

OF THE VALUE AND CULTIVATION OF LAND, WITH SOME OTHER INCIDENTAL PARTICULARS.

As this village exhibits no traces of any intrenchment or fortification, either British, Roman, or Danish; nor of any military road passing through it: as it could never boast of a castle, immortalized by its sieges, or the brilliant achievements of its possessors: as no tessellated pavement, military weapons, or pot of ancient coins, were ever discovered in it - its humble historian must be contented to record the revolutions in its culture, the employments of the farmer, and the labours of the horse and ox. Nor does he disdain this survey and delineation of rural life;

Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
Hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Hetruria crevit
Scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma. Virgil.

In the time of Edward the Confessor, and of the Conqueror, Hawsted, as we learn from Domesday, was worth £4, a year, which is, about a half-penny an acre, according to real mensuration. It was then said to contain 13 carucates, or about 1300 acres of arable land; 16 acres of meadow; and wood for 3 porcaries. In this account, the pastures bear a prodigiously small proportion to the arable land; but at that period, and long after, the cultivation of corn was the grand object of agriculture: for though some of the more powerful and wealthy men may have had their larders well stored with meat, and hecatombs of beasts were slaughtered for some of their banquets, yet bread must have constituted a

much

much greater part of the general diet than it does at present. Even the days of abstinence, at all periods before the Reformation; must have lessened, the consumption of animal food, and increased that of vegetable.

I have in my possession a lease of the 13th century, which rates the value, of land higher than I expected. The land lay not indeed in Hawsted, but in Nowton; but as that is a contiguous village, and the ground there of much the same nature as here, I think I may fairly make use of it; especially as its antiquity makes it also a curiosity.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Bartholomeus filius.....de, sancto Edmundo concessi et dimisi Waltero Tighe *pro sex solidus* quos mihi dedit pre manibus, *duas acras terre* in villa de Neutun, scilicet de illa terra quam teneo de aula de Neutun, jacentes inter terras quas, dimisi Roberto et Ricardo Glowcester, abutttantes ad unum caput super terram Roberti de Neutun versus orientem, tenendas et habendas de me heredibus meis eidem Waltero et heredibus vel suis assignatis a festo sancti Michaelis proxime post obitum Lodewici Regis Francie usque *in terminum sex annorum sequentium*. Et ego het heredes mei waruntizabimus prefato Waltero et heredibus vel suis assignatis predictam terram usque interminum predictum. Et si ita aliquo casuo conntingat quod ego Bartholomeus vel heredes mei non possimus waruntizare predictam terram predicto Waltero et heredibus vel suis assignatis, ego Bartholomeus vel heredes mei trademus predicto Waltero et heredibus suis sive assignatis tantam terram in alio loco ejusdem precii, scilicet de terra que mihi cecidit hereditarie de feodo patris mei in campis sancti Edmundi, tenendam et habendam predicto Waltero at heredibus suis vel suis, assignatis usque ad predictum terminum. Ad finem vero sex annorum predictorum recipiam ego vel heredes mei predictam terram meam a predicto Waltero et suis, sine omni malo ingenio solutam et quietam. Nanc autem convencionem firmiter sine dolo tenendam pro nobis et pro heredibus nostris utrique affidavimus; at ad majorem securitatem sigilla nostra, scriptis nostris hinc inde apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Ricardo de Lagare,. Nicholao filio Algari, Thoma Aurifabro, Johanne de sancto Albano, Henrico filio Stephani Aurifabri, Adam Hovel, Roberto de Neutun, et Waltero filio ejus, et aliis*.

* It may at first sight seem something strange, that many ancient deeds, of no great consequence, should be said to have so many witnesses. But it may be accounted for from their being executed at courts, and other public meetings.

Here are two acres of arable land let for six years, for 6s. which is 6d. an acre annual rent; indeed it should be estimated at rather more, as the whole sum was advanced at first. The lease is of the utmost simplicity, without any clauses about culture, &c. The landlord warrants the two acres to the tenant, or two others of equal value, and the tenant engages to give them up, at the expiration of the term, freely and peaceably, *sine omni malo ingenio*. They pledge themselves to each other for the due performance of the contract, and for the greater security set their seals, in the presence of eight persons who are named, besides others. The date from which the lease was to commence, is something remarkable. The custom of affixing dates to deeds was not become general in the reign of Henry III and the present date, instead of being that of the reign of the English monarch, is that of the death of Louis the French king. This was probably Louis the IXth, afterwards canonized, who died 25 August, 1270, and whose fame for piety, particularly his passion for the crusades, which cost him his life, made his death an epoch. He had besides restored many of the English dominions in France, taken by his ancestors; and was brother-in-law to our Henry III.

It may not be amiss to remark, that this deed is indented; and that the indented edges are marked with the dimidiated letters of the word CIROGRAPHUM. Instances of such indentures before this reign are not very frequent*.

The following deed is about the same time.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Beylham concessi, dedi, et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Roberto filio Walteri de Meleford pro homagio et servicio suo et *produabus marcis argenti* quais mihi dedit in Gersumam†, *unam acram terre et dimidiam* cum suis pertinenciis in villa de Hausted. Quarum

* See Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum* Dissertation, p.28.

† This was the purchase money; not the earnest. The annual payment of a penny was to secure the purchaser from every kind of demand that could be made on the land.

dimidia acra predicte terre jacet juxta terram predicti Roberti ex una parte, et terram Williemi de Camera ex altera, cum omnibus sepibus et fossatis. Et una acra terre jacet juxta terram predicti Williemi de Camera ex una parte, et terram Johannis filii Mauricii ex altera. Salvo tamen dicto Roberto de Beylham tota pastura jacente ad capud predicte acre terre sue abeat in predicta terra tota magis aut minus, tenendum at abendum de me et heredibus meis predicto Roberto filio Walteri et heredibus suis vel assignatis suis, cuicumque, quibus, quando, ubicumque dare vendere vel assignare voluerint, libere, quiete, bene in pace, in feodo et hereditate perpetua, *reddendo inde annuatim* mihi vel heredibus meis, *unum denarium*, videlicet ad pascham, pro omnibus serviciis, consuetudinibus, exactionibus, cujuscumque sectis curie, regiis preceptis, et omnibus secularibus demandis. Et ego predictus Robertus de Beylham, et heredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et in omnibus defendemus totam predictam terram cum sepibus et fossatis predicto Roberto filio Walteri et heredibus suis vel assignatis suis per predictum servicium, *contra omnes homines et feminas**, in perpetuum. Et ut mea concessio, donacio, carte mee confirmatio rata permaneat et stabilis, huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus, Ricardo de Saxham, Roberto de Ros, Alexandro de Exninge, Semanno de Osmundesfelde, Alano de Broch, Alana Messore, Henrico filio suo, Wydone Maymund, Nocolao le Cupere.

The next is a few years after the two last, when deeds were generally dated. As it differs in many respects from the first of those two, and as leases of such early times are not very common, I shall transcribe it.

Hec est convencio facta inter Philippum Nuel ex una parte, et Henricum filium Nicholai de ancto Edmundo et Ricardum filium ejus ex altera parte; ita videlicet quod predictus Philippus concessit et dimisit predictis Henrico et Ricardo, ad totam vitam eorum, omnes terras et tenementa sua in Hausted et Neuton, pro decem Marcis argenti annuatim eidem Philippo et heredibus aut assignatis suis vel eorum heredibus, die sancti Michaelis in fine cujuslibet anni solvendis, aut suo certo atornato, scriptum de dimissione predicte terre inter eos factum deferenti,

* Mr. Barrington observes, that perhaps the first instance in the Statute Book of an apprehension, that a woman is not included in the word man, occurs 11 Edward III. Observations on the more Ancient Statutes, p 243. An earlier instance of such an apprehension appears in the present deed.

Una cum litera quietancie ejusdem termini, sigilla predicti Philippi vel heredum aut assignatorum suorum, si de so humanitus contingat, signata, bene et fideliter, et sine ulteriori dilacione in ecclesia conventuali sancti Edmundi coram altari sancti Nicolai. Tali tenore adjuncto, quod si contingat predictos Henricum vel Ricardum in solutione predictae pecunie, termino statuto, in parte vel in toto deficere, cum super hoc fuerint requisiti; predictus Henricus et Ricardus volant et concedunt quod predictus Philippus, &c. possit omnia tenementa in scripto contenta cum omnibus suis pertinenciis ingredi et seysire, et ea bene et pacifice recipere sibi et heredibus vel assignatis suis in perpetuum, scripto dimisionis inter eos confecto non obstante, sine aliquo clameo predictorum Henrici et Ricardi, seu alicujus nomine suo. Et post decessum predictorum Henrici et Ricardi omnia predicta tenementa cum pertinenciis predicto Philippo, &c. solute et quiete revertantur. Et si predictus Henricus et Ricardus in fata discedant ante terminum solutionis ultimi anni, quod absit, idem Henricus et Ricardus volunt et concedunt pro se et heredibus et executoribus suis, quod heredes vel executores eorum teneantur ad solutionem ultime ferme facte de fructibus de predictis terris et tenementis provenientibus; dummodo quod heredes et executores predictorum Henrici vel Ricardi habeant et teneant omnia tenementa predicta cum omnibus suis pertinenciis usque ad finem termini predicti. Et Henricus et Ricardus concedunt sub pena et districtione predicta, quod in predictis terris boacis domibus nee gardinis facient neque fieri permittent vastum venditionem nec destructionem, nisi tantummodo ad Husbote* et Heybote†. Hoc adjuncto, quod si contingat quod dominus rex Anglie ab eisdem Henrico et Ricardo simul cum aliis libere tenentibus in partibus illis demanda et talliagia exigat, quod absit, tunc predictus Philippus ab eisdem demandis eos.....cabit. In cujus rei testimonium alter alterius scripto ad modum cyrograffi‡ confecto sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Hiis testibus,

 * Wood, for firing.

† Wood for repairing the hedges. Bote, or Boot, means profit, advantage.

‡ An instrument of conveyance attested by witnesses was, in the Saxon times, called *Chirographum*, and by the Normans *Charta*. To prevent frauds, they made their deeds of mutual covenant in a part and counterpart, upon the same piece of parchment, and in the middle between the two copies drew the capital letters of the alphabet, or sometimes the word SNGRAPHUS, and then cut asunder, in an indented manner, the said piece, which, being delivered to the two parties concerned, were proved authentic by matching one another. When this prudent custom had for some time prevailed,

Waltero Freysell, Willielmo de Cramavile, Roberto de Ros, Semanno de Osmundisfelde, Roberto de Weylham, Galfrido Osborn, Nicholao Aldred, Adam de Saxham, Henrico filio Willielmi, et aliis. Datum apud sanctum Edmundum Die Lune proxime post festum, sancti Marci Evangeliste, anno regni Regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici decimo, finiente jam anno.

The seals of green wax are both preserved; one of them is, I believe an antique, with two human figures, one turning from the other, an oval, circumscribed, "Sigillum Henrici fil. Nicholai;" the other bears a lion rampant gardant, a circle, circumscribed, "Je suys sel de a Nuell" – it belonged, I suppose; to one of his ancestors.

At the same time, by another deed, Nuell let to the same persons for their joint lives, for 30 marcs of silver paid in hand, and, for 10 marcs annual rent, his whole messuage in Hausted, with all the lands, woods, meadows, pastures, rents, ways, paths, hedges, with all the other tenements in Hausted and Neuton* that in any manor belonged to it.

The parchment, of these deeds is of extreme thinness; and the writing still retains its original blackness.

14 Edward I as we have already seen, Thomas Fitz-Eustace, the chief lord of the village, held in his own hands 240 acres of arable land, 10 of meadow, and 10 of wood. William Talemache, the next, person in consequence to him, held 280 acres of arable land, 12 of meadow, and 24 of wood. Philip Noel, another principal proprietor, held 120 acres of arable land, 4 of meadow, and 7 of wood. Robert de Ros held 56 acres of arable land, 3 of meadow, and 5 of wood. Walter de Stanton held 80 acres of arable land, 3 of meadow and pasture, and 1 of wood. William de Cramavil1e held 140 acres of arable land, 6 of meadow and

the word Chirographum was appropriated to such bipartite writings. Kennett's Glossary. The present deed is thus indented; and its indented edge marked with large and small dimidiated letters, taken I believe at random. From the shortness of ancient deeds, and the abbreviated manner in which they were written, several pairs might be out out of the same skin of parchment."

* *Neuton or Nuton* was afterwards spelled *Nowton*, as *Nuell* became *Nowell*.

8 of wood. John Beylham held 52 acres of arable land, 2 of meadow, and 3 of wood. And several smaller tenants are not said to have any meadows or pastures.

From these instances it appears, that almost the whole attention of the farmer was bestowed all his plough. For these seven persons occupied among them, 968 acres of arable land, and only 40 of meadow, just 24 to 1; not that it is to be supposed that the smaller tenants had no pasture; or that the larger proprietors had among them all no more than 40 acres of land, for the feed of their cattle. Meadow ground was properly what was reserved for mowing; it was called, *pratum falcabile*. The borders of their arable lands were broad, and though abounding with trees and bushes, supplied doubtless a considerable quantity of grass. However, one acre of hay-ground or twenty-four of arable, was a very small proportion, and bespeaks a strong preference to tillage. I wish the record whence the above notes are taken, had recited the number of cows and sheep belonging to each land-holder.

Though their annual payments are all set down; yet nothing can with certainty be collected, with respect to the value of their lands, for they paid from almost 7d to less than a farthing an acre a year. Some of those who paid the very low rents, probably performed some service in husbandry for their landlord, in lieu of money; and some of the small sums were perhaps of the nature of quit-rents. However, we may not probably be far from the truth, if we lay their lands in general at 4d an acre*.

* In the seventh and eighth centuries a farm consisting of ten hides or plough lands was to pay the following low rent:

Ten casks of honey, three hundred loaves of bread; twelve casks of strong ale, thirty casks of small ale, two oxen, ten wedders, ten geese, twenty hens, ten cheeses, one cask of butter, five salmon, twenty loads of forage, and one hundred eels. The ordinary price of an acre of the best land in Cambridgeshire at this time sixteen Saxon pennies, or about four shillings of our money. (Young's Annals of Agriculture, vol. XXI. p. 436.)

T.G.C.

In the year 1281, the prices of various kind of grain, the produce of this village, were as follows: Of wheat, about the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January), from 4s. 3d. to 4s. 5d. a quarter; in Lent, 4s. 6d. afterwards, 4s. 8d.; of siligo*, from 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.; of barley, 3s. 6¹/₂d.; of new pease, from 2s. 9¹/₂d to 2s. 11¹/₂d.; of old pease, 2s. 4¹/₂d .; of dragett†, 2s.8d.; of oats, from 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d.

This was a year of moderate plenty, and therefore may be considered as the standard of the prices of grain, about this period; for in turning over the Chron. Pret. I find, that at different times, from 1246 to 1270, wheat sold at what were then all esteemed the enormous rates of 13s. 4d.; 16s; £4. 16s. and even £6. 8s. a quarter, if the author may be credited, who says at the same time, that provisions were so scarce, that parents

* *Siligo* was a kind of light and white wheat‡. Pliny says of it, *siliginem* propriis dixerim tritici delicias; candor est, sine virtute, et sine pondere, conveniens humidis tractibus –e siligine lautissimus panis. Vulgo ble blanc says his comentator. Googe, in his Husbandry, printed in 1577, in his account of the different kinds of wheat, says, *Robus* is the fairest and weightiest; *Siligo* is used in the finest cheate; *Trimestre* is ripe in three months. *Siligo*, says Littleton in his Dictionary, is a fine wheat, of which they make manchet. The Chronicon Pretiosum in the year 1387 (where the author says, he knows not what it is) makes it 1s. a quarter, when wheat was 2s. In a Compotus of the year 1405 (supplied me by a friend) it was 4s. a quarter, when wheat was 5s.4d. which I apprehend was a very great price for it. .

† Draget is oats and barley mixed together. It occurs in the will of lady Clare, who died in 1360. See Royal Wills. Tusser, who farmed in this county about the middle of the sixteenth century, calls it dredge:

Thy dredge and thy barley go thresh out to malt.
Sow barley and dredge with a plentiful hand.

‡ *Triticum hybernum* γ spica et granis albis, a variety of our Winter or Lammas wheat. (Professor Martyn's edition of Miller's Dictionary.) I find the following early mention of *Siligo*; "Abbas et conventus Bordeale (Bordesley in Worcestershire) concesserunt Willelmo Pistori ad vitæ subsidium quamdiu in seculari habitu vixerit, 24 quarteria bladi, medietatem scilicet frumenti, et medietatem Siliginis ad mensuram quarterii Coventriensis episcopi quæ est apud Techelesbroc (Tachbrook, near Warwick), &c. Hæc convention facta est anno 27mo regni Domini regis Henrici Secundi."

(Report of Public Records, folio, 1800. Explanatio Tabulæ VII,) T.

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ate their children. In 1243, it sold at 2s. a quarter; in 1286, at 2s. 8d.; in 1288, it sunk to 1s. and in the North and West parts, even to 8d. Supposing then 4s. 6d. to be about the mean price of a quarter of wheat, and 4d. a year's rent of an acre of land, the disproportion between the produce of the land and its rent is almost incredible; for, if (as I suspect) an acre produced, in general, only $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarter*, it would, if the ground was cropped only two years together, give the husbandman 13 times the rent of his land one year with another; a profit, which the best farmers, in the present state of improved agriculture, can rarely, I believe reach. That lands should be thus rated, can only be attributed to the frequent and almost entire failures of their crops, unknown in modern times, in well cultivated countries; and which must have been owing to an ill managed husbandry, that sunk entirely under an unfavourable season. At one time we are told, the ground was so hard that it could not be tilled; at another, that the rain and hail destroyed the crops; the consequence was, not only a scarcity but often a famine. Even so late as the reign of queen Mary, Bullein tells us, that "bread was so skant, insomuch that the plain poor people did make much of acorns; and a sickness of a strong fever did sore molest the commons." Bulwark of Defence, fol. 30.

