he was hardly likely to enter as a student at the age of 45, and he was certainly not " called " ; but there is no other record. Parliament opened on the 4th and continued sitting till 29 March, during which time there was a change in the Lord-Lieutenancy owing to the death 21 December, 1672, of Charles, Earl of Derby. His son William, being a minor, the

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 290 ; Bankes L.B., 87.

Earl of Bridgewater was appointed;<sup>1</sup> the former Deputies were reappointed and shortly afterwards (26 April, 1673) eight additional persons were appointed.<sup>2</sup> In August William Bankes wrote to Bradshaigh at Haigh informing him that owing to a change in the county Militia Treasurership there was some difficulty in discovering who was in possession of the funds. "Mr. Jerrom of Liverpoole" was held responsible and Bankes had requested him to call upon Sir Roger to explain the account.<sup>3</sup> The petition of Sir Roger, which was passed to the Lord Treasurer 7 December, 1675,<sup>4</sup> "desiring a certain arrear of £2,200 due to him from one Collins, a receiver" may be an echo of this dispute.

I find no record of Bradshaigh's attendance at the brief eleventh session of Parliament which lasted only from 27 October to 4 November, 1673, but early in November he was again immersed in militia exercises beginning with a general muster at Lancaster 11 November. At this appearance his Troop consisted of nine men from Leyland hundred, eight from Blackburn, thirteen from Amounderness, seventeen from Lonsdale, and four others, a total (not including volunteers) of fifty-one besides officers. The names of those charged and the men supplied are given in the Letter Book.<sup>5</sup>

Parliament reassembled for a new session 7 January 1673/4, but Bradshaigh was again absent on account of his military duties. Col. Kirkby acts as his reporter. There are several letters from him in January. Sir Roger wrote to Kirkby on the 6th February explaining the situation in the county and asking him to forward a letter to Lord Bridgewater and to return him an account of the business. Kirkby, however, did not get the letter till late on the night of the 11th: "Myselfe not being able to bee at the House by reason of my venall distemper hath overpowered mee and confined mee to my Chambers, or rather Bed." He wrote to Bradshaigh forthwith from Grays Inn: "The inclosed to our Ld. Lieut. I could not carry but have sent by a trusty hand. When I know his Lordships further pleasure I shall signifie unto you. In the meane tyme, as I know, nothing must be awanting on your pte to a more plenary discovery; soe I am well assured 'twill bee very satisfactory to his Lordship. I am confident you are well assured nothing can or shall be wanting in my power to

<sup>1</sup> Bridgewater held the post from 24 January, 1672/3 to April, 1676; William, the new Earl of Derby, having come of age was appointed 13 May, 1676.

<sup>2</sup> B.L.B., 359-61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 369-70.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1675, p. 435; apparently a similar situation arose in 1683, since there is a note at the end of the Lieutenancy Minute 19 July 1683 (at Ormskirk) "The Lords Comm<sup>rs</sup> of the Treasury have desired the Earle of Derby to examine in whose hands the money remains; and to give their Lordshipps a speedy account thereof" (Archiva Lindesiana).

<sup>5</sup> B.L.B., 364-6.

serve you, when need requires, or your pleasure is knowne. . . .”<sup>1</sup> This cryptic reply is mainly interesting for the light it throws on Kirkby’s respect for Bradshaigh; the tenor of it suggests a man held in high esteem, even admiration. The letter goes on: “The great and joyfull Newes is a Pease concluded twixt the Dutch and us, & that you may have it with the greatest assurance, I shall give you his Majesty’s owne speech for itt yesterday in both Houses.” I omit the actual speech since it is in close accord with the report in Cobbett.<sup>2</sup> After dealing with other business before the House the letter concludes with very cordial greetings. Bradshaigh’s enclosures dealt with meetings of the Deputy-Lieutenants, Militia musters, and the proceedings against the Warrington dissenters (a full account of which is given in the Historic Society’s *Transactions*<sup>3</sup>) and the examination of Mercer.

The Mercer case was an odd business. The man concerned, Thomas Mercer, a weaver of Abram near Wigan, was arrested at Wigan for debt in November, 1673, and held on suspicion of being concerned in a projected armed rebellion, the grounds of suspicion being an order early in November for nine or ten dozen saddles. Bradshaigh had nothing to do with the arrest or the original detention on suspicion. It was not till the beginning of February, 1674, that the case was remitted to him at the instance of the Privy Council. The writer of the Historic Society’s article merely mentions the affair, concluding his notes on “Sedition.” with the statement: “After that time [the proceedings against Tyldesley, 1666] there is little notice of sedition, though a suspiciously large order for nine dozen saddles brought a man named Mercer into trouble in 1674; he was discharged after inquiries lasting about two months.” Whether intentional or not this brief comment coming at the end of an oblique attack on Bradshaigh leaves the inference that the man was released despite Bradshaigh’s efforts to secure a conviction. The fact is the release was due to Bradshaigh himself, and his action in the matter reflects credit on his sense of justice and humane feeling.

The depositions and copious correspondence leave no doubt that there was solid ground for suspicion.<sup>4</sup> The original informations will be sufficient to make the matter clear. Robert Lichford (or Littleford), a Manchester saddler, was examined before John Hartley of Strangeways, a Justice of the Peace, on 22 November, 1673. He averred “that on Saturday the eighth day of November inst. one Tho. Mercer of Abram . . . Garthweb weaver” came to him at his shop and requested “three dozen of Troopers saddles to bee made with Burrs before for carying

<sup>1</sup> B.L.B., 403-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cobbett’s *Parl. Hist.*, iv, 665.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xlii; see also F. Nicholson and E. Axon, “Robert Yates, rector of Warrington”, in *Trans. L. & C. Antiq. Soc.*, xxxii, 201-23.

<sup>4</sup> B.L.B., 387-408.

Pistolls . . . to bee deliivered at Warrington the 26 day of this month, and said hee must have 13 saddles to the dozen & the 13th of each dozen to have a Redd Velvett seat." For the velvet saddles he offered 25s. each. The rest were to be "made in Blacke Leather Hogskin if that could be had". Lichford told Mercer that as he was very busy he could not make the saddles in the time stipulated. Mercer then reduced his demand by a sort of Dutch auction: could he have two dozen? or one dozen? or so many as he could make? Mercer then proceeded to inform Lichford "that about 6 weekes before that tyme hee had sent to one Mr. Fewtrill, an ironmonger of the 3 Crownes in Little Britton [London] 6 dozen of such saddles 13 to each dozen and that they were well liked, and said that these 3 dozen must alsoe be sent to the said Mr. Fewtrill by a Warrington Carryer on Wednesday the 26 instant & that he could give noe longer tyme." On being asked who made the original six dozen Mercer said "they were made by one John Gardner a saddler at Prescott". When Lichford again refused to make the saddles Mercer urged that William Stockdell the younger of Manchester had agreed to make him one dozen saddles in the stipulated time. The information is signed by Robert Lichford and countersigned by John Hartley and another Justice named Capt. Coramme. Stockdell was examined twice, the second time on 8 January, 1673/4. He admitted that Mercer had requested two dozen saddles and that he had agreed to make one dozen of black leather with green fringes. He stated that Mercer had produced a letter "which contained much money" but was so folded that only the writer's name and address was disclosed. On 8 January Stockdell stated he had delivered the saddles at Warrington as promised, but Mercer "had neither money to pay for them nor would give a note under his hand for payment for them, but wisht they had all beene buried for he had ill Lucke to medle with them". He then offered Stockdell "Garthwebb and sacking for horse cloaths which should have beene at xxxis. price in part payment of the said saddles." Stockdell, however, refused to let Mercer have the saddles. Blackedge, the Warrington saddler, was also examined on 3 February.

A letter from Henry Fewtrill to Mercer, apparently intercepted, increases the suspicion these transactions aroused. It is written from London and dated 17 January:

According to your order I payd the 3li. which is in full of all accompts betwixt myself and you. Pray send me a peece of white stript sacking such as the last for I have promised it to a friend & if it be as good as the last I shall send for more.

About 6 weeks or 2 months since I was sent for by an eminent Knight & alderman of our City who asked mee if I knew you. I tould him I did & that was all, for I never saw you but once but had dealt with you for some smale quantity of goods. Hee tould mee that my name was before the King & Councill for that I should send to you for 500 saddles & that if it was conceaved to be upon a popish

account hee tould mee I had been sent for by a Messenger, but he knew mee & and would give them a further account which hee did in a very few dayes & the (y he) ard mee. I am a Lieut. Coll. of the City & have, Please God, a good estate in it & go to the Publicke congregation with my family & receive the Sacrament after the Ordnance of the Church of England. The Raskell I suppose may bee some neighbour of yours to do you a discourtesye, but Please God hee could do mee none I am so well knowne in the City. I never sould a sadle in my life & if I wanted any I have Chapmen in the City & country sadlers that I could send unto.

If you can Pray learne this knaves name that I may cause him to have a jorney or 2 to London to answer for his knavery before his betters. I am in hast & can not stand to inlarge therefore I onely add that I am

Your very loveing friend  
defying all knaves

HENRY FEWTRILL

These  
for Mr. Thomas Mercer  
Weaver at Abram in Wigan  
parish in Lancashire.

From Fewtrill's letter it is clear that the Privy Council took a serious view of the matter and the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Bridgewater, requested Bradshaigh to examine the prisoner. Roger Kenyon, the Wigan Clerk of the Peace, supplied him with the depositions and there is a three-cornered correspondence between Sir Roger, Colonel Kirkby, and the Earl of Bridgewater. Bradshaigh exercised great care in the inquiry, giving it anxious thought, weighing the pros and cons, and taking the prisoner's demeanour into consideration. Eventually he addressed a letter to Bridgewater under date 7 March as follows :

May it please your Lordship,

In obedience to your Lordships commands I have used all Possible meanes to find out the truth [as to the] meaninge of the mans [i.e. Mercer's] bespeaking soe many saddles &, in truth, the Hardship he hath suffered in Prison might be calld a meanes to extorte somethinge from him ; than to secure him onely to be forthe-cominge in case a good ground be found for a charge against him ; but the most generall conjecture that is made upon the whole matter is that being plunged into debt in these parts, and (haveinge got Credit) hee Pretended to Trayde alsoe with sadles bought heare ; to sell southwards & would have made what money hee could with the soonest, and left his Wife & Children upon the Parish charge ; & truly my Lord, if I have not your speedy Order to release him, hee will be utterly famisht. His Wife & Children being already maintayned by the Parish for want of helpe. Wherefore not haveinge gott any word by his confession nor others Examinations I make bould to be an humble intecessor for your Lordships Order to Release him, with which my humble duty presented to your Honour is all at present from

Your Lordships most  
obedient servant

ROGER BRADSHAIGH

Haigh March  
the seventh  
1673 (1674)

The transmission of the letter seems to have been delayed and in the meantime active steps were being taken in London for the prosecu-

tion. On 17 March Kenyon wrote to Sir Roger reporting a communication he had received from Sir Robert Carr,<sup>1</sup> the Chancellor of the Duchy :

Honoured Sir,

I have just recd from Sir Robert Carre a ltre wherein hee writes that he had recd myne which was about what you desired mee to write concerning Mercer. He saith he is of opinion that Mercer was ingaged in some very ill desyne & directs that the Examinations be ready against him when the Judge comes through Wigan, or if he be bayled hee saith he doubts not but sufficient Bayle will be taken for him for his appearance before Baron Littleton either at Lancaster or at Wigan. I believe by what he writes the Judge hath some direction about it. . . .

