

EXTRACTS FROM THE HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNT  
BOOK OF HERSTMONCEUX CASTLE,

FROM AUGUST, 1643, TO DECEMBER, 1649.

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FRANCIS LENNARD, LORD DACRE, was born in May, 1619, and succeeded his father, Richard, in August, 1630. In 1641, when about twenty-two years of age, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Paul, Viscount Bayning, and by the settlements made upon the agreement for that marriage it was arranged that she should bring her husband a dowry of £20,000, which in those days was an unusually large fortune.

Francis possessed two large country houses—Chevening, in Kent, and Herstmonceux Castle, and a house in London. He also owned large estates in the counties of Kent, Sussex, Cambridgeshire, Bucks, Worcester, Northampton, Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Lord Dacre, who was related to the Parliamentary General, Sir William Waller, took an active part, on the Parliamentary side, in the disputes between that body and the King; but although he belonged to the party of Cromwell he strongly opposed the ordinance for the King's trial and was one of the twelve Peers who had the courage to attend the House of Lords in January, 1648, in order to reject the Bill sent up from the Lower House with that object.

Lord Dacre was enthusiastic about sailing, and is perhaps the earliest known Englishman to have owned yachts. He died, after a sudden illness, in 1662, and was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas, who married a natural daughter of Charles II. and was created Earl of Sussex.

As we have among our family papers no private letters to, or from, this Lord Dacre, I should not have known

much about his manner of life had I not been fortunate enough to find a large account book of his household expenses at Herstmonceux, very carefully kept by a man named Field, who appears to have been a tenant on the estate, and also steward at a salary of £10 a year. Unfortunately, the first few pages and the title page are missing. What remains, however, gives the weekly expenditure from "the 19th daye of August, 1643," until December, 1649, together with an account of the monies received by Field for rents, &c. At the foot of each page appears the signature "Fra Dacre," to show that he had passed these accounts, which sometimes showed a balance due to Field and sometimes one due to himself.

There are two points worth remarking about this signature: one is that at this period the custom, now universal, for a Peer to sign himself by his title without any Christian name prefixed to it, although coming into fashion, had not then become general; the other is, that by the end of August, 1645, we find Lord Dacre no longer signing himself in this account book "Fra Dacre," but "Fra D'acre." I am unable to account for this whim of his, which was possibly owing to some passing fashion of the day. In recent times we have seen many instances of newly-made Peers choosing a title with "De" prefixed, *e.g.*, De Ramsey, De Freyne, De Mauley, De Vesci, &c. This account book is very elaborately kept; on the upper part of the left page are given the receipts for rents, &c., and on the lower part items of what Field classed as "extraordinary payments." The latter are deducted from the receipts, as is also the sum of the items of household expenditure brought from the opposite page, and then the balance is struck, showing whether at the end of the week money was owing to his Lordship or to his steward.

On the other page there are no less than seven columns, first a cash column, in which to record the cost of household goods purchased; then a column for the names of those goods so purchased; the next five columns are headed respectively, "Primd Remd," "Prouision," "Second Remd," "Expence," "Charge."

A BREEFE OF HOUSHOULD EXPENCES AND FRESH ACCATES FROM THE 19TH DAYE OF AUGUST, 1643, UNTIL THE  
26TH DAYE OF THE SAME MONTH NEXT FOLLOWING.

li. s. d.	Primd. Remd.	Prouision.	Second Remd.	Expence.	li. s. d. Charge.	
	Manchet .....	5 cast ..	90 cast ..	5 cast ..	1 boshell	} 01 12 06
	Rauelbread ....	0 ..	110 cast ..	1 cast ..	4 boshell	
	Flower .....	0 ..	2 boshells 1 peck	0 ..	2 boshells 1 peck	
	Meale .....	8 boshells 5 gall.	8 boshells ..	9 boshells 3 gall.	7 boshells 1 peck	
	Beere .....	77 hogsheads ..	10 hogsheads ..	81 hogsheads ..	6 hogsheads ..	02 02 00
	Beefe .....	44 stone ..	0 ..	20 stone ..	24 stone ..	01 12 00
	Mutton .....	dimd carcas ..	3 carcasses ..	dimd carcas ..	3 carcasses ..	02 10 00
07 02	Veale .....	one quarter ..	one side ..	0 ..	3 quarters ..	00 10 00
00 09	Heads of Veale .	0 ..	one ..	0 ..	one ..	00 00 09
00 03	Feete of Veale..	0 ..	4 ..	0 ..	4 ..	00 00 00
00 08	Neats tongus ..	0 ..	2 ..	0 ..	2 ..	00 00 08
	Inward .....	one ..	0 ..	dimd ..	dimd ..	00 01 00
02 00	Turkies .....	5 ..	2 ..	5 ..	2 ..	00 02 00
	Capons .....	6 ..	0 ..	5 ..	1 ..	00 01 00
	Pullets .....	3 ..	0 ..	3 ..	0 ..	00 00 00
	Chickens .....	13 ..	0 ..	5 ..	8 ..	00 02 06
04 02	Ducks .....	25 ..	10 ..	32 ..	3 ..	00 01 06
	Puets .....	11 ..	0 ..	7 ..	4 ..	00 02 00
03 00	Pidgions .....	0 ..	2 dozon ..	0 ..	2 dozon ..	00 03 00
	Piggs .....	0 ..	9 ..	6 ..	3 ..	00 04 00
	Rabbets .....	3 ..	2 dozon & 9 ..	6 ..	2 dozon & 6 ..	00 14 00
	Teales .....	0 ..	10 presented ..	0 ..	10 ..	00 03 04
	Lings .....	10 ..	0 ..	9 ..	1 ..	00 01 08
03 00	Mullets .....	0 ..	8 ..	0 ..	8 ..	00 03 00

li. s. d.		Primd. Remd.		Prouision.		Second Remd.		Expencc.		li. s. d.
										Charge.
02 00	Bases .....	0	..	8	..	0	..	8	..	00 02 00
02 06	Lobsters .....	0	..	8	..	0	..	8	..	00 01 06
03 06	Praunes .....	0	..	850	..	0	..	850	..	00 03 06
	Carps .....	0	..	4	..	0	..	4	..	00 02 00
13 04	Butter .....	20 li.	..	40 li.	..	0	..	48 li.	..	00 16 00
02 04	Eggs .....	0	..	2s. 4d. worth..	..	4d. worth	..	2s. worth	..	00 02 00
	Oetemeale ....	2 gall.	..	0	..	1 gall.	..	1 gall.	..	00 00 06
	Salt .....	8 boshells	..	0	..	7 boshells $\frac{1}{2}$	..	halfe a boshell	..	00 01 06
	Vinigre .....	one rundlet	..	0	..	one rundlet	..	one gallon	..	00 02 00
	Candles.....	20 dozou	..	0	..	18 dozou	..	2 dozou	..	00 09 04
	Sugar .....	6 li.	..	0	..	4 li.	..	2 li.	..	00 01 08
	Corrans.....	35 li.	..	0	..	34 li.	..	1 li.	..	00 00 05
	Reasings .....	24 li.	..	0	..	23 li.	..	1 li.	..	00 00 04
	Prunes .....	13 li.	..	0	..	13 li.	..	0	..	00 00 00
	Cloues .....	3 oz.	..	0	..	3 oz.	..	0	..	00 00 00
	Maces .....	14 oz.	..	0	..	14 oz.	..	0	..	00 00 00
	Pepper .....	1 li. 4 oz.	..	0	..	1 li.	..	4 oz.	..	00 00 06
	Nutmeggs ....	2 oz.	..	0	..	1 oz.	..	1 oz.	..	00 00 04
	Jenier (Ginger?)	14 oz.	..	0	..	14 oz.	..	0	..	00 00 00
	Rice .....	3 li.	..	0	..	3 li.	..	0	..	00 00 00

Suma totalis of this estimate is<sup>1</sup> .. 12 9 8

Memorandum: killed of my lord's store

3 sheepe, 1 buck, 8 chickens, 1 capon, 3 ducks, 4 puets, 3 piggs, teales 10 presented by Mr. Alcorne.

<sup>1</sup> There is an error here of 10d.

In the first are entered the amounts of the various articles in hand from the previous week; in the second the amount of goods purchased during the week; in the third the amounts in hand at the end of the week; in the fourth the amount consumed; and in the last column the value of the different articles so consumed, whether purchased or in stock. The foregoing is a sample of one of these right-hand pages.

There is on most of these pages a note of the corn given out to the different servants. One of these notes, typical of the rest, is as follows:—

A noate of what corne hath beene deliuered this weeke Oets deliuered to the groome 6 boshells, to the Postilian 4, to the maide 2, to the brewer 2, to the Faulkener for his spanniells 1 boshell, wheate deliuered to Christopher 9 boshells, Peas 1 boshell, Barlie 1 boshell.