Not that we are to imagine, that good husbandry was not now known; for some writers, even before this period, have shewn the contrary; but to know and to practise are very different things. Are there not invincible prejudices, even in this enlightened age, with which agriculture

* The learned author of Flets, who wrote about this period, and who, in his Treatise of Law, has not disdained inserting several particulars relative to rural economy, informs us, that if an acre of wheat yield only three times the seed sown, the farmer will be a loser, unless corn should sell dear. His calculation is this: three ploughings 1s 6d; harrowing 1d; two bushels of seed 1s; weeding one halfpenny; reaping 5d; carrying 1d; in all 3s $1\frac{1}{2}$ d which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ d more than the value of 6 bushels. I.II. c. 82. Nothing is said of the rent of the land, expense of manuring, &c. This account would have been more curious, had the author informed me, what was then esteemed a fair average crop. I have supposed it double.

has to contend? In how many parts of this island do turnips still remain unhoed?

The same year, 1281, the price of a bullock was 8s. 6d.; of a hog 2s. 6d.; of a pig 6d.; of threshing a quarter of wheat 3d.; of siligo $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of barley $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of pease 2d.; of draget 1d.; of oats 1d.; a man's wages for cutting fire-wood for two days was 4d. which seems great pay. A carter was allowed for his Easter-day's repast 1d. Another had four bushels of siligo for six weeks work of various kinds; and a girl for winnowing corn, and keeping the young heifers, geese and poultry, of the manor, for fourteen weeks, 1 quarter of the same grain. A servant called a Daye*, had 12d. for the same employment, from Michaelmas to Easter†.

In 1359, the lord of the principal manor held in his own hands 572 acres of arable land, estimated from 4d. to 8d. an acre; and eight pieces of meadow, or mowing-ground, valued at 20s 4d a year; the quantity of which was probably about 50 acres. For though the larger parcels are each valued in the gross at so many shillings a year, yet the quantities of three of the smaller are specified; one piece of three acres was valued at 10s. a year; one of 1 acre at 5s; and another at 4s. Taking

 * He occurs sometimes as an attendant upon the cartor. Sometimes it should seem as if he belonged to the dairy, by having calves to sell. He was certainly of the lowest class of servants, as he is always placed the last in the list, and with small wages; probably, what we should now call a day labourer, a person employed about any work. He occurs in the statutes of 25 and. 37 Edward III. in the latter of which, the old English translation calls him a Deyar. Chaucer, whom no contemporary character could escape, thus alludes to his frugal fare, where in the Nonne's Preeste's Tale he is describing a poor widow;

No win ne drank she, neither white ne red;
 Hire bord was served most with white and black,
 Milk and brown bred, in which she found no lack;
 Seinde bacon, and sometime an ey or twey;
 For she was as it were a maner *Dey* - i.e. a kind of Dey.

†Is there not some mistake? Is not the sum of 12d. too small, even at the above calculation of the value of provisions? T.G. C.

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therefore the mean price of 4s. the 202s. 4d. was probably the annual value of about 50 acres. He had besides, in *Circuitu Broci**, pasture for 24 cows, worth 36s.; as also for 12 horses, and as many oxen, worth 48s. a year. He held also 40 acres of wood, valued at 1s. an acre; and the croppings of the trees and hedges about his fields, at 6s. 8d. a year.

Though, from the increased quantity of grass-grounds, the consumption of flesh-meat was probably increased; yet the poor land-holders, who were obliged by their tenures to work for the lord so many days in hay-time and harvest, had, at this time, no other allowance of animal food than two herrings a day each, and some milk from the manor dairy to make them cheese; they had besides each man a loaf, of which 15 made a bushel, and an allowance of drink, not specified. Of these there were eleven, who were to perform, amongst them, 42 days work in hay-time, and 60 in harvest.

The great inferiority of arable land to meadow, in point of value, in about the proportion of one to eight, may be accounted for from the small quantity of the latter, at a time when hay was so great a part of the support of the live stock in winter. Why there was so small a quantity of it, may not be so easy to say.

In 1386, the produce of the farm, which the lady of the manor held in her own hands, was, according to the bailiff's account (which was always from Michaelmas to Michaelmas) 69 quarters $5\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat; 54 quarters 4 bushels of barley; 11 quarters 7 bushels of pease; 29 quarters of harast†; and 65 quarters 4 bushels of oats.

* Brocus is a brook or a small stream. In a survey of this manor in 1581, we have, Brocum sive Fosatum, and Torrentum sive Brocum. The demesnes were watered with a rivulet, the shrubby banks of which afforded a considerable quantity of pasture.

† What particular grain this was, I cannot say; but its name implies, that it was a horse-corn, from Haracium (Lat.) and Haras (Fr.), which signify a stud of horses: and the accounts before me shew, that horses were served with it, both threshed and in sheaves: and one year the sheep, in winter, had 120 sheaves of it, 42 of which made a bushel. It was threshed at the same price as pease and oats, which was 2d. a quarter, while wheat was threshed at 4d.

Oat-meal was part of the food of servants. This year, 12 bushels were used for the broth of seven. Tusser, a Suffolk farmer, tells us:

Though never so much a good huswife doth care,
That such as do labour have husbandly fare;
Yet feed them, and cram them, till purse doth lack chinke
No spoon meat, no belly full, labourers thinke.

This is not the case now. Pork and bacon are the Suffolk labourer's delicacies; and bread and cheese his ordinary diet.

In 1387, 66 acres were sown with wheat, allowing 2 bushels to an acre; 26 acres with barley, allowing 4 bushels to an acre; 25 acres with pease; 25 acres with haras; 62 acres with oats, allowing $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of each to an acre.

The stock was 4 cart horses (*equi carectarii*), 6 stone-horses (*stotti**), 10 oxen†, 1 bull, 26 cows, 6 heifers, 6 calves, 92 muttons, 10 score of

* Query, colts or young horses? A colt or young horse, by Chaucer called a Stod, as now in the North, a Stot. (White Kennett's Glossary, in his Antiquities, under the article Pullanus.) T. G.C.

† By, all the accounts I have, it appears, that the numbers of horses and oxen kept for labour were equal. The latter were also fed with oats, and shod in frosty weather. It cannot be unpleasing to those who are interested in this subject, to hear what the old author of Fleta says about it. A plough of oxen (*caruca boum*, a pair I suppose), with two horses, will do as much as if they were all horses. A plough of oxen will go forward in heavy land, where one of horses would stop. A horse kept for labour ought to have every night the sixth part of a bushel of oats; for an ox $3\frac{1}{2}$ measures of oats, 10 of which make a bushel, are sufficient for a week. L. II. C.73. It is of service to oxen, to be rubbed twice a day with a whisp of straw, as by those means they will take more pleasure in licking themselves-*eo quod affectius lambebunt*, c.76, where more of their utility may be seen. Harrison, in his Description of Britain, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle, mentions an odd practice, in his time, with respect to this animal. When they "are young" says he, "many graziers will oftentimes annoynt their budding hornes, or "typpes of hornes, with hony, which mollyfieth the natural hardness of that substance, and thereby maketh it grow into a notable greatness‡. Certes, it is not straunge in England to see oxen, whose hornes have the length of three foot between the typpes," p.220. These large horns must have been often inconvenient in husbandry; but horn was a most useful article in various manufactures, particularly that of drinking cups, of which those of the largest size have ever been most esteemed.

‡ "In Lancashire now heated with cloths wet with hot water, and softened to lay them out handsomely." G. A.

Hogerells (sheep of the 2d year), 1 gander, 4 geese (*auc. marol**), 30 capont, 1 cock, 26 hens.

The quantity of arable land in tillage, this year, appears, from the above account, to have been 214 acres. The whole, therefore, supposing one-third lay fallow was 321; a great decrease from 572, which was the arable part of the demesnes in 1359. The dairy is rather increased; and a flock of near 300 sheep is now mentioned. There was nothing said of a flock before, though doubtless there was one; but if it had been of the consequence of that at present, it would hardly have been passed over in silence. Of the meadows or pasture grounds, no particulars occur; yet it may be concluded, they had continued to increase, from the dairy and flock increasing while the arable land decreased. There were also let this year, the pasture, and the herbage of pasture, of several pieces, the sizes of which are not specified.

The dairy of 26 cows was let for £8 a year, *ad plenam firmam*; the lactage of a cow with its calf, and a hen, being rated at 6s. 8d‡; and two cows thrown into the bargain (*pret. Ij vacc. in avantag.*) Wheat

* *Auc marol* must mean geese, as distinguished from ganders. In 1387, there is an allowance of oats expended *super aucismarol*. In 1589, it is expressed, *super aucis pond*. The last word perhaps from the French *pondre*, to lay an egg. The word *marol* is not in the Glossaries.

† The custom of making capons is said to have been introduced among us by the Romans. Capo.

Ne nimis exhausto macresceret inguine gallus,
Amisit testes. Martial, 1. xiii. ep. 63.

It is remarkable, that the art of preparing this article of luxury should be entirely lost in this neighbourhood; a capon never appearing in Bury market, though so common in the London markets.

[Antiently the usual *New Year's Gift* of tenantry in the country to their landlords was a capon. Archæologia, vol:XV p.159 note. T. G. C.]

‡ This was also the rent of the lactage of a cow, with its calf, in 1388, in the adjoining village of Horningsheath: when also the lactage of 91 sheep was let at 1¹/₂ d. each. It is much that no mention is made of this latter kind of lactage, in this village. It was an object of rural economy, at least as late as the time of Tusser, who gives several directions about it; and Harrison says, that "ewes milk, added to that of kine, makes cheese n that "abides longer moist, and eats more brickle and mellow".

was

was sold for 4s a quarter; oats for 2s.; two stone-horses (I suppose entirely worn out) for 5s.; a cart-horse for 21s.; a cow for 4s.; an ox for 13s. 6d.; a boar for 1s. 8d.; a capon for 4d.

A cart-horse* was bought for 30s.; 30 fowls to be made capons, for 2s. 3d.; a goose (*auc. rnarol.*) for 6d.; a hen for 2d. Wheat was threshed for 4d. a quarter, and other grain for 2d. A reaper had 4d. a day. 1s 11d. was paid for cutting and tying up 3 acres of wheat, *per taskam*; and 3s. 4d. for cutting and tying up 6 acres of bolymong; a pair of cart wheels cost 6s.

In 1388, the produce of the farm was 69 quarters 2 bushels of wheat; 52 quarters 2 bushells of barley; 23 quarters 3 bushels of pease; 28 quarters of haras; 40 quarters 41 bushels of oats.

In 1389, 57 acres were sown with wheat; 24 acres with barley; 22 acres with pease; 38 acres with haras; 54¹/₂ acres with oats.

Wheat sold for 4s. and 5s. a quarter; barley for 3s.; oats for 2s. An old stallion grown useless (*quod inutilis pro stauro*) for 12s.; a cow for 3s. 8d.; another for 4s. 6d.; a pig or porker (*porcellus*) for 1s. 4d.; a capon for 4d.; a cart-load of hay for 5s.; a cow's hide for 1s. 8d.

A horse hide tawed† (*dealbatum*) was bought for 1s.; bulmong‡ for 2s. a quarter; a stone-horse for 15s.; a calf for 1s. Wheat was threshed

* Though in these accounts *cart-horses* and *stallions* appear to be distinguished, yet, we learn from Harrison, that in the reign of Elizabeth, horses kept for draught or burden were stoned, and geldings appropriated to the saddle. "Our land," says he, "dooth yield no asses and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our carriage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserved for the cart, or are appointed to beare such burdens as are convenient for them. Our cart or plough-horses (for we use them indifferentlie) are commonly so strong, that five or six of them will draw three thousand weight of the greatest tale, with ease, for a long journie, although it be not a load of common usage, which consisteth onlie of two thousand. Such as are kept also for burden will carie four hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hindrance. P220.

Very few stone-horses are now kept in the county, except for propagation.

† *Tawed* is dressed white, with allum. *Tawers of lether* are mentioned among the artificers in a statute of 23 Edward III. [Quere; Whitsters. T. G. C.]

‡ *Bulmong* or *Bolymong*, a word still familiar to us, means peas and oats sown together.

for 4d. a quarter; barley, pease, and haras, for 2d. 44 hogs, or hoggerels (for they are called both) were ge1t for 1s. 8d. 60 persons, hired for one day to weed corn, had 2d. each. Meadow ground was mown for 6d. an acre; malt made for 6d. a quarter; and 6 yards of canevas for table-cloths, cost 12d.

In 1390, the produce of the farm was 42 quarters 1 bushel of wheat, from 57 acres, which is less than 6 bushels an acre; 38 quarters 2 bushels of barley, from 24 acres, which is better than 12 bushe1s an acre; 34 quarters 2¹/₂ bushels of pease, from 22 acres, which is better than 12 bushels an acre; the quantity of haras is obliterated; 33 quarters 2 bushels of oats, from 54¹/₂ acres, which is about 5 bushe1s an acre.

Either of the two first-mentioned crops, of 1386 and 1388, would ruin a modern farmer. For in three nearly successive years there were 183 acres sown with wheat; we may therefore conclude, that the annual number was about 61. Yet in neither of the best years did the quantity of wheat reach 70 quarters. However, no particular dearness of corn followed; so that, probably, those very scanty crops were the usual and ordinary effects of the imperfect husbandry then practiced. And this too, as being the manor farm, was likely to be at least as well cultivated as any in the village. But the produce of the present year bears a more melancholy aspect. Less than 6 bushels of wheat from an acre is not only a crop, by which a tolerably managed farm is now rarely or never disgraced, in the most unfavourable season; but it even then produced a great scarcity: for wheat rose from 4s. and 5s. a quarter, to 13s. 4d.; barley from 3s. to 5s. 6d.; oats from 2s. to 6s. 8d.; pease were sold at 8s. a quarter; and of wheat there were sold only 3 quarters, whereas in one of the former years there were 18; in the other 24.

An ox was sold for 12s.; 5 acres of wheat stubble for 1s. 6d.*; a cow's hide for 1s. 2d.; the pease of the garden for 6s.

A cow, with her calf, was bought for 10s.; another for 6s.; a third for 7s. 3d.; two cows, before calving, for 15s. 1d.; a boar for 2s. 7d.; and

* I doubt they were not good farmers enough to make dung of it. More likely to burn. It is, however, evident, that this practice of mowing wheat stubbles, so common here at present, is very antient. Mr. A. Young's note on this particular, quoted in his "Annals of Agriculture," vol. II. p. 337

6 calves, the property of the daye, for 6S. 3S 4D was paid for the exchange of barley for seed.

A carpenter's wage was 4d. a day. A man hired for $3\frac{1}{2}$ days to fill the dung-cart, had 10d.; a serjeant's* (*servient*) wages were 13s. 4d. a year; a carter's 10s.; a ploughman's (*tentoris caruce*) 10s.; a plough-driver's (*fugatoris caruce*) 6s. 8d.; a shepherd's 10s. 4d.; a daye's 5s.; and three men had 1s. 6d. for going to Sudbury (16 miles off) to fetch tiles for the friars at Babwell near Bury.

Sixty acres were sown with wheat, $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushel to an acre; 32 acres with barley; 31 acres with pease; 23 acres with haras, 3 bushels to an acre; 48 acres with oats.

In a life of husbandry, the harvest is ever an affair of the greatest consequence. I have therefore thrown together two years' transactions of that season, that we may form the better idea how that important business was conducted.

The outgoings on that occasion were called the costs of autumn (*custus autumnales*), and are thus stated.

In 1388, the expences of a ploughman, head reaper, baker, cook, brewer, deye, $244\frac{1}{2}$ reapers‡, hired for one day, 30 bedrepes§ (*precar'*), the men fed, according to custom, with bread and herring, 3 quarter 3 bushels of wheat from the stock; 5 quarters 3 bushels of malt from the stock; meat bought, 10s. 10d.; 5 sheep from the stock; fish and herrings bought, 5s.; herrings bought for the customary tenants, 7d.; cheese, milk,

* *Serviens de manerio*. A steward who is employed by the lord to occupy some particular grounds, and to account for the yearly profits of them. Kennet's Glossary.

† It is his business to yoke the oxen equally, and drive them without either striking, goading, or over-pressing them. He should be neither melancholy nor passionate, but, lively, and full or singing, cheering with his tunes the labouring cattle. He should feed, and be fond of them, sleep with them every night, scratch, curry, and wipe them (*prurire, striliare, torcare*.) Fleta 1.ii. c. 78

‡ The meaning of this, I suppose, is that one of the men was employed only half a day, (or perhaps one of the reapers was a lad.' T. G. C.)

§ *Bedrepes* were days of work performed in harvest time by the customary tenants, at the *bidding* or requisition of their lords.

and butter, bought* 9s. 6d.; salt 3d.; candles 5d.; pepper 3d.; spoons, dishes, and faucets, 5d.

30 bedrepes, as before; 19 reapers, hired for one day, at their own board, 4d. each; 80 men, for one day, and kept at the lady's board, 4d. each; 140¹/₂ men hired for one day, at 3d. each: the wages of the head-reaper 6s. 8d.; of the brewer 3s. 4d.; of the cook 3s. 4d. 30 acres of oats tied up, *by the job* as we now call it (*per taskam*), 1s. 8d.; 6 acres of bolymong cut, and tied up, by the job, 3s. 4d.; 16 acres of pease, cut by the job, 8s.; 5 acres of pease and bolymong cut, and tied up, by the job, 2s. 6d.; 3 acres of wheat cut, and tied up, by the job, 1s 11d.

In 1389, the expences of a carter, ploughman, head-reaper, cook, baker, brewer, shepherd, deye, 221 reapers hired for one day, 44 pitchers†, stackers, and reapers (*pitcher, tassator, metent*), for one day, 22 reapers, hired for one day, for good will (*de amore‡*), 20 customary tenants; 2 quarters 6 bushels of wheat from the stock; beer 8d.; 5 quarters 1 bushel of malt 18s 9¹/₂ d.; meat 9s 11¹/₂d.; fish and herring for 6 bideron §, 4s. 8d.; herrings for the customary tenants, 5d.; cheese, butter, milk and eggs, 8s.3¹/₂d.; oatmeal 5d.; salt 3d.; pepper and saffron 10d.¶

* The dairy was let; which was the reason that these articles were bought.

† Hence a pitch-fork: sometimes called a pike, or pike-fork:

A rake for to rake up the fitchcs that lie,

A *pike* for to *pike* them up handsome to drie. TUSSER.

‡ Love days in Shropshire. T. G. C.

§ Bedrcpes. Q?

