In the year 1822, the late Dr. Hibbert [afterwards Dr. Hibbert- Ware], F.R.S.^ &c., read before the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, in Edinburgh, a dissertation entitled "Illustration of the Customs of a Manor in the North of England during the Fifteenth Century" which was printed in their Volume of Transactions for that year. Dr. Hibbert subsequently printed separately as an Appendix, "The Custom Roll and Rental of Ashton-under-Lyne" - the manor referred to in his paper, - which was not inserted in the society's transactions on account of its great length; and of this Appendix he states, "a very few copies were printed for private circulation." As this record, in its printed form, is exceedingly rare, it has been thought desirable to reprint it in the present volume, with this difference, that originally it was an Appendix to the Dr.'s dissertation, now it is the text, and Dr. Hibbert's observations follow in the form of notes.

Dr. Hibbert states that he possessed a copy only of the original, in which the orthography had not been preserved. This copy was formerly in the possession of one of his ancestors, but at the earnest solicitation of the family most concerned it was presented to them. The documents were collected in what was called "a book," and they are here reprinted from the Appendix already referred to.

of the Manor of Assheton-under-Lyne, printed verbatim from a transcript in the possession of Dr. Hibbert, entitled, "A Copy of an Old Manuscript, possessione Jonæ Harrop de Barsley anno 1749. Nunc possessione Ralf Assheton. Bar. de Middelton/" At the feast of Martyn in Wynter, the year of the King Henry (the sixth after the conquest) the First, all the tenants of the lordship of Assheton-under-line, taking their tenements to farm for 20 wynter terme, at John of Assheton, knight, the whiche came out of Normandy at the same feast, with all the services, customs, and usages, as after is in this same book written and rehearsed, and as it has
been used and customed of old time; and every man to pay his farm at two times in the year, as the rental of this said book makes mention.
The service of the said tenants is this, yt they shall give their pressents at Yole; every present to such a value as it is written and sett in the rental; and the lord shall feed al his said tenants and their wives upon Yole Day at ye dinner, if them like for to come; but the saied tenants and their wives, though it be for their ease not to come, they shall send neither man nor woman in their name, but if he be their son other their daughter dwelling with them, unto the dinner. For the Lord is not bounden to feed save al only the gud man and the good wife. Also every tenant that plough has, shall plow two days, and he that half plough has shall plow a day, whether the Lord be leiver in wheat seeding other in lenten seeding; and every tenant harrow a day with their harrow in seeding

Footnotes:
51 It is to be lamented that the ancient orthography of the manuscript has not been faithfully preserved; but I prefer following the transcript rather than correct any error of this description that cannot be confirmed by a reference to the original document. - S.H.
52 Wednesday, November 11th, 1422. This feast is the anniversary of the ordination of St. Martin, bishop of Tours, usually described in records as "St. Martin in Winter." - Ed.

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time when they bin charged. And they shall cart every tenant ten cartful of turve fro Doneammoss, Eone [?] unto Ashton, and sheare four days in harvest, and carte a day corne; and they shall pay a principal at their death, that is, to wit, the best beast they have, which other deed [?] next after Holy Kirk.
Also the said tenants shall muller [pay toll for grinding] their corne growing upon the said tenements at the Lords milne to the sixteenth vessel, and they shall go to none other milne to muller their corn growing on their tenements, but to the Lords milne and if they buy corn, the which is dryed with the Lords ffewel, they shall muller it at the Lords milne to the 16th vessel, and all other corn that they buy they shall muller to the Lovesucken, which is to the 24th vessel, and go to none other milne if the corn be brought within the said Lordship.
This is the whole rental of tenants at will of the said Lordship of Assheton, and the value of their presents at Yole, the year and day aforesaid, the which rent shall be payed at 2 terms of the year, that is for to wit, the ton half at the feast of St John Baptist, and tother half at the feast of St Martyn uth Wynter.

Rentale tenent. ad voluntatem de domo de Assheton, anno Regni Regis Hen' Sexti primo.
Magot, that was the wife of Richard of Hadfield, has taken that place which her husband held to the Dome terme, with the services, customes, and usages that longes to the tenants of the said Lordshippe of Assheton, yielding yearly for the said place at the feasts of Midsummer and Martinmas, 39 shillings and 6d. and at ye Yole aforesaid, a present to the value of 20 pence.
John of Hollinworth has taken the place that he held with the saied service, customes, and usages, yielding yearly therefore at

Footnotes:
53 Soken is the miller's toll. "Great soken had this miller." Love-soken is a favour-soken, paying for 24 measures the soken or multure for 16. - Ed.

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the feasts aforesaid, 38 shillings and 2d. and at the Yole, a present to the value of 16 pence.
Chrystopher the Vernon, has taken certain land within Shepley, and in Doneam Moss, with the service of 4 days sheering, paying yearly 15 shillings and 4 pence.
William the Walker has taken the tenement that he ere held, and the moorhey in the ryecroft, with the service, customes, and usages aforesaid, yielding yearly, at the feasts aforesaid, 22 shillings and 10
pence, and at the Yole a present the value of 8 pence.  
Robert the Walker has taken the tenement that he ere held, with the services, customs, and usages aforesaid, yielding yearly, at the feasts aforesaid 22 shillings and 10 pence, and for the Walk Miln 26 shillings and 8d. and at Yole a present to the value of 12d.  
John of the Edge has taken the land lying to the miln, with the service and customs aforesaid, yielding yearly, at the feasts aforesaid, 13 shillings and 4 pence, and a present at Yole to the value __.

Roger Unton has taken the place that Jack Coke held, except the land that lyes beyond the fold that Richard Unton holds, yeilding yearly a whole service and 10 shillings and a __ present.  
Roger le Smith, for a meadow in the over Ryecroft field, 3 shillings and 4d.  
Syssot, that was the wife of Patrick, for a house and garden at the miln, she shall shear 4 days in harvest, and she shall give a principal at her dying; and for her term, she shall pay 2 shillings, and a present at Yole, to the value of 4d.

Malkyn, ý was the wife of Dicon Hoggerson, for her teneḿ at the milne, 4d.

Merget of Stayley, for the kilne, 5 shillings.

Robert of Chadwick, for his tenement he shall do the service as other cottages done, and pay 5 shillings, and a present to the value of 4d.

Alys, that was Pole wife, the same service for a cottage, and shall pay 12d. and a present, the value 4d.

Marget of Stanley, the same service, and 2 shilling and a present, ý value 4d.  
Syssot, that was the wife of Dycon Wilson, the same service and 2 shilling, and a present to the value 4d.

Alys Hanson, the same service and 2 shilling, and a present to the value 4d.

Nanne of the Windebank, the same service and 2s. and a present to the value of 4d.  
Thó. of White Leigh, the same service and 5 shillings, and a present, the value 4d.

John Ffulsstaffe, for his cottage, a service and 4 shillings, for Lusley 2d.

The same John, for lands in Colwel, 12 shillings.

Elyn Wilkyn doghter, for her cottage, a service and 2 shillings.

Robyn Ffulsstaffe, a whole service, the present 14d. and 32s. and 6d., for Lusley 2d.

The wife of Peryn, for her cottage, a service and 2s.

Elyn of Hulme, for her cottage, a service and 2s.

William of Buckley, for a cottage, a service and 2s.

Nanne, that was the wife of Robyn Jackson, for a cottage, a service and 2s.

Jone, that was the wife of Atkyn Tumson, for a cottage, a service and 2s.

William Somaster, for a cottage, a service and 2s.

William Richards son of Bardsley, for a cottage, a service and 2s.

John of Haworth, for a cottage a service and 2 shillings.

Roger the Smith, for a cottage, a service and 20s. and 6d.

Syssot, that was the wife of Thomas the Cook, a service and 6s. and 8d.

Robert Unton, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 10d. and 7s. and 6d. For Lusley __

Jenkyn Cocker, for his tenement and croft at the town end that Richard of Oldome held, 20s.

Hobbe Adamson, for his tenement, a whole service and the present 12d., and 11s. and 6d.

Roger the Baxter, for a cottage, a service and 8s. and 2d.

The same Roger for land in Wollowe, 25s.

