The Olde Boar's Head wall paintings and graffiti

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The age of the historic Olde Boar's Head in Middleton had long been a subject of speculation when, in 2016, some early timbers were dated to 1622. However, one mystery remains: the origin and meaning of the rare set of wall paintings and graffiti in the OBH upper rooms.

Uncovered in the mid 1980's, the decoration and graffiti date from the 1620's to the 1650's, a time of great political unrest in England. The standoff between Charles I and Parliament over religion and taxation resulted in 1629 with the king ruling alone for eleven years. A recall of Parliament was followed by the Civil Wars of the 1640's, Charles' execution and a Parliament-led republic until 1660.

Middleton's General Ralph Assheton was both a prominent war commander and dedicated Puritan, active both in the Lancashire wars and in establishing a radical replacement for the Church of England. It is feasible that the graffiti and elements of the wall paintings could be linked to Assheton's role in those turbulent times.

This paper sets out to explore what was happening in Middleton in the first half of the 17th century and to consider the possible political motivation behind the paintings and graffiti.

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Middleton and the English Civil Wars

Middleton near Rochdale in east Lancashire was a place of some significance in the two decades of Charles I's reign (1625-1649). It was home to the king's almost exact contemporary, Ralph Assheton, hereditary lord of the manor, MP, republican and soldier. He was to become one of the most significant military, political and religious players in the north west and nationally. [i]

When King Charles I had to reinstate what became known as the 'Long Parliament' in 1640, Assheton went to Westminster as an MP for Lancashire. Educated at the 'Puritan hotbed' of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, Oliver Cromwell's alma mater, he stayed plain Mr Assheton, refusing a baronetcy in 1632. When war started in 1642, he became Colonel of the Lancashire levies and two years later was raised to the rank of Major-General over the Lancashire 'Roundhead' forces, his opponent another Lancastrian, the Royalist Lord Byron. Assheton was forced to give up his parliamentary seat in 1648 when, in conscience, he opposed the trial of Charles and he died in February 1650 in unknown circumstances, aged about 50. The inscription on his brass memorial in St Leonard's Middleton reads in translation:

> *Sacred to the memory of Ralph Assheton, Esq., lord of Middleton, devoted to God, his fatherland, and his kindred. Of all the forces of Lancashire (levied by authority of the supreme Parliament) the valiant and faithful commander...*

'Devoted to God (and) fatherland': Assheton was both a prominent war commander and a fiercely dedicated Puritan, a soldier for God. When the Republican government abolished bishops in 1646, Assheton became one of six 'lay elders' for the new Presbyterian province of Lancashire, recognition that he was committed to the destruction of the monarchic Church of England. Like many anti-high church east Lancastrians, he held

> *a genuine belief that the Crown had been persuaded by evil counsellors to invade the liberty and take away the property of the subject, at best to serve the venal self-interest of the evil counsellors, at worst as part of a grand design to set up popery and tyranny.* [ii]

Under Ralph Assheton, Middleton men were both members of trained militia and volunteer 'clubmen' – literally club-bearing (or untrained) men. [iii] Contemporary documents record how clubmen played a key role in the Sieges of Manchester in 1642 and Bolton in 1644, singling out the men of Middleton for their fortitude in battle. The Civil War Tracts (pamphlets collected in the 1650's and 1660's) state regarding the Siege of Manchester:

> *There were in town about an hundred and fifty of the tenants of Master Ashton, of Middleton, in compleat arms who...upon the beating of the drumme, repair to the end of the town, resolving to maintain the liberty of their persons and the propriety of their goods to the utmost hazard of their lives* [iv]

Assheton's presence in Middleton would have powerfully influenced the worldview and actions of locals, especially members of his immediate social circle, significant families of gentlemen and yeomen. Middleton men would have drawn pride from their leader's significant position as colonel and then major-general and it is likely that they risked more and fought harder as a result.