¶ This Oriental plant was first cultivated in England in the reign of Edward III. but used here before he was born; for in 1309, when Ralphe Bourne was installed abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, one article of the dinner's expences was *saffron* and pepper 33s. *Lel. Coll.* vol. VI. p.35. In 1366, no less than 18 pounds of saffron were consumed in the household of Margaret countess of Norfolk at Framlingham Castle, in this county. Extracts from her steward's account, in my possession. It continued long to be a considerable article of cookery, as well as medicine: "I must have saffron", says the clown in the *Winter's Tale*, "to colour the warden pies." But, according to the revolution of fashions, its use has of late much decreased in both. It was chiefly cultivated in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgehire; now, I believe, only in the last. Several

pieces

candles 6d.; 5 pair of gloves* 10d.; dishes 1d.; spoons 1½d.; fausets 1d.

pieces of land in this county still retain its name; at. Fornham St. Genenevieve is a piece called *Saffron Yard*; another at Great Thurlow, the *Saffron Ground* and a piece, of glebe land near Finningham church-yard, the *Saffron Pans*, or Panes, so named, I suppose, from the slips, or beds, in which the plants were set.

In having but forty foot workmanly dight,

Take saffron enough for a lord and a knight.

TUSSER

It will add but little to the length of this note to observe, that this is the only plant in the world, of which the *stigmas* or *summits* are useful.

[Mr. Cole, in his Manuscript Collections now in the British Museum, says, it appears from the Registry of Wills in the Bishop of Ely's office Cambridge, that between 1515 and 1533 Saffron was cultivated in the following towns and villages in Cambridgeshire: Baberham, Barrington, Botesham, Chesterford, Foxton, Fulburne, Horseth, Ickleton, Pampisford, Quy, Sawston, Shelford, Shepereth, Swafham Prior, Teversham, Trumpington and Wilberham Parva. Other wills, he adds, shew the cultivation of Saffron in portions of different extent between 1539 and 1557, in the following parishes: Balsham, Bassingbourn, Fen Ditton, Fulmer, Hurston, Hawkston, Hinxton, Steple Morden, Newton, Reche, Stapleford, Study Camps, Thriplow, and Wratting.

He adds, that a proviso respecting the tithes of that Plant occurs in a composition between Peter House College, Cambridge, and the vicar of Thriplow, as long ago as 1474.

In 1781 the culture of it was principally confined to a few villages on the South of Cambridge: Baberham, Hawkston, Newton, Pampisford, Shelford, and Stapleford.

On the culture of saffron see the Description of England prefixed to Holinshed, and Philosophical Transactions No.138, 480,495, and 538; Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. V.; Professor Martyn's folio edition of Miller's Gardener's Dictionary. H. E. J.

(In the Churchwardens Accounts of St. Mary Hill, London, in 1516, at an obit:

	£.	S.	d.	
Sugar 1 lb	0	0	7	
Two ounces of pepper	0	0	2	
Half an ounce of Saffron	0	0	5	
One ounce maces and cloves	0	0	5	
Two great dishes of butter	0	0	5	Nichols's Illustrations

p.106.

In the time of Henry V. anno 1413-1422, the clothiers of Kendal in Westmorland ventured to bring their cloths to Sturbridge fair on packhorses travelling at the rate of 15 miles a day; and instead of money they bartered part of their woollen manufactures *for Saffron* and supplied with that commodity the druggists and the apothecaries shops of several monasteries on their return home. (Historical Account of Sturbridge and Bury Fair.)

Our European name *Saffron* is evidently from the Arabic *Sahafaran*. T.G.C.}

* Give *gloves* to thy reapers, a largess to cry. TUSSER - The rural bridegroom, in

212 reapers hired for one day, 3d. each, besides their board. 13 acres of wheat cut, tied up, and treselled (*treseland*) at 7d. an acre; 1 acre of oats, cut, tied up, and treselled, at 5d.; 6 yards of canevas for the table, 12d.; grinding 5 quarters 1 bushel of malt, 8d.

What a scene of bustling industry was this! for, exclusive of the baker, cook and brewer, who, we may presume, were fully engaged in their own offices, here were 553 persons employed in the first year; in the second, 520; and in a third of which I have not given the particulars, 538 : yet the annual number of acres, of all sorts of corn, did not much exceed 200. From this prodigious number of hands, the whole business (except some smaller parcels put out by the job) must have been soon finished. There were probably two principal days; for two large parties were hired, every year, for one day each. And these days were perhaps at some distance from each other, as all the different sorts of corn were scarce^{ly} ripe at the same time. Yet I know not, if the object was to finish the general harvest in two or three days, whether all the crops might not be sown so as to be all fit to be cut at once. The farmers at present sow their different grains with a view to a harvest of about five weeks continuance.

These antient harvest days must have exhibited one of the most cheerful spectacles in the world. One can hardly imagine a more animated scene than that of between two and three hundred harvest people all busily employed at once, and enlivened with the expectation of a festivity, which perhaps they experienced but this one season in the year. All the inhabitants of the village, of both sexes, and of all ages, that could work, must have been assembled on the occasion; a muster, that in the present state of things would be impossible. The suc-

Laneham's or Langham's account of the entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Kenelworth Castle, in 1575, had "*a payr of harvest gloves* on his hands, as a sign of good husbandry." The monastery at Bury allowed several of its servants 2d. apiece for *glove silver*, in autumn,

cess of thus compressing so much business into so short a time must have depended on the weather. But dispatch seems to have been the plan of agriculture at this time, at least in this village. We have seen before, that sixty persons were hired for one day to weed the corn.

These throngs of harvest people were superintended by a person who was called the head-reaper. (*supermessor*, elsewhere emphatically *messor*, and *præpositus*), who was annually elected and presented to the lord by the inhabitants; and it should seem that, in this village at least, he was always one of the customary tenants. The year he was in office, he was exempt from all or half of his usual rents and services, according to his tenure; was to have his victuals and drink at the lord's table, if the lord kept house (*si dominus hospitium tenuerit*); if he did not, he was to have a livery of corn, as other domestics had; and his horse was to be kept in the manor stable. He was next in dignity to the steward and bailiff.

The hay harvest was an affair of no great importance. There were but thirty acres of grass annually mown at this period. This was done, or paid for, by the customary tenants. The price of mowing an acre was 6d.†

Leases and rentals must now continue this detail, as I have no more bailiffs' accounts, which throw light on so many particulars relative to rural life. But I cannot dismiss them, without remarking, that they are all in Latin with almost every syllable abbreviated. But how absurd was it for a servant to lay before his mistress the long detail of her year's income and expences in a language that was probably equally

* The person, I suppose, designed by TUSSER, where he says;
Grant *harvest lord* more by a peny or two,
To call on his fellows the better to do.

† See the extracts given from this book, with Mr. Arthur Young's remarks, in "Annals of Agriculture," 8vo, 1784, vol. II. p. 332-338. T. G. C.

unintelligible to them both! The person who audited the account, and whose fee for it, always appears as an item, most likely wrote it out, and explained it to the parties. The inconveniences of thus transacting business in an unknown tongue must have been very great, and the persons interested must have often felt themselves much embarrassed. And therefore the countess of Stafford, who died 17 Henry VI. said, with much good sense, "I ordeyne and make my testament in English tonge, for my most profit, redyng, and understanding*".

In 1410, Sir William Clopton granted the following lease:

Hec indentura testatur, quod Willielmus Clopton miles concessit, tradidit, et ad firmam dimisit, Waltero Bone de Bury sancti Edmundi, manerium suum de Hausted juxta Bury in com. Suffolk, cum omnibus suis pertinentibus, et proficuis predicto manerio per totum predictum comitatum qualitercunque spectantibus, excepta advocacione ecclesie ville de Hausted, una cum wardis, maritagiiis, releviis, et eschaetis; et salva eidem Willielmo, in manerio predicto, aula cum cameris, coquina, domo molendini, et uno stabulo cum duabus cameis, uno gardino juxta aulam, et omnibus stagnis infra predictum manerium, cum libero ingressu et egressu pro se et assignatis suis, per totum terminum subscriptum. Habendum et tenendum predictum manerium, cum omnibus suis pertinentibus, exceptis pre-exceptis, predicto Waltero et assignatis suis, a festo Paschæ proxime futuro, usque ad terminum et finem.... annorum ex tunc proxime sequentium et plene completorum; reddendo inde annuatim predicto Willielmo aut assignatis suis viginti libras legalis monete, ad festis sancti Michaelis archangeli, et paschæ, equis porcionibus. Et predictus Walterus solvet capitalibus dominis feodi servicia inde debita et consueta, nec non satisfaciet penes dominum regem, et quoscunque alios, pro omnibus oneribus dicto manerio per totum terminum supradictum quovia modo incumbentibus. Ac etiam reparabit et sustentabit omnes domos et muros predicti manerii in coopertura et daubura, sumptibus suis propriis, durante termino predicto; excepto quod non reparabit aut sustentabit aliquas domos aut muros predicto Willielmo et assignatis suis superius. Et predictus Walterus loppabit et shredabit, in predicto manerio, temporibus congruis et seasonalibus, durante termino predicto; excepto quod non loppabit aut

* Royal Wills, by Nichols, p. 278

shredabit arbores circa borderas fossatorum predicti manerii, nec shredabit nec loppabit arbores circa predictum manerium, durante termino predicto. Et quod predictus Walterus recipiet de predicto Willielmo, in principio termini predicti, staurum subscriptum, videlicet, xx vaccas, et j taurum, pretium cujuslibet capitis ixs. iiij stottos; pretium cujuslibet, capitis xs.; et iiij boves, pretium cujuslibet capitis xiijs. iiijd. Predictus Walterus vult, et concedit per presentes, quod ipse liberabit, et sursum reddet predicto Willielmo, aut assignatis suis, totum predidum staurum, in fine termini predicti, aut pretium cujuslibet capitis capiendum est ad electionem predicti Willielmi, aut assignatorum suorum. Et predictus Walterus tot acras terre in predicto manerio, in eadem cultura et sesona aratas, seminatas, et composatas, in fine termini predicti dimittet, sicut eas in principio termini recepit. Et predictus Willielmus non se intromittet deservientibus dicti Walteri, nec de cultura terre predicti manerii, durante termino predicto: nec persequetur contra aliquos servientes vel tenentes ville de Hausted, infra terminum predictum, vel post, pro aliqua transgressione facta per dictos servientes vel tenentes, durante termino predicto. Et predictus Willielmus habebit aysiamenta grangiarum, et domorum dicti manerii, pro bladis suis ibidem liberandis et exonerandis, cum libero ingressu & egressu, pro se et assignatis suis, a festo Pasche proxime futuro post datum presentium, usque ad nativitatem sancti Johannis Baptiste tunc proxime sequens, sine contradictione predicti Walteri, seu cujusdam alterius. Et predictus Walterus habebit aysiamenta grangiarum et domorum predicti manerii, pro bladis suis ibidem liberandis et exonerandis, cum libero ingressu et egressu pro se et assignatis suis, a festo Pasche infra terminum predictum, usque ad festum nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste et tunc proxima sequens, sine contradictione predicti Willielmi, seu cujuscumque alterius. Et si predicta firma a retro fuerit in parte vel in toto, ad aliquos terminos supradictos, quindenam, tunc bene liceat predicto Willielmo, aut assignatis suis, in predicto manerio, cum omnibus pertinentibus suis predictis, et in qualibet parcella eorundem, distringere, et distractiones abinde abfugare, asportare, et remove, quousque de arreragiis dicte firme plene fuerit satisfactum. Et si predicta firma a retro fuerit in parte vel in toto ad aliquos terminos supradictos, per unum mensem, tunc bene liceat predicto Willielmo, aut assignatis suis, in predictum manerium cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, simul cum omnibus bonis et catallis ibidem inventis, reintrare, et in pristino statu suo retinere, presenti dimissione ullo modo non obstante. Et ad omnes et singulas convenciones supra dictas bene et fideliter ex parte dicti Walteri tenendas et observandas, idem Wal-

terus

terus obligat se et heredes et executores suos in centum libris legalis monete solvendis eidem Willielmo aut executoribus suis, si defecerit in premissis, vel in aliquot premissorum. Et ad omnes et singulas convenciones supradictas bene et fideliter ex parte dicti Willielmi tenendas et observandas, idem Willielmus obligat se, heredes et executores suos in centum libris legalis monete, solvendis eidem Waltero vel executoribus suis, si defecerit in premissis, vel in aliquo premissorum. In cujus rei testimonium, his indenturis partes supradicte alternatim sigilla sua apposuerunt. Datum die Lune in festo sancti Mathie apostolic, anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum undecimo.

Though the manor, or demesne lands, above demised, were well understood by the parties concerned, yet modern curiosity is disappointed at not being informed of the number of acres, as well as of the rent. The landlord reserved to himself the advowson of the rectory, with the wards, marriages, reliefs, and escheats; besides the manor-house, with its chambers *, kitchen, mill-house, a stable with its chambers, a garden near the house, and all the ponds. The tenant was to maintain all the houses and walls (except those which the landlord reserved to himself) in covering and daubing†; and not lop and shred the trees about the borders of the enclosures, nor those that immediately surrounded the manor-house. He was to receive, at the beginning of his term, several head of live stock, the price of which was fixed, and which he was to deliver up at the expiration of it, or their value in money, at the option

* These were probably servants' rooms; which as well as the kitchen, were detached from the house, as I believe was not uncommon in former times.

† Most of our inferior houses, and several barns &c. have their walls still daubed. The composition is a light-coloured marle, dug a little below the surface of the ground, in several parts of the village: it is very tenacious; and when well kneaded with straw, and some additional chalk, forms a compact mortar, which, if tolerably sheltered from the weather, by projecting roofs, and eaves-boards, or weather-boards, will last fifty years. Cottages thus plastered or daubed are warm and comfortable; their walls are not subject to grow moist by change of weather; and, in my opinion, look better than those in many parts, which are formed of ill-shapen fragments of stones cemented with a soil that is yearly crumbling away.

of the landlord. He was also to leave, at the end of his lease, as many acres, as well ploughed, sowed, and manured, as he received at first. The landlord was not to interfere with his tenant's servants, nor with the culture of land; nor prosecute any of those servants, nor any tenants of the village, either during, or after the lease, for any trespasses committed during that term. If the rent was in arrear, either in part, or in the whole, for a fortnight after the two days of payment, the landlord might distrain; if for a month, re-enter and repossess. Each of the parties bound themselves to forfeit 100*l* upon the violation of any part of the agreement.

What a picture of the violence and disorder of the times! What tenant now thinks it necessary to stipulate with his landlord, that he shall not interfere with the culture of his farm; nor prosecute any of his servants or dependants for any misdemeanours they may commit? Did the tenant want to screen his husbandmen from the justice of the law, or from the arbitrary violence of his landlord?

Upon how short a default of payment might the tenant's property be seized! and how enormous was the penalty (no less than five years rent) on either party, upon the infraction of any of the articles!

The prohibition of breaking up pastures, that was never omitted in after-times, does not appear from this lease to have been now thought necessary. The tenant was only bound to leave as much and as well cultivated arable land, as he had received. Attention was even now paid to the preservation of timber.

Several rentals, about this time, specify rents, but not the number of acres. One, however, in 1420, mentions eight acres of arable land let at 6*d.* an acre. Another, in 1421, 38 acres, at 9*d.* an acre: and a garden at the old rent of 10*s.* a year. Land seems not now to have been of more value than it was above eighty years before. These were not the times of improvement. In 1448, the hay of an acre was worth 5*s.* which it must have been in 1359, when an acre of meadow was worth 5*s.* a year.

In

In 1491, the abbot of Bury let two pieces of pasture, containing together 18 acres, to a man and his wife, and their executors, &C. for eighty years, for 6s. 8d. a year, which is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. an acre. The tenants were to extirpate all the thorns growing on the said pastures, within the first 12 years. And if the rent was not paid on the two usual days, or if all the thorns were not extirpated within the time prescribed, the landlord might re-enter, and distrain the tenants, and all their goods and chatels found on the farm, or elsewhere in the village.

This lease marks very strongly the languid manner in which husbandry was carried on, at this period. There would, I believe, be but little need, in a modern lease, of a clause to compel a tenant, upon pain of ejection, to grub up thorns in his pastures; the severest condition he would think would be, not to be permitted to do it. The allowance of twelve years for clearing eighteen acres, seems to bespeak no great alacrity in performing the business. The exactness of payment, and the extent of the distraining power, denote a great degree of harshness and severity.

From this lease we cannot be surprised, that in 1500, when the lands of the manor were measured, "per virgam vocatam le standard, continentem $16\frac{1}{2}$ pedes in longitudine," none of them, even those about the manor-house, which we may presume were most valuable, were let for more than 1s. 6d. an acre, and only one piece reached that rent. 1s.4d. was the general rate. Pasture and arable land were not distinguished in value. This probably was owing to the increase of the former; otherwise, what was become of the meadows that in 1359 were worth 5s. an acre?

In the reign of Henry VIII.(the year not specified) $31\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land were let for 1s. an acre, and $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land and $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow for 42s.; which is 1s. an acre for the arable, and 20d. for the meadow.

In 1536, 4 acres of arable land were let for 4s. a year; 7 acres for 8s.; and Clopton's closes (about 25 acres), for 20s. now for 20/.

In 1546, 2 acres, 3 roods or meadow, were let for 14s. a year; half an acre of meadow for 2s. 6d.; 3 acres of pasture, for 4s.; and 2 acres of londe (that is, arable land), for 2s.

1572, 39 acres, consisting of "londe, meadowe and pasture," were let for 21 years for 4l. 9s. a year, which is about 2s. 3d. an acre; the landlord reserved to himself the liberty of hawking, *haying**, hunting, and fouling; with power to distrain upon default of payment on the usual days; and to re-enter upon default of a month. The tenant might stubb and grubb the bushes and briers growing on the grounds; and *eare*†, break up, and put in tillage, all the pasture grounds, except the borders about the same, where there grew either wood or timber; and might crop, lop, and shred, such trees as had been used to be cropped, lopped, and shredded, and none other. He was also to lay, and leave the *eareable* land to pasture, one whole year before the end of the lease.

The same year, 14 acres 3 roods were let for 21 years, for 2l. 9s. 2d. a year, which is about 3s. 6d. an acre. Also 4 acres for 4s. Both leases with the same articles as that first mentioned.

By these leases, the tenant was left at his liberty, whether he would clear his fields from bushes or not. The landlord covenants and grants, that he *shall and may stubb, &c.* as if it could be a matter of indifference to either party, whether the lands were well cultivated, or half their value lost.