The same Roger for the bake house, 6s. and 8d.
Robyn Somayster, for his cottage and the vyner stedes, a service and 2s.
Adam of the Holde, for a cottage, a service and 4s.
William the Arrowsmith, for a cottage, a service and 4s.
Marget, that was the wife of John the Hind, for a cottage, a service, and 2s.
Roger the Smyth, for the smithey, 2s.
John Spakeman, for a cottage, a service and 2s.
Jak the Spencer, bailey, shall answer of the profits and the farms of the booths, the shops and the mealhouse, 105.
The same John Spencer, bailey, shall answer of the profits of the toll, of the fairs, and ye markets.
Elyn the Rose, for a cottage, a service and 2s.
Jenkyn of the Wood, for his tenement, a whole service and the present at (Yole) 12d. and the (farm) at 20s. and 6d.
The same Jkn. for his holding in the basket feilds, 13s. and 4d.
Richard Unton, for his tenement and the Rhodes feild in the Thanes Kerr, and for land that was Jak the Cook's, by the pool, 26s. and 8d.
William of Bardesley, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 10d. and the farm 28s. and 10d.
John of Hogh, for his tenement, the service of 4 days shereing and a principal, the farm 14s.
William of the Woodfield, for his cottage, a service, the present 6d. His farm Hanlawe 16s. and 4d., for Lusley 4d.
Thomas Robynson, for his tenement, the present 15d. the farm 36s. and 2d., for Lusley 7d.
Raufie Bardesley, a whole service, the present 15d. the farm 34s. and 6d., for L. 6d. [perhaps Lusley. — T. P.]
William the Cocker, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 14d. the farm 27s. and 8d., and for L. 8d.
Richd. de Bardesley of Hurst, the over end of the old thane's kerr, the which the lord marled x

Jack Johnson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present x, the farm 29s. and 6d., for L. 16d.
William of Bardisley of Hazlehurst, a whole service, the present 20d. the farm 2s. 6d., for L. 7d.
William of the Wood feild, for a lond at Erley, 4s.
John of Heghrode, for an intake in the Bastall, 2s.
The same John, for William feild, 10s.
Thomlyn of the Leghes of Hazlehurst, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 15d. the farm 32s. and 2d. for L. 4d.
Richard the Smith, for his tenement, the present 15d. the farm 34s. and 8d. for L. 4d.
Richard of Bardesley of Hurst, for the old thanes Carr, 30s.
Hugh of Gaytclilffe, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 6d. the farm 8s, 6d. for L. 4d.
Jack the Mercer, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 9d. the farm 8s. and 6d., for L. 6d.
Jak the Spencer, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 9d. the farm 17s. and 6d., for L. 2d.
The same for Hobryding, 6s. and 8d.
John of Lyngards, a whole service, the present 9d. the farm 17s. and 6d., for L. 8d.
Thomas Sanderson, for his tenement a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 25s. and 6d. for L. 7d.
Robyn Sanderson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 12d. the farm 33s. and 6d., for L. 4d.
Jak le Mercer, for Wollawe, 18s.
Robyn Robynson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 10d. the farm 29s. and 2d.
Tomlyn Diconson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 6d., the farm 7s. and 6d., for L. 4d.
Nichol Saunderson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 6d. the farm 16s. and 2d., for L.
2d.
John Saunderson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 7d. the farm 11s. and 6d., for L. 5d.
Jak the Hind, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 19s. and 6d., for L. 6d.

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Wilkyn Robynson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 13d. the farm 29s. and 6d. for L. x d.
Jak of the Leghes, for two parts of Mossley, a whole service, the present 20d. the farm 39s. and 6d. for L. 6d.
The same Jak for Krolle’s Meadow, and the hay croft, 5s.
The same Jak for certain land in the Moor Hey, 6s. and 8d.
Adam Wilson, for his tenement, 4 days [? shearing] and a principal, the farm 20s. and 4d.
The wife of Wilkyn Atkynson, and John, her son, for her tenement, a whole service, the present 12d. the farm 28s. 8d. for L. 9d.
John the Slater, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 16s. and 6d. for L. 8d.
James of Meltham, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 15d. the farm 36s. and 6d. for L. 11d.
Richard Lyngards, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 9d. the farm 21s. and 6d. for L. x d.
Dycon Wilkynson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 14s. and 6d. for L. x d.
William Sclatter, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 6d. the farm 10s. and 6d. for L. 2d.
Rauf Johnson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 16s. and 6d. for L. 6d.
Roger the Cropper, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 9d. the farm 12s. and 6d. for L. 8d.
William the Walker, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 15s. and 2d. for L. 4d.
Thomas of Meltham, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 15d. the farm 38s. and 8d. for L. 2d.
Rauf of Curtual, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 14d. the farm 41s. and 10d. for L. 10d.
Robert the Wright, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 20d. the farm 56s. and 11d. for L. x d.
Dycon Robynson, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 8d. the farm 22s. for L. 6d.

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Adam of Bardesley, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 9d. the farm 19s. and 6d. for L. 5d.
Richard of Bardesley, for Holden, 16d.
Robin the Cropper, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 15d. the farm 36s.
John Burdytan, for his tenement, a whole service, the present x d. the farm 23s. and 6d.
Thurstan of Bardesley, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 7d. the farm 15s. and 6d.
Robert le Wright, for Wollawe 13s. and 4d.
George of Bardesley, for his tenement, a whole service, the present x d. the farm 26s. and 4d.
Christopher of Bardesley, for the More that he haldes, 2s. and 6d,
William of the Cross, for his tenement, with two Doles of the Dede Carr, a whole service, the present 7d. the farm 13s. and 10d.
William of Cowlesagh, for his tenement, a whole service, the present 6d. the farm 9s. and 6d.
Thomas of Claydon, for lands that he holdes within Taunton, 3s.
John the Byron, Knyght, for Whitworth Lands in Droyladen, during the lifes of Richard Unton, and Alice, his wife, the rent yearly xx¹.
Thomas Curtnal, for a barn in the town of Assheton, 2s. and 6d.
John of the Edge, for both the corn mills, to pay at Saint Holyn Day and Myghelmas, and the Lord to hald up the milns at his costes, as it has been customed, the farm at the days aforesaid, 16s. and 4d.
Thomas of the Leghes, and Syssot, that was the wife of Dycon of Hollinworth, for the ‘tone half of the intake in Palden Wood, 13s. and 4d.
The same Thomas of the Leghes, for an intake besyde Alt Hey, 10s.
John of the Winterbotham, for the marled earth next Rhodes Fields, for ten yeare terme, the farm 26s. and 8d.
John of Ainsworth, for the Rydde Legh, 9s. and 6d.

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Richard of Lyngards, for the lond that Thomlyn Cropper marled in Alt Hey, for this xx year, the farm 19s. and 8d.
Syssot, that was the wife of Jak of Barsley, for a cottage in the parke, a service, the farm 2s.
A place of lond in Wordel in Rachedall, the farm 20s.
Christopher of Belfeild, for lond in Clegge in Rachedall, 15s. - the which land was afterward changed for the Copydthurst in Oldome pareshe.
The place that was Ranlyn's of Ashton, 13s 4d.
John of Assheton, 22s.
Thomas of Cloghed, for the Soureker, 4s. and 4d.
William of Lawton, 5s.
The third part of Mossley, xx shillings.
The turvery of Asheton Moss by estimation yearly, 5 pounds.
P'. John Buron for parcel of the moss, 16s.
For the Heath Barn and croft, 4s.

The Gyst Ale of the Town of Assheton.

Mergret, that was the wife of Hobbe the Kynge, for hyr fine, 3s. and 4d.
Hobbe Adamson for his fine, 3s. and 4d.
Roger the Baxter for his fine, 3s. and 4d..
Robert Somayster for his fine, 3s. and 4d.
Jenkyn of the Wode for his fine, 3s. and 4d.
Thomas of Curtnall for his fine, 3s. and 4d.

The tolle of the fairs and the market by estimation, 2 marke.
The courts and the fines by estimation, 40s.
The serviz of all the tenants by estimation -

The londs and the tenements, the which is had within the lordship of Assheton for term of life.

Rauf of Assheton, and Robyn of Ashton, have the Sour Carrguld

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Rode and stane rynges, for terme of their lives. Rauf of the gifte of John Assheton, Knyghte, the elder, and Robyn of the gifte of John Asshtton, Knyghte, the younger, the farm. The same Rauf and Robyn have a place in the town of Ashton, and the garden thereto longing, for terme of their lifes, the farm.
John the Cook has a tenement in the town of Ashton, for the term of life, the farm.
John of the Wood has a parcel of the Basketfeild, for the terme of life, the farm.
Richard Unton has a house and a croft in Ashton, the farm.

The third part of Mosseley.
The free tenants that maken fine yearly, for the making of the milne, were, &c.
The place of Shepley pays every year 16d.
The place of Richard of Moston in Auden Shagh, 16d.
The place of Nichol of Hurst, 16d.
The extent of the Demesnes of Assheton, and the park yearly over the rep'se.

R al Liber. Tenent. de Dorf de Assheton sub Liryid, anno
     Suprando. solvend. ad sea; Terminos ann. &c.

Raulin of the Wood, and his for their londs in Audenshaw, the which were William of Aldwinshagh's ...3s and 6d
The Heir of Rich'd. of Moston, for his londs in Aldwinshagh ... 3s and 6d
Richard the Hunt and Wilkyn Tyr for an intake ... 3d.
Richard the Hunt for the half of Beckingham Field ...4s.
The Heir of Piers of Shepley, for Shepley ... 3s and 7d.
Robert of the Rasbotham, for the Rasbotham ... 5d.
John of the Heghrode for his tenements ... 7s and 1d.