A careful perusal of these accounts gives the reader a considerable insight into the life in a large country house during the Stuart period. Many things we are accustomed to, and which even persons of comparatively very small means consider necessaries, were wanting in the seventeenth century, so that no doubt anyone living in a most modest way at the present time would be extremely uncomfortable could he be transported back to the days of Francis Lord Dacre and find himself one of his guests at Herstmonceux. However, the accounts show that they had something in way of comforts, being possessed of both feather beds and warming pans, and the following entry sounds as if they used baths occasionally: A cooper's bill for sundry work, including "putting 4 hoops to the bathing tub;" and they knew how good meat is when cooked so that its juices cannot escape, as we find, "Paid for 2 earthen panns for to bake venison 00<sup>i</sup> 01<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>." The first time I have found soap mentioned is in November, 1647, "Paid for 2 li sope for Mrs. Shoarditches<sup>2</sup> use 00<sup>i</sup> 00<sup>s</sup> 08<sup>d</sup>," but after this date references to its purchase appear not unfrequently, and on one occasion, at least, washing blue was bought also.

<sup>2</sup> This Mrs. Shoarditch appears to have been housekeeper; her husband was also employed in some position of importance at the Castle and their joint wages were £20 a year.

“Paid for 4 li of sope & 4 ounces of powder blew to wash my Lords clothes 03<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>.”

The establishment was largely self-contained, and the cultivated land in hand was ploughed by oxen, as was commonly the custom in Sussex until quite recent years. That this was the case at the time of which we are speaking is shown by such entries as “Paid for 6 oxbowes 01<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>;” other payments on behalf of the farm in hand which may be noted as specimens of the rest are:—

Paid John Cleaue for 4 li of Dutch Clouer grass & his iornaye from Maidstone 15<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup><sup>3</sup>

Paid for 20 liue weare sheepe 20<sup>li</sup> 17<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>

Paid J Rodgers 18 daies work in houlding the plow 00<sup>li</sup> 18<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>

Paid for 20 runts brought at Battle fair 75<sup>li</sup> 13<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>

Paid for towling the said runts & to ye drouers man that did helpe driue 02<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>

Paid for thrashing 164 boshels of oets 00<sup>li</sup> 15<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>

Paid for 20 fat weathers, 11 ewes and 8 lambs 18<sup>li</sup>

Paid for killing 7 doz moules 07<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>

Paid for use of oxen 5½ days in harrowing 22<sup>s</sup>

Paid for keeping crows<sup>4</sup> 8 daies in the How field 04<sup>s</sup>

Paid for white mercuric<sup>5</sup> to scare crows 01<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>

Paid in October 2 women picking wheat 7 dayes for seede wheate 00<sup>li</sup> 06<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>

Paid for foddering out a stack of heye 00<sup>li</sup> 07<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>

June 1646 Paid for washing my lords sheep 06<sup>d</sup>

Paid the mowers for mowin 19 acres of grass in the marshes 30<sup>s</sup>

Paid for 5 daies work in heying 02<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>

Paid for hog rings to ring the hogs 02<sup>d</sup>

That the castle moat had by this time been drained and was used for growing grass is shown by the following entries:—

May 1648.

	s.	d.
Paid for mowing 4 daies in the moate . . . . .	06	00
Paid more for mowing weeds and grass in ye Waled mote ..	01	06
Paid Springate & his daughter for helping to carry the heye in the moate . . . . .	04	06

<sup>3</sup> This is an extremely early mention of clover, which was not introduced into England until 1645.

<sup>4</sup> The expression “keeping crows” is still used in Norfolk for scaring rooks off newly-sown crops.

<sup>5</sup> Mercuric fulminate, which explodes from a slight blow. This entry is of interest, as if fulminate was used for the purpose of causing an explosion in the seventeenth century, it is remarkable that percussion caps for firearms were not adopted until nearly 200 years later.

There are many entries showing that hops were grown on the estate; the women employed in picking them were paid at the rate of 6d. and some at 4d. per day. Hemp was also grown and so was flax from seed bought at Maidstone.

There are several entries which relate to the various operations which the flax had to undergo before it was converted into linen; so we find in the month of July 33 poor people were paid £2. 15s. 2d. for "lucking" it; in August flax dressers were employed; and in September £1. 9s. 10d. was paid for beating and "swingling" 12 doz. and 11 lbs. of flax; while in November a "hitcheller" was paid for "hitchelling" it; and lastly it was made into cloth at home. "Paid for weauing 49 yards of cloth at 4<sup>d</sup> ob<sup>6</sup> a yard 00<sup>li</sup> 18<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>; that which was required to be made into particularly fine linen being sent to Maidstone in order to be spun there: "Paid J Cleau in full paim<sup>t</sup> of 5<sup>li</sup> 8<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> for weauing 76 yards of fine linen cloth yard and halfe broad." "Paid for a hors hire to bring the said cloth from Maidstone to Herstmonceux 00<sup>li</sup> 06<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>." "Paid J Cleau for 2 iornaies from Maidstone with the said cloth 00<sup>li</sup> 05<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>."

The home farm also provided the beef and mutton which was consumed in the Castle, the sheep and calves being no doubt killed and dressed by someone regularly employed there; but the oxen were killed by a local butcher named Head, as a frequent entry is, "Paid Head for killing and cutting out a runt 01s.<sup>7</sup> Head bought tallow in large quantities from the Castle, suet, and what was described as "tryed stuff;" he also sold candles to the Castle, which no doubt he made from the tallow he bought there. It is difficult to see how a butcher in the country, who confined himself to selling meat only, could have made a living in those days, as the labouring classes could not have afforded to buy meat, and judging from these accounts it was no doubt the system for all large houses to kill from their own flocks and herds. Had I not discovered entries in which Head and others are

<sup>6</sup> Obulus =  $\frac{1}{3}$ d.

<sup>7</sup> A common price now would be from 2s. 6d. to 5s.

described as “butchers,” I should not have expected that anyone could have been found following that trade in the seventeenth century in so thoroughly a country district as that in which Herstmonceux was situated.

Bees were kept in the gardens and artificially fed during the winters, as we find a record of a gallon of “honie” being bought one autumn at the cost of 6s. in order “to feed my lady’s bees.”

The receipts chronicled in this account book consisted, as might be expected, chiefly of rents and copyhold payments for heriots, surrenders and “stented” fines, &c., but payments are also recorded for the ordinary incomings of an estate in the country such as timber, cord wood—“118 cords at 08<sup>s</sup> = 47<sup>li</sup> 04<sup>s</sup>”—bark, faggots, “hoggs masted in the park 50<sup>s</sup>,” horses strayed and pounded, garden produce (called commodities) when the family were from home, and also for barley, wheat and hemp. The prices obtained for what little corn was sold are such as to make a farmer’s mouth water in these days of low prices and free imports, even without making any allowance for the difference in the purchasing value of money then and now. Thus their barley made about 3s. 10d. and their wheat from 4s. 6d. to 6s. 10d. a bushel, the lowest price I have found being “5 seames of wheat 9<sup>li</sup> ;”<sup>8</sup> but oats were rather cheaper than at present—“135 boshels of oets 13<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>,” or 2s. a bushel.

Other sales of farm produce recorded are wool at 10d. per lb.; sheep skins sold to a glover at 9d., to 1s. 6d.; skins of beasts 11s. to 15s.<sup>9</sup> No great number of beasts appear to have been sold, for, as we have seen, the system was to grow and fatten them for consumption in the Castle, so that those which were sold probably represented only the surplus stock; these are specimens of the prices realised:—“32 runts £98;” “20 runts £103;” “8 oxen £70;” “2 working oxen £18;” “an ould spotted sow great with piggs 01<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>.” There is

<sup>8</sup> A seam of grain was 8 bushels (*Cent. Dic.*).

<sup>9</sup> A beast’s hide is now worth from 25s. to 40s.



no age or description assigned to the horses sold, which are entered thus:—"2 horses sould 06<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>." "One mare sould 02<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>," and in the absence of any guide to their age or condition, the prices they made do not tell us much. There is one entry of a sale of turnips to "strangers" for 14s., but there is nothing to show how many were supplied for that sum.<sup>10</sup> There was a fairly continuous sale of tallow, suet and "tryed stuffe" week by week. The tallow made 2s. a stone, and on one occasion as much as 95 stone was sold. Taking an average of the sales of tallow for over a year they come out at about three stone per week, besides the suet and "tryed stuffe," which latter made 4d. per pound. This seems an enormous quantity, being at the rate of nearly 3-lbs. per day. A curious item of receipts is that which occurs on 28th October, 1648:—"the flesh and hide of a padderish steere that was in danger to be lost 03<sup>li</sup> 06<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>." I have been unable to find the word "padderish" in any dictionary, but the context suggests that the steer in question was what is now called a "dropped beast," or, in other words, a beast that had to be killed "to save its life."