The restriction that the borders of the fields where timber grew, should not be ploughed up, was very judicious. In those bushy belts that were some yards broad, grew considerable quantities of timber, and that of the best sort; as trees that have room to extend their branches

* This word, which occurs only in this lease, means rabbit-netting. A hay, says Minshew, is a net to catch conies. And in the Suffolk Mercury, for 6 February 1720, is advertised, as lost from a warren in the neighbourhood, "A rabbit-net, called a hay."

† To ear is to plough; so used in the English translation of the Bible, and other contemporary writings. Eareable, in this lease, is the same as arable. From the Latin.

on all sides, and are exposed to all the vicissitudes of the weather, by standing single, grow larger, and are of a more compact texture, than those that are crowded together in woods. The clearing of these borders in modern times will, in my opinion, operate very strongly towards the decrease of timber. Some majestic pollards, and other trees, the produce of these nurseries, still remain at a distance from the hedges, but will never be succeeded by others, as no fostering and protecting bushes are now left.

It was no less judicious to confine the tenant to lopping and shredding such trees as had been before lopped and shredded. The custom, which prevails in many places, of shredding timber trees to their very summits, not only destroys their beauty, but injures their growth: for how can a tree have a large body without large limbs? The pruning of trees, destined for timber, requires so much caution and judgment, that no country gentleman should think that operation beneath his attention: instead of which, it is generally left to the careless and unskilful hand of a common labourer, who often, with a single stroke of his hook, spoils a tree that would have been fit for the navy.

Harrison* has accounted for the scarcity of timber, against which the two last-mentioned leases guarded so carefully: and what he says, so well illustrates the period and subject of which I am treating, that I trust the reader will not be displeased with the transcript of it. "This scarcitie at the first grew, as it is thought, eyther by the industrie of man, for maintaynance of tillage, or else thorowe the covetousnesse of' such as in preferring of pasture for their sheep and greater cattell, doe make small account of firebote and tymber: or finally, by the crueltie of the enemies, whereof we have sundrie examples declared in our histories." He proceeds thus a little afterwards: "Although I must needs confesse, that there is good store of great wood or tymber here and there, even now, in some places of England, yet in out dayes it is

* P. 212

“farre unlike to that plentie which our auncesters have seen heretofore, when stately building was less in use. For albeit, that there were then greater number of messuages and mansions almost in every place, yet were their frames so slite and slender, that one meane dwelling-house in our time is able to countervayle very many of them, if you consider the present charge, with the plentie of timber that we bestow upon them. In times past, men were contented to dwell in houses, buylded of sallow, willow, plumme-tree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the use of oke was in a manner dedicated wholly unto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemen's lodgings, and navigation; but now all these are rejected, and nothing but oke any whit regarded.”

In 1574, 15 acres were let for 21 years, for 18s.4d. a year, which is less than 1s. 3d. an acre. The tenant was to take only two crops together: he was also yearly, and every year, during the lease, at his own proper cost and charge, to stubb, and *reat up*, all manner of bushes and thorns upon a certain close, taking the same in lieu and recompence of his charges, bestowed about making clean the said close.

In 1575, the landlord was to receive in part of rent, three cart-loads of barley straw, good, sweet, and well *ended*. The last term is still used for *inned*, housed.

In 1577, 21 acres in the *towne*, *fylds*, and *hamlets* of Hawsted, were let for 21 years, 1l. 11s. 8d. a year, which is about 1s. 6d. an acre. The tenant was to stubb and *reat up* the thorns, as before.

It was the same landlord, Sir William Drury, that granted the three last-mentioned leases; and by them it should seem, as if he thought it, necessary that some better management should take place in his estate. For the tenants have it not now in their option, whether they will stubb up the bushes, or not; the landlord does not covenant and grant, that they *shall and may*; but the tenants covenant and grant that they *will*, to, which they are encouraged by having the bushes for their trouble. The business however did not promise to be done in a very husbandlike manner, as it was to be repeated annually.

These

These particulars maybe thought too minute; they mark strongly the state of husbandry two centuries ago.

In 1580, the enclosed ground culled *the new Park**, with a messuage called the *Lodge* therein, Langhedge meadow, with a close called the *Horse-pasture*, the *Ox-barn*, at *Hawsted House*, with a chamber there, called the *Mill-house*† chamber, the carter's stable, and the carter's chamber, without the outermost gate-house, were let, for 10 years, for 56*l.* 18*s.* twenty good and able loads of barley straw, and twenty combs of oats, a year: a fine of 50*l.* being paid before the execution of the lease. The landlord might re-enter, and re-possess, upon twenty days default of payment, the rent being legally demanded. The tenant was to pay 8*s.* for the *taske*‡, as often as it should become due; to have sufficient

* Harrison speaks with indignation of the increasing number of parks, in his time, as inimical to tillage and population. "Certes, if it be not one curse of the Lorde to have our country converted in such sorte from the furniture of mankinde, into the walkes and shrowdes of wyld beasts, I know not what is any." P. 205.

† In 1410, as we have seen, the landlord reserved to himself the *mill-house*." These were formerly no uncommon appendages of a great house. Barnaby Googe, in his "Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry," printed 1586, gives this account of a *house-mill*: "when as in a great house, there is great need of corn-milles, and the common milles being farre off, the way foule, and I at mine own libertie to grind at home, or where I list [which sometimes the principal lords would not suffer]) thinking to make a mille here at home, when neither place nor authority will serve me to build either a water-mille, or a wind-mille; and a *querne*, or a *hand-mille*, doth but little good; and to build a *horse-mille* were more troublelsome: when I saw the *wheels*, that they used to *draw water*, *turned with asses*, or *men*, I thought in the like sort, the wheel of a mill might be turned, and after this sort devised I *this engine*, which a couple of asses, guided by a boy, do easily turn, and make very fine meal, sufficient for mine own house, and most times for my neighbours, whom I suffer to grind toll-free." P.10.

See White's Antiquities of Selborne, p. 416.

This mill was in a back-house, and said to be a new fashioned one.

‡ *Taske* means *tax*: it is elsewhere called *take*. Shakspeare in the first part of Henry IV. Has - *task'd* the whole state. And Holinshed. p. 422, "There was a new and strange subsidie or *taske* granted to be levied for the king's use."

Steevens's note.

Fire-boote, plough-boote, carte-boote, harrow-boote and hedge-boote; and be discharged from the payment of all manner of tithes.

The proviso of the legal demand of rent, previous to distraining, occurs only in this, and one other lease, this reign. It was a clause very favourable to the tenant, as it secured him from any sudden exertion of his landlord's power. The tenant was exempted from the payment of tithes; not that this park had such exemption; but probably because the patron, from his influence and authority, could make a better composition with the rector, than the tenant could; an antient, disingenuous custom, not yet every where abolished.

Here were several *hop-yards*, as they were called, at least as early as the year 1581, as appears by a survey of the manor then taken; in 1616, one near *the place*, containing $1\frac{3}{4}$ acre, was valued at 2*l.* a year.

The cultivation of *hops* had been introduced into England in the reign of Henry VIII* and seems to have been early attended to in this county: for Bullein, who wrote "his Bulwarke of Defence," in the middle of the 16th century, mentions their growing at Brusiard, near Framlingham, and in many other parts. And in "his Government of Health," he says, "though there cometh many good hops from beyond sea, yet it is known; that the goodly *stilles* and fruitful grounds of England do bring forth, to man's use, as good hops as groweth in any place in this world, as by prooffe I know, in many places in the countie of Suffolke, whereas they brew their beere with the hops that groweth upon their own grounds." And from the manner in which Tusser, who was a Suffolk farmer, about the same time, mentions them,

*, The use of hops for preserving beer, and the cultivation of the plant, were introduced into England from Flanders. The year assigned is 1524, the 15th (or 16th) of Hen VIII. The first treatise written expressly on the culture of hops in English was by Reynolde Scott, 4to, London, 1574; and a second edition 1578, with wooden plates, intitled, "A perfite Platform of a Hoppe Garden," 63 pages. See Professor Martyn's Miller's Dictionary; and Dryander's Catalogue of Sir Joseph Banks's Library, 8vo, Lond. 1797, vol. III. ,p 640. T. G. C.

and

and from the frequent directions he gives about their management, I should suppose, that almost every person, who had a proper spot, cultivated some at least for his own use:

Meet plot for a *hop-yard* once found, as I told,
Make thereof account, as of jewel of gold.

“ There are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie,” says Harrison, “ which have not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better, than do come from Flanders unto us*.” This crop has not been cultivated here for many years.

It appears also by the above survey, to how great a degree the lands were neglected; pieces; of *terra et pastura dumosa et boscalis*, continually occurring, and some of them in the lord's own hands.

In 1589, 24 acres were let for 11 years, for 41s. 8d. a year, nearly 1s. 9d. an acre. The tenant was to pay taks, fifteenths, tenths, and the tithes.

By an inquisition taken at Bury, 24 Sept. this year, it appears, that 40 acres of meadow and pasture, in this village, were worth 10*l.* a year, which is 5s. an acre; and that wheat was 8s. a comb, barley 6s. 8d. and rye 5s.

At the same time, the farm called Hawsted Hall was let for 20*l.* a year, 20 combs of wheat, 10 of oats, and 3 loads of wheat straw.

In 1593, the court-yard, being the basecourt of the place or capital mansion-house ; the bowling yard, and banks† lying near the said house; the orchard, which by an old map appears to have been 11 acres; the close, or walk, called the horse-walk; the dove-house; the hog-yard; the pastures, feedings, and grounds; within the walls of the said house; the old park, with the lodge &c. therein; were let for three years, for 40*l.* a year, with power to re-enter, and re-possess, upon 20 days default of payment. The landlord reserved to himself the capital house, the

* P. 110.

† These were the terrasses formed by the earth thrown out of the moat.

moat, and all other waters, and their fisheries; the pasturage, and walk of two geldings *, and of 50 deer, male and female, whereof 6 to be bucks; and the liberty of taking brick from the clamp to repair the capital house. The tenant was to pay yearly, to the parson of the church, one buck, and one doet, in season, for and in the name of the tithe, payable out of the demesne lands of the manors of Hawsted, Talmage's, and Buckenham's. He was also to pay and deliver at the capital house, all the corn and grain that should grow or renew any of the grounds during the lease, if any so be. He was to have to his own proper use all the deer in the park, except those, before reserved. He was to keep the park-pale, and the buildings, in repair, being allowed timber for the same: he was to cherish and maintain the fruit-trees in the orchard; to break up none of the pastures; nor to assign over any part of the lands he had hired, except by his last will.

The prohibition of breaking up pastures seems to be repeated in this lease; in one clause it is expressed, though without any penalty annexed; in another it seems to be implied, in the landlord's taking all the corn, if there should be any. This prohibition was particularly necessary about this period, when the excessive exportation of corn had raised it to an immoderate price‡. The farmer, tempted with this prospect of gain, would, if not prevented, have broken up all his pastures, and sacrificed

* These were for his own riding; as horses for draught were generally kept stoned.

See p. 218. "Geldings," says Harrison, "are now growne to be very dere among us, especially if they be well colourd, justly lymmed, and have thereto an easie ambling pace. For our countrimen, seeking their ease in every corner, where it is to be had, delight very much in these qualities, but chiefly in their excellent paces, which, besides that it is in manner peculiar unto horses of our soyle, and not hurtful to the rider or owner, sitting on their backs; it is moreover very pleasaunt and delectable in hys eares, in that the noyse of theyr well-proportioned pase doth yield comfortable sounde, as he travelleth by the waie." P. 220.

† This was a common composition for the tithe of a park, and continues still in many places; as at Hengrave, in this neighbourhood.

‡ See Chron. Pret. And in 1598, when the county compounded for, the provisions to be delivered for the royal household, wheat was rated at 40s. a quarter

the certain profits of his grass-grounds to the ever more precarious ones of tillage, and which would in a great measure have ceased, when foreign demands slackened.

The humane attention to the tenant's family, in case of his death, by empowering him to assign the farm, by his last will, should not pass unnoticed, at a period, when people in low life appear not to have been so much considered by their superiors as they are at present*. And in this instance the indulgence is the more remarkable, as it is not likely that the tenant should lay out much money on his farm, for so short a lease.

The same year, 1593, a piece of ground called the *Long Lawne*†, containing 67 acres, 3 roods – the *Little Lawne*, 19 acres, 1 rood – a grove called *Elming Grove*, 23 acres, 3 roods, - a *little lawne* by it, 12 acres, 2 roods, - *Oakley Wood*, with the ponds and waters leading up to the garden, 44 acres, 3 roods – grounds and lawnes towards Bury, 59 acres – a piece of ground, called the *Little Harpe*, 3 acres, 3 roods – in all 231 acres, 3 roods, being parcels of land within, or near *Hawsted Park*, called also *the great Park*; were let for three years, for 57*l* 13*s*. 9*d*. a year, which is nearly 5*s*. an acre. Also a piece of pasture, called *Bricklefield*, 62 acres, 2 roods; and a wood, lying there, called *How Wood*, 13 acres, 3 roods; in all 76 acres, 1 rood; were let at the same time, and to the same person, for 16*l*. a year, which is above 4*s*. 3*d*. an acre. The tenant was to have all the wood and trees that should fall, or be blown down, or leane down, by the winds and tempest; and if he should stubb

* A tenant may now, by law, devise his lease.

† In a rental of this manor, made in 1500, mention is made of 9 acres in campo vocate le *lawnde*; and so this word was pronounced by Shakspear, and his contemporaries :

Under this thick grown brake we'll shroud ourselves,
For through this laund anon the deer will come.

Third Part of Henry VI. Act III. Scene i.

It was properly an untilled plain, extended between woods. Steeven's note.

or pull up any bushes growing on his grounds, for cleansing the same, he was to have such part of them for his trouble, as should please his land-lord. The landlord was to keep him harmless from all damages and costs of suit, which he might sustain for default of payment of tithe or herbage. And if the tenant broke up, and sowed with corn, any part of his grounds, the landlord was to have and take one half of the corn growing thereon.

In 1599, distraining upon default of payment was not to take place till 30 days, and then only if the rent had been lawfully demanded. It is pleasing to note these gradual advancements of forbearance and lenity.

Land, from the above statement of its rents, seems to, have increased but little in its value, during this long and prosperous reign. Even the pastures of the park, towards the close of it, had only reached the rent of meadows 200 years before.

From the neglect of pastures, which at different times, neither the landlord nor the tenant seem to have been in earnest in clearing from bushes, tillage was probably chiefly attended to; and that too with good success, if we may believe Harrison, who published his description of Britain in 1577: he says, that in ordinary years, each acre of wheat, one with another, throughout the kingdom, if well tilled and dressed, would yield 20 bushels; of barley, 36; of oats, and such like; 5 quarters. And Tusser, who wrote some time before him, says the same; for he thus divides corn harvest into ten equal parts*:

1. One part cast forth for rent due out of hand.
2. One other part for seed to sow thy land.

* Thomas Tusser was born at Rivenhall, near Witham, in Essex, in 1523. (Harwich Guide, small 8vo, 1808, Ipswich, printed by Raw.) -Tusser, who had received a liberal education at Eton School in 1543 (Harwood's Alumni Etonenses), and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1557, lived many years as a farmer in Suffolk and Norfolk. He afterwards removed to London; where he published the first edition of his work, under the title of "One Hundred Points of good Husbandry," in 1557. (Horticultural Transactions, vol. I. 4to, 1809, p. 154.) T. G. C.

3. One other part leave parson for his tith.
4. Another part for harvest, sickle, and sith.
5. One part for ploughwrite, cartwrite, knacker*, and smith.
6. One part to uphold thy teems that draw therewith.
7. Another part for servant and workman's wages laie.
8. One part likewise for filbellie daie by daie.
9. One part thy wife for needful things doth crave.
10. Thy self and thy child the last part would have.

The tenfold produce of the seed sown, is about the average of' modern crops; so that in this respect, agriculture has been much the same for two centuries. The great advantage which the farmer of the present time has over his predecessor, in the sixteenth century, is derived from turneps and clover, which are cultivated in some parts, and beans in others: so that, strictly speaking, a good farmer's arable land is scarcely ever fallow, or unprofitable to him: whereas in the old husbandry, the land, every third year, when it did not bear corn, bore nothing.

In 1603, *Hawsted Hall*, or manor-house, with 126 acres of land, situate in the towne and fields of Hawsted, were let to William Crofts, esq. of BurySt. Edmund's, for eleven years, for 40*l.* and 10 combs of oats a year; which is about 6s. 8d. an acre. The landlord reserved to himself the liberty of keeping courts in the house; with power of re-entry upon 28 days default of payment, or upon any of the grounds being assigned to another. It was covenanted, that no pastures should be broken up, but no penalty was annexed.

In 1611, the *dairy-house*, situate on the West side' of the outward court-yard of' the chief house called *Hawsted House*, a barn, &c. a garden, several utensils of household, the use of the brewing and baking-houses at the chief house, with five parcels of Hawsted park, containing together 155 acres, were let for three years for 85*l.* 5s. a year, which is

* *Knacker* is still a Suffolk word for the person who makes harness, collars and leather furniture in general for the farmer.

near 11s. an acre. The landlord reserved to himself the liberty of *supplanting*, removing, or taking away, any of the sickamore-trees*, rose-treest†, or artichokes‡, then growing in the said dairy-garden. The tenant could not assign the farm but to his wife or children, and to those only by his last will: and if he broke up, and sowed, any of the pastures, he was to forfeit ¹⁹/₂₀ of the crop. He was, to the utmost of his power, to preserve, and cherish up, the trees and plants, in the garden or orchard, and the same garden well plant with herbs. He was to pay 40s. if he killed any deer that should break into his fields: he was not to keep any stoned horse loose, and at liberty: nor joist any mares, geldings, or colts, for a shorter time than the whole summer; nor convert into hay-ground a specified pasture. The landlord discharged him from paying

* Though the sickamore tree thrives so well, and is now so common in England, yet it certainly is not a native. "It is a stranger," says Gerarde, who wrote in 1597, "in England, only it growth in the walks and places of pleasure of noblemen, where it is especially planted for the shadow sake". It is a native of Switzerland. Those now mentioned must have been nursery plants, and probably were the first seen in these parts, --.

† The rose-trees were probably of the scarcer kinds. Sir Richard Weston, who wrote 40 years after this, says, "we have red roses from France." [In the reign of James I, the keeper of the robes and jewels at Whitehall, amongst a variety of other offices, had separate salaries allowed him, for fire to air the hot-houses, 40 shillings by the year; and for digging and setting of roses in the Spring Gardens, 40 shillings by the year, (History of the first Fourteen Years of King James.) T. G. C.]

