

## **Introduction**

### **Description of the account book and its purposes**

The original book was produced by employees of John Russell, the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Bedford, when he was Lord Warden of the New Forest, between 1746-1771. It was formally kept with other Bedford papers in the County Record Office at Hertfordshire as part of the Russell Collection before being transferred with other Hampshire material to the Record Office in Winchester in 1989.<sup>1</sup>

This book is a bound volume 8 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches wide and 12 $\frac{5}{8}$  high.

On the front is the original title:-

Messers Coleman, Miller & Birts accounts of money received and paid on account of New Forest, Lyndhurst etc from November 1746 to February 14, 1756.

Also Thomas Bullock accounts of ditto from January 1st 1756 to [blank]

It was produced for the purposes stated from draft accounts or vouchers, some of which have survived.<sup>2</sup> As a written up account it might be expected that there are few mistakes: three errors of addition and one wrong month have been noted. The accounts of the Lord Warden's Stewards, Coleman, (starting on folio 1) Miller (folio 12) and Bullock (folio 30) follow consecutively with handover accounts up to Thomas Bullock effectively signing off on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1773 on folio 78. After a gap of one folio Richard Birt, deputy to the High Steward, the legal officer who ran the courts and prosecutions starts his accounts on folio 80 and these continue until folio 86 when there is an inserted note stating that 'Mr Birt is dead insolvent'. Thomas Bullock's accounts resume after a gap on folio 87 with expenses related to repairs at The King's House and various Forest lodges from folio 88 to 101. Folios 102-5 cover expenses for the new inclosures at Pignall and Etherice between 1769 and 1771. Officers salaries due Lady Day 1769 appear on folio 106. The three last mentioned appear to be repeated from the general accounts and collected together for administrative purposes. Sundry expenses concerned with timber sales follow on folios 107-9 with a round-up of outstanding amounts on folio 110. Folios 111-8 are blank. The book ends with folios 119-121 devoted to New Park accounts for 1771-3.

John Russell was appointed Lord Warden of the New Forest in 1746.<sup>3</sup> He appointed Charles Coleman as his first steward. In 1749 Samuel Miller took over until he passed the work on to Thomas Bullock on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1756. Bullock outlived Russell and remained in post until the end of these accounts. Notes about these officers will be found in the introduction to Volume II of this series. Coleman paid himself up to Lady Day 1750 (see p.17) and Miller charged 12 months salary to 24<sup>th</sup> August 1750 indicating he commenced work 25<sup>th</sup> August 1749 (see p.23). Miller certainly came to the Forest in October, 1749 to enquire into the running of the administration but this is unlikely to have been his first visit.<sup>4</sup>

The accounts were examined and errors noted and corrected. Thomas Bullock provided a fortnight's lodgings for auditor Jo's Harrington in June 1766 as well as paying his travel expenses from London. He provided further checks on the accounts in 1769 whilst G. Stephenson checked Samuel Miller's accounts (see pp.53, 107-9,111, 130-1). James Richardson and Thomas Booker provided assistance with valuing stock and the former paid accounts in March 1771 (see pp.145,147).

## **Contents - Courts and legal method**

The old forest system of awaiting the arrival of the Forest Eyre for serious offences had broken down in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and although not officially abandoned until the 19<sup>th</sup> century was never to be used again in the New Forest after 1670.<sup>5</sup> The Verderers' courts of Swainmote and Attachment have also been noted as unreliable in the period covered by these accounts.<sup>6</sup> (see pp.105-7). This did not mean that attempts to uphold forest laws were impossible: merely the substitution of other courts. That said it was noted by William Samber that the Duke of Bedford had attempted to remove the encroachments at East Boldre but after receiving threatening letters had had to desist.<sup>7</sup> There is also a reference here to nailing up all the lower windows in the King's House in 1748 indicating earlier problems (see p.15). There are numerous mentions of costs and in some cases difficulties in obtaining justice through the magistrates courts.<sup>8</sup> However prosecutions were made, convictions obtained and meaningful fines received. It is interesting to see how the fines of cases were apportioned equally between the poor of the local parish in which the offence took place, the informant, usually the Keeper who often had a major part in apprehending the alleged villain and the Lord Warden whose officers assisted in a variety of ways including administration and travel expenses (see pp.36-7). The Duke of Bedford on his visit in 1768 clearly thought that the Keepers should be further encouraged and backdated the part that he received to them for the years 1757-68 (see p.139).