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The Heir of Tho'. of Stavely for the bestal and hurst ... 2s and 1d.
The same Heir for the Three Houses ... 6d.
The same Heir of Stavely, and the Heir of Thomas of Trafford, & others, for Ashton Lands & Palden Wood ... 4s.
Thomas of the Leghes, John of the Knolles, Richard of Hollinworth, John of the Aspenhagh for their tenements in Leghes ... 6d
The Heir of Adam of Leghes for his tenement in Leghes ...10d.
The same Heir of Adam of the Leghes for an Intake in Palden Wood ... 3s and 4d.
John of the Knolles for the Rhodesfield ... 6s and 10d.
The same John for his part of an Intake in Palden Wood ... 4s and 6d.
Richard of Hollinworth for his part of an Intake in Palden Wode ... 4s and 6d.
John of the Aspinhalgh, and his wife, for y' part of an Intake in Palden Wood ... 4s and 6d.
Adam of Feltawe for the light Birches ... 1s.
The Heir of Hobbe of the Lees for the Knolles ... 2s.
Adam Wilson Dogeson for the Blackenows ... 1s and 7¾d.
The Heir of William of Lusley for William Field. ... 1s.
Richard of Bardesley for his tenement in Hurst ... 5d
Nicol of Hurst for his tenement in Hurst ... 5d
Thomas of Claydon for Taunton ... 3s and 6d.
Richard of Bardesley for Bardesley the Aspes of Limehurst ... 5s and 10d.
Peirs of Worsley for the Rughohs and the Woodfield ... 2s
Richard the Byron, Knight, for the Woodhouse ... 1s.
The same Richard for Lond in Sunderland ... 6d

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The Heir of Thomas of Hadfield, Knight, for Sunderland ... 2s.
Richard of Bardesley for Bardesley ... a Rose.

    Som tot 4 £ 13d. ob 2²
    Sum tot redditus 27 £ : 12s : 11d.

Absque Omnibus servitiis & excenuis, Anglice Presands.

Libi. Tenentes de termino Annunciatoris Beatae Mariæ suprado, &c.
Nichus del Hurst pro tenemen suo in Hyrst ... 9d.
Richardus de Moston p ten. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Petrus de Shepley p Shepley ... 7d. ob.
William de Aldwinshagh p ten. suo in Aldwinshagh. .... 9d.
Ricus fil. Johis. de Berdesly p ten. suo in Hyrst ... 1d. 
Robertus de Rasbotham Le Rasbotham ... 1d. 
Johes. del Heghrode p ten, suo ... 12d.
Thos. de Claydon p Taunton ... 6d.
William de Lusley pro William Feild .... 3d..
Tho* de Stanely p le Hyrst, >\< ... 9d.
The same Tho*. p le 3 Houses ...3d.

Libi. tenent. de termo. Pentecost.

Petrus de Trafford p Alston Londes and Palden Wood ... xd.
Idem Petrus de terra in Sherewinde ...3d.
Heres Ade de Mossley p Aston Landes and Palden Wood ... 5d.
Adm. Wilson Doggeson p le Knolles ...  6d.
Heres Roberti le p Palden Wood and Ashton Londs ...  6d.
Adam de Tetlawe p light Birches ...  12d.

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Tho*. del Leghes and socii sui p lez leghes ... 3d.
Adam del Leghes p lez nether Leghes ...  2d


Wills, de Aldwinshagh p ten. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Ricus de Moston p ten. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Petrus de Shepley p Shepley ... 7d. ob.
Ricus de Hunt p Half Beckingtonfield ...  4s.
Robtus. de Rosbotham p Rosbotham ...  1d. 
Johes dell Heghrod p ten. suis ... 21d.
Wills. de Lusley p William Field ... 3d.
Ricus Fil. Johis. de Berdesly p ten. suo in Hyrst ...1d. 
Nichus de Hyrst p ten. suo in Hyrst ... 9d.
Ricus de Berdesley p les Aspes ... 2ss.
Idem Ricus p Old Alt ... 9d.
Idem Ricus, p Bardesley ... 1d. Rosam.
Johes dell Knolles p Rhodes Feild ... 3s. 5d.
The same John for an Intake in Palden Wood ... 2s. 3d.
Ricus de Hollinworth, for an Intake in Palden Wood ... 2s. & 3d.
Johes de Aspenhalgh, for an Intake in Palden Wood ... 2s. & 3d.
Tho*. of Stanely for three Houses ... 3d.
Ricus Byron miles p. le Woodhouse ...  12d.
Idem Ricus p Sunderland ...  6d.
Thomas de Clayden p Taunton ...  6d.

Libi. tenent. de termino Scti Michi* Archi.

William de Aldwinshagh p ten. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Ricus de Moston p ten. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Petrus de Shepley, p Shepley ... 7d. ob.
Johnes de Rasbothum, - Rasbothum ...1d. 00 over 11

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Johes del Hethrode, - ten suo ... 2s. 11d.
Willis de Lusley, - William Feild ... 3d.
Adm. Wilson Doggeson, - le Knolles ...6d. ob 00 over 11
Adm. de Leghes for an Intake in Palden Legh ... 3s. 4d.
Tho del Leghes for an Intake in Palden Legh ... 3s. 4d.
Ricus Fil. Johis de Berdesley, - ten. suo in Hyst ... 1d. 00 over 11
Nichus del Hyst, ten. suo in Hyst ... 9d.
Tho de Clayden, - Taunton ... 2s.
Petrus de Worseley, - le Rugheggs and Woodfield ... 2s.
Heres Thoms de Hatfield milit, - Sunderland ... 2s.
Johes del Knolles, - redy Legh ... 3s. 5d.
Idem Johes, for an Intake [in] Palden Wood. ... 2s. 4d.
Ricus de Hollingworth, for an Intake in Palden ... 2s. 3d.
Johes del Aspinhalgh, for an Intake in Palden ... 2s. 3d.

Libi. tenent. de termino Sancti Martini.

Ricus de Moston, - ten suo in Aldwinshagh ... 6d.
Petrus de Shepley, p Shepley ... 12d.
Thomas de Staneley, - three Houses ... 3d.
Petrus de Trafford, - terra in Sherewinde ... 3d.
Idem Petrus, - Alston Londs and Palden Wood. ... 10d.
Hæres Ade de Mosley, p Alston Londs and Palden Wood ... 5d.
Heres Robti Dane, - Palden Wood and Alston Londs ... 6d.
Thomas del Leghes and socii sui, p Lez Leghes ... 3d.
Adm. del Leghes, p le nether Leghes ... 6d.
Idem Adam, - le Leghes ... 2d.
Heres Roberti del Leghes, - le Knolles ... 2s.

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Willielmus de Aldwinshagh, - teu. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Ricus de Moston, - ten. suo in Aldwinshagh ... 9d.
Ricus le Hunt, - William terre for an intake ... 3d.
Petrus de Shepley, p Shepley ... 8d. ob.
Robertus de Rosbothum, - Rosbotbum ... 1d. 00 over 11
Johannes del Heyrode, - ten. suis ... 18d.
Willielmus de Lusley, - Willm. Feild ... 3d.
Thomas de Staneley, - three bouses ... 3d.
Idem Thomas, p le Bestal ... 1d.
Adam Wilson Doggeson, p la Knolles ... 6d.
Richardus Filius Johannes de Bardesley, p ten. suo in Hyst ... 1d. 00 over 11
Nichus de Hyst - ten. suo in Hyst ... 9d.
Thomas de Staveley, - ten. le Hyst ... 9d.
Tho. de Clayden, - Taunton ... 6d.
The tenants-at-will of the said lordship of Assheton have taken their holdings and their places, xx. wynter terme, as it is afore rehearsed, and in this form, yf any tenant or tenants list not hold their places, nor their holdings, within their term that the sit in, and they like to give up their places or their holdings, at the Martinmas, the lord shall receive them at the Martinmas next after, with this, that s’d tenant or tenants leave their places, their houses, and their closesable as they ought to be, and their land in the field as able and as good a tenant for to take, as it was at their takyng in the beginning of their terme of years; and if they do not, it shall be overseen, and the houses and the closes shall be overseen by 4 or 6 men sworn, the which shall be taken by the lord and his officers and they shall set by their conscience what would repair the houses and the closes; and, if the lord belikes, he shall take the mone that is set, and repair the houses and the closes; and if the lord

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like not so to do, the tenant that is to come shall take it if him like; and, if he like not, the 4 or the 6 men sworn shall take the money that they have set, and repair the houses and closes able as they ought to be repaired; and this rule and custom shall be had when as ever any tenant removes, be it within the terme, or at the terme end; and, as touching the lond that lies to the place, these 4 or six men sworn shall set by their consciences what they hold the land worse yearly a tenant for to take, than it was at taking of tenant that removes; and as many years as is behind of his term of so meikle shall the tenant answer to the Lord, if he removes fro his place within his terme, according to the sum set by the sworn men; but it shall be well understood, that if the tenant hold his land unto the terme, and remove unto another place at the term end, the houses and the closes shall be seen in the form as is beforeforsaid, but the lands in the fields shall not be seen or set as is before rehearsed, unless the tenant by fraud, and upon purpose, erede his land of miss and unreasonably, or done to his holding other diverse harmers upon malice and for evil will.