Rose-trees cultivated in England by Gerard in 1596. (Hort. Kew,) - Roses first planted in England in 1522. (Tablet of Memory.)-T. G. C.

‡ Evelyn, in his *Acetaria*, written in 1699, says of the artichoke, "'tis not very long since this noble thistle came first into Italy, improved into this magnitude by culture, and so rare in England, that they were commonly sold for crowns apiece." They were introduced, however, long before this into our gardens; for in Gerarde there is a print of the globe kind, which he calls *Cinara maxima Anglica*, and mentions the different ways of dressing it. By the attention paid them in this lease, they were certainly, at that time, esteemed rarities.

[Globe Artichoke cultivated in 1551. Alton's Hort, Kew, from Turner - T. G. C.]

all

all fifteenths, tenths, taxes, and subsidies, due out of the demised lands, as also all tenths due to the incumbent of the rectory.

In the schedule of the utensils in the milk-house, are mentioned two *cheese-breds**, and two *evangelett fats*†.

In 1615, the houses, barns, and lands, called *Hawsted Park*, were let for twelve years, at these rents; every acre, not ploughed, and measured to the tenant, 9s.; every acre of meadow 17s. a year; and every acre of arable ground (which after the first two years were to be 70) half the corn

* *Cheesebreds* are *Cheeseboards*; as the pax-board, that used to be kissed in token of peace and amity, was sometimes called the pax- bred. So also "a new *bred* to give othys upon, made of *wainscoat* " (for there were silver breds) occurs in History of Norfolk, vol. II. p. 609.

† *Evangelett* (Evangelists) *Fatts* were, I apprehend, so called, from being charged with the images of those saints, which were to be imprinted on the cheeses. The Warwickshire, and particularly the sage cheeses made in Gloucestershire have still sometimes various devices on them. Almost everything belonging to our ancestors bore some religious impress. The *apostle spoons*, formerly presented at christenings, and so called from having the figures of the apostles at their ends, are not all yet melted down. Mr. Gough had what might be called an *evangelet* spoon, with the figure of St. Mark's lion on the top of the handle. Mr. Pennant, in his Journey to Snowdon, p. 287, mentions the *waissail cup of the apostle*, whom probably, adds that ingenious traveller, they invoked at the time of drinking. It bore probably the name, or figure of the saint. A standing cup, called the *michell*; and a *broad, white flat pece, having a michell*, were among Cardinal Wolsey's plate. Coll.Cur. vol. II p.303. And I have a fac-simile of a lady in monumental brass, whose fantastic head-dress of the reign of Edward IV. is charged with: lady....‡ *Jesu Mercy*.

[Apostle spoons carefully preserved, and brought out with no little ceremony, at Christmas, to eat the Nativity Pye with. (Antiquarian Repertory, 4to, 1809, vol. III. p. 35; and Gent. Mag. 1785, 1786,)...In the time of Henry VIII. in the Inventory of John Port, late servant to the king, are 13 spoons with the apostles, gilt, weighing 22 oz. at 3s. 4d. per oz. 3/ 13s. 4d. 7 spoons with apostles, and one gilt spoon, weighing 12 oz. at 3s. 2d. per oz. 1/ 19s. 7dd. (Nichols's Illustrations 4to, 1797, p.128.) – Amongst the plate belonging to the Corporation of Kiugston-upon-Hull is a silver spoon given by Alderman Joseph Ellis; others, called the Twelve Apostles' Spoons, the gift, of Mr. Smeaton. (Gent's History of Hull, 8vo, 1735, p.200-T. G. C.]

‡Probably *hjelpe*

that

that should grow on the same. The landlord reserved to himself the walk of 10 deer, in the park, with liberty to hunt and take them; and, besides the usual power of entering upon the lands with carts and horses to carry away timber, was to have a passage over them with coaches*. The tenant was to be discharged from tithes, for which he was to pay his landlord 40s. a year, on Lammas day: he was to be allowed, by the next tenant, half the expences he should incur, for locks and keys, hooks, hinges, and glass window†. And upon the violation of any of the covenants, for which no power of re-entry was given, was to forfeit three times the value of the damage so incurred.

In 1616, when a survey of the manor was taken, the *demesne lands* consisted of 366¾ acres of pasture and arable land, and 38¾ of meadow" in all 405½, and were valued at 249*l.* a year, which is above 12s. an acre. 39½ acres of wood were valued at 12*l.* a year, which is about 6s. an acre.

The *Hall Farm* consisted of 175 acres (8½ of which were meadow) and was valued at 91*l.* 7s. 1d. which is about 10s and acre.

Great Piper's farm‡ consisted of 138½ acres (8¼ of which were meadow) and was valued at 50*l.* a year, which is about 7s. an acre.

* This is the first time these carriages are mentioned. They were as yet rare in the country. They are supposed to have been first introduced into England by the earl of Arundel, in 1580.

† This is the first clause respecting glass windows; a luxury, probably, but just now introduced into farm-houses here. In 1567, though glass was then much more common than it had been, yet it was still such a rarity, that the steward of the earl of Northumberland thought it adviseable, that because the glass of the windows of my lord's castles and houses through extreme winds did decay and waste, the same should be taken out, and laid up safe during his lordship's absence. In 1661, when Mr. Ray was in Scotland, the windows of the ordinary houses were not glazed; and only the upper parts of even those in the king's palaces had glass; the lower ones having two wooden shutters, to open at pleasure, and admit the fresh air. (Itin. P. 187, 188) And in some of the distant parts of the kingdom I have within a few years observed, that some of not the worst cottages are not yet provided with glass windows; a comfort, which the poorest house in this village has long enjoyed.

‡ *Piper's Farm.* Does this farm take its name Piper from a former owner, or from a part of it being appropriated for the maintenance of a Piper or Minstrel? Sir William

Some pieces of meadow and pasture, near the principal mansion, were rated at more than a guinea an acre.

The timber (called in a survey made in 1581, *grossæ arbores mearemii*) on the manor was valued at 1480*l.* 10*s.*

Among the demesne lands was a piece of nine acres, called *the Parrock*. This was formerly a fenced place, in which was a dog-house, and where deer were kept in pens, for the course. The spot was to be a mile long, and a quarter broad, and narrower at one end than the other*. In 1581, it was called *le Pok* (perhaps from its shape) and said to be, *palis inclusus, in fine boreali parci*. It is now known by the name of *the Paddock*, and consists partly of wood, and partly of arable land.

In 1620, *Bryer's Wood Farm* was let for 21 years, for 15*l.* a year. Upon breaking up any of the pastures, their whole produce was to be forfeited. All the compost, muck, and marle, that should arise on the farm, was to be bestowed upon some part of it; and at the Christmas before the end of the lease, the landlord might enter and plough the summer-tilth lands, allowing the tenant 3*s.* 6*d.* an acre for them.

The same year, a close called *Upper Lismer*, next *Whepsted*, containing 20 acres, was let for 10 years, for 10*l.* a year. The tenant might stubb up the bushes, and plough and sow the whole, for the first five years, and was to lay it down with grass, the last 5, in the best and most husbandly fashion. He was not to cut and plash the quickset, but at seasonable times; and was to lay the hedges after the most husbandly fashion.

This is the last time we hear of stubbing up bushes: rent of land was now become too serious an affair for the tenant, though not bound by

Blackstone says that it was usual for the lord of the manor of Edgware to provide a Minsstrel or Piper for the diversion of the tenants whilst they were employed in his service; and Mr. Lysons tells us that a small piece of ground in that parish still goes by the name of Piper's Green. (Lyson's London and its Environs, vol. II. p.244.) T. G. C.

* See ample directions for this sport, in Dictionar. Rustic.; and in the Glossary of White Kennett's Antiquities.

covenants

covenants, to suffer them to remain undisturbed. To eradicate them entirely was reserved for a future period.

In 1625, 20 acres were let for 18 years, for 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year, which is 6*s.* 8*d.* an acre. Five years before the end of the lease, one third of the arable land was to be laid, and kept to pasture.

This period, from 1603, the peaceful reign of James I. stands conspicuous for an astonishing and unequalled increase of the value of land. The rents are now more than double of what they were even at the close of the last reign: yet in that the foundation of their present advance must have been laid; and in many parts of the kingdom the advance must then have actually taken place; for in 1593, wheat might be exported, when it did not exceed 20*s.* a quarter; whereas in 1563, it was not to exceed 10*s.* In 1624, wheat might be exported when it did not exceed 32*s.* a quarter.

That the rents of land in this village were not advanced to any considerable degree, during the reign of Elizabeth, must have been owing to the indolence or indulgence of an opulent landlord, who did not seize the earliest opportunity of increasing his revenue. That great advances must have been made in other parts, is evident, as has been just observed, from the different prices at which wheat might be exported in an interval of only thirty years, from 1563 to 1593. Harrison, who published his description of Britain during that period, has noticed the cause of this revolution: "certainly," says he, "(the soyle is even now in these our dayes, growne to bee muche more fruitfull, than it hath been in times past. The cause is, that for our countriemen are growne to be more payneful, skilful, and careful, *thorowe recompence of grayne*; insomuch that my synchroni, or time felowes, can reap at thys present great commoditye in a lyttle rounge; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yeilded but small profite, and thys onlye thorowe the idle and negligent occupation of such as manured, and had, the same in occupying *." He has elsewhere remarked the improved condition

* P. 109

Of the farmer, and embellished the passage with such lively strokes of rural character and economy, that I cannot forbear transcribing it: " So common were all sorts of treene vessels in old time, that a man should "hardly find four pieces of pewter (of which one peradventure was a salte) in a good farmer's house; and, yet, for all this frugality (if it may so be justly called) they were scarce able to live, and pay their rents, at their days, without selling of a cow, or a horse, or more, although they paid, but four pounds at the uttermost, by the year*. Such also was their poverty, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had been at the alehouse, a thing greatly used in those days, amongst six or seven of his neighbours, and there, in a bravery, to shew what store he had, did cast down his purse, and therein a noble, or six shillings in silver, unto them, it was very likely that all the rest could not lay down so much against it. Whereas, in my time, although peradventure of four pounds of old rent be improved to forty or fifty pound, yet will the farmer think he gains very small toward the midst of his term, if he have not six or seven years rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a new lease; besides fair garnish of pewter on his cowbord, three or four feather-beds, so many coverlets, and carpets of tapestry, a silver salte, a bowle for wine (if not a whole nest), and a dozen of spoons, to furnish up the sute. This also he taketh to be his own clear; for what stock soever of money he gathereth in all his years, it is often seen, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he reneweth his lease (which is commonly eight or ten years, before it be expired, sith it is now grown almost to a custom, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reversion, and so defeat him out-right) that it shall never trouble him more than the hair of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaven it from his chint†.

* This, says the marginal note, was in the time of great idleness.

† P.189.

Tusser, who wrote in the same reign, talks also of fines, and high rents:

Great fines so neere did pare me,
Great rent so much did skare me.
Though country health long staid me,
Yet lease expiring fraid me.

So by the lease of 1580, recited above, it appears that the landlord received a fine of 50*l* upon granting it.

In 1627, 9½ acres were let for twelve years, for 3*l* 10*s*. a year, which is rather above 7*s*. an acre; and 39 acres for 20*l*. which is about 10*s*.4*d*. an acre; the whole was in three pieces, called *the Lismers*. The tenant was not to plough any of the lands, except for the first seven years; after which, the whole was to be laid to pasture, upon penalty of 5*l*. for every acre not so laid.

In 1628, the house called *the Dairy*, and 341 acres 1 rood, in 7 pieces, chiefly pasture, being part of *the great park*, belonging to the chief house called *Hawsted Place*, were let for seven years, for 137*l*. 8*s* 9*d*. a year, which is about 8*s*. an acre. The tenant, if he broke up, and sowed any of the pastures, was to forfeit the whole crop. He might crop and lop such *pollards** as had before been cropped and lopped. The same year, 112 acres, part also of *the great park*, lying in the parish† of Hawsted, were let for six years, for 61*l*. 1*s*. 7*d*. a year, which is about 11*s*. an acre. The tenant, upon breaking up and sowing any of the pastures, was to forfeit 5*s*. yearly for every rood so broken up.

* This is the first time this word occurs. In 1632, are mentioned all such trees, *pollards* and *husbands*, as bear tops for fireing.

† This, I think, is the first time that any deed in my possession uses this word. The Latin term is *villa*: and in English deeds, the lands are described as lying in the town, township, and fields of Hawsted. Antiently, a district, when considered ecclesiastically, was called *a parish*, when civilly a *vill*, or *town*. But the word *parish* is now so generally used, that the distinction is nearly lost.

In 1633, 62 acres, 2 roods, were let for 21 years, for 42*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* a year, which is about 13*s.* 8*d.* an acre. The tenant had liberty to break up and sow only 2½ acres, and that only for the first 11 years.

In 1635, 92 acres, parcels of *the great park*, were let for 21 years, for 49*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* a year, which is about 10*s.* 8*d.* an acre. The tenant was to forfeit 40*s.* a year, additional rent, for every acre of pasture which he should plough and sow.

In 1636; 57 acres were let for 10 years, for 29*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* a year, which is about 10*s.* 4*d.* an acre, with the same penalty upon breaking up pastures, as in the last. Sixteen cart-loads of muck were to be laid yearly on some of the arable lands; and the great cattle foddered in winter with hay, on the pastures.

In 1658, the *Hall Farm* was let for 11 years, for 118*l.* a year. Upon 28 days default of payment, the demise was either to be void, or the landlord might distrain his option. The tenant might not assign the farm to any person whatsoever; and was to forfeit 40*s.* a year for every acre of pasture which he should break up.

In all these leases from 1603, distress was to take place upon 28 days default of payment, without the previous legal demand of the rent; a proviso that had been admitted in the reign of Elizabeth, and which was so favourable to the tenant, that it should seem, by the omission of it, as if the landlord wished to keep him in perpetual terror. In opposition to this must be set the humane clause, that empowered the tenant to assign, by his last will, his farm to his wife or children, or his executors, for the performance of his will: an indulgence, which I suppose was often found so detrimental to the estate, (for who can say, *Quales sint pueri, qualisque future sit uxor?*) that it was denied in 1658, and never afterwards granted*. The tenants were in general to pay all the town charges; and repair the buildings, being allowed for that purpose; as well as wood for fireing, and for implements of husbandry.

* Yet the law will allow it, unless the tenant expressly gives it up.

In 1682, the following wages of servants and labourers in husbandry, were rated and appointed by the justices of the peace, at their quarter sessions, holden at the neighbouring town of Bury St. Edmunds, 24 April.

Wages by the Year.			Wages by the Day.				
	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
A bailiff in husbandry	6	0	0	A man hay-maker with meat			
A chief husbandman, or carter	5	0	0	and drink	0	0	5
A 2 nd hind or husbandman, or				A woman hay-maker	0	0	3
common, servant above 18				A man reaper in harvest	0	0	10
years of age	3	10	0	A woman reaper	0	0	6
A fourth under 18	2	10	0	A common labourer at other times			
A dairy-maid, or cook	2	10	0	In summer	0	0	6
The best hired servants, with				In winter	0	0	5
Meat and drink for harvest	1	2	0	Women, and such persons,			
An ordinary harvest man	0	18	0	weeders	0	0	3

Without meat and drink, their wages were doubled

The same year the *Hall Farm* was let for three years for only 105/ a year. The liberty of keeping courts in the house was reserved. The time of re-entry, upon default of payment, was extended to 40 days, and only then after a legal demand of the rent; a clause that has continued to this day. Former, penalties upon breaking up pastures were either found inconvenient, as the forfeiture of all, or some, part of the crop, or inadequate, as 40s. an acre; the penalty was, therefore now fixed at 5/ an acre, additional yearly rent, which is still continued, except in an instance or two, where it is unnecessarily increased to 10/. The tenant was now, for the last time, allowed to cart-boote and plough-boote.

In 1723, *Bryer's Wood Farm* was let for twelve years, for 29/ 5s. a year. The tenant, besides the croppings of pollards, was to have the bodies of dead or dotard trees* for fireing.

* Pollard trees that would produce no more wood for lopping. *Dotard*, or rotten trees, occur in a survey of the possessions of the archbishop of Canterbury, taken in 1646. Bibl. Top. Brit. No. XII. Append. p 54.

In 1782, the tenant was, as usual, to keep the hedges in repair, being allowed bushes and stakes for the same, as well as the stuff and *shrivel wood** that should arise therefrom, towards the charge of doing the same. He was also to bestow on some part of the lands one load of good rotten muck (over and above what was made on the farm) for every load of hay, straw, or stover, which he should carry off them. The duty of sending teams into the highways for their repair, first occurs in this lease, and from which the landlord exempts the tenant, though he was to pay all such taxes, assessments, and levies, as should be laid on his farm for the king's majesty, commonly called the land-tax, as also the poor and church-wardens rates, with the tithes great and small. The annual quantity of wood for fireing was now first limited: it was to be eight loads of *one bind wood*, worth 10s. a load, at the stubb, to be cut, made up, and carried at the tenant's expence. His rent was 81*l.* a year.

In 1740, the tenant was to leave, the last year of his lease, one-third of his arable land summer tilled, ploughed, and fallowed, *in three clean earths and a rove*†, for which he was to be paid according to the custom of the country. No croppings of pollards were to be taken of less than twelve years growth.

In 1753, when *Pinford End Farm* was let the penalty upon breaking up pastures was enlarged to 10*l.* an acre. All the compost, dung, soil, and *ashes*, arising on the farm, were to be bestowed upon it. Only two crops together were to be taken on any of the arable lands; provided, if the said lands should be sown with *clover or rye-grass*, and the same should not be mowed or seeded, but fed; or if sown with *turneps*, and the same spent or fed on some part of the farm, such clover, rye-grass, and turneps, should not be esteemed a crop. The landlord was either to set out yearly a sufficient quantity of wood for the tenant's fireing, or

* See *shruff*, in the list of words used in this neighbourhood, p. 203.

† A *rove* is half a ploughing: two furrows are made instead of four.

allow him *coals* in lieu of it. The tenant was also to be allowed 2s. for every wagon-load of dung or cinder ashes, which he should bring from Bury and lay on his lands.

This lease presents us with several remarkable particulars in rural economics. The *ashes* first mentioned were those of wood, and were now attended to, as it had become a custom to sell them to the soap-boilers, who visited everyhouse, with light quartering carts, to collect them. There are scarcely any roads impracticable to these adventurous vehicles. When a tenant was to profit by the consumption of fewel, it was not likely he should be very sparing of it.