Other estate produce sold was that of "Mines" (meaning ore) from a farm or manor named Cliphornham. Sussex was in those days still a great centre of iron smelting, and we find other evidences of this in the accounts; so in March, 1644, Lord Dacre received from a tenant one ton of iron in lieu of rent, which was credited at £15. 5s., and there is more than one receipt for carriage of iron in "my lord's lighter at Pemsie;" so in March, 1645, 15s. was received for the carriage of 30 tons.

There are some entries of the sale of lime at from 4d. to 6d. per bushel, but I have found nothing to show whether this was home made, or whether it comes in quite another category, and should be included among those miscellaneous things sold from the Castle from time to time, probably either to oblige a neighbour or else because there was more in stock than was likely to be

<sup>10</sup> At this period turnips had very recently been introduced into England.

consumed before deteriorating. Among such entries are the following:—

	li.	s.	d.
956 li of Corrence at 2 li per $\ominus$ .....	19	00	00
6 barrells of pitch at 25 <sup>s</sup> .....	07	10	00
6 barrells of tarre at 18 <sup>s</sup> .....	05	00	00
6 chaldron & 6 boshells seacoles at 1 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> .....	11	15	00
5 runtelets of hott water .....	05	00	00
Received of 2 men of Hastings for a catch (ketch) bought of my lord .....	30	00	00
For 60 codfish & 4 lings .....	02	04	00

The chief expenses connected with the garden seem to have been for extra labour, such as “paid for helping the gardener 6 dais 03<sup>s</sup>,” “paid Joane weeding in the garden 4 daies 01<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>.” That the garden staff required some assistance is not to be wondered at, as there were only two gardeners kept at the Castle. The list of wages shows that the head gardener, John Brown, received quarterly £2. 10s., which was the scale of wages for the upper servants, and the under man 15s.; but in considering the amount of wages paid to these servants it must be remembered that they were all boarded and lodged. There are a few entries referring to seeds, &c., for the garden, as “paid for garden seeds of seuerall sorts, mellion glasses, baskets, Lichorish setts siues and baskets 03<sup>li</sup> 19<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>,” and among a quantity of items in another entry occurs: “and for a planting instrument for the gardeners use.”

We have evidence that a considerable amount of tree planting went on at Herstmonceux, as there are a good many entries referring to it, of which the following are specimens:—

	li.	s.	d.
Nov. 1644. Paid for planting & staking trees .....	01	04	00
Feb. Paid 4 men setting acrons in Quittenden's Croft	00	05	06
Paid for digging Ground to set young sycamore trees ..	00	14	00
Paid for gathering and setting 60 checker <sup>11</sup> trees & 500 quicksets .....			
Paid 4 men 6 daies work for digging up young trees & planting them in the Park .....	01	04	00

Then, as now, oatmeal and graves were largely used as dog food, as we have references to grinding oats for

<sup>11</sup> The Service tree.

the spaniels, and buying 9 stone of graves for the gardener's dog at a cost of 6s. 4d.

Sea mews, which were presumably bought for eating, at the price of 9s. per  $1\frac{1}{2}$  dozen, were fed, till required for food, on bullocks' liver, so we find, "Paid for 6 bullocks' liuers for the sea mews and other foule 02<sup>s</sup>."

It is often said that it was the custom in the days with which we are now occupied to have in the houses of persons of wealth and position a much larger staff of servants than would, under similar circumstance, be kept now. This is, however, very doubtful, and the theory is not borne out by the Herstmonceux accounts. The following extract, which gives the wages paid quarterly, shows that the number of servants kept by Lord Dacre was not at all large considering the great size of the house, and that many of the servants whose wages are included in the list were what we should now call out-of-door servants, such as coachmen, gardeners, faulkeners, husbandmen, &c., who then were lodged and boarded like the other servants. The wages paid on 27th December, 1645, are as follows:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid Mr. Field his wages due at Christmas last past . . . .	02	10	0
Paid Mr. Rudstone his wages then due . . . . .	02	10	0
Paid Mr. Paine . . . . .	02	10	0
Paid Mr. Hauks his wages due for halfe a yeere . . . . .	05	00	0
Paid Mr. Henry Lennard his wages then due . . . . .	02	10	0
Paid Thomas Edmonds Cook . . . . .	03	00	0
Paid William Kelley the butler . . . . .	01	10	0
Paid John Catleine the gardener his wages due for 1 mo.	00	16	8
Paid Richard Braton the bailife his wages then due . . . .	01	15	0
Paid John Furburrow the Coachman . . . . .	01	10	0
Paid Richard Coakley groome . . . . .	01	10	0
Paid John Brooke the groome . . . . .	01	10	0
Paid George Hollingdall the groome . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid John Blunden postilian . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid Thomas Morrice . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid Roger Kallawaye . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid Thomas Pannet . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid Edward Lewis porter . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid Christofer Wood baker & brewer . . . . .	01	00	0
Paid Danniell Pannet . . . . .	02	10	0
Paid George Yorkhurst Kitchen boy <sup>12</sup> . . . . .	01	00	0

<sup>12</sup> In this list George has no description after his name, but in 1643, when he received only 8s. per quarter, he was described as above.

	li.	s.	d.
Paid George Dane faulkner.....	02	10	0
Paid Thomas Breach husbandman.....	00	10	0
Paid John Whate .....	00	10	0
Paid Anthony Pannet .....	00	10	0
Paid Mary Wilmote her wages then due .....	01	00	0
Paid Nurce Kelley .....	01	10	0
Paid Elizabeth Squib .....	02	05	0
Paid Mariery Cotley.....	00	15	0
Paid Joane Barnden.....	00	12	6
Paid Susan Cooper .....	00	10	0
Paid Alce Cooper .....	00	12	6
Paid An Perforce .....	00	12	6
Paid Margaret Warden for 5 weeks .....	00	5	0

The weekly accounts of the food supplied to the Castle show a very large consumption, as is only to be expected from the number of persons entertained there. A few of the items indicate more or less the geographical position occupied by Herstmonceux. Thus, its proximity to the sea is probably the reason for the large variety of sea fish which constantly appear in this account book, while the rare mention of salmon or of salmon trout shows that the Castle was situated near the S.E. or E. coast, where salmon in the rivers are now practically unknown, and even in those times must have been but rarely caught. The frequent occurrence of teal, snites (snipe), olives (oyster catcher), "bithorns," &c., is suggestive of there being marshes in the neighbourhood, such as those of the Pevensey Level, where Samson Lennard, Lord Dacre's great grandfather, had a decoy; while the nearness of Beachy Head and the South Downs accounts for the quantity of wheatears they ate. Even now, in the memory of persons living, wheatears were commonly caught in large quantities on the South Downs by the shepherds, and it was part of the local unwritten law that anyone wanting some might take them out of the primitive traps in which they were caught, leaving a penny in each trap from which he had taken a wheatear.

The accounts begin each week in the same manner with the account of bread consumed; then follows beer, butcher's meat, poultry and game, fish, butter, eggs, oatmeal, salt, "vinigre," candles, sugar, dried fruits, such as "reasings," "corrans," &c., spices, such as

“cloues,” “meces,” and then lastly in some weeks such items as wheat, “oets,” “beans,” “mault,” &c. The weekly totals in some cases are as little as about £5, but £8 to £10 is more common, and occasionally they amounted to as much as £20.

Two sorts of bread were used—Manchet, made from best flour, of which they consumed 80 to 95 cast a week, and also 90 to 130 cast of Ravel or Ravel, an inferior bread, composed of flour and bran. The term “cast” seems to have been an arbitrary quantity, meaning the bread made at any particular baking, but we can tell what the two sorts of bread combined cost each week, because there follow in the accounts items of “flour” and “meale,” and these two items, with those of Manchet and Ravel bread, are bracketed together, and in the cash column is written their total cost. In most weeks the cost exceeded 20s., but the highest I have seen is £2. 6s. 8d.