Also, the tenants-at-will of the said lordship shall muller at the 16 vessel, and go to none other mln but to the lord's milnes; and which of them that is found guilty of going to any other milne, they shall be highly amerced, and make fine at the lord's will; and the free tenants that oghen soken to the miln, shall muller as their chartours will, and as they have been accustomed of old time. And the free tenants and the tenants-at-will shall give the milner his service at all times, as it has been accustomed aforetime always; and if there be any default in the milner's service that may be proved lawfully, he shall be punished highly by the lord at his courts, as the law and the custom will, and as has been used aforetime; and when the Lord's corn come to the milne, he shall put all men out of their grist, and take their corn out of the hopper, if there be any therein, and his corn shall be ground next before all men, whent it comes to the miln without

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muller, or paying service to the milner, but as his lyst if he likes and curtasy to give to the said milner. The free tenants of the Lordship of Assheton have granted to John of Assheton, for to be infeoffed in the Hall Mole [mote] of Ashton, after the customs and the burgales of the aforesaid town, to term of their lives out taken, that they will not swear upon the inquest between the tenants at will at the suit of party, but they will swear between free tenants and tenants at will; that is, to wit, 6 of the free tenants, and 6 of the tenants at will, and also between the Lord and free tenants, and the tenants at will; and also the aforesaid free tenants, and all tenants graunts for to hold the ordinances and the customs before time made and used, and the which afterward are to be made by the graunt of them to the Lords profit, and the tenants aforesaid. And the foresaid free tenants, and the tenants at will of the manor of Asshston, grants to John of Assheton, Knight, that if any of them be convicted by inquest of any trespass done to others in his beginning, and of his own wrong, that then the Lord of the town, by his Bailey, shall distrain him by his goods by great distresse, unto the time that he have amended it
reasonably to the party grieved, and also to the Lord for the trespass at his will, and the trespasser have goods within the Lordship: and if that he have none, then the Lord of the town, or his Bailey, shall take him with strength of the foresaid free tenants, and tenants at will, and set him in the stocks unto the time that he have amended unto the party grieved, and to the Lord. And also they grant the aforesaid free tenants, and tenants at will, and all that dwells in the foresaid town, that if any strange man of any other town or towns come within the foresaid town, for to do any harm to any tenants resident within the town, that anon all the tenants and residents aforesaid, within the foresaid town, shall rise with their neighbours to take and arrest the foresaid trespassor unto their power, after that they be warned by their neighbours, or by the Lord's Bailey, or by any man fro that time that there be knowing of such a misdoer; and if

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any of the foresaid tenants and residents refuses so to do in the form aforesaid, then will all the tenants and the residents aforesaid, that afterward of that deed, or any of them, be convicted in the Lord's court by inquest, that he so convicted shall give to the Lord 40s. within 15 days then next following, and that the Lord's Bailey shall raise the forfeit 40s. of the goods of them that are convicted; and also they grant, that if any of them resette or maintain any strange man after that day, knowing that he have done trespass to any tenant or resident aforesaid, within the town aforesaid, then he shall give to the Lord of the town 40s. of his good, to be raised by the Bailey in the town aforesaid, after that he be convicted by the inquest. And also the tenants at will grant to the foresaid John of Ashton, Knight, that if any of them were rebel, and would not be justified after the custom and ordinance of the aforesaid town, that he shall not maintain him, nor help him, but he shall remove him out of his service, and he shall loose his love. Also the aforesaid tenants and residents will, and grantyn that if there be any fighter among them, the which shall fight with another in his beginning, after that he be convicted by the inquest, then he convicted shall give to the Lord half a mark the first time; and if he will not be chastysed by that, the second time he shall give the Lord a mark, after that he be convicted by the inquest; and if he will not be chastysed by that, the third time he shall give the Lord 20s. after that he be convicted by the inquest, to be raised by the Lord's Bailey. Also they give and grantyn, that if there be any tenant or resident within the foresaid town that have resetted any fighter with other in his beginning, that the setter, after he be convicted by the inquest, shall amend it to the party greived, and he shall give to the Lord the pains sette upon him as before is written. This is the covenant made between John of Assheton, Knight, and the tenants of the town of Asshton, of their swine, ye year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the conquest, the third; that the aforesaid tenants shall have their swine going in the demesnes of the aforesaid town, fro the latter end of harvest unto

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sowing time, out taken the little park and hall yards, so that the aforesaid swine be ringed fro the foresaid latter end of harvest unto the foresaid time of sowing. And the foresaid tenants shall keep their swine that do no harm to the lord, nor to their neighbours, in the places out taken, that is to say, fro seeding time to harvest be in, and this covenant to be fulfilled; the aforesaid will then, when so any swine be taken in any default aforesaid, that he that owns the swine shall loose to the lord 44d ; each tenant of them aforesaid shall have as many swine as it is written and underneath, that is, to witt, every tenant of the tenants aforesaid, of the said town, that brews to sell, and the miller, shall hold 3 swine; and every tenant of the tenants aforesaid that holds land in the fields shall hold 2 swine; and every tenant of the tenants aforesaid that holds no land shall have one swine. The free tenants-at-will of the Lordshiphe of Ashton, the year of the reign of King Henry the fourth after the conquest, the first, grantyn to John of Assheton, Knight, in his plain Hall Court, the Tuesday next before the Assion. of our Lord, that if any free tenant or tenants, that owe muller to the mill, sell their corn
growing upon their tenements, and buy corn of others, and with the same corn bought, come to the
miller and muller not but to the love-suck of that corn bought, and of this they bin convicted in the
lord's court by inquest, they shall pay to the lord xx p. [pence] the which shall be raised of their goods
by the lord's bailey.

[Arrangement of Forms in the Kirk of Assheton, establishing the order of Rank and Precedence, to be
observed among the Wives, Daughters, and Female Servants, of the Manor of Assheton-under-
Lyne.]

At the first Form upon the north side of Assheton kirk.
Uxor Thomae de Claydon, Ux' Rodi de Berdysley, Ux' de Sunderland, Ux' Radulphi de Wood, and
their servant and other gentills strangers.

At the first Form on the south side the kirk,
Ux' Hæred. Henrici de Moston, Ux' de Shepley, Ux' Johannis de Heghrode, Ux' Rhodi de Hunt, and
the servant women of the hall and other gentills strangers.

At the second Form on the south side,
Ux' Rad. de Bardisley de Hunt, Ux' Adse de Leghes, Ux' Rici de Hurt, Ux' William Tyrr, Ux' De __
Blakeknolles, and their tenants.

The iii<sup>rd</sup> Form on the south side,
Ux' Tho<sup>æ</sup>. de Leghes, Ux' Joh<sup>s</sup>. de Knolles de Leghes, Ux' Tenenti de Barsley, Ux' De Rasbotham,
Ux' Adæ De Wilson de Knolles, Ux' Joh<sup>s</sup>. de Aspinhalgh, Ux' Rodi de Hollinworth, and their s ........

At the 4th Form of the south side,
The tenants of Rauf of Stayley, the tenants of Peter of the Lusley, the tenants of Tho<sup>s</sup>. de Claydon,
the tenants of Shepley, the tenants of John of the Heghrode.

The fifth Form upon the same side,
The tenants wynches of Sir John the Byron that dwellyn with him.

The 6th Form of the same side,
To the parson's tenants, Ux' Thomæ Higson, Ux' Tho<sup>æ</sup>. de Curtnal, Carol Jenkyn daughter, Ux' ..........
Ux' Joh<sup>s</sup>. de Berdesley, and the tenants of the Woodhouse, and the strangers to the other Form.

The second Form on the north side,
Ux' Johannis de Leghes, Ux' Will<sup>i</sup> de Bardisley de Ha, Ux' Roberti de Wright de Alt Hill, Ux' Rodi de
Hadfield de Aldwinshagh, Ux' De Soureker, and their servants.

The third Form on the north side,
Uxor Radi de Bardisley, Ux' Radi de Curtnal, Ux' Tho<sup>æ</sup>. de Meltham, Ux' Jacobi de Meltham and
their servants.

Ux' Tenent. Rad<sup>ı</sup> Assheton de Ashton

The 4th Form on the same side,
Ux' Roberti le Cropper, Ux' Tho<sup>æ</sup>. de Hazilhurst, Ux' Johannis de Hollinworth, Uxor Thomae Robinson,
Uxor Reg<sup>ı</sup>. le Baxter, and their servants.

The 5th Form on the same side,
Ux' Rhodi le Smyth, Ux' William le Cocker, Ux' Robti Fulstaffe, Ux' Johan<sup>ıs</sup>. de Wood, Ux' Robti
Adamson, and their servants.
The 6th Form on the same side,
Ux' John, le Spencer, Ux' Robt' de Walker, Ux' Will'm, le Berdisley de Holdome, Ux' Johannis Jameson, Ux' Will'. Robinson, and their servants.

The 7th Form on the same side,
Uxor de Milne, Ux' Robti Somdyst, Ux' Robti Robinson, Ux' Gregorii de Berdesley, Ux' Robti Saunderson, Ux' Johannis de Lyme.

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The 1st Form upon the north in the nether end of the Kirk.
Ux' Willi. Adkynson, Ux' Robti. de Lyndgards, Ux' John de Lyndgards, Ux' Roger le Cropper, Ux' Johs le Slater, Ux' Johs le Slater, Ux' Johs Burdetan, Ux' Thurstan de Bardisley, Uxor Willi., de Cross, and their serv'ts.

The 2d Form on the same side,
Ux' Adæ de Bardisley, Ux' Willi le Walker de Rycroft, Ux' Robti Robynson, Ux' Willi et Robti le Walker, Ux' Radi Joneson, Ux' Rodi Wilkinson, Ux' Johis. Sanderson, Ux' Nichi Sanderson, Ux' Thoæ Adamson, Ux' Willi le Sclater, and their servants.

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The 3d Form on the same side,
Ux' Thoæ de Sanderson, Ux' Robti Unton, Ux' Willi', de Cowleshaw, Ux' Rodi Unton, Ux' Johis de Merler, Ux' Hugh de Gatecliffe, Ux' Willi de Woodfield, Ux' Roger le Smith, Ux' Thoæ Cooke, Ux' Robti le King, and their Servants.