Ralph Assheton and an unusual poem

There is an unusual piece of evidence that tells us more about the times Middleton was living through in the 1630's. A scholar-cleric called Dr. Richard James (1592-1638) made a short tour of the North West in 1635 and wrote a poem based on his travels called *'Iter Lancastrense'* (Journey in Lancashire) in 1636. James was strongly Protestant, a dissident and anti-monarchist and was acquainted with Ralph Assheton and his circle. The poem is a fascinating witness to a changing political status quo. [v]

As a rebel, Richard James had form. In 1629, the year Charles I dissolved Parliament and began his controversial lone rule, James got into serious trouble with the government. He was working as a librarian for Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquarian and creator of one of the greatest collections of ancient, mediaeval and modern manuscripts of his time. Cotton's library in Westminster next door to the Houses of Parliament became something of a meeting place for opponents of the king. James, who was rumoured to be Cotton's illegitimate son, daringly copied and distributed one of the library's more contentious manuscripts on the subject of royal tyranny. [vi] There was swift retribution. Cotton, James and three others were summoned to the Star Chamber, accused of supporting treason. The library was locked up and Cotton forbidden access to it. [vii] The elderly man seems to have declined rapidly at this loss of a lifetime's work and died soon after.

It is unclear how long Richard James stayed with Assheton but he had time to inspect the 'Flodden window' in St Leonard's church as it forms the centrepiece in the opening section of *'Iter Lancastrense'*. The poem is three hundred and ninety lines in total and the first ninety have a strong military tone, looking back to the days when Lancashire gentry families and their men showed courage and devotion and when fame won in battle was valued. The Middleton section, lines 55 -90, links great military exploits of old with the local men who fought and defeated *'King Jamye'* of Scotland at Flodden in 1513. He calls this *'summe glorye of our owne'* and compares the Middleton archers (depicted in short garments – *'courtmantells'* - fashionable in the early 16th century) to *'Greekes in Trojan warre'*. He further compares Flodden to Agincourt and Crecy, and deems these victories equal to Rome's and Alexander's triumphs. Significantly, he stresses continuity and tradition as the archers named on the window were ancestors of modern Middletonians:

> *…each hath his name, and people tell*
> *That on ye same lands now their children dwell*

Around this time, the mid 1630's, conflict with Scotland was on the horizon and Charles was creating militias in preparation, many of whom ironically used their training to fight against the Crown later. Written in 1636, the overpowering sense of the Middleton section of the poem is a comparison of 'then and now', of how local men chose to follow *'our brave Ashton to the warre'* against the Scots in 1513, and that those men were better warriors for not being pressured into joining up as were the new militias.

Fig. 1: The 'Flodden' window, St Leonard's Church, Middleton (©Barley Studio)

Emphasising the Assheton family's status, he clearly believes that the local lord has a greater right than the state (the current king) to muster men to fight. He focuses on the benefits of well-picked local men, loyal to their lord, over forced military service:

> *And lett the state learne from my Auncestrye*
> *What course is fittest deeds of warre to trye,*
> *Not men of meanest ranke…*
> *Whoe in despair of life more willing goe*
> *Unto ye gibbet than to ye foe.*

He further suggests a new memorial should be made in addition to the window and calls on *'gentle Ashton'* (Ralph Assheton) to

> *...in statue or in table make*
> *A commelie niew remembrance for their sake.*

Assheton had other things on his mind, much more practical and important ones. It's possible, though, that in an amateur way some local people, maybe Assheton's clubmen, decided to take Dr. James's advice and celebrate themselves and their times.

The Olde Boar's Head: a civil war meeting place?

The Olde Boar's Head is a remarkable survival for a northern industrial town, a 17th century working public house on a busy street in the heart of the old town. The splendid timber-framed building may have been an inn from its first days, and was certainly a house of greater size than many in Middleton. Recent research carried out by Middleton Archaeological Society has now uncovered details of when and how it was first built, furnished, decorated and – surprisingly - defaced.