[Kenyon continues that he has difficulty in going to Haigh to see Sir Roger about it personally, but suggests dates and times, and concludes]

I faythfully am, Sir,

Yours to honour and serve you

ROGER KENYON

This turn of events worried Bradshaigh a good deal, but he was relieved a few days later by receiving Bridgewater's favourable reply to his appeal of the 7 March. It is dated from Bridgewater House, 16 March ; and is addressed to " My very much respected friend Sir Roger Bradshaigh " :

Sir, I received the last weeke your ltre of the 10th [*sic.*] present, by which I perceive that by all your endeavours you have not beene able to discover any ill intention in the man that hath beene under suspicion concerning the saddles. I give you most hearty thanks for your care & paynes in that Enquiry and fully agree with you in opinion that since after so diligent & exact search in the business as you have taken care to make you cannot make discovery of any ill designe in the fellowe that might relate to the disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdome, the man ought not to suffer any longer but be released to looke after the maintenance of himself & his family, which it seems his restraint hath been prejudicial to.

I am, Sir, your humble servant &  
very loveinge friend

J. BRIDGEWATER

So the affair ended and nothing more is heard of it. Quite obviously if Mercer was guilty of engaging himself in the interest of rebellious parties his motive was purely financial, and his experiences cured him of his misconceived enterprise. Bradshaigh certainly showed a forbearing temper and a largeness of mind in recognizing that no end of justice would be served in further prosecuting the delinquent Mercer. If he was acting for others the publicity effectively deterred them from proceeding with their project—or it may be the conclusion of Peace forestalled them.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Carr (1637–82), knight and baronet, was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and P.C. 1672–82 ; sometime M.P. for Preston and the County of Lincoln ; he married Elizabeth, sister of Lord Arlington.

The next session of Parliament, which lasted from 13 April to 9 June, 1675, found Sir Roger duly in attendance; and on 3 October Col. Kirkby wrote to Williamson<sup>1</sup> from Preston telling him he was already on his way to London and expected to join a party at Wigan the next day, including Sr Roger Bradshaigh, "and I doubt not we shall kiss your hands before the opening of Parliament"—13 October. Williamson had become Secretary of State for the North. There was no session of Parliament in 1676 and Bradshaigh was early in attendance at the fifteenth session which opened 15 February, 1676/7, for he was on his way to London on 17 January.<sup>2</sup> The first sitting lasted till 16 April, 1677, but did not resume until the following January and whether he was present at any of the sittings is not apparent; but a letter from "Cozen Wm. Bradshaigh" addressed to him at the House of Commons<sup>3</sup> 11 November, 1678, shows he was there for the seventeenth and last session.

As may be expected, Sir Roger also took an active part in the various by-elections in the county. A typical instance was the Liverpool election of 1670 when there were no less than ten prospective candidates all anxious to secure the support of influential persons. Sir Roger Bradshaigh supported the candidature of Sir George Lane, whom "I have the honour to know", and along with Sir Jeffrey Shakerley persuaded the remaining Liverpool Member, Sir Gilbert Ireland, to espouse his interest. However, finding later there was little chance of Sir George being elected and that continued efforts on his behalf would prejudice his relations with Lord Derby and the citizens of Liverpool, Sir Roger gracefully withdrew, somewhat to the discomfiture of Sir Gilbert Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

In April 1676 when William, Earl of Derby, became Lord-Lieutenant, Sir Roger Bradshaigh's commission as a Deputy-Lieutenant was not renewed, probably at his own request, since his friend Col. Kirkby was reappointed.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, William evinced as much hostility to Bradshaigh as his father had done. He was particularly offended by Sir Roger's staunch support of the Earl of Ancrum as Member for Wigan, and was reported as endeavouring to deprive Wigan of its ancient Court of Quarter Sessions. Bradshaigh continued as a Justice of the

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1675-6, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1677-8, pp. 511-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Archiva Lindesiana*.

<sup>4</sup> A. Hume, "Some account of the Liverpool election of 1670, *Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, vi, pp. 4-1 and appendix of letters at the end of the vol. (26 pp.).

<sup>5</sup> The Deputies' commissions are dated 26 Sept., 1676, and the eight appointed were William Spencer, Sir Robert Bindloss, Bart.; Richard Kirkby, Thomas Preston, Alexander Rigby, Daniel Fleming, Myles Dodding, and Curwen Rawlinson. See "Orders from the P.C. to the Magistrates of Lancashire, 1660-1685", MS. vol (78) of the Farrer papers in the Manchester Reference Library. The first five were former Deputies. The list, however, may be incomplete.

Peace and continued also his Command of the Troop of Horse. In 1677 Lieut. Oldfield, his chief officer, gave place to Lieut. Knipe. There is a letter from him dated 10 July, 1677, headed "My Lieutenant William Knype Esq., an acct. of the Muster of my Troope at Lancaster June 26th 1677", in which he apologizes for his inexperience and "I hope at the next meetinge wee shall be honoured with your company, which I did heartily wish for the last. . . . I shall be in better capacity to serve you hereafter, which I shall always be ready to doe to the utmost of my power."<sup>1</sup> In October he was reporting to Williamson that the county was "very quiet and peaceable" and that Lord Derby had "resolved to have a general rendezvous at Preston of all the forces of the county".<sup>2</sup>

Though I have found no note of the appointment it would seem that Sir Roger was restored to the Lieutenancy some time later, for there are copies of several letters at Haigh dated 1683 which indicate as much. One dated 4 April ordering a meeting of the Deputies at Ormskirk is addressed to "Sir Roger Bradshaigh Knt. & Bart., Sir Peter Brooks Knt, and the rest of my Deputy-Lieutenants". The occasion is a muster of the Earl's Troop and Regiment in consequence of the Rye House Plot and a congratulatory Address to the King was agreed to which is so uncommonly worded that I print the text in an appendix. The author was most assuredly the Earl himself. Another letter from the Earl similarly addressed is dated 14 July, and calls a meeting of the Deputies to consider the King's order "for better securinge the Publicke Peace and preventing Insurrections and Tumults". A copy of the Secretary of State's letter is appended from which it is learnt that the King's apprehensions had considerably diminished. A complete discovery had already been made of both the "methods intended to promote this insurrection and allsoe the contrivers of it". His lordship is not to mobilize the Militia, and in searching for arms he is to act very discreetly—"not to seize fowling pieces or weareinge-swords, or any other thing that is trifling".

## CHAPTER SIX

### LATER YEARS

#### HIGH SHERIFF—BARONETCY—PERSONAL CHARACTER

THE second longest Parliament in English history was dissolved 24 January, 1678/9, and Sir Roger Bradshaigh retired from Parliamentary service, though his son and heir Roger became a member for Wigan in the Parliament which opened on 6 March. Two days later, 8 March,

<sup>1</sup> Archiva Lindesiana.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1677-8, p. 396.

1678/9, the son was knighted, and was elected Mayor of Wigan in the following October. In addition to these events 1679 was an eventful year for Sir Roger senior, for he served as High Sheriff of the County and later in the same year was created a baronet.

Being Sheriff was a costly business as is shown by Sir Roger's account of expenses entailed by his office.<sup>1</sup> The initial outlay for fees, liveries, horse trappings, and incidentals came to £347 14s. 10d. At the Lent Assizes he spent £325 1s. Not the least item was entertainment. For August the bill came to £133 4s. 0d. and included :

Diet according to contract	£90	-	-
9 Hogsheads of Strong Beare	18	-	-
5 lbs. of Tobacco	10	-	

Similar items occur frequently. He provided glass-ware from his household stock, under the impression, apparently, that it would return; but before the year was out most of it was broken, so that he had to replenish his stock at Lancaster as well as his house.

It was the ambition of Sir Roger's only surviving son, the new Knight Bachelor and M.P. for Wigan, which led to Sir Roger becoming a baronet; he himself disclaimed any desire for the honour. Sir Roger the younger, who was born in 1649, married on the 8th April, 1673, Mary, one of the four daughters of Henry Murray and his wife Anne, Viscountess Bayning. Murray was a Groom of the Bedchamber. On 29 March, 1674, Murray's four daughters (all of whom were married) were granted "precedency due to the daughters of a viscount of England".<sup>2</sup> The social position of Sir Roger junior was thus particularly good, and as he was intellectually gifted and of very presentable appearance, he had anticipations of an influential position in society. That he desired to become a baronet (or perhaps his wife wished it) and had made judicious inquiries as to the possibilities is revealed in an interesting letter preserved at Haigh. It is from the father to the son, who was in London :

Letter written by Sir Roger Bradshaigh to his Son in London, Apr. 8, 1679,

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<sup>1</sup> Archiva Lindesiana. G.K.C.'s *Complete Baronetage* (iv) gives the Sherifate to Sir Roger's son, but this is clearly an error as this document is in the father's handwriting; see also Margaret Blundell's *Cavalier*, p. 213, etc. It is possible that Sir Roger's appointment as High Sheriff caused his retirement from Parliament since "by the Lawes of this Our Realme you are to make your residence in that county (Lancs.) during the terme of your charge". When Sir John Arderne was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1666 he was granted a special licence from the King to permit him to quit the county on "divers occasions that require your presence in Our County of Chester". This document (from which these quotations are made) is preserved in the Manchester City Reference Library, being loosely inserted in the Bradshaigh Letter Book.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1673-5, p. 214.

the 3-10 or for us: with slender  
begin my absence at Law & will  
leave, I see if the money were  
to send us much of for him to Cost

a baron's Barone's Patent  
any inclination of mine, some  
is to come behind this before  
ted M. and (as I am) I am before  
the Court, nor is it strange  
need before the Court, than  
I since the King's happy restorati  
please me if you be sue to, but  
both I, on account in what than  
new by you to our Society  
I that settlement, and I am  
me, and to keep the house, I  
I have in you, and if I am  
me of my Education, and I  
the Debt, yet owe, the portion  
considerable to ward it, yet in  
the Patent will not be obd  
my God's sake, I will allow  
I. M. which

give my service to my Lord of Arundel, the Court, and rest of  
my friends, there is good news in your last letter, and  
I shall long to hear the same, I wish you may see further that  
the clause in the Act for the poor (for every Town to keep  
three more poor in their Water Combs) may be continued  
and that the Court in the former Act for the high ways, for  
power to lay an assessment not exceeding 6<sup>d</sup> in the pound for  
the repair of high ways, may be with continuance of Motion  
send you her blessing. Mr. Doy's letter was with mine  
may be presented to your sister and her, I may remember  
the wrongs in her husband, and to speak with Bradshaigh  
with my blessing and prayers for your health, and happiness  
is all at present from

I desire to know who is  
your servant now  
and what Mr. Brent is accused, and by whom; Mr. Lee will  
be in Town on Thursday seventh, and I desire your assistance  
to procure her Touch, and good Friday to come back by the same  
way, your wife takes me notice to me of your proposition, so  
I have not acquainted her with it

Robert Bradshaigh

FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S LETTER TO HIS SON CONCERNING THE BARONETCY.

noted on the back by the Son " My Father's letter wherein he promises to give me £50 towards a Pattent for a Baronett "

Haigh Aprill the 8th, 1679  
the day of yr happy marriage.

Dear Roger,

Some Company will come from Wiggan this day to selebrate the happy marriage and good fortune you had this day 6 years, and a hogshead of wine shall be broacht at noone to that purpose, and we will try a fresh tapp at Jo: Sam in the afternoone.