The 4th Form also of the same side,
Ux' Johis le Coke, Ux' Thoæ de Whitelegh, Ux' Johis Ffulstaffe, Ux' Robti de Chadwick, Uxor Patric Margree de Stayley, Ux' Rodi Willison, Alice Hanson, Nanna Windebank, Elen Wilkin Doghter, Ux' Perin, Ux' Henrici the Baxter, and their servants.

The 6th Form of the same side,
Ux' Adæ de Held, Ux' Willi le Arrowsmith, Ux' Johis le Hynd, sen. Elinor le Rose, Ux' Will'm Somdyst, Ux' Will'de Bardesley, Ux' Johannis de Howarth, Ux' Henrici Spake Man, Ux' Willi de Bulkeley, Ux' Robti Jackson, Ux' Adæ Thomson, and their servants.

The other void Forms for servants and strangers. Jankyne of the Winterbotham has tane the marled earth in the Rodes Field, x years terme, the term beginning at the Martinmas, the year of King Henry the sixth, the second; paying therefor yearly at the term aforesaid, 2 marks; and John of Aynsworth, and Thomlyn of the Leghes of Hasleworth, are his borrowers y' he shall well and truly pay his farm during the said term.

[Here take notice page 29, 30, and 31, being only a repetition of the seats in Church, is wanting in this copy, being of no moment.54]

This is the Rental to Thoæ. of Assheton, son and heir to Sir John Assheton, of the lands and tenements, the which the said John give him at his marriage, within the Lordship of Assheton, and to his wife, as their deed makes mention: —

Footnote:
54 Remark made by the Transcriber.

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Richard of Hadfield, for his tenement in Aldwinshaw, a service, the service 10s.
John of Hollinworth, for the Birchenshaw, a service, the farm of the Birchenshaw, 26s.
William of Bardisley the younger, for the Olde House Carr, a service, the farm 20s.
Thomas of Jenkinson, of the Bardesley, for the Old Thenes Carr, the farm 30s.
Tho. Saunderson, for his tenement, in the farm, x.
Thomlyn Diconson, for his tenement, a service, the farm thereof, viii.
Magot, that was the wife of Jenkyn the Cropper, for lands in Wollowe, the farm iii.
Robert Saunderson, for the Childerscroft in Wollowe, the farm ...
Thomlyn the Tailor, for his tenement, at the waterhouses in Harper Wallowe, a service, ye farm xxx.
Gregory of Bardisley, for his tenement at the water houses in the farm xxiii.
Tho. of the Leghes, Richard of Hollinsworth, for their lands in Palden Legh, the farm xxii. and vii.
This settlement as made out makes .................. 9L. 2s. 7d.
To which add the sum total of Sir John's rent ... 27L. 12s. 11¾d.
makes, 36L. 14s. 6¾d.

Besides services and presents.

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DR. HIBBERT'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE CUSTOM ROLL AND RENTAL.
[The dissertation from which the following extracts are taken was read before the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1822. We have copied those passages only which relate to Ashton, and omitted those which refer to Scottish customs.]

SIR John of Assheton, who lived in the reign of Henry the Sixth, was, as his rent roll expressed, of Norman descent. At the period in which this knight was settled upon the estate of Assheton, tenures had assumed that definite form, to which was applied the term socage, a word of obscure etymology, supposed to denote privilege or liberty, in contradistinction to the indeterminate services of more ancient feuds. The feudal system had, at the same time, been materially aided in its progress towards a civil establishment, by the necessity imposed upon feudatories of dispensing with the military obligations of a part of their dependants, to whom was committed the care of cultivating the land, and of accepting in lieu of them the labours of husbandry, or a return of corn, cattle, or money. Landed possessors were thus enabled to attend to their military duties, disengaged from occupations that were considered in a chivalric age as base and dishonourable. The territory of Assheton, having been honoured by the residence of the Lord, had long acquired the appellation of Manor; Manerivmi a manendo. The relations of landlord and tenant, as expressed in the rent roll of Sir John of Assheton, were clear and explicit; while the degree of faithfulness with which services were performed, was determined by the jurisdiction of the Lord's court. In describing, therefore the customs of this manor, I shall notice in order, 1st, The rental and obligations which accrued from tenants at will; 2dly, Those which accrued from free tenants; 3dly, Those which arose from tolls, fines, or festivals; and 4thly, The conditions under which all the tenants were bound to the Lord in the jurisdiction of the Court Baron.

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My first object then is to describe the rental and obligations which resulted from tenants at will. Sir John of Assheton's tenants of this description were bound to him by obligations of a base or servile nature, yet determinate, and, therefore, properly comprehended under the name of Villanum Socagiun. They were excluded from partaking in the honours of the "tented field," being destined, on the manor of their lord, to perform the duties of civil and agricultural drudgery. Thus, the opprobrium cast upon such menial employments as ploughing the lord's lands or carting the lord's fuel and manure, originating from the high sense entertained, in this early period, of military allegiance, is transmitted to later times, in the debasing ideas that the name of villein, originally nothing more than a feudal term, never fails to excite. The conditions upon which lands were rented to tenants at will are related with much perspicuity. They were to be taken, as it is stated, "for twenty winter terms," the rent to be paid at two periods of the year. Any tenement might be given up by a year's notice to the lord, at the rent day of Martinmas, on the condition that it was resigned in as good condition as when
first entered upon; if not, the lord or his officers might direct four or six sworn men to visit the houses and closes occupied by the tenant, who was held responsible for the sum that they might adjudge as necessary for the repair, as well as for the deterioration that the land might have sustained. A visit of this kind might indeed be made whenever a tenant removed from his possessions at the end of his term; but in such a case the land was excepted from the assessment, unless it had been injured from design or from malice. The largest farm that appears to have been taken yielded the annual rent of 39s. 6d. sterling; the lowest tenements, which were for cottages, paid no more than two shillings each.

The particular services of the tenants at will may now be enumerated; the first of them being the return of a present to the lord, at Yole or Christmas, for the sake of partaking in the annual feast of the great hall. The origin of this service is a subject of interesting inquiry. The Scandinavians who peopled the province of Normandy, and afterwards became the conquerors of England, knew no other tribute in the country from which they emigrated, than one which was of the nature of a capitation tax. It is not improbable, then, that, in subduing England, they subjected their newly acquired Saxon vassals to the same impost to which they themselves had been accustomed, by inserting it in their rentals. We accordingly find traces of this, the most ancient of all duties, in the old rent rolls of many manors in England. The English mode of collecting such a capitation tax was by requiring from tenants an annual present at Christmas, that was spent in providing a treat in which both the landlord and his vassals partook. The custom, as it appears in Sir John of Assheton's rental, is described page 94 supra.

In some manor-houses of Lancashire, once dedicated to these annual scenes of festivity, may be observed an elevation of the floor at the extremity of the great hall, or, in the place of it, a gallery which stretches along one side of the room, with the intention that it should accommodate the lord and his family, so that they might not be annoyed by the coarse rustic freedoms, which the tenants would be too apt to take with them, during the hours of their conviviality. In a hall, then, of this kind, contrived in the manor-house of Assheton, we may imagine the large Yole fire to be kindled; while in a gallery or raised floor, Sir John of Assheton, his lady, and family, together with his kinsmen, Elland of Brighouse and Sir John the Byron, are feasting apart, yet attentive to the frolics or old songs of the company below. It was on these occasions that peg-tankards were used, and horns that bore the names of the Saxons and Danes whom the Normans had ousted out of their possessions. Of such trophies was the horn of Wolfus the Saxon, the Aylesbury horn, the Ribblesdale horn, the Aston horn, the Pusey horn once belonging to Canute, or the Wassel horn of Robert de Eaglesfield. Of the description of ale that flowed merrily on these occasions, we know little; but there can be no doubt that it was as good as King Henry the VIII's ale, which contained in it neither hops nor brimstone.55

We may suppose then that, on annual festivals like these, the wooden bowl, or horn, would pass freely through the hands of Sir John of Assheton's tenants-at-will; among whom were such personages as Hobbe Adamson, Hobbe of the Leghes, William the Arrowsmith, Roger the Baxter, Roger le Smith, Jack the Spencer, Jack the Hind, Elyn Wilkyn daughter, Elyn the Rose, and the widows Mergot of Stayley, Peryn's wife, and Nan of the Windy Bank, who owed suit and service, - all clad in their best hoods and brown woollen jackets and petticoats. The ancient musical instruments used in Lancashire were, a kind of fiddle, not of the present form, and a stringed instrument called the Virginals. The provincial songs of that period, few

Footnote: 55 It was an order of King Henry VIII. to his household, that there should be neither hops nor brimstone in the King's ale.
of which were less than half an hour in length, rehearsed the deeds of Lancelot du Lake, and his conquest of the Giant Tarquin, at the castle of Manchester; Ranulph of Chester, and his wars in the Holy Land; or the war-like feats and amorous prowess of the renowned Cheshire hero, Roger de Calverley. In order to preserve, as much as possible, the degree of decorum that was necessary at such meetings, there was frequently introduced a diminutive pair of stone stocks, of about eighteen inches in length, for confining within them the fingers of the unruly. This instrument was intrusted to the general prefect of manorial festivities, named the King of Misrule, whose office it was to punish all who exceeded his royal notions of decency: Accordingly, such a character appears among the list of Sir John of Assheton's tenants, under the name of Hobbe the King. It has been observed, that these entertainments were not supported by the munificence of landlords, but by the several contributions of tenants, rendered under the name of Presents; on which account, a festivity of this kind, that was wrung from the pockets of vassals, acquired, in derision, the appellation of Drink-lean. The Widow Mergot, who occupied one of the largest farms, gave for a present twenty pence. Robert Fulstaffe, who, for his house and lands, paid 32s. 6d., rendered for his share of the feast, 14d. Jack the Hind, who had a tenement of the yearly rent of 19s. 6d., paid 8d. Alys, that was Pole's wife, annually paid for her dwelling and lands 12d. and a present of 4d. The assessments appear so disproportionally levied, that they were probably in many cases considered in other services. Some of the cottagers are wholly free from this demand. It is evident, from an examination of the presents collected for these drink-leas, as they appear in Sir John of Assheton's rent-roll, that if they did not leave a handsome surplus to the lord, they would at least repay the expenses of the table. Accordingly, it is not improbable that the name of landlord was originally attached to the host of an inn, as a satirical allusion to the manorial landlord, who never provided a dinner for his guests, without receiving for it an adequate recompense.