In 2016, dendrochronologist Robert Howard of the Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory (NTRDL) dated the earliest part of the public house, the two storey north west bay, to 1622. He further identified bays 4 and 5, now the lounge and Turpin Room, as added later, sometime after 1654. [viii] The National Archives at Preston revealed more information on the first tenants when a series of three seventeenth century wills made by men of the Walkeden family, the earliest landlords, were discovered and transcribed in 2016 by Middleton Archaeological Society. [ix] The sequence of wills taken together demonstrates that this building had a public function form its earliest days.

An Isaac Walkeden (1588-1623) died aged 35 just a year after the earlier part of the building went up. He did not call himself innkeeper in his 1623 will, but rather a 'yeoman', or middle ranking farmer. The will's portable property inventory lists a large number of beds and other furniture. It seems likely from this and other evidence that Walkeden was living in the spacious new house now known as the Olde Boar's Head with its large number of rooms and beds. His even shorter-lived son, Benjamin (1613-1642), was named as an innkeeper in his will. He may not have owned the building either as he only willed its contents, which were very similar to his father's. In his 1669 will, Benjamin's 32-year-old son, another Isaac Walkeden (1637-1669), also names as an innkeeper, left a messuage or group of properties [x] with an inventory of domestic items including eight beds in a house of about nine or ten rooms. This indicates that the later Isaac did own the building and may have been responsible for the extension in the 1650's; the inventory names a 'new chamber' that fits with the dendrochronology dating of 1654.

Great events have often happened in upper rooms. From the Last Supper via Marlowe's murder to the Gunpowder Plot, groups of (usually) men met and plotted in these useful public spaces. The upper room of Middleton's newly built Olde Boar's Head would have made an ideal meeting venue for public and even clandestine gatherings from the mid 1620's onwards.

The wall paintings and graffiti

The Olde Boar's Head was not just new and spacious in the 1620's; it was also fashionably decorated. A set of remarkable wall paintings were discovered upstairs at the Olde Boar's Head in the 1980's. Contractors were about to create extra public lounge space in the upper rooms, replastering and treating the timbers for dry rot, when they discovered traces of

paint and some writing. A team of Greater Manchester archaeologists was commissioned to investigate them. They recounted the conservation work in a report *'Some 17th Century Wall Paintings at Ye Olde Boar's Head, Middleton'*, published in the Greater Manchester Archaeological Journal of 1986.

17th century domestic wall paintings are unusual and rarely survive to modern times. Report authors J Perry and Margaret Ward, impressed by their rarity, noted that they had *'....found no reports of wall paintings occurring elsewhere in the Pennine region...'* and that

> *... many of the wattle-and-daub panels were in poor condition. ...Those that were to remain in situ were stripped prior to replastering. In this way traces of a pattern of blue arcades, inscribed with names and dates, came to light on two panels on the south wall, near the fireplace.*

Fig. 2: GMAU archaeologists, Perry & Ward, at work in the upper room (1985)

Following a detailed investigation, Perry and Ward established [xi] that there were wall paintings in two upper rooms. In one room, the 'upper lounge', paint covered six panels of wattle-and-daub and the post and beam timbers. The photograph below shows two of the best preserved sections, the painted area above the fireplace beam (panel 6) and a further panel to the upper left (panel 4). Both panels have been protected by Perspex covers and others were taken to Rochdale Museum.

Removal of paint with fine scalpels in trial patches revealed three layers. The archaeologists recorded their findings at each stage with drawings and photographs. The earliest layer must have been done when the building went up in the early 1620's. It was a classical style arcade design sketched out in a thin blue line and then overpainted in blue, most visible on

the upper section of both panels 4 and 6 but probably covering the entire room originally. The conservators noted that a narrow blue band probably ran right round the room at waist height, a sort of early dado that formed an upper 'frieze' and a lower 'skirting'. The painted arcading included a vertical column design, most visible on panel 4 to the left of the fireplace.