.....  
Now as to your proposition aboute a Barronets Patent for myselfe. It was never any inclination of myne, (since I had put it off soe longe as to come behind those before whom I might have expected it) and (as I am) I am before all Knights Bachelors of this County. Nor is it strange to have the Sonne advanced before the Father, thear hath beene many presidents since the Kings happy restauration, nor shall it in the least displease mee if you bee soe too, but rather increase the Comfort I conceave in what hon<sup>r</sup> or better fortune may acrew by you to our Family, otherwayes I had never made that settlement; and Joyntur from myselfe wch I have done, and to keepe the house I doe meerely for the Comfort I have in you and yr family. And yet considering the charge of yr Education, and Marriage, and keeping at London, and the Debts I yet owe<sup>1</sup>, the portion I had to myself was inconsiderable towards it. Yet since you seem to hint that the Patent will not bee obtained unless I bee the first, (for my Godsons sake I will allow £50 towards the charge) and not for any benefit which I apprehend by it; or otherwayse doe it for yrselfe, and it shall bee as pleasing to mee, for (God bee thanked) you are in a much better condition to beare the Charge for yrselfe than I am ever like to bee. Soe what I offer is only in case you cannot obtaine the Patent otherwayse, and for little Rogers sake.

Give my service to my Lord Ancram, the Coll [Kirkby] and rest of my freinds. Theare is good newes in yr last Orders, and votes; I shall long to heare the issue. I wish care may be taken that the Clauze in the Act for the Poore (for every Towne to keepe theire owne poore in theis Northern Countys) may been continued; and that the Clauze in the former Acts for the highways for power to lay an assessment not exceeding 6d in the pound for the reapyre of haighways. may bee alsoe continued. Yr Mother sends you her blessinge and desyrs her service with myne may bee presented to my sister and Neece. I pray remember the wether-glass in her chamber, and to speak to Mr. Bradshaigh, wch. with my blessinge and prayers for yr health and happiness is all at present from

Yr very loveinge father  
Roger Bradshaigh.

I desyre to know who is yr Seargent now and what Mr. Brent is accused of, and by whom; Mary Lee will bee in Towne on Thursday senight. and desyr yr assistance to procure her Toucht, on Good Fryday, to come back by the same caryer. Yr wife takes noe notice to mee of yr proposition, soe I have not acquainted her with it.

The omitted paragraph deals with an impending lawsuit (concerning which I have found no reference) and a few trivial requests. The fact

<sup>1</sup> These debts were occasioned by the work on the Great Sough, and caused considerable embarrassment when both father and son died within a few years—the second baronet died 16 June, 1686; under the marriage settlement the whole of the demesne lands of the Manor of Haigh, excepting the Hall and the coal mines, were assigned as jointure to the young wife, together with several other properties, to the total annual value of £460.

that the proposal for a baronetcy came from the son is especially interesting as at least two genealogical works state that it is uncertain whether the honour was conferred on the father or the son. It was the father, a fact on which the baronetcy books agree. The Warrant bearing the King's signature (written and signed by Lord Sunderland) intimating that Sir Roger is to be created a Baronet, and requiring a "Bill" to be drafted giving effect to the King's will is dated 3 September, 1679. The date of conferment is 16 November, 1679. Young Sir Roger stuck to his bargain and in a personal diary notes that the cost of fees for the patent was £201 5s. 10d. plus £81 13s. 4d., and he compares this (£282 19s. 2d.) with the total cost to Sir John Bowyer in 1662, which was only £118 4s. 6d.

The postscript reference in the above letter to Mary Lee of Haigh going up to London to be touched for the King's Evil is particularly interesting. Only two years later Sir Roger junior was writing to Roger Kenyon: "Yesterday my brother [in-law] Preston with my sister and his girl, went home for Chester in order to a journey to London tomorrow . . . his daughter's too apparent symptoms of the Kings-evil occasions this sudden motion, and he is advised by us all here to goe too, or that it may not be amiss for him to prepare his way to the King before the next terme . . .<sup>1</sup>

In October, 1681, Sir Roger senior was again elected Mayor of Wigan. He had always taken a keen interest in borough affairs as Alderman and now that he was retired from most county as well as national responsibilities he devoted himself to local administration and the affairs of his estate. Any contentious problem in the town's business was referred for his advice. The appointment of Laurence Anderton as Town Clerk in October, 1682, gave rise to a situation in which Sir Roger's influence with the Crown was important.<sup>2</sup> In 1683 the Rye House Plot evoked his old enthusiasms. On receipt of the royal Proclamation he "appoynted the privie session and inserted part of it in the warrant with strict orders to sett watch and ward for the vilains in all my divitions".<sup>3</sup> And I think we can see his hand in the Wigan Corporation's loyal address to the King congratulating him on his escape. It is the first of thirteen addresses (and the longest) which appear in the *London Gazette* for 13 August, 1683 (No. 1851), and begins:

" To the King's Most Excellent Majesty  
The Humble and unanimous Address of the Mayor, Recorder,  
Aldermen, Bayliffs, and Burgesses of your Majesties ancient  
and Loyal Corporation of Wigan, at the Common-Hall there  
assembled, July 10, 1683.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, xlix, 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1682, pp. 357, 450, 523, 525-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 161.



SIR ROGER BRADSHAIGH, KNT. AND 2ND BART., M.P.  
*(From the portrait at Haigh Hall by Mary Beale.)*



MARY, LADY BRADSHAIGH.  
*(From the portrait at Haigh Hall by Mary Beale.)*

Dread Sovereign,

When we heard of the late villanous Conspiracy against the life of your Majesties Sacred Person . . . contrived and carried on by Factious Republicans and Fanatick Zealots, we were not more astonished at the Horrid Treason than deeply affected with the bounty of Divine Providence, which so seasonably discovered the designs of Blood and Treachery, and so happily prevented that dismal Confusion which such Barbarous Attempts had inevitably involved the Nation in."

There are five more paragraphs, and such phrases as :

"When we sometime since laid at your Sacred Feet our just Abhorrence of that Cursed Association which apparently gave birth to this wicked Conspiracy"

and

"The Dangers your Majesty is exposed to by the restless Malice of Fanatick Sectaries and Seditious Conventicles"

seem to point directly to Sir Roger's authorship. It has a colour of its own which none of the other addresses tries to emulate.

Though he had himself "been sensible of his declining condition a great while" few others had suspected it. He fell ill whilst visiting his brother-in-law at Chester and died there on Easter Monday, 31st March, 1684. His comparatively early death at the age of 56 was a great loss to his family and the community.

His character as a man will bear the closest scrutiny. That he possessed considerable intellectual endowments is, I think, proved by his engineering, business, and administrative achievements. He was something of a scholar as well as a man of action; he possessed a fair library, his books at his death being valued at £40. He was generally regarded as a fine soldier.<sup>1</sup> The strength of his personality is apparent all through his career. His ascendancy in the Lieutenancy is obvious. The deference paid to him by his fellow-Deputies cannot be ignored, and in the end Lord Derby himself is more than anxious to suit his convenience. When Bridgewater became Lord-Lieutenant we find his lordship's Secretary, Mr. John Thompson, looking to him as the leading personality. Thompson acted as clerk to the Lieutenants' Committee and it was suggested that he should receive an honorarium for his services. Thompson addressed several letters to Bradshaigh respecting this and one dated 7 October, 1673, begins: "Worthy Sir, As you are the principall person on whom I relie I am necessitated to give you trouble extraordinary, and one post after another torment you with my letters . . ." <sup>2</sup> which not only reveals Sir Roger's standing, but also his great kindness. He was generous and hospitable and ever heeded

<sup>1</sup> In 1853 Dr. Abraham Hume wrote (*Trans. Hist. Soc. L. & C.*, vi, 11), "He was well known as a good soldier and a man of very charitable disposition."

<sup>2</sup> B.L.B., 307.

the calls of the poor. His loyalty to his friends is an outstanding characteristic and there are many evidences of kindly actions which must, in many cases, have given him a great deal of trouble. His friendship and aid to his distressed kinsmen and others who suffered through their adherence to the Roman Church caused him as we have seen, to be held in considerable suspicion, yet his sympathies were so well known that when, in 1681, a distress was threatened against a certain widow Pennington in Wigan for non-payment of her recusancy fines, she was told "if she pleased she could send to Sir Roger Bradshaigh to advise with him".<sup>1</sup> George Fell of Swarthmore secured his aid in a petition to the King for the restoration of his estate forfeited by his mother "for embracing the fanatical opinion of the Quakers"<sup>2</sup> his mother still living, "obstinately adhering thereto", which shows he had no animus against the Quakers as such as has been alleged. A manuscript note on Lord Crawford's copy of the Bradshaigh funeral sermon is particularly revealing; "My grandfather Seddon was driven from Easham and Grappenhall, sequestered and imprisoned, during which time this Sir Roger entertained my mother and 9 children; he got him Penwortham where he preached with common prayer for ten years of the usurper Cromwell's reigne, & by a loyall, good, and kind gentleman Mr. Fleetwood of Penwortham, after the Act of Oblivion, was restored to his parsonage of Grappenhall againe." In 1675 Sir Roger writes to Roger Kenyon from London: "The King's Preachers business is done, and I have got a pension for a poor woman in Wigan."<sup>3</sup>

That he had great pride in the descent and importance of his family need not be doubted, and he thought highly of the merits of his son. He was not above the convivial pleasures of society. He entertained largely at Haigh, indeed he was rarely without distinguished company there. His family parties were continuous, "My son[in-law] Preston and his family have been here this 5 weeks and I hope will stay past Christmas . . . and next week cozen Will. Bradshaigh, and some gentlemen will be here out of the Bishoprick, soe while I have Haigh I shall have company".<sup>4</sup> The Chancellor (presumably of the Duchy) and Vice-Chancellor were frequent guests. When in London a mild carousal was occasionally indulged in: "Yesternight a company of us rejoiced at 'The Fleece' and upon Tuesday night the Chancellor, with some such select bad company as myself, tossed off the Florence wine at Sir John Otway's Chamber, and both the Chancellor and his coach did me the good fellowship's office to set me down at my lodging about 12 a.m. This night I, with Sir John, Mr. Fleetwood, and others, take

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, xlix, 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1664-5, 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, xlix, 101.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to his brother-in-law, Sir Jeffrey Shakerley, 18 Nov. 1681 (Shakerley Papers).

the other tuse at the 'Dog' in Palace Yard; how that Dog bites you shall hear in the country. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

He was fastidious about his clothes. In November, 1671, he writes from Haigh to Roger Kenyon, who was in London, "pray send me word what you observe to be the newest fashion for this winter's clothes and belts; I would rather have it from you than my tailor".<sup>2</sup> In November, 1666, he sent Williamson "a suit of buttons, and appurtenances, such as are now much worn with the new garments."<sup>3</sup> At his death his apparel was appraised at £50 value—not necessarily a Beau Brummell but a man who had conscious regard for his appearance. There is little recorded of his inclinations in sport—one imagines he had little time for it—though his son took much interest in horse-racing. That he enjoyed hunting is evident from the list of "bugle notes for the hunt", in the handwriting of John Scott, Sir Roger's huntsman, and countersigned by Sir Roger, in William Blundell's "Hodge-podge" or commonplace book. The notes and meaning of seventeen calls are given.<sup>4</sup> Like other country gentlemen he occasionally attended a cock-fight. One anecdote is worth repeating: "A Man of 88 years lately undertook to run a race of 14 miles near Preston with one of 68, giving him a mile start; the old man ran stoutly for seven miles, but seeing the other a mile before him gave it over, though it is thought he would have won had they started together."<sup>5</sup> Witchcraft aroused his scepticism. He reports to Williamson in January, 1666 (*inter alia*), that he "has examined four reputed witches; one confessed that she, her father, and mother, each rode on a black cat to Warrington, nine miles off, and that the cats sucked the mother till they sucked blood. He has little faith in this, though given on oath, and has sent two of them to gaol"<sup>6</sup>—evidently on the principle that anyone who would swear to such occurrences could be guilty of anything!