It is impossible to say when these annual celebrations were discontinued in England; but that they did not cease without some regret on

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the part of the tenants, is evident, from the custom being perpetuated to modern times in a manor of the south of England, by a sort of mock representation of the ceremonies that once took place on such occasions.

At present, says a celebrated Antiquary, "the Whitson Ales are conducted in the following manner: - Two persons are chosen, previously to the meeting, to be lord and lady of the ale, who dress as suitably as they can to the characters they assume. A large empty barn, or some such building, is provided for the lord's hall, and fitteup with seats to accommodate the company. Here they assemble to dance and regale, in the best manner their circumstances and the place will afford; and each young fellow treats his girl with a ribband or favour. The lord and lady honour the hall with their presence, attended by the steward, sword bearer, purse bearer, and mace bearer, with their several badges or ensigns of office. They have likewise a train bearer or page, and a fool or jester dressed in a party coloured jacket, whose ribaldry and gesticulation contribute not a little to the entertainment of some part of the company. The lord's music, consisting of a pipe and taber, is employed to conduct the dance. Some people think this custom is a commemoration of the ancient Drink-lean, a day of festivity formerly observed by the tenants and vassals of the lord of the see within his manor; the memory of which, on account of the jollity of these meetings, the people have preserved ever since. The glossaries inform us that this Drink-lean was a contribution of tenants towards a potation, or ale, provided to entertain the lord or his steward." 

In the next place, those particular services of villein socage may be detailed, which were considered so particularly degrading as to be abhorrent to the feelings of all who were entitled to bear arms. In the manor of Assheton, every tenant-at-will was thus commanded: "He that plough has, shall plough two days. He that half plough has, shall plough a-day, whether the lord be liever in wheat seeding, or
in lenton seeding; and every tenant harrow a-day with their harrow in seeding time, when they bin charged. And they shall cart, every tenant ten cartful of turve from Doneam Moss to Assheton, and shere four days in harvest, and cart a day corn." This service, so profitable to the lord, was familiarly called Boon-work. Hence an old adage, still retained in the north of England, when a man is supposed to be working for nothing, "that he has been served like a boon-shearer." Yet it is not improbable that some small return was generally made for such labour. A friend of mine has informed me that, in a MS. relating to the disbursements

Footnote:

56 See Mr. Douce's description of sculptures on the outside of St. John's Church, Cirencester, in Carter's Ancient Sculptures, vol. ii. p. 10.

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of an old family in Lancashire, mention is made of gloves that were given to certain boon-shearers. Another service of Sir John Assheton's tenants was, that "they should pay a principal at their death, to wit, the best beast they have." This is evidently a heriot. It is almost unnecessary, on the present occasion to remark, that the word heriot has been variously derived from the Latin herns, intimating that it was a tribute belonging to the lord; while Sir Henry Spelman finds a Saxon original for the word, signifying a horse, because that animal constituted the first heriot. In the earliest period of feudality, a superior possessed an uncontrolled dominion over the entire property of his vassal; yet, when slain in battle in the company of his lord, a remission was made, in consideration of his faithful services, of any further claim upon his property than what might remain on the field. This usually consisted of a horse, which was accepted as a release, or a heriot. The principal of heriotism, thus introduced, was subsequently extended to that class of dependents who were retained in their lord's employ to perform the baser services of the manor. As their property, therefore, consisted of cattle, or of implements of husbandry, the heriot due to the lord was the best beast, cow or horse, of which the tenant might die possessed. This condition being fulfilled, every further claim upon the goods of the deceased was remitted. It is easily, then, to be conceived, that, in proportion as feudality acquired a civil establishment, this oppressive relic of ancient military subjection would be found particularly galling. In the manor of Assheton there are many traditional stories still remaining on the subject of such heriots or principals. A tenant's boy, on the death of his father, was driving an only cow to the manor-house of certain adjoining demesnes, named Duckinfield. He was met by the lord of the place, with whose person and rank he was unacquainted, who questioned him whither he was taking his beast? "I am driving it as far as Duckinfield, for the heriot," replied the boy. "My father is dead, - we are many children, - and have no cow but this. Don't you think the devil will take Sir Robert for a heriot when he dies?" The lad was fortunately addressing a humane landlord." Return home," said the knight. "Take the cow back to thy mother; I know Sir Robert, - I am going to Duckinfield myself, and will make up the matter with him."

But, besides the obligation of a heriot due to Sir John of Assheton,

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there were other claims upon the property of a deceased tenant. He was commanded "to pay a principal at his death, - to wit the best beast he had;" but as it is added in the rent-roll, "which other deed next after holy kirk." This latter clause alludes to a description of ecclesiastical heriots, known by the name of Mortuaries, or Corse Presents, from the circumstance that they were brought to church along with the corpse. The custom arose from posthumous bequests being rendered in lieu of neglected tithes; these by frequent usage, being converted into regular church-dues. When, therefore, the acknowledgment of a heriot was accepted by a feudal lord, in satisfaction of the right which he claimed to the property of a deceased tenant, by virtue of the dominion assumed over his person, the clergy also were willing to accept of a similar composition, in requital of the demands
which they had upon his soul for undischarged oblations. Hence, a mortuary was termed, in the laws of Canute, *Soul Scot*, or *Symbolum Animæ*. The mortuary, in the order of its exaction, took the precedence of the heriot; and a requital of the demands which the kirk was supposed to possess over the soul of a deceased vassal, was paramount to the lord's claim over his person.

Another service of Sir John of Assheton's tenants, was their obligation to grind at the lord's mill. This was in a popular sense called *Socone, sucken or soken*. In the manor of Assheton, a tenant of the name of John of the Edge, seems to have been the *Milner*, who was engaged to pay for his two mills the annual rent of 16s. 4d.; the mills "to be held up (or repaired) at the costes of the lord." The 16th vessel, to which the tenants were to muller their corn, was the miller's remuneration, and often called his toll. It would also appear, that the corn, which was consumed on the manor, was allowed to be dried by the lord's fuel; and that grain purchased in a dry state from other manors, where the lord's fuel would be consequently saved, was liable to a toll of only the 24th part, which was hence named *Love-sucken*, meaning a privileged obligation. The ordinances of the lord's court relating to the mill were as follows: — There was a law to prevent an evasion of the toll; for, if any one sold the corn growing upon his own tenement, and secretly bought corn from other tenants of the lord, - if he offered the same to the miller as corn that had been produced on another manor, and that not having been dried

by the lord's fuel, was only liable to the toll of the Love-socone; - such an offender, if convicted in the lord's court, was liable to a penalty of twenty-pence. The regulations of a more general nature directed, that all the free tenants, who "owed soken" to the mill, should muller as their charters expressed; but the tenants-at-will should be restricted to the 16th vessel. If any tenant also owing socome [soke] went to any other mill but the lord's he was to be highly amerced, and was to pay a fine. The miller was to have his service (or toll) at all times; and, if there was any default in him that could be proved, he was to be severely punished. The last regulation of the mill strikingly elucidates the feudal manners of the 15th century, since it enforces the concession that is expected on all occasions to the convenience of a superior. The tenants are formally warned, that "when the lord's corn comes to the miln, he shall put all men out of their grist, and take their corn out of the hopper, if there be any therein; his corn shall be ground next before all men when it comes to the miln, without muller or paying service to the milner, but as his lyst if he likes, and curtesy to give to the said milner." Attached to these ordinances, was a covenant between Sir John of Assheton and his tenants, relative to the keeping of swine. These animals were allowed to range in the demesnes of the town, from the latter end of August until sowing time, provided that they were properly ringed and did no harm; in default whereof, the owner was to loose him to the lord 4d., or by this sum redeem him from poundage.

The brewer who brewed to sell, and the miller, were allowed to keep three swine; the tenants who had land in the fields, two swine; and he who held no land might have one swine.