Fig 3: Restoration work showing the two painted panels (1985)

Over the fireplace itself was a 500 mm wide pediment design in scarlet with a blue column rising from it, with a fleur de lys emblem, the whole feature having a brownish background. There was a second 'touching up' layer of brown and blue painting and Perry and Ward noted that *'the repainting would have been done after 1642 probably as a way of effacing the graffiti while keeping the original design'*. [xii] In the place of the fleur de lys above the pediment over the fireplace, a 900 mm wide sky-blue winged bird emblem was added. The archaeologists guessed *'that the painting was that of a stylised bird, perhaps based on heraldic symbols, with its head where the earlier column could be seen and its claws resting on the apex of the gable.'*

Fig 4: Detail of the scarlet pediment and blue 'stylised bird' motif, GMAU (1985)

The pencil sketch below made in 1985 by borough architect, W J Smith, best illustrates how the painting may have looked with the arcading and the bird in place.

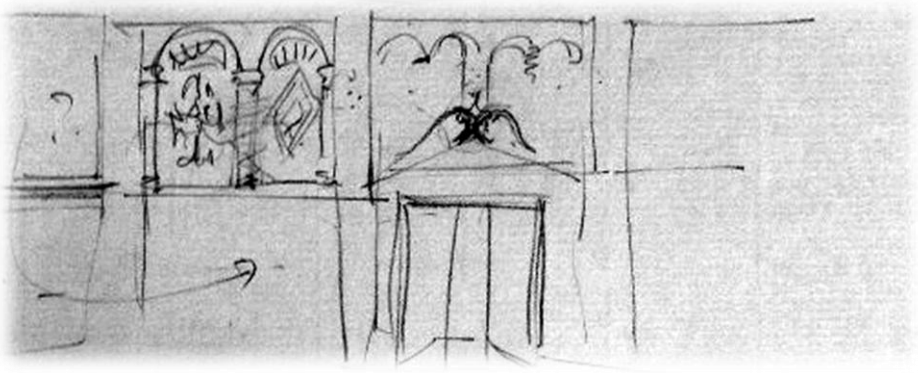

Fig 5: Panels 4 and 6 showing arcading and motifs: pencil sketch, W J Smith (1985)

Perry and Ward considered the emblems of the fleur de lys and the bird to be of some significance, but they did not speculate on what that was. If the emblems are considered in the context of with the graffiti etched nearby between 1638 and 1642, they seem to form a sequence.

There are about twenty names, initials and dates on panel 4 inside the upper part of the painted arches. Most are legible so that names and dates can be discerned. Names recorded most clearly are Ambrose Jackson with the date 1638, Robert Clough also 1638, and John Howarth (or Howorth). With a later date of 1642, there is the less clear name of Robert Boultons. Undated and also less clear are Francis Chetham and John Scoucroft. The rest of the graffiti consists of initials or single Christian names. Blue paint had seeped into the grooves the graffiti had made in the plaster. Perry and Ward deduced that the marks had been made direct into the first layer of paint. As photographs of the graffiti are very

poor (Fig. 6), the handwritten sheet (Fig. 7) from the 1980's may be the best illustration of the marks and their locations, with panel 4 to the left of the sheet.

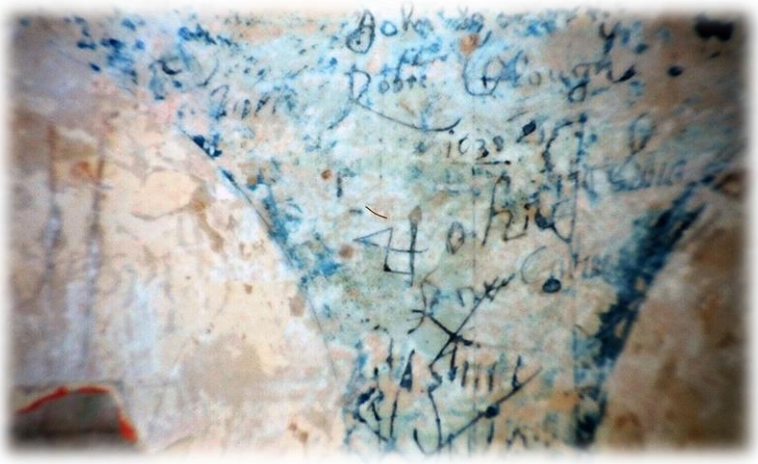

Fig 6: Graffiti names, initials and dates, GMAU (1985)