Sir Roger Bradshaigh's funeral evoked a great demonstration of public sorrow and more than one elegy in verse has survived, whilst the funeral sermon preached by Dr. Richard Wroe was regarded by many as the most eloquent of the preacher's career, and the reputation of "silver tongued Wroe" in this respect was a high one.<sup>7</sup> I have read the sermon myself and fully agree with the contemporary judgement. To give the reader an example of this masterpiece I quote the passage wherein he pronounces upon the manifold virtues of the late Sir Roger:

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Roger Kenyon, 11 Dec., 1675, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, xlix, 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 266.

<sup>4</sup> Wm. Blundell, *A Cavalier's Note Book*, pp. 198–200. The editor, Rev. T. E. Gibson, comments, "This seems to have been inserted in 'Hodge-podge' by Sir Roger Bradshaigh."

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1664, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1666, p. 225.

<sup>7</sup> See Chet. Soc. No. 8 (O.S.), p. 30 n.; also *Richard Wroe* by James Clayton, in *Transactions*, L. & C. Antiq. Soc., xxxvii, 67–90, especially p. 74.

I will not detain you with everything that may be said, nor trace his character through all the relations he stood in ; as in his domestic capacity and government, wherein was remarkable the chasteness of his conjugal love, resembling the shrine of two tapers lighted with but one flame, the goodness of a father's care, and the sweetness of a master's rule. But I am loth to touch on this, being too tender a theme for you to hear or for me to enlarge upon. I will mention his hospitality and good housekeeping ; plenty and welcome were never wanting at his table ; no man entertained both acquaintance and stranger with greater freedom and affability.

I am loth to omit his kind and obliging temper, which made him always grateful and acceptable ; and the generous kindness and cheerfulness of spirit which was always discernible in him towards his tenants, dependants, and followers. And what was kindness towards all was charity to everyone that stood in need of it, for he had not only a cheerful heart, but a liberal hand when any just occasion called him to stretch it out. I have oft been the witness of his forward bounty, provoking others by the example of his own cheerful liberality.

His personal qualifications I cannot at large decipher. I will not instance the negative virtues : that he was not submissive to those vices which are incident to persons of place and plentiful fortune ; nor to pride and censoriousness ; nor to violence and oppression. No, . . . it is easy to acquit him from fraud or malice, from injury and injustice, from ignoble and dishonest designs, from reach and circumvention ; but *privati et plebeii hominis est ut vitio careat*—but even a mean and ordinary person may be free from vice, but those that exceed others in place and quality should outstrip them too in what is excellent and commendable. I will therefore insist on two things for which he is to be honoured, and I hope will be so in a long and precious remembrance among all good men : his Religion to God, and his unshaken Loyalty to his Prince, which were equal and uniform through his whole life.”<sup>1</sup>

Of his family life I would add but one more brief quotation uttered eleven years later at the grave of his wife : “ I will say nothing of her conjugal affection to *that great man* whose relict she was ; she hath left a lasting monument thereof which will survive hers as well as his funeral.”<sup>2</sup> And to conclude I quote the first two stanzas of Samuel Shaw's elegy :

What mean these echo'd groans, and panic fears,  
 And showers of tears ?  
 Why does a gloomy fog choak and destroy  
 Our Easter joy ?  
 Why one day public mirth and on the morrow  
 As public sorrow ?  
 What is the stroke, whence is this mourning bred ?  
 Alas ! the Great, the Good Sir Roger's dead.  
 In Loyal veins if Loyal blood ere ran :  
 This was the man.  
 Did Love and Peace, 'mongst mortals ever rest ?  
 Here was the breast.  
 Did Justice ever dwell with humane statè  
 Here was its soul, here was its seat.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Wroe, *Righteousness encouraged . . . in a sermon at the funeral of the worshipful Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh . . .* London, 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Taylor, *Sermon preached at the funeral of Lady Bradshaigh.* London, 1695.

If Heart and Tongue true unisons e're were :

Then it was here.

And hath the Virgin-Church a true-bred son ?

Then this was one.

Does Charity once in an age appear ?

She took her lodging here.

And yet this Loyal, Loving, Peaceful, Just,

Sincere, Kind, Genuine, Son must yield to dust.

# APPENDIX

## I

### ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF ROGER BRADSHAIGH, GRANDFATHER OF THE 1ST BARONET, WHO DIED 1641

ROGER BRADSHAIGH'S Will dated 17th April 1641 :

To be buried in his chancell at Wigan Parish Church in the corner between his son James and the wall, also his wife and daughter-in-law, with an appropriate tomb of stone.

Leaves ten pounds to the poor of Wigan Parish (four pounds to Wigan Town per Mayor and Aldermen), £3 to Standish and other small sums to Blackrod and other townships.

Leaves property to his executors to satisfy the claims of Anne his grandchild, da. of James his late son who died indebted (through certain estate purchases mentioned) for more than the whole of his personal estate was worth. To his sister Mabell Goodiar £20; his sister Anne Royle £20; his da. Dorothy Massy (widow) £10; his grandchild Annie Massy £10; "to every one of my said daughter Masseys children which shall bee living at my decease 11/- a peece"; "to every one of the children of my late daughter Jane Blundell wch shall be living 11/- each"; "To son-in-law Edward Scarisbrick & daughter Frances his wife guinea piece in gold; their children still living 11/- each; brother Alexander B. £5 to be bestowed in plate with Roger's arms & name thereon; Brother-in-law (Emmine) his wife (Jane) guinea piece in gold; their children living 10/- each; to Cousin John Poole of Poole, Co. Ches., and niece Dorothy his wife a two guinea piece in gold each; all household servants half a years wages; to son William B. & his wife guinea each for rings; 10/- to each of his other surviving sons; to each acting executor two guineas; to servant Raphe Wayte £20; to servant Thomas Lathom £20; Daughter Dorothy Massey to have the keepinge of my house and gardens, walks, orchards, courts, and foulds, and the benefit and pleasure thereof" & a close called Longshoote "and a sufficient allowance for keeping one gardiner and weeders untill such time as my grandchild Roger Bradshaigh shallbe able to manage them, himselfe" with allowance for repairs, etc. "I doe entreat my said daughter Massey to bringe upp my said grandchild Anne Massey accordinge to my mynd being paid by my feofees for her use for the same. Alsoe my mynd and will is not to have anie funeral but to bee buried in the night and as fewe blacks given as may bee for I think it sufficient to give to my children and grandchildren by my sonne James Bradshaigh and to my sister Katherine now dwellinge with mee Blacks at the discretion of my executors." Remainder to him who shall be next heir; to his Cousin Thurstan the £5 odd which he owes testator.

## II

ABSTRACT OF THE SETTLEMENT MADE IN CONNECTION WITH MARRIAGE OF  
ROGER BRADSHAIGH, AFTERWARDS 2ND BARONET, 1673

Indenture made 16 May 25 Charles II, 1673, between Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, knt. and Dame Elizabeth his wife, Roger Bradshaigh, Esq., son and heir of Sir Roger, and Mary his now wife being one of the daughters of the Hon. Anne Murray of the parish of St. Paul in Covent Garden co. Middlesex, widow of Henry Murray Esq. dec. and one of the sisters of the Rt. Hon. Paul Viscount Bayning, and one of the coheirs of the Rt. Hon. Lady Anne Countess of Oxford dec., who was the surviving daughter and heir of the said Paul Viscount Bayning, of the first part; the said Anne Murray, Sir John Baber knt., and Thomas Littleton Esq., of the Inner Temple, of the second part; and Sir Jeffrey Shakerley of Hulme co. Chester knt., Edward Fleetwood Esq. of Penwortham co. Lancs., and Thomas Norris of Speke co. Lancs. Esq. of the third part. "Whereas there hath been a marriage solemnized between" the said Roger and Mary this indenture witnesseth that in consideration of the sum of £2000 paid by the said Anne Murray and in consideration of the settling of several manors, lands. & tenements upon the said Roger and Mary after the death of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Oxford, and in performance of the articles of agreement dated 7 April 1673 between Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Anne Murray, and Mary; and Sir Roger Egerton of Betley co. Staffs. and Roger Bradshaigh for the provision and Maintenance of Roger and Mary and for a jointure to be made for the said Mary in case she should happen to survive her husband Roger out of the messuages, lands, tenements, etc., of the said Sir Roger, and for settling and conveying all the manors, etc., in such manner as is hereinafter declared, and for other good causes and considerations. They covenant and agree with Sir John Baber and Thomas Littleton that the said Sir Roger & Elizabeth & Roger shall in due form of law at the next Lancaster Assizes acknowledge by Fine & Recovery all the Manor and Lordship of Haigh and the capital messuage and mansion house called Haigh Hall and all the demesne lands etc thereof, namely the Nearer Hall Croft, the Middle Hall Croft, the Further Hall Croft, the Seven Acre, the Little Stonelow, the Little Stonelow Meadow, the Long Stonelow, the Great Stonelow, the Finch Moor, the Croft or Rent of John Low, the Further Barn Hey, the Nearer Barn Hey, the Further New Hey, the Nearer New Hey, the Hill, the Lower Moor, the Further Geirsley, the Nearer Geirsley, the Taylors Geirsley, the Horse Coppice, the Kilne Meadow, the Horse Hey, the Two Acre Meadow, the Hall Croft, the Cow Hey, the West Hill, the Little Horse Coppice, the Rough Hey, the Long Hurst, the New Earth, the Ridearth, the Great Lodge Croft, the Little Lodge Croft, the Park, the Great Gilfords Close, the Little Gilfords Close, the Pickhurst, and the Haslehurst, approximately a total of 500 acres, all "now in the tenure of the said Sir Roger Bradshaigh". And all other messuages, tenements, etc. in Haigh namely the Milne House in the occupation of Christopher Bradshaigh uncle to Sir Roger, the Slitting Mill in the occupation of William Brook, and all

the several messuages in Haigh in the several tenures or occupations of James Fairclough, Ralph Monnks, William Latham, Andrew Urmston, Jeffrey Pennington, widow Lee, William Curghey, Thomas Winstanley, Miles Aynscoe, Ralph Rothwell, Thomas Rothwell, Roger Ricroft, James Partington, widow Smart, Roger Lee, John Low, widow Wayte, Edmund Kellett, Miles Grimshaw, John Kingsley, Francis Heaton, James Redford, John Finch, John Cowper, John Greaves, Richard Whittle, widow Whaley, Roger Cowper, William Johnson, William Fairbrother, John Leyland, widow Marriah, widow Morris, John Lowe, John Taylor, Roger Lee, Thomas Greene, William Southworth, Thomas Entwisle, Thomas Low alias Rothwell, and Richard Jepson. Also the water corn mill in Haigh called by the name of the New Milne. Also messuages, houses, tenements, etc. being in the town and borough of Wigan in the occupation of Edward Letherbarrow, Thomas Bullocke, Jonathan Walton, Gilbert Lanshaw, Hugh Platt, John Leach, Charles Lee, James Belcha(w), Jeffrey Wood, Thomas Letherbarrow, Oliver Whaley, John Markland, John Low, James Hollingheade, William Lanshaw, widow Forth, and one water corn mill in Wigan known as the Wild Mill in the occupation of Sir Roger. And all other houses, buildings, stables, gardens, orchards, "cannell, stone, and other mines", fishing, boonservices, rectories, advowsons, etc. etc. It is covenanted between the parties that immediately after the Recovery is executed all the DEMESNE lands (as specified above) with the messuage called the Lower House with its lands and appur. and the Mill House with lands etc., and also the Forge and Slitting Mill and the lands and tenements therewith, and all meadows, orchards, etc. etc. of the demesne EXCEPTING the "Mynes of Coles, Cannell, and Stone" (and, of course, the mansion house of Haigh Hall with its appur.) shall be "to the use of the said Roger Bradshaigh for the terme of ninety and nine years from henceforth next ensuing and fully to be compleat and ended if the said Roger Bradshaigh shalle soe long live; and from and after the termination of that estate to the use of the said Mary his now wife for and during the tearme of her naturall life for her joynture and in lieu and full satisfaction of her Dower, subject nevertheless to the declarations, powers, provisoes, and agreements hereinafter mentioned and expressed. And after the determination of the estates hereinbefore lymited to the said Roger Bradshaigh and Mary his wife" then to the use of Sir John Baber and Thomas Littleton their heirs etc. during the lives of Roger and Mary or the longest liver of them in trust to preserve the contingent uses and remainders. And after the decease of Roger and Mary to the use of their first legitimate son and the heirs male of the said son. Remainder to the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th son successively, and every other son, and their heirs male. Remainder to the heirs male of Roger, Remainder to William Bradshaigh (cousin) in the co. of Durham, Esq, and his heirs male. Remainder to Christopher Bradshaigh, his uncle, and his heirs male. Remainder "to Alexander Bradshaigh, late of London, merchant taylor, brother of Roger Bradshaigh Esq. grandfather of the said Sir Roger Bradshaigh, party to these presents" and his heirs male. Remainder to the right heirs of Sir Roger Bradshaigh forever.