Numerous costs were involved with the Swainmote Courts most of which consist of paying the local innkeeper for food and drink for the various officers. These appear to split on class grounds with the 'Verderers and Gentlemen' at the Crown Inn run by the Wild family and the Keepers looked after elsewhere by Mr Stote. The limited years, less than half, for which these expenses occur 1746-50, 1752, 1754-5, 1757 and 1764-6 reinforce the known problems of holding the courts recorded by Richard Birt in 1751.<sup>9</sup> The cost of these dinners was not trivial, usually between £14 and £27.

## **Boundary disputes**

Three major events are recorded in these accounts of difficulties with neighbours. John Gaine and John Soafe were paid for '...going the bounds of the Forest against Minsted Manor...' in March 1756 (see p.55). Edmund Kelley was convicted of carrying a gun in the Forest.<sup>10</sup> As Woodward of Minstead Kelley would have been in the difficult position of giving his services to both his local manorial lord, Compton, and the King whilst about his duties in Minstead Manor. The dispute with Exbury Manor was a major case, eventually reaching the House of Lords before William Mitford, the lord of the manor, gave way. It concerned the right of the keeper, Edward Pearce, to chase deer in the Manor which was essentially the cause of all these disputes. The most notorious case here resulted in the death of Richard Primmer in 1757 who, until 1751, had been employed as a gardener at King's House (see p.59). The culprits, William and Harry Rook, Keepers engaged by the Master Keeper rather than the Lord Warden, absconded and were asked in an advertisement in the Salisbury Journal to return and face charges (see p.59). They were found guilty of manslaughter.<sup>11</sup> In essence it was a dispute over who had the right of jurisdiction over the Bailiwick of Burley, the Crown through the Lord Warden or the Master Keeper of Burley.

## **Forest administration**

### **Rents**

A small number of Forest rents for villages and hamlets that were paid in 1746 occur in Charles Coleman's accounts (see pp. 2, 4, 6). Otherwise totals collected appear regularly with four consistent

exceptions noted. Why Mr Forbes of Baddesley, Mr Baker of Brockenhurst and Mr Greengoe in Hardley should be such persistent debtors is unclear. Each of these rents is set considerably higher than others in the same area as is Pondhead, the fourth exception. This is shown in the 5<sup>th</sup> Report of 1789 as crown leasehold with an annual rent of £1. The authors of that report had a good grasp of the different categories of income.<sup>12</sup> In the other cases the period of non-payment appears to date from the commencement of Bedford's term as Lord Warden. Forbes held Baddesley Manor House the capital messuage of Baddesley. Similarly Baker held Brockenhurst Farm the capital messuage of Brockenhurst manor.<sup>13</sup> They may be associated with the ancient rents payable by the chief tenant of these holdings. Also noted are the amounts in arrears.<sup>14</sup>

### **Salaries**

Salaries indicate the perceived value of differences between officers. They also show the frequency and sometimes tardiness of payment. They do not indicate the full remuneration package for each individual or class of officer. Some, such as the Rangers received additional amounts from the Woodward. Others, notably the Keepers, received various perquisites in kind.<sup>15</sup>

The two Rangers were each paid £3 6s 8d (10 nobles) per annum. Sir Harry Burrard and William Knapton, the only two named in these accounts, were from families with many close ties. Burrard took his last salary as Ranger to Michaelmas 1755 (see p.49), the year after he became Riding Forester. That post, a sinecure paid directly by the treasury, carried with it a salary of £500 per annum. Knapton received payments up to Lady Day 1763, the year he died. Most of these payments were received annually but payments slipped to two and three years on three occasions. Their office, created at the time of disafforestation of the large bounds of the New Forest, originally involved chasing forest game out of the purlieu but had not been actively pursued for some time according to William Samber in his account of the Forest in 1765.<sup>16</sup> It is noted elsewhere that they also received £4 per annum in lieu of fuel wood from 1584 and still claimed by one of them at least at the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup>