Perry and Ward speculated on three possible reasons for the graffiti. The first theory was that soldiers billeted at the Olde Boar's Head in the first Civil War year of 1642 or later may have inscribed their names or initials over the wall paintings in commemoration of their stay. The earlier, pre-Civil War 1638 graffito date makes this theory problematic but not impossible. A second theory, one favoured by 1980's Manchester newspaper reports, was that the graffiti were made by 17th century plasterers. It seems unlikely that plasterers would wilfully damage the painted arcading or would have had permission to do so from the owners. This theory becomes even less tenable given the 2016 dendrochronology dating of 1622 for the original building: why would the plastering have been done so many years later? Perry and Ward preferred the third option, that the graffiti were an act of both commemoration and defacement by local men who used the inn as a meeting place.

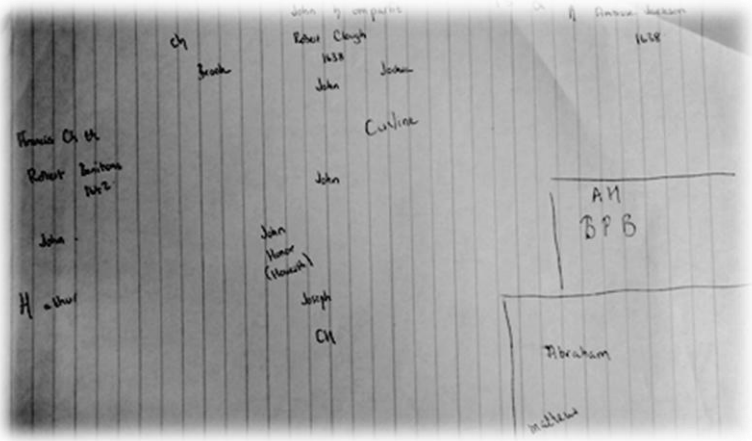

Fig 7: Handwritten page showing relative location of graffiti signatures, GMAU (1985)

Ambrose Jackson and friends – Middleton militia and clubmen?

Some of the complete names appear in the parish records of the time and individual graffitists have traceable histories. The 1638 signature of Ambrose Jackson is one the clearest. Parish records reveal many Ambrose Jacksons from the 1530's onwards when the collection of births, marriages and deaths first began. Perry and Ward carried out documentary searches on early 17th century Ambrose Jacksons and found one that seemed to fit, a man from Alkrington. There is no guarantee that this Ambrose is the signatory as there were also Blackley and Oldham Ambrose Jacksons at this period, the former, a linenwebster, memorialised in St Leonard's.

The case for Ambrose Jackson (1598-1661) of Alkrington however is strengthened by possible family links with some of the other graffitists. This Jackson's grandmother was a Chetham and his son married a Howorth: two of the graffiti names are Francis Chetham and John Howorth . In addition there is a consistency in the Alkrington Jacksons' records: they are all from St Leonard's and it is unlikely that a family at that time would vary its parish church for their family ceremonies. Finally, as someone seeking to elevated his status locally, a yeoman whose son became a gentleman, Jackson was the sort of man who would have felt within his rights to display his name prominently on the meeting room wall, a leader among fellow Middletonians and just possibly the same Jackson as mentioned in two sources.

Fig 8: Ambrose Jackson's name and date, GMAU (1985)

In the Civil War Tracts [xiii] a Captain Hodgson of Halifax, an eye witness at the Battle of Preston, reported:

> *I came down to the muir, where I met with Major Jackson that belonged to Ashton's regiment and above three hundred men were come up, and I ordered him to march...*

In the footnotes to the Tracts, Ormerod, their 1844 editor, notes a *'serjeant-major Jackson of Col. Ashton's regiment'* who may be the same man as in Hodgson's account. [xiv] No further information on *'Major Jackson'* has emerged so it has to be a 'might have been'.