A very frequent weekly consumption of beef was 20 to 30, but at times as much as 50 stone, and the price was 1s. 4d. per stone. From some of the accounts it would appear as though they reckoned 8-lbs. to the stone, as is now the custom in London and in many parts of England. The amount of mutton varied from one to six carcases, the price of which varied also, but was usually about 12s. the carcase. Lamb and veal do not always figure in the weekly accounts; the former were charged at 4s. 6d. to 5s. a carcase and the latter about 10s. Besides the above we find pork, “piggs” (probably sucking pigs), from the price, *e.g.*, “3 pigs 04<sup>s</sup>;” brawn, “3 collors 07<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>;” veal’s head, veal’s feet, “Inwards 02<sup>s</sup>;” frequently neat’s tongues at about 6d. to 8d.; and occasionally “udders 01<sup>s</sup>.”

The following list of game and poultry taken from the accounts for different weeks shows that there was a considerable variety in the bills of fare put before Lord Dacre and his guests:—

“Birds 1d.”

“Bithorns” 6d. to 8d.

Blackbirds 1d.

Capons 1s.

“Caponets” 10d.

Chickens 3d.

Cocks 6d.

Cockerells 6d.

Curlew 8d.	"Plouers" 3d.
Doe Venison 5s.	"Puets" (peewits) 6d.
"Douers" 3d.	Pullets 9d.
Ducks 6d.	Quails (4 doz. for 24s. bought from a French ship).
Geese 1s. 6d.	"Snites" (snipe) 2d.
"Gray birds" 1d. (a species of thrush).	Rabbits 6d.
Green geese 6d.	Sea Gulls, no price mentioned.
"Heathpoute" <sup>18</sup> "paid for one heathpoute & 6 partridges 04s."	Sea Mews 8d.
Hens 1s.	"Stock doues" 4d.
Larks per dozen 6d.	Teal, no price mentioned.
"Oliues" (Oyster catchers) 1s.	Turkies 2s.
Partridges 6d.	Wheatears per dozen 3d.
Pheasants 1s.	Wild geese 8d.
"Pidgeons" per doz. 1s. 6d.	Wild fowle, no price mentioned.
	Woodcocks 4d.

I am not able to give the modern names for such birds as "Psints," six of which cost 9d., nor for "Whinders," both of which are often mentioned.

It is remarkable that although entries of rabbits are frequent, such as "p<sup>d</sup> Dobber for 42 doz of rabbets 08<sup>li</sup> 13<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>," I have not once discovered any mention of hares, which looks as if there existed some prejudice against them as food. A curious entry of rabbits is:—"Paid for six sucking rabbits and 12 turkie eggs 02<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>;" they would seem to be intended to be eaten, as it is difficult to conjecture any other use to which they could be put; at the same time it is impossible to imagine a more uninviting dish. In former days very young animals were, however, more eaten than now, as we have an entry in October:—"Paid to one that presented a sucking lamb 02<sup>s</sup>;" while at the present day sucking pigs, which a few years ago were esteemed a great delicacy, are now so rarely consumed that the writer has never seen one at table.

The names of the following fish, all of which are familiar, appear in these accounts:—

Basses.	Congers.
Bream.	Crabbs 4 for 1s.
Cod.	Dabbs.
Salt Cod.	Dorrie 8d. each.

<sup>18</sup> In those days, no doubt, black game existed in the large forests running along the north boundary of Sussex.

Eels.	“Mackerelle” 40 for 2s. 8d.
Flounders.	Mullet.
Freshfish.	Oysters 2d. to 3d. per dozen.
Gurnard 1s. each.	Perche.
Haddocks.	Plaice.
Herrings 4 for 2d.	Prawns.
Herrings (red) at 2s. 3d. per 100.	Samon fresh 5s. each.
Herrings (Yarmouth) 2 firkins 13s.	Samon troute.
Ling.	Scollops.
Lobsters 5 for 2s. 8d.	Soles 7 for 2s. 4d.
	Spratts 300 for 1s. 6d.
	Turbots.

The names of these fish, however, which were also eaten at Herstmonceux, probably sounds strange to most of us:—

Butts 10 for 1s.	Rotchets <sup>14</sup> (piper gurnard) each 2d.
Damsells.	Thornbacks (Thornback rays).
Maids each 2d.	Urses.
Pipers.	Wivers.
Red fish.	

The carp and tench used are stated to have been “killed of my lords store,” and were taken from the fish ponds and stews, which were artificially stocked with these fish. There is a note at the end of the account book about the stocking of these ponds:—“March 13, 1647, Hodeshill pond sewed<sup>15</sup> and at that time put into ye Horsepond 33 greate carps; into ye Brick eel pond 20 midling carps; into ye stew going to Church 7 greate carps 3 small carps & 25 small eels.” When, owing to the badness of the roads, it was impossible to obtain sea fish far from the coast, these pond fish were of much greater value and importance for food than is now the case. In a lease of a farm at Chevening, granted by Francis in 1650, he specially excepts the right to take fish out of the moat round the farm house, or out of any pond on the farm. Occasionally fish, such as cod and ling, were bought in very large quantities, no doubt for salting, and we find entries such as “a heap of fish 148

<sup>14</sup> “The whiting known to all, a general wholesome dish.  
The gurnet, rochet, mayd and mullet dainty fish.”

—Drayton *Cent. Dic.*

<sup>15</sup> Drained (*Cent. Dic.*).

cod & 10 Lings 03<sup>li</sup> 02<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>. At times the fish was bought by the "rider" or by the "dossier." Thus we find:—

P<sup>d</sup> messenger for a rider of fish 01<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>.

P<sup>d</sup> for 2 dossiers of fish & his iornay from Hastings.

The gardens of Herstmonceux do not seem to have always been able to provide sufficient fruit for the establishment, as we find the following purchases:—

		s.	d.
6th July, 1644	22 lbs. cherries at 3 <sup>d</sup> per pound.....	05	06
27th " "	Anton the Frenchman for a pa of panniers with pairs ( <i>sic</i> ) out of France .....		
" " "	P <sup>d</sup> for 320 apricocks sent from Maidstone	15	00
28th June, 1645	P <sup>d</sup> for 12 lbs. of cherries to make tarts ..	02	00
19th June, 1647	P <sup>d</sup> for strawberries .....	00	06
21st Aug., "	P <sup>d</sup> for plums to make tarts.....	00	04
9th Oct., "	P <sup>d</sup> for 100 quinces bought at Maidstone ..	09	02

While the entry on June 5th to 12th, 1647, of "Paid in reward a poore woman that presented a basket of strawberries 02<sup>s</sup>" shows that in spite of years of labour on the part of strawberry growers to produce early varieties, there has not been so great an advance in this direction during the last 250 years as many people would imagine.

Foreign fruit appears to have been seldom purchased, but now and then there are mention of oranges and lemons, and from one of these entries of fifty oranges and nine lemons in March for 2s. 6d., and another for 12 lemons for 1s. 6d. in December, they do not appear to have been as costly as might reasonably have been expected.

Samphire, which was not improbably brought from the cliffs round Beachy Head, was purchased from time to time; so we find:—"Paid for 2 boshells & 1 peck of Sampher 8<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>."

It was used as a pickle, and no doubt was eaten as an antiscorbutic in the days when vegetables were more rare, and when salt meat formed a more frequent article of diet than is now the case. Another antiscorbutic remedy was "Scurvey grass," also brought from the seaside.



	s.	d.
Paid for scuruie grass for a drink for Mr. Wood &c.....	02	06
Paid Tye for one iornaye from Bourne with the said scuruie grass .....	01	00

Simple herbal remedies were then more in vogue than now, and we have other entries referring to their use, of which the following are examples:—

Paid for 2 li of prunes & 2 <sup>d</sup> . worth of worm seeds for my lords daughters 06 <sup>d</sup> . (Worm seeds were a popular vermifuge; they are the seeds of the treacle mustard).		
Paid Widdow Lewis for gathering herbs 2 daies	06 <sup>d</sup> .	
Paid a maiden for gathering herbs for my 2 yong mistresses	02 <sup>d</sup> .	