And as concerning the manor and lordship of Haigh and its rights etc.

and Haigh Hall with the gardens, etc and all the residue of the properties not included in the immediately foregoing agreement, the coal mines etc excepted, to the use of the said Sir Roger during the term of his natural life, and after his decease to Roger his son and heir and to the heirs male of the same Roger. And in default of such issue to William Bradshaigh (? of co. Durham) and his heirs male. Remainder to Christopher Bradshaigh and his heirs male. Remainder to Alexander Bradshaigh and his heirs male. Remainder to the right heirs of Sir Roger.

And as concerning the mines of coal, cannell, & stone, to Sir Roger for his life and after his decease to the use of Sir Jeffrey Shakerley, Edward Fleetwood, and Thomas Norris, their heirs, etc. during the term of 500 years from henceforth upon trust according to the agreement hereinafter specified ; and after the termination of the 500 years then the said Roger Bradshaigh and his heirs. Remainder to William, Christopher, and Alexander Bradshaigh successively. Remainder to the right heirs of Sir Roger. The said Trustees to devote out of the rents, profits, etc of the mines to the use of the said Dame Elizabeth Bradshaigh after the death of Sir Roger £200 per annum for the term of her natural life. And if she should die before him and Sir Roger should marry again then the £200 per annum to his second wife during her widowhood. And they are to raise at their discretion and pay the sum of £2000 to Elizabeth the daughter of Sir Roger for her portion, or to such person or persons as the said Sir Roger shall in writing in his last will and testament shall direct. And they shall similarly raise a further sum of £2000 for the benefit of the daughter or daughters of the said Roger and Mary, as Roger shall by writing direct in his will. " Provided nevertheless and it is the true intent and meaning of all the parties to these presents that it shall be lawful to and for the said Sir Roger Bradshaigh at all and every time and times during his natural life to enter upon the said demesne lands and other premises limited to the said Mary for her jointure " for the purpose of exploiting the coal mines, making soughs, felling timber, etc. And after Sir Roger's death a similar freedom to the Trustees. And it shall be lawful for Sir Roger to make leases. And after Sir Roger's death a similar power to Roger.

It is agreed that the present yearly value of Mary Bradshaigh's jointure is £460.

Sir Roger to allow Roger and Mary maintenance of a fit and proper character. Roger's allowance to Mary to be £100 a year, and when Roger and Mary come into the reversion of the Earl of Oxford's estate the allowance to be increased by £50. It is also agreed that Sir Roger and his son Roger or either of them stand seized of an indefeasible estate in the said Manor and all its appurtenances etc.

## III

To the Kings most sacred Majesty  
The humble address of the Lord Lieutenant,  
Deputy Lieutenants, & Militia Officers in the  
County Palatine of Lancaster.

May it Please your most Excellent Majestie :

There is a tyme to keepe Silence & a tyme to Speake. There never was a tyme which soe much overcharged our hearts with astonishment & abhorrence, our hearts are full & must speake or breake. Wee want not the trembling integrity of those Eleaven who asked the Master "is it I", nor can wee stay til your Majestie aske the zealous John's Question, "who is on our Side."

Wee come, haveing first beene att Heaven with thanksgiveinges, most humbly & sincerely to Congratulate Your Gracious [Majestie on your] Majestie's and your Dearest Brother's safeties and Deliverances from the Violence & Cruelty of fanatick tratorous Conspirators, & wee Profess in the Presence of God wee will always come with our swords, with our Lives in our hands to interpose to our Power betwixt Your Majestie & all dangers, upon this Horrid Conspiracy, upon any, Yea upon Every Occasion, to preserve your Majestie's Royall person, your government as now established, Your heirs and Lawfull Successors, & we trust wee shall soe Principle our Posterity to be of that faith which can never be false to the Crowne.

The Deliverances of David were scarce soe many and so signall, as your Majestie's. God heare & hereafter make you happy, give you a Longe & Prosperous Reign, & continue the succession of the Crowne of your Kingdoms in your Royall Line as a Blessinge to Posterity & to

Your Majestie's most Loyall & most  
faithfull obedient Subjects.

*Footnotes to page 43 (omitted by accident) :—*

<sup>1</sup> Sir Roger seems to have been more fortunate than his brother-in-law, Sir Jeffrey Shakerley, on a later occasion. Shakerley pleaded ill-health, but on the day his excuse was presented Sir Roger received a letter from him inviting Sir Roger to join him at a Cocking in Lancaster. This letter had been shown ("as a jest") to Sir John Hanmer, who revealed the fact! (*Lady Newton's Lyme Letters*, p. 73.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir Roger's daughter.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Roger's son, the 2nd baronet.

# INDEX

- Abram, 46  
 Ainscough, *see* Aynscoe  
 Alarm, creating, 31  
 Aloysius College, 6  
 Amounderness, 45  
 Ancrum, Charles, Earl of, 50, 53  
 Archer-Houblon, Lady Alice F., *ped.*  
 —, George B., *ped.*  
 Arderne, Sir John, 52 n.  
 Arlington, Earl of, *see* Bennet, Sir Henry  
 Armourers' stocks surveyed, 31  
 Arms for militia described, 26  
 —, seizure of, 30–31, 32, 33, 51  
 Ashton, Sir Ralph, 26  
 Ashton-under-Lyne, Rector of, 25  
 Aspull, 4, 14, 18, 19  
 Atkinson, Miles (of Lancaster), 21, 22  
 Attorney-General to Henry VIII, *ped.*, 1  
 Axon, Ernest, 46 n.  
 Aynscoe, Miles, 62
- Baber, Sir John, 61, 62  
 Banaster, William (of Preston), 22, 28  
 Banbury, William, Earl of, 4  
 Bankes, Mrs. Joyce H. M., 13  
 —, William (of Winstanley), 21, 22, 24,  
 26, 36, 45  
 Bankes Letter Book, 21, 25 n., 34 n.,  
 36 n.  
 Barnes, Hatton & Margaret, *ped.*  
 Baronetcy fees, 54  
 Barrow, Alderman (Thomas), 32  
 Barwick, Robert, 31  
 Baxter, Mr., 28  
 Bayning, Anne Viscountess, *ped.*, 52, 61  
 —, Paul, Viscount, 61  
 Beacons to be fired, 32  
 Beamont, William, 12 n.  
 Bellingham, Dorothy & William, *ped.*  
 Belshaw, James (of Haigh), 62  
 Bennet, Elizabeth, 49 n.  
 —, Sir Henry (Earl of Arlington), 22 n.,  
 23, 35, 40, 41, 49 n.  
 Bindloss, Sir Robert, 21, 50 n.  
 Birch, Col. John, 29, 36, 37  
 —, Col. Thomas, arrested, 29  
 Birch Chapel, 37  
 Birchley Hall, secret press, 5  
 Blackburn, 28, 29  
 Blackburn Hundred, 45  
 Blackburne, John (of Westby), 20  
 Blackedge, Mr. (of Warrington), 47  
 Blackrod, 60  
 Blande, Mr., 28  
 Blood, Mark, 43, 44  
 —, Thomas, 30  
 —, —, order to arrest, 42–3  
 —, —, physical description of, 44  
 Blundell, Henry, 25  
 —, Jane, *ped.*, 60  
 —, Margaret, 38 n., 39 n., 52 n.  
 —, Nicholas, *ped.*  
 —, William (The Cavalier), 20, 38, 39,  
 41, 57  
 Bolingbroke, Earls of, *ped.*  
 Bolton, 12, 29, 42 n.  
 Bootle-Wilbraham, Hon. Edward &  
 Emily F., *ped.*  
 Bottling Wood (Wigan), 14, 15  
 Bowes-Lyon, Lady Anne & Hon. Francis,  
*ped.*  
 Bowyer, Sir John, 54  
 Bradill, Thomas, 22  
 BRADSHAIGH (Bradeshaghe, Brad-  
 schawe, etc.)  
 —, family, *ped.*, 1; arms, *ped.*, t.p.  
 —, Alexander (*liv.* 1641), *ped.*, 9, 60, 62,  
 63  
 —, Anne (Norris), *ped.*, 8  
 —, Christopher, (*b.* 1617), *ped.*, 6, 32, 61,  
 62, 63  
 —, Edward (*d.* 1652), *ped.*, 5, 6, 8, 40  
 —, Dame Elizabeth (Pennington), *ped.*,  
 10, 41, 43, 44, 58, 61, 63; *port.*, 11  
 —, Elizabeth, w. of Thomas Preston, *q.v.*  
 —, Frances, w. of Edward Scarisbrick,  
*q.v.*  
 —, "Isabella", 6  
 —, James (*d.* 1613), *ped.*, 4–6, 8, 9, 60  
 —, Katherine, *ped.*, 60  
 —, Dame Mary (Murray), *ped.*, 52, 61–3;  
*port.*, 55  
 —, Peter (*d.* 1676), *ped.*, 6  
 —, Richard (*d.* 1669), *ped.*, 6  
 —, Roger (*d.* 1599), *ped.*, 3, 4  
 —, Roger (*d.* 1641), *ped.*, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 60,  
 62; will, 60; buried at night, 60  
 —, Roger (*b.* 1608), *ped.*, 7