The Bowbearer's post was another which remained as a sinecure with an annual payment of £2. John Burrard held the post from at least 1746 until his death 20 years later. Ann, his wife and executrix, received the last 5 years salary four years after his death. Although connected to the Burrards of Walhampton they were neither close in relationship or politics.<sup>18</sup>

Henry Fielding the novelist, and his successor Francis Tregagle as High Steward were paid annually until 1750 in one sum of £5. However from then until the late 1760s two or three years were paid together to Tregagle and (later Sir) James Mansfield. In 1765 an entry shows a payment 'By James Mansfield esq., per R.F. Mansfield paid 2 years salary as High Steward' which indicates that the real work was carried on by the Under Steward, in this case Richard Fezard Mansfield the son of James Mansfield. A separate salary is not shown for the under steward as he received fees on doing the 'business of the courts'.<sup>19</sup> In 1768 the sum of £15 for three years salary is almost certainly shown incorrectly for R.F. Mansfield 'as High Steward'. Exceptionally in 1769 James Mansfield received two half-yearly payments indicating that he remained in post.

The dangers of the system of relying on an officer who runs the courts and collects the monies and then takes a fee are shown in the accounts relating to Richard Birt of Lymington who was Under

Steward from at least 1746 until his death in 1759. A note attached to folio 86 (see p.165) shows that he owed £98 3s 11d but ‘Mr Birt is dead insolvent’.

The Keepers in addition to their salaries received three ‘nobles’ (£1) for each bailiwick with the Keeper of the Noads receiving a further nine (£3). A full account of their remuneration is shown in Appendix 22 of the 1789 *5<sup>th</sup> Report*. The complexity of the package reflects attempts to safeguard both their interests and those of the Forest since medieval times<sup>20</sup> (see p.125).

The authors of these accounts, the Lord Warden’s Stewards, received £60 per annum from 1750. Prior to that Charles Coleman recorded payments of £20 per annum ‘...for collecting and paying rents...’ (see p.5). In addition from 1751 Miller and his wife and their successors received £20 ‘as housekeeper taking care of the gardens etc.’ (see below and p.33).

### **Property management**

Property management features heavily in these accounts. The difficulties of leasing New Park touched on in a previous volume are set against the uses made of materials and equipment provided by the farm.<sup>21</sup> It is evident from notes of land tax paid that during part of the period New Park was let out in sections (see p.103). Similarly there is much on what is sometimes referred to as Lyndhurst House (Queen’s House) and its associated buildings including a new granary. Cost of repairs to lodges at Wilverley and Whitley Ridge as well as the removal of the old lodge at Castle Malwood and a replacement are shown in great detail. Decoy Farm is also noted as being rented out between 1746-51. Although no further mention of it is made here it appears in the Forest Rents of 1765, 1767 and 1770. This rather adds to the confusion of what forest rents are about. Originally they were payments to allow commoners the privilege of forest usage in a period when it was otherwise banned by forest law. It should therefore be shown quite apart from the rent of a property such as The Decoy or Queenham near Testwood. It is interesting to compare these accounts with the comments found in the *5<sup>th</sup> Report* published in 1789 when a slightly different method of collection was in use.<sup>22</sup>

The detail provided enables an overview of building methods, materials and sources together with costs. Recycling is apparent in the cleaning of bricks at two of the lodge sites (see p.129, 170). Amongst the many notable items is the use of deal, imported softwood, usually carried from Southampton. Although much of the work is for repairs, the new granary at Lyndhurst built 1753-4 and the replacement lodge at Castle Malwood erected in 1769 allow a thorough examination of complete projects.

### **Castle Malwood Lodge building costs**

Work on pulling down the previous lodge started at noon on 11<sup>th</sup> May according to William Samber, the Keeper. This is confirmed for Timothy Hinvis the bricklayer and mason started work on that day. Carpenter, Robert Fry, started two days later and worked for a fortnight removing the old lodge<sup>23</sup> (see pp.168,175). First on site was probably Arthur Vickary who commenced digging the foundations of the new lodge on 25<sup>th</sup> April, which of course tells us that it was in a different position. On the 10<sup>th</sup> May, Clement Pearce and associates started digging the saw pits and also for sand. Hinvis was paid on a virtually weekly basis from late May until early October with a final payment made on Boxing Day 1769. Robert Fry was paid fortnightly from late June until December, receiving his final payment on the 28<sup>th</sup> of that month. Joseph Wild carried 2 loads of deal from Southampton to