They did not, however, entirely rely on herbs in cases of illness; bleeding was then greatly in vogue for both man and beast, so we find:—

	s.
Paid my lords beneuolence for letting blood sick folkes.....	10
Paid Mr. Waters for letting T. Christian's blood .....	01
Paid for bleeding the runts, the Kiene & young Cattle & 2 men that did helpe .....	05

In ordinary cases of child birth the attendance of a midwife was all that was thought necessary, and even when a person occupying a position of importance like Lady Dacre was confined of her first child no medical assistance appears to have been sought for. The accounts for the week in which Philadelphia was born make no mention of any doctor being called in, but show that "my lord" gave away "beneuolences" as follows:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid my lords beneuolence to Widdow Craddock the midwife of Battle .....	05	00	00
Paid my lords beneuolence to Elizabeth Squib the laundry maid .....	00	10	00
Paid my lords beneuolence to John Furbeck the coachman	00	05	00
Paid my lords beneuolence to John Blunden the postilian	00	05	00

Elizabeth Squib's occupation sufficiently explains the reason she might be considered to have some claim on "my lords beneuolence," and if these "beneuolences" were given to the stable men in connection with the child's birth also, as was probably the case, it was no doubt in order to reward them for some special trouble and difficulty they encountered in fetching the midwife

and her assistants to the Castle. The Sussex roads, always terrible during winter, were especially bad that January, being, as Francis said in a letter to Lord Grey, written to excuse his attendance at the House of Lords, "extremely clogged by a very deep snow."<sup>16</sup>

There were staying at the Castle at the time of this confinement of Lady Dacre "y<sup>e</sup> nurce, the midwife, Glid's wife, & diuers attendants, besides their husbands." Mrs. Glid was probably an assistant to the midwife with some pretensions to medical skill, as within six months of the child's birth we find this entry:—

Paid to Glid's wife for cutting M<sup>rs</sup> Philadelphia's tongue 02<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>.

In cases which were considered too serious to be treated by "M<sup>r</sup> Waters," "Glid's wife," or even by "Widdow Craddock," the usual medical adviser employed at the Castle was Dr. Nehemiah Panton, of Brightling. This doctor was the second of his name that lived at Brightling Place, and seems to have been a person of some importance, sufficiently so in any case to have been entitled to bear arms.<sup>17</sup> There are three or more entries relating to this Dr. Panton, one of which is:—

Paid M<sup>r</sup> Panton, Physitian, 6 iornaies to M<sup>rs</sup> Phyladelphia Lennard 3<sup>li</sup>.

But from the following entry we see that, on one occasion certainly, a far more highly feed doctor was called in:—

	li.	s.	d.
Deliuered unto my lord to giue Dr. Widdorbon's man . .	01	00	00
Deliuered in gould unto my lord to giue Dr. Widdowbon	10	00	00

The servants seem to have been well looked after when they were ill, as there are several entries of the following class:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid Hawkins wife for tending ye sick maidens 10 daies	00	03	00
Paid Widdow Weeks for tending sick seruants a fortnight	00	04	00

To return to the accounts referring to articles of weekly consumption, it may be noted that that of salt was as a rule half a bushel, but sometimes as much as a

<sup>16</sup> Thurlow State Papers.

<sup>17</sup> Horsfield's *Sussex*, Vol. I.

whole bushel. Among the entries of the purchase of salt we find in December, 1643:—"12 boshells of baye salt at 04<sup>s</sup>; 54 boshells of white salt at 03<sup>s</sup>." Vinegar, written "vinigre," was in almost weekly consumption to the extent sometimes of a gallon costing 01s. and sometimes a pottle at 6d. For winter use, when the supplies from the Home farm ran short, butter was occasionally bought, so we find one November: "Paid for 104 li. of potted butter at 6d. ob a li. 02<sup>li</sup> 16<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>."

Considering the very great size of the mansion and the large number of persons entertained there the amount of candles used seems wretchedly inadequate, and one can only conclude that the inhabitants must have spent those hours when daylight failed them in a miserable state of darkness. In one week, in June, with very few people in the house, the amount used was only 3-lbs.; and in the following December, when about thirty visitors were staying, 4 dozen and 4-lbs., at a cost of 4d. per lb. One of the entries for candles is, "Candles: p<sup>d</sup> for 13 dozoon of graate cotton lights 03<sup>li</sup>; p<sup>d</sup> for 3 dozoon of small lights 12<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>."

The following list, with the prices of the articles mentioned, shows that a considerable quantity of grocery, spices and condiments were used. Mustard was bought unground, as entries of mustard seed are not infrequent, as *e.g.*, "3 quarts of mustard seeds & 4 li. of Rozin for ye Cookes use 01<sup>s</sup> 05<sup>d</sup>." The other prices were as follows:—

Sugar . . . . .	per lb.	10d.	Mace . . . . .	per oz.	10d.
Reasings . . . . .	" "	4d.	Nutmegs . . . . .	" "	4d.
Corrans . . . . .	" "	5d.	Jenier (ginger?) . . . . .	" "	1d.
Pruens . . . . .	" "	2d.	Synamon (cinnamon) . . . . .	" "	6d.
Cloues . . . . .	per oz.	8d.	Pepper . . . . .	" "	1½d.

Among other dishes in which spices were greatly used was potted venison, as we find, "Paid for 2 oz. of nutmeggs 2 oz. of cloues & mace 12 oz. of pepper 4 oz. of ienier & 3 crocks for my lord's potted venison 06<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>."

It is evident that the general drink at Herstmonceux for all classes, whether gentle or simple, was home-brewed beer, and this would seem to have been drunk in no sparing manner, as they used an almost incredible quantity of it,

and it appears to have been the custom at the Castle to keep as much as 60 to 90 hogsheads in stock. The amount of beer consumed was frequently five or six, but on occasions as much as nine hogsheads a week, an amount far in excess of what would be drawn in any two ordinary village public-houses at the present time. Taking six hogsheads as the consumption of an ordinary week, and allowing twenty-eight servants, which was about the usual number, and twelve other persons as inhabitants of the Castle, that would give an average consumption of eight gallons per week to every man, woman and child within its walls, which is indeed a prodigious quantity to have got through. The cost of this beer varied greatly, probably because, being home-brewed, the value of the ingredients only are debited; and this, of course, would fluctuate from one season to another; but the average cost per gallon, taken from the account book at random for seven weeks, works out at about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. It is not clear what system was adopted in estimating the cost of the beer consumed, but I think, as the accounts show that hops were grown on land attached to the Castle, it is probable that the only ingredient charged to the beer was malt.

Although home brew was the principal, it was by no means the only form of alcoholic drink consumed by Lord Dacre and his friends. Among the items of extraordinary expenditure are a good many entries which refer to the purchase from time to time of claret at about 2s. a gallon, and of sack at 3s. a gallon; the latter is often specially stated to be for "my ladies use." In May, 1644, we see that there was paid to "the Frenchmen for a punchin of wine conteyning y<sup>e</sup> third part of a tunne 07<sup>li</sup>." There are also some references to "hott waters," as "5 Runtelets of hott water £5," and "16 dozou & 6 rundelets of hott waters £11. 3." This, no doubt, meant spirits; and white wine and "honie to make mead" are also not infrequent entries, the latter costing 6s. a gallon.

This book contains at the end of the accounts of each week's expenditure a note of the persons who had then

been staying in the Castle; and the following list for the week, from 8th to 15th August, 1646, is a typical specimen of the others:—

STRANGERS.

Mr. Thomas Lennard & 3 men, Mr. Bois, gouvernor of Douer Castle & 2 men, Capt. Fowle, Mr. Carter, Mr. George Parker & his man, Mrs. Phyladelphia Parker & her maid, Mr. Barker, Mr. Chayney, Mr. Hall, Mr. Clark, Mr. Choone his wife, besides plumers, masons, armourers, roopers of flax<sup>18</sup> and other workmen in making & carrying.

The list for the previous week ends up:—"and many heyers and flax pullers besides all comers and goers." While a not infrequent termination to these lists of guests is: "and diuers of the other neighbours."

These weekly lists of guests, for in every week the names of some visitors to the Castle are recorded, show that Francis was extremely hospitable and had kept pretty well open house.

Among other visitors were the Lords Nottingham, Westmoreland, Montague and Stamford, all belonging to the same political party as did Francis. One of the Earl of Stamford's sons was christened "Leonard," possibly after Francis, who may not improbably have been his godfather.

As might be expected, Lord Dacre's house was somewhat a rendezvous for the Parliamentary army. We find the General Sir William Waller and his wife Lady Anne (a daughter of the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham), and their boys, were often at Herstmonceux. The following entries refer to soldiers being quartered at the Castle:

January 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ , besides several other guests, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Waller Sir Michael Lucir and at least 20 other officers, gentlemen, and others of their attendants & retainers.

July 1646, 2 Captains 1 lifnant & 18 troopers.

August, 1647, Lifetenant Dean, Maior Phillips, Quartermaster Stroud 5 souldiers.

The next week the same and "2 more souldiers;" these soldiers left the Castle on the 21st September, but in March, 164 $\frac{8}{9}$ , there is a further mention of soldiers being at Herstmonceux.

<sup>18</sup> Ropers, *i.e.*, ropemakers.

