V.—*A Roll of Household Accounts of Sir Hamon le Strange of Hunstanton, Norfolk, 1347–8.* By HAMON LE STRANGE, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 22nd November 1917.

ABOUT eighty-four years ago the late Daniel Gurney, F.S.A., published in *Archaeologia* (xxv, 411–569) some extracts from the Household Accounts of the le Stranges of Hunstanton during the reigns of Henry VIII and his children. The Muniment Room at Hunstanton Hall, from which they were taken, contains a series of Rolls of similar accounts of the reign of Edward III. In the belief that the publication of some of these will be useful for purposes of comparison of prices, and as throwing some light on the manner of life of a knightly family in the middle of the fourteenth century, I have selected one of them for description in the present paper.

Sir Hamon le Strange of that day was the son of the Sir Hamon who had been enfeoffed in the manor of Hunstanton in 1310 by his elder brother John (VI) second Baron Strange of Knockyn, his mother being Margaret, daughter of Ralph Vernon of Mottran in Cheshire; this lady, as we shall see, survived her husband for many years, and appears as giving presents to her son at the date of the Roll under examination. Sir Hamon, the elder, died in 1317, leaving his son and heir, a minor, under the wardship of his mother, Margaret. Hamon, the younger, held the Hunstanton estate for upwards of fifty years, dying in 1369. He married Katharine, daughter of Sir John de Camoys, and her tombstone, inscribed with her name, still exists in the church at Hunstanton. This John was the second son of Sir Ralph de Camoys, who was summoned to parliament as Baron Camoys from 1313 to 1335; he died in 1336, being succeeded by his eldest son Sir Thomas, who fought at Crécy in 1346, but was never summoned to parliament; his son Ralph, whose name occurs in this Roll, predeceased his father, who lived until 1372. Before that date Sir Thomas Camoys's brother Sir John must have died, as his son, another Thomas, succeeded his uncle, and was summoned to parliament from 1383 to 1420.

Sir John de Camoys, father-in-law of Sir Hamon le Strange, had married Margaret, sister and co-heir with her sister Margery of Sir Richard Foliot, and in right of his wife Sir John had a share in the lordship of Gressenhall near

Dereham in Norfolk, which is frequently mentioned in these accounts. Both Hamon le Strange and John de Camoys had served continuously during the campaign of Crécy and the subsequent siege of Calais in 1346, and until King Edward's return to England in October 1347. Before that date a partition of the Foliot estate had been made between the two heiresses, Gressenhall with Elsing having been allotted and released to the elder sister, Margery, wife of Sir Hugh Hastings. John and Margaret de Camoys, however, seem to have retained some interest in Gressenhall, and John certainly presented to the church thereof in 1348, 1349, and 1361. It was, perhaps, in consequence of the above-mentioned partition that John de Camoys, on his return from France in the autumn of 1347, having no house of his own to go to at Gressenhall, came to an arrangement with his comrade-in-arms to live together at Hunstanton. This is shown by the heading of the Roll, which runs as follows (in Latin):

'Expenses of the house of Sir John de Camoys and Hamon le Strange in residence (*perhendingacione*) at Hunstanton, with the lady de Camoys, her damsel (*domicillâ*) and maid (*ancillâ*), and with Hamon le Strange and his wife, with her damsel and maid, and with the free servants (*liberis famulis*) living with the aforesaid John and Hamon—that is to say, Richard the Chaplain, the Butler, the Cook, with the groom (*garçifero*), two boys, and one lad (*garçione*) of the aforesaid Hamon, from the feast of St. Michael in the 21st of Edward III [29 September 1347] to the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula next following, in the 22nd year of the said King' [1 August 1348].

Margaret Foliot, as is shown by the inquest on the death of her brother Richard, was only eleven years old in 1324, so that her daughter Katharine, the wife of Sir Hamon le Strange, could not have been more than sixteen or seventeen years old in 1347, scarcely old enough to take an active part in the house-keeping at Hunstanton; yet apparently she already had a child born shortly before the period of this account, as there is an entry, on the 22nd December, of milk bought for 'Hamon son of Hamon le Strange'.