the lodge in early June for £1 7s. Thomas Lane was the main carrier being paid £10 15s for his work between 28<sup>th</sup> April and 7<sup>th</sup> August. Edward Moody provided '100 of scaffolding rope' and Robert Purkiss 279 feet of scaffolding boards. Robert Peckham, apart from cleaning bricks, provided casual labour throughout the project. Richard Light was paid £1 3d for ironmongery including latches, hinges and locks. Rough paving came from Samuel Russell at a cost of £3 14s 4½d. Between April 28<sup>th</sup> and June 30<sup>th</sup> John Macey supplied 22,500 bricks at 16s per thousand and 75½ quarters of lime at 4s per quarter. This total payment of £33 6s was almost equalled for the lime and bricks he provided from July until the middle of September - £32 9s. Tiles costing £5 13s 8d were supplied by William Daman in the last week of September and 4 bushels of tile pins were delivered by Richard Scorey in June and September at 2s per bushel (see pp.167-80). With around 45,000 new bricks used and 30½ yards of foundations dug an appraisal of the size of the building may be obtained. It is presumably the building shown on the tithe map of 1840.<sup>24</sup>

### **Household costs**

Lyndhurst House was used by the King when visiting the Forest, it was also the base for the Lord Warden when he came to inspect his Forest but was actually occupied by the Lord Warden's Steward. The fixtures and fittings belonged to the Crown whilst the furniture, in the main, would have belonged to the Lord Warden (see pp.141, 145). Everyday expenses including the employment of a gardener show up as well as the incidental ones when a person of some importance was due to stay. Richard Primmer and his wife were paid for taking care of the house and gardens from 1746 until July 1751 when Samuel Miller, along with his wife, took over their duties. Thus it is probably from that time that the Lord Warden's Steward became known as Lord Warden's Housekeeper in later reports.<sup>25</sup> The Steward received £60 a year to which was now added the housekeepers salary of £20. Although fuel wood was used for heating the house charcoal was regularly supplied and must have been used for cooking.

Although there is huge detail on many expenses such as a barrow, nails, broom and cleaning, 'what I paid sundrys on account of house and garden' occurs, with, in this instance, a claim of £1 10s 7d (see p.43). A garden barrow cost 6s in 1756 whereas ten years later a repair was 2s 6d (see pp.57, 105). Varied use of labour is shown for we learn that John Whitehorn not only helped in the garden, cutting and piling the wood but also aired the beds (see p.135).

### **King's House**

The details of the house contained in the accounts are greatly magnified in use when looked at in conjunction with a detailed plan of the house, stables and gardens prepared by Charles Coleman around 1746.<sup>26</sup> This shows much of interest including the brew and bakery house now called the Cottage where the Verderers have their offices. This is opposite the 'blind house' the forest prison still used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Information on this plan ranges from the location of the 'necessary house' to the dimensions of the coach houses within the stable block. Old and new kennels are also shown including descriptions of the boiling house and 'gallows for flesh'.

### **Game**

Numerous mentions of 'game' are found with the vast majority of it being sent to London, though a proportion is intended for Bath. This in turns leads to expenses for baskets to send it in. James Rhodes is the basket maker who also repairs chair bottoms. Twine for packing the games at 2d is

probably the lowest value item recorded. Pelts were sent to Woburn on two occasions and once to London. Why some of the recipients received game is something of a mystery. A ‘...brace of bucks to Doctor Salmon at Axminster...’ which cost, with carriage and Keepers fees, nearly £4, was a generous gift. Two years later in 1759 the Devon Militia received similar gifts (see pp.63,73).

### **Occupations**

The range of occupations shown is wide (over forty apart from Forest Officers) and varied. Combined with the Forest Rents list in Volume II of this Series it provides a veritable directory of local services, something akin to the Kelly’s Directories of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but with added detail of work actually performed and costed. The range extends from accountants to wine merchants with painters, plasterers, poachers and plumbers in between. The most obvious omissions, to the modern eye, of Baker and Greengrocer reflect the times whereby the majority made their own bread and grew fruit and vegetables. Titles are sometimes loose: William Purbeck described as a grocer in 1760 and supplying tea and coffee in 1769 had supplied paint and oil ten years earlier. Payment to him and others was often slow. That made in May 1763 was for goods supplied in July 1760 (see p.93).