Entertaining visitors in the seventeenth century must have been a serious undertaking, as many brought more than one servant, and others, not content with servants, had other attendants with them, as for instance:—"Lady Grandison and 2 gentlewomen." Of all the numerous visitors none can have taxed the resources of Herstmonceux more than did the Waller family, as besides many visits of the General, his wife and children, we find these notes:—

July, 1647, Sir W<sup>m</sup> Waler, his lady, y<sup>e</sup> Lady Finch, 4 of their children & 14 servants of theirs.  
 August, 1647, Lady Ann Waler with 2 sons and 3 daughters, 1 gentlewoman, a nurse, and 4 maid and 6 men servants.

Besides showing hospitality to persons in his own sphere, Lord Dacre did not forget his humble neighbours, and each Christmas we find such entries as the following:

Paid my lords reward to 44 poore people, 44 stone of beefe, 44 louses and in money 01<sup>li</sup> 02<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>.

The account book contains a good many references to hawking. The head faulkenor at one period covered by the account book was named Gutrich, and his wages were £8 a year, and those of his assistant about £4. 10s. The following are some of the entries that relate to this sport:

	li.	s.	d.
For bells & tresses for my lords hauke .....	00	04	00
P <sup>d</sup> for one li dimd (1½ lbs.) of powder and 12 li of shott to kill hawksmeat .....	00	05	00
Paid for 3 li beefe for the hawkes .....	00	00	06
Paid 1 doz on dimd pigeons for the haukes .....	00	02	03
Paid for a faulkeners gloue for Mr. Shoarditch, & for his dogges' meat at Bayly .....	00	02	06
Paid Mr. Shoarditch for haukesmeat in his last iornaye to London, for a pair of bells for his hauke and his expences during his hauking at Mr. Alchorne .....	00	06	06
Paid Mr. Shoarditch in expences for himself & spanniels in his iornaye to J. Glidds hauking for Feasants ....	00	11	00
Paid S <sup>r</sup> Thomas Dike's Faulkenor for presenting a leash of feasants & haking .....	00	05	00
Paid for 6 doz on of pigeons for the hauks .....	00	09	06

There are several more entries of this nature, and the following appear also to relate to hawking:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for climbing 5 doz on of Herons .....	00	10	00
Paid for making a new heron rope .....	01	03	00

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for white leather for the herne climbers use . . . . .	00	00	06
Paid more to Lewes for a poale to his hearne (heron) hooke . . . . .	00	00	06
Paid the heron climer for climbing 8 dozoon dimd of herons	00	17	00
Paid for climbing 30 rooks for the hauks . . . . .	00	00	10

Although the meaning of "climbing herons" is rather obscure, the last item of climbing rooks puts it beyond all doubt that it meant procuring young herons by climbing up trees and catching them by means of a pole with some sort of noose or hook at the end. These herons may have been caught merely for the purpose of feeding the hawks, but I think it more likely the object of catching them was in order to turn them out in front of the hawks before they could fly strongly and so to "enter" the latter to killing herons, as in the palmy days of hawking herons were considered to afford the best sport for hawkers.

Besides hawking, there was probably a certain amount of coursing and shooting indulged in at Herstmonceux, as is suggested by the following entries:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid in reward to a man that brought my lords greyhound . . . . .	00	01	00
Paid in reard to Mr. Bakers man that presented a cross bow to my lord . . . . .	00	05	00
Paid for two birding pooches for my lord . . . . .	00	08	00
Paid the smith for mending a birding peece <sup>19</sup> & 3 locks & a new key . . . . .	00	02	04
Paid Ongly gunsmith for a half bent musket for my lord	01	00	00
Paid Ongly for a greate gunne for my lords use . . . . .	01	10	00
Paid Ongly in full paiement of 19s for a fyre lock, a stock, a screwd barrel & setting it up, for a stock, a scowerer, a worme for a little peece of Mr. Shoar-ditches allowing 04 <sup>s</sup> for a snaphaunce <sup>20</sup> of my lords set on ye stock of a steele barrell . . . . .	00	15	00

There are other entries which appear to relate to sporting firearms; but "Paid J. Ongly for 4 muskets and a case of pistolls for my lord 05<sup>li</sup>" would seem to refer to firearms to be used as weapons rather than for sport.

<sup>19</sup> A fowling piece (*Cent. Dic.*).

<sup>20</sup> Snaphaunce, a hand gun fired by flint and steel as distinguished from a firelock (*Cent. Dic.*).

While on the subject of shooting it may be remarked that in the seventeenth century what we know as close season for game was not much observed, as these entries show :—

September 7th to 14th, 1644. Paid in reward to J. Lewis that present 3 young feasants to my lady 01<sup>s</sup>.

March 14th to 21st, 1645. Paid in reward to a woman that presented a Phesant to my lady 02<sup>s</sup>.

At the present time, when so many persons turn out partridges purchased from Hungary and elsewhere, in order to increase their stock, the following entry is of special interest :—

Jan. 30th to Febraury 6th, 1646. Paid Mr. Shoarditch for 5 partridges to be turned abroad 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>.

Tame pheasants also appear not to have been unknown, as we find “p<sup>d</sup> in reward to one that presented 3 tame feasants 01<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>, but there is nothing here to show whether they were turned off in the woods, or whether they were kept as pets in an aviary.

The above entries show that Francis Lord Dacre was much devoted to field sports, but there is nothing remarkable in this, as great fondness for sport has ever been a leading characteristic of English landowners ; what is remarkable is the particular form of sport to which he was chiefly addicted, and that was yachting. It is said that the word yacht was not known in England until 1660, when the Dutch presented one to Charles II., but even a casual inspection of the Herstmonceux account book would show this statement to be incorrect, and the numerous references to the “yought” shows how fond Lord Dacre was of sailing.

Thomas Lord Dacre,<sup>21</sup> who wrote an account of his family, says of his ancestor Francis that “It is said in the family that he took great delight in all matters relating to Navigation, and that he presented King Charles the second (who was himself very understanding in that art) with a model of a light vessel, built in a

<sup>21</sup> This Lord Dacre, b. 1717, d. 1786, was the last Lennard to hold that title, which, as he died without leaving legitimate issue, descended in the female line to the family of Trevor Roper and from them to the Brands.



new manner, invented by himself, which was greatly approved of by the King and followed afterwards in the construction of ships of this kind." It is not impossible that this entry "Jan<sup>y</sup> 1647<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> Paid Mr. Wyet for drawing a moddle 01<sup>h</sup>" refers to the very model which Lord Dacre, some years later, presented to Charles II.

A letter from the Earl of Leicester to Mr. Secretary Coke, dated <sup>2 Nov.</sup><sub>23 Oct.</sub> 1636,<sup>22</sup> shows that when seventeen years of age Lord Dacre had escaped to France and back to Rye at least on one occasion, when he and other passengers were in great danger from some "Dunkerkers, who used violence against them & robbed them & if the sight of a Holland man of Warre had not made them go away they had used them worse." It is not improbable that, being near the sea, he frequently took little voyages in the Channel, and so early acquired that love for sailing which he appears to have had all his life. In January, 1660, he was nominated one of the Wardens of the Trinity House Corporation, and in June, 1661, the year before his death, it was agreed by the whole Company of the Elder and Younger Brethren that he and the Earl of Sandwich should stand for the election for Master. The election took place the same day, but it went against Lord Dacre, the Earl of Sandwich being chosen.<sup>23</sup>

The following are some of the entries referring to Lord Dacre's ships, from which it would appear that he had a "barque" as well as a "yought," called the "Primrose;" also "a Pink," a shallop, and that he kept them at Pevensey. This is in itself of some interest, as for a long period the creek at Pevensey has been silted up till hardly any remains of it exist.<sup>24</sup> The following entries show that in 1645 some efforts were being made to improve it:—

	s.	d.
January. Paid in expences at Pemsie at the meeting aboute opening ye hauen.....	01	06
Paid in expences at Hailsham at the meeting aboute opening the hauen at Pemsie and making a suffitient dame .....	01	04

<sup>22</sup> Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State* (Lond., 1746), Vol. II., pp. 432-6.

<sup>23</sup> Records of Trinity House.

<sup>24</sup> Horsfield's *Sussex*, quoting Camden, who said in 1610, speaking of Pevensey, that "it hath had a meane haven."