The expenses of each week are entered separately, day by day, together with mention of food, etc. in store, as to which no price or value is appended. At the end of each week a summing up is given, showing the total of cash payments, the quantities of various articles purchased, the amount thereof remaining in store, the quantity of beer brewed, and of provender consumed by the horses belonging to the lord, to Sir John Camoys, and to any guests staying in the house. There are a few marginal notes, of some interest from the point of view of family history, as they record the coming and going of the lord, and give the names of his guests. The Accounts are evidently kept by the steward, and, by way of showing his method of accounting, a translation is here given of all the entries for Christmas week 1347.

'Sunday. For flesh of oxen with one quarter of mutton, and for flesh of calf and pig bought by John the cook, 16*d.* For eggs bought by the said John, 1½*d.* For mustard bought by the said John, 1*d.* In store, one hen.

Monday in the Vigil of Christmas. For wheaten bread, 1 quarter of wheat and 3 bushels of mixtelyn. For beer brewed 1½ quarters of malt of barley, price the quarter 6*s.* For plaice and sprats bought by John the cook, 1¼*d.* In store, 1 cheling.

Tuesday. Christmas day. For bread bought for the kitchen by John the cook, ½*d.* For 2 flagons (*lagenae*) of wine bought at Heacham by the lord, 12*d.* In store, 1 porker for the Salting house (*lardario*), price 4*s.*; 1 small pig, price 6*d.*; 1 swan from the lord John Camoys, price, 2 hens of rent. And received from Gressenhall 6 rabbits, and 2 rabbits from John de Somerton as a gift. Whereof consumed (*in expensis*) 5 rabbits and one ham. For provender for 4 horses of the lord John Camoys for 2 days and nights preceding, 12 pecks of oats; and for one horse of Richard, the servant of John de Docking, for one day and one night, 2 pecks.

Wednesday on the feast of St. Stephen. For one flagon of wine bought by John Camoys. For spices bought of John the grocer at Lynn, 12*s.* 1*d.* Also at the same place 3 lb. of wax, bought of the same John the grocer, 15*d.* In store, 1 rabbit; 1 goose, price 3*d.*; 1 capon, price 2*d.*; 2 hens of rent. For provender for 4 horses of the lord John de Camoys, 12 pecks of oats, and for 1 horse of the bailiff (*messor*) of Lexham, 1 peck of oats.

Thursday on the feast of St. John the Evangelist. For 1 bushel of peas bought for soup by Richard the bailiff, 8*d.* For eggs bought by John the cook, ½*d.* In store, 1 goose, price 3*d.*; 2 hens of rent and 2 rabbits. For provender for 4 horses of the lord John de Camoys, 12 pecks of oats.

Friday. For plaice bought by John the cook, ½*d.* In store, 2 fish, viz. 1 ling and 1 cheling.

Saturday. On the feast of St. Thomas the Martyr. In store, 1 kymp of Herrings. For sprats bought by John the cook, ½*d.* For provender for 2 horses of the lord through the whole preceding week, 4 bushels, 2 pecks of oats.

Total of money, 21*s.* 11¼*d.* Whereof paid by John the cook 22¼*d.*

Total of corn, 1 quarter of wheat and 3 bushels of mixtelyn.

Total of malt, 1½ quarters.

Total of store, 1 porker, price as above; 1 small pig, price as above; 2 geese, 1 capon, & 6 hens of rent, as above.

Total of oats, 1 quarter, 2 bushels, 1 peck. Of which for the lord's horses, 4 bushels, 2 pecks; and for horses of the lord John Camoys, 4 bushels, 12 pecks.

One kymp of herrings.'

A comparison of these Household Accounts with those of 200 years later, published by Mr. Daniel Gurney, brings out the remarkable fact that, whereas in the time of Henry VIII the bill of fare at Hunstanton Hall was enriched by a large variety of game birds and wild fowl, in the reign of Edward III scarcely any birds at all, except domestic poultry and pigeons, were procured. This can scarcely have been due to the fact that fire-arms had not come into use in the

fourteenth century, since the *gonne* did not contribute much even in the sixteenth, and the *crossbowe*, which is mentioned in the Tudor Accounts as responsible for some of the game birds killed, was certainly as much in use at the date of the Roll under examination. Most of the wild fowl brought into the house in the sixteenth century were no doubt captured in nets or snares, though some are mentioned as having been taken by hawks, but these methods of fowling were probably equally well understood and practised at both periods.