### **Transport and Communications**

All sorts of materials arrive by road, much in connection with repairs to properties. From June 1769 there are additional charges for turnpike fees indicating the improved road network in the area. The first Act for turnpiking the Southampton to Lymington road was 1765 thus showing how long it took to complete the work. Prior to that, in 1764, is the only direct mention of a post boy (see p.97). Messengers are used sparingly as clearly expensive. Carriage of all sorts of items is a regular expense from obtaining fuel wood to removing the kitchen furniture to London in 1748 which cost £4 5s 10d. Most transport costs relate to goods coming in, the major exception being game sent out which accounts for one fifth of all of these costs. Before the road through Lyndhurst was turnpiked goods were sent to Southampton or Stony Cross to link with the coach service on the London to Poole route (see pp.5,11,47,65). The latter was a stopping place on the Poole road and although the section westwards to Ringwood was not made until 1759 the existing road must have provided an option. William Samber, the Keeper at Castle Malwood, used the service to send and collect his manuscript to Zachary Chambers. He complained bitterly of the costs involved in receiving a packet ‘... that came by the Pool machine [coach] whose driver I can’t help observing was very extravagant in his demand for carriage which was half a crown ...’<sup>27</sup>

### **Inclosures, methods and costs**

Three enclosures, Pignall, Etherise and Blackbush had been enclosed and planted illegally by the Surveyor General in 1752 for which the Deputy Surveyor was fined £40 by the Verderers.<sup>28</sup> They were allowed to continue but according to the Duke of Bedford who visited the area in 1768 ‘... there is not the least appearance of timber coming up ...’<sup>29</sup> No part of the Lord Warden’s job description allowed for planting enclosures but he persuaded the Treasury that he could manage matters better than had been done in the past.

The method of making an inclosure was by ‘... cutting heath, grubbing and cleaning a piece of ground in Pignal Inclosure in order to be ploughed and cultivated with oats and afterwards with acorns ...’. £14 19s 2d was paid to the contractor Dennis Young for this work but it only tells part of the tale. This entry occurs three times in these accounts (see pp.125,134,181).

Beans had to be obtained as well as oats and, after harvesting, threshed and sold. This brought in nearly £33 credited from the New Park Account (see p.188). Fences had to be kept deer proof, vermin eradicated, drains made, ploughs obtained and inevitably goods moved. In all five full pages of accounts totalled more than £276 for making Pignall and Etherice Enclosures in 1769-70. 400 bricks were taken to the enclosures to ‘...kill the mice which eat up the acorns.’ Quite how that worked is unclear. In the Forest of Dean, which had similar problems, the answer was to dig large numbers of overhanging holes which worked in much the way deer parks did, allowing entry but no exit.<sup>30</sup>

Quite considerable costs are shown relating to the surveyor, Gilbert Aislable. He stayed in the Forest for 10 weeks during the spring of 1769, living with Thomas Bullock and numerous expenses were incurred for board, travel and carriage of equipment.

### **Timber Sales**

Between 1769-71 there were three sales of bark which brought in revenue of £235 from the two tanners. The first sale produced 10s per load as against 18s 6d for the others, a huge difference. Four timber sales in the same period produced £334. Although there were more buyers involved they seemed to be connected. William Green, for example, was a buyer teamed with Edmund Waldron in July 1769, six months later he was with Gulifer and after a further six months on his own account (see p.188).

Set against this were expenses of nearly £60. By far the largest item was the 111 days of Regarders time at 2s 6d a day amounting to £13 17s 6d. One of the Regarders, John Wild, also featured in the expenses as providing ‘...victuals and beer for the dealers when they paid for the Navy oak and beech tops.’ (see p.186). The custom of treating a purchaser, still common in many parts of the world today, was much practised then: ‘John Gullifer in lieu of a dinner, a payment for a bargain of beech tops, 1s 7d’ (see p.187).