This is the earliest lease I have, in which *rye-grass*, *clover*, and *turneps*, though long before cultivated here, became objects of consideration between the landlord and tenant. The first (*lolium perenne*) is a native of England, and has been long sown as fodder for cattle; it ought to be called *ray-grass* its old and proper name. The second is said to have been introduced into England in 1645*; and was first found in this parish, the beginning of the eighteenth century. About the same time, *turneps* als, that capital addition to modern husbandry, were first sown here, as a crop, by the same person that seeded clover: and as it has been thought no disgrace to a Noblemant†, to have it recorded of him, that he first cultivated this most useful vegetable, on a large scale, in the contiguous county of Norfolk, I hope to be excused in rescuing from oblivion the name of Michael Houghton, who, about the year 1700, sowed the first two acres of turneps ever seen in this parish.

* Aubrey's Surrey, 'Vol. III.p.229.

† Charles lord Townshend, best farmer and statesman. He introduced the cultivation of turneps in Norfolk upwards of seventy years ago, bringing the seed from Hanover; having observed the advantage of this valuable root whilst he attended king George I in the quality of secretary of state. (N. Kent, esq. in Arthur Young's Annals, 1794, vol. XXII. See Professor Martyn in his Miller's Dictionary and Flora Rustica.) Dr. William Turner, in his Herbal, dated 1568, says, "The great round rape or turnep groweth in very great plenty in all Germany, and more about London than in any other place of England that I know of." T. G. C.

and

And it may perhaps gratify local curiosity to be told, that Mr. Metcalfe's present garden was part of that spot. I had this information, from an old man, now alive (1784), who was born in 1692; and who well remembers, that he was struck with the novelty of this crop*, when he was a school-boy, which he ceased to be when he was nine or ten years old.

The destruction of wood had been guarded against, with greater or less strictness, in almost every foregoing lease. The quantity of it for fireing had for some time been limited; and timber for implements for husbandry withholden; but its scarcity was now becoming serious; and this, I believe, is the first time that coals were thought of, as fewel, for a farm-house in this parish.

The allowance of 2s. for every load of manure†, which the tenant should bring from Bury, and lay on his farm, will probably, at this time, excite our wonder; but this wonder will be swallowed up by one infinitely greater, upon our being assured, that during the 21 years the landlord was charged with only one load. Posterity will almost withhold its belief; but I vouch for the truth of it.

About the same time, another tenant had it not left to his option, but was obliged to bring annually from Bury thirty loads of manure, to lay on a farm, for which he was also to be allowed 2s. a load. This task he performed with reluctance; and often seemed afraid of over-loading his wagon.

These are mentioned as two curious instances of the late race of farmers. They lived in the midst of their enlightened neighbours, like beings of

* Mr. Harmer, of Watesfield near Botesdale in this county, informs me, that the cultivation of turneps was introduced into that parish about the year 1664, by one William Swatman, a servant of Samuel Baker, esq. who purchased the manors there soon after the Restoration. That gentleman and his servant both came from Wrentham in this county, where it should seem this crop had been cultivated before that time. The custom was probably introduced there from Holland; Wrentham lying on the sea coast, and some families there having great connections about that time with some persons that lived in that country. J. C.

† Of the value of dung at Scarborough, Newcastle, and Calais, see Young's "Annals of Agriculture." T. G. C.

another order; in their personal labour, they were indefatigable; in their fare, hard; in their dress, homely; in their manners, rude. —“We ne’er shall look upon their like again.”

In 1782, clover, if seeded on, or from a second crop, and turneps, if not spent, or fed, upon some part of the farm, were to be esteemed as crops of corn. The tenant was to spend, fodder, and lay all the hay, straw, halm, ashes, chaff, *colder**, and stover, that should arise on the farm, upon some part thereof.

Thus have I thrown together whatever relates to the history of cultivated land in this village; and it is my wish, that the imperfections, not only in this, but other divisions of this essay, may stimulate others to correct them, by favouring the publick with the histories of other parishes in the county. It is only by the united efforts of many that any subject can be sufficiently illustrated.

Some may perhaps think that I have been too minute in my detail. To this it may be replied, that to trace the progress of any art or employment, that has engaged the industry and attention of man, has always been esteemed at least an amusing, if not an useful disquisition. To attempt therefore a history of the agriculture of even a single parish, as forming a part of that greatest of national objects, and upon which the statesman and philosopher have so often bestowed their thoughts, and a considerable and very valuable class of our fellow creatures their labour, cannot be deemed a trifling design. The execution may be feeble; but the subject is important.

I shall now subjoin a few particulars of the present state of husbandry. The farms are in general, from four to about six score pounds a year, at about 14s. or 15s. an acre, cultivated by persons, who need not be ashamed at the display of their operations†. This place, as being near

* Called also *caving*. It means those ears of wheat, in which the corn will not separate from the chaff, without being threshed by themselves.

† Westwood Lodge farm, near Dunwich, in the occupation of Mr. Howlett, and belonging to Sir John Blois, baronet, of above 3000 acres, is, without exception, the finest farm in the county of Suffolk. (A. Young.) T. G. C.

a large town in a well inhabited part of the kingdom*, and generally the residence of some family of consequence, has never probably been the last in admitting any improvements in the arts of civilized life; and, in general, all maritime districts, as being for the most part, better peopled, and more open to intercourse with strangers, than the more central ones†, may be presumed to have preceded them in every kind of refinement. Agriculture therefore has been conducted here, for some years, in the spirited manner of modern times. The farms have in general been occupied by men of substance, who employ at least twice the number of labourers that formerly wrought on the same spots; and whose calculation is, that a man, at his entering upon a farm, if he would stock it, and manage it, as it ought to be, should have a hundred pounds in his purse for every score pounds of rent. [The more calculations are made, the more clear it will be found, that a cultivated farm cannot be well stocked for less than 5*l.* per acre‡.]

One great, perhaps the greatest, improvement of which this strong soil is capable, is the drainage of the arable lands, of many of which wet is the malady. The drains, cut with curious tools made on purpose, are about two feet deep, wedge-shaped, and filled at bottom with bushes,

* The duty paid for horses used in husbandry in the parish of Hawsted, for one year, from 6 April 1801 to 5 April 1802 (including one small farm in the extra-parochial place of Hardwick), was 44*l.* almost double the proportion of any other parish in the hundred of Thingo, -Mr. Young estimates the number of acres of land in Suffolk at 800,000; and he concludes, from much information, that there are in Suffolk wastes to the amount of nearly, perhaps quite, 100,000 acres, or an eighth part of the whole, comprehending under the term wastes, sheep-walks, common, warren &c. T. G. C.

† These used to be called *uplandish*, a term that implied an inferiority in civilization. Harrison, in his Description of Britain, mentions *uplandish towns*. And Dr. Bullein, his contemporary, gives a humorous description of a person, whom he calls "*a barbarous uplandish jenkyng*". Compounds, p. 56. "*Uplandish men* will counterfete, and liken himself to gentilmen". Trevisa's Translation of Higden, as quoted by Dr. Henry. But a general diffusion of knowledge and politeness has for many years worn away this distinction.

‡ Young's Annals, vol. XXI. p. 265, published 1793.

and

And over them with halm, upon which the earth is laid. Six or seven score rods of these drains, at 2d. a rod, are generally cut upon an acre, and, with other expences, amount at least to 30s. This it is plain, is a costly operation, but it has fertilised spots that before produced but little, and repays the tenant the first year. Besides, by the grounds being thus drained, the farmer can come so much sooner upon them with his plough.

The lands have been also meliorated, to a very considerable degree, by great quantities of compost brought from Bury: waggons are now daily groaning, with these valuable loads, almost unknown to former farmers, who were to be bound by their leases not to sell and carry away the muck made in their own yards; and encouraged by rewards, to bring any from Bury. From the great attention to the plough, not an inch of land is left neglected; the broad bushy borders about the fields have been cleared and sown: and it is well, if even the roots of the hedges escape the ploughshare. These efforts of expensive industry produce one year, and one acre with another, about five combs of wheat, seven of barley, seven of oats, four of pease, seven or eight of coleseed, and one of clover.

A practice has much increased of late, and been found to answer extremely well,~ that of soiling horses in the stable or yard, instead of turning them out to pasture. This is done with artificial grasses, but chiefly with winter tares, which are sown about Michaelmas, and begin to be cut about the middle of May. By this method much waste is avoided; for none of the fodder is trampled upon or spoiled, none loathed or neglected, as when whole fields are ranged over; fences are not broken, nor corn damaged; nor do the animals lame themselves nor one another. Add to this, that the pastures are by these means more appropriated to the service of the dairy.

Having mentioned horses, I must take this opportunity of doing justice to a most useful breed of that noble animal, not indeed peculiar to this parish, but, I believe, to the county. The breed is well known

by

by the name of *Suffolk Punches**. They are generally about fifteen hands high, of a remarkably short and compact make; their legs bony; and their shoulders loaded with flesh. Their colour is often of a light sorrel, which is as much remarked in some distant parts of the kingdom, as their form. They are not made to indulge the rapid impatience of this posting generation; but, for draught, they are perhaps unrivalled, as for their gentle and tractable temper; and to exhibit proofs of their great power, *drawing matches*† are sometimes made; and the proprietors are anxious for the success of their respective horses, as those can be, whose racers aspire to the plates at Newmarket‡. An acre of our strong

* See Mr. Young's Annals of Agriculture, vol. II. p.130; and Suffolk Agricultural Report, 4to, 1794. T. G. C.

† I have transcribed an advertisement, the first that occurred, of one of these matches: "On Thursday, 9 July, 1724, there will be a drawing at Ixworth Pickarel, for a piece of plate of 45s. value; and they that will bring five horses or mares may put in for it: and they that draw 20 *the best and fairest pulls, with their reins up*, and then, they that can *carry the greatest weight over the block, with fewest lifts, and fewest pulls*, shall have the said plate; by such judges as the masters of the teams shall choose. You are to meet at 12 o'clock, and put in your names (or else to be debarred from drawing for it), and subscribe half a crown a piece, to be paid to the second best team."
Suffolk Mercury, 22 June, 1724.

Some parts of the above may perhaps require a commentary.

The trial is made with a waggon loaded with sand, the wheels sunk a little into the ground, with blocks of wood laid before them to increase the difficulty. The first efforts are made with the reins fastened, as usual, to the collar; but the animals cannot, when so confined, put out their full strength: the reins are therefore afterwards thrown loose on their necks, when they can exert their utmost powers, which they usually do by falling on their knees, and drawing in that attitude. That they may not break their knees by this operation, the area on which they draw is strown with soft sand. - [It is not mentioned here what was the weight of the draught, in the drawing match. Mr. Bewick, in his History of Quadrupeds, says there have been instances where a single draught horse of the Lincolnshire breed has drawn for a small space the enormous weight of three tons, half of which is known to be their ordinary draught. T. G. C.] ,

‡ Amongst the great farmers in the Sandlings South of Woodbridge and Orford, there was forty years ago a considerable spirit of breeding and *drawing team against*

team,

Wheat land, ploughed by a pair of them, in one day, and that not an unusual task, is an achievement that bespeaks their worth, and which is scarcely credited in many other counties. Though natives of a province varied with only the slightest inequalities of surface, yet when carried into mountainous regions, they seem born for that service. With wonder and gratitude have I seen them, with the most spirited exertions, unsolicited by the whip, and indignant, as it were, at the obstacles that opposed them, drawing my carriage up the rocky and precipitous roads of Denbigh and Caernarvonshires. But truth obliges me to add, though not to the credit of my compatriots, that these creatures, formed so well by nature, are almost always disfigured by art. Because their long tails might, in dirty seasons, be something inconvenient, they are therefore cut off frequently to within four inches of the rump, so that they scarcely afford hold for a crupper; and as absurdity never knows where to stop, even the poor remaining stump has often half its hair clipped off. In a provincial paper, a few years ago, one of these mutilated animals was expressively enough described, as having a short mane, and a *very short bung'd dock*.

When the antient use of oxen was discontinued, and only horses were employed by the farmers here, I cannot say. Oxen are not mentioned in the leases of the reign of Elizabeth; for then, when the landlords reserved to themselves the power of coming upon the farms to carry away timber, mention is made of carts and horses only for that purpose. Yet from several passages in Tusser, who was a Suffolk farmer early in that reign, if not in the preceding one, it should seem as if they were then used, in some parts at least of this county. In speaking of husbandly furniture, he says:

With *ox-bows*, and *ox-yokes*, and other things mo,
 For *ox-teem* and horse-teem, in plough for to go.
Strong oxen, and Horses, well shod, and well clad,
 Well meated and used. .

team, for large sums of money. Mr. Mays, of Ramsholt dock, was said to have drawn fifteen horses for 1500 guineas.

(Suffolk Agricultural Report, 4to, 1794, p. 41)

T.G.C.

They

They are, at this time, employed but by one gentleman* in this neighbourhood, who harnesses them like horses, and says, he has every reason to be satisfied with their service†.

Another practice adopted here, and which, I believe, is not generally known, is that of drawing the turneps towards the end of March, when they begin to run to seed, cutting off their tops and bottoms, and throwing the bodies in heaps in some out-house. By these means, the cattle have a delicious repast of the green tops; and the bodies, not exhausted by the flowering stems, continue firm and good for some weeks, and are distributed at discretion. The lands are also the sooner cleared, and ready to be ploughed for the succeeding crop of barley. Some, instead of housing the turneps, lay them, without any operation, close to one another, in a single stratum, at some corner of a field; where, though they push out their blossoms, yet are they less stringy than if they continued growing on their native spot. Either method succeeds very well (though the former is rather preferred), and serves to eke out the fodder at this critical time of the year.

Grass-grounds are, in general, about one-third part of the farms; and are therefore no inconsiderable object of the farmer's attention. The same good husbandry pervades them, as the arable lands. They are kept in the best and neatest order. *The rough lays*, as they used to be called, are now no more; and the *coursing lays*, near *the place*, those shrubby shelters for hares, known only by the map. In short, the mighty

* The Rev. Mr. Kedington, of Rougham near Bury, and since by the present earl of Bristol. Lord Somerville strongly recommends the use of oxen for the plough and draught.

T.

G. C.

† The elegant Buffon, speaking of the ox, says, "Il semble avoir été fait exprès pour la charrue; la masse de son corp, la lenteur de ses mouvements, le peu de hauteur de ses jambes, tout, jusqu' à sa tranquillité, et à sa patience dans le travail, semble concourir à le rendre propre à la culture des champ, et plus capable qu' aucun de vaincre la résistance et toujours nouvelle que la terre oppose à ses efforts."

Quadrupèdes, tome premier, p.250.

work of, stubbing up bushes is now accomplished. The butter made in this parish is exceeded by none in the neighbourhood; and of our cheese in general it may be said, that it does not now deserve the ill name it formerly had.

It follows of course, that they who take such good care of their lands, should not be neglectful of their personal and domestic comforts. The farm-houses are in general well furnished with every convenient accommodation. Into many of them a barometer has of late years been introduced; a most useful instrument for the husbandman, and which is mentioned here as a striking instance of the intelligence of this period. The tea-pot, and the mug of ale, possess jointly the breakfast table; and neat and pudding smock on the board every noon. Formerly, one might see at church what the cut of a coat was half a century before; no such curiosity is now exhibited; every article of dress is spruce and modern.

At this time, a head servant man, who lives in the house, receives for wages 7 or 8 guineas a year; a maid 3; a boy 2. A day labourer has 1s. 2d. a day in summer, and 1s in winter, besides an allowance of beer; for threshing a comb of wheat, 1s.; of the great, or *clog wheat*, or *rivets*, 1s. 3d.; of barley and oats, 6d. or 7d.; for mowing an acre of grass 1s. 4d.; a weeder of corn has 6d. a day.

This article of wages must not be dismissed, without comparing them with those given in former times. In the 14th century, a harvestman had 4d. a day, which enabled him in a week, to buy a comb of wheat; but to buy a comb of wheat, a man must now work in the harvest field 10 or 12 days. A man had formerly 6d. for mowing an acre of meadow, which, if he worked hard, he might finish in a day, and purchase for himself a bushel of wheat, which must now be earned by 5 days labour. 2d. a day for weeding corn, 4d. for threshing a quarter of wheat, and 2d. for other grain, were better wages than those now given, and enabled the laziest lubber to earn more than the most industrious workman can at present. So that whatever hardships the poor might

formerly

Formerly suffer from the oppression of their superiors, still however they seem to have been better paid for their labour than they are at present.

Their annual salaries, that were from 5s. to 13s. 4d. were lower in proportion; though these were increased to a degree which I am not able to ascertain, by allowances (*liveries* they were called) of various kinds of grain.

The harvest now lasts about five weeks; during which the harvest man earns about 3l. The agreement between the farmers and their hired harvestmen is made on Whitson Monday. *Harvest gloves of 7d.* a pair are still presented*. During harvest, if any strangers happen to come into the field, they are strongly solicited to make a present to the labourers, and those who refuse are reckoned churlish and covetous. This present is called a *Largess*; and the benefactor is celebrated on the spot, by the whole troop, who first cry out, *Holla! Largess! Holla! Largess!* They then set up two violent screams, which are succeeded by a loud vociferation, continued as long as their breath will serve, and dying gradually away. Wheat harvest is finished by a little repast given by the farmer to his men. And the completion of the whole is crowned by a banquet, called the *Hockey*, to which the wives and children are also invited. The largess money furnishes another day of festivity, at the alehouse, when they experience to perfection the happiness of,

Corda oblita laborum

At all their merry-makings their benefactors are commemorated by, *Holla! Largess!* The last load of corn is carried home, as it were in triumph, adorned with a green bough.

Time is gradually, and but gradually, wearing away many antient superstitions. The appearance of departed spirits is not yet quite discredited. I was asked very seriously, some years ago, by a farmer's wife,

* The late Mr. Macro, one of the principal farmers at Barrow in Suffolk, continued the custom of giving Gloves against Thistles. (See p.223, note.) T. G. C.

if I had not seen the ghost of a lady who died in the apartment which I then inhabited.

There are those who would not willingly kill a bacon-hog, in the decrease of the moon. And it is generally reckoned lucky to set a hen upon an odd number of eggs*.

These sketches may be thought by some to exhibit the general picture of agricultural life; but this is certainly not the case. They might be rendered more interesting by a contrasted drawing; but that is not my present business. I delineate my own village. Let others do the same by theirs.