The only game bird mentioned in the Roll is a single mallard, which was brought into the house in February, and cost *2d.* A swan, no doubt a tame one, was given as a present at Christmas-time by John de Camoys, and this points to the conclusion that there was no swannery in the Hunstanton marshes; there is no evidence of a swan-mark having been used by the family. Of domestic poultry there is frequent mention; some, for which no price is given, being received as rent, and these are entered as *gallinae de preemptis*, referring either to some manorial right to take poultry at a fixed price, or else, when no price is mentioned, they were hen rent for small holdings. Some poultry was purchased almost every week; hens (*gallinae*) invariably cost $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, and chickens (*pulcini*) $1d.$ a-piece, while capons were priced at $2d.$ or $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, and geese at $3d.$; in the month of June young geese are entered as in store, without any money value being attached; these, if not received as rent, must have been bred on the farm. Eggs to the value of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $2d.$ were bought every week, but the number acquired for these sums is never given. Pigeons (*columbae*) are priced at two to four a penny, and some special kind from the neighbouring village of Holme are entered more than once as *columbellae de Holme*. On the 29th May, among articles in store, appear four pigeons received as a present from the lady Margaret le Strange; this must have been Margaret Vernon, mother of Sir Hamon, then owner of Hunstanton, and is proof that she survived her husband for at least thirty years. Rabbits (*cunelli*) were brought in from the demesne, and were also received as a present from Gressenhall.

The variety of fish brought into the house was considerable, but some of the species are difficult to identify. A rather puzzling one is called 'Doggedrove'. At Michaelmas there is an entry of one hundred fishes 'de doggedrove' bought for store at the price of 40s. On the same day six bushels of salt, evidently for curing these fish, were purchased at a cost of $22\frac{1}{2}d.$ These doggedroves must have been large fish as the price of each works out at about $4\frac{3}{4}d.$, representing at least as many shillings to-day. Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* (i, 608), says that he does not feel certain that the dogdrave of the northern counties is to be identified with the dogfish, but there can, I think, be little doubt that the species mentioned under this designation was the picked or common dogfish, which is still frequently caught on the Norfolk coast. Yarrell

mentions that they are sometimes taken in such numbers that fishermen load their boats with them to the water's edge. One of these shoals would easily account for the hundred fish bought on one day. Another species which I am unable to identify is the 'verdlyng'; it occurs always in conjunction with sea-fish. The value is only once mentioned in an entry of verdlyng bought by John the cook for a farthing; possibly they may be the garfish, or sea-pike, a fish of the mackerel species, the bones of which when boiled are bright green.

A purchase at Lynn of sixty stock fish for 2s. 2d. is recorded. Almost every week plaice were bought to the value of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $\frac{3}{4}d.$, but the number obtained for these small amounts does not appear. Haddocks cost a penny each, but sometimes two were got for that amount. Sprats, entered always as 'sprotts', were frequently purchased, usually with other sea-fish, the price being lumped together. A constantly recurring item is the 'cheling', which was no doubt the cod. Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* shows that in the north of England the cod is still known as the 'keeling'. A doubtful species is the 'hanon', which was often bought to the value of $\frac{1}{2}d.$, or even $\frac{1}{4}d.$, though the number obtained is not stated. Ducange gives *Hano*, *piscis species*, *merlus*, so it is very likely the whiting. Another fish which I cannot identify is the 'grinling', or 'grindling'; the price of these is not stated. Other sea-fish that frequently recur in these Accounts are ling (usually spelt *lenge*), soles, muluell (probably not the mullet, but some species of cod), and mackerel which make their appearance towards the end of May; all these were bought to the value of a few pence, but the numbers comprised are not given. A turbot is only mentioned once, as also is a porpoise, but this was so much esteemed in those days that it is entered as bought at Lynn for 20d. 'by view of Richard the Chaplain'. Herrings naturally were of frequent occurrence, both white and red. Two hundred bought at Michaelmas cost 12d., but the same number on the 1st November only cost 10d. On the 10th February 2,000 were bought for 13s. 4d. They were usually bought at so much the 'Kympe', or 'Kemp', an obsolete word for barrel.¹ Two 'kympes' bought by the lord on the 28th November cost 7s.