- BRADSHAIGH, Sir ROGER, 1st bart.,  
 acts agst. Yorkshire Plot, 29  
 —, — —, adm. to Gray's Inn, 44  
 —, — —, agriculturalist, 20  
 —, — —, attitude to Nonconformists,  
 25 n., 26, 36-8, 56  
 —, — —, — to Roman Catholics, 28,  
 39, 40  
 —, — —, birth, 8, 9 n.  
 —, — —, Capt. of Horse, 22 *et seq.* ;  
 app., 22 ; second app., 25 ;  
 third app., 51  
 —, — —, charitable disposition, 46, 49,  
 55-6, 58  
 —, — —, corresp. with ministers, 22, 23,  
 32 n., 35, 51, 57  
 —, — —, created a baronet, 52, 54  
 —, — —, death, 55, 58-9  
 —, — —, Deputy Lieut., 21 *et seq.* ;  
 app., 21 ; second app., 24 ;  
 third app., 45 ; not re-app.,  
 50 ; restored, 51  
 —, — —, dispute with Charles, Earl of  
 Derby, 23-4  
 —, — —, education, 9  
 —, — —, elected M.P., 21 ; re-el., 22  
 —, — —, elegy, 58-9  
 —, — —, engineering work, 13-19, 55  
 —, — —, financial aid to kinsmen, 39,  
 40, 41, 56  
 —, — —, funeral sermon, 9 n., 10 n.,  
 39, 56, 57-8  
 —, — —, guardians of, 9, 10  
 —, — —, High Sheriff, 52  
 —, — —, hunting, 57  
 —, — —, imprisonment, 11  
 —, — —, interest in local affairs, 22, 35,  
 54  
 —, — —, knighted, 21  
 —, — —, "leisure for recreation", 22  
 —, — —, letters of, 11, 24, 33, 34, 36-7,  
 38, 39, 48, 52-3  
 —, — —, — from Lord Derby, 23, 24,  
 25, 26, 30, 31, 33  
 —, — —, — — Col Kirkby, 23, 29, 42,  
 43, 45  
 —, — —, library, 39, 55  
 —, — —, Liverpool election (1670), 50  
 —, — —, London lodgings, 40, 56  
 —, — —, marriage, 10  
 —, — —, Mayor of Wigan, 22, 54  
 —, — —, militia business, 25, 26, 27,  
 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 44, 45
- BRADSHAIGH, Sir ROGER, ordered  
 to arrest Blood, 42-4  
 —, — —, — to raise volunteers, 32, 33  
 —, — —, — to seize arms, 30, 31, 32  
 —, — —, petitions *re* delinquents'  
 estates, 11, 12  
 —, — —, portrait, 10  
 —, — —, proceedings against Mercer,  
 46-9  
 —, — —, relations with the King, 22  
 —, — —, religion, 8, 9, 10, 36, 39, 41  
 —, — —, religious tolerance, 35, 38, 39,  
 40, 56  
 —, — —, Roman Catholic influences, 4, 8  
 —, — —, unfriendliness of William, Earl  
 of Derby, 50  
 —, — —, ward of the Crown, 9  
 —, — —, wardrobe, 57  
 —, Sir Roger, 2nd bart., *ped.*, 19, 41, 43,  
 51, 53, 54  
 —, — —, death, 53 n.  
 —, — —, knighted, 52  
 —, — —, Mayor of Wigan, 52  
 —, — —, marriage, 52 ; marriage settle-  
 ment, 61-3  
 —, — —, M.P. for Wigan, 51  
 —, — —, portrait, 54  
 —, Thomas (*d.* 1683), *ped.*, 6, 9  
 —, William (*d.* 1554), *ped.*, 2  
 —, Sir William (*d.* 1649), *ped.*, 5 n., 7, 11,  
 12, 23, 60  
 —, William (of Bishop Middleton), *ped.*  
 50, 56, 62, 63  
 Bradshaigh Letter Book, vii, 24 *et passim*  
 B(radshaw), Ann, 28  
 Bradyll, *see* Bradill  
 Bramhall, Archbp. John, 6  
 Breda knights, 21  
 Brent, Mr., 53  
 Brereley, John, *pseud.*, 5  
 Brereton, Sir William, 11  
 Bridgeman, George T. O., 40 n.  
 —, Sir Orlando, 27 n.  
 Bridgewater, John, 2nd Earl of, 25 n.,  
 45, 48, 49, 55 ; appointed Ld.-  
 Lieut., 45  
 British Museum, 5  
 Brook, William, 61  
 Brooks, Sir Peter, 51  
 Browne, Emilie Anne, *ped.*  
 —, Very Rev. Henry M., *ped.*  
 Broxap, Ernest, 12 n.  
 Bryn, 11

- Buckingham, George, 2nd Duke of, 29  
 Bullock, Roger, 35  
 —, Thomas, 62  
 Burial at night, 60  
 Butler, Anne, *ped.*  
 —, Dorothy, *ped.* 7 n.  
 —, Sir Nicholas, *ped.*
- Cæsar, Sir Julius, 4  
 Cameron, Martha, *ped.*  
 Cannel coal, 1-3  
 — mines, 1-3, 4, 8-9, 13-20, 62  
 Capital burgess, 21  
 Carr, Elizabeth & Sir Robert, 49  
 Carstairs, Constance & Sir Henry, *ped.*  
*Cavalier's Note Book*, 20 n., 41 n., 57 n.  
 Cavendish, Mary K. & Lord Richard,  
*ped.*  
 Chambres, Gordon C., 35 n.  
 Charles II, 10-11, 12, 21, *et passim*  
 —, letter concerning "quislings", 30  
 —, — — threat of invasion, 31-2  
 — needs money, 31, 34  
 Charnock, Constance & Henry, *ped.*  
 Chester, 12, 28, 52 n., 55  
 — Bishop of, 12, 39  
 — Castle, 11  
 Chorley (Lancs.), 11  
 Civil War, 7, 9, 10, 11  
 Clarke, Mary J., *ped.*  
 Clay deposits, 19, 20  
 Clayton, James, 57 n.  
 Clitheroe, 20  
 Coal mines, *see* Haigh coal mines  
 Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*, 36 n., 46  
 Cock-fighting, 51, 64 n.  
 Cokayne's *Complete Baronetage*, vii, 52 n.  
 Collins, a receiver of taxes, 45  
 Compton, Mr., 28  
 Conventicle Act (1664), 36-7  
 Convention Parliament, 21  
 Conway, Edward, 1st Viscount, 7  
 Corporations, Commissioners for, 21  
 Corser, Rev. Thomas, 5  
 Cow Hey (Haigh), 17, 61  
 Cowper, John & Roger, 62  
 Crawford, Earls of, *ped.*, vii, 1, 2, 13, 14,  
 19, 56  
 Cromwell, interview with, 12  
 Crosby estate, 41  
 Cross Kiln Lane, 17  
 Crouch, Gilbert, 41  
 Crown jewels stolen, 44
- Culcheth, Anne, *ped.*, 60  
 —, Thomas, *ped.*  
 Curghey, William (of Haigh), 62
- Dalrymple, Charles & Elizabeth, *ped.*  
 Delinquent estates, Comm. for, 9 n., 10,  
 12-13  
 Deputy Lieutenants, 21-4, 27-31, 34,  
 36, 37, 44-6, 50 n., 51  
 Derby, Charles, Earl of, 9, 10, 12, 22-44  
*passim*  
 —, —, —, Commission as Ld.-Lieut., 24,  
 25 n.  
 —, —, —, death, 44  
 —, —, —, King's displeasure with, 23-4  
 —, —, —, offended by D.LL., 29  
 —, —, —, portrait, 24  
 —, —, —, sympathy with dissenters,  
 37-8  
 —, James, Earl of, 9, 10, 12; execution  
 of, 12  
 —, William, Earl of, 44, 45 n., 50, 51  
 Dickenson's Pit, 17  
*Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*, vii, 6, 23 n.  
 Dingle, The, 17  
 Dissenting chapels, 36-7  
 Dodding, Miles, 50 n.  
 Dog Inn (London), 57  
 Douai, 40  
 Douglas river, 14  
 Dowding, Mary, *ped.*  
 Duchy of Lancaster, Chancellor of (Sir  
 Robt. Carr), 49, 56  
 — — —, Vice-Chancellor of (Sir John  
 Otway), 44, 56  
 Dukinfield, Col. Robert, 11  
 Dutch War (1665-7, 1672-4), 30-4;  
 ends, 34; resumed, 44; peace, 46  
 Dwight, John (The potter), 19
- Eastham (Ches.), 56  
 Eddystone Lighthouse, 19  
 Edwin, Elizabeth, Sir Humphrey, &  
 John, *ped.*  
 Egerton, Col. Peter, 10  
 Emmine, Jane & Richard, *ped.*, 60  
 Englefield, Margaret, *ped.*, 7  
 —, Sir Francis, *ped.*  
 Entwistle, 29  
 Entwistley, Thomas, 62
- Fairbrother, William, 62  
 Fairclough, James, 62

- False reports, 31  
 Farrer, Dr. William, 25 n., 50 n.  
 Fell, George, 56  
 Fewtrill, Henry, 47, 48  
 Fidler, Francis, 19 n.  
 Fife, Robert, 22  
 Finch, John (of Haigh), 62  
 Fleece Inn (London), 56  
 Fleetwood, Edward, 61  
 —, John, 9, 10, 56  
 Fleming, Daniel, 50 n.  
 Flying Horse Inn (London), 40  
 Foley, Henry, 7 n., 9 n.  
 Folke, Lady Cynthia & Erik A., *ped.*  
 Forth, widow, 62  
 Fruit growing, 20  
 Fummi, Lady Cynthia & Giovanni, *ped.*  
 Funeral sermon (R. Wroe), 9 n., 10 n.,  
     39, 56, 57-8  
 — — (Z. Taylor), 41, 58
- Gardner, John (of Prescott), 47  
 Geirsley (Haigh), 61  
 Gerard, Agnes, *ped.*  
 —, Charles (of Halsall), *see* Gerard of  
     Brandon  
 —, Sir Gilbert, 23 n.  
 —, John (of Ince), *ped.*  
 —, Katherine, *ped.*  
 —, Miles (of Aspull), 4  
 —, Sir Thomas (of Bryn), *ped.*  
 —, Sir William (of Bryn), 13  
 Gerard of Brandon, Charles, Lord, 22,  
     23  
 Gibson, Thomas E., 41, 57 n.  
 Gildfords Close (Haigh), 16, 17, 61  
 Gillow, Joseph, 5, 6 n.  
 Glass-making, 20  
 Glassbrooke, James, 16  
 —, Robert, 17  
 Gloucester, 28  
 Goddard (Goodiar), Mabel, *ped.*, 60  
 —, Robert, *ped.*  
 Gorton Chapel, 37  
 Grappenhall, 56  
 Gray's Inn, 44, 45  
 Great Sough, 8, 13-20, 35, 53 n.  
 — —, extensions to, 18-19  
 Great Stone Low, 18  
 Greaves, John (of Haigh), 62  
 Greene, Thomas (of Haigh), 62  
 Greenhalgh, Capt., 32  
 Grimshaw, Miles (of Haigh), 62
- Grosvenor, Anne & Thomas, *ped.*  
 Guise, Sir Henry & Rachel, *ped.*  
 Gurney, Alice & Thomas, *ped.*
- Haigh (formerly pron. Haw), 14  
*Haigh Cannel* by Lord Crawford, 2 n.,  
     4 n., 14, 18 n.  
 Haigh Coal & Cannel Mines, 1-3, 4, 8-9,  
     13-20, 62, 63  
 — — — — —, accident, 4, 8, 17  
 — — — — —, drainage, 13, 14, 18  
 — — — — —, fire-damp, 16  
 — — — — —, payments to workers, 3  
 — — — — —, rules for working, 8, 9  
 — — — — —, sinking costs, 18  
 — — — — —, timbering, 15  
 — — — — —, Town Pit, 2, 3, 14  
 Haigh fault, 14  
 — Hall, 11, 12, 53 n., 61-3  
 — Manor, 1, 2, 9 n., 53 n., 60, 61-3  
 — —, order to protect, 10  
 — —, tenants get cannel, 2, 3  
 — —, tenants in 1673, 62  
 — Muniments, footnotes *passim*  
 — Water mills, 9 n., 61, 62  
 Hall, Bp. George, 27  
 Halley's *Lancs. Puritanism*, 37  
 Hall-on-the-Hill, 33 n.  
 Halsall, Rector of, 25  
 Hanmer, Sir John, 64 n.  
 Hard Field (Haigh), 17  
 Harrington, Elizabeth & Sir Richard,  
     *ped.*  
 Hartley, John, 46, 47  
 Hawe, *see* Haigh  
 Haycroft (Yorks.), 9  
 Hazlehurst (Haigh), 61  
 Heath Charnock, 33 n.  
 Heathcote, Elizabeth & R. E., *ped.*  
 Heaton, Francis (of Haigh), 62  
 Henderson, Ruth, *ped.*  
 Heneage, Augustine, 40  
 Hereford, 28  
 Heskin Grammar School, 35  
 Highfield, Margaret & Robert de, *ped.*  
 Highways, 53  
 Hindley, Gilbert, 3  
 Hist. MSS. Commission, 36 n., 56 n.,  
     57 n.  
*Historic Soc. of Lancs. & Ches. Trans.*,  
     25, 26, 27 n., 36, 37, 41 n., 46 50 n.,  
     54 n., 55 n., 56 n.  
 Hodkinson, Thomas (of Preston), 22