### **Agriculture**

Court Garden, now part of the lawns of Queen’s House, and Stable Grounds were down to grass and required manure, mowing and hay making as well as the removal of moles. The accounts show both mowing and hay making sometimes together for these two grounds throughout the period. Occasionally there is great detail as in 1755 when we have the names of fourteen male and three female hay makers and can note that the men were paid 1s and the women 7½d per day whilst the thatcher charged 1s 6d for his services per day for a job that took him two and a half days. Food and beer at 6s 7d was a considerable part of the total bill of £2 19s 8d (see pp.47,49). Start dates varied from May 29<sup>th</sup> in 1759 to July 12<sup>th</sup> two years earlier but all, except one, of the remainder were in June. 1759 was known to have been a good year with ‘a hot, dry summer’ through much of the country.<sup>31</sup>

### **Recreation**

There is little evidence of relaxation here apart from those able to bring hounds to visit the Forest. The Duke of Bedford visited in 1768 and 1769 but both were business trips. It is assumed that the expenditure of £12 13s 2½d for a two day visit of the Duke of Richmond and Marquis of Blandford in October 1756 was for pleasure. Richmond’s father was a friend of Lord de la Warr, who held

the Master Keeper's lodge at Boldrewood, and a frequent visitor there for the hunting the Forest provided.<sup>32</sup> Other than this there is mention of the purchase of a 'skittle ground frame' in 1752 (see p.31).

### **Commoning**

There is relatively little about commoning. The reason though is because these accounts cover the everyday side of running a large estate. Commoners feature throughout it as workers on that estate or providing services in one way or another. Commoning was never an entity in itself, it was only ever part of a way of life. Evidence for this has been found and recorded elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> Fuel wood is touched on in various forms, mostly for the King's House. Annual receipts of between £4 and £10 are recorded for the agistment of hogs in a few years. Marking fees are mentioned once and drifts frequently. Charges for impounding strays, both cattle and ponies are also noted.

### **Manorial System**

The Manor of Lyndhurst was the core of the Crown estate with properties in Bartley Regis, Bramshaw, Burley, Fritham, Linford, London Minstead and Woodgreen as well as Lyndhurst.<sup>34</sup> The copyhold matters relating to these properties are mixed up in Richard Birt's accounts with fines for misdemeanours (see p.152).

Most of the income for the Manor came from adding in new lives to copyhold tenancies. They ranged from £3 3s for Richard Light adding two lives to £50 8s 4d for adding in a single life at Cuffnells (see pp. 152, 162). Up to three lives could be registered on a copyhold; if all failed before more were added the property reverted to the Manor. An example of this relates to a cottage at Lyndhurst '... which fell into hand on the death of John Henvis March 15<sup>th</sup> 1764 ...' (see p.100). Concerns and an investigation about the likely demise of a copyhold life, Edward Phillips, are noted (see p.162). Quit rents were payable but are mixed up here with Forest Rents. The only itemised one relates to a sum of 2s 11d paid rather than received and this is to Winchester College. In some accounts it is called fee money, in others lease fee and in a few quit rent; all relate to property in Bartley Regis.

Heriots were payable on a death; seven were set at £3 3s and one £2 10s. The origins of this system are still evident when a note explained '... the best beast was taken for a heriot being a cow valued at 3 guineas which was taken to New Park ...' (see p.112). It is also clear that the manor was dynamic with land either being split or taken in from the waste with new rents arising (see p.50, John Wares copyhold).

### **Taxation**

Unavoidable and often the basis of much source material for historians taxation is here in various forms. Land tax occurs frequently as do both poor and church rates as well as tithes payable to the Dean and Chapter of Sarum. There is even a brief mention of window tax for New Park House (see p.196).

### **Customs and hospitality**

The social intercourse and method of the times is recorded in a number of items here. In 1746 '... Goody Warne and children ...' were paid 4s '... for gathering a bushel of holly berries' (see p.5). With a picture of the Verderers Hall in mind an entry for 1757 '... 4 yards of green knap cloth to lay over

the Verderers table in the Hall ...’ helps bring it to life. As do the numerous entries for the costs of entertaining on the Swainmote days referred to earlier. The publican, John Wild, also had custom ‘... treating the freeholders at Lyndhurst’ as well as those of Brockenhurst in 1761; a custom still carried on today at Beaulieu with the Manor dinner (see p.81). It is a mystery why a similar expense for the freeholders of Otterborne should be included here (see p.83). Wild was also paid ‘... for victuals and beer for the dealers when they paid for the Navy oak and beech tops’ (see p.186). This sort of allowance for food and particularly drink was considered very much the norm. For some jobs such as the sawyers it was a necessity in an age when water was suspect. ‘... 11 days allowance of small beer ...’ for two men came to 3s 8d in 1773 (see p.196).