Of shell-fish we find mention of crabs, lobsters, whelks, mussels, and oysters; lobsters appear under the designation of *crewis* or *cravose*; two *crewis* were bought for $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, on the 6th April. John the cook bought mussels on the 16th March to the value of one farthing. Whelks must have been consumed in considerable quantities, as on the 27th March the bailiff laid out 19d. for them. Oysters, priced at 1d. or 2d., were purchased on several occasions, but here again no indication is given of the number procured for those sums.

Freshwater fish do not seem to have been much in request. Half a salmon was bought at Lynn on the 25th March, but the Roll is unfortunately defective

¹ *New English Dictionary*, under 'Kemp'.

as to the price ; salmon to the value of $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ was bought on the 28th May. John the cook laid out a halfpenny for trout (*trottae*) on the 19th July ; these may have been sea-trout, but they were more probably the freshwater species, as sea-trout are not usually captured on our coast except during May and October. The only other freshwater fish mentioned are eels, and they only occur once, on the 7th May ; it is somewhat curious that there is no mention of pike, roach, or perch, which probably then, as now, abounded in the moat round the house. A contracted word, generally given as *atam*, or *attam*, once only as *attamez*, presents some difficulty, as I have been unable, even with the help of friends in the Record Office, to extend it in any known form. It is appended to the names of several kinds of fish—chelings, ling, and herrings—and also to meat, such as ham and beef ; it must therefore I think mean ‘salted’, or ‘preserved’, especially as no other word for salted is anywhere used ; but what the word is I am quite at a loss to pronounce.

There is a curious entry on 23rd March of a barrel bought at Lynn for holding live fish (*pro piscibus vivis imponendis*) ; and, on the same day, a basket (*panerium*) was bought there for $2d.$, perhaps to help in the operation.

The weekly supply of meat, excepting during Lent, is usually the first entry on each Sunday ; unfortunately the weight or quantity purchased is not recorded, and separate kinds of meat are often lumped together. The following is a typical entry—‘Sunday [7th October] In flesh of oxen and pigs with one quarter of veal, and a quarter of mutton bought by John the cook, $15d.$ ’ On the 28th October an ox without the horns was bought for $13s.$ for the salting house (*lardario*), and on another occasion an ox for the same purpose, without its head, cost a mark : four ox-feet with the belly cost $4d.$, and two cows were priced at $15s.$ A quarter of veal was often brought in during the winter, when no doubt feeding-stuff for calves was somewhat rare. Concerning the price of mutton rather more details are given ; a shoulder cost $1d.$, a quarter was bought for $2d.$, and a whole sheep in store was valued at $5d.$, without the skin. Ewes (*oves matricēs*) are several times entered as in store at a value of $5d.$ or $6d.$ without the skin, but a hogget (*hogaster masculus*) in the same state was only worth $4d.$ Lamb did not appear among the fare at Easter-tide, no doubt because in Norfolk they were not then fit for the table, but one was bought on the 11th May for $5d.$, and a quarter of a lamb was bought with other meat on Whit-Sunday for $11d.$ Tripe, which we have already seen mentioned, appears again on the 31st January, when the cook bought tripe and four ox-feet for $4d.$ The usual price of a porker for salting was $4s.$ for a large pig, and $6d.$ for a small one (*porcellus*). A boar was received from Gresenhall on the 8th March. Ham (*perna baconis* or *perna atam*) was a frequent article of diet, but I cannot find one priced separately.

Dairy produce was supplied from the farm and was also bought from John

the dairyman (*le Deye*), but whether this individual was in business on his own account, or was a servant of the lord who kept an account against his master, does not appear; most likely the former, as butter, to the value of 1*d.* or so, was only very occasionally bought, apparently when the house-supply ran low. The same remark applies to milk, the price of which when bought was 1*d.* the *lagena*, a measure apparently equivalent to a flask or bottle. Cream was only bought once, on the 27th October, when John le Deye supplied a farthing's worth. A pennyworth of eggs was usually procured each week, but the number given for that sum is nowhere stated. Cheeses are mentioned at different prices, from 1*d.* to 6*d.* each, and must have varied according to the sizes.