In those days it was possible to take goods from Pevensey to Herstmonceux by water, as is shown by the following entries :—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid J. Weeks & Burton for one daies work to Pemsie in taking inuentury of such things as weare there in my lords storehouse .....	00	02	04
Paid Burton for his horse and cart to bring goods out of the warehous to the water side and for bring them thence to Herstmonceux in his boate <sup>25</sup> .....	00	04	00
Paid for 12 li of pitch to Cauke the boate to carry the corn to Pemsie <sup>26</sup> .....	00	02	00

How far Lord Dacre ventured in his yacht does not appear, but the accounts show that she certainly at times sailed as far as London. The following entries are of interest as showing some items of what his hobby cost the first Englishman who is known to have been a yachtsman :—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid Mr. Wright 4 men and a boy 6 weeks iourney at 12 <sup>li</sup> per month amounting, whereof Capt Brooke paid 2 <sup>li</sup> 14 <sup>s</sup> 10 <sup>d</sup> .....	16	10	06
Paid for tow and nails used aboute my Lord's yought at Pemsie .....	01	00	00
Paid the cooke for 20 li of tallow used aboute the Primrose at Pemsie.....	01	00	00
Paid Richard for 2 porters for helping to hale (haul?) up the Primrose at Pemsie .....	00	01	06
<i>Memo</i> 2 pieces beef, 2 ioynts mutton, 1 ioynt veale, a couple chickens sent to my Lord's yought at Pemsie..			
Paid J. Nickoll keeper of my Lord's yought at Pemsie for one months pay and beere .....	01	14	00
Paid G. Richardson for making a dock at Pemsie for my Lords yought .....	06	00	00
Five mens labour that carried two lighters of beech to lay in ye bottom of ye dock .....	00	10	00
Paid T. Stedman for 5 daies worke in cacking (caulking) my Lord's barques and yought.....	00	10	10
Paid J. Weekes 6 daies worke aboute the yought.....	00	05	00
Paid Mr. Wright for mending and trimming the yought	04	15	03
Paid Mr. Wright for 3 li of oakum, 100 3 <sup>d</sup> nails, for 200 scupper nails, for a shiver for a mast, beere for workmen for ye ship, carpenter's work 6 daies, for 2 labourers for digging under ye yought and helping to house the sails.....	01	06	07

<sup>25</sup> See also reference to passage of the "yought" from Gravesend to Herstmonceux, page 130.

<sup>26</sup> This apparently refers to corn grown at Herstmonceux and taken thence by water.

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for an anker for my Lords yought waying 113 li..	00	17	08
Paid the ship carpenter for one days worke .....	00	02	02
Paid the messenger that brought word that my Lord's barque was at Pemsie .....	00	00	06
Receued more of Mr. Wright my Lord's part for the barque for his fraught to London and back againe to Pemsie .....	04	16	08
Paid Mr. Wright mr. of my Lord's barq .....	01	02	01
Paid Stevenson 8 barrels of beere and the casks for 13 hundred and 14 li of biskets, for 18 bisket barrels and coopers work, for 286 cod fishes and lings, for portorage, the hire of a boat to carry ye prouision to the Downs, & the parties charges that bought the said prouisions, & went in the boats to the Downs to see the deliverie thereof &c .....	27	18	06
Paid more by Capt. Skinner's assignment for conduct- ing the said Captain and his barque to the Downs....	03	06	06
Paid to John Waters, pillate, for conducting my Lords yought from Grauesend to Hurstmonceux <sup>27</sup> .....	02	10	00
Paid for two parcell of canuis contayning 150 ells for sayles and shippes .....	08	15	00
Paid for a tow line 07 <sup>s</sup> for 6 li of oakum 01 <sup>s</sup> for a clip 16 <sup>d</sup> and for 2 thrumbbs for my Lord's use 10 <sup>s</sup> 04 <sup>d</sup> ....			
Paid S. Gawen for a man's help to bring my Lord's shallop to Pemsie .....	00	02	06
Paid more to him for three bottles of beere at my Lord's going to sea .....	00	00	06
Paid more for the labourers helpe being 7 men to unrig my Lord's yaught .....	00	05	00
Paid more to him for 2 scuppetts, and for nailes, needles and thridd .....	00	00	09
Paid more to him for a sayle soulede for my Lord's shallop .....	00	12	00
Paid more to him for an anker for the said shallop ....	00	07	00
Paid more to him for a couple of oers for the shallop ..	00	02	06
Paid for 2 main sheths & tacks for the same & for carrying them .....	00	02	03
Paid more to him his wages due for a fortnight .....	01	02	06
Paid 3 labourers that did helpe to digg out my Lord's boats at Pemsie .....	00	02	08
Paid halfe yeares rent for my Lord's warehouse at Pemsie	00	10	00
Paid more for help for fastening my Lord's lighter ....	00	01	00
Paid Gawen for one months attendance upon my Lord's barque .....	02	00	00
Received for 7 tunnes of iron & 19 bags of hop carried in my Lord's boat at Pemsie hauen .....	00	06	06
(Several entries for carriage of iron in the lighter at Pemsie— one for as much as 30 tons.)			

<sup>27</sup> This must surely mean Pevensey. It is hardly conceivable that even at this period a water-way deep enough for a yacht existed as far as Herstmonceux.

	li.	s.	d.
<i>Memorandum.</i> Beef sent to sea this weeke by estimation 8 stone, beere 2 rundeletts, candles, sugar & spice how much my Lord himself knoweth.			
Paid for looking to my lord's pink <sup>28</sup> 12 mos; for a fresh samon, helping to hale (haul) up my lord's Pink and carrying his sailes &c.....	01	01	00
Paid Mr. Parker's man for fetching my lord's boat out of Kentland streame .....	00	01	00
Paid Mr. Barnes his charges from Hastings to London 15 <sup>s</sup> & for bringing my lord's yaught from thence to Pemsie 50 <sup>s</sup> .....	03	05	00
Paid Stunson which hee disbursed to the Hastings men that saued my lord's bote .....	01	17	00

During the period covered by these accounts, taxes of various descriptions were numerous, as it might be expected would be the case during a time of civil war. It is not easy to discover from the account book upon what system these taxes were calculated. Such taxes as the following entry refers to would seem to have been paid in part by the occupier and in part by the landlord:—

Paid two thirds of two weekly Scotts imposed on Landlords by the Parliament 12<sup>s</sup>.

Some of the entries read as if the unfortunate owners paid taxes to both King and Parliament; thus we find from 10th to 17th February, 1643:—

Paid two thirds of the roiall subsodie and five monthly Scotts to the Parliament use 17<sup>s</sup> 08<sup>d</sup>.

The exigencies of the combatants caused special contributions to be levied, so we find in April, 1644:—

Paid two thirds of ten months Scott to ye Parliament and for ye aduance of Sir William Waler's armie 01<sup>li</sup> 04<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>.

In May of the same year, "For 15 monthly Scotts ye great subsodie Scott & prouision for ye armie 08<sup>s</sup>."

Paid for a Scott made for the raisinge of 23<sup>li</sup> 18<sup>s</sup> 08<sup>d</sup> for the maytenance of the armies, made Apl 20th, 1645, for the hundred of Foxearle 01<sup>li</sup> 03<sup>s</sup> 04<sup>d</sup>

Besides these "Scotts," of which the account book contains so many entries, there occur not infrequently

<sup>28</sup> Pink—a vessel with a very narrow stern (*Cent. Dic.*).

references to special "Scotts," such as "One Scott for maind (mained) souldiers."

Scotts to the poore of Wartling parish for Wartling Wood.

Scotts for growth of Buckholt woods.

To the churchwardens of Heathfield one Scott for their Church 5<sup>s</sup>.

There are also entries of payment of "waines" (sometimes written "Wanes") of Scotts as:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid the waines of 2 bookes for waterscotts .....	11	19	08
Paid Mr. Markwick in waines as appeareth by the waine book .....	01	08	06

Also repayment of monies paid for waines apparently due from Lord Dacre:—

Received the wanes of 1 Scott of 12<sup>d</sup> the acre returned by A. Hently.

There are several entries of this nature referring to waines of a varying number of Scotts, calculated at various prices per acre, some as low as  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per acre and some as high as 5d.

Besides these burdens there had also to be paid "Parliament sesse (cess)," which was often of considerable amount; and a special tax, called "The Irish tax," is also recorded early in 1649.

The Parliament's great need of funds during the Civil War was the cause of excise duties being imposed for the first time in England; accordingly we find in the account book many references to payments made for this purpose. Excise was payable not only on the home-brewed beer, but also on butcher's meat consumed and even on rabbits. The following entry will serve as a specimen of the others of a like nature:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid Mr. Osmondton the excise for seven weeks ending 30th May, 1644, for the excise of beere for 28 seruants seven weeks; and for excise of 3 heifers, 14 sheep, 2 veales, 4 lambbs valued (?) in the whole 18 li at 1 <sup>s</sup> per li, and the excise for beere 7 weeks 08 <sup>s</sup> 02 <sup>d</sup> .....	01	06	02

This excise of beer works out at only  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week per servant, which is an extremely small amount when the vast quantities of beer that we have seen they consumed is taken into consideration.