In the summer of 1760 the Duke of Bedford was intending to visit and various commodities were ordered including ‘... lobsters etc. ...’ for which payment of 6s 10d was made to John Veale (see p.77). Thomas Bullock paid himself £3 1s 3d for ‘... sundry disbursements from July 21<sup>st</sup> to 31<sup>st</sup> for provisions when his Grace was expected at Lyndhurst ...’ and explained they were not wasted but ‘... afterwards sent to Stratton’ (see p.79). Three years later it was the same story when an anticipated visit by Bedford didn’t occur and goods were again sent on to Stratton (see p.93).

A few days after the proposed 1760 visit Bullock has to pay himself £2 14s 5½d for ‘... housekeeping expenses 4 days when Mr Butcher was at Lyndhurst, August 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup>’ (see p.79). It would seem that Bedford’s chief agent had come down in place of the Lord Warden.

John Warne of Brockenhurst must have been a useful servant of the crown for 4s 4d ‘... one half of the rate for raising money to procure a substitute to serve in the Militia.’ was paid on his behalf (see p.93). Wine clearly helped smooth the way in many business dealings. Richard Birt, the Under Steward, who had once written to his boss Henry Fielding of the then Deputy Surveyor, Charles Coleman ‘... there never was so great a vermin as C[oleman] ...’ got off to a better start with his successor. 7s 3d worth of wine eased the path ‘... when Mr Birt and Mr Gilbert met at Lyndhurst House several times on Forest business ...’ in the autumn of 1757 (see p.65).

### **Miscellaneous**

There are a small number of entries which seem to have little or no connection with the Forest business. In 1757 Bullock made two journeys to Bridport ‘... by order of Mr Butcher to survey the timber on Barwick Farm’ (see p.65). Richard Pierce and William Wiltshire were paid for hanging the bells and tassels lines in the church at Lyndhurst.

A brief reference is made here to the troubles of John Throckmorton the Keeper at Castle Malwood Lodge who suffered attacks and threats to his life<sup>35</sup> (see p.165). Certainly the Duke of Bedford took the matter seriously offering a reward of £50 for information leading to a conviction.<sup>36</sup> And what of the ‘Vault in the Garden’ at King’s House (see p.135), is it still there and what does it contain?

The ‘loss’ of 11 days due to the change from one dating method to another is shown in Samuel Miller’s accounts where he scrupulously shows his own salary year to be from 24th August 1752 to 4th September 1753.

### The end of term

Following the Duke of Bedford's death on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1771 Thomas Bullock included a claim for £10 10s in respect of '... an allowance for mourning for my daughter as housekeeper at Lyndhurst' (see p.145) as well as for himself. Bullock's work was recognised by the Duke's executors who paid him £40 '... for my extraordinary trouble in superintending the repairs done and improvements made in New Forest ...'. The Duke himself had not forgotten him for he received £20 '...one years wages as housekeeper at Lyndhurst left by the will of the late Duke of Bedford to his menial servant' (see p.149).

The flow of government barely faltered for 10 days after the death of Bedford his successor's appointment was announced in the London Gazette.<sup>37</sup> However, there was considerable work involved in the change to the new administration and closing of the books which lasted for two years. Robert Palmer, although termed a surveyor we might regard him an accountant, also stayed with Bullock on a number of occasions between 1766 and 1770. Bullock had to visit him in London during 1771 and 1773. The last trip was for 16 days and eventually saw the accounts closed and signed off.

### Notes

- 1 HRO 149M89/5/6457A
- 2 HRO 149M89/R5/6474
- 3 TNA:PRO C 197/21, Warden and Kepper of the New Forest 1668-1845
- 4 Roberts, P (ed.) (2006) *Ruin and Reform, New Forest Administration, 1739-1769*, New Forest Ninth Centenary Trust, p.130
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