The consumption of bread in the house was usually about a quarter of flour a week, sometimes two bushels more being purchased, as well as two bushels of mixtelyn, a mixture of rye and wheaten flour, very much the equivalent of that used in the war bread of to-day. The cost of the wheat was 6*s.* 8*d.* or 7*s.* a quarter, while the mixtelyn was priced at 5*d.* or 6*d.* the bushel.

A very important part of the food consumed in these days was that supplied by the spicer or grocer. It must be borne in mind that for lack of roots and winter food many of the cattle had to be killed and salted for consumption during the winter. Salt itself was very dear, being obtained entirely from salt-pans in which sea-water was slowly evaporated; some of these, belonging to the manor of Gaywood, may be seen in the meadows close to the railway to the north of that place. As this half-salted meat did not keep well, spices were in great demand to help in preserving it, and perhaps to disguise the flavour. For instance these accounts show that every week mustard to the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* or more was regularly bought. Pepper cost 2*s.* a pound, and salt, which was in much demand for preserving fish as well as meat, was priced at 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter. Sugar only occurs once during the year, namely on the 25th March, when a pound of it, bought at Lynn, cost 10*d.* Honey no doubt was much used for sweetening, but is never mentioned in the Roll, probably because it came from the garden, so neither it nor the daily supply of vegetables was brought into account. At Christmas-time spices to the value of 12*s.* 1*d.* were bought from John le Spyker at Lynn, and on Tuesday, the 19th February,¹ the following goods were procured thence: $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of pepper, 13*d.*; 10 lb. of almonds, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; half a flagon of oil, 7*d.* On Tuesday, 25th March, Richard the chaplain was sent in to Lynn a-marketing; besides half a salmon he brought back 3 pennyworths of 'flour de Rys'; one quarter (*sic*) of powder of ginger, 7*d.*; one quarter of powder of galingale, a mild kind of ginger, 9*d.*; oil, 10*d.*; and 1 lb. sugar, 10*d.* On a subsequent occasion 4 lb. of almonds were procured for 7*d.*, and one quart

¹ Evidently then as now Tuesday was market-day at Lynn.

of oil, specified as *oleo olive*, for 3*d.* One penny three farthings are mentioned as spent in walnuts. Peas costing 7*d.* a bushel were bought for making pottage, and something in the nature of porridge must have been an article of consumption, as there is an entry '*In farina facta pro potagio j quart^o auene*'.

Candles during the winter months formed no inconsiderable portion of the weekly expenses. Some appear to have been made at home from the tallow supplied by sheep, while from 2 lb. to 6 lb. of candles were often purchased, and on one occasion as much as 20 lb., costing 2*s.* The usual price seems to have been 1½*d.* per lb. On the 25th November there is entered, '*In di^o t^o de Cotoun empl^o p^o candet facient^o empl^o p^o Fohn Coke iiij d.*' It is doubtful whether this is really cotton, which was introduced by the Arabs into the Mediterranean, and it may have been some other fibre used for making wicks. Tallow was bought at times to a small extent, not more than a halfpennyworth at a time, which would not have very largely supplied a lack of candles. Wax was also purchased, but this was very dear, costing as much as 5*d.* a lb.; evidently wax candles were not used for lighting the house, but only for devotional purposes in church; an entry of 2nd February expressly states that 4 lb. of wax was bought for oblations.

The only fuel brought into the house was peat, unless an entry of *cc. de rosco empl^o p^o pistrina* refers to rushes used as fuel for heating the oven. Neither coal nor charcoal is mentioned, but considerable quantities of turves were brought into the house. A supply of 8,000 was laid in on 30th September which cost 1*s.* per thousand. These lasted until the 16th December when 1,000 were bought for 10*d.*, and this price was maintained during January and February. In April 1,000 were procured for 6*d.*, but the price rose again to 7*d.* in May, and 8*d.* in June. Altogether 24,000 are recorded as having been brought into the house during the ten months for which these Accounts run. The rise in price in the early summer is probably due to the previous year's supply having become exhausted, while the turf cut since was scarcely dry enough to burn well.