With some careful analysis and focusing on St Leonard's records only, a line of five Ambrose Jacksons and their families can be made out, men living from Henry VIII's time up to the start of the eighteenth century. This long line of Ambrose Jacksons almost always preserved the Christian name by giving it to the eldest son; if he, as often happened, died in infancy, another baby boy would be given the same name. This practice probably happened with other Jackson sons, a number of Johns and James, for example. Evidence for earlier antecedents is even more fragile but if the Ambrose Jackson who married in Middleton on 8 May 1543 is the graffitist's grandfather or maybe great-grandfather, his marriage to Margaret Cheetam (Chetham) would link him with another local landowning family. It would also tie in a century later with one of the other graffitists, Francis Chetham (spellings vary). The Chethams were a family of consequence who intermarried locally with Asshetons, Hopwoods, Tetlows and Birches.

In May 1604, Ambrose Jackson, a yeoman of Alkrington, lay dying in his late 30's. This Ambrose had been christened in 1565 at St Leonard's and may have been the progeny of the 1543 marriage of Ambrose Jackson and Margaret Cheetam, but given the dates is most likely to have been their grandson. *'Ambrose Jackson junior'* was buried on 8 May 1604, *'junior'* because Ambrose Jackson senior, his *'naturall and tender father'*, was still living and was named as an executor of his will. The dead man left behind his *'faythfull and loving wyffe'*, Jane Tetlow, daughter of the wealthy owner of Coldhurst Hall in Oldham, Mr. John Tetlow. [xv] Jane was *'with childe'* and the baby, George, was to survive but lose his mother after a few months in late 1605. There is a parish register entry for *'Ambrose Jackson cu ux'* (or *'cuius uxor'* – Latin for *'his wife'*. She was interred on that infamous date, 5 November 1605, the day of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. She left six small children.

The eldest child of the little orphaned family was yet another Ambrose Jackson and probably the Olde Boar's Head graffitist. Born to *'Ambrose junior'* and Jane Tetlow on 29 March 1598 (1597 using the old calendar), he lived until 1661 when he in turn made his final will and testament, leaving his body to be buried at St Leonard's as his father had done. When the Greater Manchester Archaeology Unit discovered this Ambrose in the mid 1980's, there was a mini-furore about the number of wives he may have had. It seems very likely that there were at least three, and possibly four, but he may not necessarily have been a Lothario. Death rates were high for both genders in the early modern period, but worse for women given the risk of multiple labours. Ambrose seems to have married first when he was about 27 in the 1620's. A *'child'* Jackson was buried at St Leonard's on May 31 1627 and a new Ambrose Jackson Junior, the long-lived *'gent'* from the late seventeenth century records, was born in 1628. Further children were added: John in 1629, dying two years later, and George in early 1631, surviving to his 21st year.

The burial of the first Mrs Ambrose Jackson – *'Ambrose Jackson uxor'* – was recorded on 30 November 1631. No record of the marriage survives to make her less anonymous or provide information on family links. Another Mrs Ambrose Jackson was buried on 22 February 1639 and may have been the mother of John, James and Francis who all died as small children before 1640. Further children were born to an Ambrose Jackson from 1640 - Francis, James, Elizabeth, John and Mary which means he had a third wife and records show that she probably died in 1648. Three of her children, Francis, Elizabeth and John survived her.

If all these surmises are true, then in 1638 when 40 year old Ambrose Jackson scratched his name into the wall at the Olde Boar's Head, he had been widowed once, would be so again within a year and ten years later for a third time; he had already had six children, three of whom would die within the next two years; out of eleven, only four would survive him. In his 1661 will he would remember a fourth wife, *'Marie Hillton'*, daughter of one of the wealthiest men in Middleton, Richard Hilton, [xvi] who he married at the age of 55 in 1653. Another marriage took place soon after: 26-year-old Ambrose junior [xvii] married a Dorothy Howorth, again at St. Leonard's. Another of the graffitists was John Howarth who may have been her brother or father.