- Houghton, Alice, Henry, Jane, Katherine,  
 & Thomas de, *ped.*  
 Holcroft, 42  
 Hollingheade, James, 62  
 Holt, Robert, 29, 30  
 Horse militia, *see* Troops of Horse  
 Hotham, Rev. Charles, 27 n., 39-40  
 Houghton, Capt. Henry, 32  
 Howard, Lady Frances, *ped.*  
 —, William, Earl of Wicklow, *ped.*  
 Hoyt, Elizabeth S., *ped.*  
 Hume, Abraham, 50 n., 55 n.  
 Hurst, Lady Barbara & Richard L., *ped.*  
 Huth, Henry, 5  
 Hyde, Anne, Duchess of York, 44  
  
 Illingworth, Henry C. H. & Lady Mar-  
 garet, *ped.*  
 Impressment of seamen, 44  
 Inns (London), 40, 56, 57  
 Invasion threats, 31-4, 38  
 — up the Medway, 34  
 Ireland, 43  
 Ireland, Sir Gilbert, 50  
 Isabella, Archduchess, 7  
  
 James, Duke of Monmouth, 23 n.  
 James, Duke of York (James II), 29  
 Jennings, Dorothy & William, *ped.*  
 Jepson, Richard, 18, 62  
 Jerrom, Mr., 45  
 Jesuit Order, 6, 7, 9 n.  
 Jewin's Pit, 17  
 Johnson, Alexander, 31  
 —, Thomas (of Lancaster), 22  
 —, William (of Haigh), 62  
  
 Keighley, 29  
 Kellet, John (of Preston), 22  
 Kellett, Edmund (of Haigh), 62  
 Kennedy, Katherine Y., *ped.*  
 Kennet, John & Troth, *ped.*  
 Kenyon, Roger, 36, 48, 49, 54, 56, 57 n.  
 Kighley, Sir Richard de, *ped.*  
 Kiln Meadow (Haigh), 17  
 King's Evil, 53, 54  
 King's Preachers, 56  
 Kingsley, John (of Haigh), 62  
 Kirkby, Col. Richard, 23, 24, 27, 28, 32,  
 42, 43, 44, 48, 50, 53  
 Knipe, Lieut., 51  
 Knollys, William, Lord, 4  
 Knowsley, 38 n.  
  
 Lancashire, reported rebellion in, 27  
*Lancashire & Ches. Antiq. Soc. Trans.*,  
 12 n., 13 n., 19 n., 23 n., 46 n., 57 n.  
 Lancaster, 21, 32, 33, 45  
 —, Duchy of, *see* Duchy  
 —, Town clerk of, 22  
 Lane, Sir George, 50  
 Lanshaw (of Haigh), Gilbert & William,  
 62  
 Latham, William (of Haigh), 62  
 Lathom, Francis, 13  
 —, Thomas, 60  
 —, William, 13  
 Lathom House, 24  
 Law Bill (1671), 44  
 Leach, John (of Haigh), 62  
 Leatherbarrow, *see* Letherbarrow  
 Lee (of Haigh), Charles, 62  
 — — —, Mary, 53, 54  
 — — —, Roger, 62  
 — — —, Widow, 62  
 Legh, Piers, 22  
 Leigh, Dr. Charles, 19, 20  
 —, Richard, 31  
 Leland, John, 2  
 Letherbarrow, Edward & Thomas, 62  
 Leyland, John (of Haigh), 62  
 Leyland Hundred, 45  
 Lichford, Robert (of Manchester), 46, 47  
 Liège, College at, 6  
 Lindsay family, *ped.*, 1; *see also* Craw-  
 ford, Earls of  
 Littleford, *see* Lichford  
 Littleton, Thomas, 61, 62  
 Liverpool, 7, 26 n., 50  
 — election (1670), 50  
 London, 6, 12, 27, 29, 35-51 *passim*  
 —, Great Fire, 35  
*London Gazette*, 54  
 Longhurst (Haigh), 61  
 Longshoot (Haigh), 60  
 Lonsdale Hundred, 45  
 Lord Lieutenancy of Lancs., 22-3, 48  
 — — — —, Charles, Earl of Derby,  
 app., 23 n., 24  
 — — — —, Earl of Bridgewater, app.,  
 45  
 — — — —, William Earl of Derby,  
 app., 45 n., 50  
 — — — —, *see also* Deputy Lieutenants  
 Low (of Haigh), James, 8  
 — —, John, 61, 62  
 — —, Thomas, 62

- Lowe, John (of Haigh), 62  
 Lowther, Catherine & Sir William, *ped.*  
  
 Macclesfield, Earl of, *see* Gerard of  
     Brandon  
 Majendie, Lewis A. & Lady Margaret E.,  
     *ped.*  
 Man, Isle of, 10  
 Manchester, 34, 37, 46, 47  
   — Public Library, 25 n., 50 n., 52 n.  
 Manningham-Buller, Lady Mary and  
     Reginald E., *ped.*  
 Maritime survey, 44  
 Markland, John, 62  
 Markland's Clough (Haigh), 17  
 Marriah, widow, 62  
 Martley (Worcs.), 28  
 Marvel, Andrew, 36 n.  
 Mason, Lady Evelyn M. & James, F.,  
     *ped.*  
 Massey, Anne, *ped.*, 60  
   —, Dorothy, *ped.*, 13, 60  
   —, Hamlet, *ped.*, 13  
 Massy, John, 30  
 Maypole in the Strand (London), 40  
 Medway, Dutch sail up the, 34  
 Mercer, Thomas (of Abram), 46–9  
 Militia, 25–51 *passim*  
   — Act (1662), 21, 24  
   —, arms for, 26  
   — defaulters, 25, 28, 32  
   — disbanded, 34  
   — fund, 45  
   — levies, 25, 32  
   — lists demanded, 32, 33  
   — mobilized, 33; at Wigan, 32  
   — musters, 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 45, 46, 51  
   — re-organized, 22  
   — Treasurership, 45  
   — uniforms, 36  
 Millgate (Wigan), 19  
 Mill House (Haigh), 61  
 Mills, 9 n., 61–2  
 Molyneux, Anne, *ped.*  
   —, Caryll, Lord, 25, 41  
   — (?Richard) of Hawkley, 32  
   —, Sir William, *ped.*  
 Money required for war, 31, 34  
 Monks, Ralph (of Haigh), 62  
 Monmouth, James, Duke of, 23 n.  
 Moore, William (traitor), 43, 44  
 Moorish men, 33  
 Morris, widow, 62  
  
 Morton, Sir William, 42–3  
 Moseley, Sir Edward, 23  
 Murray, Anne & Henry, *ped.*, 52, 61  
   —, Mary, *see* Bradshaigh, Dame Mary  
 Musters, *see* Militia  
  
 Netherlands, 7, 23 n.; *see also* Dutch  
     War  
 Newcome, Henry, 37–8  
 New Earth (Haigh), 61  
 Newmarket, 44  
 Newton (Lancs.), 24 n.  
 Nicholas, Sir Edward, 7, 22 n., 23  
 Nicholson, Francis, 46 n.  
   —, Godfrey & Lady Katherine, *ped.*  
 Nonconformists, 25, 27 n., 30, 33, 36–8,  
     46  
 Norris (Norreys), family, *ped.*, 8 n.  
   —, Anne, *ped.*, 8  
   —, Hugh le, *ped.*, 1  
   —, Thomas, 61  
   —, Sir William, *ped.*, 8  
 Northampton, 32  
 Norwich, travellers from, 2  
 Nowell, Charles, vii  
   —, Col. Roger, 22, 28, 29  
*Nullity of Protestant Ordinations*, 6  
  
 Oaths, 21, 22  
 Oblivion, Act of, 35, 37, 38, 56  
 Ogle, Gilbert & Henry, 25  
 Oldfield, Lieut., 27, 29, 51  
 Ormande, James, 1st Duke of, 42, 43, 44  
 Ormskirk, 12, 26, 33, 34, 45 n., 51  
 Osbaldston, Alexander, 22  
 Otway, Sir John, 44, 56  
 Oxford, Anne, Countess of, 61  
  
 Parker, Capt. (John) of Entwistle, 29  
 Park Hook (Haigh), 16  
 Parliament, *see* Bradshaigh, Sir Roger :  
     Parl. duties  
   —, fines for absence from, 42–3  
   Passport for foreign travel, 4, 5 n.  
   Pedley, Henry Sanders, 40  
   Pembroke, William, Earl of, 4  
   Pennington, Elizabeth, *see* Bradshaigh,  
     Dame Elizabeth  
   —, Jeffrey, 62  
   —, John (Lord Muncaster), *ped.*  
   —, Maria M. F., *ped.*  
   —, Alderman Nicholas, 40  
   —, Richard, 52

- Pennington, widow, 56  
 —, William, *ped.*  
 Penwortham, 9, 56  
 Phillips, Sir Thomas, 25 n.  
 Pickhurst (Haigh), 16, 17, 61  
 Platt, Hugh (of Haigh), 62  
 Plots, *see* Sedition  
 Pollard, William, 12 n.  
 Poole, Dorothy & John, 60  
 Poor Law, 53  
 Porcelain, invention of, 19  
 Preesall Sands, 11  
 Presbyterians, *see* Nonconformists  
 Prescott, Alice & Sir Richard, *ped.*  
 Preston, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 50, 51, 57  
 —, Mayor of, 22, 28  
 —, meeting of gentry at, 32  
 Preston, Elizabeth, *ped.*, 24 n., 43, 44, 63  
 —, Mary, *ped.*  
 —, Thomas, *ped.*, 24, 50 n., 56  
 Privy Council, 4, 5 n., 27, 46, 47, 48  
 — — letter conc. "quislings", 30  
 — — — *re* threat of invasion, 31, 33  
 — — — reporting invasion, 34  
 — — — — danger allayed, 34  
 Putney coach, 43
- Quakers, 38, 56  
 Quesne, Gabriel Marq. de, *ped.*  
 "Quislings", 30, 32
- Radcliffe, Anne, *ped.*  
 —, Sir William, *ped.*  
 —, William (of Manchester), 9, 10  
 Radley, William, 33  
 Rae, Richard & Robert, *ped.*  
 Ramsay, Lady Anne & R. W., *ped.*  
 Rebellion reported in Lancashire, 27  
 — — — Yorkshire, 29-30  
 Recusants, 7, 11, 13, 25, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 41, 56  
 — disarmed, 33  
 —, enlistment of, 38-9, 40  
 Radford, James (of Haigh), 62  
 Rawlinson, Curwen, 5 n.  
 Rendezvous, militia, *see* Militia musters  
 — of gentry at Preston, 32  
 Restoration, The, 21 *et seq.*  
 Ricroft, Roger (of Haigh), 62  
 Rigby (Rigbie, Rigbye, etc.), Alexander, 50 n.
- Rigby, Corporal, 26  
 —, Edward (of Preston), 22  
 —, Mr. (of Aspull?), 3  
 Risley, Agnes & William, *ped.*  
 Rixton, constable of, 34  
 Robinson, Edward, 12 n.  
 Roman Catholics, *see* Recusants  
 — —, alleged plot, 28  
 Rome, 4, 9  
 Rothwell (of Haigh), Ralph & Thomas, 62  
 Round Acre (Haigh), 17  
 Royalist Comp. Papers, 7 n., 13 n.  
 Royle, Anne & Reginald, *ped.*  
 Rushton, Thomas, 21  
 Rye House Plot, 51, 54, 64
- Saddles, suspicious deal in, 46-9  
 St. John of Bletso, Alice & Sir John, *ped.*  
 Saint-Omer, College at, 6  
 Saville, Lady Sarah, *ped.*  
 —, John, 3rd Earl of Mexboro', *ped.*  
 Say & Seale, William Viscount, 9 n.  
 Scarisbrick, Edward, *ped.*, 60  
 —, Frances, *ped.*, 7, 13, 60  
 Scarisbrick Hall, 7  
 Scott, John (huntsman), 57  
 Scott-Ellis, Hon. Bronwen M., *ped.*  
 Seacome, John, 12 n.  
 Seddon, Rev. William 56  
 Sedition in Lancashire, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30-1, 33, 37, 40, 46-9  
 — — — hoax, 27-8  
 Sergeants' Inn, 43  
 Shakerley, Sir Jeffrey, 50, 56 n., 61, 64 n.  
 Shakerley papers, 8 n., 56 n.  
 Shaw, Rev. Samuel, 58  
 Sheriffate, expenses, 52  
 —, obligation of county residence, 52 n.  
 Shipworth, Henry, 7  
 Shrewsbury, 28  
 Shuttleworth, Richard, 26  
 Smalwood, Dr., 43  
 Smart, widow, 62  
 Southworth, William (of Haigh), 62  
 Spain, King (Philip IV) of, 6  
 Spary, Pastor, 28  
 Spencer, William, 50 n.  
 Standish, 43, 60; deeds, 2