* This fancy, it is remarkable, was laid down as a maxim by Palladius, who, speaking of Hens, says, "supponenda sunt his semper ova numero impari." Lib. I. tit 27. And Varro had said the same before him. Lib. III. cap. 9.

APPEN-

Appendix

HARDWICK*.

As this estate is extra-parochial†, and consequently has no chance of ever being included in any Parish History; and as it is indissolubly annexed to the manor of Hawsted‡; no place can be so proper as this to give some account of it. The little therefore I have to say about it, shall be thrown into the same order as was observed in the foregoing compilation.

CHAPTER I.

NATURAL HISTORY.

This spot was antiently called *Herdwick*, and *Herdwick Wood*; and the principal mansion has been long known by the name of' *Hardwick*

* *Hardwick*, or *Herdwick*, so called from the hardness of the soil, or from its having been a village of shepherds. *Herdewycha*, *Herdewick*, or *Herdewic*, a grange or place for cattle and husbandry. *Blount's Law Dictionary*; *Herdwick*, or *Herdwiche* - Touching the etymology of the name I need not speak, having already delivered my opinion, all places of the same denomination proceeding from the like cause. (*Dugdale's Warwickshire*, by Dr. Thomas, vol. 1. p. 512.) T. G. C.

† The number of inhabitants of this extra-parochial place may be reckoned at the average of 20, of which the males and females are equal in number. T.G. C.

‡ See p.84.

House.

House. Its bounds are not disjoined from those of Hawsted above half a mile; and it is surrounded by the parishes of Bury St. Edmund's, Horningsheath, with its little hamlet called Horsecroft, and Nowton. It is considerably elevated above the meadows contiguous to Bury; and its soil, like that of Hawsted, is fertile both in corn and pasture. Chalk, gravel, and brick earth, are found at different depths beneath the surface. The deeper strata I had an opportunity of examining in October 1777, by digging a well close to my house. Of these and their productions I shall give an account from the short and hasty notes I took at the time*.

1-2 feet beneath a shallow stratum of black vegetable mould was a good brick earth. At 18 inches, a water eft or newt (*lacerta palustris*) had formed a smooth hole for its winter residence. 2-15 feet, a yellowish, compact, and tough loam, interspersed with nodules of chalk of every degree of hardness, flints, and stony concretions, containing bivalve shells, some smooth, some transversely striated, cornua ammonis, and worm shells (*serpulæ*). The common earth-worm (*lumbricus terrestris*) was found as deep as three feet, in a hard and yellowish loam, driven probably to that depth by the very dry summer preceding. At 6 feet, a roundish stone, about 200lb. weight, consisting of a very hard crust, lined with a tender cristallization, and full of water, 15-17 feet, a bluish loam interspersed with snake stones (*helmintholithus ammonites*), crow stones (*helmintholithus gryphites*), and thick oyster shells about 4 inches broad (*ostracites maximus, rugosus et asper*, of Lister, p.236). At 17 feet, the loam became of a ferrugineous colour; and to this depth, in seemingly so unfriendly a soil, had penetrated some finely-branching vegetable fibres, perhaps those of an old pear-tree, that had stood not far off. At 20 feet, a stratum of sand; at 21,

* The fossil kingdom was so little understood at the time the Author wrote the above (in 1784), that some allowance must be made if the names are not so scientific and descriptive as the present improved state of knowledge would admit. T. G. C.

a soft

a soft sandy loam; 21-25, a sharp yellow sand, with thunderbolts (*helmintholithus belemnites*). 25-28, coarse gravel, with large flints, 29, a yellowish loam. 29-35, a deep blue loam, extremely dry and tough, with large flints, a few small pieces of mundic, and a snake stone impregnated with it. 35-49, the loam was still very tough and dry, of a pale-blue, in some parts tinged with yellow, and interspersed with thunderbolts; pieces of iron ore (one weighing about five ounces); of mundic; of slate (something like the *schistus* or *ardesia tabularis*, but softer) exhibiting the silvery impressions of very small snake stones, or perhaps nautili; one specimen of *helmintholithus anomites* η ; and one of the star stone (*helmintholithus asteria columnaris*) perfectly cylindrical, consisting only of three joints, and those a little swollen; it is something more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, and nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter, the edges of the five-pointed star finely notched*. 49-129, chalk[†], the crust of which was almost as hard as limestone; afterwards it became softer, interspersed with large flints, and some small roundish masses of yellow ocre; at 91 it began to be moist, and continued to grow more and more so; frequently tinged with yellow; towards 112, the flints were much less frequent; and between that and 118, a candle was soon extinguished, owing, the digger said, to the air that issued from the crevices of the chalk. At 120, a thick ponderous shell[‡], tolerably perfect, about 6 by 7 inches across, with 8 or 9 deep circular furrows: some fragments of this had appeared before. At 129 feet, water gushed out of the solid chalk. The well has at different times been since deepened

* See a curious engraving, and a description of the animal, to a species of which this fossil belongs, and which was found at Barbadoes, Phil. Trans. 1761, p.537.

† At Ickworth, the seat of the earl of Bristol, about three miles to the North-west, when a well was dug in 1781, the chalk was from 67 to 175 feet, at which latter depth water was found.

‡ From the appearance of this (the inside of which I was afraid of clearing from the chalk) I had no doubt of its being a bivalve: but have been since assured, it is a *Patella*; and found in chalk about Dover, and other parts of Kent.

about 8 feet more, the same pure chalk continuing, with fragments of the great shell. The water curdles soap, doubtless from selenite (a salt existing in spring-water, formed by sulphuric acid and lime) or according to the present chemical language, sulphate of lime*.

What a jumble has this earth, which we inhabit, undergone! Subterraneous geography is a subject of very curious investigation. I have added my mite towards its history.

To the catalogue of plants at p. 4, may be subjoined the following, which grow very near the house: were I to allow myself an excursion of a few miles, the list would be nobly enriched.

Field Gentian (*Gentiana campestris*, Eng. Bot. Tab. 237.)

Tuberous Moschatel (*Adoxa Moschatellina*) in shady hedges.

Drop Wort (*Spiræafilipendula*) on the heath.

Water Avens (*Geum ricale*) in a wood.

Bugle (*Ajuga reptans*. *Bugula Flore rubro*, Ray's Syn. 245) in a wood†

 * See an account of digging a well at Northall, near Harrow on the Hill, Middlesex. The depth of the well is 164 feet; and on removing a stone at this depth, the water gushed out, and rose 80 feet in four hours; and in the next 24 hours 40 feet more; after which it continued to rise gradually for the next fortnight, till it reached its present level, which is only four feet from the surface of the earth, the depth of the water being now 160 feet.

	feet
The strata were, first, a blue clay, of	60
second, stone,	1
third, clay,	29
fourth, sand,	23
fifth, another clay, of a red or ferruginous colour, mixed now and then with gravel, and stones of a considerable size,	51

	164

Lysons's London, vol. III. p: 3Q7. T. G. C.

† This is a remarkable variety, with smooth leaves, except that they are a little fringe~ at the edge towards the base, and pink-coloured blossoms. The whole plant is much less hairy than the common sort, and of a much smaller size. It continues the same when removed into the garden.

Yellow

Yellow Nettle Hemp (*Galeopsis Galeobdolon*) in hedges.
 Common Calamint (*Melissa Calaminta*) on dry banks.
 Shining Dove's-foot Cranesbill (*Geranium lucidum*) in hedges.
 Crimson grass Vetch (*Lathyrus nissolia*) among grass *.
 Yellow Vetchling (*Lathyrus aphaca*) among grass.
 Yellow-flowered Trefoil (*Trifolium ochroleucon*) in pastures†
 Yellow Medick (*Medicago fa lea ta*) on dry banks.
 Woolly headed Thistle (*Carduus eriophorus*) among grass.
 Fir Hydnum (*Hydnum auriscalpium*) on half-rotten-cones of Scotch firs‡.
 Curled Elvela (*Elvela mitra*) on rotten wood.

The air is pure, and frequently clear when the low grounds near Bury are enveloped with fogs. Hence the vegetables in this garden often remain uninjured by the frost, while those in the gardens about the town suffer greatly.

The uncertainty of our climate appears in nothing more, than in the irregular advances of the spring. This may be exemplified by comparing the different times, when several vegetables blossom, in different seasons. The present spring (1784) will afford one extreme; and one not long passed, that of the year 1779, the other. The observations were made on the same individuals in and near the garden.

	1779	1784	Difference in days
Apricot-tree	20 Feb	15 April	54
Wood Anemone	9 March	16 April	38

 * I have never found this *Lathyrus* at Hardwick, or in the neighbourhood of Bury. Very considerable additions to the list might have been made by the late Sir John Cullum; and the many valuable publications on English Botany since 1784 had almost tempted me to omit the Botanical List entirely. T. G. C.

† It grows also in the driest and hardest- stations.

‡ In a little wood at the back of Hardwick Garden, on the left, which my father used to call his Nursery, and was planted by him with young oaks, ash, elms, and sycamores, in February 1751. The two Cedars of Lebanon, in the garden, were planted about 1760.

T. G. C.

Apple-

	1779	1784	Difference in days
Apple-tree	6 April	15 May	39
White Thorn	15 April	22 May	37
Vine	14 June	23 June*	9
Lime-tree	21 June	7 July	16

It appears by this short table, that the greatest variation is in the early part of the spring; there being a no less difference than 54 days between the earliest and latest blossoming of the apricot tree; of the three next articles less than 40; and of the two last, less than 20. And some other solstitial plants, such as Sedums, St. John's Worts, Thistles, &c. I never knew to vary above 10 or 12 days, whatever the preceding season might have been.

Of the remarkable frosts of last summer, which literally

" Fell in the fresh lap of the crimson Rose,"

I was going to give some account in this place; when I was informed that the Royal Society proposed doing me the honour to print, in their next publication, a paper which I had laid before them on the subject†.

That very beautiful bird, and the smallest of any English one, the golden-crested wren (*Motacilla Regulus*), is a constant inhabitant of the garden. In it are also found the bristly snail (*Helix hispida*), the sharp snail (*Helix lapicida*), and the *Turbo bidens*. The soland goose (*Pelecanus Bassanus*) is not an unfrequent wanderer into these parts; three having been killed very near this place, within a few years. The oriole, or golden thrush (*Oriolus Galbula*), was shot near Bury, 18 July 1778. Its remarkable note attracted its murderer.

There is no place properer than this, where I may mention a custom which I have twice seen practised in this garden, within a few years,

 * I have rarely observed the vine to blossom earlier than this year (1784); and the cause of this forwardness was the remarkably warm May, when it made its first efforts of vegetation.

† That paper will be found at large at the end of the present chapter; see p. 268.N .

namely,

namely, that of drawing a child through a cleft tree. For this purpose, a young ash was each time selected, and split longitudinally about five feet; the fissure was kept wide open by my gardener, while the friend of the child, having first stripped him naked, passed him thrice through it, always head foremost. As soon as the operation was performed, the wounded tree was bound up with packthread; and as the bark healed, the child was to recover. The first of these young patients was to be cured of the rickets; the second of a rupture. About the former I had no opportunity of making any inquiry: but I frequently saw the father of the latter, who assured me, that his child, without any other assistance, gradually mended, and at last grew perfectly well*.

Doctor Borlase, in his *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 178, mentions a custom practised in that part of the island, which is analogous to that just recited. There is a stone, he says, in the parish of Marden, with a hole in it, fourteen inches diameter, through which he was informed by an intelligent neighbouring farmer, many persons had crept for pains in their backs and limbs; and that fanciful parents, at certain times of the year, do customarily draw their children through, to cure them of the rickets.

The author adduces many more instances of the supposed efficacy of persons passing through, or between the parts of, various substances: but for them I must refer to the work itself. Yet I cannot help remarking how curious it is, that the eastern and western extremities of the kingdom should coincide in this singular custom, the spirit of which is certainly deduced from the remotest antiquity; and of which the historians of the interior parts have not, as far as I at present recollect, taken any notice. Men of education laugh, and with reason, at such

* See a particular account of this custom at Selborne in Hampshire, in Mr. White's *Antiquities of that place*. See likewise the meaning of a *Shrew Ash*, which is made by boring an hole with an auger, and thrusting a poor shrew-mouse in alive. Now the twigs of this shrew ash applied to the limbs of cattle will relieve the pains which a beast suffers from the running of a shrew mouse over the parts affected.

White's *Antiquities*, 4to, 1789, r-203.

idle practices; but the common people, untutored by philosophy, transmit them for ages from father to son, and shew us how our ancestors thought and acted, thousands of years ago.

An Account of a remarkable Frost on the 25d of June, 1783. In a letter from the late Rev. Sir John Cullum, Bart. F. R. S. and S. A. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. Read at the Royal Society, May .Q7, 1784.

" DEAR SIR, Hardwick House, Nov. 10, 1783.

" When I had the pleasure of seeing you in London, in the autumn, and mentioned a frost that happened in my neighbourhood on the 23d of last June, you expressed a desire of receiving some particulars about it. I therefore now send you some memorandums which I made at the time.

" About six o'clock, that morning, I observed the air very much condensed in my chamber-window; and, upon getting up, was informed by a tenant, who lives close to my house, that finding himself cold in bed, about three o'clock in the morning, he looked out at his window, and to his great surprise saw the ground covered with a white frost: and I was afterwards assured, upon indubitable authority, that two men at Barton, about three miles off, saw between three and four o'clock that morning, in some shallow tubs, ice of the thickness of a crownpiece, and which was not melted before six.

" This unseasonable frost produced some remarkable effects. The *aristæ* of the barley, which was coming into ear, became brown and withered at their extremities, as did the leaves of the oats; the rye had the appearance of being mildewed ;so that the farmers were alarmed for those crops. The wheat was not much affected. The larch, Weymouth pine, and hardy Scotch fir, had the tips of their leaves withered; the first was particularly damaged, and made a shabby appearance the rest of the summer. The leaves of some ashes, very much sheltered in my garden, suffered greatly. A walnut-tree received a second shock (the first was from a severe frost on the 26th of May) which completed the ruin of its crop. Cherry-trees, a standard peach-tree, filbert and hazel-nut-trees, shed their leaves plentifully, and littered the walks as in autumn. The barberry-bush was extremely pinched, as well as the hypericum perforatum and hirsutum: as the two last are solstitial, and rather delicate plants, I wondered the less at their sensibility; but was much surprised to find, that the vernal

black-thorn and sweet violet, the leaves of which one would have thought must have acquired a perfect firmness and strength, were injured full as much. AU these vegetables appeared exactly as if a fire had been lighted near them, that had shrivelled and discoloured their leaves:

-- *penetrabile frigus adurit,*

" At the time this havoc was made among some of our hardy natives, the exotic mulberry-tree was very little affected; a fig-tree, against a North-west wall, remained unhurt, as well as the vine, on the other side, though just coming into blossom. I speak of my own garden, which is high; for in the low ones about Bury, that is but a mile off, the fig-trees, in particular, were very much cut: and, in general, all those gardens suffered more by frost than mine.

Some weather, that was cold for the time of year, had preceded this frost. On the 21st the thermometer had, at no time of the day, risen to 60⁰; on the 22nd, at ten at night, it had sunk to 50⁰. On the last day, and on the 23rd disappeared that dry haze, which had taken place some days before, and continued to blot out the face of the sun for so long a time afterwards. After sunset on the 24th it appeared again, and the next day the leaves of many vegetables were covered with a clammy sweetness.

" The above slight notes were taken in my garden and its environs; and I wish they may afford you the smallest entertainment. If you should think them worth the attention of the Royal Society, dispose of them accordingly. So severe a frost at so advanced a season, is certainly not one of the least remarkable among the atmospherical phenomena of this year. I remain, dear Sir,

"Your much obliged and faithful servant, JOHN CULLUM."

CHAP. II. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THIS must of necessity be reduced within the narrowest compass, in treating of an extra-parochial place. The few inhabitants have generally resorted to the neighbouring churches at Bury, for divine service. I have,

have, however, in my possession two archiepiscopal licences for a private chapel here; granted to the last Sir Robert Drury and his widow. And as forms of this sort are not, I believe, very common, the printing of them may have its use; and it may also perhaps amuse the curious to compare them with the papal one already given, at p. 142.

Georgius Providentia divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus*, totius Anglie primas et metropolitanus, ad quem omnis et omnimoda jurisdictio spiritualis et ecclesiastica, in diocesi Norwicensi, Cantuariensis provincie, ratione visitationis nostre metropolitice ibidem notorie dignoscitur pertinere, universis et singulis clericis et literatis aliisque in eadem provincia ad quos hec pervenient, salutem. *Cum* dilectus noster magister Thomas Ridley legum Doctor, vicarius noster illis spiritualibus generalis in visitatione nostra metropolitana infra diocesem Norwicensem predictam rite et legitime procedens, decretum sum ad effectum infra scriptum ex certis causis interposuerit, ad petitionem venerabilis viri Roberti Drurie militis, ejusdem dioceseos et provillsie, justitiae id poscente; ~~vobis~~ igitur per presentes significamus et intimamus, quod licentiam et facultatem dedimus et concessimus, et per presentes damus et concedimus prefato domino Roberto Drurie, quo ipse dominus Robertus Drurie possit, si voluerit, infra domum suam communiter vocatam Hardwick House, in diocesi predicta, de tempore in tempus preces communes ac conciones habere, et sacramenta et sacramentalia ibidem celebrari facere, donec capella ibidem edificabitur, debite conservanda. Ac ut liceat eidem domino Roberto Drurie cum uxore sua et famulis suis, ac viduis quibuscumque in hospitali suo ibidem edificato de tempore in tempus habitantibus, preces communes et conciones, ac sacra et sacramentalia in dicta domo sua audire et recipere. Quodque nos ulterius dilectum nostrum Richardum Brabon, sacre theologie Bacchalaureum, ad officium presbiteri, ac ad preces communes et divina, ac sacramenta et sacramentalia de tempore in tempus infra dictam domum vocatam Hardwick House, dicendum, legendum, predicandum, et ministrandum deputavimus et assignavimus, sicque deputamus et assignamus. Ac quod eidem domino Roberto Drurie (prefato Richardo Brabon impedito) bene licebit alium quemcumque idoneum clericum ad premissa ibidem facienda et celebranda de tempore in tempus (quamdiu hujus facultatis et licencie nostre decretum durabit) assignare et deputare. *In cujus rei testimonium sigillum*†

* George Abbot, translated from London to Canterbury in 1611.