A symbolic sequence

It has been shown that the painted symbols over the fireplace changed over time. The fleur de lys was probably a sign of loyalty to the crown. [xviii] The emblem, part of Elizabeth I's coat of arms, was often associated with a Tudor rose and also appeared in Charles's great seal. By the later 1630's such a sign of loyalty would be intolerable in a town where the lord of the manor was a leading opponent of the crown. The Layer 2 overpainting may have happened then, a deliberate removal of a symbol of crown allegiance.

Next a group of local men literally made their marks and defaced Layer 1 paint on Panel 4 and parts of Panel 6, adding their names near the overpainted fleur de lys. The later Layer 3 painting was carried out at an uncertain date but certainly after 1642. It in turn obliterated the graffiti. It is in this layer that the winged bird emblem appears, painted over where the fleur de lys had once been.

The bird looks like a phoenix. There are striking similarities between the illustrations below. In the first, a phoenix jewel worn by Queen Elizabeth has arched, spread wings and a strong neck rising between them.

Fig 9: A phoenix emblem in a jewel worn by Queen Elizabeth I (c.1600)

In the illustration of the much cruder winged emblem, the outline of the upper arch of the wings and the beginnings of the substantial neck can be seen.

Significantly the phoenix was widely used in the post-Restoration period when the monarchy of Charles II metaphorically rose from the ashes of the republic. London later in the decade used the phoenix as a motif for the city's survival of the (literal) flames, after the Great Fire of London in 1666. [xix]

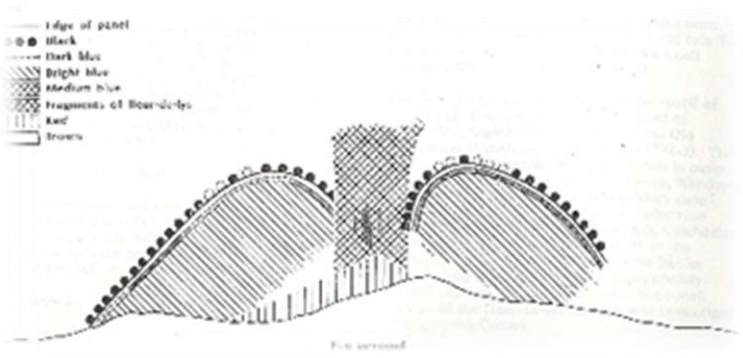

Fig 10: Winged bird motif over the fireplace in a drawing from GMAU report, J Perry and M Ward (1986)

As the 1986 report speculates, this painting may have been undertaken considerably later than the 1640's. A post-1650 dating is therefore possible, and a monarchic phoenix might be a recognition that the old order had been re-established and Middleton was back on the track of conformity.

Summary

The 1986 GMAU report accepted that the Olde Boar's Head paintings and graffiti formed a meaningful sequence but did not elaborate or speculate. Given the weight of evidence, I argue that they will indeed bear a historical interpretation.

In 1635-6, Assheton's dissident friend, Richard James, expressed his faith in him and the men of Middleton, citing historical examples such as the men of Flodden and urging contemporaries to make a new commemoration. Someone painted over the fleur de lys royal emblem and then local men carved their names on the walls in the 1638-42 period. Some of the names can be traced through historic records, revealing family relationships. The graffitists could have been members of General Assheton's company of clubmen and militia at Manchester and other battles. Ambrose Jackson might be the same Jackson who fought with Assheton at the Battle of Preston.

When the enthusiasm of the war faded and Assheton lost his influence and then his life, the wall decorations changed as the times changed. A new royal emblem was painted over the fireplace, a phoenix, appropriately the symbol of the restored monarchy under Charles II. The revolution was over and Middleton had come full circle.