- Standish, Alexander, Cecilia, Sir Christopher, Jane, Joan, Maude, & Ralph de, *ped.*
- Stanhope of Harrington, John, Lord, 4
- Stanley family, *see* Derby, Earls of
- , Hon. Edward, 22
- , Sir Thomas, 10
- , Sir William, 22
- State Papers, Calendars of, *footnotes, passim*
- Stephens, Mary & Robert, *ped.*
- Stockdell, William (of Manchester), 47
- Stone Low (Haigh), 18, 61
- Suffolk, Thomas Earl of, 4
- Tatton, Dorothy & Robert, *ped.*
- Taylor, John (of Haigh), 62
- , Zachary, 41, 42 n., 58 n.
- Thompson, Elizabeth, *ped.*
- , John, 55
- , Thomas W., *ped.*
- Throgmorton, Sir William, 12
- Town, Charles & Robert, 2
- Treasury, Commissioners of, 4
- Troops of Horse, arms for, 26
- — —, Bradshaigh's, 22, 26, 29–30, 51
- — —, —, composition of, 45
- — —, —, continuously busy, 32
- — —, —, disbanded, 34
- — —, —, escorts Bp. of Chester, 27
- — —, —, — Col. Birch to York, 29
- — —, —, mobilized, 29; at Wigan, 32
- — —, —, mustered at Lancaster, 45, 51
- — —, —, — Ormskirk, 26
- — —, —, — Preston, 27, 33
- — —, —, — Wigan, 32
- — —, —, section sent to Northampton, 32
- — —, —, to march to Manchester, 34
- — —, — volunteer troop, 32, 33
- Tyldesley, Edward, 13, 32, 38, 44, 46
- , Sir Thomas, 13.
- Upholland, 11, 27
- Urmston, Andrew (of Haigh), 62
- Verdon, Margaret, *ped.*
- Victoria County History of Lancs., 3 n., 25 n.
- Virginia*, authorship of, 5, 6
- Volunteers to be raised, 32, 33, 38
- called up, 33–4
- Walmesley, Edward, 31
- , Richard, 26
- Walton, Jonathan (of Haigh), 62
- Wards & Liveries, Court of, 8
- Warrington, 11, 27, 30, 46, 47
- Dissenters, 46
- , Rector of, 46 n.
- Water mills, 9 n., 61, 62
- Wayte (of Haigh), Raphe, 62; widow, 62
- Weardon, Quartermaster, 29
- West Derby, 32
- West Hill (Haigh), 17
- Westminster, Dukes of, *ped.*
- Whaley (of Haigh), Oliver, 62; widow, 62
- Wheel Pit, 18
- Whittle, Richard (of Haigh), 62
- Wigan, 9 n., 27, 32, 46, 50, 60, 62
- , Borough charter, 22
- , Clerk of the Peace, 48
- Grammar School, 35
- , loyal address, 54–5
- , Mayors of, *ped.*, 1, 22, 41, 52, 54
- , Members of Parl., 23 n., 50, 51
- , militia muster at, 32
- Parish Church, 10, 39, 41, 60
- pottery industry, 19
- Public Library, 2, 39
- Quarter Sessions, 34, 50
- , Rector of, 9 n., 25, 27 n.; dispute with, 39–40
- sword of honour, 22
- , Town Clerk of, 54
- water mills, 9 n. 62
- Wigan Lane, Battle of, 11–12
- Wild Mill (Wigan), 62
- Wilkins, Bp. John, 19
- William III, 23 n
- Williamson, Sir Joseph, 22, 33 n., 35, 39, 50, 51, 57
- Winstanley, Thomas, 62
- Winstanley Hall, 21 n.
- Witchcraft, 57
- Wood, Hon. Geo. Fredk. Lindley, *ped.*
- , Lady Mary S. F., *ped.*
- , Jeffrey (of Haigh), 62
- Worcester, 28; Battle of, 12
- Wotton's *English Baronets*, vii, 4 n.

- Wotton, Edward Lord, 4  
Wrightington, 43  
Wroe, Dr. Richard, 9 n., 10 n., 39, 41,  
57-58  
Yarrington, Capt., 28  
Yates, Elizabeth & Job, *ped.*  
—, Robert, 46 n.  
York, 29  
York, Anne Hyde, Duchess of, 43  
—, James, Duke of (James II), 29  
Yorkshire " Rising " (1663 28-30

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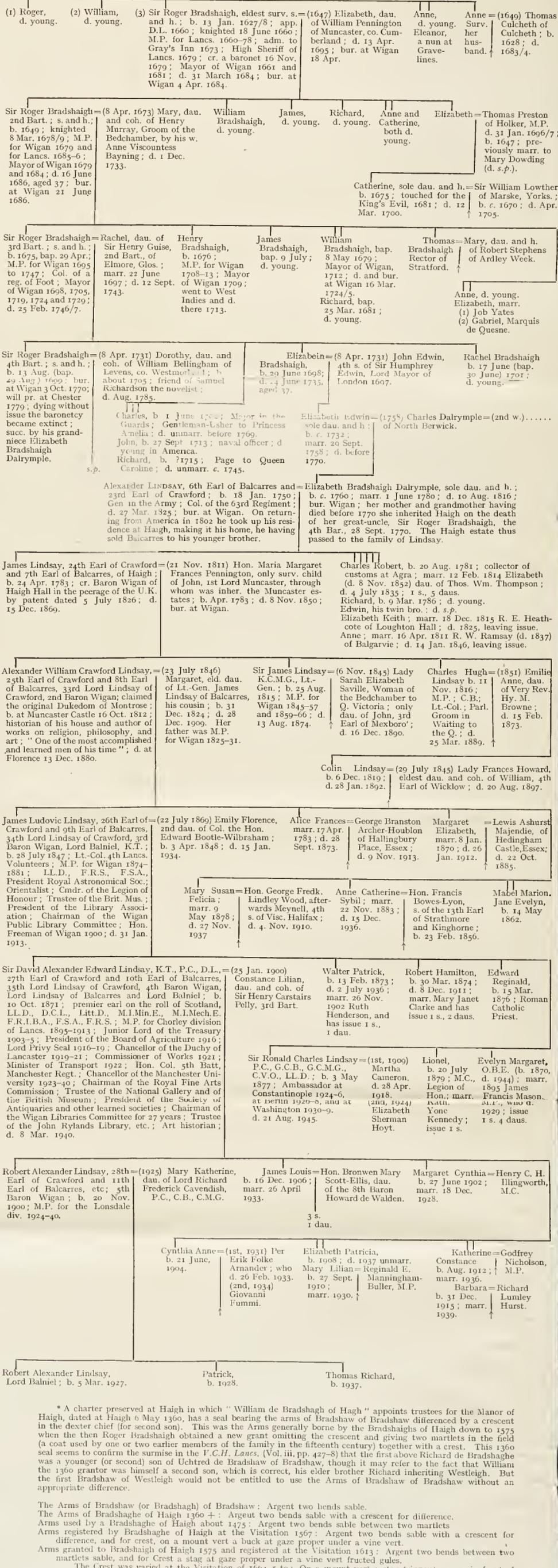
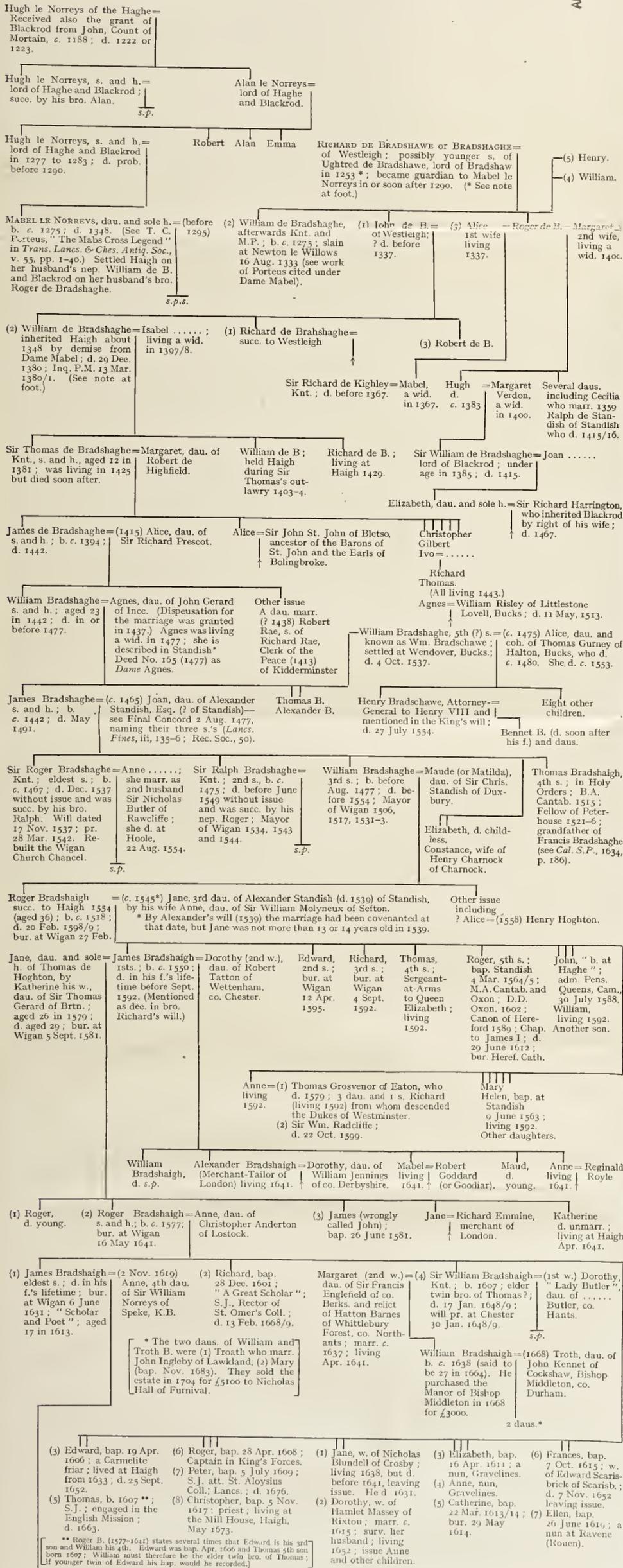
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