Having given a view of the rent and services required from Sir John of Assheton's tenants-at-will, the relations in which his free tenants stood to him may be in the second place explained. In the tenures now to be described, we are presented with an illustration of what is termed by the lawyers *liberum socagium*, or free socage, where the obligations are not only certain but honourable. A numerous list of free tenants swell the manor roll of Sir John of Assheton, who, for the most part deriving their names from the paternal lands that they occupied, are declared *absque omnibus servituis et exceniiis, (Anglice, presents) liberi*. In this list no appellations can be detected that denote any menial occupations
of life; while, among the tenants-at-will, we find mention made of such individuals as William the Walker, (or renter of a fulling mill), John the Slater, Robbin the Cropper, Robert le Wright, or William the Arrow-smith. It also appears, that the Lord of the Manor took every occasion to announce the wide line of distinction that subsisted between the rank of the free tenants and that of the lowly tenants-at-will. An ordinance is to be found in his book of customs, settling the degree of precedence that was to be observed among their wives, daughters, and women servants, while upon a Sabbath they arranged themselves on the forms of the Parish Kirk; a regulation of this kind being well calculated to preserve the peace of the Church from being disturbed with the disputes of these females, in their demand for places suitable to the several spheres of life in which they moved. The lands originally granted to Sir John of Assheton's tenants, were either with a view to personal service in the field of battle, the obligation being rather understood than expressed, - or they were grants of mere accommodation to the owners of contiguous manors; a slight acknowledgment in money being all that was demanded in return. The highest annual rent paid by a free tenant, (John of the Highrode), was 7s. 1d.; the lowest rendered by Thomas de Staneley, was a penny, if we except a yearly tribute for a tenure paid by Richard de Bardsley, which consisted of a rose. This estate had been granted to Sir John of Assheton's brother, of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. The profits of it, therefore, were handed over by Richard de Bardsley, for the support

Footnote:
57 That a distinct profession of an arrow smith should exist in a small town like Assheton, can create no surprise if we refer to what Drayton has affirmed of the Lancashire Bowmen.

"Besides her natives have been anciently esteemed,
    For Bowmen near our best, and ever have been deemed
    So loyal that the guard of our preceding kings
    Of them did most consist."

Also in the ancient poem of Flodden Field, Lord Stanley is made to address the followers whom he led from the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, after the following manner: -

"My Lancashire most lively wights,
    And chosen men from Cheshire strong;
    With sounding bow your feathered flights,
    Let fiercely fly your foes among."

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of the knights hospitallers in the Holy Land, where the grand master of the order resided; a rose being at the same time all that was exacted by Sir John, as a yearly acknowledgment that the grant had emanated from the Lordship of Assheton. This donation appears to have been presented by a female, who, from the circumstance, acquired the name of Elyn the Rose.

In the third place we may notice the other sources of the lord's income, as derived from tolls, fines, &c. The turbary of an adjoining Moss brought him in, by estimation, 5L. 16s. annually; the toll of the fairs yielded two marks; the courts and fines 40s.; and, as Sir John appears to have neglected no means to augment his income, he drew from the gyst-ale, or gysing feast (an annual festival of the town of Assheton), a sum of 20s. which was collected from the conductors of it, who were, Margret the widow of Hobbe the King, Hobbe Adamson, Roger the Baxter, Robert Somayster, Jenkin of the Wood, and Thomas of Curtnall. For an account of the gyst-ale, I have in vain searched among the large mass of popular antiquities collected by Brand and Ellis. A veteran, however, of this almost obsolete feast, who had known it in better days, has furnished me with some curious particulars regarding its mode of celebration. These guisings (or more properly disguisings), termed also marlings, were celebrated in the spring, after the fields had been manured with marle, an operation preparatory to the sowing of wheat. They were the principal feasts or ales in Lancashire; and the disorders which never failed to ensue from them are transmitted at the present day in the modern provincial acceptation of the word Marlock, which, in this county, denotes a great disturbance or riot
of any kind. For the celebration of the gyst-ale of a township, a contribution was raised from all ranks of society. The lord of the manor, the esquire, or the farmer, whose bounty might be supplicated, came forward and announced the sum that he intended to give. The treasurer of the feast exclaimed "a largesse!" The populace, with one voice, demanded "from whom?" The sum was not then actually published; but it was vauntingly proclaimed that the donor, who had always on these occasions the title of lord prefixed to his name, had contributed a part of several thousand pounds. After the collection had been made, an immense garland was formed of every flower the season afforded, being also decked with a profusion of ribbons; but the

number and variety of the silver, or silver plated vessels, which were suspended from every part of it, constituted its chief attraction. The villagers, who were overwhelmed with rustic finery, then formed themselves into a procession, in which they were attended by an Arbiter Elegantiarum, named the King. The Fool was an indispensable character; a grotesque cap, a tail hanging to the ground, the usual appendage of a bell behind, and a formidable mask, constituted the peculiarities of his apparel. He was in more ancient times mounted on a hobby; and his office, which was a lucrative one from the money he collected, was named Hobriding. Thus, in the manor roll of Assheton, Jack the mercer paid to his lord for such a privilege the annual sum of 6s. 8d. In a later period these guisings, from the circumstance of taking place in several populous villages at one time, have provoked such a desire for pre-eminence, that the inhabitants have spared no expense in prolonging them, or in giving to them the greatest éclat; they have undergone in the same spring frequent repetitions; and, while the contributions have been repeated, the poor have been exposed during the remainder of the year to considerable penury. The sum thus collected amidst the rivalship of contending townships has been immense; a single village having been known to expend in one season from two to three thousand pounds. It was probably owing to the ruinous expense which attended these festivals, that they were suffered to become extinct.

Sir John's unappreciable income consisted of presents which he received at Yule; of heriots; of the personal services of ploughing, reaping, and carting turf. But the amount of his certain income as drawn from free tenants and tenants-at-will, from the obligations to grind at the lord's mill, from tolls and fairs, from the liberty of cutting turf at the moss, and from an annual festival celebrated in the town of Assheton named the Gyst-Ale, amounted to the sum of 36L. 14s. 6¾d. sterling, out of which he made a settlement to his son and heir, of lands and tenements, to the annual value of 9L. 2s. 7d. upon the occasion of his marriage with a daughter of Sir John the Byron. He also gave some houses and lands to a few favourite servants for the term of their lives, as, John the Cook, John of the Wood (the owner of a basket-field), and to others; while to two of his sons he gave places and gardens in the town. Another grant to the last mentioned individuals, Rauf of Assheton and Robyn of Assheton, merits much attention. It is stated that they "have the Sour Carr Guld rode and stane rynges for the term of their lives, Rauf of the gift of John of Assheton, knight, the elder, and Robyn of the gift of John of Assheton, knight, the younger," This donation evidently alludes to the privilege of Guld-riding, a custom that, in Scotland at least, is of great antiquity, having been intended to prevent lands from being over-run with the weeds, which, from their yellow colour, were named gools, or guld's.

A large portion of low wet land in the vicinity of Assheton was, in John of Assheton's days, named the Sour Carr (Carr being synonymous with the Scottish word Carse, and the well known term sour implying an impoverished state of the carr.) It had been overrun with corn marigolds, named, as in
Scotland, Carr-gulds. These were considered so destructive to the growth of the corn, that the lord of the manor was compelled to enforce some rigorous measures for their extirpation. A manorial regulation, therefore, existed, called Carr-guld riding. Ralph of Assheton, Sir John's son in consequence of a second marriage, and Robin his brother, were, on a certain day in the spring invested with the power of riding over the lands of the Carr, named the Carr-guld Road; of levying fiues for all carr-gulds that were found among the corn; and, until the penalties were paid, of punishing transgressors by putting them into the stocks, or stone rings, or by incarceration. It appears that Ralph of Assheton became, by his alliance with a rich heiress, the lord of the neighbouring manor of Middleton, and soon afterwards received the honour of knighthood; being, at the same time, entrusted with the office of vice-constable of the kingdom, and, it is added, of lieutenant of the tower. Invested with such authorities he committed violent excesses in this part of the kingdom. In retaining also for life the privilege granted him in Assheton of Guld riding, he, on a certain day in the spring, made his appearance in this manor clad in black armour (whence his name of the Black Boy), mounted on a charger and attended with a numerous train of his own followers, in order to levy the penalty arising from the neglect of clearing the land from Carr-gulds. The interference of so powerful a knight

Footnote: 59Corn Marigolds, Chrysanthemum Segetum. Linn.

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belonging to another lordship could not but be regarded by the tenants of Assheton as the tyrannical intrusion of a stranger; and as Sir Ralph, sanctioned by the political power given to him by Henry VI., exercised his privilege with the utmost severity, the name of the Black Boy is at the present day regarded with no other sentiments than those of horror. Tradition has, indeed, still perpetuated the prayer that was fervently ejaculated for a deliverance from his tyranny:

Sweet Jesu, for thy mercy's sake,
And for thy bitter passion,
Save us from the axe of the tower,
And from Sir Ralph of Assheton.

Upon the death of the Guld Rider of Assheton, Sir John's heir and successor abolished the usage forever; and reserved from the estate a small sum of money for the purpose of perpetuating, in an annual ceremony, the dreaded annual visits of the Black Boy. This is kept up at the present day. An effigy is made of a man in armour; and since Sir Ralph was the son of a second marriage (which, for this reason, had been esteemed by the heir of Sir John as an unfortunate match), the image is deridingly emblazoned with some emblem of the occupation of the first couple that are linked together in the course of the year. The Black Boy is then fixed on horseback, and, after being led in procession round the town, is dismounted, made to supply the place of a shooting-butt, and, all firearms being in requisition for the occasion, he is put to an ignominious death.