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i 'Ralph inherited his father's estate at the age of 13 in 1618. In 1631 perhaps expressing his anti monarchy thoughts) he refused a knighthood which went with his estates. By 1640 Ralph had become one of the two MPs for Lancashire and in 1642 just prior to the outbreak of Civil War he was made deputy Lieutenant of the County of Lancashire, and when war broke out was made Colonel of the Levies for the South Lancashire area.'. Wikipedia

ii 'What was the English Revolution?' John Morrill, Brian Manning and David Underdown, History Today 34, 1984

iii 'During the Civil Wars Ralph and his Regiment fought in many campaigns for the Parliamentary cause. In 1642 he took 150 "'Clubmen"' to help defend Manchester. He also relieved Cockermouth Castle in 1648 capturing much ordinance, arms and ammunition and went on to take Appleby Castle and finally played a large part in the Battle of Preston in 1648 alongside Col John Bright and Oliver Cromwell's cavalry. He was personally praised by Cromwell who made him Major General of the whole of Lancashire Armies.' Wikipedia.

iv 'Tracts relating to military proceedings in Lancashire during the great civil war, commencing with the removal, by Parliament, of James, Lord Strange, afterwards earl of Derby, from his lieutenancy of Lancashire, and terminating with his execution at Bolton', George Ormerod, 1844.

v 'Iter Lancastrense' was printed by the Chetham Society in 1845 and is available at https://archive.org/details/iterlancastrense00manc

vi The MS owned by Cotton was 'A Project how a Prince may make himself an absolute Tyrant'

vii The Library was eventually donated to the nation by Cotton's grandson and is now housed in the British Library.

viii Although the bresummer beam there was felled between 1556 and 1581, it is likely to have been reclaimed timber.

ix Website refs for original wills and their transcriptions

x 'And as concerninge the disposition of my messuage or dwelling houses with all howses xxi fires buildings Outhouses Gardens Yards Fouldes Crofts banksides and parcells thereto belonginge with Thuppourtencies I do give and bequeth as follows...'

xi 'Some 17th Century Wall Paintings at Ye Olde Boar's Head, Middleton', J. Perry and M. Ward, Greater Manchester Archaeological Journal 2, 1986

xii Ibid. p. 140

xiii 'Tracts relating to military proceedings in Lancashire during the great civil war, commencing with the removal, by Parliament, of James, Lord Strange, afterwards earl of Derby, from his lieutenancy of Lancashire, and terminating with his execution at Bolton', George Ormerod, 1844.p. 26

xiv Ibid. p. 347

xv An Ambrose Jackson 'son-in-law' was mentioned in Tetlow's 1598 will

xvi His son, Richard Hilton the younger had a house of 10 hearths in 1666

[xvii] The graffitist Ambrose's son was probably the Ambrose Jackson baptised at St Leonard's on 17 August 1628 who lived to the age of 80. At a Lancashire Quarter Sessions in July 1671, an *'Ambrose Jackson of Alkrington gent.'* acted as a witness to Robert Lever of Alkrington who swore under the 'Test Act' that he was fit to take public office; a little confusingly in the same set of certificates, Jackson is also called a 'yeoman'.[xvii] In 1681, an Ambrose Jackson was a co-witness with two Asshetons, John and Thomas. [xvii] Two decades later in February 1701, the same Ambrose Jackson of *'Acrington'* (early typo or indication of a more ancient pronunciation for 'Alkrington'), a 73-year-old *'yeoman'*, made a deposition supporting Sir Ralph Assheton's use of family pews at St Leonard's, alongside a number of other local people. [xvii] If this is the same Ambrose Jackson in each case, he was a man of consequence in Alkrington, an associate of the Asshetons and the Levers.

xviii 'Some 17th Century Wall Paintings at Ye Olde Boar's Head, Middleton', J. Perry and M. Ward, Greater Manchester Archaeological Journal 2, 1986, p. 142.

xix A phoenix was carved onto one of the foundation stones of Wren's St Paul's in London.