† It is of red wax, engraven of the same size, in the Plate of Seals, No.2.

officii vicarii nostri in spiritualibus generalis antedicti presentibus apponi fecimus. *Datum* sub eodem sigillo vicesimo sexto die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo tertio*. THO. RIDLEY.

As the above licence was granted only to Sir Robert Drury, and till he should fit up a chapel, his widow, I suppose, found it necessary to procure the following one.

Georgius Providentia divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas et metropolitanus, dilecte nobis in Christo Domine Anne Drury vidue relicte domini Roberti Drury nuper dum vixit de Hardwick prope oppidum Bury Sancti Edmundi, in comitatu Suffolciensi militis defuncti, salutem. *Cum nuper* in nostra visitatione metropolitana dioceseos Norwicensis licentiam dicto marito tuo jam demortue, tibi que et liberis vestris concessimus habendi oratorium in edibus tuis de Haridwick predictis, locumque commodum in dictis edibus assignavimus per supervisionem aliquorum fide dignorum virorum, ubi divine preces singulis diebus festivis et profestis vobis et familie vestre per idoneum ministrum legi et pronuntiari potuissent. Et jam ab eodem tempore nobis relatum sit, quod tu dictum oratorium ita probe ornaveris, ut majorem ardorem in hominum animis accenderet ad divina officia in eodem loco exequenda. Et simul insinuatam nobis est, dictas edes tuas de Hardwick olim pertinuisse ad Coenobium sive monasterium Sancti Edmundi predicti, ita ut facile colligi non potest, intra cujus ecelesie fines dicte edes scite sunt, et communis opinio magis est dictas edes extra fines et limites cujusquam parochie scitas esse: ideo ex uberiore gratia nostra ad humilem petitionem tuam tibi concedimus, ut non solum habeas licentiam peragendi divinas preces matutinas et vespertinas singulis diebus dominicis et festivis in dicto loco; sed etiam sacras conciones habendi, et sacramentum coene domini ibidem celebrandi, quoties vel per adversam tuam valetudinem, aut per celi intemperiam commode ad ecclesiam Buriensem accedere non possis, modo id cures fieri per idoneum ministrum verbi divini, executionem sui officii in se habentem, morigerum et modestum, obsequentem in omnibus et per omnia legibus et canonibus

* Subjoined to this is a similar licence to Sir Robert for a private chapel at Snareshill, near Thetford, which was not included in the bounds of any parish. So that, what is something remarkable, Sir Robert was proprietor of two extra-parochial houses.

† George Abbot, the same archbishop who granted the former licence.

ecclesie Anglicane prout jam sunt in usu. Atque insuper ut omnia decore et cum decente apparatu fiant, prout par est, in omnibus hujusmodi divinis ministeriis obeundis, durante vita tua naturali. *In cujus testimonium* sigillum vicarii nostri in spiritualibus generalis presentibus apponi fecimus. *Datum* decimo quarto die mensis Martii, anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo sexto (stilo Anglie) et nostre translationis anno sexton. THO. RIDLEY.

It is difficult to assign a reason why the archbishop was applied to for the above licences, as the bishop of the diocese was surely competent to have granted them. The second is remarkably faulty, both in the reciting part, and in grammar, as well as orthography; the errors in the last of which it did not seem necessary to preserve. The place assigned for the chapel by the vicar-general, upon the survey of proper persons, is a damp and uncomfortable apartment; and gives one an opportunity of contrasting the hardiness of former times with the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the present: for even the poor alms-house women would now be almost afraid of sitting an hour in this room, which was fixed upon as an oratory for a lady of fashion in the seventeenth century.

CHAP. III. PROPRIETORS.

THIS estate appears to have been in the Crown till the reign of Stephen; for the *Registrum Sacristæ** mentions a deed of that monarch, dated at Bury, and witnessed by Robert de Ver, which gave the monks of St. Edmund, and their cellarer, free and quiet possession of Herdwick; and in the *Monasticon*† it is recited among his donations to the monas"

* MS.B.

† Vol. I. p. 295, where it is misprinted *Herwick*.

tery.

tery. From its vicinity to that vortex, it is much it had not been before absorbed by it. It continued in the hands of the Abbey till the Dissolution. Tradition reports, that it was the abbot's dairy; which is probable enough, both from its name, and its being a tract of woody pastures. The principal house, it is also said, was his occasional residence: but no part of the present building is of any considerable antiquity, except a spacious chimney under ground; so that no idea can be formed of what its antient grandeur was. Some of the abbatial villas, we know, were magnificent; for abbot Sampson, who died in 1211, built Redgrave Hall* of stone.

After the Dissolution, I conjecture (for I speak not from vouchers), this estate remained some time in the crown; and that queen Mary granted it to the family of Southwell†; in which, however, it continued not long; for on the 19th of April 1610, Sir Robert Drury purchased it of Thomas Stanton, mercer; and on the 18th of March following, annexed it, as we have already seen; for ever, to the manor of Hawsted. He appears to have been pleased with the spot, making it his seat for some time before his death; and his widow died here. It was for some time the residence of my father; as it has been mine, for these last 20 years [1784.]

The house is singularly situated upon the, very line that divides the open and wood-land country; commanding a very pleasing view of the town of Bury, and its neighbourhood.

* This estate (about 16 miles North-east of Bury), once the property of the Bacons, was purchased by lord-chief-justice Holt, and is now enjoyed by [his descendant] Rowland Holt, esq. who has, within a few years, re-built the house, and embellished the park in such a manner; as to render this one of the most beautiful spots in the county. In the evidence room, I am informed, are preserved many very valuable MSS. which, with the description of the fine church and its monuments, would render the history of the parish exceedingly curious and interesting.

† Robert Southwell annuales reditus et alia concessa in com. Suffolc. et Essex annis 4 et 5 temp. R et R. Philippi et Mariee. (Jones's Index to Records.) T.G.C.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OF AGRICULTURE, &C.

WERE I in possession of more materials than I am for this head, the use of them would probably be superfluous, as they could scarcely differ from those of which I have already availed myself at Hawsted.

It must not, however, be omitted, that *Hardwick Heath* has for some years been famous for one of the finest flocks of sheep in the county. It consists of about 250 ewes, 50 *Hoggets* *, and 5 ramst†, the latter of which are found amply sufficient for continuing a strong and full-sized race. They are horned, and have black faces and legs. This is noticed, as the variety of sheep in different parts of the kingdom is a circumstance not a little remarkable.

I have questioned the farmer (who is himself a very skilful shepherd), by what management he has brought his flock to its present degree of perfection: and he informs me, that his first object was to procure some of the best rams which the county produced‡. And as a state of perfect strength and growth is, through all animated nature, the most proper

* Lambs kept for the recruit of the flock, and so called till after their first shearing, which, in this flock, is, when they are about sixteen months old. Their first fleece is called *Hog-wool*; it is much longer and finer than the succeeding ones, and used for Felt Hats.

† What a significant grin would the shepherd bestow upon me, were I to tell him from M. Daubenton's "Instruction pour les Bergers," that if he would not enfeeble his rams, nor have his lambs degenerate, he should not assign even to the stoutest of the former more than twenty ewes at most apiece.

‡ This was judicious. Palladius gives the same direction relative to oxen; "melius autem boves de vicinis locis comparabis, quod nulla soli aut aeris varietate tenentur." Martius, tit. xi.

for bringing forth a vigorous offspring, he never willingly suffers his hoggets to have lambs*; nor often keeps his ewes after they are five years old; for though these latter would sometimes breed till twice that age, yet, after five years, their produce becomes gradually more and more weak and diminutive. The rams begin to decline in vigour, after four or five years of age, and are then discharged from their service. But all this care would avail nothing, if he did not most cautiously avoid overstocking his sheep-walk. His neighbours have frequently endeavoured to persuade him to increase his number; but he has always declined it, being confident that his sheep would thereby soon dwindle and degenerate, and himself become a losert†. A sheep is a most voracious animal; yet extremely choice and delicate in its food; to bring it therefore to its greatest perfection, and to keep it to that pitch, it must have frequent and even continual shifts of pasture. To this every possible attention is here paid: and the careful husbandry of turneps, in the spring, before mentioned, is not omitted.

When bleeding is necessary, it is usually performed at one corner of the eye; sometimes at the upper part of the tail; and sometimes the ear is cut‡.

It is contrived, that the lambs fall about the end of February; and in August following they are sold at Ipswich fair for about 13/ a score.

 * Varro carries this point to a great length; "neque pati oportet minores quam trimas saliri, quod neque natum ex his idoneum est, nec non ipsæ fiunt etiam deteriores." Lib. II. chap. 2.

† Good sense is the same in all ages. This is the very doctrine laid down by Columella seventeen centuries ago: "Omni autem pecudi larga præbenda sunt alimenta. Nam vel exiguus numerus, cum pabulo satiatur, plus domino reddit, quam maximus grex, si senserit penuriam." Lib. VII. chap. 3. Farmers are not, in general, sufficiently attentive to this maxim.

‡ Two of these operations are mentioned by Columella; "nos etiam sub oculis, et de auribus, sanguinem detrahimus." Lib. VII. chap. 5. The Virgilian method was,

----- inter

Ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam, Georg. III. 459.

They

They are thence conveyed to the rich pastures in Essex; and the year after often pass in the London markets for three years old mutton.

This was one of the three flocks in the environs of Bury that belonged to the abbot; and consisted, before the Dissolution, and indeed for some time afterwards, entirely of wethers, as appears by a *Computus* for *Hencote** near Bury, 32 Henry VIII now in the Exchequer†, in which the farmer accounts for 10*l.* 5*s.* rent for the said farm; of which 35*s.* were for the pasturage of three hundred and a half of sheep, *vocat. Les wethers*, which used to be kept for the household of the monastery.

Saffron was formerly cultivated not far from the house; for in the description of the bounds of the sheep-walk in 1581, mention is made of the *Safforne Pane*‡. This vegetable was antiently in great repute both in the kitchen and apothecary's shop: but all-ruling fashion, which decrees that what was wholesome, and even palatable, in one century, shall not be so in another, has now almost banished it from both §.

* This name is now almost entirely swallowed up in that of Hardwick, the two estates having been let together ever since 1649. It comprehends the unenclosed part of the present farm, which lies within the bounds of Bury, and was granted to Sir William Drury by Queen Mary, in 1553. Jones, Index to Records, folio, vol. 1. - There is a tradition of considerable antiquity, that *Hencote* received its appellation from its yielding rent to the monastery in provisions of hens, chicken, turkies, geese, ducks, eggs, pigeons &c. (Yates, History of Bury, 4to, 1805, p.175.)

† For a copy of this, and for several other favours, I am indebted to Craven Ord, esq. Many gentlemen in office display a liberality of communication, without which, works like the present could with difficulty be conducted. I have already mentioned another instance at p. 14, and cannot pardon myself if I omit a third, John Charles Brooke, esq. Somerset Herald. This accomplished gentleman lost his life in the fatal catastrophe of the evening of the 3d of February 1794, in attempting to get into the pit at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, with his friend Mr. Pingo, York Herald. (See Noble's History of the College of Arms, 4to, 1804, p.428-434.) T. G. C.

‡ In an account of the tythes belonging to the Corporation of Bury, some pieces of pasture lying without the Southgate, between the river and Sicklesmere, are described as being near *Saffron-pann*.

§ See p. 222.

APPENDIX, N° II.

RULES, ORDERS, AND REGULATIONS, FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE INHABITANTS OF SIX ALMS-HOUSES, AT HAWSTED, FOUNDED AND ENDOWED BY PHILIP METCALFE, ESQUIRE, BY INDENTURE OF FEOFFMENT, DATED THE 23D DAY OF DECEMBER, 1811, AND ENROLLED IN CHANCERY.

I. **AS** every house, previous to the admission of a new alms-person, shall be put into sufficient repair at the expence of the charity, every occupier shall, at his own charge, keep all the glass-windows in repair, and shall white-wash the inside of the house frequently, so as to keep it clean and wholesome, and shall repair all the damages which may be done by his or her occupation of it; and every alms-person shall keep the garden and fore-court, and all the premises in his separate occupation, in neat and good condition, so as to do credit to his industry: and in case, by illness or infirmity, any poor person is disabled from keeping the court or front of his or her house weeded and in order, the same shall be done by the inhabitants of the two adjoining houses in the division in which his or her house shall be situate.

II. The wash-house, and other conveniencies to be used in common, shall be taken care of, and kept in order by all the poor persons, except those disabled by sickness or infirmity, by turns, or in such other manner as they shall agree upon: and in case of difference, such difference shall be settled by the occupier for the time being of the mansion-house at Hawsted, now belonging to Philip Metcalfe, the founder; or, in case of such occupier's absence, by any two or more of the feoffees and trustees.

. III.

III. No poor person inhabiting the alms-houses shall keep any swine, poultry, or rabbits, or other animal which may hurt the gardens, or be any ways offensive to the neighbours.

IV. No poor person inhabiting these alms-houses shall take any nursechild, or any lodgers, nor permit any inmates in their houses, except children under the age of fourteen years, being their own children or grand-children, or relations dependent upon them; and except, in case of illness and infirmity, a female attendant, of the age of fifty years and upwards; and in all cases where children, are permitted to abide in the alms-houses, the poor person to whom they belong is to be responsible that they do no mischief, nor are in any ways noisy or troublesome to the other alms-people.

V. No poor person inhabiting these alms-houses shall sleep out of his or her house without previous permission for that purpose, to be granted by the occupier of the mansion-house of the said Philip Metcalfe, at Hawsted; or, in the absence of such occupier, by the rector or officiating minister at Hawsted: and permission shall not be granted for more than one poor person to be absent at a time, nor for anyone poor person to be absent for more than one month in a year.

VI. Every poor person inhabiting these alms-houses shall regularly attend divine service at the parish church of Hawsted every Sunday, and on Christmas-day and Good-Friday, unless prevented by illness or infirmity, or some cause to be allowed by the occupier of the mansion-house of the said Philip Metcalfe, at Hawsted, or, in the absence of such occupier, by the Rector, or officiating minister of Hawsted: and every poor person shall constantly use and appear in the cloathing furnished by this charity.

VII . All the poor persons inhabiting these alms-houses shall conduct themselves with Christian charity and forbearance towards each other, and shall not be in any ways quarrelsome : they shall also conduct themselves with respect, and without offence, towards the occupiers of the mansion-house of the said Philip Metcalfe, at Hawsted and all other their neighbours.

VIII.

VIII. In case of any difference or dispute between any of the poor persons inhabiting these alms-houses, the same shall be settled and adjusted by the order of the occupier of the mansion-house of the said Philip Metcalfe, at Hawsted; but such order shall be subject to the revision and alteration of a majority of the feoffees and trustees, if a majority of them shall think fit to interfere.

IX. If any person admitted to these alms-houses shall be discovered not to have been duly qualified for admission, or have ceased to be poor, or to be an object for alms, or by reason of any sickness or infirmity shall, cease to be a fit object for residence in the alms-houses, or shall be guilty, of any immorality, or of any breach of these rules or orders, or of the rules or orders from time to time in force: it shall be lawful for the occupier-of the mansion-house of the said Philip Metcalfe, at Hawsted, and the feoffees and trustees of the alms-houses, according to the provisions in the deed of endowment, to remove any such alms-person wholly from the alms-houses: and every such person shall quietly remove from the alms-houses within fourteen days after notice in writing for that purpose, signed by the occupier of the mansion-house of the said Philip Metcalfe, at Hawsted, and any two of the feoffees and trustees, or by any three feoffees and trustees, and left at the alms-house of the person requested to remove.

Last. These rules and orders, with any variation therein made, from time to time, according to the provisions of the deed of endowment shall be printed in a large legible type; and one copy shall be stuck up in some conspicuous part of each alms-house.

The Trustees for the Alms-houses are,

HENRY METCALFE, ESQ.

JAMES MURE, ESQ.

REV. EDWARD GOSLING,

ORBELL RAY OAKES, ESQ;

Each of the Six Inhabitants has £20. per annum; £5. of which is for firing and clothing.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 26, note †. " 81s. read £81."

67, line 14, " Alicie de Gray," read. " Grey."

80, lines 27, 28, read " Bigsby."

Idem. line 32, read " Christopher Barton Metcalfe."

81, line 1, read "Pawsey".

127, The Effigies* in brass, engraved in the plate, are on a flat stone on the North-east side of Rougham Church, near Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk. They are the memorials of Sir Roger Drury, Knight, and Margery his wife, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Thomas Naunton, of Chavent†, in that parish. Sir Roger was the son of Nicholas Drury, Esq. of Thurston, a contiguous village, and of Joan his wife, daughter and heiress of Sir Simon Saxham, of the last-mentioned place. This is the most antient monument of the Drurys which can be ascertained: and its preservation is owing to a pew having been built over it. The family was divided into several branches; and from that part which was seated at Rougham descended Sir. Thomas Drury, of Overstone, in Northamptonshire, Bart. who left two daughters, one married to John Hobart, Earl of Buckinghamshire, the other to Lord Brownlow; and one son, the Rev. George Drury, of Claydon, near Ipswich; in whom only, and his heirs, this antient name survives in the county.

142, line 27, read " favorabiles."

* The figures were drawn by the Rev. Thomas Image, Rector of Whepsted, Suffolk; and communicated to the present Editor by the Rev. Frederick Henry Barnwell, M. A. F. S.A. of Bury St. Edmund's.

The figure of Sir Roger Drury is four feet in length; breadth at the shoulders, eleven inches and a half; at the hips, nine inches: length of his sword, two feet one inch; dagger, eight inches, nearly. That of Lady Drury; in length, four feet, within half an inch; breadth at the shoulders, nine inches and a half; middle, rather exceeding twelve inches; at the feet, fifteen inches.

† "There is a wood called Chavent on the East side of Rougham, which has for many years been the property of the Lords of the Manor of Hessel, the adjoining parish. A spot on the corner of the estate formerly belonging to the Drurys, has apparent remains of a moat surrounding it, which is said to have been the old site of Rougham Place. Sir Robert Davers, the first Baronet, built the present Rougham Place, which, with the Drury Estate, lately belonged to the Honourable Mr. Bouverie, of Northamptonshire, and is now owned by the Rev. Mr. Kedington, a gentleman descended from one of the oldest families in Suffolk, to whom, among numberless obligations, I acknowledge myself indebted for the latter part of the foregoing account." F. H. B.

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