Our fourth and last object of attention relates to the jurisdiction of the manor now under consideration. In the earliest history of Norman tenures the Lord of Assheton had the absolute power of life and death; strong dungeons were constructed near the manor house, the remains of which still appear; and a meadow adjoining the town, that still bears the name of Gallows field, was selected for a summary place of execution. But as civil liberty gained ground in the country, the conditions of jurisdiction, under which all the tenants became bound to a superior, were considerably ameliorated in the institution of the lord's court, or, as it was originally named, the Court Baron; so that, in time, a seat of justice of this kind was accounted so inseparable an ingredient in a

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manor, as to render it liable to be forfeited if it did not contain tenants sufficient to make up a jury or
homage. The free tenants and tenants-at-will granted, therefore, to Sir John of Assheton, to be justified in the great Hall Mote of Assheton, according to the customs, ordinances, and burgales of the town. They engaged not to swear upon an inquest between the tenants-at-will, at the suit of party, but between six of the free tenants and six of the tenants-at-will, or between the lord and the same number of tenants. Any one convicted of unprovoked trespass done to others was to suffer a distraint of goods; or, in failure of possessing goods within the lordship, was to be taken by the lord or his bailey, "with the strength of the free tenants and tenants-at-will," and to be set in the stocks, until he had made a reasonable amendment to the aggrieved party, and to the lord at his will. If any strange man of any other town came to do harm to any tenants of Assheton, then, anon, all the residents, upon being duly warned, were to rise, take and arrest the trespasser unto their power; and if any of the tenants and residents refused so to do, or if any of them resettled or maintained any strange man, knowing that he had done trespass, he was, upon conviction, to give the lord 40s. within fifteen days following, or the bailey might raise the amount by a distraint upon his goods. If, also, there was any fighter among the tenants and residents, who should "fight with another in his beginning," he was, on being found guilty, to give the lord half a mark; for the second offence to pay a mark; and for the third, twenty shillings: any resettler, also, was upon conviction bound to amend it to the party grieved, and to give the lord the pains set upon him. These edicts were well calculated for a quarrelsome state of society, and may be applicable to the natives of Assheton at the present day; since the fighters of Sir John's time, as well as the resettlers, appear to have transmitted a large portion of their respective virtues to their posterity. - Such were the laws of the court baron; and the consequence of any person refusing to be justified by them was, that the lord would remove him out of his service, so that he should loose his love, i.e. redeem it by proper concession or punishment.

Some idea may be now formed of the ancient conditions of freeholders and tenants-at-will. Tracing the latter through all the degrading obligations of vassalage, - through presents, boon-work, heriots, or mortuaries, - little are we inclined to wish for a revival of what are improperly named "the good old times." In an iron age, like that of Henry VI. the profession of arms was the most enviable of all distinctions; it gave to an individual that rank in society and those privileges which could be obtained on no other condition; while husbandry languished under the opprobrium of villainage. To these grievances may be added, the wanton tyranny of the feudal tyrant himself, which too often outstretched the salutary laws that were made to restrain his unprovoked aggressions. It is truly remarked by the ingenious author of Ivanhoe, in his letter to Dr. Dryasdust of York, that, when the worthy person whom he addresses "is placed in his own snug parlour, and surrounded by all the comforts of an Englishman's fireside, he is not half so much inclined to believe that his own ancestors led a very different life from himself, - that the shattered tower, which now forms a vista from his window, held a baron who would have hung him up at his own door without any form of trial, - that the hinds, by whom his little pet farm is managed, would, a few centuries ago, have been his slaves, - and that the complete influence of feudal tyranny once extended over the neighbouring village, where the attorney is now a man of more importance than the lord of the manor."

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AFTER-WORDS, BY THE EDITOR.

A few words may be added to what Dr. Hibbert-Ware has said of the names in this Rental, and these may be classed as (I) Personal, and (II) Local names. Personal names consist of (i) Christian or Baptismal names, and (2) of Surnames; often of a mixture of both. The surnames are often (3) local from the place held, or else (4) taken from the trade, occupation, or office of the holder. The names under (1) are a large class, of which it is only necessary
to notice the surnames made out of Christian names, usually by adding the word "son." Thus, Adam Wilson Doggeson, is Adam the son of Will the son of Dodge (a corruption of Dodd's, from Dodd or Dodds, an Anglo-Saxon name, perhaps the same as Dot). Dicon Hoggerson = Richard the hog-herd's son, Diquon being an early Norman nurse-name of Richard. Hanson, Jenkinson, and Jak, Jakson, are Flemish in origin, Hans = John; so is Jenkyn = Jan-kin, or little John. Jak, Jack, Jackson, may be either from John or James in its form of Jac-obus. Hobbe is a form of Robert; Hodge of Roger; whence Hobson, Hodgson. Hobbe Adamson is Robert the son of Adam. Thomlyn and Tomkyn are alike nurse-names of Thomas. Thomas Sanderson is Thomas the son of Sander or Alexander. Robin is a diminutive of Robert. Thus Wilkyn Robynson = Little Will the son of Robert. Atkynson is Atty's or Arthur's son. Rawlins, Rawlinson are from Ralph, Rauf. Piers (French Pierre) is a form of Peter.

Local names (3) are also a large class, and originally all names of places described features of the place itself. It may suffice to name a few, - those ending in leghe, or ley, denoting open places, usually meadow, pasture, or grass land, e.g. the White Legh, Buckley, Bardesley, the Leghes, and the Nether (lower) Leghes; Worsley (originally the Worked-ley), Shepley = the sheep-ley, Staneley and Stanley, the stony-ley; Lusley, perhaps the lussom, beautiful or pleasant ley. Colwel = Coldwell; Carr, a marshy place, - the Old Thane's Carr is a relic of Saxon times, while the Dede Carr may mean the dead swamp. Names del Wood, del Wood-field, del Leghes, del Cross, always denote the definite article "of the;" while de signifies "of" only, as de Hollinworth, del Knolles. Great varieties of spelling of the same names occur, and this may often be discovered by comparing the names of the free tenants in one part of the Rental with what should be the same names in another part, as that where the rents are classed as payable at different terms, as Lady Day (March 25), Pentecost or Whitsuntide, St. John Baptist (June 24), Michaelmas (Sept. 29),

Martinmas (Nov. 11), and the Nativity of the Lord or Christmas; or in the list of wives, &c., to be seated in Ashton church, where the husbands' names vary from those in the Rental. Thus Robyn Somayster is changed into Robert Somdyst. The form of "Rhodi" in the list of seats should often be read "Richardi." The Christian names of the women are few; Margaret, in its varied forms, and Syssot being the most frequent. Malkyn also occurs, i.e. little Mall or Mary. Joan is, of course, Jane. (4) The surnames derived from trade, occupation or office, are also numerous. Robert the Walker holds the Walke Milne or fulling-mill; Roger le Baxter, the bakehouse; Roger the Smith; Thomas and John, the Cook; Jenkyn and William, the Cocker; Jak the Spencer (i.e. steward or clerk of the kitchen) is the Bailey or bailiff of the lord, who had to account for the profits of the booths, the shops, and the mealhouse, as well as for the tolls, the fair and markets of the manor; Jack the Mercer; Jak the Hind or farm bailiff; John the Slater; Roger le Cropper, Robin the Cropper; Robert le Wright; Richard the Hunt or Hunter; William the Arrowsmith; Hobbe the King (of misrule), &c., indicate the occupations of one class of tenants. Among the local names, many are still extant in and around Ashton-under-Lyne, as Hadfield, Aldwinshagh (Audenshaw), Hurst, Shepley, Lusley, which appears by an assessment of 1617 to have comprised (with lanes) 421 Lancashire acres. Many of the tenants paid a few pence yearly in respect of Lusley, and probably it was a grazing common. Erley may mean the ered or ploughed ley. Hobryding, Robert's ridding, clearing or assart. There were two corn mills, both held by John of the Edge. The Claydons then held Taunton; the Byrons held the Whitworth lands in Droylsden; and many of the tenants had intakes or parcels of intakes in Palden Wood, the Alt Hey, &c. The Sour Acre and the Sour Carr-guld Rode, with the Stone Rings, are sufficiently explained by Dr. Hibbert-Ware. The Bestal was perhaps a stall or shed for cattle. Blackenows are the Black Knolls or little hills; Alt Hey;

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Mossley; the Ras- or Ros-botham, the rasp or sudden bottom; Aspenhalgh, the hough or hill of the Aspens or poplars. Cowleshagh is perhaps Cole's little wood - Cole is a baptismal name, occurring in Domesday. Hollinworth, the farm or homestead in the hollies. Chadwick, the village or hamlet of Cead or Chudde. The Sherewinde is literally cut-wind. Rugheghs = the rough eas or eyes, water meadows. Redy Legh, the reedy meadow. Altogether this Custom Roll and Rental presents a curious catalogue of Lancashire personal and local names in the early part of the fifteenth century.

* Return to Research/Databases/Manorial Rolls on the 'Manchester Ancestors' website HERE