At the period which we are considering, the most usual way of getting about was on horseback, especially in Sussex, which, until much later times, was noted for its bad roads; so we find such entries as:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid y <sup>e</sup> charge of myself & my horse into Cambridgeshire 19 daies.....	01	18	06
Paid for showing (shoeing) my horse & chambering my saddle in my iornaye .....	00	01	10

Women, when travelling, rode as well as men did, so we find payments to the saddler for pillions.

Lord and Lady Dacre, however, travelled to and from London in a coach and six. We should know this from the fact of there being both coachman and postillion employed at the Castle, even if we had no other evidence, but we find in the account book such entries as:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for oyling my lords coach and mending the harnice .....	00	12	00
Paid for leather and mending the coach harnice when my lord & my lady went to London.....	00	06	00
Paid the Coachman for meat for himself, the postilian & six horses from London to Hurstmonceux .....	01	01	02

On one occasion Lord Dacre seems to have had to hire a coach to travel down from London, as in June, 1646, there is this entry:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for hire of a coach from London ouer and aboue 17s. rec <sup>d</sup> before.....	03	10	00
Paid more by my lords benuolence for the coachman ..	00	05	00

Goods were often carried on horseback in these times instead of being drawn on wheels, so we find the purchase of a “sumpter” or pack horse for £12; but there were professional carriers then, as there are records of more than one payment to “Grace the cariar for carrying betwixt Herstmonceux & London & Wimbleton<sup>29</sup> 03<sup>li</sup> 02<sup>s</sup> 03<sup>d</sup>,” but there is nothing to show how these goods were carried. One entry in this account book suggests that runners were occasionally employed to carry letters; this entry, which refers to payments for

<sup>29</sup> I am not able to find any place of this name.

several things, is :—“ Paid to Thomas Maurice<sup>80</sup> as appeareth by his bill, his charge downe from London, & for lead, a melting panne (pan), casting Bullets, my lord’s going by water, nutts, and his runing iornaye 08<sup>s</sup> 08<sup>d</sup>.”

Francis Lennard, like so many of his family, spent more than his income, and the account book shows that he was reduced to borrowing money from time to time from Field, the keeper of this account book, from Wood, who was also in his service, and from several other persons.

The first record I have of his borrowing money is in 1646; Lord Baltinglass, the husband of one of Lord Dacre’s cousins, being pressed for money, as was usually his case, probably applied to Francis for a loan, and he, not being able to lend the money, borrowed it for him from Field, and no doubt made himself responsible for the repayment of principal and interest. “ March 21st, 1646. Paid Field interest on 50<sup>li</sup> lent to my Lord Baltinglass 04<sup>li</sup>.”

There are several entries later, which refer to Lord Dacre’s loans and his payment of interest on them. It is not easy to arrive at the amount of the loans, nor upon what terms they were made, as there is no specific account of them, only such references as the following :—

1647, March. Paid Mr. Smith & Field for the use of 500<sup>li</sup> due y<sup>e</sup> 28 July last past 30<sup>li</sup>.

April. Paid Kelly for the use of 150<sup>li</sup> due at o<sup>r</sup> Lady for one halfe yeere 6<sup>li</sup>.

July 24, 1647. Paid Sr Thomas Parker for the use of 500<sup>li</sup> one yeere 30<sup>li</sup>.

October, 1649. Paid Field for the use of 500<sup>li</sup> halfe a yeere 20<sup>li</sup>.

From these entries it would appear that Francis was able to borrow money at from six to eight per cent., which seems a low rate of interest considering the then scarcity of money; and that there is nothing to show that he gave any security for these loans.

<sup>80</sup> The name of Thomas “Morrice” appears among the list of servants, *ante* p. 114.

Whatever may have been the cause of Francis being driven to borrow money, it could not have been the expense of his family, which, during the period covered by these accounts, consisted of only two very young girls, born respectively in 1643 and 1644. There are a few entries concerning them, such as:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid Kaye's wife for nursing Mrs. Philadelphia for three quarters of a year.....	04	10	00
Paid Mrs. Wood for 10 ells of Holland to make beds for my lady's next child at 5s. an ell.....	02	10	00
Paid Mrs. Wood for the midwiue's reward as I suppose	05	00	00
Paid for Holland to make aprens & bands for Mrs. Philadelphia Lennard.....	01	15	00
Paid Mrs. Phyladelphia Lennard to give to a musitian..	00	01	00
Paid for one ell of Hallam for Mrs. Phyladelphia and Mrs. Elizabeth Lennard.....	00	08	00
Paid for a primer for Mrs. Phyladelphia Lennard and other things.....	00	04	02

As Phyladelphia was at this date only four years old, it would appear that her education was commenced at an early age. There are three more entries concerning the children in 1649, which may be worth recording:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for 2 pair of shoes for Mrs. Phyladelpha & Mrs. Elizabeth Lennard.....	00	03	00
Paid for a p <sup>a</sup> of kniues, 6 yards of filliting, and a skeine of silk for Mrs. Phyladelph and her sister.....	00	01	08
Paid for 6 yards of ferret ribbon <sup>81</sup> for my lords daughters	00	02	00

I have not found many entries referring to Lady Dacre's allowance, and they are not conclusive as to what that allowance was, as there is nothing to show for certain whether it was £50 a year or £50 a quarter. We have such entries as these in 1645:—

May 16th. Paid in part of my ladies allowance due Midsummer 20<sup>li</sup>.  
 July 4. Paid my lady the whole remainder of her allowance due at Midsummer 30<sup>li</sup>.

There is, however, in the previous December, this entry: "Paid unto my Lady by my Lord's assignment 50<sup>li</sup>;" and this makes it nearly certain that her allowance

<sup>81</sup> Ferret ribbon was a narrow sort of ribbon.



was £200 a year. "My ladies withdrawing room" was re-decorated with a colour wash of 2-lbs. of umber at a cost of 2s. 6d., and on one occasion 4s. 6d. was paid for "a iornaye to Rie<sup>32</sup> after enquire of a box which my lady expected out of France," but these are the only mention of payments on behalf of "my lady," except that, as we have seen, the sack bought is often said to be for her use.

I will conclude my extracts from this interesting account book by mentioning a few miscellaneous entries of things no longer in use, or which now have different names, or the meanings of which are obscure:—

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for cutting y <sup>e</sup> roots boynes & branches from the timber at Buckholt .....	00	02	06
Paid in reward to Mr. Perces maid that presented a pig and wafers .....	00	01	00
Paid my lords beneuolence to C. Wood's <sup>33</sup> spiced cup ..	00	05	00
Paid Sellis the taylor for 1 yard dimd of Pennistone <sup>34</sup> to make a saddle cloth.....	00	03	09
Paid for 5000 priggs for the masons use.....	00	05	00
Paid for a tauet of sand.....	00	01	00
Paid for Ketching a Canadie duck .....	00	00	02
Paid for a chasing haulter for the groome's use.....	00	01	00
Paid R. Plunket the amblers charges to Hurstmonceux & his return to London .....	00	13	06
Paid my lord for 11 commissioner's dinners at Pemsie the 2 <sup>d</sup> . of April 1646 at a Water Court .....	02	04	00
Paid more for the dinners of 33 skewers at that time & for wine at their dinner .....	01	17	00
Paid T. Marsh free mason for 2 daies work .....	00	01	04
Paid in reward to ringers at Bourne .....	00	05	00
Paid in reward to Goodman Page his man that presented a bastard Feasant cock & a couple of Poehens from his M <sup>rs</sup> .....	00	02	06
Paid for 28 ells of Pouledauis <sup>35</sup> 1 li of pack thrid and a pack needle .....	01	05	00
Paid for Sallet oyle & Musgadnie for my lord's mare ..	00	01	04
Paid for 1 li of Poule-almandek for the groome's use ..	00	00	08
Paid for 12 quarries <sup>36</sup> of glass put into seuerall windows .....	00	01	00

<sup>32</sup> Rye then still a seaport, though fast decaying in those days.

<sup>33</sup> Wood was in the employment of Lord Dacre.

<sup>34</sup> A coarse woollen stuff.

<sup>35</sup> A sort of coarse linen.

<sup>36</sup> Squares.

	li.	s.	d.
Paid for carrying 20 quarters of Oets & 32 boshells of wheate to Wimbleton & for a transeyer for a safe passage thereof .....	01	17	06
Paid for help of waggon 3 daies helping home with the hey & fetching 1 load of chalk & 2 loades of stones from Pemsie Castle <sup>37</sup> .....	01	05	00
Paid Widow Cooper for making 5 pā of new pillow coats .....	00	05	00

<sup>37</sup> This looks as if Pevensey Castle was then suffering the fate which afterwards overtook Herstmonceux and was being destroyed for the sake of its building materials.