The beer for consumption by the household was all brewed at home, not regularly every week, but rather more than every other week, as the supply was required, or as other household work admitted; during the forty-four weeks covered by these Accounts brewing took place on twenty-five. The same amount of malt was always used, viz. 1½ quarters, no doubt the quantity for which the brewing plant sufficed; the cost of the malt varied from 5*s.* to 6*s.* a quarter: it is specified as being made of barley (*Bra^o ordi*). I am informed by a friend in the brewing business that a quarter and a half of malt would produce about three to three and a half barrels at the strength probable in 1347. This works out at about two barrels a week, or ten gallons a day consumed in the house, evidently a very light beer that would not keep.

The consumption of wine was exceedingly small, only five flasks (*lagenae*) during the year at a cost of 6*d.* a-piece. Two of these were bought at Heacham at Christmas-time, and the others singly at the same place, where there was a small harbour three miles from Hunstanton. Whether this wine, sold by Richard le Taverner, was French or Rhenish is not stated.

The careful account of provender, supplied to the horses of the lord and his guests, supplies some features of particular interest, both as to the horses themselves, and as to the measurement of corn allowed to each. First, as to the horses, there are at least six different kinds mentioned. There was the palfrey, i. e. the usual riding-horse used by the lord and his guests; the *somer*, *somarius*, or sumpter horse, which carried his luggage; the stott, which in some glossaries is rendered as a stallion, and in others as a foal—as there were four of them at Hunstanton, it is not likely that so many stallions would have been kept, and therefore I take it that in these Accounts stotts mean foals. The hackney is frequently mentioned; this was a riding-horse perhaps somewhat coarser bred than the palfrey; it sometimes has other designations appended; e. g. *hakeneye Veyron*, *hakeneye Romeseye*, and *Froyle*; these are possibly the names of the horses. The *equus cursorius* was probably a hunter; and, lastly, there was the *dextrarius*, the heavy war horse, progenitor of our shire horse, capable of sustaining the weight of a knight in armour. As to provender, hay is never mentioned; it was not regarded as worth bringing into account, but careful details are given of the amount of oats allowed in each case. The measures used were the quarter, the bushel, and the peck; 8 bushels, as now, went to the quarter, but the modern reckoning of 4 pecks to the bushel will not fit the requirements of the case. For instance, on 9th December it is stated that 3 stotts had 6 bushels and 3 pecks during the week, each having 2 pecks a day. It is evident, therefore, that they consumed 42 pecks during the week. If from these 42 you deduct the 3 odd pecks above-mentioned, it leaves 39 pecks as the equivalent of 6 bushels, working out at $6\frac{1}{2}$ pecks to the bushel. Testing this by another instance, under date of 13th November it is stated that each stott got 2 pecks for a day and night, and that during the week they consumed 1 quarter 4 bushels—this, at $6\frac{1}{2}$ pecks to the bushel, works out at 56 pecks, or exactly 2 pecks a day each. I must own that the contraction which I have rendered ‘peck’ is nowhere given in extended form; the manuscript always gives *ḡ. mī.*, which I take to read ‘*peciatum minae*’, or *mitae*, or possibly *modi*. This calculation is borne out by many other instances, so it may be safely assumed that the measures in use were:

$$\begin{aligned} 6\frac{1}{2} \text{ pecks} &= 1 \text{ bushel.} \\ 8 \text{ bushels (52 pecks)} &= 1 \text{ quarter.} \end{aligned}$$

On the 30th September, 14 pecks are mentioned as the week's allowance of bran and beans for two horses. The usual allowance for each horse was a peck of oats a day, though they sometimes had $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 pecks, probably when in hard work; the stotts generally got 2 pecks a day each. John Camoys's palfrey got 2 pecks a day, as also did his somer; it is worth noting that apparently he sent on his luggage on the somer a day before he himself started on a journey. The heavy *dextrarius* always got 2 pecks a day.